

公益二手商店作為生態性的生計活動： 台灣偏鄉社會處境中創造性抵抗空間營造的案例

一、研究背景&緣起

本文陳述位於台灣偏鄉的創造性抵抗空間營造的案例，為弱勢學習者發展以社區為本、非學科導向的另類教育模式，同時逆轉弱勢學生的學習異化、成年後的勞動異化以及與家鄉疏離的可見未來，為何需要這樣的抵抗性空間與方案，需從台灣長期城鄉教育機會不等與教育發展的脈絡來說明：

1.研究背景：

台灣教育從 KMT 政府遷台後，因與中國政府的對立關係，從師資養成到學校運作，均採取「中央與集權」的方式進行，使教育成為統治者「精神國防」的操作模式，進行各種學校教育的控管與統一規格。師範教育採精密計畫培育與分發任教學校模式，限定國立師範院校進行高中以下的師資培育，一般大學不得執行。教科書由國家編制統一版本與進度，課本與教師手冊發展、印刷到配發全國，均由教育部掌握，不開放民間參與。

1994 台灣教育改革啟動，首次開放民間參與發展教科書，並容許使用的學校自由選擇所需版本，同年開放各大學培養師資-終結原有「一元、閉鎖、管制、公費」的師範教育，培育師資與職場的配發模式改為自由申請，改採「多元、開放、自由、自費」之政策，台灣教育鬆綁逐步進行，於 2004 與 2019 均有草根性的教育改革堆動，促使長期以中央政府掌握的教育權開放，連續多次具體的教育改革在台灣島內進行。

台灣的教育改革，最核心的價值是「去除單一化」，讓多元的、地方性的價值能成為台灣教育的主體內涵。本文所投入的行動方案是在此歷史與社會脈絡下所進行的鄉村型教育改革與創新模式，以典型的台灣村莊為基地，發展在地性的教育型態，解決鄉村教育所面臨的問題，並期望能提高鄉村教育的品質。

2.研究緣起：

台灣的教育改革近 30 年了，但多數的推動停留在表層、裝飾點綴性質，例如學校本位課程或社區化教學方案，是因應台灣各地不同城鄉處境、不同學習者需要，賦予學校能發展屬於自己需要課程，但因為長期的教科書統一化，教師並不熟悉課程與教學發展，而淪為形式、裝飾的課程改變，而無實質或本質性的成果，加上台灣整體教育的氣氛是以「學業成績」為導向，父母與學校都擔心孩子「學業競爭力不足」，各種形式鬆綁的教育，都受到「學業成績」不能落後的限制，因此「主流」教育所需，強烈的限制的台灣鄉村教育的改變，因為鄉村學習者的學業成就原本就偏低，各類改革往往在推動一段時間後，因憂慮影響成績而停滯。

在都市化發展迅速的影響之下，教育機會城市與鄉村之間的落差日益加重，使鄉村地區社經地位處境弱勢長期不良，本案所進行的方案因應台灣偏鄉教育之不足，在學校教育外另闢場所，對學業成績存而不論的繞道而行，進行基層的鄉村教育創新，從社區中發展增能模式非學校教育型態，回應鄉村弱勢教育所需。而鄉村之所以成為弱勢的原因是以經濟的困境為主，如何將鄉村經濟改善與教育整合是此抵抗性空間營造的價值主軸，一方面導入另類經濟的型態與操

作，一方面將差異化經濟的運作融入日常學習中，讓弱勢者能朝向新的生存型態培力，成為改變鄉村的力量。

二、文獻回顧

Gibson 和 Ethan (2015) 從生態學的觀點重新定義經濟概念，或者說，從更廣闊的生計(Livelihood)角度去擴大經濟的範疇。她們認為，當前的經濟概念是一個歷史的、話語性的(discursive)產物，而不是一個客觀存在的本體論範疇。十六世紀起，西方社會開始對私有財產的所有權、使用與轉移進行社會規範的精細化發展，逐步打造出一個獨立的經濟領域，並建構相關的經濟學術語、技術和專業實踐。在其中，自然世界的物質與人們的工作投入被轉化為「資源」與「勞動力」，服務於人類的工具性使用，以追求無止盡的「經濟成長」為目標，卻與人類福祉不一定相關，甚至已經造成了社會上各種暴力、不平等等問題，並傷害了地球的生物及其生存方式的多樣性。

與此相對，Gibson 和 Ethan (2015) 提倡一種超越人類的 (more-than-human) 觀點來重新界定經濟生活。人類的營生(Make a living)活動既涉及人類與非人類所構成的共同體與生態系，也創造了不同物種間、人與環境間、不同族群間相互依存的複雜性(complexities of our interdependence)。因此，經濟不應該只是一個與世界其他領域沒有關係、具獨立性的人類活動，它必然是社會的和生態的，且這種經濟的社會性(sociality)是地球生命得以生存的必要條件。故我們需要將其中的倫理及動態的相互依存的關係，納入經濟活動的範疇來加以考量。

那麼，如何培養一種倫理—生態—經濟的感性能力？如何重構經濟與生態的關係，使得經濟行為與系統能為人類與其他物種之共—in(Bing-in-common)負起責任？這時，「參與」、「必要性」、「足夠」、「剩餘」與「共同」等經濟面向需要立即被重新考慮：參與在某個生計社群中的「我們」實際上包含哪些人、物種與環境？為了「我們」的生存所需，什麼是被需要的？怎樣才算「足夠」？經濟活動中的剩餘來自於誰、又當如何分配？我們又如何製造和分享出我們的共有財 (commons) ？

這樣界定經濟的另類觀點，對做為一家公益二手商店的豐田五味屋深具啟發。當我們將鄉村的人與人之相互連結與彼此依賴的關係，以及商店與其所在的鄉村社會生活的關係納入考慮，將會發展出不同的經營策略，包括：買賣方式、商品定價、顧客關係、店員角色與商店營運的目標等。經濟活動的目標不再是資本累積的極大化；經濟行為開始被允許納入情感、記憶、社會關係、非經濟的共同體利益等因素來加以創造，一切不再只是以數字和效益的極大化的方式被追求，相反地，這家商店以「我們怎麼一起生活於在地鄉村社會」的思考來決定著商店營運方式。

四、五味屋生態性生計活動的分析

如上所述，台灣體制內的改革受限於制度的歷史脈絡、社會文化期待與資本經濟的主流價值，朝向都市與單一競爭標準的教育模式，使學校教育缺乏地方觀點與需求主體性，間接的使城鄉落差及教育機會不平等加劇。如何因應學校教育的潛在課程仍暗示著學生未來在遠方；不在自己的家鄉？社區空間作為逆轉此處境的基地該怎麼做？

台灣東岸的豐田五味屋於 2008 年由一群大學生、教授和在地青少年所成立。作為社區公益二手商店及兒童青少年學習基地，以孩子作為「小老闆」的身份參

與商店營運、農事活動與各類文化交流，十年來支持弱勢學生及家庭，創造出整合了微型經濟、教育、社會工作中的社區工作及社區營造等的工作模式。本文側重描述：商店中的商業交易如何創造新的社群關係？慈善捐助資源如何被轉化地運用？特定情境如何被重新框架（re-frame）？個體角色和所謂的「學習」如何被重新界定與催生？以及最後，青少年如何獲得培力並開展生涯？

上述這一切都被置入商店營運的不同環節中進行操作，它提供了一個創造性的抵抗空間（但並未取消資本主義），對於新自由主義對偏鄉社會、家庭及學童所帶來的危機和困境給出了有效的因應方案。

豐田五味屋依照在地文化脈絡與生活需要，逐步發展出公益二手商店作為生態性的生計活動，是台灣偏鄉社會處境中創造性抵抗空間營造的案例的先驅，結合社區、大學與相關社群的力量，致力於如何回歸在地性人才培育，創造以社區為本、非學科導向的另類教育模式，同時逆轉弱勢學生的學習異化、成年後的勞動異化以及與家鄉疏離的可見未來。

事實上筆者在 1997 年開始參與豐田社區，以人類學批判民族誌與行動研究的模式參與社區，從硬體閒置空間再利用，到軟體教育學習方案研發，雖為長期投入但多為點狀的運作，直到 2008 年開始以「五味屋」座落的空間為基地，開始橫向與縱貫的整合各項工作，並以帶狀（平時夜間+週末整日）的運作方式持續進行。

作為翻轉創造價值的抵抗性實體空間而言，我與研究團隊在豐田村內開發了 12 個據點：包括商店型態交流七處（日用雜貨-五味屋、衣物館-瘋衣舍、書店-豐田冊所、填充玩具-娃娃屋、大型拍賣-見性工坊、小吃部-food stand、日用雜貨-誠什商店）、民宿與志工之家三處（外婆的家、豐田行館、志工宿舍）、學習空間（夜間照顧-夢想館，社區電影院-好想暫留屋）12 處空間實際上都是因應村莊內需要生態性發展而設置，雖然民宿與志工之家，以接待外地參與者所設置，但外地來的人並非純粹觀光性質，而是工作假期或學習型團體深入參與社區的性質。日常用品、衣物、飲食、書籍、玩具...等等是村莊與在地人生活所需，運作的基礎思考根植於地方需求為出發，進而吸引了村外的人群，甚至許多外地觀光客的來訪，豐田公益村的形象受到台灣矚目，鄉土作家劉克襄將五味屋故事寫進了小學的教材，事實上從小學到大學的教材都選擇了五味屋作為素材。台灣、香港、大陸媒體都曾報導五味屋案例，以 2021 年為例 CNEX 紀錄片，PBS 短片。

五味屋獲得關注與目光共同處在於兩個關鍵運作策略：一、轉換學習與救濟：五味屋開創在地青兒少所需的情境化與差異化的學習，轉換補救教學為結合在地生活生態生計需求的學習；將慈善救濟的社會福利模式轉換為增能模式-靠自己的努力贏得所需；二、轉換學習與救濟：消費者不僅僅是掏錢買物品，而是參與者、創造共同學習的促成者甚至成為向村莊學習的學習者，交易不是單純的經濟行為而是款待與療癒彼此的互助互動。

以下以一個實際案例來說明「轉換學習與救濟」「轉換學習與救濟」兩項對抗性空間營造的生態性經濟策略實際操作方式，闡述五味屋以公益二手商店作為生態性的生計活動基地，改造社區閒置空間開創村落學習角多據點，培力地方型師資，促成翻轉剝削式旅遊模式、促進綠色環保消費，將 Gibson 和 Ethan（2015）提出的融合社會和生態的經濟模式推行於台灣鄉村。

豐田五味屋在台灣媒體頻繁報導下，收到很多「參訪預約」的要求-花蓮縣內外的教育、社福等相關團體想更深入瞭解五味屋運作，專程來「取經」。五味屋將「參訪」研發成「教育公益旅行」方案，生態型經濟模式透過社會設計後，將「觀光旅遊」轉變成「參與貢獻」，使觀光客變成「關係人口」。此作法的反抗性方案設計使經濟的運作成為「參與式」與「共同性」的必要，兼具社會性與生態性的特質。

花蓮是台灣的觀光重鎮，觀光貼近花蓮人的生活基調「外面的人會來」「消費」，能夠獲得觀光經濟收入的通常需要有資本，社區弱勢很難從觀光中獲得經濟，或只能做低階勞務型工作。五味屋將花蓮觀光的社會性元素作為教育公益旅行的元素，將原本「不屬於觀光業」的弱勢社區轉換為可以成為觀光收入獲益的社群，兼顧經濟與社會倫理性的生計模式。首先將村莊多處閒置角落開發為營運據點，使空間的翻轉作為處境改變的基地，轉換村莊生活為學習角落取代觀光景點。

五味屋針對來訪者的需要設計「學習型的參與」行程，請參訪者以「付費」方式來「學習」，導覽解說由五味屋青兒少執行、飲食請村莊婦女烹煮，住宿在豐田村莊內（五味屋的民宿或社區民宿），實質創造在地經濟收入，雖然是微經濟，但以生態的觀點，微小的經濟擾動了社會系統，村莊婦女提供的食物不是純商品，是款待與手藝分享，使用飲食的人不是消費者，是品嚐非大量生產homemade food、受到如親人照顧的情意，讚美手藝與感謝伴隨經濟回饋到村莊婦女，村莊婦女所「收到」的是生存所需的經濟以及社會性肯定，倫理與動態的相互依存關係，在此微小的經濟活動中展現。導覽解說由非專業的青兒少執行，解說內容源於自己生活在村莊的經驗與感受，非知識或資訊性的導覽，訪客接收到的是樸質的生命生活分享，不計較解說技巧，甚至在導覽過程中協助青兒少，提供輔助性的提問與互動，讓青兒少能順利完成導覽，青兒少贏得工作點數作為學習生活基金，也獲得參訪者的支持肯定。

參訪者透過實地的參與認識台灣鄉村與社區，從各種方式「貢獻」村莊，例如來訪的外地人，先從自己家裡整理可捐獻的物資（家中少用但品質仍好的物品），透過「多一公斤旅行」方式-在旅行箱裡帶著捐物到五味屋，此傳送過程猶如「送禮物」，有別於「救濟物資」的上對下模式，平等甚至禮遇接受的一方。因為要耗費空間與搬運，捐贈人評估是否有價值「多一公斤旅行」，物資品質通常不錯，相對於一般捐物往往把「不要的東西送給慈善團體」，品質較低，訪客帶來的好品質穩定物資經過銷售後，創造住宿、飲食之外的經濟收入。

教育公益旅行的模式，跳脫一般工作假期的模式，促成學習性社群連結，也創造了生態性經濟與社會性連結的價值，開發多樣性的經濟模式，非典型經濟行為同時為偏鄉弱勢學習不力兒少開發結合生計的學習活動，使為位於觀光區的鄉村為抵抗性空間的基地創造生態性生計於日常生活中。

五、結論

本文以一個台灣偏鄉地區的抵抗性空間營造案例，展現一般市場交易中的「買—賣」關係如何在實體鄉村社區空間，進行軟硬體的營造以及人際網絡的編織，在此過程中，買-賣的傳統經濟模式被相當程度地扭轉，甚至被重新定義。

J.K. Gibson-Graham 將經濟視為生態性的生計活動 (ecological livelihood)，本文案例中顯示，透過教育公益旅行的操作模式，實踐多元經濟的可能性，五味屋運用社區內的空間、人、事物為元素，將各種非典型經濟行為納入考量，透過社會設計的方式，在典型的台灣農村去探索出資本主義與非資本主義之間的新型態微經濟模式，回應 J.K. Gibson-Graham 提出讓社區成為進行倫理決策 (ethical decision) 的空間，該空間允許一種把人與人之間依存關係估算進來並支持著社區居民的生計模式。

這些具體的經濟轉變並非為了經濟的目的，而是人的改變與培力，在於使生態性的生計活動成為鄉村的教育主體，以村莊的生計生態為基調的學習，回應台灣教育長期缺乏地方感，以及各類教改仍無法跳脫學業導向的限制，以及釐清並設法翻轉學校教育引含有競爭力的人往都市發展的價值，回歸在地性教育做為鄉村弱勢的翻轉福利依賴，以「轉換學習與救濟」「轉換學習與救濟」兩項對抗性空間營造的生態性經濟策略實際操作方式，因應台灣偏鄉教育之不足，從社區中發展增能模式非學校教育型態，回應鄉村弱勢教育所需。

台灣東岸的豐田五味屋於 1998 年由一群大學生、教授和在地青少年所成立後，在豐田村營造 12 個據點成為「社區學習角」，對內使弱勢鄉村孩子以參與社區營造的「贏得模式」獲得商店營運、農事活動與各類文化交流多元學習，並創造出整合了微型經濟、教育、社會工作中的社區工作及社區營造等的工作模式。本文側重描述：商店中的商業交易創造觀光客轉換為參與者、受款待者與教育支持者的新社群關係，原本消耗或剝削式觀光者扮演多樣的社區生計活化角色，慈善捐助資源在「多一公斤旅行」這類的社會設計方案下，被轉化地運用為餽贈分享獲禮物經濟模式，交易不再是無臉孔，而是利中有情情中有利，特定情境如何被重新框架 (re-frame)，個體角色和所謂的「學習」如何被重新界定與催生，以及最後，青少年如何獲得培力並開展生涯，上述這一切都被置入商店營運的不同環節中進行操作，它提供了一個創造性的抵抗空間（但並未取消資本主義），對於新自由主義對偏鄉社會、家庭及學童所帶來的危機和困境給出了有效的因應方案。

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A non-profit second-hand store as an ecological livelihood project:

A case study of the establishment of a creative resistance space in rural Taiwan

1. Research background & beginning of the project.

This article introduces the case study of a community-based project aiming to carve out a space of creative resistance in rural Taiwan, characterized by a non-disciplinary alternative education model for disadvantaged learners. The project's goal is to annul disadvantaged students' learning alienation, adult labor alienation, and the sense of

alienation that they could also be perceived towards one's hometown. In the future, such a resistance space and plan would be needed within the context of the long-term urban and rural education opportunities as well as wider educational development in Taiwan.

1.1 Research Background:

After the revision of Taiwan's education at the hands of the KMT government following its antagonistic relationship with China, different aspects of education, from teacher training to school operations, adopted a "centralized" approach. This led education to become the primary mode of operation, characterized by severe control and standardization within school. Teacher training would follow precise planning schemes and applications within elementary and junior-high schools, though this would not apply to universities. Textbooks were compiled by the state in a unified fashion: the development of textbooks and teacher manuals, printing and distribution throughout the country were all controlled by the Ministry of Education, and all non-governmental participation was prohibited.

In 1994, another education reform was introduced whereby private participation in the development of textbooks was opened, and schools could finally freely choose the most suitable publications for their curricula. In the same year, universities began training teachers following a single, closed, controlled, and publicly funded pedagogy. The educational model was then changed to a free application following the policy of diversity, openness, freedom, and self-finance. The deregulation of education in Taiwan has gradually progressed. In 2004 and 2019, there have been grassroots education reforms, which have promoted the long-term liberalization of education rights held by the central government, and other several consecutive specific education reforms have been carried out across the country.

The core value of Taiwan's education reform is to remove singularity, so that diversity and local values can become a mainstay of national education. The action plan investigated in this article consists of a rural education reform and innovation model carried out under this historical and social context. Established within the context of a typical Taiwanese village, it promotes a local education model aiming to solve the problems regarding education and hopes to improve its quality in rural areas.

1.2 Origins of the research:

Taiwan's education reforms have existed for nearly 30 years, but much of the promotion has remained superficial with little concrete contribution. For example, school-based courses or community-based teaching programs are designed to meet the needs of different urban and rural areas and learners in Taiwan. It is therefore crucial to grant schools the ability to develop their own curriculum. However, because of the long-term unification of textbooks, teachers are not familiar with curriculum design and teaching improvement, so they can merely carry out formal and superficial curriculum changes, without substantial results. In addition, the overall educational atmosphere in Taiwan is academic-achievement-oriented, where parents and schools focus on enhancing their children's perceived lack of academic competitiveness. All forms of education are therefore restricted by academic performance and so mainstream education maintains a strong hold over rural education in Taiwan. Because the academic achievements of rural learners were traditionally lower than their urban counterparts, various reforms often stagnated after being promoted due to concerns about it further negatively affecting students' performance.

Due to rapid urbanization, the gap in educational opportunities between cities and the countryside has been increasing, weakening the social and economic status of rural areas. In response to the insufficiency of rural education in Taiwan, the case study proposes a new approach to non-formal school education: the focus is not placed on academic performance but rather grass-roots rural education innovative plans that contribute to developing an extra-curricular empowerment model inspired by the needs and dynamics of the community. The reason why villages become disadvantaged is mainly due to economic difficulties. How to improve the rural economy and integrate education is therefore the main aspiration of this resistance space. On the one hand, the project has introduced alternative economic types and operations, while also enriching the daily process of learning with diverse economic activities, so that the disadvantaged youth and villagers can build up and strengthen a new form of livelihood that can positively overturn their future in the countryside.

2. Literature review

Gibson and Ethan (2015) redefine the economic concept from an ecological point of view, in other words, they expand the scope of the economy from the perspective of a broader livelihood. They believe that the current economic concept is a historical and discursive product, rather than an objective ontological category. Starting in the 16th

century, Western society began to refine the development of social norms on ownership, use, and transfer of private property, gradually creating an independent economic field, and constructing relevant economic terms, technology, and professional practices. In it, manual labor and harvesting raw materials became the driver of with which to pursue endless economic growth, but not necessarily related to human well-being. This has led to various forms of violence, inequality, and other social problems, and has harmed the diversity and potential future of life on earth.

In contrast, Gibson and Ethan (2015) advocate a more-than-human perspective to in order to redefine economic life. Human livelihood should involve not only communities and ecosystems formed by both humans and non-humans, but also take into account the complexity of the interdependence between different species, between humans and the environment, and between different ethnic groups. Therefore, economics should not solely be an independent human activity unrelated to other areas, but instead must be social and ecological, and maintain necessary conditions for the survival of life on Earth. Therefore, the ethical and dynamic interdependence amongst agents must be considered as a major category of economic activities.

How can an ethical-ecological-economic system be cultivated? How can the relationship between economy and ecology be reconstructed, so that economic behaviors and systems can be responsible for the coexistence of humans and other species? The economic aspect needs to be reconsidered immediately: which people, species, and environments are included in specific livelihood communities? What is needed for the survival of "us"? What is "enough"? From whom does the surplus in economic activities come from and how should it be distributed? How do we create and share our commons?

The alternative view of defining the economy in this way is deeply inspiring for the Five Way House in Fengtian (TW), which is a public second-hand store. After the relationship between people in the village and their interdependence was considered, together with the relationship between the store and the social life of the community in which it is located, different business strategies have been developed, such as buying and selling methods, commodity pricing, customer relations, the role of the clerk and the goal of the store's operations. The goal of this economic activity is no longer the maximization of capital accumulation. Instead, economic behaviors can be created by incorporating factors such as emotion, memory, social relations, non-economic

community interests, etc. The project's purpose is not to maximize numbers and profits, but rather to find a way to harmoniously living together in the local rural community.

3. Analysis of the Five Way House 's ecological livelihood activities

As mentioned above, reforms within the Taiwan system are limited by the historical context of the system, the social and cultural expectations, and the mainstream value of the capital economy. The urban education model and the single person competitive standard mean that school education lacks local perspectives, subjectivity, and indirectly aggravates the gap between urban and rural areas in terms of inequality of educational opportunities. How is it possible to deal with the potential curriculum of school education that still implies the student must leave their hometowns? What should the community space do as a base for reversing this situation?

The Five Way House, in the outskirts of Hualien City, on the east coast of Taiwan, was established in 2008 by a group of college students, professors, and local teenagers. The Five Way House consists of a community charity second-hand store and a learning base for children and adolescents, where in the role of 'little managers' they can participate in store operations, agricultural activities, and various cultural exchanges. Over the past ten years, this program has supported disadvantaged students and families, creating a work model that integrates community work within a micro-economy system, education, and social work. This article investigates how business transactions in stores can create new social relationships, how charitable donation resources can be transformed and used, how specific situations can be re-framed, how individual roles and so-called learning are redefined and spawned, and finally, how young people can be trained and develop their careers.

All the above points have been put into operation within various links of the store's operation. The project provides a space for creative resistance (but does not abolish capitalism) against the crisis brought by neoliberalism that has affected the rural society, families, and school children. The dilemma thus gives an effective response plan.

In accordance with the local cultural context and daily needs, the Five Way House has gradually developed public welfare through a second-hand store and ecological livelihood activities. It is a pioneer in establishing creative resistance spaces in the rural social areas of Taiwan by combining the strength of a local community, a university, and connected ecological associations, with the commitment to encourage local talents, and to create a community-oriented and non-disciplinary-oriented alternative education

model. All this intends to reverse various forms of alienation that regard learning for disadvantaged students, looking for employment during adulthood without needing to abandon their hometowns.

The author's first participation to the Five Way House dates back to 1997, in the form of anthropological and ethnographical critical and action research. From the repurposing of an obsolete physical space to the development of new educational learning programs, it has been a long-term investment. The actual operation began in 2008 based on the space where the Five Way House was located, and various tasks were integrated both horizontally and vertically, and developed to where it operated on evenings and all-day during weekends.

The author, together with the research team, have developed 12 areas in Fengtian village, that include a daily necessities store (the Five Way House), clothing store (Crazy Clothes), a bookstore (Fengtian Library), Toy shop (Doll House), Auction house, Food stall, a second daily necessities stall (Chengshi Store), a B&B and three Volunteer centers (Grandma's House, Fengtian Hotel, and the Volunteer dormitory), and a learning space (Nighttime Care, The Dream hall, and a community cinema named the Haoxiang Temporary Residence).

These 12 spaces are set up in response to the need for ecological development in the village. However, the guest house and Volunteer House are also used to host outsiders that are either visiting the area, or participating in working holidays, or learning groups deeply involved with the community. Daily necessities, clothing, food, books, toys, etc. are needed by the local people, and so local needs are still at the core of the operations, though these often also attract tourists. The case of Fengtian Five Way House has attracted the attention of many within Taiwan. The local writer Liu Kexiang presented the story of the Five Way House in an elementary school textbook. In fact, the Five Way House was chosen as the material for textbooks used from elementary school to university. Some media from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Mainland China have also covered the story of this case study, such as the 2021 CNEX documentary and PBS short film.

The Five Way House's project proposes two innovative strategies:

1. Transforming learning into relief: creating the contextualized and differentiated learning needed by local youth and children. It converts educative teaching into a combination of local life and ecological livelihood; and it adapts the social

welfare model of charity relief to an energy-increasing model where the participants in the project must rely on their own efforts to gain what they need while learning to recognize the needs of their new livelihood.

2. Mutual understanding: where consumers are not only paying for goods but become participants and learners about the village. Trading is not a purely economic act but grows into a moment of mutual aid and interaction, between hospitality and healing.

The following illustrate the actual operations of the ecological economic strategy created by these two strategies. The Five Way House uses a public charity second-hand store as an ecological livelihood activity base, and it has renovated obsolete spaces in the community to create multiple learning corners in the village. Also, it supports local teachers, promotes a sustainable model of tourism and green consumption, and is implementing the social and ecological economic model proposed by Gibson and Ethan (2015) in Taiwan's rural areas.

With frequent coverage from the Taiwanese media, the Five Way House in Fengtian has received many requests for educational visits. In fact, several social welfare organizations from Hualien County and other counties have expressed their interest in learning more about the operation carried out by the Five Way House. The Five Way House ecological economic model has transformed ordinary appointments into educational public charity travel programs, where being a visitor has become an opportunity to participate in and contribute to the project. The revolutionary aspect of this approach makes economic operations a necessity of participation and commonality.

Hualien is an important tourist destination in Taiwan and tours are an important part of the life of its inhabitants. People from outside the region arrive there and consume, bringing economic benefit to the local people. Those who gain an income from tourism usually need to first invest capital. It is difficult for the most disadvantaged communities to actively participate in the management of tourism activities, and so many residents are mainly employed in low-skilled, labor-based jobs. The Five Way House uses the social aspect of Hualien tourism to develop education and charity tourism. This allows the disadvantaged communities, originally excluded from the tourism industry, to benefit from this sector's income, and to create a livelihood model that considers both economic and social ethics. Many idle corners of the village have

been developed as operating bases and transformed into learning corners instead of sightseeing spots.

The Five Way House has designed a learning-based participation itinerary for the needs of visitors, who, through an economic contribution, can enjoy guided tours performed by youths and children participating in the project, and meals cooked by the women of the village. The accommodations in Fengtian (The Five Way House B&B and the community guest houses) are also generating profit for the community. Although it is a micro-economy, from an ecological point of view, the small economy can disturb the social system. The food provided by the community ladies is not purely a commodity, but also a means to welcome guests, and share hospitality, culinary and traditional skills. Visitors are not merely consumers, but participants of an experience where they enjoy sustainably produced homemade food, while being cared for by the local people. In return of this encounter, Fengtian women receive the economic validation that they need to survive. The economic and social affirmation, the interdependence of ethics and dynamics, are revealed in this small economic activity. Guided tours are performed by non-professional youths and children also shape the narrative according to their own experiences and feelings from living in the village. What visitors receive is a simple glimpse of community life, where more attention is given to the message rather than the way it is delivered. The children happen to answer questions from the guests and this kind of interaction enriches the tours, helping the youth to earn funds to help with their studies and living costs, and so are also supported by the visitors.

Visitors learn about Taiwan's villages and communities through on-site participation, and support the village in various ways, for example, through the donation of second-hand products that can be sold in the Five Way House thrift store. In fact, through the method "one more kilogram travel" guests can carry their donations in their suitcase to Fengtian. This delivery process is like giving a gift, and because it implies taking space and transportation, donors must evaluate whether this material is worth being carried to Fengtian. This donated material is often of good quality and this is fundamental, as these products will become a source of economic income for the community, together with the accommodation and local food that will be produced.

This educational charity touristic experience differs from a typical working holiday, as it promotes learning community dynamics, generating an ecological economy and social connections, developing learning activities that integrate livelihoods for

disadvantaged children and young people in rural areas, and finally creating ecological livelihoods in their daily lives for the villagers located in the tourist areas as the base of resistance spaces.

4. Conclusion

This article analyses the case study of the establishment of a resistance space in a rural area in Taiwan, where the ordinary *buy and sell* dynamics of market transactions can be used to build both physical spaces and the programs carried out in them along with the interpersonal networks that are woven in their creation. In this process, the traditional economic model of *buy and sell* has been considerably altered and redefined.

JK Gibson-Graham regards the economy as an ecological livelihood. The case study shows that through the operation mode of education and charity travel, it is possible to practice a diversified economy. The Five Way House uses the community space, people, and things as elements, taking into account various nonconforming economic behaviors. Through social design, it explores a new microeconomic model between capitalism and non-capitalism in typical Taiwanese rural areas, responding to JK Gibson-Graham's proposal to make communities become a space for ethical decision-making, which allows an estimation of interpersonal interdependence and supports the livelihood of the community residents.

These specific economic changes are not for economic purposes, but for human development and education. They are to make ecological livelihood activities the mainstay of rural education. The learning plan based on the village livelihood ecology responds to the long-term lack of locality in Taiwanese education, contrasting the former education reforms that still cannot escape academic-oriented restrictions. The project also tries to reverse the value of school education to form competitive people that in the future could possibly find their way in more urban situations. Also, the Five Way House sees local education relying on charity for disadvantaged people in the countryside. Through the transformation of the actual operation method of the ecological economic strategy created by the two confrontational spaces of "Learning and Relief" and "Transformation of Learning and Relief", in response to the insufficiency of rural education in Taiwan, the Five Way House had developed a non-

school education type of empowerment model for the community, responding to the needs of rural disadvantaged education.

After the Fengtian Five Way House was established in 1998, twelve spots in the village have become community-learning-corners, enabling disadvantaged local children to participate in the model of community building. All this is being accomplished through diverse in-store operations, agricultural activities, and various cultural exchanges, to create a work model that integrates micro-economy, education, community work in social work, and community building. Therefore, commercial transactions in the stores have created new community relationships between tourists, participants, hospitality recipients, and educational supporters. In the Five Way House, what could have been mere consumption or exploitation by tourists, has developed into something positive that has activated the community livelihood, also through various and consistent charitable donated resources. Under social design schemes such as the *one kilogram of travel*, the Five Way House has been transformed into a gift-sharing and gift-receiving economic model, where is profitable and driven by human interchanges. The project follows a specific path where the attention is focused on finding out how specific situations can be re-framed, how individual roles and so-called learning are redefined and spawned, and finally, how young people can gain training and develop their careers. All the above are put into operation in different steps of the store operations, where a creative space for resistance is provided (however, not abolishing capitalism) as an effective response plan to the crises and plights brought by neoliberalism to rural societies, families, and schoolchildren.