Constructive Contestation around Urban Heritage in Taipei: Exploring A New Approach for Cities in Asia

Background document for
2012 Taipei International Roundtable Forum

October 7-10 in Taipei City, Taiwan
Dr. Min-Chin Chiang, 2012

Organized by

Collaboration with
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2012 Taipei International Roundtable Forum
October 7–10

Background Document

by
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Taiwan
2012

Organized by
International Institute for Asian Studies (IIAS), Leiden, the Netherlands and
Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University (NTUBP), Taipei, Taiwan

In collaboration with
Institute of Sociology and Institute of Taiwan History, Academia Sinica
Foundation of Chinese Dietary Culture
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Chapter One:
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1.1. Brief Information about Taipei City

Taipei City, the capital city of Taiwan, is located in the north-eastern part of the Taipei Basin in northern Taiwan. According to statistical data for 2011, the area of Taipei City was 271.80 square kilometres, or 0.75% of Taiwan. The population in Taipei City was 2,650,968 at the end of 2011, counting for around 11.41% of the entire population of Taiwan.¹ The population density of Taipei City at the same time was 9,753 per square kilometre.

![Geographical location of Taipei City in Taiwan](image)

Currently, Taipei City has 12 administrative districts: Songshan, Xinyi, Daan, Zhongshan, Zhongzheng, Datong, Wanhua, Wenshan, Nangang, Neihu, Shilin, and Beitou. Among these, Daan District is the most populated. In 2011, within the 12

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¹ The population of Taiwan at the end of 2011 was 23,224,912. This number is from the Executive Yuan: http://www.ris.gov.tw/ (accessed 25 August, 2012).
districts, Daan District had the highest average disposable income (893,660 NTD per person), Zhongzheng and Xinyi District were next, while the lowest was in Datong District (600,486 NTD per person). The second lowest was Wanhua (Báng-kah District).³

The Presidential Hall and central government institutions are located in the Zhongzheng District in south-west Taipei, while Taipei City Hall is located in Xinyi District in south-east Taipei. According to the data for 2011, 80.56% of the employed population in Taipei worked in the services-producing industries, while 19.16% worked in the goods-producing industries. Only 0.28% work was in the agricultural industries.

According to the 2006 Year Book of Taipei City,⁵ the residents of the city comprise

⁴ Please refer to http://english.taipei.gov.tw/ (accessed 2 September 2012)
four major language groups: Austronesian aboriginal (indigenous), Taiwanese (Fukkien), Hakka and Mainlander groups. Taiwanese and Mainlanders are the largest groups in Taipei City. By the end of 2011, the aboriginal population of Taipei City was 14,340. The tribe with the largest population was the Amis. A great majority of the aborigines live in Neihu, Wenshan, and Nangang districts (Taipei Yearbook 2011). Moreover, Taipei City is a ‘city of settlers’ (移民城市) (Zeng Xu-zheng 1994, 9), with the Mainlander immigrants and rural migrants constituting the largest population in Taipei City since the postwar period. There is respectably number of the New Immigrants (Xinyimin新移民): “by the end of 2011, Taipei had a population of 42,952 new immigrants, the majority being Mainland Chinese spouses, at 31,315, with other foreign spouses totalling 11,637 in number; the majority of new immigrants were residents in Wanhua (5,578), Wenshan (4,410), and Xinyi (4,249) districts”.  

1.2. The Formosan Plains Austronesians

When looking at the early development of the current Taipei area today, the name Ketagalan (Kaidagelan凱達格蘭 in Mandarin Chinese) is unavoidable. It is a general name for aboriginal groups active in the Taipei basin area prior to the 16\textsuperscript{th} and 17\textsuperscript{th} century, when foreign powers entered Taiwan and recorded their interactions with the aboriginal groups. Although the emergence and popularization of the name Ketagalan is a recent phenomenon, and it is difficult to identify a real Ketagalan today, the idea that Taipei used to be the land of the Ketagalans has become official knowledge, whether in textbooks or on government websites. This legendary story about Ketagalan is inseparable form the colonial historical layers and contemporary political struggles of today’s Taipei City. Located right at the core of central government, a road connecting the Presidential Hall to the East Gate of Taipei City was renamed the Ketagalan Boulevard in 1996 in honor of the Austronesian aboriginals originally living in the Taipei area. This renaming represented multiple historical layers. The first layer refers to the growing knowledge about the early inhabitants of the Taipei basin area according to archaeological data, Spanish and Dutch archives and Chinese literatures. Greater research resources have emerged since the making public of the ‘non-Chinese’ past has been promoted and encouraged since the 1990s. The second historical layer is associated with the Presidential Hall, which was built by the Japanese colonial government as the Office for the General-Governor of Taiwan. The Japanese took over Taiwan in 1895 after defeating the

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6. The ‘Mainlanders’ refers to the group of people who emigrated from China to Taiwan along with the KMT retreat in the 1940s and 50s.

7. Please refer to Taipei City Yearbook 2011.

8. In the Japanese colonial period, the Plains Aboriginal Group (Pingpu Zu 平埔族) became a category within household registration in order to separate the groups who were cooperating with the government and Han residents from ‘uncooperative’ Mountain Aboriginals (Gaoshua Zu 高砂族).
Chinese Qing Dynasty in the Sino-Japanese War, and later lost Taiwan in 1945 to the KMT-led Republic of China after the Second World War. Later the Office for the General-Governor of Taiwan became the Presidential Hall under the KMT\(^9\)-rule. Thus, the Presidential Hall has been part of the landscape of colonial manipulation and hierarchy whether in the Japanese period or under the postwar authoritarian rule. The third layer refers to this authoritarian layer. The former name of the road, Chieh-shou Road 介壽路, literally meant ‘Long live Chiang Kai-shek’ representing a strong sense of authoritarian power in the postwar period. During the political transition in the 1990s, the renaming of Ketagalan Road and the rapid popularization of Ketagalan signified the emergence of a new mosaic model of multiculturalism associated with the shaping of Taiwanese identity in the 1990s and 2000s.\(^{10}\)

\(^9\) KMT refers to Kuomintang 国民党, the Chinese Nationalist Party. The leader of KMT during and after the period of Second World War was Chiang Kai-shek.

\(^{10}\) Wang Horng-luen (2004) states that in order to shape a unique ‘Taiwanese culture’, a new model of multiculturalism replaced Chinese nationalism, proclaiming a Taiwanese national identity under the governance of the Democratic Progressive Party (Minzhu jinbu dang 民主進步黨 DPP). He proposes that “[u]nder the new mosaic model of multiculturalism, aboriginal cultures, along with the once disgraced imprints of Japanese colonialism - both of which were repressed and destroyed under the KMT’s project of Chinese culture - are now preserved and promoted to a ‘national’ status to represent Taiwanese culture.” (2004, 806)

\(^{11}\) According to different disciplinary categorisations, whether the Ketagalan represents a homogeneous group of people is still debated in academia. Yet, after the Movement of the Plains Austronesians in the 1990s, the name Ketagalan has become identified by the general public exclusively with the plains aboriginals in the Taipei area.

\(^{12}\) It comprises the administrative districts of Taipei City, New Taipei City and part of Taoyuan County today.
shared a language root with the Austronesian speakers in Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia and Madagascar. The descents of the Ketagalans have experienced cultural assimilation under colonial rule, and have been struggling for cultural revitalization since a rise in awareness as a result of the Aboriginal Movements.

In the 17th century, various powers clustered around the Formosan Island (Taiwan) when the Chinese Ming Empire closed its maritime sphere. The island, close to Japan, China and the Philippines, became a base for trading and missionary activities. The Chinese, Japanese as well as Western powers including the British, Dutch and the Spanish opened ports on the island or tried to take over the island for commercial or political interests. In 1626, the Spanish occupied Keelung (today’s基隆), a port in north Taiwan, and entered Danshui (淡水; Tamchui in Spanish archives) in 1628. In the same year, the Dutch East India Company began its 34 year occupation of southern Taiwan. In 1642, the Dutch succeeded in expelling the Spanish from north Taiwan, and controlled the area until they were themselves defeated by the Chinese Koxinga in 1662.

Figure 5: The first detail map, drew by the Dutch, of the Taipei basin area—1654 Kaartje van Tamsuy en omleggende dorpen, zoo mede het eilandje Kelang (淡水與其附近村落暨雞籠島略圖). The original is in the collection of the National Archives of the Netherlands, Den Haag. Image is courtesy of the System of the Historical and Cultural Maps of Taiwan, First Edition (臺灣歷史文化地圖系統第一版).

13Tamchui refers to the area of the Taipei basin and the mouth of the Danshui River (Zhan and Chang 2001, 95).
Long before the Spanish entered the greater Taipei area, Chinese traded with the aboriginals. According to Dutch and Spanish archives, it was already clear that the Chinese settlers had claimed land and formed villages. The Chinese settlements and immigrants expanded in north Taiwan in the 17th century under the Dutch VOC strategy of bidding the trading rights of the aboriginal villages to Han Chinese in 1640, and allowing the latter to inhabit Keelung and Danshui in 1644. The number of Chinese settlers increased and soon exceeded that of aboriginal inhabitants. During the Qing Empire (1683-1895), Chinese settlers occupied most of the land in the Taipei basin which used to be the territory of the aboriginal groups, and turned it into farming fields and villages. In 1709, a Chinese land development company\textsuperscript{14} Chen-lai-zhang\textsuperscript{14} claimed the Dajiarui\textsuperscript{14} area, which includes most of today’s Taipei City and part of the New Taipei City area.

1.3 The Three Streets in the Chinese Qing period (1683-1895)

Until the 1920s, the word ‘Taipei’ (台北; literally, north of Taiwan) did not have the meaning it has today. In the early 18th century, ‘Taipei’ still meant the wide area north of the more developed south (Su Shou-bin 2010, 5). Only after 1874, when Shen Bao-zhen\textsuperscript{15} suggested expanding the original administrative organization in Taiwan, ‘Taipei’ became the name of a concrete place and of the associated administrative section. Before 1875 there was only one prefectural region and government (Fu府) in Taiwan. After that, two others were added to the administrative structure and Taipei Fu府 (prefecture) was one of them. At this time, Taipei Prefecture comprised today’s Taipei City, New Taipei City, Taoyuan County, Miaoli County, Yilan County and Keelung City. The controlling government was set in Danshui Ting淡水廳 (Danshui County), which included today’s Taipei City, New Taipei City and Keelung City.

In 1884, the Taipei City Wall was finally completed and the name ‘inner city’ (chengnei 城內) was used to differentiate the area within the wall from two other early developed areas, Báng-kah 艋舺 and Dadaocheng 大稻埕. The three places together shaped the image of Taipei. An integrated administrative district was not formed until the 1920s when the Japanese government started its own urban planning of Taipei.

\textsuperscript{14} ‘Land development company’ refers to Kenhao 墾號 in Chinese. The translation is according to the Encyclopaedia of Taiwan: http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/

\textsuperscript{15} Shen Bao-zhen 沈葆楨 (1820-1879) was a Qing administrator who stood for actively governing Taiwan. When the 1874 Mudan Incident (牡丹社事件, also known as the Taiwan Incident) occurred, in which Japan attacked Taiwan, he was sent to Taiwan by the Qing government to act as ‘Imperial Inspector Minister to Handle Taiwan and Other Coastal Defences and National Affairs’.
The Inner City, Báng-kah and Dadaocheng are known as the Three Streets (三市街), and have played an important role in the development of today’s Taipei City. Among the three, Báng-kah was the earliest developed area and is the case study of this background document.
In 1697, when the Qing official Yu Yong-he came to north Taiwan for sulfur, he entered the Taipei basin by taking a boat along the Danshui River. What he saw and described in his book Bihai-ji-you was that “I saw a boat between sand banks. It was made and carved out of a single trunk. The capacity of the boat was sufficient for two persons to sit face to face and for each to control a paddle. The boat was called mankah, namely, an aboriginal canoe” (Liao Han-chen 1953, 12-13). The scene of numerous mankah clustered for trading on the river was to leave an impression on many writers who recorded their experiences in north Taiwan.

Báng-kah 艋舺

Báng-kah was located at the meeting point of the Dakekan and Xindian rivers, branches of the Danshui River. This geographical location allowed it to be a port for exporting agricultural products to mainland China, while at the same time it served a domestic centre for collecting and distributing products. In the late 18th century, the importance of Báng-kah had surpassed Xinzhuang, the former domestic distribution hub on the other side of the Danshui River.
When the Chen-Lai-Zhang Development Company (kenghao 墾號) obtained rights from the Qing Empire to reclaim the Taipei area in 1709, a small street close to the river grew as a result of the reclaiming of land. It was called Fanshu 番薯 (sweet potatoes) Market, and was the site of aboriginal trading of sweet potatoes with the Han Chinese. More and more streets sprang up in parallel with the rapid increase in Chinese settlers and the growing number of guilds of Chinese merchants. By the early 19th century, Báng-kah had become the commercial and political centre of the Taipei basin. An official described Báng-kah in the 1820s: “there were four to five thousand residences and shops in Báng-kah […] where commercial boats gathered and markets were prospering. The governor (tongzhī 同知) resided here half a year because the residents were rich and there were many relevant affairs to manage.”

A phrase that perhaps best describes the prosperity of Báng-kah is “Tainan the first, Lugang the second, and Báng-kah the third” (一府、二鹿、三艋舺), which places Báng-kah as third only to two other early developed cities in south and central Taiwan. Báng-kah became the most prosperous area in the north at this time.

The emergence of Báng-kah was closely related to expansions in trade. Its development was greatly controlled by the merchant guilds which were based on clans (jiao 郷 in Chinese). The most powerful clans in Báng-kah were from Quanzhou 泉州 in Fujian 福建 Province in China. They were known as Quan Jiao 泉郊. These guilds controlled labour supplies and dock operations while they shaped the social and religious structure of Báng-kah. Temples were built as the centre of the social and spatial structure, and streets and markets developed accordingly. Longshan Temple 龍山寺, built in 1738, was the core of Sanyi 三邑 group of Quan Jiao. Other groups had their own temples. Competition over commercial interests resulted in fighting between different groups from

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16 Present-day Guiyang 貴陽 Street.
17 Refers to Yao Ying 姚瑩, Record of the Taipei Journey 台北道里記, 1832.
18 Sanyi 三邑 refers to the three counties in Quanzhou: Jinjiang 晉江, Huian 惠安 and Nanan 南安.
Quanzhou. The 1853 fight caused the Xia group of Qiao Jiao\footnote{Xia Jiao 廈郊 refers to this guild merchants from Tongan who mainly dealt trading with Hsiamen 廈門 area.} to move their god Chenghuáng and retreated to the Dadaocheng area north of Báng-kah. A strong sense of exclusiveness also caused the communities of Báng-kah to resist foreign companies and missionaries, and eventually resulted in a recession in Báng-kah when Báng-kah port suffered from the shallowing of the Danshui River. The centre of Taipei then moved to the north area of Dadaocheng.

![Lungshan Temple in 1930. Figure is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.](image)

![The lively scene near the Xiahai Chenghuang Temple in Dadaocheng during a festival celebrating the birthday of God Chenghuang in the 1930s. Figure is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.](image)

**Dadaocheng 大稻埕**

In 1958, the Qing Empire signed the Treaty of Tianjin with the Second French Empire, the United Kingdom, the Russian Empire, and the United States. These treaties opened more Chinese ports to foreign countries. Danshui in northern Taiwan was among these ports. In 1960, the treaties were ratified by the Qing emperor at the Convention of Peking and the ports were formally opened. Dadaocheng and Báng-kah were both loading and unloading places for Danshui Port, but Báng-kah soon suffered from shallowing and was replaced by Dadaocheng.

In the 1860s, Scottish trader John Dodd finally set up his office and a tea refinery factory in Dadaocheng after strong resistance from the Báng-kah locals. Other foreign companies followed and Dadaocheng thereafter became the international trading centre of north Taiwan. The tea business was of the most importance. Tea was grown up in the mountains in north Taiwan, and was transported to Dadaocheng for refinery process. Tea was sailed through the port of Dadaocheng.
to New York for the first time in 1869, and ‘Formosan Oolong’ soon became well-known in the American and European world. Dadaocheng prospered, with foreign and local companies, gorgeous houses and recreational places. In the 1880s, Chinese tea merchants also set up tea refineries in Dadaocheng, producing pouchong tea (包種茶), and exporting it to Southeast Asia. At Dadaocheng’s docks, tons of tea were loaded and exported to other sides of the world, and precious goods were also distributed from the northern and southern parts of Taiwan. The prosperity of Dadaocheng lasted until the end of the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). The fast development of the tea industry greatly enhanced the position of Taipei as the most important political and economic centre in Taiwan in the late Qing period.

Figure 12: This photo shows a normal scene of Dadaocheng in the 1930s—women and children were helping to remove the unwanted stuffs from baked tea leaves at an arcade of building. Figure is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.

20 When sales started declining in Dadaocheng (大稻埕) in 1872, Oolong tea was exported to Fujian where it was scented with flowers and resold as pouchong (包種) tea. In 1881, pouchong tea production was moved to Taiwan with the opening of a Fujian tea refinery in Taipei.

21 Hence the Dihua Street in Dadaocheng has been famous for distributing nan-bei-huo (precious goods from the south and north), for instance ginsengs, silk cloth, Chinese medicine, dried food etc.
The Qing Taipei City (Cheng-nei 城內)

After the Mudan Incident\(^\text{22}\) in 1874, the Qing emperor finally took notice of Taiwan’s importance in maritime defence for the empire. New positive policies about governing Taiwan were initiated in this year, including the decision to build up the city walls and government administrative buildings in the Taipei area. In 1875 the proposal by Shen Bao-chen 沈葆楨 to establish a Taipei Prefecture (Taipei Fu 台北府) and three counties (xian 縣) under Taipei Prefecture was ratified by the emperor Kangxi 康熙. The Sino-French War in 1884 further pushed Qing attention towards Taiwan. During this war, the French army invaded Keelung in northern Taiwan. This war again accentuated the strategic importance of Taiwan, and led to the establishment of the Taiwan Province in 1885. Liu Ming-chuan 劉銘傳 was the first xunfu 巡撫 (provincial governor). Taiwan’s provincial capital was set in Qiaozitu 橋孜圖 (today’s Taichung). However, the capital had not yet been constructed, and the provincial governor hence resided and worked temporarily in Taipei Fu instead. In 1894, Taipei became the capital of Taiwan Province.

Taipei city walls had been planned since 1879, yet the construction was only begun after 1881 and completed in 1884 under French threats to northern Taiwan. The walls were built between the two developed areas of Báng-kah and Dadaocheng and faced the Seven Stars’ Mountain (Qixing Shan 七星山) according to Chinese Fengshui considerations. Five gates were placed along the square shaped walls: the North Gate led to Dadaocheng, the West Gate led to Báng-kah, the East Gate led to agricultural land, and there were also a South Gate and Small South Gate. The latter was built in order to connect the Lin Family in the Banqiao area, who had been a major patron of the walls. The quarry in the Neihu area provided a large amount of stone for the walls, and was designated a ‘historic monument’ of Taipei City in 1998. However, the walls were removed by the Japanese, and only four of the gates are preserved today.

\(\text{Figure 13: The South Gate under destruction in 1908. Figure is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.}\)

\(^{22}\) Mudan Incident (牡丹社事件) refers to a shipwrecked incident in 1871 near today’s Pingdong area in Taiwan. Japan used it as excuse to occupy Taiwan and sent armies to Taiwan in 1874.
According to the original plan, the buildings and streets inside the walls were to face Polaris. However, the plan was later changed to meet Fengshui requirements and this change led to an asymmetry between the final location of the walls and the constructions inside the walls. When Taipei became the political centre of Taiwan, the governors’ buildings of the province (sheng省), prefecture (fu府) and county (xian縣) were built within the Taipei city walls, mostly in the northwest corner. As in other Chinese capitals, the Qing Taipei City was “equipped with government offices (yashu衙署), shrines and temples (cimiao祠廟), storage of corps (cangao倉廒) and military bases (yingxun營汛).” (Su Shuo-bin 2010, 60) Aside from public buildings, the prefectural official called for business owner and merchant guilds to buy and develop the business streets. Fuhou府後 Street, Ximen西門 Street (literally Street of the West Gate; heading to Báng-kah) and Beimen北門 Street (literally Street of North Gate; heading to Dadaocheng) were gradually constructed and became major commercial areas within the city walls. However, the two naturally-formed neighboring areas of Báng-kah and Dadaocheng were the actual sites of commercial service (Su Shuo-bin 2010). Out of the Three Streets (san shi jie三市街), Báng-kah, Dadaocheng and Chengnei (inner city), today’s Taipei in the sense of an integrated urban environment was not yet formed when Qing rule was replaced by the Japanese in 1895.
Japanese troops entered Taipei in 1895. There were six urban planning proclamations from then until the end of the Japanese colonization, according to The Twenty Year History of Taipei City Administration (《台北市政二十年史》) (Su Shuo-bin 2002, 167). The first was started in 1896, aimed at constructing temporary trenches within the inner-city walled area. In the next year, the second urban plan was to build sewerage works, as advised by the British engineer William K. Burton. The urban plan for within the Taipei Area was proclaimed in 1900, following which in 1901 the plan of the southern area outside of Taipei City was initiated. Overall, the first two urban plans were mainly focused on improving the sanitary environment of the Japanese living areas in Taipei. The 1900 plan began to set in place an integrated plan for Taipei. Nine new gates were added to the previous five, and at the same time the roads within the city walls were modified to directly go through the gates. Thus, 52 linear street blocks were formed within the walls. The city landscape
was completely different from the Fengshui-based urban landscape in the Qing period. Government buildings, hospitals, parks and other public infrastructure were built within the inner-city area. This led to the first extension of the city in 1901 in order to construct a residential district to meet the demands of Japanese residents.

After investigations into the Báng-kah and Dadaocheng areas, in which were mainly located Taiwanese residential and commercial activities, were completed in 1904, the Taipei Urban District Improvement Plan (市區改正計劃) was officially proclaimed in the next year. Through this plan, the Three Streets were officially integrated by a transportation network and refilling of low land between north Báng-kah and Dadaocheng. Furthermore, the Qing city walls were removed under the new plan. In 1920, the City System of Taiwan (臺灣市制) was announced by the General-Governor Office. The old areas of Taipei became one Taipei City under the new system and the Taipei City Office (臺北市役所) was established as the highest governing body to manage the new Taipei City. Under municipal governance, 155 street-villages (jie-zhuang 街庄) were redefined and named after old Qing places, such as Lotus Lake. However, these 155 districts were re-composed and renamed according to new Ting (町, neighborhood) system in 1922. The old names representing historical significance were changed to Japanese names.

To implement Japanese governing power, sculptures and monuments memorializing Japanese figures were built, as well as a new, grand building for the Taiwan General-Governor Office. The location of its construction was chosen to be at the center of the inner-city, at the nexus of four major roads which went through to the gates. The building was completed in 1919. The middle tower was designed to be 11-floors high, the highest building in Taipei during the Japanese period. Government institutions, banks, parks, museum, schools and department store radiated out from the Taiwan General-Governor Office Building. The architectural form of these buildings has been recognised as part of the Japanese-transformed Western genre\textsuperscript{23}. These modern Japanese buildings, alongside new lifestyle additions such as the popularization of electricity, transformed the landscape entirely from the traditional Han Chinese spatial fabric. This area, Zhongzheng District, remains the core of central governance today.

Figure 17: View from the Office for the General-Governor to the East Gate. Image is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.
In 1932, the Taipei District Urban Plan (臺北市區計畫) was proclaimed. This plan was to serve the demand of an increasing population in Taipei. It was based on careful calculation of various statistical data in order to rationally design a city for the projected population of 600,000. The 1932 plan comprised three dimensions: urban planning, architectural regulation and land consolidation. The plan was continued by the KMT government to its completion.

Figure 18: The bird’s eye view of the East Gate area in the 1930s. Image is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.

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23 The phrase ‘refracted modernity’, used by Kikuchi as a book title (Kikuchi 2007), refers to the perception of Western modernity through reinterpretation from Japan in Taiwan. As an example, the Japanese architects built modern architecture in a Western style in Taiwan. This reinterpretation of modern architecture became the origin of understanding Western architectural modernity for Taiwanese in the colonial period.
1.5. Diaspora and the Remaking of Home: Postwar Immigration and Urban Development

In the Japanese period, Taipei was defined as the administrative centre for Taiwan. When the KMT government took over Taiwan in 1945, it largely carried on the scale and content of the Japanese project, and developed Taiwan into an administrative and industrial centre (Zeng Xu-zheng 1994). However, the population surge around 1949, when the KMT lost the Chinese Civil War and retreated to Taiwan, completely changed the social, economic and urban structure of Taipei. Taipei became the ‘war-time capital’ (戰時首都), defined by the KMT, as well as the political, economic and cultural centre of Taiwan (Huang Xin-xun 2003, 48). More than a million political immigrants moved to Taiwan with the retreat of the KMT government in the period between 1946 and 1951, while the population of Taiwan was only six million at the time. One third of immigrants poured into Taipei. In 1946, the population of Taipei was around 460,000, but by 1951 the number had reached around 560,000, almost the capacity of 600,000 set for the 1955 expected population by the Japanese planning division. It was obvious what an immense impact the population pressure had on the city, including insufficient public infrastructure and poor urban environment. Simultaneously, the fact that the central, provincial and city governments were all located in Taipei City led to Taipei’s development being constrained by the authoritarian ruling party.

Despite the urgent demand for new urban planning due to the population boom, for the KMT government in the 1950s the priority was still defence, in order to face the threat from the Chinese Communist Party who had established the People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949 and replaced the former Republic of China (ROC) led by the KMT. In the 1950s, two parties were passionately engaged in distinguishing each from the other, and small scale of wars in the Taiwan Strait area were frequent. Thus energy of the KMT government at the time was focused on consolidating its own rule in Taiwan, as well as preparing to take back control of the mainland. In these circumstances, the urban planning of Taipei was directed at short-term defence strategies (Zeng Xu-zheng 1994).

As the hope of returning to China diminished, the KMT government focused on developing an export-led economy within the Cold War framework of the 1960s and early 1970s. Taipei City in this period became a magnet for foreign investment and domestic rural migrants. From 1962 to 1972, the population of Taipei grew from 970,000 to 1,900,000 million (Huang Li-ling 2003, 66). This rapid population increase again pressed the capacity of Taipei. A serious shortage of public infrastructure and a large number of squats grew as the government’s policy of encouraging industrial development by reducing tax resulted in an insufficient budget for public infrastructures. Until the 1980s, only 53.9% of land for public infrastructures had been developed, among which
roads, schools and public institutions were the major constructions, and green land and parks were only 36.7% of Taipei City. The worst example is the sanitary sewers of Taipei City reaching only 4.6% of the population in 1986 (Huang Li-ling 2003). In short, urban planning from the 1960s to the 1980s was subordinate to the objectives of economic development. In 1964, the first Urban Planning Act after the Japanese ones two decades earlier was officially promulgated. However, it was a weak plan without long-term consideration (Zhang Jing-sen 1991).

**Military Dependents’ Villages (juancun 眷村)**

The military dependents’ villages have become a unique part of the cultural landscape in Taiwan. Taipei has many military dependents’ villages for nearby bases or airbases. When large numbers of soldiers and their families moved to Taipei, some used Japanese-built buildings as residences, for instance shrines, temples, dormitories of Japanese government institutions or companies etc. Some constructed their own accommodation. The KMT government initiated a series of constructions and relocation plans for the military dependents, and these projects (guozhai 国宅; public housing) became a major characteristic of Taipei’s early urban planning programmes.

Some marginal army members, however, were not qualified for housing. Instead, they built squats to live in, and later became illegal occupiers when urban development progressed. These low-quality residential areas also attracted later rural migrants and urban subalterns for affordable housing and nearby job opportunities. The removal of squatters often results in strong opposition and debate about social equality and urban marginality. The former Daan Forest Park and Treasure Hill are among many examples.

Aside from the insufficiencies of public infrastructures and economic-led urban planning, the public spaces showed a lack of public participation in urban decisions. As mentioned previously, Taipei City was the ‘war-time capital’ and was home to many government institutions. In 1967 Taipei City was upgraded from a Provincial Municipality 省轄市 to a zhixia municipality (directly under the Executive Yuan). However, this meant that the mayor of Taipei City was now assigned by the central government instead of being elected by the public. Not until 1994 was the position of mayor once more opened for public election.
The authoritarian ideology of the ruling party was felt in public spaces and buildings. In order to present that idea that the KMT’s Republic of China was the ‘real China,’ many public construction projects applied similar ‘north palace’ architectural forms, for instance the National Palace Museum, Yuanshan 圓山 Hotel, and the National Museum of History. The completion of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in the 1980s was the peak of these projects. Three gates in the Qing period city walls were also renovated to represent the ‘northern orthodox.’ Only the north gate was preserved in its southern Chinese Min 闽 style (Huang Li-ling 2003). Moreover, in the 1980s Taipei City became a consumerist urban centre, while labour-intensive industries gradually moved to Taipei County (today’s New Taipei City) or other areas in Taiwan, for instance the Hsinchu Science Park.

Figure 19: The ‘Chinese north palace’ architecture of the Small South Gate (小南門). Photo is courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi 黃鈺琦.
Chapter Two: From Heritage to Industry

2.1 When ‘Cultural Heritage’ Appeared in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the expression ‘cultural heritage’ was translated as wenhua zichan (文化資產; lit. ‘cultural assets’) and formalized as such in the first Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (Wenhua zichzn baocun fa 文化資產保存法) in 1982. Prior to the use of wenhua zichan, the terms guji 古蹟 (‘historic monument’) and guwu 古物 (‘antique’) were used in daily conversation, academic discussions and popular media. The phrases guji and guwu reflect the tradition of Chinese historical writing (Zhao Jun-xiang 2003). Features of ‘materiality’ and ‘antiquity’ are essential to both terms. The conceptual substance of wenhua zichan is connected to these Chinese terms, and embodies the inevitable difficulties of Taiwan’s place-making movements through heritage construction in recent years. As Wang Horng-luen asserts, “…the Chinese term ‘wenhua zichan’… is literally translated into ‘cultural assets’. Whether a mistranslation or an intentional coinage, this formalized term keenly reflects what ROC cultural officials have in mind when they speak of culture: culture, after all, is regarded as a kind of ‘asset’ endowed with values and productivity.” (Wang 2004, 792) In comparison to strong personal linkage and a sense of rootedness suggested by the Western term ‘heritage’, the translation wenhua zichan is rather connected to material quality and economic value. This connection was particularly salient when heritage projects became strategies of community-making in the 1990s and 2000s. The relatively strong pragmatic concern of ‘cultural assets’, as opposed to the emotional connectedness of ‘cultural heritage’, has been behind Taiwan’s official conceptualisation of heritage.

The systematic conceptualisation and practice of historic preservation was first brought to Taiwan under Japanese rule. The Preservation Act of Historic Sites, Resort and Natural Heritage (史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法) was declared by the Japanese government to cover Taiwan from 1922, as well as thirty-five other Japanese domestic legislations. However, the legislative context of Taiwan’s current heritage act relates more to the ROC legislations in China. In 1930, the Preservation Act

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24Section 2.1 and 2.2 are based on Min-Chin Chiang (江明親)’s PhD thesis Memory Contested, Locality Transformed: Representing Japanese Colonial Heritage in Taiwan, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, The Netherlands (May 2012). Also see Chiang Min-Chin 2010.

25For example the Regulations for the Preservation of Relics, Scenic Spots, and Artefacts (Minsheng guju guwu baocuntiaoli 名勝古蹟古物保存條例), formulated in 1928 by the ROC (Republic of China) government in Nanjing 南京. The Preservation Law of Ancient Artefacts (Guwu baocun fa 古物保存法) was promulgated in 1930, and became the only legislation for historical preservation until 1982 and the proclamation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (wenhua zichan baocun fa 文化資產保存法).

26On December 29 in 1922, the Taiwan Governor-General Office promulgated the “Order of Implementing Administrative Laws in Taiwan” (行政諸法臺灣施行令). Thirty-six domestic laws in Japan were officially implemented in Taiwan—the Preservation Act of Historic Sites, Resort and Natural Heritage is among the thirty-six (Lin Hui-cheng 2011, 53).
of Antiques (Guwubao congfa) was promulgated by the ROC government (led by the KMT) in China. After the Second World War, Japan ceded Taiwan to the ROC government, and the Chinese Preservation Act of Antiques replaced the Japanese Preservation Act of Historic Sites, Resort and Natural Heritage as official legislation on Taiwan’s historic preservation. However, not until the Cultural Revolution in China did the ROC government begin to consider issues concerning historic preservation. In late 1960s, the Ministry of the Interior (Neizhengbu) initiated the process of revising the Preservation Act of Antiques in order to show the cultural superiority of the ROC over the communist PRC (People’s Republic of China) (Lin Hui-cheng 2011, 73). This revision process was ended with the legislation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1982.

The criterion of ‘antiquity’ underneath the legislation and designation in the 1980s embodied the Chinese nationalist narrative of KMT government. By stressing the significance of Chinese civilisation and its historical traces, sites of Taiwanese, Japanese and aboriginal cultures were excluded, and the status of KMT in leading a authentic cultural ‘China’ was legitimated. Jeremy E. Taylor has pointed out that the “question of time and vintage was a criterion of guji codification as set out in the 1980s legislation” (2005, 162). The feature of ‘antiquity’ was part of the entire discourse of “ROC nation-building on Taiwan and its claims to the inheritance of ‘five thousand years’ of Chinese civilisation” (Taylor 2005, 163). Yan Liang-yi (2009) also noted that the first guji (historic monument) designated before 1985 contributed to a national narrative of Taiwan’s inseparable cultural and historical connections to China under postwar KMT governance. This narrative is represented by the 18 sites designated in 1983, the first series designations after the implementation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, which either relate to the Han people’s resistance to foreign invasion, or to Taiwanese assistance to the Qing repression of rebellions in Taiwan. Other versions of the past were meanwhile excluded, for instance the indigenous sites and Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in Taiwan in 1966. This movement shows the KMT’s enthusiasm to be the legitimate representative of China despite the KMT having lost its reign over the mainland part of China to the Communist Party at the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was intended by the KMT to legitimate the Chinese orthodox status of the KMT in the Cold War world structure, and to consolidate the KMT rule in Taiwan by strengthening the Chinese nationalist narrative through cultural policies.

27 In 1966 Mao Zedong started the decade-long Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China. In order to show that the KMT reign in Taiwan preserved the authentic Chinese culture compared to Communist destructions in the Cultural Revolution, the KMT leader Chiang Kai-shek initiated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in Taiwan in 1966. This movement shows the KMT’s enthusiasm to be the legitimate representative of China despite the KMT having lost its reign over the mainland part of China to the Communist Party at the end of the Chinese civil war in 1949. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement was intended by the KMT to legitimate the Chinese orthodox status of the KMT in the Cold War world structure, and to consolidate the KMT rule in Taiwan by strengthening the Chinese nationalist narrative through cultural policies.

28 The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (Wenhua zichan baocun fa) defines guji, historic buildings and villages as “the constructions and related infrastructures with historical and cultural significance, built by human beings for their living needs. (Translated from The Cultural Heritage Preservation Law: No. 1, article 3, category 1; the original text is: “古蹟、歷史建築、聚落: 指人類為生活需要所營建之具有歷史、文化價值之建造物及附屬設施群。”

29 赤崁樓、淡水紅毛城、二鯤鯓砲臺(億載金城)、澎湖天后宮、台南孔子廟、鹿港龍山寺、祀典武廟、西台古堡、臺灣城城跡(安平古堡城跡)、基隆二沙灣砲臺(海門天險)、五妃廟、金廣福公館、彰化孔子廟、王得祿墓、台北府城北門、鳳山縣舊城、大天后宮、邱良功母節孝坊 (Zhuang, Huang and Wu 1986).
Japanese remnants (Yan Liang-yi 2009, 20-21). The criterion of ‘age’ helped to disqualify Japanese colonial sites from a national list of preservation, and hence helped to exclude the colonial past from the history of Taiwan (Taylor 2005). This criterion of what can be regarded as ‘historic’ was not changed until the 1990s.

2.2 Heritage, Identity and Community Building in the 1990s

The 1990s signified the beginning of Taiwan’s “era of localism.” Local places in Taiwan, as well as the idea of Taiwan as a place, were to gain unprecedented status in both political narratives and social practice. “Place” in Taiwan has been imbued over time with social attachments by a variety of agents, each with their own motives. President Lee Deng-hui 李登輝 bound the place of Taiwan to the narrative of “living community” in 1993, in order to legitimize the nation-state, local governments held festivals spotlighting products or attractions with local distinctiveness, local groups participated in the recollection of local memories, and architectural and planning professionals worked on the conservation of historical buildings. These acts, as well as place-based social and environmental movements, gradually converged into the state-led Integrated Community-Making Programme (shequ zongti yingzao 社區總體營造), which was officially inaugurated in 1994. Amid the prevailing place-centered phenomena, the past of a place was frequently perceived as representing a utopia which was rapidly fading or had been already lost as the result of development. People in both the public and private sectors in Taiwan believed that the reconstruction of the present based on an ideal image of the past, would contribute to a better future. In this regard, “sites of memory” (lieux de mémoire) (Nora 1989, 7) quickly spread in conjunction with the aforementioned place politics. Local museums and heritage sites in Taiwan rapidly increased in number from the 1990s. Not only do they serve as what we might call ‘memory tactics’ (De Jong and Rowlands 2007) in determining the distinctiveness of a place--in other words, strategically rebuilding the sense and identity of a place according to present needs--but are also expected to mediate the construction of a better future.

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30 A “new era of localism” (defang shidai 地方時代) was anticipated by Chen Qi-nan 陳其南 in 1997. The phrase comes from a Japanese counterpart phrase (Lü Xin-yi 2002, 24).

31 Shengming gongtongti 生命共同體.
Transformation of Heritage and Planning Policies: preservation and participation

According to statistics from the Chinese Association of Museums, in 1989 and 1990 the total number of museums in Taiwan was 99. By 2012, the number had exploded to 745.32 The number guji (historic monuments 古蹟) also grew enormously during the same period. The sense of ‘locality’ has dominated the discourse on guji and local museums since the 1990s. As the museum scholar Zhang Yu-teng 張譽騰 noticed (2007), the 1990s is the “era of localism” of museums. The increasing number of museums in Taiwan since 1991 mainly included large, local museums. These local museums were encouraged by the state policies of “Rehabilitating Unused Spaces” and “Local Museums” within the scheme of the Integrated Community-Making Programme.

The close relationship between historic preservation and pursuit of locality actually emerged before the 1990s within the postwar economic, political and social context. In the postwar KMT authoritarian period, the issue of historic preservation was not considered by the KMT government except in the light of tourist demands of the American army33 and the Chinese cultural renaissance movement in the 60s and 70s.34 In the 1960s, Taiwan experienced dramatic change from an agricultural society to an industrial society. Fast urbanization, migration and changes of life style resulted in damages to traditional architecture through urban development, causing nostalgia of lost traditions and lifestyle, and an emerging demand for domestic tourism and awareness of historic preservation. At the same time, social and economic change was informed by the political propaganda of the KMT’s Chinese nationalist narrative. Within the authorised agenda, Taiwanese history and culture existed only in relation to the Chinese ‘mainland’. Two groups of historic preservationists sparked an architectural conservation awareness in the 1960s within the aforementioned context: folk-historical scholars in collecting data on Taiwanese traditional architecture, Lin Heng-dao 林衡道 being the representative figure; and artists and architects concerned with traditional buildings in Taiwan. Their efforts brought about the guji (historic monument) preservation movement in the 1970s. As Yen Liang-yi 頭亮一 (2005) mentions,

32 The number of museums in 1989/90 is based on ‘The Number of Museums in Taiwan 1989/90-1997’ http://www.cam.org.tw/3-profession/statistics-data/02total.htm (last accessed May 26, 2009). In 1985, the official number of guji (historic monument; an official category defined by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act) was 221. See, Lin (2005, 23-24). According to the statistics of The Council of Cultural Affairs, ROC, at the end of 2000, the number of guji was 460. By 2004, it had increased to 592 http://event.cca.gov.tw/artsquery/93_static/統計表.pdf . In 2008, the total number of guji was 690. The number reaches 745 in September 2012: http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/ (accessed 2 September 2012)

33 Within the Cold War network, Taiwan was located along the line of defense of the US sphere of influence. US armies resided in Taiwan in support of the Korean War in the 1950s. Tourist demand of these US army members resulted in rough renovation by the KMT authorities in creating sites of rich Chinese cultural significance for providing an exotic tourist experience.

34 The Chinese cultural renaissance movement (Zhonghua Wenhua Fuxing Yundong; 中華文化復興運動) was promoted in the 1960s and 1970s by the KMT government after the Communist Cultural Revolution in China. The movement was aimed to strengthen the image of KMT’s China (on Taiwan) as the only preserver of authentic Chinese culture.
nationism, localism and tourism serve as the framework for analysing the development of historic preservation in Taiwan. Prior to the 1970s, the official narrative of Chinese identity and anti-communist propaganda monopolised the field of cultural reproduction in literature, the arts, humanities and historic preservation. This situation began to change in the 1970s. Yen (2005, 9) associates the initiative of historic preservation with the Nativist Literature Movement (xiangtu wenxue yundong 鄉土文學運動), and asserts that the movement shows the close relationship between the institutionalisation of historic preservation and the national identity crisis of Taiwan that emerged from this period.

In the 1970s, many landmark events of historic preservation such as the conflicts on preserving Lin An-Tai Old Residence, reflected a rising conservationist awareness in the public arena. Nevertheless, the KMT Chinese nationalist narrative still dominated the historical preservation field. Taiwanese architecture was able to be qualified as ‘historic’ only when it demonstrated a connection to the Chinese civilization or patriotic ideology of a great China. Until the Martial Law was lifted in 1987, Taiwan-centered discourses had been barred from publicity. Against a background of political liberation during the 1990s and a dramatic change in economic and social environments, Taiwan experienced the aforementioned boom of “museumification” and “heritagization”. As a reaction to the cultural amnesia of the postwar KMT period, the retrieval of local memories coincided with the rapid development of local museums and cases of historic preservation that represented reflection on local identity (Mu Si-mian 1999). With this pursuit of ‘locality’, the collective past has been reshaped by multiple interpretations of memories, indicating the complex forces underlying the reconstruction of the past.

The rapid increase of local museums and heritage sites in 1990s represents a shift of national narrative. In 1993, president Lee Teng-hui proposed the ‘living community’, emphasizing the land of Taiwan as a source of identity. This identity narrative was further framed and demonstrated by the ‘Integrated Community-Making Programme’ since 1994. The leading urban planning scholar and activist Hsia Chu-Joe 夏鑄九 elaborates on this close connection between historic preservation and state domination (Hsia 1998). In the 1990s, historic preservation served as a means of identity

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35 “Back to xiangtu” (huiguixiangtu 回歸鄉土; back to the land of Taiwan) and “back to reality” (huiguixianshi 回歸現實) was addressed by a number of writers and evoked fierce debates in the field of literature in the late 1970s. This literature movement is considered as one origin of cultural-political Taiwanese and Indigenization in later decades (Hsiau A-chin 2005).

36 The Lin An-Tai Old Residence (Lin An-Tai gucuo 林安泰古厝) was built up in 1822 in north-east Taipei as a family residence of the rich merchant Lin Zhi-neng. In the 1970s, the east district became the site of a new urban development plan in Taipei, and it was planned that the residence would be destroyed to make room for broadening the road. After preservation movements raised by cultural and architectural practitioners, the Taipei City Government promised to conserve all building materials of the residence and recompose the compartments at a new location.
reconstruction for the nation-state. In order to legitimize the national government by earning support from local communities, a combination of community building and historic conservation became the new policy of the national government (Hsia 1998, 1, 4-5). However, the bureaucratic system was not able to deal with the fierce conflicts between rapid urbanisation and participative conservation. Hsia thus asserts that conserving guji is to create “heterotopia” and generate the locality needed for survival within the fierce competition of global economy, as well as forming a sustainable space for social inclusion. Hsia’s points of social practice and humanistic concern have been influential in the scholarly field of conservation with aid of the National Taiwan University Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, an avant-garde institution in the field of area development with historical conservation.

After the lifting of martial law in 1987, numerous social movements emerged to resist the ‘de-local’ and ‘de-Taiwan’ policies legislated under the KMT version of Chinese nationalism. Meanwhile, the local governments that arose within the new political landscape played an important role in promoting locality through cultural tourism, utilising such means as museums, cultural festivals and the production of local artefacts. Along with strategic support from the central government and new trends in leisure and tourism, the idea of local specialties was promoted as a catalyser for local development and identity. For example, cultural festivals (wenhuaji文化季), which emerged to promote the idea of local agricultural products, crafts and heritage sites were held by regional governments in the 1990s and sponsored by the central government as a part of the national culture programme (Mu Si-mian 1999).

Within this social and historical context, the idea of developing museums and heritage sites was born and grew rapidly during the 1990s and the following decade. The recollection of local memories was sought by both the government and local residents to reconstruct the local identity which became intertwined with Taiwanese national identity. The representation of the past, as well as the construction of locality, is a dynamic process constantly reshaped by diverse actors within a complex social framework. The interpretation of memory was not only restrained by this grand social framework but also influenced by conflicting conceptions of memory during the actual practices of planning, construction and recollection.

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37“Heterotopia” was a cultural geographical concept discussed by Michel Foucault to describe spaces of otherness. Heterotopia deals with spaces with multiple layers which may be invisible, unpleasant and even controversial, yet as mirrors, they reflect the real image of self and represents physical approximation of a utopia.
The emerging significance of cultural heritage

After the proclamation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化資產保存法) in 1982, the first list of Historic Monuments (guji古蹟) was publicised in 1983 and included 15 sites. According to Chen Qi-lu陳其祿, the first Minister of the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA)《第27次台灣研究研討會紀錄》，the 1983 designation of sites as guji was based on a preliminary list provided by the Ministry of the Interior (內政部). Before the official legislation of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Law, the controlling organization of historic preservation, the Department of Civil Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior (內政部民政司), started to collect recommendation lists from the municipal governments. The Minister selected 53 sites as provisional ‘First Level Historic Monuments’ (第一級古蹟) from a list of more than 300 recommendations from local governments, and sent the shortlist to the CCA for further examination. As a result, 15 sites were designated as First Level Historic Monuments by the Minister of the Interior in 1983, after field assessments conducted by the CCA. In 1985, a list of Second and Third Level monuments was announced. 206 sites were added to the official list.

It is noteworthy that the recommendation lists collected from municipal governments during this period matched the field results of Lin Heng-dao, published in Taiwan Historica, Taiwan Folkways and numerous books of field visits and guide information. Lin’s influence on historic preservation cannot be ignored, and his attitude toward the question of what can be valued as a historic monument is reflected in the official designation list.

As mentioned previously, the question of what can be valued as cultural heritage is inseparable from the concept of what is historic. Most Taiwanese sites did not qualify as ‘antiquity’ under the China-centred conceptualisation in the postwar era. The local culture and history of Taiwan could only permeate the official version of the past by strengthening Taiwan’s historical connection to China. Historical preservation reflects this strategy. The publication and frequent activities of Lin Heng-dao gradually helped enable the inclusion of the vernacular architectures of Taiwan within the category of cultural heritage by interpreting them as a branch of Chinese architectural culture. However, none of Japanese colonial sites was included in the list. As Lin claimed, “the constructions created by Japanese during the colonial era cannot be qualified as historic monuments, only the ones showing resistances of our people against Japanese occupation can be historic monuments. Our China has to

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39 The CCA was upgraded to the Ministry of Culture in 2012.
40 According to Urban Planning Studio of National Taiwan University Graduate School of Civil Engineering 1980.
41 Lin visited and recorded historical sites all over Taiwan. His field results have been published and had great influence in public understanding of historic sites and local history. The publications include The Origin of Historic Sites in Taiwan (臺灣史蹟源流), Brief Introduction of Historic Monuments in Taiwan (臺灣古蹟概覽), Visiting Record of Popular Sites in Taiwan (臺灣勝蹟採訪冊), Guidebook on Historic Sites and Resorts Along the Roads in Taiwan (臺灣公路史蹟名勝之導遊) etc.
be the subject of the historic monument of Japanese occupation period” (Taiwan Historica 1974, 96; my translation). It reflects the historical ideology under the authoritarian rule and the strategical use of this language by a Taiwanese elite, as many others, to achieve their real targets.

Around the time of the announcement of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, the modern concept of ‘cultural heritage’ appeared in public discourse, and historic preservation was gradually directed away from the postwar focus on guji and guwu (古物 antiquity), to a holistic concern with cultural significance. In 1981, Chen Qi-lu, the first chief of the Council for Cultural Affairs, stressed that “cultural heritage doesn't have to be fine and splendid, and doesn't have to be old. It is identified by showing its significance and value to national culture” (Taiwan Folkways 1982: 32: 4: 88; my translation). This transition from individual objects to cultural significance was reflected in the 1982 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, and resulted in changes in practice and value, as more categories were included in cultural heritage such as natural resources, folk arts and artifacts. The local culture and natural landscape of Taiwan had now been officially recognised as ‘heritage’. Furthermore, the new concept of cultural heritage encompassed neighbouring countries, especially Japan (Taiwan Folkways 1984, 81; 1982: 32: 2). Yet the Japanese influence was not attributed to the colonial legislation (Preservation Law for the Special Places of Scenic Beauty, Historic Sites and Natural Monuments; 史跡名勝天然記念物保存法), but to visits and international conferences in the 1970s. ‘Culture’ was linked to ‘nation’ in the discourses of leading figures, and appeared as a sign of an ‘advanced’ country in the 1970s and 80s. Chen Qi-lu’s speech in 1981 also used examples of Japan, Korea and Germany to emphasize importance of heritage preservation. He warned that if people continued to ignore (natural) heritage preservation, then “we are far from the way to a great nation of culture” (Taiwan Folkways 1982, 89). This connection between culture and being an advanced country has continued in the discourses of leading government figures in the 1990s and 2000s.

42The original text is “日據時期日本人的建造物不能算他是古蹟，而我們同胞抗日的才可以算是古蹟。日據時期的古蹟，必須以我們中國自己為主體。” (Taiwan Historica 1974, 96)

43The original text is “文化資產不必一定要精緻華麗，也不一定要年代久遠，主要在於其是否具有民族文化的意義和價值”.

44This is part of his speech “How to preserve cultural heritage” (如何保存文化資產) at the 21st Taiwan Studies Symposium in 1981.

45For instance, see the presentation by Ma Yi-gong 馬以工 and Yang Shi-zhao 楊式昭 sharing their reflections on visiting Korean and Japanese heritage sites and facilities (Taiwan Folkways 1982, 73-98).
Emerging Local Governments
Prior to 1985, the entire process of designating a historic monument was under the control of the central government. That is to say, the Ministry of the Interior (Neizheng Bu 内政部) hired professionals and scholars to visit the sites and to propose a list of provisional historic monuments. Based on this list, the Council for Cultural Affairs invited other professionals to re-examine the listed sites, and return the results to the Ministry of the Interior for designation. This procedure was changed in 1985. The municipal and Zhixia 直轄 municipal governments were made responsible for the primary investigations, and proposed the potential list to the Taiwan Provincial Government (the county and city governments) and the Ministry of the Interior (Zhixia municipal governments) for further examination. The results came to the Ministry of the Interior for final evaluation. The ministry would then announce the list of designation, and the level of each individual site. This process was changed again after the modification of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1997. A tendency towards decentralisation was a defining feature in the development of heritage policy, and this was in accordance with the emerging importance of local politics. As shown in the graph below, the number of designated guji increased significantly in 1998. Most of these sites are municipal-level monuments. Taipei City was the one that designated most sites in this year.

Graph 1: Annual number of historic monument (blue) and historic buildings (red) respectively from 1982 to 2008.

46 直轄市 (Direct-Controlled Municipality) means cities directly managed by central government. Before December 2010, only two cities, Taipei and Kaohsiung City were categorized as Zhixia City in Taiwan.

A sudden increase in 1998

The graph shows a great increase in the number of historic monuments in 1998. Out of the 70 newly added sites, 44 were designated by the Taipei City Government.\(^{48}\) It is worth noting that only 7 of these sites are State Designated Level (guoding 国定), while the others are Municipal Designated Level (xianshiding 縣市定).\(^ {49}\) The modification of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1997 made Taipei City, and other municipal governments, a powerful actor in the designating process.

The 1997 modification of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act changed the definition of the classification of guji (historic monuments) from ‘historic significance’ to ‘administrative hierarchy’. In the modified version of the Preservation Law, the original classification of First, Second and Third Level was changed to State Designated (國定), Provincial and Zhixia Municipal Government Designated (省及直轄市定) and Municipal Government Designated (縣市定). After 1999, when the Taipei Provincial Government (臺灣省政府) was formally relegated to a small administrative unit that belonged to the Administrative Yuan, the middle level, Provincial and Zhixia Municipal Government Designated, was changed to Zhixia Municipal Government Designated (直轄市定). The title of each level refers to its controlling organization. That is to say, the municipal governments of Zhixia cities and counties were enabled to organise their own guji examination committees, and designate and manage the historic monuments within their administrative regions. If they believe a certain monument to be highly valuable, they can put forward a proposal to the Ministry of The Interior for the monument to be upgraded to state designated monument. Within this legal framework, the Taipei City Government has the power to select its own heritage. What is noteworthy here is that most of the sites on the 1998 list of Taipei City were created during the Japanese colonial era.\(^ {50}\)

Historic buildings as heritage

On 21 September 1999, Taiwan was hit by an enormous earthquake. Traumatic scenes from the 9-21 earthquake were deeply inscribed in the minds of the Taiwanese. In October, a Cultural Heritage Rescue Team was organised by professionals and scholars, and relevant issues were hotly discussed. The subject of finding a legal status for historic buildings, the provisional guji which had no legal support, many of which were damaged in the earthquake, urged the state government to revise the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. A new category of ‘historic building’ finally appeared in the new version in February 2000.\(^ {51}\) This new category opens up space for many Japanese buildings,

\(^{48}\) According to Pan Yu-fang 潘玉芳, 45 sites were added by Taipei City Government.

\(^{49}\) After the revision of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1997, the historic monuments were categorized into three levels: the State Designated Level, the Provincial/Zhixia Municipal Level, and the Municipal Level.

\(^{50}\) Except Beitou Puji Temple (北投普濟寺) and Neihu Quarry of Qing Period (內湖清代採石場).
which were not old enough to be qualified as guji yet are rich in historic or local significance. The definition of heritage in Taiwan’s context was widened by the great diversity of these historic buildings. Among the number of designated historic buildings, Japanese colonial constructions now occupy a large proportion. This is the reason for the considerable increase after 2000 shown by the graph.

After the earthquake, rescue work and field surveys were organised by professional circles and encouraged with state funds. Subsidies were arranged by the state government for restoring historic buildings of private ownership or owned by local governments. Lists of historic buildings suitable for financial support were proposed by local governments. Once the buildings had been included in the list of state subsidiaries, they had to be registered as ‘historic buildings’ (lishi jianzhu) on the cultural heritage list. The number of historic buildings gradually increased, and between 2002 and 2004, the number reached a climax. The number dropped in 2005, before increasing yet again in 2006 after the revision of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in late 2005. This quantitative change is closely related to the trend of ‘rehabilitation’.

The projects of Rehabilitating Unused Spaces (閒置空間再利用) and Planning and Promoting the Rehabilitation and Conservation of Historic Buildings (歷史建築保存再利用之策劃與推動) were listed in the 2001 annual budget of the CCA (Council for Cultural Affairs). In 2002, the budget of both projects was replaced by A Town, A Museum of Living Culture (一鄉鎮一生活文化館), a six-year project that included in the larger scheme of the ‘Community Building Affairs’ (社區總體營造業務). The project was renamed ‘Local Museums’ (地方文化館) later in 2002. Supported by an enormous amount of state subsidies, local governments registered and restored historic buildings in the period from 2000 to 2007. Moreover, this fashion of rehabilitation was accompanied by a trend of leasing cultural sites for private sector operations (委外經營).

52 For example, The Cultural Heritage Budget of the “Special Budget of Reconstruction after 9-21 Earthquake” (九二一震災重建特別預算之文化資產預算). According to The Almanac of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Conservation 2001, the budget for cultural heritage occupied 3.7% of the total amount (NTD 72,758,795,000) of the Special Budget of Reconstruction after 9-21 Earthquake. See page 108 of the Almanac.
53 It means ‘to renovate and reuse the old buildings in stead of building new ones’.
54 From 2002 to 2007, the budget reached NTD816,000,000 in total. This number is according to The Almanac of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Conservation 2002, page 117.
55 Please refer to The Almanac of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Conservation 2004, page 9.
Rehabilitating the Unused Spaces and Community Buildings
The project of Local Museums (地方文化館) was part of the Integrated Community-Making Programme. The CCA provides subsidies for local governments and private organisations to rehabilitate unused spaces in the local area. The programmes can involve exhibition halls, community spaces, folk art centres etc. The applicant can apply for funds to restore old buildings and accommodate operating programmes. Many historic buildings have been selected by local governments or community organisations as targets for funding. After the 9-21 series of earthquake in 1999, community building was re-stressed in places that had suffered damage because of the earthquake. Simultaneously, the Japanese examples of machizukuri and ‘area revitalization’ were appreciated by the state government. The CCA project of Local Museums was one strategy to use cultural artefacts for community building and improving the local economy. Each year, the editorial board of The Almanac of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Conservation invites heritage professionals and scholars to vote for the ten most important events regarding cultural heritage affairs of the year. Two events, ‘Rehabilitating Unused Spaces Comes into Fashion’ and ‘The CCA Actively Pushes Forward the Project to Establish Local Cultural Halls’, were selected separately among the Ten Major Events of the Year 2002 and 2003. As stated by Chen Ji-min (陳濟民), a staff of the CCA, “the Project of Local Museums effectively explores local cultural resources in order to display the rich and multiple cultural uniqueness of Taiwan, to shape the aesthetic cultural spaces in the local, and to increase the tourist resources of the local”. The project of Local Museum was expected to be able to implement diverse political, civil and economic objectives of the state in local areas.

Constructing the subjectivity of Taiwan
Using historic spaces to incorporate multiple community-building objectives has been stressed by the state government in 2000s, especially during the reign of Chen Qi-nan as minister of the CCA from 2004 to 2006. Chen has been a leading figure of community building since the initial year of the programme in 1994, and has continued to be concerned with the community-building progress in his job as Minister without Portfolio at the Executive Yuan. In the preface of The Almanac of Taiwan Cultural Heritage Conservation 2004, he stated his policy objectives and the crucial role which cultural heritage was expected to play in achieving the objectives. He listed ‘extending cultural citizenship, reconstructing the subjectivity of Taiwan and establishing the value of diversity (multiplicity)’ (文化公民權的伸張，台灣主體性的重建與多元價值觀的建立) as three major areas of work for the CCA. Cultural heritage, as he noted, is an “important catalyst for cultural citizenship, resource for constructing subjectivity of Taiwan, and proof for the value of diversity. It is the core to bind the three objectives”. In order to achieve the mission, a programme named Constructing the Subjectivity of Taiwan was proposed by the CCA. This programme comprises
projects concerning cultural events, world heritage and Taiwan landscape images. Historic spaces were continually invested in with state funds, and served as the sites of memory for the new nation in order to stimulate the growth of proud citizens. Japanese sites represent the value of diversity, and many have been ‘unused spaces’ existing in local daily lives because their time of creation was not too long ago. Colonial sites were refashioned to serve large state programmes, for instance the Huashan Art Special District (華山藝文特區) in Taipei and Weiwu Military Camp (衛武營) in Kaohsiung.

2.3. Heritage Preservation and Reusing Strategies in Taipei

Taipei City, as the capital and administrative centre of Taiwan, has always been the model among cities in Taiwan for urban and cultural policies. Between 1967 and 1994, the mayor of Taipei City was directly appointed by the Executive Yuan, and Taipei City was one of the two municipalities upgraded from provincial level to being directly under the central government (Zhixia City 直轄市). In December 1994, the first popular elections were held for the positions of Taiwan Provincial Governor and the mayors of Taipei and Kaohsiung cities, positions that had previously been government-appointed. On 4 May 1997, the revision of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was officially promulgated, which enabled the local governments to designate their own guji 古蹟 (historic monument). These had previously been appointed by the Ministry of the Interior (內政部). Before 2007, the number of guji in Taipei City was 37 (Pan Yu-fang 2002, 71). At the end of 2011, Taipei City had 150 historic monument sites among the 752 for the whole country, and so had the largest number among all cities in Taiwan. Among the 150 sites, the number of national government-designated sites was 12, and there were 138 city government-designated sites. The heritage sites constructed by the Japanese government, companies and institutions occupied the largest percentage.

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59 In June 2012, the number of guji in Taipei City was 149. See Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government: http://www.culture.gov.tw (accessed 18 August, 2012)
First Case after the 1997 Revision of Heritage Preservation Act:  
Wisteria Tea House (Ziteng Lu 紫藤廬)

Preservation of the Wisteria Tea House (Ziteng Lu 紫藤廬) represented the first municipal intervention and designation case in Taipei City after the 1997 revision of the heritage act. This successful designation concluded a process of contestation from the postwar that had accumulated social strength. It also shows how heritage strategies have been adopted by actors pursuing participation and intervention in the public sphere in the 1990s and later decades.

Wisteria Tea House, built in the 1920s, used to be the residence of a general of the Japanese navy. In the postwar period, ownership of the building was transferred to the Keelung Customs Office, part of the Ministry of Finance. The commissioner Mr. Zhou De-wei 周德偉 and his family lived in the building in the 1950s. After Zhou moved to the US in the 1970s, his son Zhou Yu 周渝 managed the house and opened the place for dangwai (黨外, outside the KMT party) activists, artists and writers to have a free discussion platform. It also served as a temporary residence. In the 1980s, the place was formally transformed into a tea house, and its public influence was extended so that it gradually became a sign of liberation in the authoritarian period.

However, the Keelung Customs Office began a legal suit over the property in the 1980s and won a decade later. In the following situation, cultural workers, scholars and writers together initiated a public petition to designate the site as a historic monument. The city government quickly began the process of designation in June 1997, according to the new version of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act which had just been revised in May, which empowered the local government in guji designation. The city government officially announced the site as a historic monument in July 1997.
In 2000, a non-profit organization, the Wisteria Cultural Foundation (紫藤文化基金會), was founded by the preservation activists. The Taipei City Government Department of Cultural Affairs, the official management body on guji, granted management of the site to the foundation, under the condition that they hold constant cultural activities there. At the same time, the Wisteria Cultural Foundation allowed Mr. Zhou to continue running the tea house, with part of the income paying for the rent of the house. Hence, the tea house financially supports the cultural foundation.

Community Participation in Urban Planning

The success of Wisteria Tea House is closely related to the political atmosphere of Taipei and Taiwan in the 1990s. After decades of democratic movements and internal changes in the KMT party, the 1990s was a decade of rising communities and local memories. The dangwai related figures were able to participate in politics, for instance Chen Shui-bian 陳水扁, the first mayor of Taipei City after the opening of public elections in 1994.61

In 1987 Martial Law was finally lifted. In the following years, the restrictions on the media and press were also relieved. In 1987 the number of registered societies in Taipei City was only 1,010. By 1995 this number had risen to 3,333 (Taipei City Government 1998; quoted from Liling Huang 2003). This increase represents a release of social energy after 1987. Taipei City, rich in cultural and educational resources, has been the arena of an emerging awareness, manifesting itself in resistance to former authoritarian urban manipulation, developmentist planning policies, and an increase in the momentum of cultural identity. Various social, political, cultural and heritage preservation movements signify contemporary Taipei. Strength at the grassroots level was not only engaged in the pursuit of democratic participation, but also focused on the goal of a better living environment and social equality. This provided the circumstances for a new approach to urban planning in Taipei beginning in the mid-1990s.

Within the context of the community-building movement in the 1990s, Taipei City mayor Chen Shui-bian (1994-1998), assisted by his think-tank of avant-garde scholars, including Zhang Jing-sen 張景森 who later became commissioner of the Department of Urban Development, defined community participation as a thread of his urban planning policy. During the run up to the election, Chen proposed a new policy scheme focusing on Citizenship (shimin zhuyi 市民主義). As outlined in Chen’s election pamphlet, the basic ideas of this Citizenship were:

1. Urban planning is for all users, namely citizens. The development of the city should be determined by the collective will of the citizens, not the conventional state bureaucratic system or private land capital.

61 The position of mayor for the Zhixia cities, at that time Taipei City and Kaohsiung City, was reopened for public election in December 1994 after the legislation of the Self-Governance Act for Special Municipalities (直轄市自治法) was completed.
Extending from these ideas, the candidate proposed four executive policy principles:

1. The principle of decentralization and multiple-core development
2. The principle of well-managed growth
3. No large construction, more small projects
4. The principle of double-ended communication and citizen participation

(see Huang Xin-xun 2003)

In order to accentuate the difference between himself and the KMT’s large-scale, developmentist, top-down urban policy and authoritarian city governance, Chen’s team focused on a ‘citizen centred’ strategy which became a policy thread after Chen won the election (Chen’s tenure was from 1994 to 1998). This tone was continued by the next mayor Ma Ying-jiu 馬英九 (1998-2006).

Departing from this Citizenship, a new approach was announced in 1996 by the Department of Urban Development: Area Environmental Improvement Programme (地區環境改造計畫). This programme intended to raise concern among residents for their own living environment. It aimed to engage the residents in environmental improvement projects in their own neighbourhoods, for instance beautifying their neighbourhood parks, pavements or revitalising unused spaces. The programme was small scale, encouraged residents’ participation and worked towards immediate, concrete effects. It was connected to the development of grassroots’ strength at this time. In 1999, under a different mayor, the city government initiated a ‘community planner system’ (社區規劃師). This system continued the citizen-centred thread, acting as an intermediary between professionals and local communities in community environmental projects. Moreover, if community members or young people became interested in being a planner participating in community projects, they were able to join training programmes and could apply for government support for community projects after becoming a qualified community planner. This programme is still run by the Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, a division of the Department of Urban Development. “As the central government has lost interest in community building, only Taipei City has continued to show its concern,” argues by Dr. Lin Chung-chieh 林崇傑, the current chief of the Urban Regeneration Office.
in an interview (February 2012). The community planner system has been borrowed by many other municipalities in Taiwan. However, this grassroots’ movement often clashes with changing policy priorities and bureaucratic divisions of city governments. Even at its peak, when Chen’s government talked about Citizenship and small community projects, he simultaneously invested immense resources in the large Xinyi District 信義 development project in accordance with the emergence of the rich East District and the decline of the old West District. Regarding heritage projects, Dali Street, Bopiliao, Beitou and Treasure Hill all represent similar paradoxes.

**Heritage Preservation and Local Community in the Era of Localism: Beitou**

In 1995, two teachers from Beitou Elementary School on a local history field class 62 with their students came across an old hot spring site built by the Japanese. Astonished by its spatial uniqueness, they started to lobby for its preservation, and eventually raised awareness within the Beitou community. They formed an agreement to shape the neighbourhood of Beitou into a living environment museum (ecomuseum). The hot spring’s site is the core museum which directs visitors to satellite sites spread throughout Beitou. This ecomuseum aims to “thread more than ten historical monuments and other historical architecture and landscapes with the site of the hot spring—the most distinguished local element. [Those sites] are closely related to land development of the hot spring and social culture. […] this is a cultural blueprint of Beitou’s redevelopment, a community-centred ‘living environment museum park’ (Zhang Yu-teng 2004, 180-181). In 1997, the hot spring building was successfully designated a guji by the city government and was opened to the public in 1998 after renovation, at the same time the Beitou Hot Spring Park was also opened in the neighbourhood.

Figure 21: The public bath of Beitou in 1930s (The Beitou Hot Spring Museum since 1998). Image is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.

Because of the awareness raised during the preservation movement, many local societies were established successively. In 2001 a Beitou Constitution (北投憲章) was proposed by community

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62 In the 1990s, the popularization of xiangtu (homeland) education (鄉土教育) characterized a desire to re-establish a cultural and historical sense of continuity and identity lost in the former KMT’s ‘China-only’ policy. Both government sectors and grassroots’ societies greatly devoted themselves to the activities, for instance recording oral histories of the local place, holding community classes introducing local natural and cultural uniqueness, and editing educational materials to help local children understanding their homeland.
members to foster a collective prospect for Beitou. At the same time, the local community actively engaged themselves with the hot spring museum as volunteers and guides, taking pride in their heritage. However, in 2002 the city government planned to open a public bid to transfer the operation of the museum to the private sector (an Operative-Transfer model) in order to solve financial difficulties and a lack of personnel. This action raised strong opposition from the local community. The city government eventually gave up the plan and proposed a government-community co-managing programme instead in 2004.

However, the fierce debates about the management plan and the direction of the newly established Hot Spring Museum have divided the local communities. The museum is managed currently by the Department of Cultural Affairs with a consulting committee of management staff made up of community representatives.

2.4. Creative industries, international cultural festivals and creative city

‘Cultural creative industries’ (wenhua chuangyi chanye 文化創意產業) has become a buzz term since the early 2000s, and in the decades since then it could even be describes as a craze. The Council for Cultural Affairs (currently the Ministry of Culture) in 2002 proposed the policy framework within the Challenging 2008 Program of the Executive Yuan. This policy proposal referred to the British creative industries policy in 1997, and also reflected the fierce competition within Asia. For instance, the Korean government proposed its Industries of Cultural Contents around the same time. Potential economic value created by cultural assets and intelligent properties gradually drew major government investments. In the 1990s and 2000s, concerns about local culture and community fertilized momentum and became the basis ideas about diversity and uniqueness generated from cultural identity. These focuses both balanced and contested any purely economic drives.

Since 2009, the Cultural and Creative Industries has been subject to greater focus by the central government and has enjoyed major investments. The programme ‘Creative Taiwan: An Action Plan for the Development of the Creative and Cultural Industries 2009-2013’ (創意台灣—文化創意產業發展行動計畫) was drafted by the Council for Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Economy and Bureau of Information, the Executive Yuan. In February 2010 the Law for the Development of the Cultural and Creative Industries (文化創意產業發展法) was officially promulgated by the central government. Among the 16 categories designated by the law as cultural and creative industries, two categories are related to the common definition of cultural heritage: “industries which apply cultural assets and facilitate performance and exhibition” (文化資產應用及展演設施產業) and

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63 See Magazine of Beitou Culture (北投文化雜誌) 2001: 1, page 5.
the ‘handicrafts industry’ (工藝業). Particularly the former was closely related to the context of ‘revitalising unused spaces’ as mentioned in section 2.2.

Later in the same year, December 2010, three more cities were added to the list of Zhixia Cities in addition to Taipei and Kaohsiung City. These five cities have been competitors since 2010, with especially mayors enjoying great media attention and becoming leading figures in electoral politics, even as potential president candidates. Large cultural hall construction projects, international festivals and tourist promotion programmes are common strategies of municipalities. For instance, Taipei City Government has been enthusiastic in holding international events such as the 21st Summer Deaflympics in 2009, the International Flora Exposition in 2010, Taipei World Design Expo in 2011, and it has now officially been announced as a candidate for the World Design Capital 2016. Involvement as a member in the UNESCO Creative Cities Network was once also a target of the municipality. Currently, the project of World Design Capital 2016 is a central-municipal project requiring cooperation at both levels, led by the mayor and minister of the Ministry of the Interior and involving ministries of the central government and departments of Taipei City Government.

Within the context of global and domestic competition between cities, Taipei City has invested large resources in developing the Creative and Cultural Industries. The Department of Cultural Affairs announced that 2010 was the First Year of the Creative and Cultural Industries (文創元年) and would initiate six large projects including: Cultural Creative Quarters (文化創意街區), Treasure Boulevard of the National Palace Museum (故宮瑰寶大道), Songshan Cultural and Creative Park (松山菸廠文化創意園區), Taipei Arts Centre and the Northern Centre of Popular Music. The city government listed the Cultural and Creative Industries as one of the most important categories for drawing foreign investment. The project of ‘Taipei’s Double L Axis Cluster of Cultural and Creative Industries’ (臺北文創雙L群聚計畫) intended to combine six cultural and creative parks, mostly based on industrial heritage sites, with street quarters of cultural and historical significance to create a clustering effect aimed at making Taipei a ‘creative city’: “By linking up multiple key creative parks, Taipei has established a double L shape cultural belt.” As quoted from the Taipei Economic Quarterly in 2010, expanding the ‘L’ of the cultural industries and gradually “constructing Taipei as a ‘creative city,’ making ‘creativity’ Taipei’s ‘competence,’ accelerating Taipei’s development of its cultural industries can thus benefit cultural tourism and eventually increase Taipei’s international profile.” (No.4, 88) The area of the Red House and Ximen Ting District in Báng-kah is among the creative industrial focuses.

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64 Zhixia City means that “the city is directly managed by and only subordinate to the Executive Yuan of the central government.” It hence receives larger resources than other counties and cities. Currently, the Wudu 五都 (five Zhixia cities) are Taipei, Kaohsiung, New Taipei City, Tainan and Taichung.

Constructive Contestation around Urban Heritage in Taipei: Exploring A New Approach for Cities in Asia

Figure 22: Taipei’s Double L Axis Cluster of Cultural and Creative Industries—“By linking up multiple key creative parks, Taipei has established a double L shape cultural belt. It is hoped to accelerate the economic benefits of the industry with multiplying effects of these clusters. There are five creative parks: Huashan 1914 Creative Park, Songshan Cultural & Creative Park, Taipei Brewery, Taipei POP Music Centre, and Taipei Artist Village. Meanwhile, Taipei has established eleven creative streets, including Dadaocheng (historical sites), National Palace Museum, Zhongshan North Road (wedding dresses and designs), Ximending (movies and youngster sub-culture), Yongkang Street (gourmet and arts), Xinyi District (street artists and performers), Wen-Luo-Ting (specialty book stores and original music street blocks).”

The Urban Regeneration Stations (URSs) Project 都市再生前進基地

“Urban regeneration is usually a long-term process. Yet the transition from the old to the new space is full of potential to create public-private cooperative modes and shape more possibilities. It would help to direct urban development of land into diverse dimensions including environmental improvement, strengthening local uniqueness and activating affiliate industries etc.

Despite the fact that it only serves as one phase in long-term urban regeneration, it still functions as a way to deal with the challenges from outside and inside Taipei, helps to build up Taipei’s competitiveness and activate urban regeneration. It is necessary to have an integrated, reconstructed and advanced regeneration working station to stimulate local development and regeneration. [...] This is why we proposed the Urban Regeneration Stations Project.”

Other than revitalisation projects led by culturally-associated departments, the Urban Regeneration Stations Project was initiated in 2010 by the Taipei City Urban Redevelopment Office, a division of the Department of Urban Development. As mentioned in the above quotation, this project is one task in a phase. The city government negotiates with property owners of unused spaces, both public and private, to open the space for a public platform. Usually the space is either in an old neighbourhood or in the phase before the urban renewal process has begun. The targets of the Urban Regeneration Stations (URS) are: “to revitalise old neighbourhoods by bringing new social strength and urban renewal discussions; to activate real estate in waiting for urban regeneration; to temporarily improve environments of poor aesthetic quality; and to generate a network which provides creativity and cooperation.” These spaces are temporarily used for workshops, neighbourhood activities, all sorts of social interaction, exhibitions, experimental actions, or as a resting area for tourists. Property owners can propose a revitalising programme or cooperate with non-profit social groups including NGOs, academic institutions or urban planning organizations.

Currently there are seven URSs in Taipei, all named after their house numbers. For instance, URS 44 is located at No.44, Dihua Street. Among the seven URS stations, three are located on Dihua Street, the core of the old Dadaocheng area. This is closely related to the active participation of the Department of Urban Development in the 30-year-long project to preserve the history of the area.

Preservation Movement in the Dihua Street (迪化街) Area
As mentioned in Chapter One, Dadaocheng大稻埕 was Taipei’s earliest developed area after Báng-kah. In the late 19th century, Dadaocheng had become an international port within the global commercial network particularly because of its booming tea industry. During Japanese colonization, Dadaocheng was still a lively commercial area with modern buildings, services and leisure facilities,

and a base from which Taiwanese cultural elites could raise awareness about de-colonising, social equality and Taiwanese cultural movements. New thoughts from all over the world were brought to the area at first by Western missionaries, Chinese revolutionists and businessmen. In the Japanese period, the area had become the distribution core of Chinese medicine, precious goods (南北貨) and cloths. However, in the postwar period, the focus of urban development moved to the eastern part of the city. The decline of the area was speeded up when new highways were built in the 1960s to 1980s to connect the new urban centre to Taipei County. Around 1973, the city government broadened most streets in the area except Dihua Street. Surrounded by new constructions, as Lin Heng-dao said, “Dihua Street is an isolated island within Taipei City” (Yan Liang-yi 2006).

Figure 23: Yongle Ting Street 永樂町通 (part of the present Dihua Street) in 1931. Image is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.

Around the time of the lifting of Martial Law (1987), the issue emerged of preventing the Dihua Street from being broadened. The urban planning committee of the Executive Yuan in 1977 planned to improve transportation in the Dadaocheng area by broadening the street width of Dihua Street from 7.8 to 22 meters. In other words, the old buildings were going to be destroyed. As the deadline for land expropriation was 1988, in 1987 Yaoshan 榮山 Foundation in cooperation with scholars, the press and civil organizations held cultural activities to bring awareness to the issue.

In the post-Martial Law period, a petition for preserving Dihua Street was signed by ten thousand people, and cultural activities held by the preservation activists helped to publicize the issue and successfully delayed the land expropriation process. However, many property owners expressed strong opinions against preservation. As various interest groups were involved, the preservation of this area has been a dynamic process of contestation.
In the 1990s and 2000s, through different strategies in different phase of the movement, preservation was eventually secured after more than two decades by the Regulation Principles about Urban Planning of the Dadaocheng Historical Special District (大稻埕歷史風貌專用特定區都市計畫管制要點). The Taipei City Urban Redevelopment Office established in 2004 was actively involved in the project. Working together with the NGO Historical Resources Society (歷史資源經理學會), the Urban Redevelopment Office intervened in the area within the framework of the Dadaocheng Historical Special District, as defined in 2000. Strategies such as transferring floor spaces and community participation increased the interests of local property owners in preserving their houses and having historical renovation. At the end of 2008, there were 251 privately applied renovation cases (Chen Huan-jun and Liu Yi-ya 2010, 60) as well as a number of public environment-improvement projects.

The development focus of this special historical district in 2012 is drawing investment and industrial potential in order to activate and transform the old commercial activities. The cultural industries and urban agriculture are among the alternative strategies for development. As mentioned previously, three URS projects are located on Dihua Street. The negotiations for a common direction of development in the area are still ongoing. Yet this rare case in the developmentist-driven Taipei—successful urban planning intervention to achieving historical preservation—is still worthy of further investigation.

Figure 24 and 25: The URS 44 at Dihua Street during the Chenghuang Festival in 2012. Photos are taken by Chiang Min-Chin.
Chapter Three: Case Study— Báng-kah

3.1. General Information about Present-day Báng-kah

Administrative District
As mentioned in section 1.3, the name Báng-kah originates from an aboriginal language and is written as 艋舺 in Chinese characters (pronounced Mengjia in Mandarin Chinese, and as Báng-kah in Fukkien and Taiwanese).\(^69\) In 1920, the characters 艋舺 were changed to 萬華 by the Japanese colonial government with the establishment of Taibei Zhou 台北州 (Taipei Prefecture). Both old and new names are pronounced the same in Fukien, the only difference being the written Chinese characters. In the postwar era, the name of this district was changed again to Lungshan 龍山, the same as the Lungshan Temple. In 1990, the range of Lungshan District was greatly expanded. Today, the district is written 萬華 (pronounced Wanhua in Mandarin Chinese) again. The geographical range of Báng-kah referred to in this research report corresponds to the current Wanhua District.

In the end of 2011, the population in Wanhua District was 190,855 (about 7.20% of the population of Taipei City)\(^70\). Wanhua covers 8.8522 square kilometres of land (about 3.26% of Taipei City, and currently there are 36 Li 里 (administrative units) in Wanhua District. Wanhua District Office provided several basic numbers about the district in 2011, as found below (Wanhua District Office 2011, 13):

1. Regarding geographical and population information:
   There are 4,751 foreign immigrants and 1,058 aboriginals in Wanhua District. The number of low-income households is 3,233, in which are included 7,417 persons. The number of elderly people is 20,157.

2. Regarding cultural resources:
   There are 17 community centres, 34 community development societies, 19 neighbourhood parks, 5 riverbank parks, 5 theme parks, 26 registered temples and 179 altars, 18 churches (registered and unregistered), 15 municipal designated historic monuments (guji 古蹟). There is one community-university (for adult education), three senior high schools, five junior high schools, 12 primary schools and 25 kindergartens.

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\(^{69}\) The full name of Báng-kah was Mengjia Xiakan Zhuang 艋舺下崁庄 in the late 19th century. It was under the administrative district of Dajiana Bao 大加蚋堡. (Taipei City Archives 1991, 39-45).

\(^{70}\) Taipei in the end of 2011: 2,650,968.
Bâng-kah (Wanhua District) in Comparison

According to the numbers provided by the Statistical Data Abstract of Taipei City (2009-2010):

(1) In the index of aging, Wanhua was the highest in Taipei City.
(2) Wanhua had the lowest rate of natural increase in population.
(3) Wanhua had the largest density of aboriginal population.
(4) Wanhua had the lowest number of married citizens, due to a high divorce rate and bereavement.
(5) The rate of couples married to Chinese from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau or to other foreigners was highest in Wanhua.
(6) Regarding education levels, Wanhua had the lowest literacy rate under age 15 among all the districts of Taipei City.
(7) The percentage of educational backgrounds of university level and above was lowest in Wanhua.
(8) Wanhua had the lowest number of students.
(9) Wanhua has no vocational school or university-level school.
(10) Wanhua has the largest amount of land for wholesale markets in Taipei City.

The statistical data please refers to Taipei City Statistical Abstract:

Population of over age 65 divided by population of age under 14.
(11) Wanhua had the highest number of parks; however, the amount of green land was only 0.01% of Wanhua District and the lowest in Taipei.

(12) Wanhua had the lowest percentage of car ownership in Taipei City.

(13) Wanhua had the highest number of home care for elders per every 10,000 elders.

(14) Wanhua had the most low-income households.

(15) Wanhua provided the highest amount of subsidies for low-income families in 2010.

(16) It had the highest number of youth larceny and drug related crimes.

(17) Compared to the Standardized Mortality Rate, Wanhua was the highest among the districts of Taipei City.

(18) Wanhua had the lowest disposable income per household, and highest ‘average propensity to consume’ (APC).

(19) Residents in Wanhua had the smallest living space per person.

3.2. Memory Landscape and Heritage

Báng-kah is located on the southwest bank of the Taipei basin, connected to New Taipei City (named Taipei County before 2010) by seven bridges crossing the Danshui River. Hence, Báng-kah has been a nexus for people who move between Taipei City and Taipei County everyday, and also for people with diversified backgrounds who chose to stay in this culturally lavish yet economically impoverished area. As shown by the statistical data in section 1.1, Báng-kah has not only the largest aboriginal population among the districts of Taipei City, but also the largest number of foreign female spouses, especially women from Mainland China, Hong Kong and Macau.

3.2.1. Lungshan Temple area (龍山寺): heritage sites

The oldest area of Wanhua District is located in the neighbourhood of the Lungshan Temple, which is also where Báng-kah originated. There are 22 designated historic monuments and historic buildings in Wanhua District. Most heritage sites are located in this area. Moreover, the density of temples in this area is 23.4%, and is the highest in Taipei City. As mentioned previously in this background report, the temples represent the social and commercial structure associated with the guild merchants Jiao. Various temples in this area refer to an origin in connection with the guild structure and in close relation to the province in China where family of Jiao was from.

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73 Refer to the official website of Taipei City Department of Cultural Affairs: http://www.culture.gov.tw/ (accessed 9 August 2012)
Rituals of Qingshan King (青山王祭典)

Other than the most famous and influential Lungshan Temple, Qingshan Gong 青山宮 is also well-known. The annual religious parade of Qingshan Gong, celebrating the birthday of the Qingshan King (青山王祭典), in late October has long been a stately event for Báng-kah. The parade is normally carried out in the dark, representing the Qingshan King leading an inspection tour of good and evil in secret. All god/goddess in Báng-kah join the parade on sedan chairs, accompanied by a parade, traditional ritual dances and music. Public feasts (dabaibai 大拜拜) are offered by residents and businesses in Báng-kah during this period. The ritual and associated cultural elements were designated as municipal heritage by the city government in 2010.

Herb Alley

Aside from the temples, herbal medicine is an important part of the religious context of the Temple area. Chinese settlers learned from the aboriginals’ use of herbs and combined Chinese medicine and religious culture to develop a medical system for resisting the diseases in what was for them a hot and humid new land. Attached to Lungshan Temple, Herb Alley used to be the largest herb retail area in north Taiwan. It was developed within this religious medicine context. People came to Longshan Temple to pray, got a prescription there and then bought herbs in the herb shops around the temple. During the postwar period, due to urban plans the herb shops were relocated to their
current location in 224 Alley in Xichang 西昌 Street and to some other locations in Kuangzhou 廣州 Street and Xichang Street. In the 1980s, new medical law led to a ban on religious prescriptions by Lungshan Temple. Herb Alley continued for a while to remain a vibrant part of folk treatment, until modern lifestyle and medical thought fully replaced the traditional role of herbs, especially after the introduction of the public health insurance system. Considering the cultural uniqueness and tourist value of Herb Alley, in 2001 the city government invested 3,500,000 NTD in renovating the physical environment of Herb Alley and placing a multi-language information panel to introduce its history. However, the question of how to rebuild the market value of Herb Alley remains an issue for the local community as government attention has faded.  

Dietary culture is also vibrant here. According to statistical data from the Wanhua District Office, in 2011 there were 3,400 food shops in the district which occupied 24.2% of Taipei City (Wanhua District Office 2011, 19).

74 For example, Wanhua Community College held a forum in December 2010 to discuss the future of Herb Alley.
**Traditional Craft and Industries**

Attached to the lively religious activities at Longshan Temple, stores providing Buddhist or Taoist sculptures and associated altar equipment have clustered in the neighbourhood of Lungshan Temple, especially on what is now Xiyuan 西園 Road. In other areas of Báng-kah, since it is a place of many temples, stores selling incense, ghost money and candles were also lively decades ago. Yet all these traditional industries are declining in today’s social context. Some old stores can still be found in Bång-kah, for instance the Laomingyu Incense Store (老明玉香鋪).

Figure 32: Laomingyu Incense Store has run for four generations. In the past, it was common to see people mixing water with ash from burnt incense to drink in hoping for curing disease under god’s blessing. The first owner of the Laomingyu decided to make incense with Chinese medicine ingredients for the sake of health. Photo is courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi.

Another important intangible heritage is the traditional craft of making pasted-paper sculptures (huzhi 糊紙). The pasted-paper sculptures are comprised of three major types: buildings (mainly residences), figurines and animals. Many others are requested by customers, for instance a mobile phone, piano etc. These miniatures are used for religious and funeral occasions, mostly for sending to the deceased by burning luxurious paper-pasted residences and everyday items. In Bång-kah, the hundred-year old Hexing Pasted-Paper Store (合興糊紙店), still makes the miniature sculptures, yet there is a worry that this traditional craft will soon disappear when the old master retires.

Figure 33 and 34: Hexing Pasted-Paper Store (合興糊紙店) and the pasted-paper residence for the deceased. Images are courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi.
Huaxi 華西 Street and Sex Workers

In the Qing period, Báng-kah had three major ports and numerous dock workers. At this time, in the area known today as Huaxi Street華西 brothels were set up to cater for the sexual demands of the dock workers. The Japanese colonial government assigned this area as a yukaku遊廓 (a recreational district providing sex services), mainly serving the Japanese. In the postwar period, this area, known as Baodou Li寶斗里, became the most famous red light district on the island. A unique food culture developed alongside the sex industry. Shops selling snake and soft-shell-turtle dishes, believed to aid men’s energy, centred on the Huaxi Street area. The street became the Snake Alley, known to foreign tourists for its live snake peeling shows and snake dishes. In 1987, the Huaxi Street Tourist Night Market (華西街觀光夜市) was established by the city government. Shops were covered by a rigid frame and roof, and two Chinese palace-style gates were erected at the entrance.

Both the sex industry and snake business declined when the city government declared a formal ban on licensed prostitution\(^\text{75}\) in 1997, a law that was put into practice in 2001, and as the ratification of the Animal Protection Act (動物保護法施行細則) in 2000 banned the killing of snakes in Huaxi Street. These were direct factors, yet they also reflected the impact of urban planning in Wanhua District between the 1970s and 1990s. New transportation resulted in a move of old commercial activities, including night markets and food shops. Within these circumstances, Huaxi Street gradually lost its appeal.

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\(^{75}\) The licensed prostitution system was initiated during the Japanese colonial period and re-ratified in 1957 in the postwar KMT period. The plans for the ban in 1997 caused fierce debate and brought social attention to the issue of decriminalised sex work.
Home of Subalterns: Jen-Chi 仁濟 and Aiai 愛愛 Nursing Home

Local governors and gentry in the Qing period established several social welfare spaces to accommodate those in need in north Taiwan. These establishments included orphanages, nursing houses for vagrants, places to bury anonymous deceased persons, and many of the places were founded in Báng-kah. In the Japanese period the colonial government grouped together organizations of different functions and founded Jen-Chi Yuan 仁濟院 (Jen-Chi Nursing Home) in Báng-kah. In 1922, the nursing home was moved to today’s Xiyuan 西園 Road (close to Lungshan Temple and today’s Wanhua Station and Dali Street) and started to accommodate mentally ill patients. It was the first professional sanatorium in Taiwan. In the 1950s, the Jen-Chi Yuan was renamed the Private Taipei Jen-Chi Relief Institution (財團法人私立台北仁濟院) and was gradually transformed into a modern medical centre with branch institutions.

In 1923, Aiai Liao 愛愛寮 (Home of Philanthropy) was privately founded by Shi Qian 施乾 in Shuangyuan Street 雙園 (also close to today’s Wanhua Station and Dali Street). It accommodated vagrants, opium addicts, mental patients and leprosy patients. Shi Qian not only provided living spaces for vagrants, but also provided training in crafts and living skills. Shi Quian’s Japanese wife, Shi Zhaozi 施照子, carried on this social welfare project after he passed away in 1944. In 1976 the name was changed to the Taipei City Privately Founded Aiai Nursing Home (台北市私立愛愛院) and continues to operate today.

Today, the Báng-kah Park opposite Lungshan Temple is a temporary residential space for many homeless people, and the fierce debates about city policies regarding the homeless reflects the Wanhua residents’ struggle with self image. The general image of Báng-kah as an old, dangerous area, packed with homeless people, gangsters and sex workers has become bothersome for local residents, especially as Wanhua District seems to be comparatively poor in rich Taipei City. This feeling of being marginal often results in hostility against plans to build new homeless shelters.
or construct large nursing homes in Báng-kah, for instance, represented by the resistance against building large nursing home in the early stage of the Dali Street Community Movement.

**3.2.2. Mainlanders’ Memory Landscape**

In the postwar period, millions of military dependents and political immigrants moved to Taiwan with the KMT government after its loss in the Chinese Civil War in 1949. These immigrants came to be known as ‘mainlanders,’ marking them as distinct from the ‘Taiwanese’ who had settled in Taiwan from coastal areas of China more than 400 years ago and who had experienced 50 years of Japanese colonial rule and an entirely different contemporary history. Enormous number of 1949 mainlander immigrants streamed into Taipei, as the city had been the base for government institutions and hence also the army. These mainlanders included a large number of military dependents, who soon packed the public spaces, whether the buildings that used to be owned by the Japanese or the open spaces in Taipei. The postwar urban planning for Taipei City was committed to build housing to accommodate these military dependents. The south area of Báng-kah, known as South Airbase (Nan Jichang 南機場) in the Japanese era, became the site for military dependants’ villages (juancun 眷村), the largest in Taiwan.

This collective housing resulted in an isolated culture, very different from the local context outside of the military dependants’ villages. A strong sense of loyalty to the KMT government and anti-communism was shared by most of the residents in the postwar period. The differences in language and living culture, for instance the dietary habits formed from a meeting of people from diverse Chinese provinces, also reflected a gap between the Taiwanese and the mainlanders within the hierarchical structure constructed by the authoritarian government.

![Figure 37: Public housing cluster in the South Air Base area in 2012. Photo is courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi.](image)

The urgent demand for living space resulted in a large number of temporary, low-quality housing, messy landscapes and poor living environments. The military dependants’ villages, as well as illegal residences set up by rural migrants in the 1960s and 1970s in the South Airbase area were gradually replaced by modern public apartments in later urban planning. This area of south Báng-kah remains characterised by the large number of public housing and by the associated food culture. The South Airbase Night Market is well known for today’s visitors. In 1977 the Youth Park (Qingnian Gongyuan 青年公園) was completed in the neighbourhood and became the most important landmark in the area.
3.2.3. Crossing Generations: Ximen Market Area 西門町

The north of Báng-kah used to be low land and suffered from flooding during the Qing period. The Japanese colonial government decided to fill the low land as part of its 1905 urban plan. Networks for communication, water, electricity, sewage and gas was constructed at the same time. The Japanese mainly lived in this area and hence had better living conditions and a modern infrastructure than other Taiwanese areas, for instance the old Báng-kah and Dadaocheng.

In 1896 the Japanese government built the Ximen Market (西門市場) outside of the west gate of the Qing city walls, and gathered vendors here. Later, in 1908, a modern piece of architecture, later known as the Red House, was constructed within the Ximen Market. Located within the Japanese neighbourhood, this area was filled with cafés, Japanese restaurants, hotels and cinemas providing living and recreational services for the Japanese population living nearby.

In the postwar KMT period, immense numbers of Chinese political immigrants crammed into this area. Squats and unlicensed residences sprang up, Chinese restaurants and food vendors of all provincial diversities sold their wares, and sex workers set up businesses here. In the 1960s the city government built up the Zhonghua Market Quarter (中華商場) after removing the squats and unlicensed residences along the Zhonghua 中華 Road, which used to be one of the Japanese designed 3 lane boulevards after the removal of the Qing west city wall. This 3 floor high, 1171 meter long commercial quarter, with 8 connected buildings and 1644 shop units was constructed.

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76 When the construction was completed, the Japanese government erected a monument to memorialize the completion of this large project. This monument now is preserved in the local Ximen Primary School 西門. Please refer to Wanhua Community College 2009, 22: 36.

77 According to 1932 statistical data, the percentage of Japanese residents in the Ximen Neighbourhood 西門町 (today’s Chengdu 成都 Road, Xining 西寧 South Road, Kunming 昆明 Road and Kangding 康定 Road) reached 89.29% (Su Jun-bin Appendix 4: 287).

78 Please refer to: http://nrch.cca.gov.tw/ (accessed 4 September 2012)
in order to accommodate the Chinese mainland immigrants and offer living support (Wanhua Community College 2008, 19: 9). Hence, a wide range of shops opened here, including food from different Chinese provinces. The lively commercial activities in the Zhonghua Market were connected to equally busy shopping and recreational area nearby such as department stores invested by businessmen from Shanghai, and dozens of cinemas. This area of north Báng-kah reached its zenith between the 1960s and 1980s. Not only were the mainlanders able to recreate feelings of home in the Zhonghua Market Quarter, but also did younger generations in the period gained access to cinemas, trendy stores and Japanese popular culture in the area. In 1992, the Zhonghua Market Quarter was destroyed by the city government under new plans for urban renewal and metro construction.

3.2.4. Rural Migrants: Clothing Street

Báng-kah is located in between Taipei City and Taipei County, and hence has long been a popular place for rural migrants to settle. In the 1950s, the clothes processing industry in Báng-kah was started by migrants from Zhanghua 彰化 in central Taiwan. They used unwanted clothing fragments purchased from ready-made clothes factories to make underwear for sale in the markets. This gradually developed into a larger scale wholesale clothes industry, using textiles bought from Dadaocheng. Relatives from the workers’ hometowns, or migrants from other rural areas came to join the industry. During the 1970s and 80s, the number of clothes shops in Báng-kah, particularly in the area close to Wanhua Train Station, reached 2,000. However, in the 1990s the clothes industry in Taiwan experienced a downturn, as the country’s economic structure was in transition. Many clothes factories moved to countries with cheaper labour. At the same time, other places in Taipei and other parts of Taiwan became strong competitors to Báng-kah. Now the number of clothes shops circling Dali Street is only around 500.

In order to deal with this difficult situation, the clothes shop owners founded the Association of Báng-kah Clothes District (萬華服飾商圈) and looked for new ways to revive the declining market. In 2006 the Báng-kah Fashion Culture Hall (艋舺服飾文化館) was established by the Department of Cultural Affairs in the old building of the Wanhua District Office. After few years of operation, in 2011 the department cooperated with the Ministry of Economy and the Taiwan Textile Federation to transform the Fashion Hall into the Xiyuan No.29 Fashion Creative Space (西園29服飾創意基地), in connection with Taipei City’s World Design Expo in 2011.

3.2.5. Wholesale Markets

The Japanese government built the Central Wholesale Market (中央市場) in today’s Xining 西寧 South Road in Báng-kah. In the postwar period, the market was moved to its present location, close to the Danshui River. Currently, two of Taipei’s most important wholesale markets are located in
Báng-kah and provide Taipei with sea products, poultry, vegetables and fruit. Moreover, Báng-kah has the largest area of retail markets in Taipei City, according to 2010 statistical data from the city government. Hardware stores are also clustered along the Danshui River embankment.

By the late Qing period, Báng-kah had already become the major provider of bean sprouts in Taipei. Around the 1980s, there are 60 to 70 bean sprout growers in Jiarui 加蚋, today’s Shuangyuan 雙園 area. Bean sprouts are a difficult product to keep fresh during the distribution process, and hence almost all bean sprouts in high class restaurants or street stands come from the Shuangyuan area. In the past, if vegetables were destroyed during the typhoon season, the city government contacted bean sprout providers to increase the quantity (Taipei City Archives 1990: 1-15).

![Figure 40: The Central Wholesale Seafood Market in 1935. Photo is courtesy of the Taipei City Archives.](image)

3.2.6. **Site of White Terror: Machang Ting 馬場町**
Under postwar authoritarian rule, Machang Ting was a place of execution. Thousands of people were shot here, with the excuse that they had been promoting or practising Communism. In the late 1990s a memorial park was proposed by the city government. The park was eventually established in 2000. A monument with a memorial inscription was erected for the remembrance of those who pursued social justice and political revolution in the 1950s. They were arrested during the authoritarian period and shot to death in the area close to this hill. The park now is connected to other riverbank parks via a cycling route and became a famous leisure site.

3.3. **Urban Development in Báng-kah**

In the postwar era, enormous political migration led to an urgent demand for living space, and a large number of squats grew as a result. Japanese buildings were allotted by the KMT government as dormitories for military dependants and civil servants. Another large migration occurred in the 1950s and 1960s due to the rapid industrial development of the urban and suburban districts of
Taipei City. The central and southern areas of Báng-kah (Longshan龍山 and Shuangyuan雙園 Districts) were filled with large factories (Wang Wei-yiing 2011). A great number of rural inhabitants moved to Taipei and the neighbouring areas for job opportunities. This tide of migration again led to an increase in squatting and unauthorised construction, highlighting the insufficiencies in public infrastructures. Faced with this challenge, the main strategy followed by the city government before the late 1970s was to demolish unauthorised constructions and make room for new roads, urban infrastructure and public housing. During this period, most projects aimed to remodel the old areas, and much of this activity centred on today’s Báng-kah area, for instance the construction of the Zhonghua Market (中華商場), the Nanjichang南機場 (South Airbase) Removal Project, and the Wanda萬大 Project (Zhou Su-qing 1999, 18).

The Wanda Project was initiated in 1972 and is a representative example of ‘urban renewal’ in the postwar period. Following an order from Jiang Jing-quo蔣經國, son of Chiang Kai-shek and the minister of the Executive Yuan, two old neighbourhoods, Báng-kah and Dalongdong大龍峒, were selected by the city government to act as examples, showcasing the fact that the government did care about and wanted to help to develop the old urban areas (Zhou Su-qing 1999, 18). The targets of this project were to “quickly build roads as part of the urban plan and take out the small alleys, construct and improve drainage, improve public hygiene and transportation, remove unauthorised construction, intensively build a large amount of public housing, build parks and increase street lighting in order to improve the living environment of the residents in these two areas.” In 1975, the project was declared complete and 2,609 unauthorised buildings in Báng-kah were removed, and 18 new roads were constructed (Zhou Su-qing 1999, 18). During the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, the road development projects in Báng-kah mainly focused on connecting Báng-kah to the Banqiao板橋 area in Taipei County (Wang Wei-Ying 2012). At the same time, owing to large-scale rural-urban migration in the suburban areas, the centre of Báng-kah became a leisure foci, providing a recreational function for labourers residing and working in the outer ring of Taipei City. The brothels and night markets in the neighbourhood of Huaxi華西 Street are a representative example.

In the 1990s, Báng-kah was part of the integrated development of Taipei City’s urban policy, which focused on incorporating private investment and expanding from development of individual locations to a linear transportation development. Along with the development of the underground railway system, the old Wanhua (Báng-kah) Station was changed to a new concrete building, while the neighbourhood area was also regenerated according to the program proposed by the city government in 1997.

79 Original text from the Department of Information Taipei City Government 1975, 1-2; the quotation in this research report is from Zhou Su-qing 1999, 18.
3.4. Reversing the Axis (軸線翻轉) of Taipei

During the running period of the mayoral elections in the late 1990s, candidate Ma Ying-jiu马英九 proposed the idea of ‘reversing the axis’ (軸線翻轉). This included more investment in the old western area of Taipei City, rather than in the developed eastern districts, in order to reverse the current direction of Taipei’s urban development. This slogan was also used by the current mayor, Hao Long-bin郝龍斌.

After adjustments to the administrative districts in Taipei City in 1990, Wanhua District was comprised of three main areas: the north commercial area (Ximenting 西門町 area), the centre traditional area (Lungshan Temple or old Bāng-kah area) and the south residential area (Jiarui加蚋 and Qingnian青年 area). The urban plan for Wanhua in the late 1990s and 2000s was developed according to a ‘twin-axis’: the Y-axis refers to Kangding Road (康定路) and Wanda Road(萬大路), while the X-axis refers to Mengjia Avenue (艋舺大道) and Zhonghua Road(中華路). The twin-axis represented the transportation system, with Wanhua Station as the nexus. This idea led to the destruction of Zhonghua Market, the construction of an underground railway system and the Lungshan Temple Metro Station.

Figure 41: The two axis of Wanhua District. The image is quoted from Wanhua District Office 2011, 21.

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80 Please refer to: http://www.wanhua-healthycity-taipei.org.tw (accessed 2 August 2012)
The ‘Integrated Redevelopment Project of Wanhua District’ (萬華區整體發展計畫) proposed by the Taipei City Department of Urban Development in 2000 listed five urban strategies and divided Wanhua into six living perimeters. The five strategies were as follows: (1) the renewal of old communities; (2) urban renewal in strategic areas; (3) the improvement of the public environment; (4) efficient use of public real estate and the improvement of public infrastructure; (5) revitalising characteristic urban quarters. The six living perimeters were divided according to the features of the different areas: (1) Ximen central commercial area; (2) Lungshan Temple traditional quarter; (3) the neighbouring area along the Mengjia Avenue (艋舺大道); (4) the residential area of the Youth Park neighbourhood; (5) Jiarui 加蚋 residential area; (6) the river bank leisure area. In 2004, the six living perimeters were changed to five, as part of the urban planning for Wanhua District: the first two remained, the third was renamed ‘Wanhua Station core commercial area’ and two others were the Shuangyuan 雙園 residential area and the Youth residential area.

In order to ‘reverse the axis’ of Taipei’s urban development, from 1999 to 2009 the municipal government invested in 58 major projects in the area with a budget of over 14.9 billion NT Dollars (see Wanhua District Office 2008, 39-43). These projects included renovating heritage sites, building museums, constructing parking lots and improving roads. The largest investment was the

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81 Jiarui 加蚋 is the old name of the Shuangyuan 雙園 District.
building of Mengjia Park (艋舺公園; the No.12 Park) and the Underground Mall. The park and mall cost 2.2-billion NTD and was opened to the public in 2005. However, the underground mall soon proved to be a failure. It became a ‘mosquito hall,’\textsuperscript{82} while at the same time its presence destroyed the old shops in the neighbourhood.

The latest and most notable development project in Báng-kah has been the construction of a new metro route connecting Báng-kah and Zhonghe 中和 District and Shulin 樹林 District in New Taipei City (Taipei County). There will be two new stations within Báng-kah district after the completion of the project, planned for 2018. Many local residents and business owners, as well as the Wanhua District Office, eagerly anticipate economic revival as a result of the new metro.

3.5. Monga and Báng-kah: cultural economy and urban regeneration

In 2010 the box-office smash hit film Monga (the popularized spelling of Báng-kah) attracted attention to this nearly forgotten area. The film is set in 1980s’ Báng-kah, with a cast of gangsters, prostitutes and subalterns. This image of Báng-kah fit the imagination of the area as propagated by the mass media, which typically presents the place as dangerous, dirty and crowded with undesirables. The government supported the film, and while it was a sensation at the box-office, it also garnered criticism from local cultural workers and residents for its ‘stigmatization’ of Báng-kah.

\textsuperscript{82} ‘Mosquito hall’ (wenzi guan蚊子館) is a phrase used to satirise the states of these buildings; constructed and renovated by the government with a large budget, they are now left unattended as breeding grounds for mosquitoes.

\textsuperscript{83} Please refer to http://mongathemovie.pixnet.net/blog (accessed 2 August 2012)
Monga gained supports from the Taipei City Department of Culture not only in terms of subsidies but also practical assistance during the shooting of the film. The positive attitude of the cultural department is linked to the idea of promoting the cultural industries and tourism development. A recently remodelled historic site, Bopiliao 剝皮寮, was provided by the department as the set for a major scene in the film. A building was especially decorated as the home of a gangster. After the film was finished, the cultural department asked that the stage settings in the building be kept in place for tourist visits. Within 9 months the number of visits to Bopiliao Historic Quarter reached 373,474. This project shows a trend within local governments, as they enthusiastically receive films being shot in the local area. It also reflects a dimension of development in the process of Wanhua’s urban regeneration.

The name Bopiliao 剝皮寮 (literally, a place of peeling skin) has several explanations. Some believe that the name refers to the trading of timber in the area, while others associate it with the leather industry in the nearby neighbourhood. This is a rare place in Taipei where Qing period street-style buildings are found side to side with the Baroque architectural style of the Japanese period and the transformed spatial fabric of the postwar period. It seems obvious that the area should be preserved as a site of heritage. However, the current state of Bopiliao is the result of a long contestation process by local actors. In late 1990, the city government decided to redevelop the place through a heritage strategy. Later on, the renovated area was divided into two, and managed by different departments of Taipei City Government. One part is managed by the Heritage and Culture Education Centre of Taipei (臺北市鄉土教育中心), a subordinate local division of the Department of Education. The other part is managed by the Department of Cultural Affairs. A division of the Department of Cultural Affairs, in charge of heritage affairs, as well as a division of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture are located in this historic quarter. After the sudden impact of Monga, Bopiliao now is mainly open for rent for temporary, non-profit cultural events.

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84 This number is from February to November 2010. In early December 2010, the settings in the historical quarter were removed, and only the settings in the gangster’s ‘home’ remained for a temporary display: http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2010/new/dec/7/today-show1.htm (accessed 4 August)

85 The Japanese government gave ownership of the land to the neighbouring Laosong 老松 Elementary School. However, some local residents remained there, living and doing business. In the 1980s the school wanted to build a new sports centre on the land and applied for permission. The city government thus set in place a plan in the 1990s to tear down the buildings. This was met with resistance from local residents and scholars who mobilised to promote historical preservation. Finally, in 1998 the mayor Chen Shui-bian visited the site and delayed the deconstruction to the next year, and a series of investigations and reassessments began.
The Largest Number of Parks

As statistical data from the Wanhua District Office shows, Báng-kah has five riverbank parks and five cultural theme parks (Wanhua District Office 2011, 13). Báng-kah has the largest park space among the 12 districts of Taipei City (see section 3.1. of this document). And yet, Wanhua also has the smallest space set aside for neighbourhood parks per resident among all districts—only 0.091 square meters per person (Wanhua District Office 2008, 26). That is to say, residents in Báng-kah enjoy less green areas than residents of other districts of Taipei. The large number of parks is due to the fact that they are mainly situated on the riverbank area along Danshui River, surrounded by three quarters of the district boundary of Báng-kah. Conventional strategies and practices of the public sector in considering the regeneration of Báng-kah have also played a part in the number of parks. The transformation of spaces of historical significance into cultural parks after physical renovation is the usual strategy for this area. Bopiliao, the Ximen Ting 西門町 area and the No.402 Park are famous examples.

Ximen Ting 西門町 Area

As mentioned previously, the Ximen Ting area reached its zenith between the 1960s and 1980s and started to decline when the development focus of Taipei City moved to the east in the 1980s. Compared to the newly developed commercial areas in Taipei, Ximen Ting seemed rundown and dangerous. Several projects were led by the city government in order to regenerate this once lavish area, especially under the slogan of ‘turning the axis’ and ‘revitalise unused space’ (閒置空間再利用) in the 1990s and 2000s.

Two major projects relating to heritage strategies have been applied in the area: Red House, and Taipei Cinema Park.

Red House (honglou 紅樓) was constructed by the Japanese government to act as a public market in 1908. The building is in two parts: an octagonal construction plus a cross-shaped construction. This is a unique design by a young Japanese architect. The ground floor was used as a market. while on the first floor were cafés, which later became a children’s play area. After 1945, the building was turned into a billiard shop, and later in 1952 it became a stage for juggling, plays, Chinese opera and traditional narrative and musical arts (說唱藝術). After 1962, Red House became a cinema for second-round films and was extremely popular among students. However, in the 1980s, second-round movies were banned under copyright law, and the Red House cinema soon became unpopular, and even started to show pornographic movies (Li Yong-feng 2004, 1). At the same time, because of its atmosphere, the area around Red House became a location for gay culture. This changed when the building was designated as a ‘historic monument’ in 1997 and the Red House cinema closed simultaneously. In 2000 a fire burnt down the cross-shaped part and surrounding squats. This marked the beginning of a renovation and revitalisation project. A troupe called the Paper Windmill
Theatre signed a 5-year contract with the city government in 2002 to manage this building, and brought back audiences with lively strategies. Currently, the building and surrounding squares are managed by the Taipei City Cultural Foundation, and serve as a core location in Taipei for the development of the ‘creative industries.’

Another project which has received much less attention than Red House is the Taipei Cinema Park. The site used to belong to the Japanese Taiwan Gas Company (臺灣瓦斯株式會社) founded in 1934. In the 1990s, the space was cleaned through a small project by the Department of Urban Development, and in 2009 the Taipei City Culture Foundation started to manage it. Since 2010, the foundation has cooperated with Taipei Association of Multiple Arts Space and Youth Development (台北多元藝術空間青少年發展促進會；藝青會) and has started projects for the benefit of youth culture, for instance graffiti arts, skateboarding and hip hop culture.

Figure 44 and 45: Day and night of the Red House in 2012. Images are courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi.

Figure 46: Taipei Cinema Park in 2012. Photo is courtesy of Huang Yuh Chyi.
No.406 Square
The current No.406 Square is located close to Ximen Ting. The space and buildings used to be a Japanese Buddhist temple during the colonial period, and were later assigned by the KMT government to the Li Sect, a Chinese religious group, as Li Sect Hall (Lijiao Gongsuo理教公所) in the 1950s. However, a fire in 1975 burnt a large part of the historical buildings and precious religious artefacts. After the fire, squatting residences of mainlander immigrants and urban subalterns sprang up.

In 2005 the city government removed all residents and in 2006 opened an urban design competition, calling for new ideas on the regeneration of the area. In the same year, two Japanese architectural remains were designated as municipal heritage. Today the No. 406 Square has been defined temporarily as a park and is sometimes used for modern art displays and activities.\(^\text{86}\)

3.6. Lively Grassroots’ Efforts in Báng-kah

The official version of urban regeneration has been under the two banners of ‘turning the axis’ and ‘creative industries’. Compared to these ‘museum’ strategies, which often remove the living, organic local textures, local grassroots’ groups and individuals have sought alternatives and displayed creative efforts to progressively change Báng-kah.

3.6.1. Báng-kah Community College

Community Colleges, an adult-learning system, were largely founded in the 1990s and 2000s when the community-building movement was at its peak. Wanhua Community College was established in 2000 and is operated by three NGO foundations. The major focuses of the college are environmental concerns, local history and culture, community participation and caring for disadvantaged minorities. The college not only opened courses on community planners training, citizenship, local history and Chinese learning for new foreign immigrants. It has also actively engaged in projects in Báng-kah and has opened a platform for discussion on regenerating issues. Their magazine, Legends of Monga (Mengjia Chuanqi艋舺傳奇), written and edited by the editing learning group of the college shows their humanistic concern for the lives and environment in Báng-kah, and they sensitively touch upon the diversified memory fabric of this old quarter of Taipei. The case of Dali Street Movement best represents this grassroots’ strength.

\(^{86}\) For instance the ArtSupply Exhibition of art installations was held here by the Museum of Contemporary Art, Taipei from November 2010 to February 2011.
3.6.2. Case of Dali Street: Contested Heritage

The dynamic process of the Dali Street Case and the actors involved best represents the energetic contestation of heritage preservation in Taipei. It also points to changes in the social-political environment of Taiwan. The Dali Street community is located in the south-west corner of Báng-kah. In the 1990s, the community initiated a series of protests to preserve the land and warehouses built in the Japanese colonial period that had been part of the sugar industry. Their action successfully led to the decision to preserve the area and revise urban planning projects. However, the contestation is still ongoing, as in many other similar cases in Taipei.

The Dali Street Community
There was actually no Dali Street community prior to the preservation movement. The community is mainly comprised of two li (administrative districts of a neighbourhood) — Lüti Li and Tangbu Li. During the movement, Dali Street became a well-known and representative example of a community movement.

Lüti Li and Tangbu Li are located in the neighbourhood surrounding Lungshan Temple, Wanhua Train Station and Lungshan Temple MRT Station (metro). Lüti Li is close to the riverside (along the Huanhe South Road). In the postwar period, it was mainly rural migrants who lived in this low area, and squats also grew here. In the 1970s, the city government modified the land use from industrial-residential to residential use, and constructed a high density of public housing. Residents of this public housing were largely government and school workers, or people with a low income. Tangbu Li was the earliest part of the Dali Street area to be developed. Its early industry was chemical and pharmacy manufacturing. In the 1950s, the newspaper enterprise China Post moved to the neighbourhood and brought with it the booming print industry. When the print industry moved to Taipei County in the 1970s, the ready-made clothes industry replaced the print industry and soon Tangbu Li became the largest distributing centre for ready-made clothes in Taiwan (as mentioned in section 3.2.4). The industry declined in the 1990s. Currently there are two major industries in this area: wholesale clothes shops and wholesale clock shops. The latter industry was moved from Lungshan Market while it was under construction since 1993. There are also some flats in the area for employees of the Taiwan Sugar Cooperation.

Three Phases of the Dali Street Movement
The Dali Street Movement happened in three phases: first, there was resistance to the building of a new nursing home by Xiyuan Hospital; second, a proposal was made for a community park, through

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87 The three stages are according to Chen Xing-jun 2002, 22.
a strategy of urban plan revision; third, the local community aimed towards the building of a cultural community (wenhua shequ 文化社區) based on a common awareness of local heritage (Chen Xingjun 2000, 22).

The Dali Street Movement was motivated by a project irrelevant to heritage concerns. In 1997, a large protest was held by the residents against the building of a 700-bed nursing home in the neighbourhood. The land owner, Taiwan Sugar Cooperation, was going to rent 1.1 acres of land to Xiyuan Hospital. Although it may be difficult to understand today why the residents were so anxious about this new nursing facility, in fact their opposition was actually related to the marginal attention that the area was receiving in the urban development of Taipei City. As the old west was inferior to the new east in terms of priorities in the urban development of Taipei City in the 1990s, even during the promotion of Citizenship and the Area Environmental Improvement Project, the city government invested relatively fewer resources in the Dali Street area despite the fact that there was an urgent need for improvements in residents’ living environments. This feeling of “being ignored” emphasised a sense of inferiority attached to the area associated to its past. As mentioned in the last chapter, the Aiai and Jen-chi Nursing Home were both close to the Dali Street community. When they first opened, the former accommodated the homeless, while the latter treated mentally ill patients. The connection between nursing homes and inferiority underlies the negative self-image of the local residents. This was at the origin of the large mobilizations and community protests of the late 1990s.

This movement faced criticism and caused debate both outside and inside the community. In order to deal with this, some community members started to consult professionals. Two advisers provided key departures for the transition of the community movement: Professor Lin Wan-yi 林萬億 of the NTU Department of Social Work pointed out that small-scale and community-based nursing homes was simply an international trend; Professor Hsia Choe-jiu 夏鑄九 of the NTU Graduate Institute of Building and Planning stressed that the key theme of the movement should be public-oriented. The former justified the community’s action against the nursing home. The latter stimulated community awareness about the insufficiency of public facilities in the neighbourhood compared to other districts in Taipei, and so redirected the movement from protests against the nursing homes to endeavours for a community park. In other words, the community members gradually realised that city urban planning had ignored the needs of the community for too long. This was the real problem. They started to fight for a reasonable percentage of the public facilities listed in urban planning legislation and called for the Taiwan Sugar Cooperation to release land for public facilities. In 1999, the Urban Plan of the Neighbouring Area of Dali Street (大理街附近區域都市計畫案) was passed. This marked areal success for the local community.

88 For instance, from 1995 to 1999 the proposed projects of the Area Environmental Improvement focused on the so-called “cultural-educational districts” (文教區). There were 15 projects in Daan District and 13 projects in Wenshan District, much more than in other districts.
During the long process of urban plan revision, sugar industry sites built in the Japanese colonial period at Dali Street became recognised by architectural scholars and historians. Later, the three storehouses and old platforms of the sugar industry on the land that was to be used for the nursing home were designated as ‘historic buildings’ (歷史建物) by the city government. At the same time, a sense of community awareness was achieved from the successful preservation of local heritage. A feeling of cultural pride and a strong will to protect local heritage had sprung from this process of digging out historical uniqueness. A concern about the community’s living environment developed as the movement proceeded. In 1998, while still waiting for the results of an urban plan examination, the First Seed Camp (種子營) was held by the community to involve members of the younger generation to learn more about local history. The camp became an annual community activity and reacted well to community issues. Later, the Sugar Cane Festival and community-guided tours were arranged to sustain the local energy and a sense of identity. In 2001, the community organization was officially transformed to the Taipei Tang-bu Cultural Association (糖廍文化協會). Two years later, the old sugar industrial facilities were designated as historic monuments (古蹟). The idea for a Tangbu Cultural Park had been advancing among community members during their participation in the planning process of the land released by the Taiwan Sugar Cooperation. In this phase of community mobilization, the Aiai Nursing Home was no longer seen as a stigma. Instead, it has become part of the local historical significance and has been actively included in the guide tours arranged by the community association (Chen Xing-jun 2002).

In 2005, land was transferred from the Taiwan Sugar Cooperation to the city government, and old warehouses were donated by the company for cultural use. The Tangbu Cultural Park (糖廍文化園區) was officially opened to the public in 2010. Currently, one of the three warehouses within the park is
managed by the Taipei City Department of Cultural Affairs as museum of local history; two others have been used by a famous Taiwanese Opera troupe, Ming-Hwa Yuan 明華園 as office, rehearsal studio, display area and storage space. The members of the Taipei Tang-bu Cultural Association are volunteers at the museum, acting as guides or assistants. Other community members can use the place for activities, for instance classes and exercise, after applying for permission through the Department of Cultural Affairs.

Figure 48 and 49: Tangbu Cultural Park and the Warehouses. Images are courtesy of Chen Te-chun

**Actor Network of the Dali Street Community Movement**

The success of the Dali Street Movement has often been ascribed to the community’s sensitivity and adaptability to the contemporary political environment. Their mobilization and lobbying before elections successfully drew attention and participation of political figures including state legislators, city councillors and mayor candidates. The struggles between opposing political parties in the late 1990s and early 2000s provided a fertile situation in which the movement could act. This use of political ambiguity was in line with their ability to mobilize the media. The China Post in the neighbourhood became a partner of the community during the movement, and provided great help to highlight their activities and help expand their impact. The positive image of other community movements in the media simultaneously strengthened the self-pride of the Dali Street community.

Professionals and scholars have been important actors in the movement. Their involvement has been represented not only by giving valuable opinions at every important transition phase of the movement. It is also shown by the continuous participation of members of the NTU Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, Taipei City community planners and urban organizations, for instance the OURs. The programme and remodelling plan of the park space, later the Tangbu Cultural Park, became a platform for community participation and multiple involvements. With the passing of the Urban Plan of the Neighbouring Area of Dali Street in 1999, the China Post was obligated by the urban plan examination committee to provide funding for the planning and design of the community park. This funding allowed students, professionals and researchers affiliated with the NTU Graduate Institute of Building and Planning to join in the community development. They have participated
in editing the community newsletter, improving spaces in the neighbourhood,\textsuperscript{89} planning cultural activities and offering professional opinions about community development. The Community Planner Programme initiated by the Department of Urban Development in 1998 was introduced to the area and the Department hopes that it will be a successful model for the entire Taipei City.

**Departments within the City Government**

During the Dali Street Movement, the role of the city government departments changed along with the transitions of the movement. Some staff gradually became partners of the community and helped to figure out possible approaches in the bureaucratic system. However, after the urban plan and heritage designation were settled, various departments had to find a new position in the field. Instead of the Department of Urban Development, the Department of Cultural Affairs became the major actor in the neighbourhood because conventionally the designation of historic monuments is its responsibility. Moreover, various community associations in the neighbourhood simultaneously had diverse connections to different departments: the Tang-bu Cultural Association is affiliated to the Department of Cultural Affairs, the long-existing Li 李 organizations belong to the Civil Affairs (民政) administrative circle, and various Community Development Societies (社區發展協會) are under the Department of Social Welfare. Many overlapping community organizations in a small neighbourhood, due to long-established political factors, resulted in a competition for limited resources. They have challenged the sense of collective community which was at the root of the movement in the first place.

The overlapping structure within the neighbourhood is, however, minor among the reasons for community struggle. A major factor behind the discordance relates to the difference of visions about the development of the Dali Street area. As part of the old Báng-kah, the Dali Street neighbourhood has had a poor-quality living environment including high population density and a lack of public facilities. Local industries have waxed and waned in line with the transition of the economic structure. With this situation in mind, the developmentist-based urban renewal policy has been focused on modern living in high-rise buildings. Professional urban planners engaged in the community movement pointed out that the capacity reward strategy of current urban planning legislation would largely increase the population density of Dali Street and would entirely ruin the cultural and memory fabric of the neighbourhood (Hsia et al. 2002). Despite the fact that the community movement has shown an alternative to market-oriented urban planning, the diverse ideas of residents toward urban renewal has been the largest challenge to the community.

\textsuperscript{89} For instance, the improvement of the Two Tree Park and the remodelling the old building of the Jen-Chi Nursing Home.
Opera Troupe and Cultural Association
In 2008 the Department of Cultural Affairs started to renovate three warehouses of old sugar factory in the park with funding from the central government. Considering the future use of the historic monument, the department decided to give the space to the opera troupe Ming Hwa Yuan Taiwanese Opera Company (明華園戲劇團). This opera troupe is world-renowned and is entrepreneurial. While this use of the space is a departure from the usual ideas of revitalising historic monument spaces, the department transferred the management of the two storehouses and surrounding open space to the group in the hope that their activities would bring artistic energy and cultural tourism to this space some distance from the major tourist routes of the Lungshan Temple area. Taiwanese traditional opera also fits in well with the historical aura of the area, and so is well-placed to emphasise the image of Báng-kah as a place of historical significance and traditional culture. In 2010 the renovated storehouses and open space was officially opened to the public under the title of Tangbu Cultural Park (糖廍文化園區). However, the lukewarm relationship between the opera troupe and the Tang-bu Cultural Association has caused problems. The Association has argued that the community has been given relatively limited space, compared to the large, gated and guarded area provided for Ming Hwa Yuan. This issue heated up when Ming Hwa Yuan destroyed part of an old platform in 2011. The role of the Department of Cultural Affairs was ambivalent in this dispute. Within the policy framework of ‘rotating the axis of Taipei, remaking the west district’ (軸線翻轉，西區再造), the Department of Cultural Affairs attempted to connect points in Báng-kah to shape a new network of cultural industries and attractions. The ways in which cultural/heritage governance has reacted to the grassroots’ endeavours about home, memory and engagement in deciding their own living environment is worth further investigation.

The Warehouses: humble heritage
During the Dali Street Movement, the community coincidently discovered the historical significance of the three storehouses from the Japanese sugar industry. Through consulting elders, researchers and literature references, the community members gradually realised the historical connection between the Japanese sugar industry, Taiwan Sugar Cooperation, and the current Dali Street. In the postwar period, the land and facilities of the colonial sugar industry were transferred to the state enterprise Taiwan Sugar Cooperation and resulted in the situation of quasi-public land in Dali Street. As the warehouses were recognised as part of the only sugar factory in north Taiwan in the Japanese period, this historical uniqueness became the root of self-pride and identity within the community. Memories relating to the sugar past had been recollected during the community movement and were used in spatial and cultural projects, for instance growing sugar canes in the park, having Sugar Cane Festivals and providing relevant exhibits for the museum. This pride and identity can be seen in the fact that members of Tang-bu Cultural Association, despite their cool relationship with the Department of Cultural Affairs, volunteer as guides for museum visitors. Visitors may be surprised by the humble material form of the storehouses and platform when considering them as
historic monuments, but the significance of ‘home’ for the community, represented by the site, has legitimated it as heritage. After a double-layered colonization, local memories of Taiwan that were lost in process of authoritarian manipulation were finally allowed to reappear in the 1990s and 2000s. The boom in heritage during this period represented counter strength, and a longing for ‘home’ and subjectivity.
Conclusion

The case of Dali Street best represents the friction between market-oriented urban renewal legislation, cultural commoditisation and grassroots’ strength in many places in Taipei and Taiwan. Local memory and sense of place were lost in the dual processes of colonialism, and later they faced another challenge as cultural spatial fabric was rapidly destroyed in the name of developmentist urban policies. The community-building trend in the 1990s and 2000s provided the environment for a growth in grassroots’ strength, much of which was generated from and rooted in the process of recognising and saving their own heritage. At the same time, however, the institutionalised ‘cultural heritage’ system and market-oriented urban legislation often have different concerns from those of the grassroots’ groups.

Taking Báng-kah as an example, the historical significance of this old quarter has been recognised by both the government sector and grassroots’ individuals and groups in the last two decades. All have agreed that preserving the ‘cultural heritage’ of Báng-kah should be a major part of future urban development. However, the definition of ‘heritage’ varies, depending on the points of view of government departments, residents, or grassroots’ activists. Institutionalised cultural heritage, framed by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act and central and local cultural heritage institutions, tends to be characterised by preserving and ‘revitalising unused spaces’ and developing cultural industries. This materialistic perspective on cultural heritage is further framed by the bureaucratic division of the city government which sees historic monuments as a ‘cultural affair’ that should serve cultural purposes only. As a result, many successful autonomous community actions aimed at rescuing memory sites have led to ‘museums’ without a community. Dali Street is a case in point where the official definition of ‘heritage’ is in stark contrast to the notion of ‘heritage’ as advocated by grassroots’ groups. A good example of this is the Wanhua Community College, for whom heritage is the living fabric and local knowledge of the place which should be maintained through equal respect toward and engagement of diverse groups of people, and also through persistent concerns over the environment and sustainable development of the place.

Báng-kah’s ‘heritage’ is primarily regarded by the government as a potential commodity. The current urban strategy of integrating ‘heritage’ with area development remains questionable.
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