

**POST-WAR TAIWAN:
KNOWING THE OTHER FROM THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF
IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURE**

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THESIS STATEMENT

This thesis argues that Taiwan's uncertain post-war identity at the level of the state and the community resulted in a similar uncertainty in the imagery of the nation's everyday architecture. However, since the lifting of Martial Law and the collapse of the ruling KMT autocracy in the 1990s, Taiwan's cultural politics shifted from a longstanding identity construction based around nationalism to contemporary architectural practices that have instead emphasised multi-accentual accounts and forged new narratives for Taiwan's past, present and future.

ABSTRACT

Post-war Taiwan: Knowing the other from the cultural politics of identity and architecture

This research reveals the important role of space in history as the locus of identity construction in post-war Taiwan. Critical is the identification of a spatiotemporal realisation of cultural politics during the authoritarian Martial Law era (1949-1987) and the pragmatic formation of identity in the democratic present.

Nationalism in Martial Law Taiwan is discussed as the preliminary concept of identity construction as are the multifarious representations of acculturation in which the history and spaces of post-war Taiwan have been inscribed, codified, reinterpreted and written. These have been frequently emphasised as a post-Martial Law identity. The intention here is to examine the dominant myth constructed under autocratic psychological suppression and to reveal the genuine implications of identity construction in spatial historiography and practices beyond the collective ideology and official discourse.

This thesis consists of three core parts along with an introduction and a conclusion. The first part is a contextual sketch of the post-WWII built environment in Taiwan aided by a comparative analysis of Hong Kong and Singapore's colonial past and the social ambivalence inscribed in their spatial constructions of identity. A strategic survey of Martial Law Taiwan's ascendant discourse in architecture, which reflected in specific social political circumstances of the time, is followed as the comparison and analytical schema. The second part is a spatial observation of the revolutionary change in social atmosphere following the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 by looking at spatial re-representation in native literature and cinematic works. Through analysing literature and cinematic works, a dramatic transition from authoritarian spatial imagery to agency oriented dominance is identified. The final part deals specifically with post-Martial Law Taiwan's remarkable social movement, Community Development, along with its spatial practices. Here, the theoretical discourse and representative case studies are analysed and discussed.

The hypothesis, which corresponds to the problematic issues discovered in the research, is that the present spatial composition in Taiwan cannot be described as resting on either a

simplified nationalist base or chaotic societal anxiety. Rather, there is a form of fuzziness between binary poles, namely autocracy and democracy, nation state and day-to-day life, top-down and bottom-up orientations, and orthodoxy and hybridisation. This fuzziness shapes present day identity construction in post-Martial Law Taiwan and in particular its architectural practices. Most importantly, it reflects the current mainstream value of what can be formed as “heteroglossia”. Framed in this way, this thesis therefore poses the fundamental question: “What is the identified representation of architecture beyond the context of post-war Taiwan’s culture and politics?”

DECLARATION

This is to certify that

I. This thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD except where indicated in the Preface,

II. Due acknowledgement has been made in the text to all other material used,

III. The thesis is less than 100,000 words in length, exclusive of tables, maps, bibliographies and appendices.

*Chia-Hui LIN
Melbourne, Australia, November 2011*

PREFACE

The initiation of the research for this thesis emerged when I first realised my situation as an overseas student from Taiwan in 2008. As an architectural student, I commenced a study of Taiwanese architecture when I entered the discipline in 1998. As a research novice, I entered the field of western architectural history and theory as a major interest and achieved a M. Arch research degree adopting contemporary building cases in Taiwan as my first research application. In order to pursue further experience from the discipline, I decided to embark on a doctoral study overseas focussing on history and theory after years of practice as an architect. Yet, as a Taiwanese undertaking architectural study, I never recognised what exactly was the context of Taiwan's history and how significant and influential its post-war history was for architectural evolution in modern Taiwan. Particularly, the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 represented a key turning point for Taiwan and its present face. Being born and bred in post-war Taiwan, a true Taiwanese, I have witnessed the revolutionary changes that have taken place before and after 1987 throughout the country. This was the strongest motif which triggered me to jump into the research "pool". Most importantly, I also believed that an overall understanding of post-war Taiwan, through its buildings and of the buildings themselves through cultural, social and political construction of the periods in which the space was identified, was crucial and essential to be achieved as a work which introduced Taiwan to the field of architecture both professionally and internationally.

Parts of this thesis have been published and presented elsewhere. These include: "Anxiety about Identity: Architectural Discourse and Practice in Early Post-War Taiwan, 1949-1987," in *Cultural Crossroads: The 26th International SAHANZ Conference* edited by Julia Gatley; "Japanese, Chinese, American or Taiwanese? A Historical Critique through Architectural Discourse in Post-War Taiwan," in *ADGD Conference: The multiple faces of identity in the Designed Environment* edited by Lindsay Purssord; "Subjectivity in Architecture of Taiwan after 1949: Preliminary Analysis of a Discourse History," in *Sixty Years of Chinese Architecture (1949-2009): History, Theory and Criticism* edited by Jianfei Zhu; "The Transitional Period of Shaping Identity: Architectural Evolution in Early Post-War Taiwan, 1949-1987," in *7th mAAN International Conference: Asian cities, legacies of modernity*; "Nostalgia and Imagination in Post-War Taiwanese Architecture: A Spatiotemporal Critique," in *Imagining: The 27th International SAHANZ Conference* edited by Michael

Chapman and Michael Ostwald; "Further Away from Nationalism: Community Development in Post-Martial Law Taiwan," in *Taiwan Studies Postgraduate Symposium*; "Knowing the Other: The Post-Martial Law Cultural Politics of Identity and the Waterfront Kaohsiung," in *Taiwan Studies International Conference*, and some refereed journal and conference papers in review.

Various ascendant perspectives and ideologies relating to Taiwan historiography and its architectural discourses, I hope at least through this study, are able to be addressed and displayed from different schematic contexts in different chapters. Above and beyond all other consideration, the historical and socio-political trajectories of Taiwan are able to be honestly presented to the public without burdensome political suppression, slant and ideological imposition from the current conundrum of Taiwan's international status. However, I do hope that the strongest voice of subjectifying Taiwan as a Taiwanese, and aligning it with an international perspective, stands out remarkably and proudly.

Chia-Hui LIN
Melbourne, Australia, November 2011

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First, I would like to acknowledge my supervisory panel. Associate Professor Hannah Lewi, who is the chair of my supervisory committee, I am grateful for her by leading me to overcome all the difficulties in the nascent period of the research. I would like to thank Associate Professor Jianfei Zhu, who sharpened my research at its very first stages and helped me orient myself to a clear way of undertaking Taiwan Studies, I also thank Associate Professor Paul Walker and Dr. Anoma Pieris, who reflected intellectual stimulation throughout the interaction of my studies and always thought of me warmly and sincerely. Most importantly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Professor Philip Goad. The advice and suggestions that have provided from his insight into my research shaped this thesis; his knowledgeable perspective about architectural history and theory is also a strong source of my research development. Beyond the supervisory support, without a doubt, Philip's unfailing encouragement and thoughtful consideration have been a great comfort empowering me to achieve the study overseas. To him, appreciation is definitely beyond measure.

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subjects in architecture in the Faculty from 2008 to 2011. Apart from financial support, the construction of academic leadership and professional acquirements were the privileges to have been gained within this scholarly atmosphere.

In Australia, I would also like to thank a number of people who kindly offered assistance to my studies since 2007. Ms Cheryl Weston, who was the Associate Lecturer in the Department of Languages and Intercultural Education at Curtin University, gave me the fruitful classes when I first stepped in Australia in 2007 and therefore opened the door towards my studies in Melbourne a year after. Ms Bick-har Yeung from the Baillieu Library at the University of Melbourne helped me with collection of data, building up the network of Taiwan Studies in Australia and also technically writing up the thesis. With regard to Taiwan Studies in Australia, special thanks are also due to Professor J. Bruce Jacobs from School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics at Monash University, Dr. Lewis Mayo, Dr. Liping Du, Ms Philippa Ann Riley from the Asia Institute, Dr. Fran Martin and Dr. Yu-ting Huang from the School of Culture and Communication at the University of Melbourne who worked with me in the 2010 Taiwan Studies International Conference and Symposium, and gave great enthusiasm to Taiwan issues since the Taiwan Research Reading Group was founded in 2008 at the University of Melbourne. Their input reinforced this thesis and my scholarship on Taiwan Studies.

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Appreciation is also sent to my colleagues and friends who were working with me and supporting me, and encouraging me since the commencement of the thesis in 2008. I also owe a special debt of gratitude to my parents Ching-Chang Lin and Dora Lai, and my sister Lilian Lin, and Zhihao Yao who assisted with various respects of my studies in Australia. There must be something of all of you in the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION:
FRAMING AND METHODISING TAIWAN'S POST-WAR CULTURE

... compared with the economic, geographic, industrial and commercial issues in Taiwan Studies, the works about Taiwan's history, culture, human, religion, politics and everyday necessities are placed as indifferent positions ... even though Taiwan's recent achievement in economy has received highly international appreciation, academic research on Taiwan's history and related issues are still situated in a marginal location of the field nationally and internationally which is the same as Taiwan's once geographic and historical positions written in the official discourse ... post-war Taiwan's commencement of democratic politics and social multiplicity was not strongly developed under the knowledge base of modernisation as the case usually was. Rather, it was imposed by powerful state apparatus ... who (the KMT) used the modernisation of economy as the tool to stabilise its political priority ... Yet the role of the political power is in fact passive and negative, the awakening consciousness from the populace on the other hand is the positive key since the stabilisation of the economy and society has been established ...¹

As Li Hung Hsi has observed, the position of studying post-war Taiwan's cultural and historical context has been marginalised due to its ambiguous and complex status. Despite post-war Taiwan's remarkable achievement in developing its national economy, its cultural performance in fields such as architecture and literature is represented not only by top-down dominance but also by bottom-up practices that are always controversial and divergent.

At one level, this thesis came into existence based on an interest in looking at the socio-ecology of post-war Taiwan with a historical and cultural perspective, which challenges the perception of looking at post-war Taiwan with a merely rational and neutral point of view. This thesis also seeks a different direction when compared to the standard framework commonly applied to the emerging field of Taiwan Studies. At another level, fundamentally,

¹ Li Hung Hsi, "Jen Lei Pao Kui Te Taiwan Chan Hou Li Shih Ching Yen (人類寶貴的台灣戰後歷史經驗)(the Valuable Post-War Historical Experience in Taiwan)," in *Taiwan Min Chu Yun Tung Ssu Shih Nien (台灣民主運動四十年)(Fourty Years of Democratic Movement in Taiwan)*, ed. Lee Shaw Fong (Taipei: Tzu Li Wan Pao, 1987), pp. 4, 12.

this thesis is an architectural and urban study; it is an exploration and discussion about the interplay between post-WWII Taiwan's history, its architecture and its populace.

FOUR HUNDRED YEARS OF TAIWAN: AN UNSETTLED HISTORY

RULERS AND THE RULED

It has been around four hundred years since Taiwan's civilisation has been recorded. During this period, there have been constant shifts between the rulers and the ruled. This is the island's distinguishing characteristic in history, which has dazed and unsettled the island's residents no matter whether in the past or in the present. This situation can be traced to the island's geographic position. Surrounded by oceans and close to nearly all the countries in East Asia (Figure 1), Taiwan has always been an important way station for trans-Pacific voyagers through its geographic location. Most importantly, this is also the chief reason for the shaping of Taiwan's maritime culture character.



Figure 1 Taiwan's geographic location (Made by the author).

In other words, the cultural character of Taiwan is represented by variety absorbed from external interventions. Despite this cultural multiplicity, which has for a long time shaped popular culture on the island, this popular culture was for a long time the major but

vulnerable low culture. On the other hand, the variety of rulerships and their representative ideologies brought to the island, strongly and apparently, have dominated Taiwan as its high culture. This is the first historical characteristic of Taiwan: external objects represent the subjects and the indigenous subjects play the objects. Put differently, the native subjects were lengthily subordinate to the outsiders.

THE NAME OF THE ISLAND

Taiwan has had many appellations since it has been recorded in history. Amongst them, some have the significant implications when read as turning points in the nation's history. "Formosa",² which was Taiwan's very first international description in the early sixteenth century, has for a long time been widely used in the western world. Because of this, it has become the proper name of Taiwan, and is now still commonly used amongst western countries. "Taiwan", the other very common appellation of the island represents another vital phenomenon in the history of Taiwan. The name originated from the *Siraya*³ language, *Taioan*, which was used to call the foreigners who come from anywhere out of their tribe. The *Han*⁴ migrants, the Dutch and the Japanese later had applied different written characters to *Taioan*'s pronunciation and gradually the use of "Taiwan" has become the most common name to describe the native dwellers today as well as the imagery of the island itself.

² "Formosa" originated from a Portuguese fleet which first found the island on their way sailed through today's Taiwan Strait. "Ilha Formosa" (in Portuguese, literally the beautiful island) which was described by the sailors on the ship therefore became Taiwan's very first internationally well-known appellation.

³ The *Siraya* tribe was one of Taiwan's very first aboriginal tribes. Its major settlement was located at today's Tainan; the actual tribe and its culture and language now are nearly lost.

⁴ *Han* 漢 usually refers to the major ethnic group amongst the Chinese communities.

Nevertheless, the most common names do not equally account for its state and political status. Although Taiwan and Formosa have extensively stood for the island and its society today, the government still rather hides behind them. Since the end of WWII, Taiwan's official appellation is issued by the Nationalist Government (KMT) as the Republic of China (ROC). Taiwan, under the administrative context of the ROC, is represented as a de facto independent sovereign state in all but name.⁵ In other words, the name of the ROC stands for post-war Taiwan's awkward situation as a state. The names of Taiwan, therefore, represent another historical characteristic: segregated society, cultures and ideologies.

THE "NATIVE"

In the middle of the seventeenth century, there were only a small number of migrants and mainly Austronesian⁶ based aborigines who had dwelt on Taiwan for many thousands of years. Although presently these aborigines have become a minority, almost entirely assimilated into the *Han* cultural community,⁷ they were once the chief inhabitants and were spread over the entire island.

⁵ Because of political competition with China, using the name of ROC to represent Taiwan's national and international status is often repressed. Instead, alternative name such as "Chinese Taipei" is more often designated as the blurred and compromised appellation to stand for Taiwan government nowadays for many international events and interactions.

⁶ Taiwan's very early aboriginal population, supported by repeated research, was a branch of Austronesian people, the race who has spread worldwide from Madagascar in the west to Easter Island in the east and from Taiwan in the north to New Zealand in the south. More details are discussed in **Appendix 5: A maritime connection to Taiwan.**

⁷ The early aboriginal tribes that lived on the plains of Taiwan nowadays have assimilated almost entirely into external cultures which imported to Taiwan with early migrants. Their languages and cultures barely exist today, i.e. they are nearly indistinguishable from other native dwellers in Taiwan today. *Pingpu* 平埔 (plains aborigines) is the general appellation to describe these tribes today.

When Cheng Cheng-kung brought the first massive *Han* migrants to Taiwan by the decision of creating his military base followed by the establishment of the Tung Ning kingdom (1661-1683) announced by his son later, the native dwellers' complexity in terms genealogy was suddenly increased. Cheng did not only build his new regime in Taiwan but also enabled the early *Han* Chinese to gradually gain superiority in Taiwan society. As the aboriginal population on the island has gradually reduced and assimilated into external cultures, native society in Taiwan, consequently, has also gradually been dominated and shaped as *Han* society. External interventions which often dominate the native essence in society therefore becomes Taiwan's third historical characteristic.

THE "MIGRANT"

Waves of immigration are another vitally distinguishing characteristic of Taiwan's history. The last massive immigration was in the early post-WWII period. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek fled to Taiwan after the defeat in the Chinese Civil War against the Communist Party. During this period from 1948 to 1956, he brought enormous numbers of Chinese soldiers and civilians to Taiwan. This massive increase of the population in Taiwan is now often referred to by academics as Taiwan's post-war "political immigration", brought a dramatic change to the Taiwan's native society.

RESEARCH ISSUE AND OBJECTIVE: A NON-NATIONAL NATION STATE

There are two polar ends and a gap in between when one reads the history of Taiwan as a whole. These poles are the nation and everyday life; Fredric Jameson has described this situation of post-war Taiwan as a "non-national nation state".⁸ Based on the segregation of

⁸ Fredric Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System* (Bloomington; London: Indiana University Press, 1992), p. 154.

post-war Taiwan's awkward national and international status⁹ and its de facto essence of everyday scenario, Taiwan's society, along with its cultural politics of identification and in the physical environment, their representations are problematic. This includes the imagery of the nation's architecture.

To meet different rulers' demands, Taiwan played different roles during different times. The Dutch and the Spanish took Taiwan as a maritime trading base; Cheng Cheng-kung stationed troops to cultivate farmlands there; the Manchu Ching Empire saw it as the frontier of their territory; the Japanese Empire took it as the base for southward advance; and the KMT took it as the gangway to counterattack China. The circumstances of sudden change have often hindered the cultural politics of social identification and its physical representations. The frequent changes of rulership from outside as well as intentional repression have wrapped the subjectivity and eliminated the memories of Taiwanese people over a long period of time. People in Taiwan have become unfamiliar with their homeland and have been unable to identify the cultural authenticity. In post-war Taiwan's architectural representations, the chaotic presentation of building forms and diversified interpretations of spatial indigenusness are evidence of this phenomenon. To investigate this issue, this historical crack is addressed and post-war Taiwan's built environment and its interplay with the cultural politics of the time have been scrutinised as the objectives in the thesis. Moreover, one of the objectives is also to define the pivotal moments which create a lack of clarity to the cultural politics of identity and architecture in post-war Taiwan and the configuration behind this ambiguity. In other words, this study will examine Taiwan's contemporary architectural evolution with a historical perspective. By looking at the changes of reception in Taiwan's history, the imagery of today's Taiwanese built environment will be revealed in a clear and understandable sight.

⁹ The awkwardness of Taiwan's national and international status is described by Melissa J. Brown as a "global political spot" because Taiwan's present transformation of identity construction conflicts the PRC's national identity and ethnic politics. Details see Melissa J. Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, Berkeley Series in Interdisciplinary Studies of China ; 2. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), p. 2.

RESEARCH DELIMITATION AND ARGUMENT: FURTHER AWAY FROM NATIONALISM

Based on the problematic gap between the polar ends of Taiwan's cultural political trajectory, this thesis focuses only on the post-WWII period and analyses post-war Taiwan's architectural and urban history and evolution along with the cultural and political configurations in native society. Although this research theoretically and geopolitically operates under a multilateral context, the studied scope will be delimited geographically from a Taiwan-centred perspective and the chief physical cases are chosen and narrowed down to the architectural/community projects which occurred between 1987 and 2011. This time period is divided from Taiwan's post-war historical and socio-political transition. The main argument in the thesis is that nationalism in this day and age is neither the only nor the most pivotal key in shaping identity in contemporary cultural politics, particularly in Taiwan's current architectural representations.

THE PAST: THE CHARACTERISTIC OF COLONIALISM

In Taiwan's post-WWII period, colonisation is always regarded as the most influential and crucial phenomenon. Before 1624, Taiwan was still considered a savage land in which only had scattered aboriginal tribes and a few external migrants. Yet after 1624, Taiwan began to experience varied colonial rules as its destiny and form this remarkable characteristic in history. Chinese cultural residues, a Japanese legacy and western cultural influences in both earlier and post-war time have shaped the cultural context of Taiwan, affected the daily life of its people, enriched Taiwan's maritime culture, and nurtured its multi-layered intrinsic quality.

THE PRESENCE: THE DISPUTABLE IDENTIFICATION

Looking at the social political presence in Taiwan today, there is a confusion and anxiety about identity in cultural and spatial terms due to the complex past and its residues in

modern society. This anxiety emerged in the late 1980s. The lifting of Martial Law and the awakening of individual autonomy and self-consciousness are the societal motifs of overcoming this anxiety about identity. Moreover, these are also the chief turning points for native Taiwanese, to shift the mainstream value of society in Taiwan from a nationalist collectivity to civilian subjectivity and to be realised in actual space of the island, that the subject is not located on an imaginary mainland but in the everyday spaces of Taiwan.

THE PRESENT: THE FOUNDING OF THE TAIWANESE

After the transitional era in the 1980s and 1990s, the present idea of indigenisation has become the mainstream value of modern society in Taiwan, and a consensual goal. The historical rectification of the current native population's origin from a once imposed "same culture, same bloodline" 同文同種¹⁰ is the distinctive example. According to recent research on the history and genealogy of Taiwan's native population, intermarriage is an important fact to decode the origin of Taiwanese people since archaeological and medical research have proved that the earlier *Han* immigrants, who settled in Taiwan from China, were nearly all bachelors¹¹ no matter because of various conditions or the official passage restriction made by the Ming Empire. Therefore in the past four hundred years, the native aborigines and the minority *Han* migrants have forged a collective community, which is widely regarded as the founding of the Taiwanese today, breaking the knowledge about *Han* only origin which was imposed by the Nationalist Government in order to maintain their political

¹⁰ For a long time, KMT government used various state apparatuses, such as media and educational institutes, to impose an idea that Taiwan and its society had been constructed by *Han* culture and lineage alone. The rest of Taiwan's existing cultures and racial roots were not allowed to be acknowledged and recognised before the collapse of its Martial Law autocracy in the late 1990s.

¹¹ Melissa J. Brown's argument in her book *Is Taiwan Chinese* attests to the reasons. She argues that: "intermarriage between *Han* immigrant men and local women - that is, women of both Aborigine and mixed ancestry - occurred throughout the Dutch and Cheng periods". More details can be found in Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, p. 148.

priority and dominance. Of course, this tendency towards indigenisation is not only highlighted in historical rectification and the identification of being Taiwanese, this phenomenon has become a collective consensus and a mainstream value in various disciplines such as architectural historiography in Taiwan.

CHRONOLOGICAL AND DISCIPLINARY DIVISION: THE IDENTIFICATION OF CULTURE, HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ARCHITECTURAL DISCOURSE

In this thesis, three important types of identifications - culture, historiography and architectural discourse - have been examined. The cultural context, the production of historiography and the post-war native discourses in architecture are strategically focused. Colonial residues in post-war Taiwan especially from China and Japan are addressed in the thesis as key influences in Taiwan's colonial past. The influence of China constitutes post-war Taiwan's strong political imposition, which for a long time infiltrated through education, society and different cultural representations. The Japanese residues, on the other hand, consist of the popular but repressed memories which can be found in many aspects of current everyday life. In a synthetic scrutiny of these two colonial sediments' interplay with modern Taiwan society and the shift between post-war Taiwan's dominant subjects and objects before and after the lifting of Martial Law, are also the important bridges linking the cultural politics of identity and architecture in post-war Taiwan.

THE PAST: DICTATORSHIP, GREATER CHINA AND ECONOMIC ACHIEVEMENT

The government of the Republic of China in Taiwan was administered by the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) under an authoritarian system from 1945 to 1999 (which had gradually collapsed from 1988 onwards, the year when the Chiang regime was terminated). Interestingly, apart from the strong "Chinese orthodoxy", (the so-called Greater China ideology), imposed by the ruling power, Taiwan's well-known economic achievement was also located at this stage along with US Aid from 1951 to 1965. Due to US Aid, the KMT was

able to restore post-war Taiwan's economy in a very short term despite its retreat and downside situation from the series of unsuccessful endings to the Chinese Civil War when compared to Taiwan's fairly modernised early post-Japanese society. These two characteristics in Taiwan's built environment were also apparent from the strong external formalism on most of the public buildings in a traditional Chinese Palace Revival Style and in the rapid infrastructure recovery in the early post-war period.

THE PRESENCE: DEMOCRATISATION, SOCIETAL TRANSFORMATION AND AN IDENTITY STRUGGLE

The KMT faced the challenge from Taiwan's *Tangwai* movement (黨外運動, the movement outside the Chinese Nationalist Party)¹² in the 1980s and eventually decided to eliminate this emerged force. This action, politically and socially, activated the commencement of Taiwan's democratisation. On December 10th 1979, the *Tangwai* communities held lectures and a parade in Kaohsiung City to commemorate International Human Rights Day. That night, a conflict between the police and the populace erupted during the parade. KMT government force immediately started to arrest all the related members of a journal who hosted this parade, *Formosa Magazine* 美麗島雜誌. Called the *Formosa Incident*, this event nowadays is also known as the *Kaohsiung Incident*. This incident is highly regarded in Taiwan's post-war political and social evolution by scholars as the very first step towards Taiwan's democratisation. In 1986, the Democratic Progress Party (DPP) was officially founded. Chiang Ching-kuo, leader of the KMT, also the president of the ROC of the time, the son of Chiang Kai-shek, was forced by the public to accept the existence of the DPP as the recognised opposition party. In 1987, the year before Chiang died, Martial Law was lifted. By 1988, the Chiang authoritarian regime had passed.

¹² The *Tangwai* movement was a political movement in Taiwan in the mid-1970s and the early 1980s, which was formed against the KMT's authoritarian system and Martial Law. At the time, under its autocratic rule, the KMT was the only legal political party.

Based on the economic boom and a society gradually opening towards democracy and diversification, the individuality and the anxiety about Taiwan's cultural and political identity began to emerge. The built environment, which comprises complex cultural and political elements from each society, has inevitably reflected change and struggle. They are reflected also in architectural discourses and practices. The debates about architecture are no longer simply: How does Chinese architecture revive in Taiwan? How does contemporary architecture develop in Taiwan today? But also: Why is Chinese architecture applied to Taiwanese architectural practices? Does traditional Chinese culture represent well the cultural authenticity of Taiwan? What is the history of Taiwanese architecture? And is this history equal to the history of Chinese architecture or even the history of China? Similarly, in practices, the design works also reflect the anxiety about cultural identity and Taiwan's locality. The maritime character of Taiwan, which presents diverse aspects of cultural forms from the day-to-day routine of Taiwan society, encourages architectural professionals to question the once constructed solely Chinese context.

THE PRESENT: THE RISE OF THE OTHER IN CULTURAL AND SPATIAL PRACTICES

Since an individual consciousness has been gradually awakened and social repression has been gradually released, many of the "Others" which had been suppressed and hidden in the past now have emerged as subjects. In 2000, the Taiwanese people accomplished Taiwan's first peaceful power shift by vote. From this election, the DPP became the first native ruling party in Taiwan's history. The DPP officially replaced the KMT's 55 years of autocracy. The idea of "Taiwan first" is subsequently supported by both the new political power and the general public. This was the first time that Taiwanese people can participate in the decisions about their own fate and future.

In cultural and spatial practices, the historical sites built in the Japanese era were particularly pinpointed as a focus of administrative, academic and professional practices. As an existing and chronically repressed element of culture and space in the history of modern Taiwan, the Japanese residues challenged the once dominant Greater China ideology in post-war built environment as another focus. Most importantly, these residues also play the

role of bridging the changes of reception in history and space from the Martial Law period to the present when the individual consciousness and indigenous autonomy were gradually awakened.

METHODOLOGY

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The main research question in this thesis, based on the problematic phenomenon in the history of Taiwan and the focus on post-war Taiwan's architectural representation, is therefore generated as "How did the emerging social and cultural political recognition in recent times challenge the existing strong nationalist identity in post-war spatial and architectural practices in Taiwan, and how was this identification transformed by those actual objects in the recent built environment in post-Martial Law Taiwan"?

By asking this question, a series of sub-questions were created along with the theoretical framework of this thesis from a broader context to specific texts, from cultural political discussion to specific architectural analyses.

Colonisation and nationalism are the issues examined in the research as the first level. The questions asked here are: "How do these issues frame the context of the post-war Taiwanese built environment from its historical impacts as well as the interaction with present circumstances and what is the tendency towards which recent spatial practices in Taiwan are moving under this context"? Democratisation and an emerging form of individual consciousness are the issues subsequently explored as the second level. The questions cast here are: "How have the social political changes shocked cultural forms since the lifting of Martial Law, and what is the reflection in spatial representation in correspondence to this identity transformation"? The third level focuses on societal and cultural shifts. The questions raised here are: "What is the turning point or conception in post-Martial Law society as the bridge moving forward to the new stage, and how is this new reception in history applied to those disciplinary discourses particularly in architecture"? The next level

is narrowed down to spatial practices in the post-Martial Law period. The target to be achieved here is: “How are those post-Martial Law conceptions performed in spatial practices and what are the distinctive characteristics when compared to the works completed in the Martial Law time”? By concluding and looking overall at the issues and cases analysed in the thesis, the final level in the research are the questions: “How have the early post-war nationalist colonialities gradually been transformed to present self-conscious subjectivity? How have these colonial residues, which were once represented as the authoritarian supremacy in Taiwan, been shifted back to their original value in humanities as a new attitude towards history and as the recognition of the subject-object relocation in Taiwan society? Most importantly, how do recent built environment and architectural practices reflect this transmutation of cultural political identification from the Martial Law time, to the post-Martial Law time, and how does architectural imagery differentiate between the conceptions and applications on Taiwan, which represent the ideological universalness and local particularity respectively”?

METHODS

Three research approaches are applied to the thesis as the main methods to analyse data. The first is discourse review and analysis. More precisely, amongst the context framing chapters, related socio-cultural and architectural discourses are extensively surveyed in order to sketch the general trajectory towards which the environment in post-war Taiwan is moving. In the next chapter, the native academic and professional discourse about architectural, urban, cultural political and social issues is discussed along with related social theories in order to develop a critical base for the research case studies. Subsequently, case study analysis was chosen as the major approach to look at the architectural practices in recent Taiwan. In this part, the “typicality” of post-war Taiwan’s architecture and urbanism is discussed. Three main cases are observed and analysed in the thesis with the context and theoretical structure previously framed. These three cases represent, in that order, the attempts to shape “typicality”, “emerging significance” and “overall reflection” in Taiwanese architecture and urbanism today. The emerging issues and phenomena raised in the case studies are intentionally discussed in synthetic and respective layers. Finally, a synthetic

analysis is conducted to conclude and to integrate the survey, observation and analyses together as an overall conversation. The arguments and positions formed in the research operation are restated and highlighted in this part, echoing the broader context framed at the very beginning of the thesis.

RESEARCH POSITION AND PRESENTATION

The basic thrust of this research is to not only look at post-war Taiwan as an isolated case but also to see post-war Taiwan as the centre of a research subject and treating the series of external impacts as the supportive and comparative objects. The historical, cultural political and social contexts framed in the thesis are therefore all based on native and de facto issues in Taiwan. The research starts from the context framing analysis, translates into a theoretical study, is pinpointed by empirically physical case studies, and concludes with a synthetic discussion. The individual structures, approaches and intentions in each body chapter are discussed below.

Chapter 1 shapes the post-war context of Taiwan by comparing and contrasting two other remarkable cases, Hong Kong and Singapore. The similar time period but different social, cultural and political circumstances and most importantly events exhibited as spatial representations are finely scrutinised. Ackbar Abbas and Robbie Boon Hua Goh's works are reviewed to outline the societal auras in Hong Kong and Singapore's early post-war periods and the characteristics presented in the corresponding built environment. Early post-war Taiwan's society and cultural political context are subsequently analysed as the focus of this chapter. Professional native discourses in architecture are surveyed as the chief material to review the spatial characteristics in early post-war Taiwan. A broader tendency about the situation in transiting the past to the current stage in Taiwan is described at the end of the chapter.

Chapter 2 discusses the transition and practices of native literature and cinema in post-Martial Law Taiwan. As the most popular public media in modern Taiwan, native literature and cinematic works share the temperament of cross-fertilisation and accessibility to look at post-Martial Law Taiwan's socio-cultural shift from simplification to multiplicity. In this

chapter, the implication beyond this temperament is questioned and the spatial reinterpretation amongst these works are analysed. The broader concept of shifting Taiwan society from the Martial Law period to the post-Martial Law era is once again examined, and the two polar ends in post-war Taiwan's spatial evolution, the issues of nationalism and everyday life, are analysed. Consequently the post-Martial Law social movement, Community Development, is argued at the end of the chapter as constituting the turning issue which encourages post-Martial Law Taiwan's identity construction through the representation of the new receptions of history in cultural politics and architectural imagery.

Chapter 3 analyses a social movement, Community Development, as the chief pragmatic issue theorised in the thesis. Community Development is defined and this movement's origin as well as practices in the social domain and the architectural profession is discussed. As an external conception, the movement's evolution in post-war Taiwan is also explored. The chapter maps the context of Community Development which has been highlighted in post-Martial Law Taiwan and examines the official, academic and professional architectural discourses on this issue. By looking at the native discourses, the chief ideas and practical approaches of Community Development in architectural and urban practices are therefore integrated.

Chapter 4 to Chapter 7 turn the contextual and theoretical discussion to the main case studies. In short, the study turns from discussion of the issue to the act of writing about it, or speaking for it. **Chapter 4** looks at the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei City, and a building project in Taipei, the Red House. Taipei City used to represent the major (even only) metropolis in modern Taiwan; this chapter examines the urban development of Taipei and tries to sketch the "typical" urban and spatial texture in post-war Taiwan along with Taiwan's historical background, cultural and societal evolution. The constant change of political power in Taiwan is strongly presented in Taipei's urban texture; the so-called Greater China cultural and political imposition constructed by the KMT force is also obvious when the urban and spatial development of Taipei is observed in this way. A historical site, the Red House, in Taipei is also scrutinised in order to see the status of architecture in post-Martial Law Taiwan. Most importantly, it is analysed to see the contextual restricted and nascent embodiment of Community Development at the scale of a building project.

By comparison with the analysis of Taipei and the Red House, another major city of Taiwan, Kaohsiung, is observed in **Chapter 5**. As the well-known spatial representative, Taipei in the thesis is challenged to its “typical” position and spatial legitimacy in terms of post-Martial Law period’s dramatic changes in political, social and cultural circumstances. Kaohsiung City, in this sense, is argued as the new type of leading city in today’s Taiwan which has emerged and been popularised in the post-Martial Law period. A renovation project of a historical site in Kaohsiung, the Kaohsiung Museum of History, is also discussed to look at the deeper spatial impact of Community Development.

Chapter 6 synthesises an observation the iconic characteristics of Taiwan’s post-Martial Law built environment. Several issues beyond the physical and visible spatial object are analysed. At the architectural level, issues of heritage preservation, adaptive reuse and post-Martial Law museumisation in spatial practices are broadly and intensively discussed. At the theoretical level, the issues of civil society and the public sphere which are wildly contested in native Community Development related discourses are analysed. Lastly the issue of the acculturation in post-war Taiwanese architecture is considered as an analytic observation to look at post-war Taiwan’s architectural and urban identification and evolution.

Based on the framework and analyses developed from previous chapters, **Chapter 7** concentrates on the last empirical case study of the thesis, a waterfront community in Kaohsiung City. By looking at a different scale of spatial practice, this chapter looks at different issues of post-Martial Law Community Development, related to an overall scope in Taiwan’s built environment. In this chapter, ideas between collectivity and individuality in Taiwan society are first framed. The waterfront community in Kaohsiung is subsequently analysed from its highlighted identity, water, by discussing the worldwide issues of waterfront revitalisation and urban deindustrialisation. Moreover, Kaohsiung’s widely recognised urban landmarks - the harbour, Love River, and the groups of buildings alongside the waterfront - are finely explored. In the conclusion, the final chapter re-assays the key theoretical map drawn in the study and provides potential points beyond this thesis which might bridge and benefit further research in Taiwan Studies and architectural studies on history and theory.

TERMINOLOGY AND CLARIFICATION

Due to the existing ambiguity and awkwardness within the context of doing Taiwan Studies, certain terminology and explanations used and adopted in this thesis are necessary and essential to be defined and positioned in order to create an analytical basis of the research. The terms in the section below are listed alphabetically.

Chinese culture: So-called Chinese culture mentioned in this thesis is not specifically located as the cultural system in China but widely referring to shared *Han* culture. Due to mass Chinese migration all over the Asian and Pan-Pacific countries including Taiwan, the traditional *Han* cultural system has already adapted and mixed with various native cultural and social systems as “shared *Han* culture”.

Chinese orthodoxy: The KMT’s authoritarian regime had penetrated into political, educational, economic and societal aspects in post-war Taiwan, even in cultural aspect. The Cold War atmosphere of anti-communism and anti-Russia was the target which the Nationalist Government imposed in the propagandist cultural policy. In 1966, when the Chinese communists launched the Cultural Revolution 文化大革命, which traditional Chinese culture was severely questioned and challenged; the so-called Greater China ideology 大中華意識 was constructed as the official cultural context in Taiwan by the Nationalist Government to promote the so-called “orthodoxy of Chinese culture” 中華文化的道統 to compete with the Cultural Revolution happened in China of the time.

Colonial past and external impacts: The colonial past and external impacts mentioned in the research refer to all the previous ruling powers after the end of Taiwan’s Austronesian tribal society and before its first native political power flux in 2000. They are the Dutch (1624-1662), the Spanish (1626-1642), the Cheng-family regime (1662-1683), the Manchu Ching Empire (1683-1895), the Japanese Empire (1895-1945), and the authoritarian Chinese Nationalist regime (1945-1988). From 1988 to 2000, Taiwan was still ruled by the Nationalist Government, yet the dictatorship had gradually collapsed.

Colonial regime: So-called colonial regimes highlighted in the study refer to regimes which were ruled by outsiders for the benefit of the outsiders; therefore, there is a difference

between colonial regime's political intention and native regime's priority of Taiwan and its benefit.

Community and everyday life: The idea of community in this research is connected to the spatiotemporal representation of everyday life. Although the idea of community touches people's lives in many ways, in spatial practice, this thesis argues that this idea in post-Martial Law Taiwan forms the significance on how space relates to the environment and the people who live there simultaneously. The relationship between the community and everyday life reflects socially a relationship between identity and individuals, which are "formed and negotiated through everyday experiences and social interactions".¹³

Community Development: This term in the thesis mainly refers to the English translation of post-Martial Law Taiwan's social movement: 社區營造 (Community Development). Yet at times in other studies, the term "Community Construction" is also frequently used for the same issue. Other translations such as "Community Empowerment" and "Community Renaissance" are also often used by academics.

Country, Nation and State: There is certain ambiguity in Taiwan's status in national and international discourses whether Taiwan is a national state or a state without nation. Yet, an incontestable position of Taiwan as a de facto reality is its independent sovereign which has a permanent population, a defined territory, and a state government, i.e. it is independent of recognition by other states and the capacity to enter into relations with the other states.¹⁴

Democratisation: Taiwan's democratisation commenced around the time when Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Its post-WWII time before this year, Taiwan was dominated under the KMT government's authoritarian control. However, although it is closely linked, the issue of democratisation in this thesis is argued to be differentiated from the social, cultural and political movement of indigenisation (Taiwanisation). Indigenisation in post-Martial

¹³ Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, p. 13.

¹⁴ J. Bruce Jacobs, "Whiter Taiwanisation? The Colonisation, Democratisation and Taiwanisation of Taiwan," in *TSPS* (The University of Melbourne 2010).

Law Taiwan emphasises identification with Taiwan, consciousness of Taiwan, and even Taiwan nationalism, which democratisation touches less and loose.

Genealogy of the native Taiwanese: There had been a saying that goes: “there are no *Tang Shang*¹⁵ grandmothers but only *Tang Shan* grandfathers” (有唐山公, 無唐山媽). It is an apparent standpoint to explain that Taiwan’s early *Han* immigrant society nearly consisted of males because of reasons, such as the sea prohibition policy from the Ming Empire and the Manchu Ching Empire, and a folk custom which disallowed women on board. Therefore, *Han* immigrant males in Taiwan mostly inter-married with the *Pingpu* females (Austronesian-based aborigines in Taiwan) in order to carry on their bloodlines and inherit the land and property of their wives. This racial hybridisation therefore formed the majority of today’s native Taiwanese ethnicity. Moreover, according to recent medical research, there are about 8% of the native Taiwanese population that has European lineage connecting to Taiwan’s Dutch and Spanish colonisation in the seventeenth century.

History of Taiwan: Taiwan’s history mentioned in the thesis refers to its actual four hundred years history since the civilisation of the island has been recorded, which is different to the once imaginary five thousand years Chinese history placed by the Nationalist Government in the early post-war years in Taiwan.

Identity and Identification: Generally speaking, this research sees the discussion of identity as a procedure of “becoming”, which establishes points of similarities and differences. In other words, identification represents the procedure of constructing identity; through this procedure, the subject location in Taiwan’s social, cultural and political discourse is constituted.

Indigenisation (Taiwanisation): There are two waves of indigenisation in Taiwan which have been mentioned in the thesis. One happened in the 1970s and the other occurred in the 1990s, which were conducted within different cultural contexts. The first was motivated when Taiwan severed its diplomatic relation with the United States and it was

¹⁵ *Tang Shang* 唐山 was a general appellation when Taiwanese people referred to China in the time before the 1950s.

contextualised with the atmosphere of promoting the so-called Greater China ideology; the intention of this “indigenisation” attempted to revive the orthodoxy of traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan. Therefore, it is at times connected to the movement of the so-called Chinese Cultural Renaissance 中華文藝復興, or a discursive debate about native soil in a placeless manner. The latter was motivated after the lifting of Martial Law (1987) and it was contextualised with the atmosphere of awakening consciousness and individual autonomy; the key of this movement is focused on Taiwanese culture and society rather than broader “shared Chinese culture”. The later wave is the focus in this thesis, this wave of indigenisation in Taiwan is at times emphasised by using a specific term “Taiwanisation” (本土化/在地化).

Kaohsiung: In 2010, Kaohsiung County had merged with Kaohsiung City as new Kaohsiung City in Taiwan’s administrative division. However, “Kaohsiung City” which has been mentioned in this thesis still refers to the city of Kaohsiung before this administrative merger.

Mainland: The term “mainland” mentioned in this thesis refers to the ideal “motherland” or related political centres of different external ruling powers, i.e. the Chinese mainland refers to the context of the Republic of China government’s China; the Japanese mainland refers to the context of Imperial Japan’s Japanese Archipelago.

Martial Law period and post-Martial Law era: These are two stages of Taiwan’s post-WWII period divided by the year of 1987. The period from 1949 to 1987 was the Martial Law period dominated by the KMT government’s authoritarian control; the time period from 1987 onwards is the post-Martial Law era since the law had been lifted in that year.

Modernisation: Taiwan’s modernisation was motivated by its Japanese period and is mainly based on the construction of infrastructure built during that period. Therefore, the commencement of Taiwan’s modernisation mentioned in the thesis refers to the corresponding period from the late 1890s onwards.

Nationalism, popular culture and everyday life: Nationalism in the study is argued as a form of identity construction in post-war Taiwan, which has been gradually decentralised into popular culture and everyday life in spatial practices. It is undeniable that national

identity still persists in today's global context; however, in today's Taiwan, arguably, national identity is treated as a form of a reductive cultural perspective against the ascendant discourse which focuses on popular and quotidian culture.

Nationalist Government: The “Nationalist Government” mentioned in the research refers specifically to the government in post-war Taiwan led by the Chinese Nationalist Party (also the KMT/ *Kuomintang*/ 中國國民黨) from 1945 to 1999. Before 1986, the founding year of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the KMT was the only legal political authority in post-war Taiwan.

Native ethnicities and languages: Native ethnicities and languages are highly connected to the discussion of space and cultural politics of post-war Taiwan in this study. Currently, there are four main ethnic groups which are widely recognised in Taiwan society as the native, i.e. the “Taiwanese aborigines”, the “native Taiwanese”, the “*Hakka*” and the “Mainlanders”. The Taiwanese aborigines (also known as the Formosan aborigines) are Taiwan's earliest dwellers (also repeatedly claimed as the very original basis of the Austronesian languages) but presently a minority in Taiwan society.¹⁶ Various forms of the Austronesian languages (also known as the Formosan languages) shape its significance worldwide. The native Taiwanese is the major ethnic group in Taiwan today, the origin of the native Taiwanese can be traced to the population and its offspring who comprised of families that mainly inter-married between *Pingpu* (aboriginal) females and *Han* males before 1945. The mother language of this ethnic group is *Taiwanese*, which was adapted from the southern Chinese dialect *Hoklo* 河洛 and later transfigured into today's *Taiwanese* through hybridising specifically linguistic elements of the Japanese, European, aboriginal languages (Austronesian languages), and English. The *Hakka* is the ethnic group emigrated from southern China mainly between 1684 and 1895, which is another minority in Taiwan today. The language which this group uses is *Hakka*; it has numerous variants spoken in the early Chinese migration areas. As far as the ethnic group of the Mainlanders, it refers

¹⁶ Despite the Taiwanese aborigines were the most primitive dwellers in Taiwan, the population, languages and cultures of the Taiwanese aborigines have become the most vulnerable and marginal parts in Taiwan society today.

generally to those Chinese who fled to Taiwan with the KMT in the 1940s and the 1950s, and their descendants. The first generation of the Mainlanders is commonly regarded as the population of “political immigration” in Taiwan’s history chiefly between 1948 and 1956. The origins and languages of the Mainlanders contain various ethnicities and dialects all over the Chinese communities in the world.

Other: The concept of the “other” in the study is highly connected to issues of identity and “difference”, i.e. one part of the identity construction is defined by the difference between individual identity and the other. In explanation, the “other” refers to an issue which was affiliated with or excluded from the ascendant discourse in the past and is re-noticed or revitalised in the present. In short, the position of the “other” is located through the relationship between spatiotemporal (historical and contemporary in space) subjects.

Subject and representation: Cultural representation discussed in this research, arguably, is linked to ideology and its symbolic formation. The relationship which is applied to this research is perhaps simply capsulated in René Descartes’ famous maxim “I think, therefore I am”,¹⁷ i.e. subjectivity is positioned after the construction of the ideological collectivity.

Subject and object: In this research, a subject-object relationship is frequently used to analyse the interaction between two relational elements in a problem. In other words, it is a model to pinpoint a host-guest or apparent duality. Precisely, Taiwan is argued as an emergent subject shifted from a subordinate object with regard to its different relationships with China in its early and recent years; humankind is analysed as a subject when it is discussed along with the architectural work as an object. Also, this relationship is used in the study to distinguish subjective and objective perspectives, e.g. the issue of Taiwan is argued in this research that was an objective item within the Greater China context before the lifting of Martial Law but is a subjective thinking which strongly involves in Taiwan’s indigenisation today.

¹⁷ René Descartes and F. E. Sutcliffe, *Discourse on Method and the Meditations*, Penguin Classics (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968), p. 23.

Taipei: There were approximately 1,200,000 Chinese fled to Taiwan along with the KMT and its troops after 1945, which roughly accounted for 13% of Taiwan's total population then. These new migrants in Taiwan mostly gathered in urban areas. Amongst all, Taipei City where the KMT has resided as its political centre contained the greatest number. This is the chief reason that Taipei City could receive most of the political and social resources in the early post-war years and be developed as post-war Taiwan's once "only" metropolis. This is also the motif in this research to observe and analyse Taipei as a "prototype" of post-war Taiwan's early built environment and its architectural imagery.

Taiwan: This research attempts to look at post-war Taiwan's development through its cultural politics of native identification and architectural representation instead of studying its political or national-international status alone. Therefore, the term "Taiwan" is considered as a proper name in most of the analyses and discussions which widely addressed various subjects of this island and its society, culture, and environment while other relative appellations, such as the Republic of China, would cause misunderstanding geographically and politically.

Translation and spelling system: The translation and spelling system which has been adopted in this thesis, from the Chinese characters (mainly traditional Chinese characters used in Taiwan) to English (except the original use in the citations or references and those terms which have already been well-known and extensively recognised by the public and academics), is consistent with the way which is commonly used in Taiwan today. In other words, the system adopted in this research follows the Wade-Giles system (Romanisation) which is commonly used in Taiwan instead of the *Pinyin* system (*Hanyu Pinyin*) which is commonly used in China.

CHAPTER 1:
A QUASI-COLONIAL CONTEXT

AN ARCHITECTURAL IMPRINT OF DECOLONIALISATION

REGARDING TAIWAN AND ITS POST-WAR CONTEXT

Interventions from external forces have been highlighted as crucial elements impacting the construction of post-war identities in many modern Asian countries. Yet according to various physical conditions and different social forces, the representations in different cases are also various. In terms of this standpoint, there are several remarkable similarities and differences that can be traced from Hong Kong and Singapore as contributing to an analytical platform for this research. The two locations are analysed in this chapter to be compared with and contrasted to the case of Martial Law Taiwan with regard to its modern society and its post-war context.

DIFFERENCES, SPACES AND INTERACTIONS

When one reads the cases of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan as representative examples in the post-WWII context of Asia, the definite similarities are the most obvious and general points to legitimise the case study selections in terms of the focus on Asian countries' spatial imprints of the external interventions, or more precisely, the decolonisation process since the end of World War II. Amongst them, the dominative population of the so-called "Chinese Diaspora" is key. According to official statistics, more than 90% of modern Taiwan's population has a consanguineous relation to various Chinese ethnicities; approximately 95% of Hong Kong's population was rooted in Chinese civilisation, which slightly higher than Singapore's 75% Chinese community across its whole population. Geopolitically, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore all have the character of maritime-based cultures when compared to the mainland cultures that geographically correspond with them. Moreover, a colourful colonial past is another pivotal element with regard to Taiwan, Hong

Kong and Singapore, especially their pre-WWII rules by the Japanese Empire.¹⁸ Finally, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore all construct cultural identities which oppose the so-called orthodox (mainstream) Chinese culture. Representations in languages bear distinct witness to this fact. The primary native language in Taiwan (*Taiwanese*), Hong Kong's Cantonese and English, and Singapore's various southern Chinese dialects, official language (English) as well as other non-Anglophone languages, are all able to demonstrate the different identities opposed to the mainstream modern Chinese language, Mandarin.

However, these similar points are too general to clarify the post-war scenario amongst Asian countries but merely assist in forming an analytical base. Indeed, by looking at the differences amongst the three cases and their spatial representations as well as the cultural political interactions, certain issues in post-war Taiwan are able to be discussed and developed. This is initially observed from the abstract model of differentiating the cultural political characteristics and the correlations with the spatial representations in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan (Figure 2).

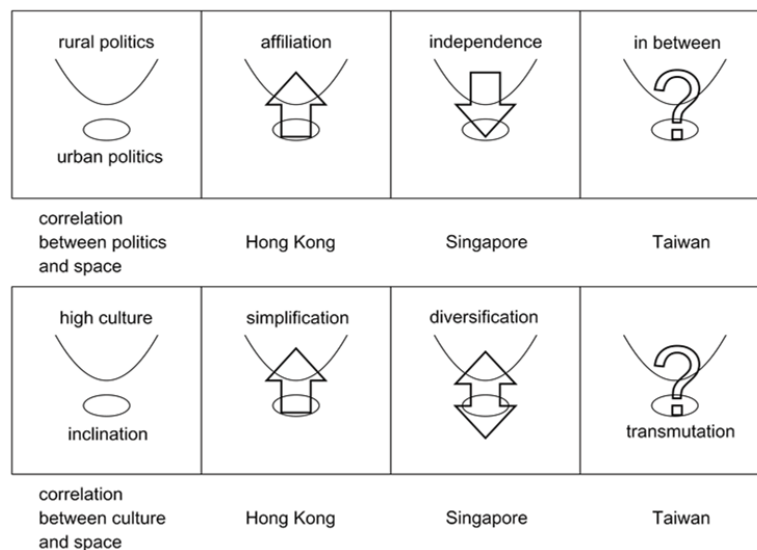


Figure 2 An analytical model shows the interactions between Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan's post-war cultural politics (rural and urban cultures) and spatial inclinations (Made by the author).

¹⁸ Taiwan was colonised by Imperial Japan from 1895 to 1945, Hong Kong was colonised by Japan from 1941 to 1945, and Singapore was colonised by the Japanese Empire from 1942 to 1945.

In looking at the interactions with the political context of each case, the relationship between rural and urban politics constructs the model when one reads the space as a text. The transfer of the sovereignty over Hong Kong to the PRC in 1997 has meant that the current political status of Hong Kong now affiliates as a relative rural (marginalised) political power to the Chinese mainland: i.e. from the spatial contrast between a fine internationalisation and a dominant nationalism and between a geographic urban autonomy and a state autocracy. On the other hand, Singapore shows the opposite when it announced its independence in 1965. Spatially, independence drew Singapore's post-war direction from a regional localisation to a national internationalisation and from a subordinate city to a centralised city state. By contrast, the case of post-war Taiwan shows an ambiguous situation somewhere in between.

From another point of view, a dominant high culture and an emergent cultural inclination indicate another correlation with space. First, based on its geographic and historical advantages, Hong Kong's political affiliation with the PRC presents a cultural simplification, which has been narrowed down from an international hybrid society to a comparatively Chinese dominant society. Yet, on the other hand, without the burdensome considerations in geography and political economy from the Malay Peninsula, Singapore's independence diversifies cultural movement due to the combination of its small geographic scale, its ethnic ties and its multi-racial population plus its new open-door economic policy. Nevertheless, with the similar awkward relationship to its political context, the case of post-war Taiwan shows equivocality amongst its dominant but transmutative shared Chinese cultural society: its geographic segregation from China and the multi-aspects of its openness towards to the ocean and hence the world.

Post-war Taiwan's awkwardness in status and wavering cultural political conundrum caused forms of ambiguity in cultural identity and anxiety about locality in its architectural discourses and practices. The problematic issues of post-war Taiwan, from an architectural standpoint, then arise as follows: how do the physical spatial practices, in the field of architecture, reflect this uncertainty in post-war Taiwan's political and cultural chaos? To what extent, is the tendency of modern architectural development in post-war Taiwan wandering between two polar ends such as these chosen by Hong Kong and Singapore? How

does the built environment of post-war Taiwan spontaneously represent the consequences of the conflict between this ideological anxiety and the pragmatic reality of its native society?

SELECTION OF COMPARISONS

It is now apparent that the difference between the three locations is even more critical than the similarity since this difference highlights the different spatial characters of post-war cases in Asia in a non-general way. All the differences amongst typical post-war Asian countries can be compared with post-war Taiwan, particularly in their cultural political representations in space. Therefore, this chapter strategically selects two books, *Hong Kong: Culture and the politics of disappearance*¹⁹ by Ackbar Abbas and Robbie Boon Hua Goh's *Contours of culture: Space and social difference in Singapore*²⁰ as the chief material of comparison in the examination of Taiwan's post-war architectural discourses. As for the case of post-war Taiwan, the early post-war (the Martial Law period) professional and academic native discourses in architecture are surveyed to outline the context of post-war Taiwan's built environment.

The studies of Hong Kong and Singapore's post-war cultural politics of architecture and space are various and many. Yet the selection of Abbas and Goh's books are based on their specific attention to Hong Kong and Singapore's cultural complexities that arise in Asia's post-war atmosphere of decolonisation. Asia's decolonisation ambience in the post-WWII period is regarded as a crucial point in the study since the external interventions are placed as the first and most obvious examining condition of any study on post-war Taiwan. Yet, this issue in architectural and spatial studies about Hong Kong and Singapore is comparatively

¹⁹ M. Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997).

²⁰ Robbie B. H. Goh, *Contours of Culture: Space and Social Difference in Singapore* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2005).

rare since many other works have been written in terms of their iconic global images, the development of nationalist discourses, heritage and tourism.

Some academic works with an architectural and urban focus have highlighted this phenomenon. For instance, in Richard Marshall's *Emerging Urbanity: Global Urban Projects in the Asia Pacific Rim*, the argument is based on globalised urbanism in Hong Kong by looking at various urban projects and their design operations.²¹ The standpoint in this study commences from the negotiation between the desire of the governor and the interaction with the global economy. By comparing and contrasting other major Asian cities, the model of Hong Kong has been framed in Marshall's research as a typical form of Asian urbanism. From a political point of view, the research collection *Local Cultures and the "New Asia": The State, Culture, and Capitalism in South-East Asia*,²² edited by C. J. W-L Wee, discusses the issues of globalisation and capitalism through the spatial characteristics and the cultural locality of Singapore. The key theme in this collection is the correlation between Singapore as a nation state and Singapore as an Asian capital city. Through a discussion of Singapore's cultural characteristics including religion, ethnicity, class and modernisation, Singapore's cultural political presentation is argued as being a paradigm of South-East Asia. From a similar standpoint by looking at the issue of globalisation but concentrating on the crises raised in the Asia Pacific, the book *Globalisation and the Asia Pacific: Contested Territories*,²³ edited by Kris Olds, has different analyses about Hong Kong and Singapore's spatial representations. Amongst them, Ngai-Ling Sum discusses the "open-door" discourse and issues of "Greater China" as the arguments for Hong Kong's transnationalism in space.²⁴ And

²¹ Richard Marshall, *Emerging Urbanity: Global Urban Projects in the Asia Pacific Rim* (New York: Spon Press, 2003).

²² C. J. Wan-ling Wee, *Local Cultures and the "New Asia": The State, Culture, and Capitalism in South-East Asia* (Singapore: Institute of South-East Asian Studies, 2002).

²³ Kris Olds, *Globalisation and the Asia Pacific: Contested Territories*, Warwick Studies in Globalisation (New York: Routledge, 1999).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 124-139.

in Beng-Huat Chua's study, elitism is examined in relation to Singapore's distinctive public housing projects.²⁵ From a bottom-up map, Michelle Huang's book, *Walking between Slums and Skyscrapers*, discusses the issue of everyday life as the key to look at Hong Kong's open spaces and the ideology beyond;²⁶ similarly, in Peggy Teo's research, *Changing Landscapes of Singapore*, day-to-day meanings are linked as Singapore's post-war turning point of shaping urban landscape.²⁷ Other works such as Nuala Rooney and Joel S. Kahn's studies²⁸ use Hong Kong's remarkable density and Singapore's specific character of multi-ethnicity to look at Hong Kong's public housing and Singapore's vernacular villages.

The main reason why Abbas and Goh's studies are reviewed here is that with specific schemata, these two studies are able to scrutinise post-war spatial evolution amongst Asian countries within an overall discussion about the spatial and cultural representations based on their colonial pasts and the interactions with the present. Most importantly, they are able to provide an analytical point which highlights the distinctions before the focus of the study and moves onto the case of post-war Taiwan. Hong Kong and Singapore's architectural and urban characters are analysed, based on Abbas and Goh's view points, below.²⁹

²⁵ Beng-Huat Chua, *Political Legitimacy and Housing: Stakeholding in Singapore* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1997).

²⁶ Tsung-yi Michelle Huang, *Walking between Slums and Skyscrapers: Illusions of Open Space in Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Shanghai* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press; Eurospan, 2004).

²⁷ Peggy Teo, *Changing Landscapes of Singapore* (Singapore: McGraw-Hill education, 2004).

²⁸ Nuala Rooney, *At Home with Density*, Hong Kong Culture and Society (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2003). And Joel S. Kahn, *Other Malays: Nationalism and Cosmopolitanism in the Modern Malay World*, South-East Asia Publication Series (Singapore: Asian Studies Association of Australia in association with Singapore University Press and NIAS Press, 2006).

²⁹ In the following sections, the analytical foci are concentrated on Hong Kong and Singapore's architectural and urban representations. Their cultural characters and a theoretical discussion compared with Taiwan are analysed in **Appendix 1: Characterising cultural Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore**.

HONG KONG'S ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM: BECOMING CULTURE

Engagement with the urgencies in the life of Hong Kong people is the summarised phenomenon from Abbas's observation about Hong Kong's recent cultural political transition. At first glance, two remarkable points sketch Abbas's spatial context in this point of view of different cultural forms in Hong Kong. First, the representation of power comes to the forefront; the skyline and landmarks in Hong Kong bear witness to this concern. The intention of being commercialised is translated from the populace of Hong Kong to building objects, internationalised office style buildings branded by internationally well-known companies: these explain middle-class Hong Kong people's hunger for life quality. His second point related to the stereotypes of otherness, which are passé objects that sharply contrast to those placeless global objects in Hong Kong such as the peak tram, the sailing junks and rickshaws. Abbas believes that the hunger for the return of memory to the past, an old Hong Kong, rather than the return of its past memory is the proper portraiture of Hong Kong people. Moreover, the essential "practices of freedom"³⁰ in Abbas's assertion about Hong Kong society is not an idea of freedom or an abstract concept of democracy. Rather, it is in actual fact the necessary reality of today's Hong Kong society.³¹

Ackbar Abbas schematises modern Hong Kong's architecture and urbanism by theorising the psychological reception of missing cultural identity from the populace as the unique identity construction of space. The so-called disappearance from Abbas's contestation is relative to Hong Kong's very original "authenticity" of culture as a fishing village. As a once small fishing village, it has already become a memory which has been discarded by the public. Since the past has barely been remembered and the presence of uncertainty is so distinguishable, from Abbas's words, this is just the tendency to make the presence of uncertainty become the very culture itself.

³⁰ This notion was initially claimed by Michel Foucault, the original source of this idea can be found in Michel Foucault, "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom," in *The Final Foucault*, ed. James William Bernauer and David M. Rasmussen (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

³¹ M. Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, p. 145.

SINGAPORE'S ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM: CULTURAL CONVERSATION BETWEEN THE GOVERNOR AND THE POPULACE

The question of seeing the cultural representation in Singapore's built environment is apparent for Goh from a top-down point of view. The government of Singapore has provided a well organised policy to conceive an ideological "local" identity towards its international outlook. The multicultural and multiracial elements are therefore all integrated into Singapore's national signs by the making of public policy. On the other hand, does the private property become an exception since it has been identified as a "foreign" or "privileged" space in Singapore? Many projects, which propose the referential "tropical-resort" themed condominium to construct a "local" characteristic in balancing Singapore's highly international and unclear physical features in the built environment, might shed light on the analogous situation when compared to the case of public housing.³²

The schema of Singapore's architecture and urbanism modelled by Goh describes a conversation between the top-down governance and the bottom-up reality in modern Singaporean society. A collective ideology and a quasi-authoritarian management from government are the ways that the spatial atmosphere of independent Singapore communicates with its multicultural and multiracial populace. Compared to Abbas's bottom-up "making culture" in Hong Kong, Robbie Boon Hua Goh highlights an imposed simplification from the government ideology that reflects popular culture of Singapore and its interaction with contemporary urban space.

³² Robbie B. H. Goh, *Contours of Culture: Space and Social Difference in Singapore*, p. 174.

MARTIAL LAW TAIWAN'S ARCHITECTURE AND URBANISM

DISSOCIATION OR EXFOLIATION: A PROCESS OF SUBJECTIVATION

The issue of constructing cultural identities in Taiwan, in particular through its political, economic and colonial transitions, has been a preoccupation of Taiwan's societal evolution for over half a century. More precisely, modern Taiwan society has been following a trend towards economic liberalisation since the end of World War II. However, the autonomous subjectivities which have been gradually established in Taiwan at the same time seem also to have been impacted by contemporary Taiwan's distinct socio-political transitions and are heading in a unique direction when compared to this international tendency. The reason for this phenomenon is based on Taiwan's complex historical backdrop, i.e. the colourful memories from Taiwan's previous changeable history. And this history has interacted with current societal conditions becoming a distinct characteristic of Taiwan society today. Eventually, these memories have been melded with today's social conditions and become a unique spatiotemporal form of identity. This identification happened gradually, was spontaneously generated and it is getting rid of Taiwan's burdensome past as a positive history. The emergence of Taiwan subjectivity is no longer just relative; it is not intentionally disassociated but measurably and naturally exfoliated from each intervention as a uniqueness of culture and state.

The year 1987, is a revolutionary time point to divide post-WWII society of Taiwan into two periods: the Martial Law and post-Martial Law periods.³³ Three different cultural political complexes, from Japan, the ROC and the West (mostly from the United States and interventions from western religions and commercialism) are the most influential ideologies in contemporary Taiwan, particularly in its Martial Law society. The impact is also evident from its spatial representation - Taiwan's post-war architecture. The discussion here, as a historical divide in the study, is critically started from Japan's rule. The period before

³³ The Martial Law period in Taiwan commenced in 1949 and ended in 1987, which turns Taiwan society into two dramatic faces.

Japanese rule in Taiwan, contestably, is, politically, less related to the context of post-war Taiwan. For example, the Manchu Ching Empire, the very last ruling power before Japanese rule, paid no attention to developing Taiwan before 1875. More importantly, after 1875, the dominant power of Taiwan was transferred to Japan in 1895,³⁴ which is fundamentally short when it is regarded as part of the history in Taiwan's modern architectural evolution.

A symposium hosted by *Architect*³⁵ in 1984 stated Imperial Japan's purpose and its influence of Taiwan's post-war society and its architectural evolution:

... in the Japanese period, they (Japanese) intended to use Taiwan as a base to attack *Nanyang*³⁶ ... therefore the purpose of educating architectural professionals at that time was focused on training elementary personnel, which is fundamentally pragmatic ... the Japanese ruled Taiwan for 50 years, they did influence Taiwan society such as the adaptive use of *Tatami*³⁷ ... In architecture, the *Taiwan Sotokufu*³⁸ (Figure 3) and the *Senbai-Kyoku*³⁹ (Figure 4) are the representatives ... they both embodied the idea of "practical is the truth".⁴⁰

³⁴ The Ching Empire signed the *Treaty of Shimonoseki* ceding Taiwan to Japan and abandoned the ruling power of Taiwan in 1895 after its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War.

³⁵ *Architect* is a professional and academic magazine in architecture published by the Architect Association of Taiwan since 1975.

³⁶ *Nanyang* 南洋 was the early appellation referring to today's South-East Asia which commonly used in the Pan-Pacific region.

³⁷ *Tatami* mats are traditional Japanese flooring. It has become fairly common and idealised flooring in Taiwan nowadays.

³⁸ The *Taiwan Sotokufu* was Taiwan's highest ruling institute (Governor-General's office) during its Japanese period. The building of the *Taiwan Sotokufu* was adopted and used as Taiwan's Presidential Office Building after WWII until today.

³⁹ The *Senbai-Kyoku* was established in Taiwan as a governmental agency for selling goods as the hub of monopolisation during its Japanese rule. It was renamed to Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly



Figure 3 The current image of the *Taiwan Sotokufu*, today's Presidential Office Building in Taiwan (Taken by the author).

Figure 4 The current image of the *Senbai-Kyoku*, today's Taiwan Museum of Industrial History (Taken by the author).

In other words, the buildings built in the Japanese era were marked largely by the quality of colonial modernity and functionalism apart from the symbolic hierarchy established by its powerful westernisation strategy. However, the social and cultural political implications of the Japanese era to Taiwan's post-war architectural context are reflected twofold. On the one hand, it shows the anti-Japanese complex and on the other hand shows the Japanophilic complex.

During the 1950s and 1960s, political democracy in Taiwan was barely established. But, on the other hand, the circumstances of society were comparatively simplified due to the autocratic context under KMT⁴¹ government rule. The KMT took over political power from

Bureau in 1947 and nowadays the building of the *Senbai-Kyoku* has been renovated as the Taiwan Museum of Industrial History.

⁴⁰ Liu Li Mei [ed.], "Jih Chu, Kuang Fu, Hsien Tsai (日據, 光復, 現在) (Japanese Rule, the Restoration and the Present)," *Architect* 1984, pp. 29-34.

⁴¹ KMT, the abbreviation of *Kuomintang* (the *Han* pronunciation of the Chinese Nationalist Party), which was the only legal political party in Taiwan between 1945 and 1986. It was a political power which fled from China after its defeat in the Chinese Civil War in 1949.

Japan after 1945 and as the representative of the Allies when World War II ended. In order to control native society promptly and to beat down intermittent revolts from those pro-Japanese Empire communities, the KMT subsequently announced Martial Law when its political power had officially retreated from China in 1949 with a downside of degenerate images.⁴² These phenomena caused Taiwanese people to yearn for Taiwan's previous ruling power, which was in such similar high pressure domination but relatively respecting the native dwellers and even brought modernity to the island. In other words, this was the origin of the so-called Japanophilic complex in early post-war Taiwan, gathering together people who were against the newcomers. In order to remove cultural influence from Japan, the KMT started to impose a strong Chinese nationalist identity into Taiwan society, which inevitably included the field of architecture.⁴³ It is the well-known "Greater China" 大中華 political correct ideology which physically and mentally later dazed the social and cultural identification of Taiwanese people. This conundrum of identification, curiously, still partially exists in contemporary Taiwan society even today. This is the anti-Japanese complex on the contrast face when compared to the Japanophilic complex which is evident through the celebrating discourse of Japan's legacy in post-war Taiwan – its colonial modernity and functionalism.

In architectural discourse, the Greater China ideology at the very early post-war stage in Taiwan could be regarded as the pre-eminent means in the profession which represented the cultural impact on modern architectural constructions in post-war Taiwan in the 1950s

⁴² Compared with modernisation which the Japanese brought to Taiwan, the standard of every respect which came with the KMT and the people fled from China in the 1940s and 1950s was backward, poor and under-educated after being overpowered by the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese Civil War.

⁴³ In Martial Law Taiwan, most of the architectural projects (particularly in public buildings) had to deal with statutory requirements of adopting "traditional Chinese patterns", such as a Chinese palace roof, to symbolise a "Chinese orthodoxy". The use of Chinese palace roof in Taiwan is called extensively by many academics as the "big roof" style of modern Chinese architecture in Taiwan's Martial Law period.

and the 1960s. Hua Chang Yi indicated this phenomenon by analysing Chinese imitative buildings and several related cases in Taiwan in 1962, which finely explains the pros and cons from this strong nationalist complex in early post-war Taiwan:

The age of building architecture with the traditional Chinese timber structure has passed ... yet the traditional Chinese style is remained. Especially in public buildings because this style can satisfy the demands of memorial meanings⁴⁴ ... In order to pursue this style, the imitative buildings must pay such a high price (physically and socially) to adapt to the current environment; the pity of this phenomenon is that the strategy of using this style cannot really be corresponded with the modern techniques and structures ...⁴⁵

A Japanese academic, Shin Muramatsu, also analysed this antiquarian context of Chinese nationalism in Taiwan in 1994. From his observation, he believed that what relocated from China to Taiwan was not only the political party (KMT) but also the “Chinese orthodoxy” which in actual fact existed in name only. Those “big roofs”⁴⁶ (Figure 5) were the best representatives.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Hua Chang Yi, "Fang Ku Shih Chien Chu Chi Chi Tsai Tai Wan: Shang (仿古式建築及其在臺灣-上) (the Imitative Buildings and the Cases in Taiwan-Part One)," *Architecture Bimonthly* 4(1962): p. 10.

⁴⁵ Ibid.: p. 14.

⁴⁶ About the notion and context of the “big roof” style, they are explained and analysed in footnote 43.

⁴⁷ Shin Muramatsu, "Tung Shih Tai Te Taiwan Chien Chu Shih (同時代的台灣建築史) (the Synchronic Taiwanese Architectural History)," *Architect* 08(1994): p. 93.



Figure 5 This is the Grand Hotel in Taipei designed by Yang Zhuo Chen in 1973, which can be regarded as the typical case of using the “big roof” style in Martial Law Taiwan (Taken by the author).

Simultaneously, Shin also mentioned the last complex in early post-war Taiwan, the cultural political impact from the West/US. From a detailed examination, this influence and the constructed buildings in Taiwan had been observed by a Japanese architect, Nishizawa Fumitaka, in another architectural study. In that paper, architects Chen Chi-Kwan,⁴⁸ Wang Ta Hong⁴⁹ and their works (Figure 6) in Martial Law Taiwan were highlighted as the delegates.⁵⁰ However, the US force was not the only western impact in Martial Law Taiwan. The influences of western religions as well as commercialism are another two notable forces which can be traced from architectural works. Wu Kuang-Ting pointed out this religious intervention in his article in 1996. He claims that because of religious intervention, the advanced modernity which had been developed in western countries was brought into

⁴⁸ Chen is the architect who designed the Tung Hai University with I. M. Pei. Tung Hai University is I. M. Pei's only work in Martial Law Taiwan; this project was funded by US Aid.

⁴⁹ Wang is one architect who is regarded as the first generation western-trained architects in Taiwan after WWII. Wang Ta Hong, Chen Chi-Kwan and I.M. Pei were all educated by Walter Gropius in Harvard Graduate School of Design.

⁵⁰ Nishizawa Fumitaka, "Taiwan Hsien Tai Chien Chu Kuan Hou Tsa Kan (台灣現代建築觀後雜感) (Inspirations of Modern Architecture in Taiwan)," *Architecture Bimonthly* 15(1964): pp. 25-28.

Taiwan. The marked examples are Tung Hai University⁵¹ and several religious works in Taiwan, such as American architect Anthony Stoner's church design in 1957 and Swiss missionary Dr. Justurs Dahinden's design work, Kung-Tung High School (Figure 7). They all represent strong connection to western modern architectural notions developed during WWII.⁵²



Figure 6 The left is Chen Chi-Kwan's sketch of Tung Hai University (Chen Yeu-Kuang [ed.], "Forum Discussion: The College Education of Architectural Design," *Architect* (1982): p. 46.) and the right is the image of the National Dr. Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall designed by Wang Ta Hong (Taken by the author).

⁵¹ Tung Hai University was financially supported and established by the UBCCC. The UBCCC is the abbreviation of *the United Board for Christian Colleges in China*.

⁵² Wu Kuang-Ting, "Hai Yang Wen Hua You I Chang Te Taiwan: Taiwan Chien Chu Te Kuo Chi Hua Ching Yen (海洋文化又一章的台灣：台灣建築的國際化經驗) (Another Chapter of Ocean Cultural Taiwan: The Internationalisation of Taiwan)," *Architect* 01(1996): p. 123.



Figure 7 The left is the interior of St. Christopher's church designed by Anthony Stoner in Taipei and the right is the image of Kung-Tung High School designed by Dr. Justurs Dahinden (Taken by the author).

Consequently, these complexes evoked an anxiety about social and cultural identity and forced the people of Taiwan to reconsider their sense of belonging. As a reflection, a sense of self-consciousness in space as well as society came to the surface as a mainstream value in Taiwan society after the 1990s. This phenomenon has twisted the once idea looking at Taiwan as an *otherness* that: Taiwan is only a case which contents the idea of Greater China as the reality, to an emerging recognition that: Taiwan is Taiwan *itself*⁹. In addition, this phenomenon has also been gradually represented through different societal interactions with different disciplinary subjects.

Sometimes without a trace, this phenomenon - changes of reception - also happened in the built environment and related discourses. An interview about post-war Taiwanese architectural representation in the late 1990s with Japanese architectural journalist, Mariko Terada, is an evident case. In this interview, Mariko described her understanding of the "new" Taiwanese architecture observed in 1994 and referred it to architect C. Y. Lee and his works. C. Y. Lee is the architect who has performed numerous commercial works by utilising post-modern means in Taiwan. The description says:

C. Y. Lee is the delegate with regard to today's Taiwanese architecture ... Lee emphasises that Chinese architecture is his central idea ... his work in Taipei (Figure 8) which well

utilised the Chinese language is just like several Chinese people standing in front of us ...⁵³



Figure 8 Two images of Da-Ann Public Housing. It was designed by C. Y. Lee in 1981 in Taipei and indicated as a representative Chinese practice in the interview; the left is the so-called Chinese architectural pattern formally and abstractly applied to this commercial work and the right is the recent and daily scenario of this work of mass housing (Taken by the author).

The detection of authentic consciousness is not always easy at times, probably even C. Y. Lee himself does not notice, the so-called “Chinese language” translated on the work from his mind has demonstrated a strong anxiety about Taiwan’s post-war self-identity. What can be found from his works along with similar design strategies which applied such post-modern means showing formally the concept of Chinese architectural patterns and what remained on the works are less Chinese spiritualised but more semiotic. Fundamentally, what was shown on his works apart from these symbols are all consideration of indigenous circumstances which are nothing about traditional Chinese culture but the everyday life of *Taiwan*.

⁵³ Mariko Terada, "I Ke Chien Chu Chi Che Te Kuan Tien: Jih Pen Jen Yen Chung Te Hsin Taiwan Chien Chu Feng Mao (一個建築記者的觀點-日本人眼中的新台灣建築風貌)(a View Point from an Architectural Journalist- the New Taiwanese Architecture with Japanese Eyes)," *Architect* 08(1994): p. 100.

FROM IMPOSITION TO HYBRIDISATION: BECOMING TAIWANESE

Accordingly, combining the major external interventions along with the socio-political evolution chronologically before and after WWII, the development of post-war Taiwan society is read as a competing procedure of ideological slant (Figure 9).

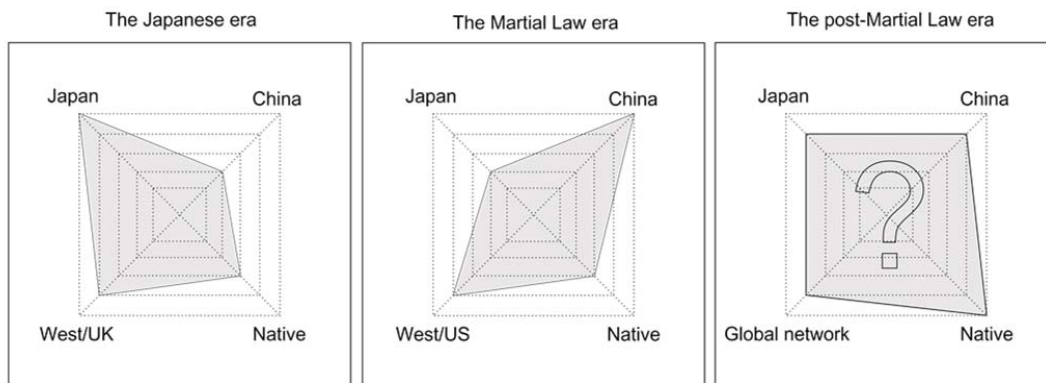


Figure 9 The metering model of Taiwan society along with four dominant forces from its Japanese rule to the current stage (Made by the author).

Before the end of World War II, the dominant Japanese force and its British-based modernisation in Taiwan subordinated native culture and the imported traditional Chinese elements in society. This cultural hierarchy is evident from the dividing groups presented in the built environment in the Japanese era. The higher class housing of the time, were all designed in traditional Japanese styles; most of the public buildings, followed Japan's westernisation, were all constructed using Japanese-Western templates. As far as the traditional Chinese building type, which was imported mostly during the Cheng era in the seventeenth century, could merely be seen from the low-class communities. Not to mention, the very native aboriginal building type always belonged to the minority of the time.

Yet after the war, the emergent Chinese dominance changed this hierarchy in society along with American-based reconstruction. This political transfer also pushed the Japanese intervention to the bottom, performed as the political intention of the ruling collectivity of the time. During that time, massive Beaux-Arts Chinese Revival and modern International Style buildings took the majority of the public projects. And US Aid infrastructure projects of the time replaced the British-based Japanese-Western combination as the second

community amongst the public buildings. As for the living environment then, two polar situations explain the neglect of daily work in the Martial Law period. The living environment was either presented by crude placeless public housing or by shabby Japanese and native Taiwanese-Chinese (combining maritime Taiwan aboriginal and traditional southern Chinese building forms) houses.

Interestingly, when Martial Law was lifted in 1987, the longstanding repressed native existence which showed an anxiety about post-war Taiwan's rapid modernisation and confusion about its past was shifted to first place as a social and cultural priority. It is equally prior to all the external (once dominant) forces even expanding the contextual coverage towards the world. This phenomenon, along with a problematic deduction, therefore forms the interest in the periodisation of post-war Taiwan's post-Martial Law time in the thesis.

HETEROCHRONY OF SPACE: AMONGST HONG KONG, SINGAPORE AND TAIWAN

In retrospect, the analyses of Hong Kong, Singapore and Martial Law Taiwan's spatial atmospheres have raised a series of questions related to the built form presented in each case: What is the limitation of the spatial representation in the case? What is the model framed in terms of its particular context and its concurrent interaction with the universal global situation when compared to other cases? And, is any symbolic meaning of the case presented as the presence of society, which shows historicity transcending the focus on spatiality in the case study? In short, is there heterochrony of the space amongst these three post-war Asian types?

The historicity which appeared in post-war Taiwan's spatial representation seems (at first glance) to be stronger than it is presented in Hong Kong and Singapore, especially in Abbas's and Goh's abstract schemata. Nevertheless, a trajectory of changing spaces between the past and the present still exists in each case. This path, followed over time, argued here is presented as a story, a stylised order or more abstract, a statement of the ascendant discourse, from culture to space.

Hong Kong, which had been constructed as a place with a lack of culture and long term popular memory, is showing a sequence of making culture from the popular cultural forms observed by Abbas. Using Kung Fu movies as an example, this “making culture” phenomenon appeared from its early nationalist emotion to pre-1997 optimism about the daily reality and it is recently shifted to a technological application of nostalgia. The historicity shown in Hong Kong’s construction of cultural subjectivity is a story of telling anxiety and seeking clarity. As for Goh’s observation about Singapore, the story frames the context from a chaotic multiplicity to a controlled multiplicity and from a popular presentation to an official representation. It is like a conversation between the governor and the populace, the cultural heterochrony displayed in Singapore after its independence is reinforced by its symbolic meaning of the living quality, the marketing of multi-racial authenticity and hierarchical class elitism. Every aspect is ideologically framed and finely controlled; therefore, an order of cultural representation in modern Singapore is formed. In connection with post-war Taiwan, its cultural historicity is enclosed by the position of subjectivity. Highlighted by the contestation between colonial hegemony and conscious rectification of the history, the story in post-war Taiwan has been told as a subjectivation⁵⁴ from the Martial Law time’s absolute obedience to a violent resistance in transition and it is currently presented as an autonomous mindset to see the subject of Taiwan as the priority. From external interventions in the story of Taiwan, a popular phrase - “the sauce is better than the fish” - would properly locate those external forces which had replaced Taiwan as the dominant subjects before the lifting of Martial Law in 1987. Yet for now, they are just the historical facts recognised by the populace.

History, in the spatial dialectic of Hong Kong, Singapore and post-war Taiwan, is accordingly produced with different positions. In Hong Kong, history is placed as an existence, which had already taken the position in the past and needs to be situated at the present. In Singapore, history is placed as a witness, which was used to speak for an individual situation and now is speaking for all the domestic situations legitimately and

⁵⁴ Subjectivation is a concept coined by Michel Foucault referring the constructing process of the individual subject, i.e. subjectivity.

unitedly. In so far as post-war Taiwan is concerned, history is to a certain extent a pursuit of self-evidence, which was gagged in the past but is now seeking an appropriate way to be displaced. Therefore, the questions to be asked are: what is the difference amongst the cases of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan's spatial atmospheres (spatial realisation addressing their distinctive cultural characters); and, how does the situation of post-war Taiwan's spatial representation stand out amongst other Asian cases?

To look at the Martial Law period as an example, the symbolism of constructed nationalism then explains the sense of loss. Since the populace had been suppressed and the native facts were not intended to be promoted, the collective representation constructed by the ruling power accordingly was generated as a single text in Taiwan's context. Quotidian works of the time inevitably were subordinated to the bottom. Besides, to look at the architectural evolution closely, from the Japanese period to the Martial Law period, a system of monopoly was performed officially in society, which caused the reason why individual practices were situated as a passive and weak group. This was the reason why symbolic representation was then able to stand out predominately. Public and communal works therefore became the majority, which limited the developing field of the built environment. Since only public projects were valued, the considerations for materials, construction techniques and design thinking were naturally delimited. Plus the functionalism and pragmaticism consideration for the rapid reconstruction after the war, creativity in design projects was repressed because of this Nationalist Government's political ideology. As a result, the native reality was subordinate to the imaginary "orthodoxy" and the daily environment was neglected purposely, showing itself as a state of utter chaos even though the development of the native quotidian reality never stopped.

STRATEGIES IN THE QUASI-COLONIAL CONTEXT: EMERGENT COLLECTIVE IMAGES

A schematic context for Hong Kong, Singapore and early post-war Taiwan's spatial and cultural political representations has been described. This context, analysed here, is the contextual delimitation and starting point of the research. The spatial atmosphere constructed in Martial Law Taiwan was comparatively clear and simplified before the post-

Martial Law scenario arose. After the law was lifted, the context and implications for post-war Taiwan became more complicated.

*“PATCHES AND RAGS OF DAILY LIFE MUST BE REPEATEDLY TURNED INTO THE SIGNS OF A COHERENT NATIONAL CULTURE”: CONCERN WITH “EVERYDAY LIFE”*⁵⁵

Homi K. Bhabha’s idea of “everyday life” appears to be the concluding point amongst the observation of post-war Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore. This highlights the notion that the issue of “state” is no longer the most pivotal concern with regard to the context of the “quasi-colonial” (no matter whether it is late-colonial, post-colonial or new-colonial scenarios with different social, cultural conditions and representations) but instead it is the idea of “everyday life”. More precisely, Bhabha asserts that race, religion, patriarchy and homophobia are all the ideological forms of everyday life. That is to say, the realistic outline of society is closer to the necessities of everyday life rather than the operational nationalist strategies which would merely represent the collectivity of the transcendental minority (ruling authority).

To be accurate, the quasi-colonial context is framed amongst the spatiality of early post-war Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore and represented as different cultural forms with different strategies of contemporaneity respectively (Figure 10). Spatially, the built environment in Hong Kong, from Abbas’s viewpoint, presents a floating identity based on its uncertain history. In other words, the present and its just-passed-colonial period are the tactile substance to be constructed into Hong Kong’s history. Its architectural representation therefore consists of “historical objects”, placeless international objects and the objects related to Hong Kong’s hyperdensity such as its cheap housing estates. Singapore, on the other hand, shows a disciplinary order from Goh’s observation. The built environment in Singapore is based on its society of multiplicity, which comprises diverse conditions such as race, religion and culture. Hence, the “void”, a contradictory ideology, is strongly imposed

⁵⁵ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London ; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 145.

into Singapore’s public space as the strategy to control and to settle conflicts between local-global, racial and cultural differences in everyday life. More importantly, “being international” shows the extreme intention within Singapore to cope with this multiplicity of different classes, living styles and values in such a small scale country (city state).

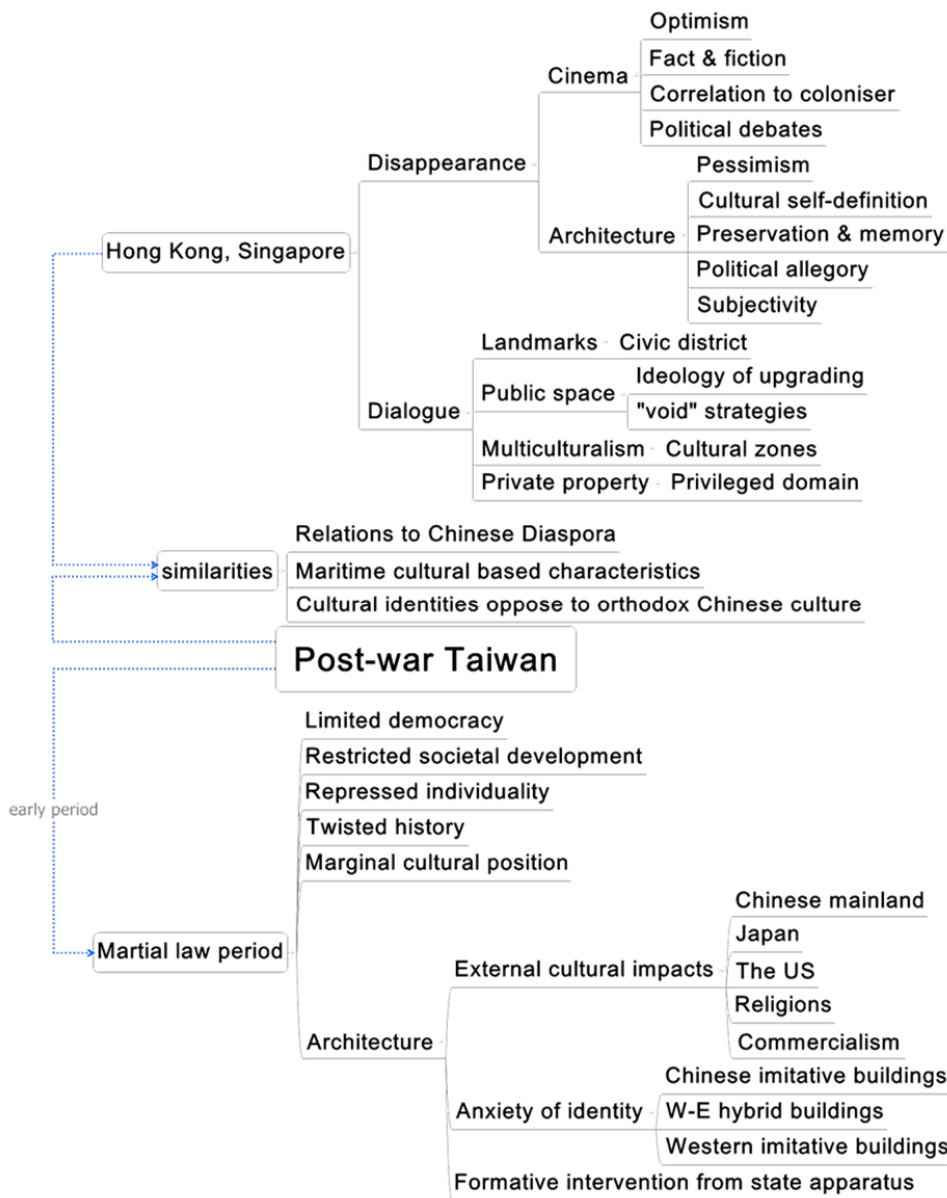


Figure 10 The relation amongst Martial Law Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore as the texts in quasi-colonial context (Made by the author).

Apart from the issue of the everyday, a series of questions is also culturally and theoretically relevant to post-war Taiwan, when compared to Hong Kong and Singapore: What is the typical representation of the built environment in early post-war Taiwan, which shaped a general understanding for the public? What is the corresponding spatial tendency when Martial Law was lifted? Is the spatial ethos which interplays with the cultural politics in Taiwan, from the early post-war time to the present, different to the scenarios in Hong Kong and Singapore? What are the spatial strategies and reality in post-war Taiwan in such a similar quasi-colonial context?⁵⁶ These questions, as a check list of post-Martial Law Taiwan's architecture and urbanism, are examined through Taiwan's living spaces in the next chapter.

⁵⁶ These questions are culturally and theoretically unfolded along with the perspective of everyday life by analysing three other essential concerns, the issues of ideology, multiplicity and subjectivation, which are discussed in **Appendix 1: Characterising cultural Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore.**

CHAPTER 2:
TAIWAN'S POST-MARTIAL LAW "HETEROGLOSSIA"

POST-WAR TAIWAN'S SPATIOTEMPORAL CONDITION

FROM OBJECT TO SUBJECT

Post-war Taiwan, when read as a text in a quasi-colonial context, has been pinpointed as raising a series of questions in terms of its complex past and on-going presence: What is post-war Taiwan's de facto scenario particularly after its Martial Law period? Is it related to the collective ideological issue of nationalism? Alternatively, is it related to another circumstance, a comparatively pragmatic concern, the issue of everyday life? Or, simultaneously, are both relevant? These questions are tied into Taiwan's colonial past and its "colonial presence". More precisely, the questions examine the social practices in post-war Taiwan. In this sense, the weight between collectivity and individuality in modern Taiwan society is debatable. Politically, nationalism and the issue of everyday life compete with each other. Culturally, the so-called Chinese orthodoxy as a longstanding high culture in Taiwan is challenged by the emerging indigenous popular culture. The context of post-war Taiwan is therefore constructed and characterised by a spatiotemporal triangulation between its nostalgic memories, realistic presence and imaginary future.

Since the lifting of the Nationalist Government's Martial Law in 1987, which is widely regarded as the commencement of Taiwan's democratisation, the issue of ideological nationalism is no longer dominant. Rather, a pragmatic consciousness about this island's de facto scenario, which emerged as a distinct phenomenon and a historical turning point, is evident in modern Taiwan's chief cultural forms such as literature and cinema. And from then on, Taiwan began to be treated and recognised as an individual subject rather than as a subordinate and subsidiary object.

However, the built environment at Taiwan's post-Martial Law stage, its architecture, concurrently seems to show forms of ambiguity and complexity along with this cultural political transition. A straight object-oriented analysis is no longer enough to identify the pivotal texts in Taiwan's spatiotemporal and quasi-colonial context. This chapter, therefore, intends to examine spatial reflection from the Martial Law period to the current time by analysing the representation of post-war Taiwan's spatial identification. This identification

through space is largely reflected by the domestic political, economic and technological changes in Taiwan after 1987. In this analytical context, different “images” of the typical city and society at different post-war stages in Taiwan have been shown as a critical medium of experience in the discourse of post-war Taiwan’s leading cultural forms.

QUESTIONING THE WAY OF SEEING URBAN FIELD AS A WHOLE

There is a strategic model to look at spatial imagery from the urban field, at a universal level and at the same time, a unique instance. Abbas does this in his study of Hong Kong and Goh also does this in his examination of Singapore. Many other works also apply this model strategically, such as Abidin Kusno’s discussion of Indonesia where his focus is solely Jakarta. In his book: *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, urban space and political cultures in Indonesia*,⁵⁷ Kusno argues that colonial culture in postcolonial Indonesia has become a unique form of identity and he uses the spatial representation of Jakarta as the evidence. Kusno tries to define “Indonesian architecture” by talking about the nationalist project constructed in Jakarta as a schema and uses it to explore the cultural political phenomenon in today’s Indonesian built environment. However, a problematic concern is raised when the analysis has been made from a way of seeing the Indonesian urban field as a whole. Unlike Hong Kong and Singapore, Indonesia’s scale is far larger than merely a “city” or a “city state”. Yet, paradoxically, this examination seems not to be sufficiently covered by only being extended from the analysis of Jakarta since what Kusno discusses in his book refers to a national scale, such as the time and space of the nation, the history of the nation and of course the cultural politics of the present-day Indonesia.

Similarly, this problematic concern also involved the case of post-war Taiwan. Taiwan is not like Hong Kong and Singapore no matter from a political or geographic point of view. Therefore scrutiny is by no means able to be made universally and physically to look at its

⁵⁷ Abidin Kusno, *Behind the Postcolonial: Architecture, Urban Space, and Political Cultures in Indonesia*, Architext Series. (London: Routledge, 2000).

urban field as a whole, at least, in terms of locality and uniqueness constructed in a specific city. Yet, on the contrary, the survey of Martial Law Taiwan's built environment in the previous chapter shows that Taipei City's urban texture seemed to be extensively written as typifying post-war Taiwan, no matter spatially or historically. Was this a fact? If it was, does this phenomenon continue to the present? This concern is examined as another task in this chapter. The model of looking at the urban field as a whole is argued to be inappropriate with regard to the case of Taiwan. The discussion here commenced from analyses of native literature and cinema, focusing particularly on their representations and implications of post-war space in Taiwan.⁵⁸

DIFFERENT NOSTALGIC REPRESENTATIONS IN HISTORIOGRAPHY

BEFORE AND AFTER MARTIAL LAW

Martial Law is neither appropriate to be denoted as a division of partitioning post-war Taiwan into two dramatically different domains nor two chronologic periods in the political context. The year 1987 in Taiwan is not a fixed and tangible turning point between two simple issues, say, authoritarian and democratic systems, singular and multiple voices, or statist and popular discourses. However, it is arguable that Martial Law is an appropriate moment to describe a complex and ambiguous transition which involves a variety of social, political and cultural issues. A brief discussion with regard to post-war Taiwan's spaces, which are represented in native literature and cinema, intends to use 1987 as a nascent point when indigenous and bottom-up voices began to be heard in a non-restrictive way and to parallel the state discourse synchronologically in Taiwan society.

⁵⁸ In the following sections, the discussion of post-war Taiwan's native literature and cinema is only focused on their reflection of post-Martial Law Taiwan's living spaces. A broader analysis of post-war Taiwan's native writings and cinematic evolution is discussed in **Appendix 2: Post-war Taiwan's native literature and cinema.**

THE PHENOMENAL POST-MARTIAL LAW LITERATURE

The context of Taiwan cinema is framed by the growth of native literature, particularly along with the changes after the lifting of Martial Law. The native literature, to a certain degree, becomes the base of the cinematic works and provides an alternative reflection of public reception in history. Most importantly, the tendency highlighted in the development of post-war literature in Taiwan has given access to the past through popular memory which is different to the top-down official discourse.⁵⁹

After the rise of Taiwan literature, the manifold unofficial discourses on this island's post-Martial Law cultural political identities therefore indicate an atmosphere of simultaneous "heteroglossia".⁶⁰ In other words, the construction of cultural identity in today's Taiwan is no longer simplified and merely nationalist based. Rather, the identity is constructed in a hybrid and day-to-day basis, which in fact decentralises the collective state ideology into varied social issues of everyday life. Post-Martial Law Taiwan, interestingly, is heading to an awkward stage described by Jameson that "this small island is a non-national nation state".⁶¹ This small island at this moment is neither a text of Greater China nor the "Taiwan nation" but a multi-accentual, boundary effaced and self-reliant cultural domain running as a de facto independent country. A crucial question with regard to space therefore rises here: does this sense which differentiates the cognitive domains from recorded political status and socio-political recognition also apply to the post-war built environment? In other words, has post-war Taiwan's built world been registered as a representation of Taiwan's history?

Pierre Bourdieu has suggested a notion that "the proper name is the support of social identity ... (the proper name) is the true object of all successive rites of institution or

⁵⁹ Broader analysis of Taiwan's post-war literature is discussed in **Appendix 2: Post-war Taiwan's native literature and cinema.**

⁶⁰ Heteroglossia is a term translated from Russian "*raznorechie*" (literally "different-speech-ness").

⁶¹ Jameson, *The Geopolitical Aesthetic: Cinema and Space in the World System*, p. 154.

nomination, through which the social identity is constructed".⁶² In this sense, multi-accentual heteroglossia in post-Martial Law society has gradually emerged to form post-war Taiwan's quasi-colonial context as well as its proper name. This name is neither political Chinese nationalist nor political Taiwanese nationalist but somewhere in between and it is associated with everyday life of modern Taiwan society, i.e. in architectural and urban aspect – living spaces.

MULTI-ACCENTUAL HETEROGLOSSIA

To what extent is post-Martial Law Taiwan legitimised to be connected to the concept of heteroglossia? How does this multi-accentual context compare to the relatively simplified voice in Martial Law society? Multi-accentual context has no intention to define post-Martial Law Taiwan as simple as a departure from a dictatorship but to indicate a more complicated interaction between the Taiwanese and the nation, and native society. Foucault's interpretation of other spaces has suggested the answers at a theoretical level. He indicates three elements of "heterotopias" (different spaces): "we are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed".⁶³ Namely, these phenomenological descriptions of being juxtaposed, simultaneous and dispersed in actual fact highlight the distinction between Martial Law Taiwan and its post-Martial Law presence. These elements have collapsed the ideological collectivity constructed by the KMT in the early post-war years, they pragmatically face the reality that today's Taiwan society is not presented as a homogeneous and unique space but on the contrary as a space that accretes different voices that are side-by-side, at the same time and exist individually. Post-Martial Law Taiwan seems to have mirrored the KMT's utopian political propaganda that: albeit the government of Republic of

⁶² Pierre Bourdieu, "The Biographical Illusion," in *Identity: A Reader*, ed. Paul Du Gay, et al. (London; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications in association with The Open University, 2000), p. 302.

⁶³ Michel Foucault, "Texts/ Contexts of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (1986): p. 22.

China is in Taiwan now, yet it still rules the 35 provinces of China; Taiwan contains no other cultures but orthodox Chinese culture, by pinpointing the realistic fact that Taiwan contains multiple cultures, which are in a precise and determined connection to the island itself. These cultures coexist in the real places of Taiwan, which are able to present Taiwan's diverse historicity and penetrability in history and which have reflected the existence of identified coloniality.

POPULAR MEMORY AND FILM

At the spatial and practical level, the context of post-Martial Law heteroglossia is shaped by the cultural representation of popular memory. Raymond Williams has indicated the cinema, which works in imitation of the human eye, as an extensively distributed and powerful form of culture.⁶⁴ Film, similarly, in post-Martial Law Taiwan's cultural construction, also plays an important role particularly in representing the chronic suppression of popular memory. Moreover, the spatiotemporal inscription of post-war Taiwan (more precisely, its architecture and history) pinpoints the significance of Taiwan cinema as a transitional key shaping the research context of the thesis.

In most of the research which concerns purely the issue of historiography, using film as a medium is often regarded as uncomfortable and unusual because of film's remarkable characteristics of individual authorship and strategic presentation. Walter Benjamin has proposed that although "technical reproduction can put the copy of the original into situations which would be out of reach for the original itself", "the reproduction of a work of art (such as film) is lacking in one element: its presence in time and space, its unique existence at the place where it happens to be".⁶⁵ That is to say, through the reproduction, the quality of the presence is always depreciated; the authenticity of a thing is often not

⁶⁴ Raymond Williams, *Culture and Society, 1780-1950* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983).

⁶⁵ Walter Benjamin and Hannah Arendt, *Illuminations*, [1st] ed. (New York,: Harcourt Brace & World, 1968), p. 220.

legitimised.⁶⁶ However, in this research, which concerns both the identification and representation of architecture in historiography, film appears as a powerful agent to draw the aura of history. Benjamin explains that this aura is the function of reproducing art, which shows the practice of politics and represents the subjectivity of the environment.⁶⁷ Therefore, as a vehicle to bridge Taiwan's socio-political transition and built environment, this study is able to approach a series of questions which are examined within quasi-colonial Taiwan's past and present by looking at its architectural representation. Moreover, the issues reflected to this discipline become more tangible and clearer.

Post-Martial Law Taiwan, following the cultural logic defined by Jameson, is as June Yip describes: "a nation very much caught up in the post-modern network of transnational capitalism and global cultural exchange".⁶⁸ Most importantly, this phenomenon is not only presented in the native literary texts but in other cultural representations, such as cinema. Jameson indicates that a new cinematic genre as a practice of pastiche in the post-modern era, which concerns not high culture but very much with mass culture, is the "nostalgia film".⁶⁹ The word "nostalgia" is fundamentally close to post-war Taiwan's cultural political identity which is always connected to this island's native past.

Taiwan cinema, in connection with its cultural transformation and nostalgic characteristics with the literature and social transition, inevitably creates a temperament of cross-fertilisation and accessibility to scrutinise the relationship between the past and the present, the fiction and the fact, and to outline the schema of representing current cultural subjectivity in Taiwan's factual built environment.

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 221.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 224, 235.

⁶⁸ June Yip, "Constructing a Nation: Taiwanese History and the Films of Hou Hsiao-Hsien," in *Transnational Chinese Cinemas: Identity, Nationhood, Gender*, ed. Lu Hsiao-peng (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), p. 148.

⁶⁹ Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," p. 117.

Combining the transition in identity in post-war Taiwan from a nationalist to a day-to-day context, Foucault has highlighted the notion of “popular memory”⁷⁰ which provides a different perspective to historiography. He indicates that film is an effective means to re-programme popular memory, which had no way of expressing itself but once existed. The historical representation of popular memory constructed in Taiwan’s cinematic space, “Taiwan experience” as Yip calls it,⁷¹ once again marks the proper name of post-war heteroglossia and creates an observable lens at its post-Martial Law stage, is borrowed by this study to look at Taiwan’s post-war architectural historiography and its construction of spatial identities.

SPACE IN TAIWAN CINEMA AND BEYOND

To look at the spatial and historical aura, which have been represented in native cinematic works in Taiwan, two corresponding societal situations are considered: presence-absence situation and parts-whole scenario.⁷² By looking at these two situations, the post-war construction of spatial identification which is represented in manifold forms in Taiwan can be subsumed. The correlation between Taiwan’s past, presence and its spatial representation is also strategically linked. This section focuses on the discussion of post-war Taiwan’s living spaces in native films as concrete moments of transition. The spatial element as a moment in history is analysed through most of the representative works in Taiwan cinema especially at its late Martial Law and post-Martial Law stages. In the discussion of living spaces in films, the scenario of parts-and-whole is examined as the analytical frame.

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, "Film and Popular Memory," in *Foucault Live: (Interviews, 1961-1984)*, ed. Sylvère Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e) double agents, 1996), pp. 122-130.

⁷¹ Yip, "Constructing a Nation: Taiwanese History and the Films of Hou Hsiao-Hsien," p. 140.

⁷² The position of cinematic works in Taiwan is discussed in **Appendix 2: Post-war Taiwan’s native literature and cinema.**

LIVING SPACE AS CONCRETE MOMENTS

Although the post-Martial Law scenario of heteroglossia represents various voices and constructs different forms of status in terms of seeing Taiwan as a socio-political subject, it is the fact that both the empty and the filled propositions also see Taiwan as a focused object. No matter what the directors' intentions are in the films, which represent the subject of "Taiwan", they are only images constructed by the directors' nostalgic means. Foucault has a celebrated contestation in *This is not a pipe* (1968) that "the drawing representing the pipe is not the pipe itself ... Do not look overhead for a true pipe. This is a pipe dream. It is the drawing within the painting, firmly and rigorously outlined, that must be accepted as a manifest truth".⁷³ Gilles Deleuze also reinterprets Foucault's notion that "when we see a pipe we shall always say (in one way or another): 'this is not a pipe', as though intentionality denied itself, and collapsed into itself".⁷⁴ In short, a painting of a pipe is in point of fact not simply as a pipe; it is an image of a pipe. In responding to this idea, Taiwan's post-war historical variability from the cinema should also be able to reflect the invariable characteristics seeing Taiwan as the only spatial "object".

The issue of living spaces, for that reason, has reflected this unwavering temperament from the early post-war stage to the present when this issue applies to parts-and-whole situation. There are two types of parts which constitute the whole, the pieces and the moments. The pieces are parts that can subsist and be presented even apart from the whole. Yet the moments are the parts cannot. Space is regarded as the part of the moment. Without connecting specific historical, cultural and social circumstances to places, space is only an authentic, or utopian, abstraction in comparison to the simultaneous assumption in heterotopias. Four spatial characteristics, which are always the issues on the island at its post-war stage, have been presented in post-Martial Law Taiwan cinema, and then transferred into concrete spatial form with the cultural political transition of the time: (1)

⁷³ Michel Foucault and James Harkness, *This Is Not a Pipe*, Quantum Books. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), pp. 16-19.

⁷⁴ Gilles Deleuze, *Foucault* (London: Athlone, 1988), p. 90.

the polemic between the city and countryside, (2) geographic identification, (3) the idealised space of nostalgia, and (4) the social transition from nostalgia to spatial indigenisation.

The polemic between the city and the countryside is an issue in great demand amongst developing countries particularly in the Asian region. However, from the early post-war period to the present, taking Taiwan cinema as the example, this issue has been represented by different spatiotemporal concerns experienced within different social contexts of post-war Taiwan. *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* (1994) (Figure 11) reinterprets the very early post-war difference between the city and the countryside, which was distinguished by two issues - livelihood and transportation. *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991) reconstructs the idea of Taiwan's once "only" metropolis - Taipei City, from the 1950s to the 1960s, and the distinctive urban temperament which highlighted the metropolitan identity of American popular cultural and the military footholds (Figure 12). Even so, this ideology has been challenged by works of "Taiwan New cinema". *The Boys from Fengkoei* (1983) records the rise and flourishing of Kaohsiung City (Figure 13) instead of the capital city, Taipei. On the other hand, *The Boys from Fengkoei* starts to observe the characteristics of the countryside from Taiwan's maritime cultural landscape (Figure 14) such as the village image in Penghu⁷⁵ instead of the imagination of mainland grassland seen in earlier films. From another observational view, *Dust of Angels* (1992) and *Goodbye South Goodbye* (1996) stand for Taiwan's rapid urbanisation between the 1970s and the 1990s, and as evidence, the freeway and the railway have been painted in the film to reduce the difference and distance between the metropolis and the countryside (Figure 15).

⁷⁵ Penghu Islands, also known as Pescadores Islands, are an archipelago off the west coast of Taiwan.



Figure 11 The “city” image in early post-war Taiwan (*Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life*, directed by Wu Nien-Jen, Taiwan, 1994. Chang Shu A & V Production, Long Shong Pictures).



Figure 12 The suburb of Taipei in the early post-war years; it was planned as the military foothold of the time. This image shows not only the metropolitan identity in the Martial Law period but also highlights the political and administrative slant to Taipei City of the time (*A Brighter Summer Day*, directed by Edward Yang, Taiwan, 1991. ICA, Jane Balfour Films, Yang & His Gang Filmmakers).

Figure 13 The city image of Kaohsiung in the 1980s. In comparison to Taipei’s nationalist and Americanised image, the figure of Kaohsiung represented a strong day-to-day reality and authentic culture of maritime Taiwan apart from the same flourishing image as a major city on the island (*The Boys from Fengkoei*, directed by Hou Hsiao-hsien, Taiwan, 1983. Wan Nien Ching Ying Yeh).



Figure 14 The maritime image of Taiwan (*The Boys from Fengkoei*, 1983).



Figure 15 The freeway and railway images, which are filmed to represent the marked spatial characteristics and bridge between the city and the countryside in the 1990s Taiwan (*Goodbye South Goodbye*, directed by Hou Hsiao-hsien, Taiwan, 1996. 3H Films, Shochiku Corporation).

Later, *Grandma and her Ghosts* (1998) shows the social scenario in Taiwan in the late 1990s. The city-countryside polemic highlights the gap between the modern environment and cultural traditions produced by rapid urbanisation. In the movie (and in reality), native cultural traditions such as *Chungyuan Pu Tu* 中元普渡⁷⁶ are barely seen in metropolitan areas, which have become fundamentally international and placeless. On the other hand, cultural traditions, to a certain degree, have gradually lost their authenticity or been mutated while the modern technologies have become pervasive. For example, the traditional *Tao* village in Orchid Island represented in *Fishing Luck* (2005) shows a mutation of

⁷⁶ *Chungyuan Pu Tu* 中元普渡 is a salvation ceremony in Taiwan's ghost month.

indigenous *Tao* life by importing automobiles, tourism, technologies from Taiwan and on the other hand exporting work force to Taiwan. The traditional tribal landscape in Orchid Island nowadays has become hybrid (Figure 16); it is especially evident from the mutated *Tao* buildings which combine reinforced concrete structure with traditional stilt house styles (Figure 17). In recent years, problems in environment and community come to the forefront. In *Island Etude* (2007), the director pinpoints recent popular concerns about indigenous consciousness in Taiwan society. The highly contaminative industries which were usually set in rural areas in the past now need to face debate and strict examination by not only administrative institutes but also NGOs (non-governmental organisations) which are mostly constituted by community members and academics. The difference and distance between the cities and the rural areas have become comparatively blurred at this stage. Further, in *Cape no.7* (2008) and *Su Mi Ma Sen Love* (2009), community issues of recovering regional identity in cultural industries, space conservation, building preservation, BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) and the crisis of losing regional character reinterpret the city-countryside interaction while the city-rural counterbalance simultaneously internationalises and urbanises those “rural” regions (Figure 18).



Figure 16 A clear contrast between the modern construction and traditional style in Taiwan’s post-war aboriginal tribe which represents the spatial characteristic of hybridisation (*Fishing Luck*, directed by Tseng Wen-Chen, Taiwan, 2005. Lumiere Motion Picture Corporation).



Figure 17 A traditional stilt house constructed with the modern technology in Orchid Island (Taken by the author).



Figure 18 Two images filmed in *Su Mi Ma Sen Love* show the conflicts happened in community when the renovation of Kaohsiung waterfront was just started (left) and its distinctive result after the renovation (right). The city-countryside interaction at the current stage in Taiwan is addressed by the spatial renovation and revitalisation of regional culture and industries (*Su Mi Ma Sen Love*, directed by Lin Yu-Hsien, Taiwan, 2009. Joint Entertainment International Inc).

Geographic identification is another moment in space showing a transition of identity construction from the imaginary mainland to the global context (Figure 19). This transition is also linked to the identification process of post-war Taiwan. Taiwan, in its post-war period, was placed as a marginal cultural subdivision of China from the early post-war years to a transitional isolation, and is currently situated as a particular cultural subject. *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* (2008) shows the disappointment felt by Taiwanese people who were abandoned by the Manchu Ching Empire signing the treaty to permanently cede the island and their bitter-sweet *Han* kin which geographically affiliates with the mainland. But the mainland cast this island away eventually (Figure 20). In stark contrast, *Duo Sang: A*

Borrowed Life presents a strong identification from the group of native Taiwanese after 50 years of Japanisation or even Japan's further impacts on cultural colonisation after 1945. A Japanophilic complex therefore became the most difficult obstacle for the KMT government who wanted to remove it from the island but without success. This sense of frustration, felt by the Mainlanders, is evident when observed in *A Brighter Summer Day*. The film marks the awkward sense of the Mainlanders who look at Taiwan as a temporary settlement or new territory. This group of newcomers represents the privilege granted to take over all the properties the Japanese had left behind. But it also depicts their resignation to have to live and work in those fundamentally Japanese style buildings. During this period, the geographic sense of belonging and the cultural identity were strongly imaginary and nationalist, and constructed following the ideology of the Chinese mainland and Greater China that was in fact not relevant to the island's real life but a compelling imposition.

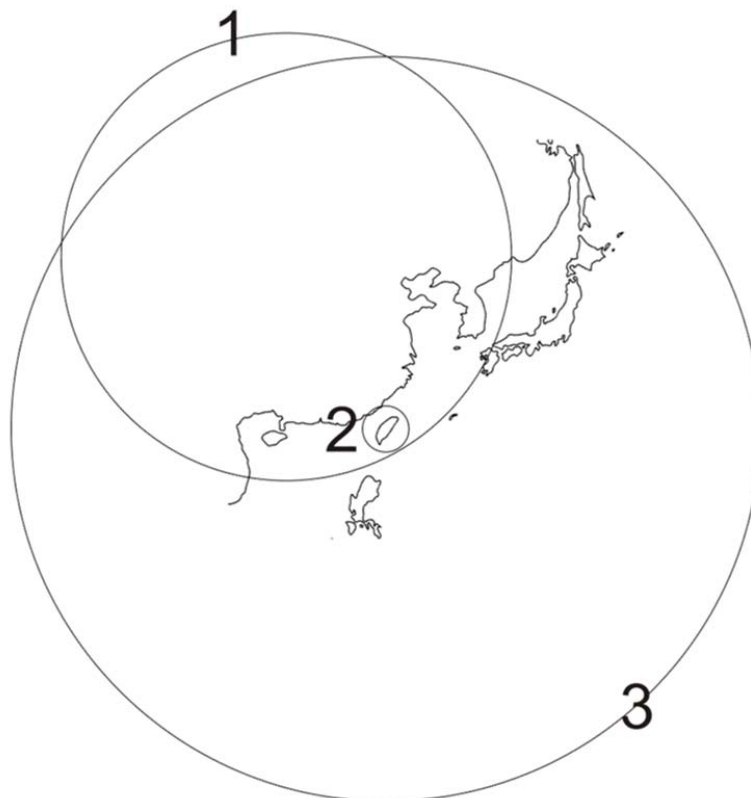


Figure 19 The transition of geographic identification in post-war Taiwan, the numbers show three chronologic stages of the geographic sense of belonging constructed by scales and centres in the imaginary mainland, the isolated island and the present global context (Made by the author).



Figure 20 Two images filmed in *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* which reconstruct the situation when the Japanese just took over the dominance of Taiwan in 1894 from previous dominance - the Manchu Ching Empire (*Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895*, directed by Hung Chih-yu, Taiwan, 2008. Swallow Wings Films).

The sense of indigenisation raised in the period between the 1970s and the 1990s made the identification move towards another form of nationalist thinking - Taiwan nationalism. Hou's works, such as *The Boys from Fengkoei*, *A City of Sadness*, *Dust of Angels*, and *Goodbye South Goodbye*, all demonstrate this transition of environmental identification. The scenes these films have shown are restricted to the island's regions only and the characterised locations in the films are only markets and street landscape (Figure 21). That is to say, it seems that all the external impacts had been carefully filtered and rejected, except the island's insularity.



Figure 21 The market images largely appear in the films as the public and identified scenes of Taiwan in the 1970s (The left: *A City of Sadness*, directed by Hou Hsiao-hsien, Taiwan, 1989. British Film Institute. The right: *The Boys from Fengkoei*, 1983).

After the Martial Law period, this situation was once again altered and extended to a cosmopolitan scale when geo-identification was centralised in Taiwan with an indigenous

consciousness and a form of consensus which emerged in the 1990s. More precisely, after the late 1990s, the senses of globalisation and indigenisation have become the chief texts within the context of Taiwan's geographic identification (Figure 22). The isolated and placeless urbanisation seems no longer enough to support any focus on the identification of place. As a reflection, the existing spatial traces of native history such as the old gate highlighted in *Cape No.7* become noticeable landmarks. Without a doubt, the so-called "native site" in this sense has already become "Taiwan" rather than those imaginary and untouchable images, such as Mongolian grassland, once upon a time.



Figure 22 The images filmed the moment when the leading role was riding a motorbike out of Taipei, which was reflected to the rear-view mirror, travelling to an old town in southern Taiwan. These two images imply the competing tendency of concerning historical heritage in Taiwan today while globalisation and urbanisation are leading the world as the mainstream trend (*Cape No.7*, directed by Wei Te-Sheng, Taiwan, 2008. Buena Vista).

With the transition of geographic identification, representations of nostalgia in the built environment illustrate more explicit characteristics of the making of Taiwan's post-war idealised spaces. Three typical sets of nostalgic space signify post-war architectural ideologies in Taiwan. They are *Washitsu*,⁷⁷ the *Minnan*⁷⁸ style house, and symbolic and ideological space. First of all, *Washitsu* (Figure 23) can be regarded as the most distinctive

⁷⁷ *Washitsu* is the pronunciation of the traditional Japanese style room in the Japanese language. *Washitsu* sometimes is also called the *Tatami* room in its English translation; however, the case of *Washitsu* in Taiwan is not always stuck with the room which has the *Tatami* flooring.

⁷⁸ *Minnan* usually refers to the South-East coast of China.

idealised space in post-war Taiwan. Practically, the Japanese style room is always a common room setting in the houses of most Taiwanese families since the Japanese time. This room, interestingly, seems to be idealised as a vital spatial icon with meaning across cultures, ethnicities, ages and functions in the post-war built environment in Taiwan (Figure 24). In *A City of Sadness*, *Washitsu* is a room providing social activities, communication, negotiation and active living space, and even hospital wards in early post-war Taiwan. In *A Brighter Summer Day*, *Washitsu* not only can be a temporal place for most of the Mainlanders but also can be the luxury villa for a privileged mainland Chinese general. In very recent films, *Washitsu* frequently appears as an interior archetype in modern Taiwanese buildings no matter their type, function or cultural base. Although the form of *Washitsu* in Taiwan originated from Japan, this room today has been idealised and indigenised as an icon indicating typical modern Taiwanese living space. To be precise, the use of *Washitsu* today in Taiwan society, as an element of post-war Taiwan's spatial hybridisation, has constructed a unique form of identity transcending its origination and symbolic meaning. No matter whether *Washitsu* is from Japan originally or not, no matter whether the new generation of Taiwanese people know that it is from Japan originally or not, *Washitsu* has been widely recognised as a vitally important icon of Taiwanese living space today. Of course, this space is idealised for identification psychologically. As far as the exact function of *Washitsu* in Taiwan today, which would legitimise the essential of its existence, interestingly, it is no doubt less important or even unmeaning for most of the Taiwanese people in this day and age.



Figure 23 The typical setting of *Washitsu* in post-war Taiwanese architecture (Taken by the author).



Figure 24 Images of *Washitsu* filmed in cinematic works to represent different functions, social status and symbolic meanings (The top left and the top right: *A City of Sadness*, 1989. The bottom left and the bottom right: *A Brighter Summer Day*, 1991).

Unlike *Washitsu*'s multi-definitions in post-war Taiwan space, the *Minnan* style house (Figure 25) is always strictly associated with native ethnicities such as the native Taiwanese and the *Hakka*, albeit ironically that this space has its origins in China. Seen in film, to a certain degree, the *Minnan* house provides an established atmosphere as a nostalgic “home” for native ethnic groups (Figure 26). As an idealised “Taiwanese” *Minnan* house, three elements always stand out, namely: (1) certain sections or zones with a compound (usually three), (2) a central courtyard (or a front field), and (3) a strong symmetrical axis which indicates different positions in the family hierarchy (Figure 27). These elements, therefore, constitute a stable sense of belonging. For instance, from *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* (which reconstructs the time of 1895), *A City of Sadness* (which reconstructs the time of very early post-war Taiwan in urban area), *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* (which reconstructs the time of very early post-war Taiwan in rural area), *The Boys from Fengkoei* (which captures real space in 1983), *Dust of Angels* (depicting real space in 1992), *Island Etude* (depicting real space in 2007) to *Cape No.7* (depicting real space in 2008), the *Minnan* house occupies the nostalgic position as an idealised “home” for native families, no matter whether

from the Japanese era or from the most recent times. Next, the compound of the *Minnan* house, particularly the three-section compound, which is typical in Taiwan, and the central lobby along with the courtyard or front field pinpoint the core of family activities like communication and important ceremonies. Like *Washitsu* in Taiwan, the *Minnan* house is evident today in Taiwan society as an idealised space, especially from the transfiguration of the compound and the central lobby. It is a fact that even though the *Minnan* house is no longer used as the majority of modern Taiwan's residential building types, the centre of the floor plan in most native apartments can still be implied as the space of the core and pivotal ceremony in a family at the present time (Figure 28). In comparison to the strong atmosphere which the native ethnic groups have created in the *Minnan* style house, *A Brighter Summer Day* which describes the early post-war lives of Mainlanders in Taiwan, presents in stark contrast an uncertain, forceless and placeless ambience for the Mainlanders' family. More precisely, without the idealised or organised space, the Mainlanders' sense of belonging to this island becomes even weaker when they take the privilege to occupy the properties the Japanese left behind or to create an imaginary "China" by establishing the so-called "military village"⁷⁹ in post-war Taiwan.



Figure 25 The typical form and atmosphere of the *Minnan* style house in Taiwan (Taken by the author).

⁷⁹ The military village 眷村 is a specific residential community in Taiwan built in the late 1940s and the 1950s, whose original purpose was to serve as provisional housing for the various KMT soldiers and their dependents along with the KMT's retreatment to Taiwan. Nowadays, the military village has become a unique community type in Taiwan, which evidences the "political immigration" in Taiwan's history chiefly between 1948 and 1956.



Figure 26 The images of the *Minnan* style houses in the films show the atmosphere as the home to the native ethnicities (The left: *A City of Sadness*, 1989. The right: *Island Etude*, directed by Chen Huai-En, Taiwan, 2007. Zoom Hunt International Productions Company Ltd).

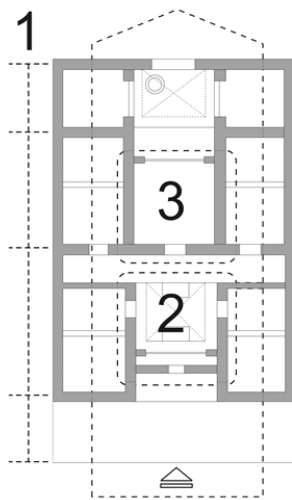


Figure 27 The typical plan of the traditional *Minnan* style house in Taiwan, which shows three chief characteristics: certain sections (usually three) compound (no. 1), a central courtyard (no. 2), and a strong symmetric axis which indicate the positions in the family hierarchy (no. 3). In the middle of the plan is usually the most important space for the family, this space has been kept as a symbolic core in family space in modern apartment building plan in most of the native families today in Taiwan (Made by the author).

Figure 28 The typical core family place in modern Taiwanese apartment implies the idealised space of the *Minnan* House (Taken by the author).

Last but not least is symbolic and ideological space. It is important to show this type of space by representing the conflict between top-down ideological collectivity and bottom-up

livelihood necessities. The hospital, for example, is used in *A City of Sadness* to interpret twofold socio-political meanings that demonstrate modernity constructed during the Japanese colonisation and the accommodation of refugees during the Nationalist Government's persecution. The washed-out school buildings in *A Brighter Summer Day* reveal the increasing demand for education when a great number of migrants arrived in the 1950s. On the other hand, these buildings also satirise the authorised KMT White Terror in such a moral based space by pinpointing its alternative use as a torture room when the new school buildings shifted them (Figure 29). Moreover, *A Brighter Summer Day* also catches the alternative use of *Zhongshan Hall* 中山堂⁸⁰ as a concert ground showing that forms of monumentality apart from the nationalist purposes are in reality useless for most day-to-day necessities (Figure 30). The incomplete high rise building in *The Boys from Fengkoei* from another perspective represents the rapid moving on of Kaohsiung City as a young metropolis in the 1970s. A developing distance between the city (Kaohsiung) and the countryside is also evident in the ignorance of the leading actor, along with his friends, who have been teased as uneducated people from the countryside when they paid money to access to the uncompleted building, believing that there was a luxury theatre screening pornography in the building. Another symbolic space, the pool room, in the period from the 1960s to the 1990s filmed in *A Brighter Summer Day*, *The Boys from Fengkoei*, *Dust of Angels*, and *Goodbye South Goodbye*, was a place for not only entertainment but representing a longing for freedom and democracy (Figure 31).⁸¹ By contrast, the image of the pool room was construed by Martial Law collectivity as the representation of a form of entertainment that

⁸⁰ *Zhongshan Hall* 中山堂 was a symbolic memorial hall which was everywhere in post-war Taiwan in order to commemorate Sun Yat-sen, who was nominated as the first provisional president when the Republic of China (ROC) was founded in 1912 and later co-founded the Chinese Nationalist Party (KMT) that he served as its first leader. *Zhongshan* 中山 is rooted by Sun's pseudonym when he exiled in Japan.

⁸¹ The pool room in Martial Law Taiwan was designated by the Nationalist Government as a place which gathers various degenerate activities. Therefore, the pool room was symbolised as a place producing the ideology against the nationalist autocracy and was also idealised as a place for people who longed for democratic freedom.

was perceived as an indicator of criminal activities. The original meaning of the pool room and the exact performance in the room were manipulated. This “other” definition of the room was recognised as a powerful symbol during Martial Law.



Figure 29 The image shows the use of the old school classroom as a torture room during the KMT's White Terror had been performed (*A Brighter Summer Day*, 1991).

Figure 30 The image of Zhongshan Hall in the film (*A Brighter Summer Day*, 1991).



Figure 31 The pool room image in Taiwan's Martial Law period which is reconstructed in the film indicates the place of gathering gangsters and high school dropouts (*A Brighter Summer Day*, 1991).

Finally, the temple gateway and the night market around it (Figure 32) are the last symbolic and ideological spaces which highlight a vitally important location of public communication, negotiation and cultural ceremonies in post-Martial Law Taiwan (Figure 33). Religious belief, when compared to the use of this location for everyday activities, becomes less symbolic than community consciousness, even though this place is in fact a subspace of the “temple”. The night market around the gateway and various, less religious, relevant activities happened around the temple, such as fortune-telling or introductions for possible marriage, have superseded the religious ceremonies. Obviously, this “ahistorical” symbolism

constructed from the temple gateway or from other symbolic spaces shows the consistent double readings as key spatial moments in Taiwan's post-war architectural historiography.



Figure 32 The typical image of the temple gateway space along with the night market around it in Taiwan; the case here is the temple gateway space in the city centre of Keelung (Taken by the author).



Figure 33 The images of the temple gateway in the films play pivotal role for public communication and negotiation (The left: *Dust of Angels*, directed by Hsu Hsiao-ming, Taiwan, 1992. Hsiung Wei Ltd. The right: *Cape No.7*, 2008).

In summary, if such different spatial moments presented in post-war Taiwan are the parts, a sense of nostalgia is a distinctive theme in Taiwan's post-war quasi-colonial context, and for that reason, connects to the whole. Nostalgia in the context of post-war Taiwan not only yearns for the past but also moves forward to the present as a contemporary spatial temperament. The transit to spatial indigenisation from nostalgia bears distinct witness to this observation. Using "form" to indigenise space was the chief means when nationalist ideology still led social evolution in the Martial Law period. In *A City of Sadness*, the fascia of "little Shanghai" on the shop front is an attempt to show the strong sense of affiliation with

the mainland in the Greater China social context of the 1940s (Figure 34). *Washitsu* in a *Minnan* house in *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* demonstrates the indigenised hybridisation from different imposed forms of national identity in Taiwan's native ethnic groups. And the Hawaiian style night club in *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991) marks the well-built political economic intervention in Taiwan's popular culture during the US Aid era from 1951 to 1975 (Figure 35).



Figure 34 The “little Shanghai” image in the film implies nostalgia and the sense of affiliation with China (*A City of Sadness*, 1989).

Figure 35 The image in the film highlights the significance and influence of US Aid in early post-war Taiwan society (*A Brighter Summer Day*, 1991).

However, since nationalist ideology was gradually replaced by the concerns of everyday life and the impact of the global commercial storm in the 1990s, using “form” as the means of spatial indigenisation is becoming more and more ambiguous. In other words, external form is no longer sufficient to represent the hybrid, multi-accentual sense of identity that emerges simultaneously in Taiwan after the 1990s. And since external form does not act as a convincing bridge to address the spatial identification of post-war Taiwan, the way of seeing post-war Taiwan's urban field as a whole also suffers from a lack of persuasion. In addition, neither nationalist collectivity nor the restoration of grand colonial past is an efficient approach to convince the public that society will become better if they follow this direction. Instead, the people in Taiwan in this day and age tend to believe that popular memory must be merged with the present and heading to the future. This is a better option rather than doing nothing to improve life by highlighting merely external appearance. The spatial representation of post-war Taiwan's indigenisation is therefore transferred from a comprehensible external formation in objects only to an intersubjective approach with

comparatively indistinguishable external expression plus intentional consciousness. More precisely, the issues and struggles in individual community developments are therefore emphasised as the most characteristic attempts in the post-Martial Law context. In *Goodbye South Goodbye*, the director singles out the idea that administrative subjects such as the central and local governments are no longer the chief motors of spatial development but the present community members are. The plot of *Island Etude* indicates that the essential past that needs to be recovered is neither national history nor macro-geographic history but micro-regional, cultural and industrial history, which is more pragmatic and can be merged into present development and related to the life of the community as well as local conditions (Figure 36).



Figure 36 The issue of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan is recorded in the film by showing the before-and-after images of the community renovation. In the image, the actor is holding a picture describing the very original image of the village, which no longer existed after the massive construction of the industries but essentially represents the authenticity of the place (*Island Etude*, 2007).

National history is always well constructed; macro-geographic history is generally identified; nonetheless, regional history was usually ignored, forgotten and unorganised in its recording. For this reason, essential memory is unorganised and had been ignored for a long time. The conflict of recovering it is consequently apparent and sharply felt (Figure 37). This conflict is highlighted and illustrated in *Cape No.7* considering the prevalence issue of BOT

(Build-Operate-Transfer)⁸² projects in Taiwan by its celebrated dictum - “the hill is running as BOT, the sea is also running as BOT, everything is running as BOT”. This dictum in the film appropriately presents public concerns over short term profit and the long term common good. Similarly, the sense of the resistance from the residents and the successful result of redeveloping an old community in Kaohsiung City are both recorded in *Su Mi Ma Sen Love*. It is understandable that resistance rises along with the intervention of power. In particular this is related to the residents’ common good and physical homesteads. But by any means it successfully embodies the dream of realising spatial nostalgia within a de facto built environment in post-Martial Law Taiwan, and it productively transits the formalist approach to an intersubjective one since Martial Law had been lifted. Although the issue of Community Development is revealed physically as controversial and polemical in terms of its practical efficiency, yet without a word, it has already become the most idiosyncratic issue as an approach to spatial indigenisation in post-Martial Law Taiwan. As Jeremy E. Taylor suggests: “it is the common link to the local level of historiography and the primacy of the built environment as historic text than a collection of lapidary monuments”.⁸³



Figure 37 An image of community protest is filmed to mark the current spatial concern in Taiwan with regard to the environment’s original culture and sustainability (*Island Etude*, 2007).

⁸² BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) is a form of project, which is financed and planned by the government, operated by private organisations and eventually transferred its management authority back to the government after the cost of the investment returns.

⁸³ Jeremy E. Taylor, "Reading History through the Built Environment in Taiwan," in *Cultural, Ethnic, and Political Nationalism in Contemporary Taiwan: Bentuhua*, ed. John Makeham and A. chin Hsiau (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), p. 171.

BLURRED MOMENTS AND CLEARER PIECES

It is important to revisit the initial proposition of seeing Taiwan's proper name as a socio-political heteroglossia, instead of possessing ideological status in politics alone. The assumptions of transferring the perspective of identifying Taiwan's post-war space from a state point of view to a day-to-day routine, from a subject-object duality to an intersubjective interaction, and from a hunger for freedom (concrete change) to justice (psychological fairness) are consequently linked to support the spatiotemporal transitions from a nationalist orientation to the present community thinking, from an external indication to an intersubjective recognition, and from a top-down ideological collectivity to a bottom-up pragmatic nostalgia in historiography.

As far as geographic identification is conceived, the three-step-transition on the island indicates a differentiation between "imaginary" and "geopolitical" entities. It is incontestable that the people in Taiwan nowadays more or less are in connection with previous external interventions' lineage, culture and colonial past, especially from China and Japan. However, after generations of intermarriage and settlement, the population in Taiwan has already indigenised along with its geopolitical maritime culture as a very native community. These so-called "motherland", "mainland" or "mother empire" in fact have become, de facto, "imaginary" and "untouchable". The cultural and spatial context on the island today is neither purely colonial nor insular (anti-colonial) but neutrally cosmopolitan. The situation is like what Taylor says: "the relics cannot stand alone in time or space; they should have relevance for the community around them rather than simply relevance for 'the nation'".⁸⁴ The proper statement of the cultural political identification of the island today in Taiwan is similar to J Bruce Jacobs's description that:

A concise statement sometimes heard in Taiwan today, people no longer say, "Taiwan culture is a part of Chinese culture". Rather, they say, "Chinese culture is a part of

⁸⁴ Ibid.

Taiwan culture along with aboriginal cultures, Dutch culture, Spanish culture, Manchu culture, Japanese culture and Western culture”.⁸⁵

As a final point in this chapter, the idealised spaces and the pragmatic realities of the built environment, as the last two spatiotemporal aspects, have evidenced the situation between Taiwan’s ideological complexes and social reality that: they can be discussed separately. To put it specifically, by pinpointing the derivative issues in terms of the present idiosyncratic feature in Taiwan’s built environment - Community Development - at its post-Martial Law stage, the questions here in the study are therefore regenerated as: What exactly is the issue of Community Development about in Taiwan’s post-martial-law context? How is the issue of Community Development represented in the progress of constructing identity along with cultural politics in Taiwan as the replacement of former colonial collectivity in an intersubjective way to show not only the intention of indigenising society but also the interaction with the present subjects as a form of recognised consciousness? How does architecture signify the “humble and reserved” (not purely objective since it involves human subjects), a relatively abstract issue in modern Taiwan society, and how does it illustrate it with the actual built environment as an appropriate means? And do the cases in architecture construct this sense of identity properly and create a better environment in terms of different social respects from both top-down and bottom-up ways in quasi-colonial Taiwan? The analysis focused on Taiwan’s Community Development, and related issues and cases in the following chapters shed light on these questions.

⁸⁵ J. Bruce Jacobs, "Taiwan Studies in Australia," *Issues & Studies* 43, no. 1 (2007): p. 218.

CHAPTER 3:
INSCRIBING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

THE WORD “COMMUNITY”

In the English language, the term “community” can indicate several aspects, represent different meanings and identify varied disciplines. This word in this research; however, has been focused on a twofold definition. One is physical, the other mental. Physically, “community” refers to a group of people living together in one place. Mentally, the community is a condition of having certain attitudes and interests in common.⁸⁶ In the Chinese language, particularly in Taiwan’s current writing system, two different phrases can be translated from the English “communities”. The first translation is “*She Chu*” 社區 (physical community) and the other one is “*Kung Tung Ti*” 共同體 (mental community). In this research, which focuses on the post-Martial Law built environment in Taiwan, this twofold definition has been construed as a central concept, with several applications: collective application (governmental policies), academic application (professional discourses) as well as pragmatic application (physical design projects).

This chapter, in order to test and verify the correlation and significance of “community” to the built environment in Taiwan’s post-Martial Law society, focuses on these two aspects of “community” - the mental and the physical. More precisely, from this chapter onwards, the study examines the issue of “Community Development” which emerged as an influential idea in post-Martial Law Taiwan. This idea marks a turning point in the post-WWII transition of Taiwan society, particularly in its cultural politics of space and identity. Community Development in the study is identified as an indicator representing Taiwan’s post-WWII societal values in architectural practices. In other words, Community Development is a code word which translates post-Martial Law Taiwan society in its architecture and urbanism as Taiwan’s “other”⁸⁷ consensus narrative.

⁸⁶ *Concise Oxford English Dictionary* edited by Catherine Soanes and Angus Stevenson, 2009.

⁸⁷ The idea of “other” is discussed with regard to Foucault’s heterotopia notion in **Chapter 2: Taiwan’s post-Martial Law “heteroglossia”**.

To begin with the analytical framework, based on the two-level meaning of the “community”, the discussion therefore commences from a broader meaning - mental “Community Development” 社區發展 (at times is also translated as “Community Policy”) in society - to a more specific, physical “Community Development” 社區營造 (sometimes is also translated as “Community Construction”) in the built environment.⁸⁸

THE CONTEXT AND TRANSITION OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN

Community Development in Taiwan, similarly to most of the community cases in the world, originated from the recognition of a social and spatial sickness. However, Taiwan’s response was later, well after the end of World War II. This was because of the unique post-war social, cultural, political and economic situation in Taiwan. It is therefore necessary to discuss the history and historiography of post-WWII Taiwan, which frame the turning points and key social events as motifs of different social movements in post-war Taiwan with regard to Community Development and particularly its influence on the built environment.

UNFOLDING COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT IN TAIWAN

The movement of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan, therefore, has been conducted under such a social, cultural and political transition in its post-war history. Yet, the term “Community Development” in Taiwan as a matter of fact had already emerged in the Martial Law period, but with a different context and intention.

The United Nations was founded in 1948 for the purposes of maintaining world peace and the post-war restoration of economy. In 1951, its Economic and Social Council enacted a proposal to use the so-called Community Welfare Centre as a bridge to push the global

⁸⁸ A broad analysis of Community Development as a discipline is discussed in **Appendix 3: Professional and academic contestation within Community Development.**

economy. The term “Community Development” therefore had been set in the UN as a means of performing tasks. In 1952, a unit, Community Organisation and Development in Secretariat, was founded under the UN and it was subsequently renamed as Section of Community Development in 1954, which shared the duty of promoting social reforms amongst developing countries in Asia, Africa, Middle East and South America. This was the original motif through which the term “Community Development” was used in Taiwan.

In 1965, the Executive Yuan 行政院 - an executive branch of the Republic of China (Taiwan) government (literally "House of Administration"), borrowed and used this term as well as its concept in Taiwan. “Community Development” 社區發展 was named as a replacement of the Nationalist government’s previous policy on “fundamental infrastructure” and was listed as a major task of Martial Law Taiwan’s social welfare policy, which was the very first use of this term in Taiwan. However, autonomous power in repressed society is always not allowed. Taiwan society in the 1960s and 1970s were controlled under a martial autocracy, therefore, the performance of Community Development at that time appeared as an absolute top-down system. That is to say, it was conducted by the government as a political programme. At that time, the Community Development units amongst regions of Taiwan were usually merged with administrative offices of districts. In addition, in the early 1980s, these so-called community centres were often used to support different political parties for elections. Community Development in this research does not refer to this stage but a latter one, after the Martial Law period.

OFFICIAL DISCOURSES OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AFTER MARTIAL LAW

POST-MARTIAL LAW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

The second stage of “Community Development” was motivated in the 1980s. At that juncture, according to Tseng Hsu Cheng’s observation, there were two senses of crisis in the built environment, which pushed this social movement to occur in Taiwan. The first sense was a crisis of survival, which reflected socially the self-rescue of the community 社區自救, and the other was an identity crisis, which architecturally reflected conservation of the

community 社區保存.⁸⁹ The first sense mostly represented the illness of the environment, such as a lack of infrastructure or the invasion of erotic industries in Taiwan society. The other sense, differently, looked at the loss of traditional culture or local characteristics. In addition to these two crises, there was another growing global crisis - the loss of satisfaction from the living environment - simultaneously impacting the built environment in Taiwan in the 1980s. Tseng believes that these problems are ones of historic production which represent the actions of the nation. Most importantly, the reason why these problems came to the surface was highly related to the socio-political circumstances of the time. Taiwan in the 1980s was the turning point, when the societal scenario gradually opened to the public and stepped on its way towards political democratisation. These crises of the environment, cultural identity and living quality all reflected the chronic social repression under the Nationalist Government's high pressure control.

EVOLUTION AND ORGANISATIONS

Before these problems had been noticed and acknowledged by the Taiwanese government, “amateur cultural and historical research workers” 文史工作者 were the pioneers who devoted energy to resolving them. According to Tseng's research, the number of the amateur cultural and historical workshops began to grow since the 1980s and reached a peak within five years between 1992 and 1996 as an emergent non-governmental power that addressed issues and the plight of Taiwan's post-war environment. Since then, non-governmental-organisations (NGOs) have flourished in Taiwan performing a pivotal role in Community Development. Organisations, such as the Community Empowering Society 社區營造協會, the Organisation of Urban Re-s 專業者都市改革組織, the Tsuei Ma-Ma Foundation 崔媽媽基金會, the Youngsun Culture & Education Foundation 仰山文教基金會 and the New Homeland Foundation 新故鄉文教基金會, are distinct examples.

⁸⁹ Tseng Hsu Cheng, *Taiwan Te She Chu Ying Zao (台灣的社區營造)(Community Development in Taiwan)* (Taipei: Yuen Tsu Wen Hua, 2007), pp. 242-246.

Nonetheless, NGOs often faced a dilemma between their constitutions and their actions. Tseng describes this in his paper focusing on the tasks and policy of the amateur cultural and historical research workers:

Generally speaking, we categorise the context of Community Development 社區總體營造 into “human being”, “culture”, “land”, “industry” as well as “landscape”, and the tasks of amateur cultural and historical workshops 文史工作室 belong to the category of “culture”, the chief target is the construction or reinforcement of community identity ... All in all, these tasks are the fundamental jobs for constructing community identity ... the dilemmas of doing amateur cultural and historical research are: (1) it is difficult to put on record, (2) it is difficult to get the funding, (3) it is devoid of techniques in investigation, (4) it lacks residents’ participation, and (5) it shows a fact that people involved in the practices are at times with no relevant capacities or unsupplied with strong continuity.⁹⁰

An affiliation with political ideology sometimes is the most powerful chance to bring a proposal into effect. In 1993, the former chairman of the CCA, Shen Hsueh Yung, proposed an idea in the KMT Central Standing Committee 國民黨中央常務委員會 to reflect former president of Taiwan Lee Teng-hui’s (mental) “community” 生命共同體 political assertion. In the committee, Shen proposed the idea of using cultural policy as the means to reconstruct the consciousness and ethic of the community. This can be regarded as the origin of “Community Development Policy” 社區總體營造 in Taiwan. Later, in 1994, Chen Chi Nan took up the post of the CCA vice chairman and the policy of Community Development 社區

⁹⁰ Tseng Hsu Cheng, "Tsung She Chu Ying Tsao Kan Hsien Chieh Tuan She Chu Wen Shih Kung Tso Te Ke Ti Yu Cheng Tse Chine I (從社區營造看現階段社區文史工作的課題與政策建議)(Suggestions to Current Stage of Amateur Cultural and Historical Workshop's Tasks and Policy: A Community Development Point of View)," in *Ti I Chieh Ti Fang Wen Shih Kung Tso Che Yen Tao Hui Lun Web Hsuan Chi* (第一屆地方文史工作者研討會論文選集)(Selected Seminar Papers: The First Session of the Local Amateur Cultural and Historical Research Workers), ed. Cheng Shui Ping (Taipei: Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan, 2003), pp. 16-19.

營造 was officially put on record.⁹¹ In 2000, the year when the first post-war Taiwan's political power alternative was testified, Community Development remained as a chief cultural policy and subsequently the policy of Community Development was upgraded in 2002 from a ministerial level to a national plan all around Taiwan. In 2004, Chen took up the post of the CCA chairman and the Community Development movement in Taiwan also reached its peak as a popular social movement amongst various disciplines.

CCA AND CHEN CHI NAN

With regard to the Community Development Policy, the CCA and Chen Chi Nan have played the most crucial roles in pushing this movement since the policy had been put on record in Taiwan from 1994 onwards.

The CCA, the Council for Cultural Affairs, is a cabinet-level unit under the Executive Yuan (literally "House of Administration"). It was founded in 1981 in order to monitor and develop cultural policies in modern Taiwan. The CCA is also the highest institute in charge of all cultural institutes, such as museums and cultural centres. The CCA began to promote the policy of Community Development in 1994 by its vice chairman, Chen Chi Nan. And as a

⁹¹ The term "Community Development" 社區營造 as a cultural policy of the CCA has an intention to be differentiated from previous "Community Development" 社區發展 borrowed from the UN; therefore, the later stage of Community Development at times is also translated as "Community Construction" in English. According to Chang Shih Tien's research: Chang Shih Tien, "She Chu Shih Chih Huan Ching Hsien Kuang Chien Tao Chi Wei Lai Fa Chan Chi Hua (社區實質環境現況檢討及未來發展計畫)(the Review of Current Situation and the Future Plan of the Substantial Environment of Community)," ed. Ministry of the Interior Architecture and Building Research Institute (ABRI) (Taipei: Ministry of the Interior, 1994), he indicates that the later stage of "Community Development" 社區營造 is not even close to the issue which developed from the UN's community project but is more related to Japan's recent successful community projects. Community projects preformed in Japan, shown by repeated survey, often borrowed the concepts of Community Development developed in the United States.

social motif, a severe earthquake occurred in 1999 (the *921 Earthquake*) provided a timely case to perform the concept of Community Development. This new cultural policy therefore was extensively used as a strategy for the earthquake reconstruction. In 2000, the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) came into power. The new chairman Chen Yu Hsiu took over the CCA and within her four years term of office, the Community Development Policy continued to be adopted as well as being the means of following new social reception in Taiwan's history, which centralised the focus on the fifty-years since World War II. In 2004, Chen Chi Nan took over the position of CCA chairman. Ideas of the "citizenship of culture" and the "aesthetics of culture" were advocated by him during his term making up the official ideology of Community Development. The study here intends to analyse these cultural policies and their related publications, which were produced by the CCA. The writings along with concepts written by Chen are also decoded to look at the official discourse and critical points of Community Development from 1994 onwards.

The CCA published a book called *Trials of overall organisation of Taiwan communities* in 1999, which shaped its central philosophy of pushing Community Development as a cultural policy in post-Martial Law Taiwan:

Only through the participation and supervision, democracy can be gradually embodied. Learning democracy from all of the civilians, therefore, is a necessary moment. And the most important point of learning democracy is the openness of the public sphere ... the promotion of "community" concept, at the contemporary moment of Taiwan, is to embody "basic level democracy" (grassroots democracy). This is not only the participation of basic-level elections but also civilians' participatory attitudes towards daily affairs in their living communities. This is about the nurturance of democratic discussion and cultural evaluation ... how to create modern "civil society" through Community Development always appears as an idea and the cognition behind the concept and the policy of Community Development.⁹²

⁹² Foundation of Cultural Environment, *Trials of Overall Organisation of Taiwan Communities* (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 1999), p. 19.

The issue of Community Development, from the CCA, or from a governmental ideology, is an attempt to stimulate self-consciousness or an autonomous cultural subject in modern society by empowering the civilians of Taiwan. The construction of consciousness is expected to reinforce culture, society even the environment. The CCA also published a book called *Cultural Taiwan* in 2004, which once again highlighted and summarised its intention through cultural policy chronologically from 2000 to 2004. In this book, the former chairman of the CCA, Chen Yu Hsiu, first defined that “culture” could not be “compared”, which states that four hundred years of Taiwan history is not comparatively “short” but physically “picturesque” and “abundant”. In addition, in order to develop the cultural construction, the policy and persons with abilities are not enough, i.e. participation from the public is needed. CCA former vice chairman Liu Wan Hang, based on this point of fact, indicated that the policy of “layering” the structure of organisation is the strategy and it has been embodied in the practices of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan. In order to perform this concept of interacting “constituent subjects” (civilians) and “socio-cultural objects”, different steps of the policy, plans and goals have been fulfilled chronologically. Amongst them, community and architecture are frequently pinpointed:

The year of 2001 is the year of “cultural assets” ... by the interaction amongst “human”, “environment (land)” and “society”, the affection with historical sites is developed ... by reviewing the past, culture becomes stronger and cultural subjectivity is therefore conceived ... The year of 2003 is the year of “cultural industry” ... by highlighting the transition of Taiwan’s cultural industry, which came down with the social transformation ... history and the living trajectories have been testimonialised ...⁹³

In addition, Chen Yu Hsiu also proposed an outlook for Taiwan’s next fifty-years of cultural construction. Chen said that by reviewing Taiwan’s modern history, Taiwan’s Japanese colonial past was the first fifty-years which brought modernisation to the island; the second fifty-years which were developed by the Nationalist Government established an economic

⁹³ The Council for Cultural Affairs, *Wen Hua Taiwan: Hsin Shin Chi Hsin Jung Yen* (文化台灣：新世紀新容顏)(*Cultural Taiwan: New Century New Face*) (Taipei: Yuen Liu, 2004).

miracle.⁹⁴ Today's Taiwan, on the way towards its third-fifty years, Chen believes, crucially needs to address humanism and the environment. In terms of this, four goals, planned to be achieved in 2050, were therefore set: (1) the construction of a Taiwan-subject oriented culture, (2) the construction of equal cultural rights, (3) a well organised cultural environment and (4) the aim of branding Taiwan.⁹⁵ Pragmatically, policies are grouped into three time settings, namely, the past, the present and the future. In the CCA's practical intentions, especially its spatial strategies, the past refers to conservation and the adaptive reuse of space, the present refers to the construction of a good environment. As far as the future, it refers to the use of technology as well as creativity to reinforce the culture industry in Taiwan.

To be precise, the CCA's cultural policies have been incorporated by several virtual actions. One of the critical actions is the modification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* 文化資產保存法.⁹⁶ The movement of Community Development performed from 1994 onwards was also a big practical move, particularly in environmental as well as social reforms. The very first idea of CCA related to Community Development was to improve the interplay amongst human, land and society, which shapes its "small government and big society" conception. Therefore, the fostering of people with abilities is also one key point. Moreover, in order to provide a foundation for Taiwan's subject oriented culture, the CCA also

⁹⁴ Taiwan had been listed as one of the *Asian Tigers* 亞洲四小龍 during the time between the early 1960s and the 1990s. The four tigers - Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea and Hong Kong, had reached highly developed economies during that time period.

⁹⁵ More details can be found in: The Council for Cultural Affairs, *Wen Hua Taiwan: Hsin Shin Chi Hsin Jung Yen* (文化台灣：新世紀新容顏)(*Cultural Taiwan: New Century New Face*).

⁹⁶ The *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* was enacted in 1983 in order to provide a legal basis of Taiwan's cultural heritage preservation. However, it could not catch the rapid transition of Taiwan society and had been modified for several times. Recent codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* in 2000 can be regarded as the most dramatic one. Details of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* and its influence on Community Development are analysed in **Chapter 4**: Taipei: typicality and its challenge.

established a database called National Cultural Database 國家文化資料庫 which was intended to digitalise and systematise records of native cultural conservation.

Apart from the nurturing of people with abilities, the CCA also empowered the authorities to the local governments in order to epitomise the concept of “layering” organisations, such as the establishment of the Community Development centres at prefectural levels. Moreover, the establishment of the Local Cultural Centre 地方文化館 (at time also translated as the Community Cultural Centre, Community Museum or the Regional Cultural Centre) and the concept of applying adaptive reuse to unused building sites have provided the opportunities for civilians to participate and proliferate regional culture values. The Red House in Taipei City and the Kaohsiung Museum of History in Kaohsiung City are two remarkable examples.⁹⁷

Beyond this form of cultural policies constructed by the CCA, Chen Chi Nan continues to be regarded as a pioneer of providing a theoretical basis in terms of Taiwan’s post-Martial Law Community Development. Chen has an academic background as an anthropologist and used to work on the research of *Han* studies and Taiwan’s historiography. In 1976, Chen suggested new theoretical thinking on “Taiwan and Chinese complexes” 台灣結與中國結 - a previously controversial debate over the once dominant idea of “Chinesisation (Sinicisation) of Taiwan society” 台灣社會的漢化.⁹⁸ He believes that during the period between 1683 and 1895, the prototype of immigrant society in Taiwan had been assimilated/indigenised into a native form rather than been Chinesised (Sinicised):

Indigenised *Han* Chinese in Taiwan have gradually changed their immigrant attitude and constructed a new social collective identity with genealogic hybridisation and geopolitical consciousness when they settled down to Taiwan ... great examples are new

⁹⁷ These two building cases are discussed and analysed in **Chapter 4**: Taipei: typicality and its challenge, **Chapter 5**: Kaohsiung: Taiwan’s “other capital” and **Chapter 6**: Theorising Taiwan’s post-Martial Law context: cultural identification in history and space.

⁹⁸ Chen Chi Nan, "Tai Wan Han Jen I Min She Hui Te Chien Li Yu Chuan Hsing (台灣漢人移民社會的建立與轉型)(Construction and Transformation of Han Immigrant Society in Taiwan)," pp. 79-80.

geopolitical consciousness of being the “Taiwanese” 台灣人, “Hsia Kang Jen” 下港人 (referring to the people from southern Taiwan; “Jen” is literal “people” in the *Han* character), “Yi Lan Jen” 宜蘭人 (Yi Lan is one county in Taiwan today) and so on ... However, consciousness of being the “Taiwanese” will always affiliate with traditional *Han* society in terms of a historical and cultural concern.⁹⁹

For Chen, “consciousness” is always a key point of theorising his ideas, no matter from his response to the pervasive idea of “Taiwan (indigenised) consciousness” or his idea of “community consciousness” in the early 1990s or his recent “citizenship of culture” conception in the first decade of 2000.¹⁰⁰ Chen applies a strong platonic philosophy of democracy that: society consists of individuals (civilians) with their virtue (own duty). The process of creating society is performed from an understanding of the establishment and eventually the reinforcement towards the convenience of everyday life.

Ideologically, to look at the commencement of the twenty-first century as not only a critical shift in political power but also as a point of social transition, Chen analyses the chronological stages of Taiwan after World War II:

Taiwan nowadays has gradually been developed from a political economic country towards a cultural country ... from 1965 to 1970, Taiwan had been “internal colonised” ... by the Greater China ideology ... In the 1980s, the cultural policy in Taiwan entered the era of “Modernism” ... In the 1990s, the cultural policy entered the stage of “Decentralisation” ... the orientation of the CCA’s cultural policy moved the focus onto various regions and communities in Taiwan; the Community Development movement

⁹⁹ Chen Chi Nan, *Kuan Chien Nien Tai Te Taiwan: Kuo Ti, Fa Chih Yu Nung Cheng* (關鍵年代的台灣：國體、法治與農政)(*the Critical Period of Taiwan: The Polity, Law and Agricultural Politics*) (Taipei: Yun Chen, 1988), pp. 12-14.

¹⁰⁰ Chen Chi Nan, "She Chu Nai She Hui Huo Li (社區乃社會活力)(Community Revitalises Society)," *Architect* 10(1996): pp. 112-114.

from 1993 kick-started this new direction ... In 2005, the “citizenship of culture” concept announced that Taiwan’s cultural policy has entered the era of “cultural civilian” ...¹⁰¹

In other words, the commodification of culture, or selling culture, or branding “Taiwan flavour” 臺灣味 is borrowed by the government to complement Taiwan’s previous lack of self-consciousness in culture (cultural subjectivity), which used to be replaced for political purpose by imported and imaginary mainland culture that could not hybridise forms of maritime culture and deprived Taiwanese people’s capacity of thinking self-culture and future independently. More precisely, Chen suggests that the populace should look at culture as a public sphere which identifies the “cultural community” 文化共同體 in different layers.

Chen asserts that traditional cultural policy in Taiwan (or the KMT’s cultural policy as Chen claimed) was focused on aesthetics which did not include scopes of social studies and economic production. But the current cultural policy (from 1994 onwards) looks at culture as relationships with multiple faces of society rather than singular aspect, such as livelihood, national identity, social empowerment and living quality. Most importantly, Community Development, claimed by Chen, is the commencement of this new stage. Community Development, as a concrete realisation of Chen’s cultural theory, is purposed to cohere a central issue - a consideration of “human”, which is a form of democratic consciousness, or so-called “community consciousness” for Chen. More precisely, human participation is an opportunity to change the environment, to preserve regional culture, to maintain community security, and to transform traditional industry.¹⁰² Nonetheless, to change a person is by no means an easy task. Difficulties along with possible solutions and physical performance therefore build up the discourse of Community Development. Of course, the

¹⁰¹ Chen Chi Nan, *Kuo Tsu Chu I Tao Wen Hua Kung Min: Taiwan Wen Hua Cheng Tse Chu Tan (國族主義到文化公民：台灣文化政策初探 2004-2005)*(from *Nationalism to Cultural Civilian: An Initial Exploration of Taiwan's Cultural Policies from 2004 to 2005*) (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 2006), pp. 2-10.

¹⁰² Ibid.

discourse of Community Development is developed not only at a top-down and official level. There are various contestations from professionals and academics since the Community Development Policy was announced in 1994. Systematically, the discussions are enclosed by this social movement's motif, empowerment, participation, performance and its temporal as well as geopolitical predicaments.¹⁰³

NGOS AND COMMUNITY PROJECTS IN POST-MARTIAL LAW TAIWAN

Community Development has been performed more than a decade since it was officially announced in 1994. A series of practices have also been specifically listed in official discourse. However, issues involved in the projects are relatively complex and abstract. The first decade of Taiwan's post-Martial Law Community Development commenced through the embodiment of the mental "community" 生命共同體, a political assertion claimed by former president of Taiwan, Lee Teng-hui. The motivation of this idea intended to solve the developmental dilemmas, such as Taiwan's political and industrial difficulties. The basic idea was to change the performing mechanism from a "top-down" (passive) to a "bottom-up" (active) participatory ideology. The chief tasks of Community Development were located at advocating concepts, reconstructing space and resolving the living tasks for communities.¹⁰⁴ Accordingly, three abstract points can be regarded as the chief spirit of Community Development in the first decade right after Martial Law: (1) a bottom-up conception, (2) the participation of the public, and (3) a character of local autonomy. However, the movement of Community Development faced certain difficulties as many academics had predicted.

¹⁰³ There is a discussion which targets at the professional and academic contestation about Taiwan's Community Development movement. This part of discussion is placed in **Appendix 3: Professional and academic contestation within Community Development.**

¹⁰⁴ Chen Chi Nan, *Kuo Tsu Chu I Tao Wen Hua Kung Min: Taiwan Wen Hua Cheng Tse Chu Tan (國族主義到文化公民：台灣文化政策初探 2004-2005)*(from *Nationalism to Cultural Civilian: An Initial Exploration of Taiwan's Cultural Policies from 2004 to 2005*).

Three officers in the Control Yuan 監察院¹⁰⁵ published a report in 2001 about the performance of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan. In the report, the hardship of Community Development was summarised in six aspects: (1) the availability of persons with abilities, (2) the integration and allocation of resources, (3) the impact on traditional industries, (4) the influence from pan-politicised issues, (5) the bridge to legal system, and (6) sustainability of the movement.¹⁰⁶ Here, this reflection is analysed beyond those listed cases but discussing these listed difficulties and other possible concern. The analysis intends to investigate the gap, or to question if there is any gap between the theory of post-Martial Law Community Development and its listed cases in Taiwan.

The construction of identity along with its practice is the most important issue within the pragmatic scenario of Community Development. This issue has been highlighted in a research collection, *The Match of Community Development*, published by the Community Empowering Society 中華民國社區營造學會¹⁰⁷ as its opening argument. This book is a collection of critical notions which emerged amongst the CCA, NGOs and community projects during the peak time of post-Martial Law Taiwan's Community Development movement. In this book, Yu Chao Ching and Chen Chi Nan define the movement of Community Development is as a construction of "home", a process of solving "problems in everyday life".¹⁰⁸ Put differently, the essence of pushing Community Development at the very

¹⁰⁵ The Control Yuan is the highest investigatory agency in Taiwan that officially monitors other branches of the government.

¹⁰⁶ Huang Huang Hsiung, *She Chu Tsung Ti Ying Tsao Tsung Ti Chien Tiao Cha Pao Hao Shu* (社區總體營造總體檢調查報告書)(*the Examination of Community Development*) (Taipei: Yuen Liu, 2001), p. v.

¹⁰⁷ The Community Empowering Society was founded in 1996, which is a NGO consisted of scholars and practitioners of Community Development in Taiwan.

¹⁰⁸ Chen Chi Nan, ed. *She Chu Ying Tsao, Pu Tuan Chieh Chueh Sheng Huo Te Kuo Cheng* (社區營造，不斷解決生活的過程)(*Community Development, a Process of Solving Everyday Life Problems*), She Tsao Fan Tzu Huo (社造番仔火)(*The Match of Community Development*) (Taipei: Tang Shan, 2005), p. 7; Yu Chao Ching, ed. *Chen Shih Sheng Huo Tui She Chu Ying Tsao Te Tiao Chan* (真實生活對社區

beginning was to identify a sense of belonging, which metaphysically provided solutions to the problems of daily life. Notwithstanding, this philosophy was criticised in the early years of the movement. Yen Liang-yi indicated in 1997 that the construction of community identity is a complicated procedure simultaneously including region, religion, politics, clan and even class, which demand varied support from its advocates. Yet, the CCA, as a highest unit of pushing Community Development Policy in Taiwan, Yen argues that it has bare capacity to integrate related organisations in order to support the performance of Community Development sustainably. In other words, for Yen, Community Development in the late 1990s was only a political hypothesis, through which to construct a new national identity.¹⁰⁹ This concern over an inclining to populism was also analysed by Huang Li-ling in 1999. Huang argued that the concept of building “identity of home country” 故鄉認同 through Community Development should be viewed as a resistance to the modern state. Yet the new community subjects which were put up beyond the historical ideology in fact have faced a contradictory situation.¹¹⁰ That is to say, Community Development was essentially set to reform the traditional top-down system (providing assistance) to a new bottom-up system (empowering autonomy), which was a process of grassroots democracy. However, the reality is that the government still needs to provide guidance (top-down) and the community members also need assistance either at the professional or political level (i.e. is represented as limited autonomy). This process therefore moves towards populism. This pragmatic confusion in space, Vincent Shih reinterprets it as a transitional process - from early ideological “spatial release” 空間解嚴 (the term “release” here is the metaphor for the

營造的挑戰)(*the Challenge of Community Development from Everyday Life*), She Tsao Fan Tzu Huo (社造番仔火)(*The Match of Community Development*) (Taipei: Tang Shan,2005), p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Yen Liang-yi, "Community Building Is San-Chih: Making Alternative Public Space in a Rural Community," *Cities and Design* 2/3(1997): pp. 212, 238.

¹¹⁰ Huang Li-ling, "From 'Cultural Identity' to 'Regional Management': Challenge of Post-Quake Recovery to the Discourse of 'Community Empowerment Project'," *Cities and Design* 9/10(1999): pp. 151-152, 171.

“lifting” of Martial Law) to policy oriented “Community Development” and the present “empowerment” of different local governments’ individual ideologies.¹¹¹

At the second level, the ideology of forming civil society and its performance comes to the fore. By differentiating Community Development and populism, the idea of civil society is frequently marked as the internal concept of Community Development. Hsia Chu-Joe has mentioned this phenomenon by asking why developing a country is usually viewed as performing a politics of populism. Hsia asserts that it is because of the no-civilian city characteristic.¹¹² This lack of characteristic in Taiwan echoes the implication of power behind participatory practices described by Cheng Huang-Er: “public power is the power of the public”.¹¹³ In this sense, the construction of community identity therefore has been developed as a construction of civil society. This highlights the notion that the community should be transferred from a community “in itself” to a community “for itself”.¹¹⁴ Hsia on the

¹¹¹ Vicent Chang-An Shih, "Urban Conservation: Genealogy of Postcolonial Urban Politics," *Cities and Design* 13/14(2003): p. 410.

¹¹² Hsia Chu-Joe, ed. *Na Nieh She Hui Yu Kuo Chia Chien Kuan Hsi Te Fen Tsun* (拿捏社會與國家間關係的分寸)(*Measuring the Relationship between Society and State*), She Tsao Fan Tzu Huo (社造番仔火)(*The Match of Community Development*) (Taipei: Tang Shan,2005), p. 13.

¹¹³ Cheng Huang-Er, ed. *Kung Chuan Li Shih Kung Min Te Chuan Li* (公權力是公民的權力)(*Public Power Is the Power of the Public*), She Tsao Fan Tzu Huo (社造番仔火)(*The Match of Community Development*) (Taipei: Tang Shan,2005), p. 20.

¹¹⁴ Hsia Chu-Joe, "Participation and Local Autonomy: Empowering Communities in Taiwan," *Cities and Design* 9/10(1999)., pp. 178, 180; Hsia Chu-Joe, "Taiwan Te She Chu Ying Tsao (台灣的社區營造)(the Community Development in Taiwan)," in *Cultural Affairs, School of E-Learning Part 1: Community Development*, ed. council for Cultural Affairs (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 2003)., pp. 16-19; Lee Yung Chan, ed. *She Tsao Te Fan Tso, Min Chu Te Fan Ssu* (設造的反挫，民主的反思)(*the Reflexion of Community Development and Democracy*), She Tsao Fan Tzu Huo (社造番仔火)(*The Match of Community Development*) (Taipei: Tang Shan,2005), pp. 137-138. This notion is discussed in **Appendix 3: Professional and academic contestation within Community Development**.

one hand believes that civil society is essential to develop Taiwan's grassroots democracy. On the other hand, he also doubts the performance of this idea in modern Taiwan's spatial practice. He states that the enlargement of a political-economic gap, the crisis of ecology and the decomposition of civil society are the severe risks to Taiwan's ongoing democratisation.¹⁵ The contestation here is to argue that the purpose of pushing community function in society ("communitarianism" is the term often used in Taiwan as a representative of this issue) not only promotes the ideas of participation and autonomy but also essentially brings up Taiwanese civilians' idea of being the "host" (subjectivity) and living conditions with quality.¹⁶ For that reason, Yen Liang-yi criticises theoretically that Community Development is designed as a bottom-up political mobilisation, but practically it is still a top-down administration. The early construction of "community consciousness" for Yen is all about indigenisation and cultural tradition, and the later construction of "civil society" is more or less about political and social rights.¹⁷ And a NGO (non-governmental organisation), it is possibly considered as a bridge to integrate the top-down and the bottom-up, the cultural and the political, as well as consciousness and public rights.¹⁸

¹⁵ See Hsia Chu-Joe, "Taiwan's Civil Society in the Context of Globalisation," Community Empowering Society, <http://www.cesroc.org.tw/eNEWS/index33.htm#04>. October, 2009.

¹⁶ See Chen Chin Huang, "Communisation: The Reflexion after 10 Years' Community Development," Community Empowering Society, <http://www.cesroc.org.tw/eNEWS/index23.htm>; Cheng Huang-Er, "Stop Doing the Image of Entrance," Community Empowering Society, <http://www.cesroc.org.tw/eNEWS/index66.htm#04>. October, 2009.

¹⁷ Yen Liang-yi, "Time-Space Imagination of National Identity: The Formation and Transformation of the Conceptions of Historic Presentation in Taiwan," pp. 91-106.

¹⁸ Huang Li-ling, "She Chu Chien Chu Te She Chun I Shih: Chuan Yeh Che Tou Shih Kai Ke Tsu Chih Ours Te Ching Yen Yu Fan Sheng (社區建築的社群意識：專業者都市改革組織 ours 的經驗與反省)(the Collective Consciousness of Community Architecture: The Experience and Reflexion of Ours)," *Architect* 10(1996): p. 108.

From the reflection upon Community Development's spatial practice, this movement's sustainability and universality are extensively discussed.¹¹⁹ More precisely, potential participants, "physical" community cases, mechanism, experience and the current global context are focused. Huang Chao Hsin discussed and analysed the role and physical "form" of Community Development in 2001.¹²⁰ Huang argued that although Chen Chi Nan claimed the movement of Community Development had the significance of being civil autonomous and self-conscious, the fact is that Community Development 社區營造 after the Martial Law period on the one hand depends more on various professionals (as the educators and techniques providers to the movement) than "Community Development" 社區發展 (the UN version) in the 1960s. And on the other hand professionals seem to take on the leading roles because of the dominance of the governmental policy as well as expert techniques, which were not expected to be the core roles of this movement. Instead, the core role should be shouldered by modern society and its civilians.

The performance of Community Development, as a concrete practice of this social movement, therefore presents a dramatic transformation from the Martial Law period to the epoch afterwards. Early research on Taiwan issues always focused on collective, political and professional constructions of identity, identities of the land and popular cognition were therefore relatively weak.¹²¹ However, a pursuit of local and individual identities in Taiwan's

¹¹⁹ Chen Liang-Chun, "From "Community Development" 社區總體營造 to "Community Development" 設造," Community Empowering Society, <http://www.cesroc.org.tw/eNEWS/index13.htm#a1>, p. 47; Tseng Tzu Feng, "Another 10 Years! Rephrasing the Direction of Community Development," Community Empowering Society, <http://www.cesroc.org.tw/eNEWS/index41.htm#05>. October, 2009.

¹²⁰ See Huang Chao Hsin, *Shih Min, She Chu, Meng (市民, 社區, 夢)(Citizen, Community and Dream)* (Taipei: Ya Ke, 2001).

¹²¹ Chen Ban, "Tsung Wen Shih Kung Tso Chieh Ju She Chu Ying Tsao (從文史工作切入社區營造)(from Cultural and Historical Research to Community Development)," in *Cultural Affairs, School of E-Learning Part 1: Community Development*, ed. council for Cultural Affairs (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 2003), pp. 24-26; Huang Jui Mao, "She Chi Tsan Yu Chi Sheng Huo Kung Chien Te Ying Tsao (設計參與及生活空間的營造)(Design Participation and the Construction of

once repressed society is by no means an easy task. The practices and theoretical reflection to Community Development have revealed a gap in between.

Those listed cases, which have been cited often in the discourses of Taiwan's post-Martial Law Community Development, are generally classified into two main groups: (1) overseas references and (2) domestic demonstrations. Community Development's overseas references were chiefly targeted European countries with their welfare state systems and specific cases in Japan. To concern the welfare state systems, gentrification and social services in spatial applications were frequently mentioned. Compared with this, cases in Japan were largely discussed as a prototype of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan. Amongst them, cases of the revitalisation of old communities, *Machi* (town) planning, and historical site preservation were remarkable cases. Apart from various overseas references, domestic demonstrations were revealed much precisely. Although listed cases which are relevant to Community Development issues in post-Martial Law Taiwan were often connected to overseas examples, the foci were generally sorted by planning scales, purposes and strategies along selected projects. Scales of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan can be divided into urban planning, township planning, and building object design. Corresponding projects which were often pinpointed are like the Orchid Island sustainable development,¹²² the Tau Mi village¹²³ and the Yi Lan House.¹²⁴

Living Space)," in *Cultural Affairs, School of E-Learning Part 1: Community Development*, ed. council for Cultural Affairs (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 2003), p. 55.

¹²² The case of developing Orchid Island is an urban scale planning referring to issues of environmental, social and economic constructions, ideas of Community Development and development of tourism are often linked.

¹²³ The case of the Tau Mi village is a community reconstruction project after the 921 Earthquake; the successful result of the reconstruction makes the Tau Mi village and the Community Development issue on township planning become marked examples amongst Taiwan's recent middle scale planning projects.

¹²⁴ The Yi Lan House 宜蘭厝 is an architectural movement happened in Taiwan specifically in Yi Lan County. The purpose of this movement is to find a house form which is proper to be designed and

Footnotes are continued on the next page

From another standpoint, different motivations comprise different purposes, although the cases would be all listed as Community Development projects. Amongst those cases, certain critical social movements which were clearly reflected on spatial practices are at times mentioned: (1) the 921 Earthquake Reconstruction, (2) the Science Park Planning, and (3) the Cultural Creative Zone. The 921 Earthquake was without doubts a critical occurrence in the post-Martial Law era. This earthquake, from a positive perspective, not only provided a space of physical practices for Community Development but also stimulated various architectural discussions since Taiwan society has gradually become opened.¹²⁵ The Science Park Planning and the Cultural Creative Zone were involved in the discussion of installing specific direction or cultural function while the planning was processed. The Hsin Chu Science Park and the Huashan 1914 Creative Park are two distinctive projects.

As far as the strategies of performing Community Development, the recovery of a region's authentic industry and a revival of its history and culture were always pinpointed. Amongst them, issues of architectural form, negotiation between policy guideline and NGOs, "glocalisation" and historic indicators such as the rivers, important streets and settlements, were also linked. Iconic projects were like the renovation project of the Red House and the preservation project of Fort Santo Domingo.¹²⁶ In addition to these three categories, official conducted programmes, such as the Yong-Kang Community project, the Lady's Street (Si-Ping Street) Project, the LiuoGong Canal Project, and the Home of the Owls (Zhi-Shan Yan) Project in Taipei City,¹²⁷ and the projects under a Community Architect System in Kaohsiung

situated in Yi Lan. Its ideas of local participation and regional interaction are often considered relating to the concept of Community Development commenced simultaneously in 1994.

¹²⁵ Apart from the issues of Community Development, many architectural issues in Taiwan, such as digital architecture and Open Building also arose during the time when the earthquake was occurred in Taiwan.

¹²⁶ Fort Santo Domingo was built by the Dutch East India Company in Taipei when Taiwan was colonised by the Spanish.

¹²⁷ Lin Chih-Ming, "Five Cases Studies from the Taipei Community Planner Programme," *Dialogue* (2004).

City,¹²⁸ including the Tsoying Lotus Lake Cultural Landscape Project, the Second Canal and Hojing Creek riverbank, and the Tower of Light, were often listed as domestic demonstrations.

A HETEROTOPIC NOTION

The “community”, physically, can be represented by organisations such as a borough, community, cultural and historical groups and neighbourhood units. Notwithstanding, the bona fide scenario is more sophisticated and complex. Between 2004 and 2006, the CCA and Tamkang University held four academic symposia which extensively discussed changes and challenges in Taiwan’s recent year built environment. In 2004, one of the symposia called “台灣東西向” (The orientation of Taiwan’s future development) discussed the practical cases of Community Development and the current growth and declining context of “globalisation and glocalisation”.¹²⁹ In this symposium, Liao Chia Chan asserted that positioning is a key shaping context,¹³⁰ i.e. the cases of Community Development should represent a balance

¹²⁸ Charles Lin, "The Development Trend of "Community Design" in Taiwan: Local Lessons from Taipei, Hinshu and Ksohiung," *Dialogue* (2003); Charles Lin, "Experience of Community Design in Kaohsiung Metropolis," *Architect*, no. 03 (2004).

¹²⁹ See Cheng Huang-Er, ed. *Taiwan Tung His Hsiang: Shih Ssu Chang Wen Hua Yu Chien Chu Te Tui Hua* (台灣東西向:十四場文化與建築的對話)(*the Orientation of Taiwan's Future Development*) (Taipei: Tian yuan cheng shi wen hua shi ye you xian gong si,2004).

¹³⁰ Liao Chia Chan, "Chuan Chiu Hua Yu Tsai Ti Hua, Shei Tso Hsiang Hua (全球化與在地化，誰做像話)(Globalisation and Glocalisation)," in *Taiwan Dong Xi Xiang : Shi Si Chang Wen Hua Yu Jian Zhu De Dui Hua* (台灣東西向:十四場文化與建築的對話)(*the Orientation of Taiwan's Future Development*), ed. Cheng Huang-Er (Taipei: Tian yuan cheng shi wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2004), p. 22.

between glocalisation and globalisation.¹³¹ The essence of culture, in this sense therefore is associated with everyday life.¹³² Put differently, local character and historic culture are even more essential when compared to the earlier period. By the next year, another symposium named “城市散步” (Promenade in the city) discussed this issue further and in the context of popular urbanism today. This dialogue again concluded that the thematic idea of Community Development analysed in this chapter used public opinion¹³³ as a spirit of democratic society to respect the identity of everyday life. In other words, the land in which everyday life occurs is essentially and pragmatically marked.¹³⁴ This notion of space, when compared to the official discourse established by Martial Law Taiwan society, has thus appeared as a heterotopic parallel.

This chapter, as a consequence, shows how Community Development was a critical issue in post-war Taiwan, indeed crucial for its post-Martial Law evolution of architecture. Yet, this issue was not purely influential as a cultural policy or from its listed cases. Rather, the issue

¹³¹ Wang Chun Hsiu, "Wen Hua Kuan Kuang Yu She Chu Wen Hua Tzu Chan (文化觀光與社區文化資產)(Cultural Tourism and Cultural Asset of the Community)," in *Taiwan Dong Xi Xiang : Shi Si Chang Wen Hua Yu Jian Zhu De Dui Hua (台灣東西向:十四場文化與建築的對話)(the Orientation of Taiwan's Future Development)*, ed. Cheng Huang-Er (Taipei: Tian yuan cheng shi wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2004), p. 46.

¹³² Lui Fang Yao, "Taiwan Te Ti Fang Wen Hua Tzu Chan Yu Chan Yeh Chi Hui (台灣的地方文化資產與產業機會)(the Local Cultural Asset and Industrial Opportunities in Taiwan)," in *Taiwan Tung His Hsiang: Shih Ssu Chang Wen Hua Yu Chien Chu Te Tui Hua (台灣東西向:十四場文化與建築的對話)(the Orientation of Taiwan's Future Development)*, ed. Cheng Huang-Er (Taipei: Tian yuan cheng shi wen hua shi ye you xian gong si, 2004), p. 61.

¹³³ The host of the symposium, Cheng Huang-Er, believes that nowadays, in modern society, public opinion can represent the opposed conception as a pressure pushing useless policy and system to be regenerated by the government and the transition of Community Development in post-war Taiwan is a great example.

¹³⁴ Cheng Huang-Er, *Cheng Shih San Pu (城市散步)(Promenade in the City)* (Taipei: Garden City, 2005), pp. 73-74.

of Community Development was forceful as a piece of ideological imagery and as an indicator representing a new spatial form. This form, not exactly but similarly, recurs in the identity of locality and practical possibility. In order to prove this argument, three distinctive cases (not typically listed as the official demonstrations of Community Development) are strategically analysed in the following chapters in order to exemplify Community Development's ideological functionalism rather than to only prove its symbolic superficiality.

CHAPTER 4:
TAIPEI: TYPICALITY AND ITS CHALLENGE

THE EMBODIMENT OF COMMUNITY CONCEPTION

POST-MARTIAL LAW ARCHITECTURE

A crucial ideological argument is represented from the emerging spatial formation in Taiwan's post-Martial Law epoch. As such, it is necessary to sketch the connection between the idea of Community Development and its physical embodiment in society, urban texture and architecture. This chapter and the following two chapters examine two representative buildings at three analytical scales. The first scale looks at the buildings themselves as architectural objects; the second scale looks at the buildings as individual subjects within the urban context; and the last looks at the buildings as an intersubjective metamorphosis amongst the social environment, architectural objects and human subjects. Chapter 4 discusses the spatial "typicality" of post-WWII Taiwan commonly received by the general public. Chapter 5 pinpoints an emerging challenge in the public reception of space after the Martial Law period. Chapter 6 analyses issues and implications beyond these cases. Chapter 4 and 5 focus on the first two scales; Chapter 6 follows the synthetic discussion framing the third scale.

When post-war Taiwan is examined as a context of modern Taiwan's cultural political flux (Figure 38), a diagonal schema strings the social transformation from top-down to bottom-up ways with different social and cultural apparatuses both chronologically and spatially. Chronologically, it is apparent that there is a flow from a top-down way of influencing social development in the early post-war years to a bottom-up oriented way in the post-Martial Law era. To be precise, Taiwan society was initially dominated by a strong state control, and moved to a materialistic scenario which was led by specific elites, and is now at a people-centred stage. Spatially, this phenomenon is also clear: early nationalist formalism was replaced by commercialism, and currently the situation shows an alternative concerning quotidian issues, which are scholarly and professionally reflected in a local discourse that cultures as public participation and local autonomy. In cultural and architectural domains, the conception of community is highly relevant to the current stage.

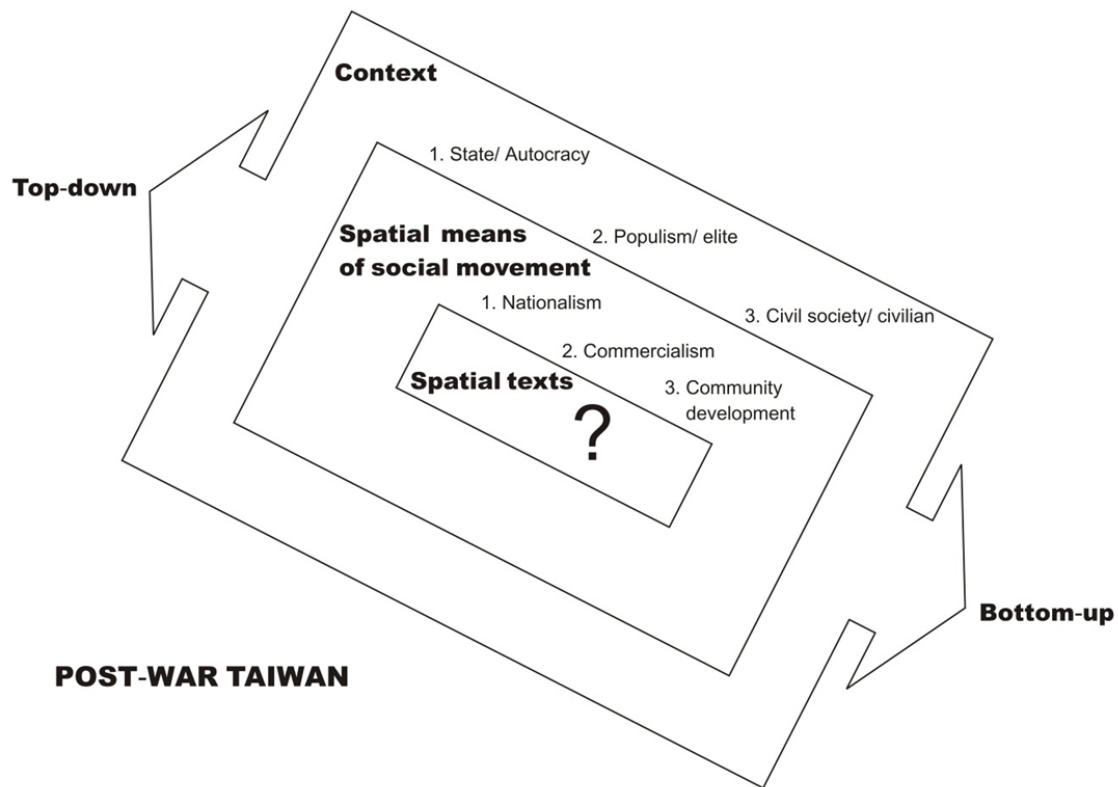


Figure 38 Cultural and political flux in post-war Taiwan (Made by the author).

Taiwan's post-Martial Law architecture, therefore, is stimulated by changes in social ideology and reception in history.¹³⁵ This situation is positioned somewhere between the polar ends of top-down and bottom-up ways; it is ideologically ambiguous but fairly clear as an intention, that has shifted from a previous simplified context.

¹³⁵ And, on the other hand, it highlights these changes by an extensive focus on everyday life. In other words, today's architectural environment in Taiwan does not only concern forms of symbolic nationalism and pursues this with a registration of external formalism. It targets neither purely building objects nor discursive philosophical conversation. Instead, Taiwan's post-Martial Law architecture looks at trajectories inscribing native culture and highlights an undeniable existence of daily circumstances.

IDEOLOGICAL & SPATIAL "TYPICALITY" OF CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN

Taiwan's distinctive role in Asia today and its representative status of urbanisation and modernisation amongst Asian metropolises is an undeniable fact. Google maps announced its German version street view service in 2010 and Taipei city - the capital city of Taiwan - was chosen as the representative city of Asia in its demonstrative clip (Figure 39). It is evident that Taipei City has today established a certain global reputation as one of the leading cities in Asia. Yet, curiously, why? Taipei from the 1940s onwards has been constructed internationally as its typical form of Taiwan urbanism and spatiality. The city, for a long time, has also been promoted as the only metropolis in post-war Taiwan. But three questions are raised here: Does this phenomenon still remain today? Does this situation reflect the reality of today's Taiwan? Do the spatial characteristics, which are highlighted in Taipei, equally represent Taiwan's spatial identity today?



Figure 39 Taipei's architectural imagery and spatial character, which have been selected as the representative amongst Asian countries in Google's 2010 new announcement of its street view function in German version Google maps (Captured from <http://maps.google.de/intl.de/help/maps/streetview/>. December 2010).

These questions also echo an interesting phenomenon nationally and internationally about Taiwan: a political slanted perspective of "seeing the world from Taipei" 台北看天下.¹³⁶ In

¹³⁶ "Seeing the world from Taipei" is a recent well-known phrase referring to a specific reception in Taiwan and the world. At the first level, because Taipei's unique condition as the political centre of

the clip, apart from the modern street landscape of Taipei, two obvious spatial characteristics have been highlighted both symbolically and politically by Google (Figure 40). The first is the modernised Chinese Revival buildings which possess a strong nationalist image; the case in the clip is the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and its surroundings, full of ROC national flags. The Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was built in 1980 and its designer, Yang Cho-cheng, claims that this building was conceptualised from the Temple of Heaven (Beijing, China), the Sun Yat-sen Mausoleum (Nanjing, China), the Lincoln Memorial (Washington, the US) and the Taj Mahal (Agra, India). The other characteristic, on the contrary, is the particular combination of traditional Chinese building heritage presented in Taipei; the case in the clip is the old East Gate constructed originally with a traditional southern Chinese gate style in 1879 having a northern Chinese palace roof style replaced by the KMT in 1966.



Figure 40 The iconic spatial landmarks in Taipei presented by Google (Captured from Google's demonstrative clip. <http://maps.google.de/intl.de/help/maps/streetview/>. December 2010).

Although the popular reception of Taipei, which is constructed as a form of “typical” space of modern Taiwan, is clear and strong, some problematic issues emerge: Is this reception faithful? Is this able to entirely and equally reflect the realistic spatial scenario of today's

Taiwan (ROC), it is often found that many domestic judgments and decisions are made only from a “Taipei” point of view no matter whether they are government or everyday concerns. At another level, Taipei is also regarded generally as a representation of Taiwan by various external standpoints today. From this perspective, other cities in Taiwan seem to receive no interests and legitimacies as the existence of Taiwan to the world apart from Taipei.

Taiwan? And does this “Chinese” character, no matter whether in its modern or traditional manner, in Taipei also recur in other cities of Taiwan today? The discussion here, which intends to reveal different layers of this complexity, begins from a scrutiny of a building case, and follows with a contextual analysis. This chapter attempts to first, draw up the so-called “typical” architectural formation of post-war Taiwan, which was received commonly by the general public both nationally and internationally. Secondly, the study tries to sketch the challenge of this “typicality” facing the reality since the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 from architectural, academic and realistic points of view. The city of Taipei undoubtedly emerges here after the question has been asked. The building object which has been strategically selected and analysed here is the Red House 西門紅樓 in Taipei.

THE RED HOUSE

POPULAR DISCOURSE OF THE RED HOUSE

From its completion in 1908 to today, the Red House in Taipei has witnessed the Ching Dynasty, the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, and the Republic of China. Coming under influences from Japan, Shanghai and Western cultures, it has served as a market for wealthy residents, as a gathering site for various Chinese cultural industries, and as a window to the ideological trends of Western civilisation. It has been a melting pot of the culture, business and history of Taipei, and possesses a style and significance that is avant-garde, modern, novel and diverse.

Searching the past, one can see that the Red House has been a meeting point for Japanese, Chinese and Western cultures. It has evolved along with the Ximen area over time, and as a centre for entertainment for people of all ages, it serves as a window on Taiwan culture. In its early days, it was the centre for the importation and creation of fashions and was a source of economic activity, serving as a main focal point for Taiwan’s business development. Today, Red House represents a coexistence and pride found in its

mixture of old and new, in which history, culture and business merge. It is a landmark that will supersede even its own glorious past.¹³⁷

The general character of the Red House, which legitimises the building as a representative in the history of Taipei, is highlighted by a form of uniqueness from a historical and architectural perspective. Historically, the Red House reveals a character of Taiwan's cultural political hybridisation, i.e. different usages and involvement in cultural activities restate Taiwan's colourful and complex past. Architecturally, the remarkable westernised building form and construction techniques as a significant witness to Taiwan's modernisation.

However, have these been enough to shape the Red House as a typical architectural representation of Taipei and its history? Have these been enough to address the reason why Taipei and its architectural imagery have been constructed for many years as a representative of Taiwan and been received widely by the general public? The answers are certainly negative.

To begin with an exploration of this building from an architectural and historical point of view, a paradox which arises from an architectural analysis of the Red House and its general history in a travelling guide book called *Depth Travel of an Old City: Taipei*¹³⁸ provides a hint. This book mentions that there are three building types in Taipei's Japanese construction, namely, stylised, transitional and modernised architecture. The Red House, according to this book, belongs to the first category - stylised architecture, which is characterised by its western architectural patterns. Interestingly, the history of the Red House is highlighted by this building's native transformation since its construction, usages and design motif, such as the connection to the idea of *fengshui* (geomantic omen), which considerably are less

¹³⁷ This transcription is the introduction of the Red House stated by its official website (Cited from the official website of the Red House http://www.redhouse.org.tw/ActiveWebSite/01_en.html. January 2011).

¹³⁸ Yuan-Liou, *Taipei Ku Cheng Shen Tu Lu You* (台北古城深度旅遊)(*Depth Travel of an Old City: Taipei*) (Taipei: Yuan-Liou Publishing Co., Ltd., 2000).

relevant, even culturally contradictory to its architectural imagery. In other words, there is a necessity to connect the architectural text to its historical context. The complexity of this building and its implications, which are connected to the spatial representation and social, cultural and political history of Taipei City, are crucially related.

THE ARCHITECTURAL RED HOUSE

The Red House can be analysed at two levels: the first is to look at it as a singular (Victorian) building in Taiwan; and the second is to look at this building's role(s) in the history of quasi-colonial Taiwan. The Red House was built in 1908 by Japanese architect Kondo Juro, who was working within the Prefectural Civil Engineering Office in Taiwan's *Sotokufu* (Governor-General's office). Kondo received his architectural training at Tokyo Imperial University, where he acquired knowledge about western architectural styles from his British supervisor Josiah Condor, who worked with Tokyo Imperial University for 47 years, mainly teaching western architectural methods.¹³⁹ Kondo joined the Prefectural Civil Engineering Office in 1906 and the Red House is his first design work in Taiwan. The building comprises an octagonal structure (well-known today as the Octagon Building 八角樓), a cruciform building and the adjacent North-South square (Figure 41).

¹³⁹ Andy Yu, "A Dream for Red House Theatre: The Rejuvenation of Heritage," *Architect* 12(2002): p. 54.

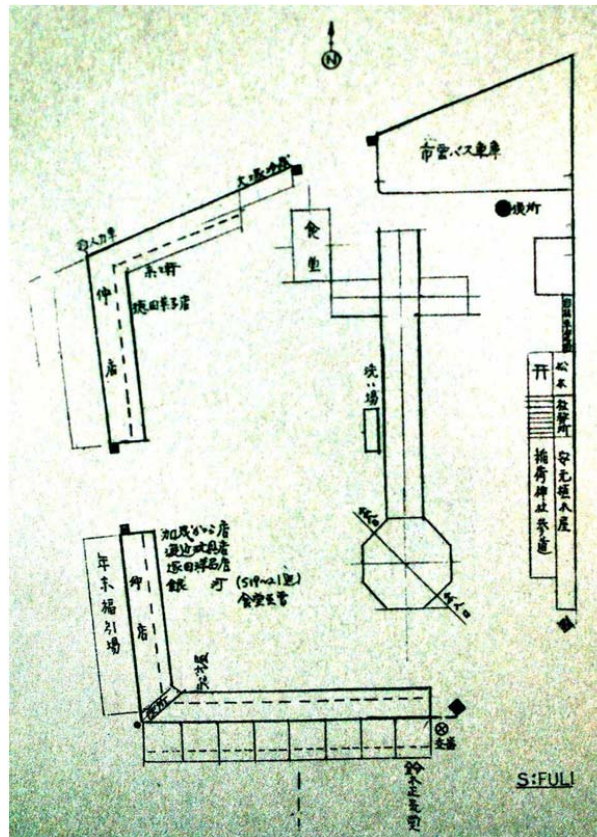


Figure 41 The early layout of the Red House (Chiu Li Hui. *The Red House 100 Years*. Taipei: Taipei City Archives, 2008: p. 96).

The Red House functioned as Taiwan's first government-built public market when the octagon and cruciform buildings were constructed in 1908.¹⁴⁰ The ground floor of the Red House at that time was a department store, and the first floor was a market for second-hand goods and souvenirs (Figure 42).¹⁴¹ Surrounding the octagon building was the market place

¹⁴⁰ The Red House today is the only existing government-built public market built in Japanese ruled Taiwan; other market examples in Taiwan were all reconstructed or dismantled.

¹⁴¹ According to an architectural historian Lee Chian-lang's research, some specific items were sold in the Red House at its Japanese stage, such as flowers, books, medicine, Japanese pickles and local products of Taiwan, and the use of the Red House as a department store of cloth during the holidays also imply that the market was initially set up to service wealthy Japanese families in Taiwan. More

Footnotes are continued on the next page

called Shinkicho Market, which had developed from the end of the Manchu Ching period in the 1890s. In 1928, the market area was rebuilt and renamed as Ximen market; a row of shops was also built at that time (Figure 43). Two years later the function of the octagon building changed to a restaurant and tea house, the cruciform building remained as a market. In 1941, the first floor of the octagon building became a play space where entertainment equipment for Japanese children was provided. In 1945, Taipei city encountered heavy bombing from the US Air Force; the first floor of the Red House then became a mess hall for Japanese soldiers. Later, the Chinese Nationalist Government took over as ruling power after 1945 and in 1948 the Red House was reopened and run by a Green Gang mobster, Chen Hui Wen, as a space for a Shanghai operatic troupe mainly performing Beijing Opera.¹⁴² In 1953, the function of the troupe changed to reflect the Nationalist Government's political propaganda, performing Anti-Communist Opera and two years later, the playlist had once again changed to Shaoxing Opera.¹⁴³ In 1963, the Red House was then turned into a cinema, screening second hand movies. At that time, the Red House was one of the leading movie theatres in Taipei. In the 1980s, the Red House lost its competitiveness as a cinema with the establishment of surrounding commercial cinemas and gradually it became a place screening pornography. In 1994, the Red House was suggested by the NGOs such as the Le Shan Foundation and local academics to be regenerated as a case of Community Development. The aim was to gather ideas from administrators, professionals, artists and neighbourhood residents (Figure 44) as to a possible future new use. In 1997, the building was officially designated as a Class 3 historical site but simultaneously, the project for the building's regeneration was stopped.

details can be found in Lee Chian-lang, *Taiwan Chien Chu Shih* (台灣建築史)(*Architectural History of Taiwan*), pp. 173-174.

¹⁴² The Green Gang 青幫 was a criminal organisation that operated in Shanghai in the early 20th century, which owned numerous members from the KMT. This organisation therefore had strong political connection with the KMT and held powerful influence when the KMT fled to Taiwan during the 1940s to the 1950s.

¹⁴³ The Shaoxing Opera and Beijing Opera are both regional Chinese operas.



Figure 42 The entrance of the octagon building photographed in 1908 (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 46).



Figure 43 The on-going construction of the shops alongside the Red House in 1928 (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 34)



Figure 44 A mapping and report show the Community Development movement involved in the preservation project of the Red House in 1994 (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 86).

During the period of considering the reuse of the Red House, Taipei city mayor, Chen Shui-bian, promoted a plan to run the building as a film museum, which would mainly screen artistic films and documentaries (Figure 45). However, the cruciform building was destroyed by fire in 2000 (Figure 46) and the plan was postponed until 2001. In that year, the next city mayor, Ma Ying-jeou, and his Commissioner of Department of Cultural Affairs, Lung Ying Tai decided to change the function of the Red House, to turn it into a theatre, funded by government and run privately, commencing in 2002. The Red House has been run by the Taipei City Government and Taipei Culture Foundation since 2007. In short, the Red House reflects the history of a building, which established a noble hierarchy in the neighbourhood (a public market) then experienced its pauperisation in the city (a porn cinema) and now today exhibits a quotidian status as a community centre.



Figure 45 A news talked about the plan to run the Red House as a museum of films in 1996 (*China times*, Taiwan, 1996).

Figure 46 A fire on the 22nd of July in 2000 which demolished the cruciform building of the Red House (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 49).

The Red House building can be examined via its two constituent parts: the octagon building and the cruciform building. The main building, the octagon, comprises an external brick load bearing wall, an internal reinforced concrete column system, an L-shaped steel truss

system roof and a timber internal structure (Figure 47) showing a strong *Tatsuno Style*, typical of colonial building in the Japanese era.¹⁴⁴

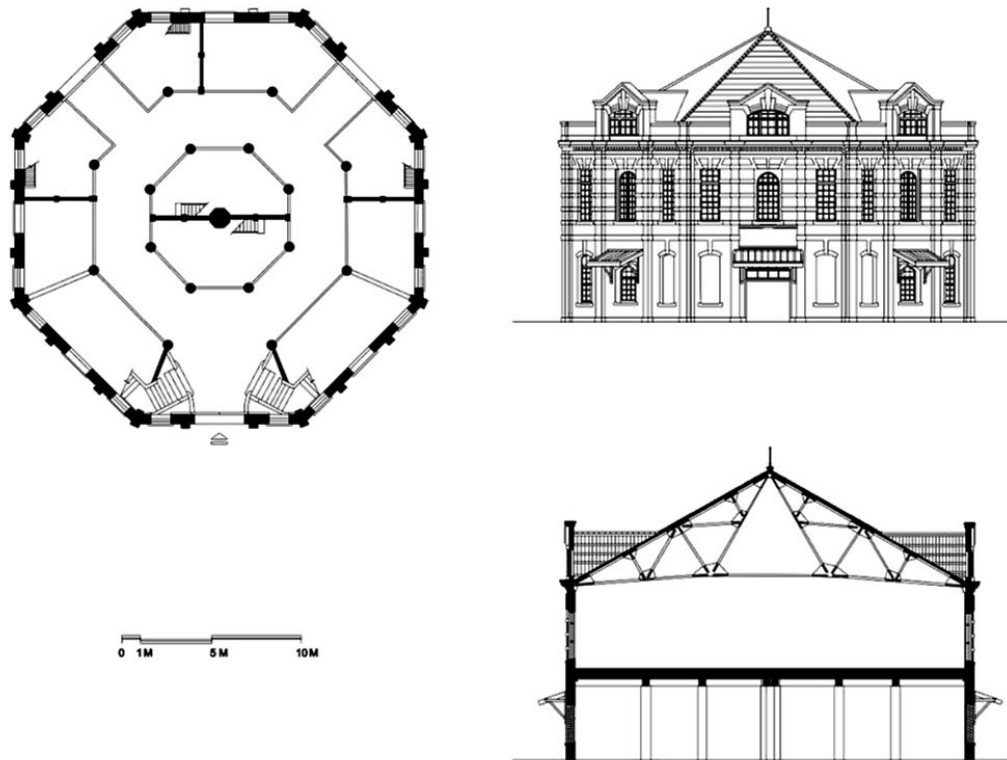


Figure 47 The plan, main façade and the section of the Octagon Building before the fire (Made by the author).

The Red House combined Western as well as Japanese architectural styles and methods against the backdrop of Japan's *Meiji Ishin* (1868-1912). William H. Coaldrake has given a precise description of the Western architectural impact on Japanese architecture during the *Meiji* period:

¹⁴⁴ Tatsuno Kingo was one of the first generation students graduated in 1879 under Josiah Conder's direction. Tatsuno had a strong influence to Japan's colonial architecture through his historical eclecticism design strategy. The Red House, designed by Conder's later student, Kondo Juno, also reflects this strong image. The origin of the *Tatuno Style* is discussed later in the chapter.

The architectural achievement of the *Meiji* period is a direct measure of the determination of the leaders of government and industry to modernise their nation along Western lines, as well as a yard-stick of their ability to mobilise and manage human and material resources in the construction of new buildings and cities. The key to this success was a coherent programme in Western architectural training and the selective use of competent foreign experts in the key professions of architecture and engineering.¹⁴⁵

In the late 1880s, as Japan's first colony and its southernmost base as well as a demonstration of its *Nanyang* 南洋¹⁴⁶ colonisation, Taiwanese architecture of the time received influence from the *Meiji Ishin*. In order to become a modernised country, Japan in this *Ishin* (renewal) dramatically changed its political and social structure. More precisely, this was a modernisation by westernising the military, capitalising society and industrialising manufacturing. At the beginning, because of the lack of modern techniques and people with specialist abilities, many students were sent to study overseas and many foreign professionals were invited to participate in Japan's social and urban development. Within the architectural profession, British architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920), who worked with British Gothicist and architect William Burges before his arrival in Japan, played a crucial role in training first generation native Japanese architects in western architectural methods. Most of this first group of Japanese architects who worked in the Prefectural Civil Engineering Office of Taiwan *Sotokufu*¹⁴⁷ (including Kondo Juro, the designer of the Red House) were educated by Conder.

The Red House, therefore, is a complete example of Japanese-Western eclecticism. Some elements can be read as indicators. The first is the highly repeated keystone pattern (Figure

¹⁴⁵ William Howard Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 250.

¹⁴⁶ *Nanyang* was the earlier name referring to today's South-East Asia commonly used in the pan-pacific region.

¹⁴⁷ The *Sotokufu* was the highest political administration (Governor-General's office) in Taiwan during the Japanese rule.

48), found in the external ornamentation of the main gates, windows and roof line. The steel truss is another distinctive element. The roof of the Octagon Building consists of 16 L-shaped steel trusses (Figure 49). At that time in Taiwan, this kind of roof structure as well as the material (steel) represented modernised construction techniques imported from Japan (and of course it implies the implantation of the fruits of the European Industrial Revolution in *Meiji* Japan). Deep brick buttresses can be found on the external walls of the cruciform building (Figure 50), which highlight the designer's western knowledge, derived from Victorian Gothic brought by Conder to Japan and his connection with William Burges. The decorative horizontal banding (Figure 51) and the eight pediments with dormer windows (Figure 52) from the eight elevations of the Octagon Building are other remarkable features that have British precedent.



Figure 48 The keystone feature of the Red House (Taken by the author).

Figure 49 The steel truss system roof of the Octagon Building (Taken by the author).



Figure 50 The buttresses of the Red House (Taken by the author).

Figure 51 The horizontal bands of the Octagon Building (Taken by the author).



Figure 52 The pediments and dormer windows of the Octagon Building (Taken by the author).

The Red House was reconstructed in 2002 after a fire burned down the cruciform building in 2000. The renovation was performed by techniques of so-called adaptive reuse. These techniques can be regarded as a very popular means in the modern built environment of Taiwan often suggested by professionals and academics when the project relates to historical issues. Lee Chian-lang completed a conservation analysis of the Red House after the fire.¹⁴⁸ In this report, details were suggested for reconstruction and these were later adopted. Lee suggested a “subtractive” approach: to restore the remaining mass of the Red House except where there was new construction. The original internal cement skin and ceiling of the first floor of the octagon building was removed (Figure 53) to re-establish the brick wall and steel trussed interior (Figure 54). The first floor of the Octagon Building today is used as a theatre for scheduled performances. On the ground floor, the internal timber structure was constructed afresh and designed to be used as a restaurant, tea house, boutique and central display space (Figure 55).

¹⁴⁸ Lee Chian-lang, *Taipei Shih Hsi Men Hung Lou Tiao Cha Yen Chiu* (台北市西門紅樓調查研究)(the *Investigation of the Red House*) (Taipei: Department of Civil Affairs, Taipei City Government., 2000).



Figure 53 The restoration of the internal brick wall of the Octagon Building (Taken by the author).

Figure 54 The current internal status of the first floor of the Octagon Building (Taken by the author).



Figure 55 The current situation of the Octagon Building ground floor (Taken by the author).

The other part of the Red House, the external walls of the cruciform building, remained while the main structure was burned down in the fire in 2000. The new cruciform building, therefore, was added to with a steel roof structure with a series of skylights as its present status (Figure 56). Compared with the earlier open market function (Figure 57), the cruciform building today is commonly closed and under tight security at ordinary times apart from being used specially for cultural workshops, arts exhibitions, concerts or weekend artistic fairs (Figure 58).



Figure 56 The new cruciform building with the surrounding square and lows of shops (Taken by the author).



Figure 57 The cruciform building functioned as a public market in 1935 (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 47).

Figure 58 One present usage (weekend artistic fair) of the cruciform building (Taken by the author).

The Red House is a Victorian building that arose within Taiwan's quasi-colonial context. Looking at such a work today, it is necessary to have a sophisticated understanding of the surrounding social and cultural circumstances of its creation. This is especially so given the location of Taiwan, a site far from the origins of Victorian architecture. The Victorian context and its correlation with Taiwan need exploration. Such an exploration must focus on two associated architectural styles, the Gothic Revival and Queen Anne Revival, and subsequently seek to understand their influence on Imperial Japan and its then colony, Taiwan.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁹ A discussion of the Red House as an imagery of Victorian architecture in colonial Asia has been analysed and placed in **Appendix 4: A story of nobility in colonial Asia: Victorian influence and the Red House in Taipei.**

A CITY OF VARIABLE POWERS

The Red House as a building in itself is insufficient to address the representative signification and identity of post-martial-law cultural politics. This section analyses the history of the city where the Red House is located in order to clarify the connection and correlation between the building itself as an individual text and the city as its corresponding context. More importantly, this section explores the question of how a city's historical texture and pragmatic presence interact and integrate with the building as a barometer of cultural political identity in post-martial-law Taiwan.

POWER AND COLONISATION: A HISTORY OF TAIPEI

Since the city area of Taipei had been roughly defined in 1879, the city's urban evolution was developed by different ruling powers. The architectural representations of these powers highlight this phenomenon of change. The most distinctive example can be found in the changes and adoption of political powers between the Taiwan *Sotokufu* (the Governor-General's office of Taiwan, 1919-1945) and the Presidential Office after WWII (since 1949) (Figure 59), especially since both authorities were housed in the same building, designed by another *Tatsuno* Style Japanese architect who worked in the *Sotokufu*, Nagano Uheiji. Like Kondo and his Red House, Nagano and the Taiwan *Sotokufu* also attest to Japanese colonial architecture in Taiwan implanting Victorian philosophy, both in spirit and style.



Figure 59 The Taiwan *Sotokufu* building built in 1919 (left) and the same building used as the present ROC Presidential Office since 1949 (right) (The left: He Peiqi 2007, *Jih Chih Shih Chi Te Taipei (日治時期的臺北)*(*Taipei city in the Japanese era*), Chu ban. ed. National Library, Taiwan, Taipei: p. 15. The right: Taken by the author).

The name of “Taipei” at the very beginning was the indicator (from its *Han* initials) of a tribe’s geographic location on northern Taiwan “臺”灣“北”部. That is to say, the word “Taipei” referred initially to an area on northern Taiwan (Figure 60). During that time, the location of today’s Taipei City before 1875 used the name *Monga* 艋舺,¹⁵⁰ which was one of Taiwan’s three major settlements¹⁵¹ of the time. The area of Taipei in 2000 BC was a basin (Figure 61). When the water of the basin dried afterwards, the basin area became a plain that was later settled and this was the very initial reason why this area became one of the three major settlements in early Taiwan.

¹⁵⁰ *Monga* is the pronunciation of canoe in the *Pingpu* language. *Pingpu* refers to Taiwan’s early native aboriginal tribes who lived on the plains.

¹⁵¹ Before Taiwan’s urbanisation, Taiwan once had three major settlements representing three early major locations of native tribes and motivating the commencement of Taiwan’s urban development. These three settlements are known as 一府二鹿三艋舺 (This is a phrase describing the hierarchy of these three settlements’ geographic scales. The first was the Taiwan Prefecture, today’s Tainan City; the second was Lugang, today’s Lugang Township and the third was *Monga*, today’s Wanhua district in Taipei City).

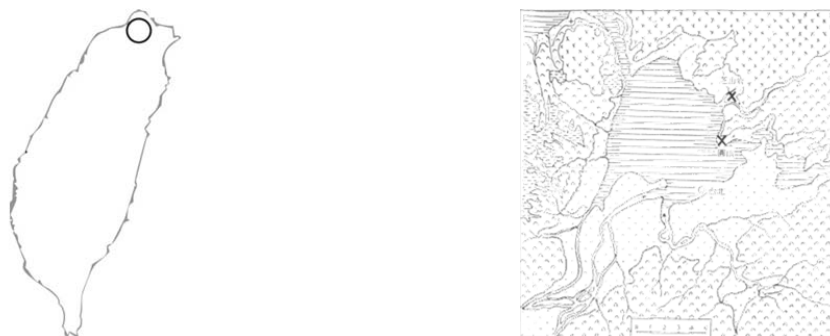


Figure 60 Taipei's geographic location in Taiwan, which originated the name of the city today (Made by the author).

Figure 61 A reconstruction map of Taipei basin in 2000 BC (Huang Jintu 1992, *Taipei Ku Chin Tu Shuo Chi* (台北古今圖說集) (*The collection of figures and description of Taipei at all times*), Taipei shi wen xian wei yuan hui, Taipei. p. 21).

Before Taipei had been officially formed as an administrative city in 1920 by the Japanese Empire, there were several social and political forces involved. Before 1709, the time period when the first *Han* migrant group, called Chen Lai Chang Organisation 陳賴張墾號, settled in *Monga*, this area was the home to the *Katagalam* 凱達格蘭族 people, who formed one of Taiwan's earliest *Pingpu* (native plain-living) ethnic groups. Tribal society was the major living mode of the time. The Chen Lai Chang Organisation settled in the Taipei neighbourhood, digging up the lands and trading goods with the *Katagalam* people and the Spanish. The Spanish ruled the Taipei area at that time; they built forts in this area in 1626 called San Salvador and Santo Domingo.¹⁵² The Spanish at that time mainly used this area as their trading base amongst Asian countries (Figure 62) and the chief interaction with the *Katagalam* people was missionising.¹⁵³ After the Cheng Family's rule, the Manchu Ching

¹⁵² Fort San Salvador today has no longer existed in Taiwan, yet Fort Santo Domingo still exists after encountering several changes of political power, such as the Dutch and the British. Now it is an officially designated historical site called 紅毛城 (literally "foreigner's fort") in Chinese.

¹⁵³ The Spanish, the Dutch and the British's missionising in Taiwan influenced Taiwan's native aborigines a lot; this is the main reason why most of the Taiwanese aborigines today convert to Catholicism apart from their own tribal belief.

Empire took over as the ruler of Taiwan in 1684 and set up the Taiwan Prefecture as the central political foothold of Taiwan. Due to the massive expansion of the population later, the Taipei area was separated from the Taiwan Prefecture, officially becoming the Taipei Prefecture in 1875. However, until that time, Taipei was still a name representing the geographic area of northern Taiwan (Figure 63).



Figure 62 The map made by the Spanish in 1612 showing the Taipei area - the location where had been set as the foothold for their Asian trading business (Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 24).

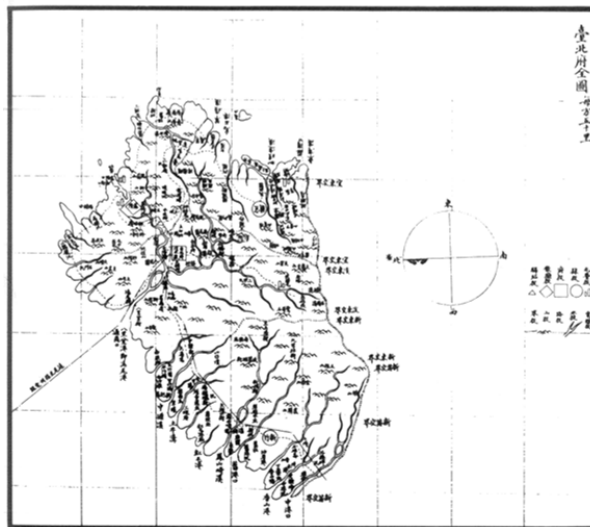


Figure 63 A map made in 1879 showing the area of the Taipei Prefecture under the Manchu Ching Empire. Yet the area of the Taipei Prefecture was defined in a scale large bigger than the area of today's Taipei City (Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 27).

In 1875, the area of today's Taipei was officially established as the Taipei Prefecture and the Manchu Ching Empire established the wall and five gates defining a district containing all the prefectural buildings in 1879 called the "Inner City" 城內 (Figure 64). Today's central city area was roughly sketched by this "Inner City" and two other major footholds, Tataocheng 大稻埕¹⁵⁴ and *Monga*. These three major settlements were known as the "Three Cities Area" 三市街 (later known more commonly and simply as Taipei) (Figure 65). The location of the Red House, which was built in 1908, was right at the centre of the West Gate area of the "Inner City" at this time. The layout of the "Inner City" was initially based on a traditional southern Chinese city plan and had a consideration of its *fengshui* (geomantic omen). More precisely, the "Inner City" followed two axes (Figure 66): the first follows the landscape of the Taipei basin area and the second corresponds to the Cynosure. Moreover, according to historical record, the whole wall area had been rotated 13 degrees towards the east in order to avoid evil spirits. This planning consideration formed the basic layout of today's Taipei city centre.

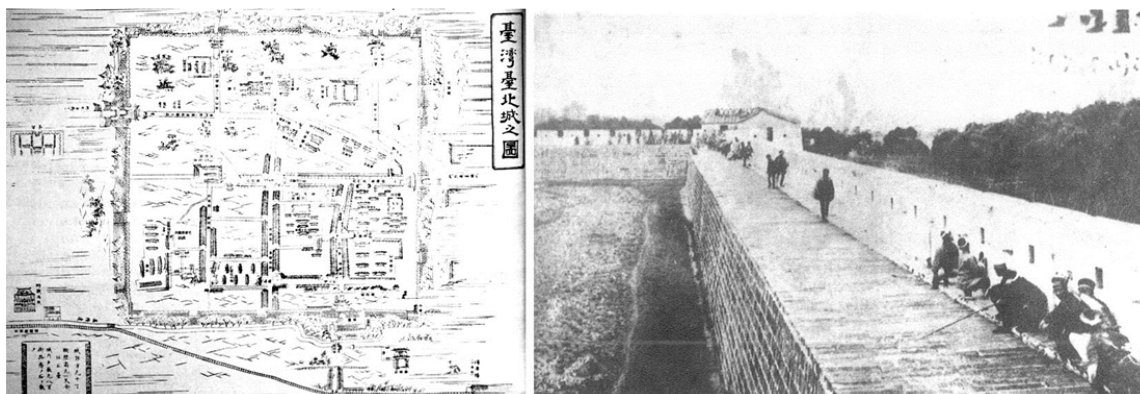


Figure 64 Two pictures show the "Inner City" area when the Ching Empire established the wall and gates to define an area where the prefectural buildings were of the time (The left: Wei Te Wen & Kao Chuan Chi 2004, *Chuan Yueh Shih Kung Kan Taipei: Taipei Chien Cheng 120 Chou Nien* (穿越時空看臺北: 臺北建城120週年) (120 years anniversary of Taipei city), Nan Tien Shu Chu, Taipei: p. 28. The right: Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 91).

¹⁵⁴ The name of Tataocheng 大稻埕 refers to this area's original function as a big field where used to dry the rice.

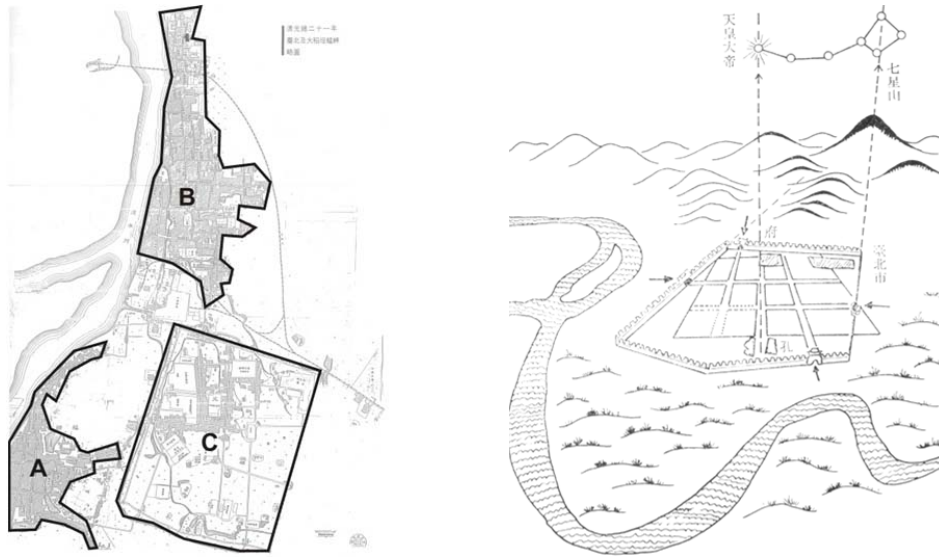


Figure 65 The map shows “Three Cities Area” in 1895. Area A was the earliest settlement, *Monga*. Area B was the earlier plaza drying rice called *Tataocheng* and area C was the “Inner City” where was defined by the wall and five gates (Made by the author based on Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 29).

Figure 66 The reconstruction of the geomantic omen of the “Inner City” (Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 91).

However, changes to political powers over the decades turned this city into a hybrid and paradoxical presentation. In 1895, the Ching Empire signed the Treaty of *Shimonoseki* (also known as the Treaty of Maguan) ceding Taiwan to Japan. The “Three Cities Area” was chosen by the Japanese as the Taiwan colony’s political centre and the city was renamed as *Taihoku City* (from 1895 to 1945). *Taihoku City* was officially announced as an administrative city in 1920. This year therefore recorded Taipei City becoming a modern city area. The “Inner City”, during the Japanese period, was only to be lived in by those “pure” Japanese, who directly settled in Taipei from the Japanese mainland. At that time, the “Inner City” area was re-zoned and the existing street naming system was replaced by a block naming system. That is, the “Inner City” area at that period had no detailed names of main streets but only blocks in typical Japanese *Machi* 町 habit (Figure 67).

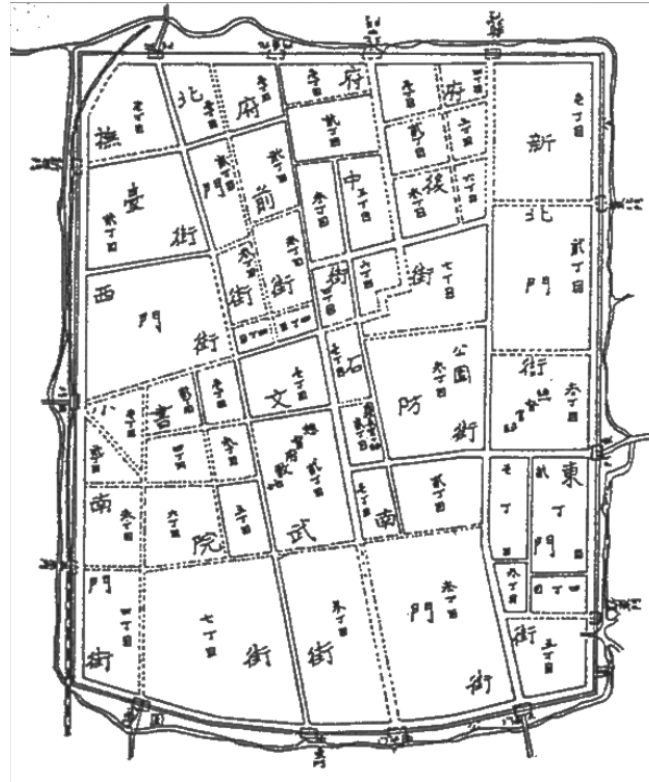


Figure 67 The block naming system of the “Inner City” area during the Japanese period (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 12).

The Red House, in the history of Taipei City, was built in this period within the newly planned Ximen *Machi* 西門町 area. The Japanese in 1900 and 1905 performed two significant acts of city planning to re-zone the “Three Cities Area” as the preparation of the founding of *Taihoku* City. The West Gate area of the “Inner City” (also known as the area of Ximen *Machi* since 1900), during the Manchu Ching rule was a poor area, comprised of nothing but farms and a cemetery. Yet, this area was located right in the middle of the “Three Cities Area”, and it blocked the connection of the three major settlements and their integration. The Japanese therefore re-zoned Ximen *Machi* with detailed blocks and started to develop it (Figure 68). The Japanese government first dismantled the existing wall and constructed a new boulevard along the original wall line called Ring Garden Boulevard (also known as Three Lines Boulevard 三線路 indicating the modernised wide boulevard along with two median strips) (Figure 69). In order to make the environment correspond to this new western style boulevard, the new government planned to dismantle not only the walls but also the five existing city gates (Figure 70). Nonetheless, strong resistance from the public

eventually forced the new ruling power to cancel the plan. The West Gate, therefore, was the only gate which was demolished in the re-zoning city plan of the Japanese colonial period.



Figure 68 The comparison maps of Ximen *Machi* 西門町 between 1900 and 1935. After the replanning, Ximen *Machi* started to become the most flourishing area in Taipei until the relocation of the city centre after WWII (The left: Chiu Li Hui, 2008: pp. 11. The right: p. 22).



Figure 69 A map made in 1911 which shows the newly constructed Ring Garden Boulevard along the original wall line of the “Inner City” (Wei Te Wen & Kao Chuan Chi, 2004: p. 35).

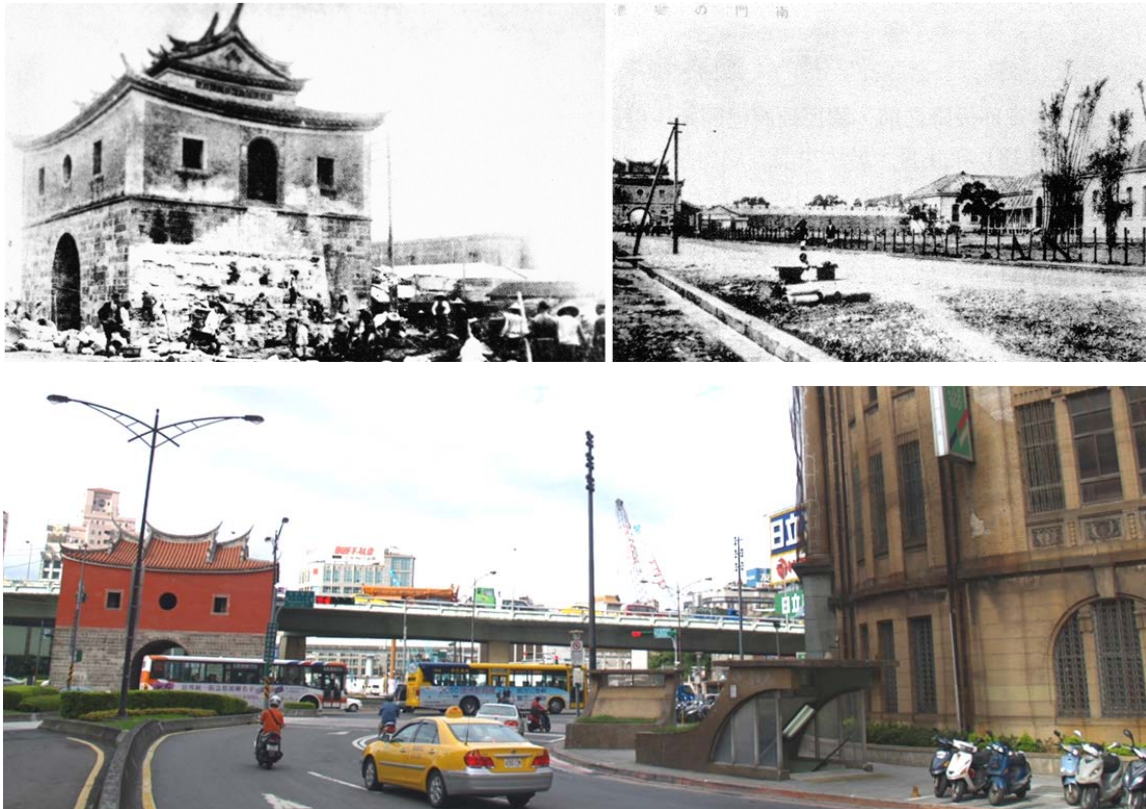


Figure 70 Two pictures on the upper part show the situation when the Japanese dismantled the walls and constructed a new boulevard along the wall line. The bottom picture shows the situation of one of the gates today and its surroundings. The neighbourhood of this gate today strongly represents various powers from the past to the present through the hybrid urban landscape of traditional Chinese city gate, Japanese-western public building and modern infrastructure and transport (The upper left: Wei Te Wen & Kao Chuan Chi, 2004: p. 28. The upper right: Tang Xiyong 2002, *Taipei Shih Ti Ming Yu Lu Chieh Yen Ke Shih* (台北市地名與路街沿革史)(The history of places and streets in Taipei city), Taipei City Archives, Taipei: p. 25. The bottom: Taken by the author).

Ximen *Machi*, after the re-zoning, was reconstructed as *Taihoku* City's entertainment centre. The city was reconstructed following ideas of Japanese-Westernised urbanisation and most of the commercial functions were collected in the area (Figure 71). The location of the Red House, before it was built, was a public market area in the middle of Ximen *Machi* called *Shinkicho* Market. The market had been rebuilt as Taiwan's first government-built public market in 1908. The newly constructed market area included a *Shinto* shrine built alongside the octagon building (Figure 72). The *Shinto* shrine was built to protect the Japanese people who were doing business in Taiwan at that time and there is also a saying that this shrine

was built to avoid evil spirits since the site of the market was a public cemetery. The shrine was destroyed by United States bombing in 1945 and no longer exists. However, a reconstructed image of the shrine today has become a key element in the revitalisation of the Red House as a community cultural centre, and it stands along with the Red House as a critical marker of change in historical reception, witnessing the site's interaction with ideological nobility, symbolic pauperisation and today's quotidian community function.

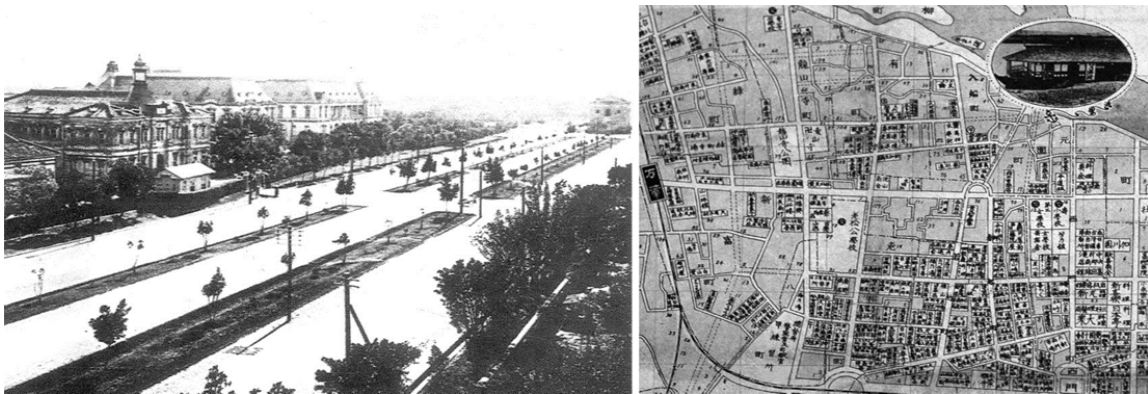


Figure 71 The pictures show the Japanese-Westernised urban landscape (the Ring Garden Boulevard, or Three Lines Boulevard, and western styled public buildings) and the collection of commercial functions in Ximen *Machi* (The left: Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 99. The right: Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 14).

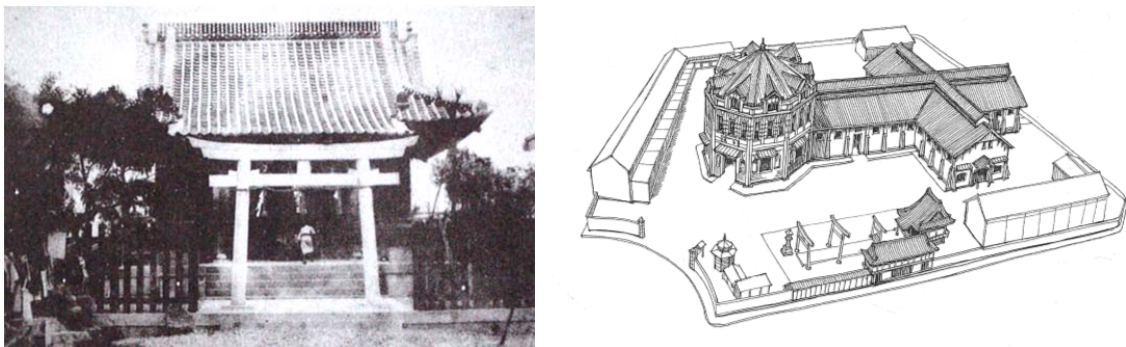


Figure 72 Two pictures show the *Shinto* shrine next to the Red House in the Japanese time (left) and its reconstruction image (right) along with the Red House as well as the surrounding shops by Lee Chian-lang after its dismantlement (The left: Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 33. The right: p. 28).

Ximen *Machi* in the 1930s became the most popular as well as the densest area of *Taihoku* City. In 1935, the Japanese Empire hosted the *Exposition of Taiwan*, celebrating forty years of the regime in the Taiwanese colony. The main site of the exhibition was *Taihoku* City's

central entertainment area and the Red House played an important role as a government-built public market. The area at that time was experiencing a period of great prosperity, which was unprecedented and never to be repeated in Taiwan (Figure 73).



Figure 73 A picture taken in 1935 shows the time of Ximen Machi during its a period of great prosperity when the *Exposition of Taiwan* was hosted; the Red House also acted as the landmark and shared the services of the time. The Red House is in the bottom centre of the figure (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 47).

In 1945, the Nationalist Government (KMT) took over as the ruling power of Taiwan. The city of *Taihoku* once again encountered a changing power and was officially renamed Taipei City. Inevitably, the spatial formation of the city was also changed by the new political power. The KMT government in 1947 committed to a replanning programme by Shanghai architect, Chen Ting Pang. The purpose of this replanning was to remove the existing Japanese block naming system in order to efface Japanese presence as well as to promote the KMT's Greater China doctrine. The urban reform this time, unlike Imperial Japan's purpose of modernisation, was full of nationalist and nostalgic consideration. Chen overlaid a map of the ROC Chinese mainland onto Taipei City and, based on the "Inner City" area as the centre, sketched a miniature of the ROC on the top of the city (Figure 74). Interestingly, because the Japanese set up the block names replacing the street names set in the Ching period, Chen was therefore able to easily apply the geographic miniature to the void roads and streets of Taipei City in 1947. If the "Inner City" area is read as the centre of the ROC,

the major names of the provinces and cities in the mainland can be easily traced from the corresponding geographic locations. Moreover, the rest of the roads and streets, which were newly constructed or could not be precisely applied with the geographic miniature, some ideological principles were utilised as the guidance. The terms of political propaganda such as “restoration” 光復, the ethnic and moral values such as “faithfulness and filial piety” 忠孝 and the names of politicians such as “Sun Yat-sen” were all physical evidence.

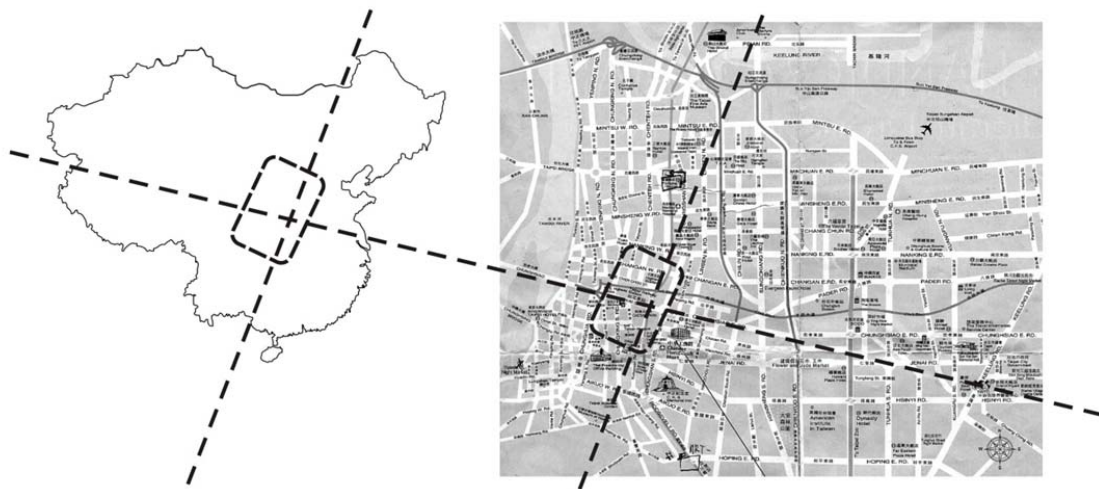


Figure 74 The comparison and corresponding locations between the miniature of the ROC (including Outer Mongolia, today’s Mongolia) and the city layout of Taipei City today (Made by the author).

On the other hand, the city’s physical expansion in the immediate post-war years also impacted upon the city fabric and the cultural politics of architecture in Taipei City. The Japanese had applied westernised city planning to *Taihoku* City’s development and the gridded sub-areas can be roughly read from the later street plan of Taipei City in the last decade of its Japanese rule. During the 1950s to 1960s, the KMT government started to build up the east part of the city based on the initial grid street network which the Japanese had left. The “Inner City” area, as the consequence of the expansion, ultimately shifted to become a marginal, old district no longer crowded as the focus of the city and its once core of entertainment (Figure 75).

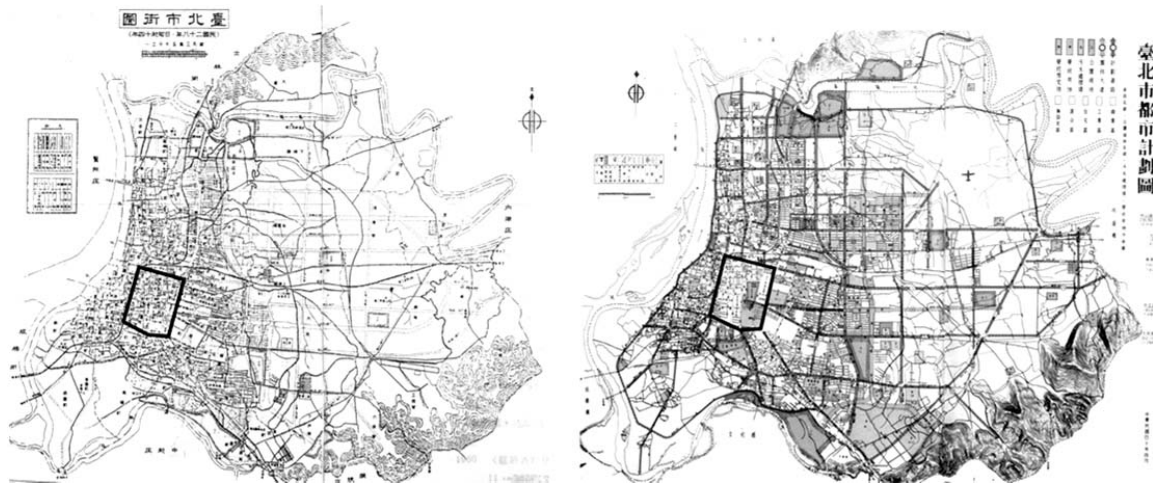


Figure 75 The maps show two different time periods of Taipei City and its expansion towards the east. The black rectangles indicate the “Inner City” areas in two maps (left, 1939 and right 1951) (The left: Ye Suke 1993, *Ri Luo Taipei Cheng : Ri Zhi Shi Dai Taibei Du Shi Fa Zhan Yu Tai Ren Ri Chang Sheng Huo, 1895-1945* (日落台北城: 日治時代臺北都市發展與臺人日常生活 1895-1945)(Taipei city development and everyday life of Taiwanese in the Japanese era: 1895-1945), Di 1 ban. ed. Zi li wan bao she wen hua chu ban bu, Taipei: pp. 336-337. The right: Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 37).

REVITALISATION: FROM NOBLE HIERARCHY TO DAILY COMMUNITARIANISM

Due to the expansion towards the east and the rapid development of the urban landscape, Taipei City in the 1990s presented a modern-traditional paradox in its spatial representations (Figure 76). Likewise, Ximen *Machi* was also impacted by saturated residential density and the transfer of the city centre away from it. It became an outdated and neglected area. The Red House, previously one of the area’s distinctive landmarks, eventually fell into disuse within an environment where there was a lack of public security and sanitation (Figure 77). This situation of urban pauperisation continued unnoticed until 1994. The official announcement of the Community Development Cultural Policy in 1994 can be regarded as the motif through which this disused historical site and its outdated district was identified and revitalised. After such a coloured history the area of Ximen *Machi* would never have been recovered and the Red House would have been eventually demolished had there not been an awakening consciousness in the 1990s, which urged the

populace to preserve and to restore this cultural locale. The issue of Community Development has been a key motif behind social regeneration in the post-martial-law era. The adaptive reuse of the Red House in fact reflected the urban crises and popular anxiety in Taiwan in the 1990s.

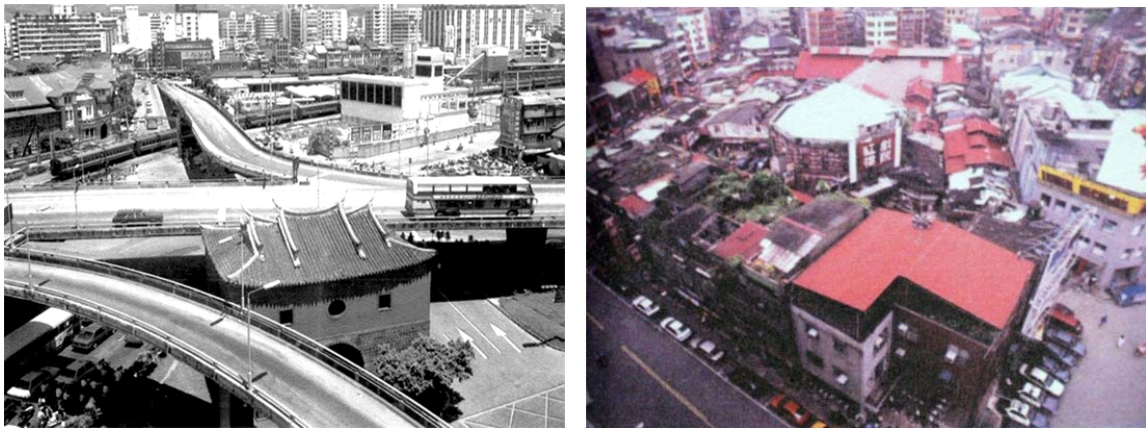


Figure 76 The picture shows the paradoxical urban landscape consisting of modern infrastructure and historical site in the 1990s Taipei City (Huang Jintu, 1992: p. 93).

Figure 77 The depressive time of Ximen *Machi* in the 1980s. The Red House at that time was a neglected and unused building in an environment where was a lack of public security and sanitation (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 49).

Taipei City experienced massive urban expansion and population growth in the 1970s and 1980s. This phenomenon increased the necessity for greater public infrastructure and a demand amongst city residents for not only higher living quality but also community identity. Nonetheless, the lack of public participation and the repressed social atmosphere of the time could not satisfy this emerging social anxiety. Therefore a form of cultural and spatial chaos and heterogeneity framed the social political context of the time. The emergence of the Community Development movement acted as a representation of the social reflection and mobilisation to this phenomenon. This social reflection has, to a certain extent, reversed the chaos and heterogeneity from negativity to positivity, primarily through community and professional engagement with reconsidering the site's use and historic fabric. The once reflective spatial darkness of social heterogeneity was recognised and even renovated as a positive space of multiplicity.

The adaptive reuse of the Red House, interestingly, did not require too many physical modifications of the building itself, apart from a small newly constructed section. But a greater change was felt in the social and cultural transmission of the building's new function and identity within the neighbourhood. That is to say, the actual project of the renovation of the Red House restored the *Tatsuno* Style building (Figure 78) and reconstructed the once existent spatial morphology. It also highlighted an awakening of community consciousness. To be precise, the physical parts of the reconstruction were focused on the surrounding building masses (including the roof of the cruciform building and adjacent row of shops) and the building's integration into the neighbourhood. The revitalisation of the front plaza as well as the row of the shops represented community consensus to restore the Red House as a community centre (Figure 79). In addition, the reconstructed image of the *Shinto* shrine which was destroyed by United States bombing in 1945 at the same location alongside the Red House also revives the symbolic recognition of indigenous beliefs and cultural locality as a significant constructed identity (Figure 80). The plaza of the Red House today, which is defined by a steel structure implying the shape and the location of the once existing *Shinto* shrine not only creates a spatial landmark for public gatherings but also reconnects the past of the Red House as an object of constructed nobility with a contemporary setting. The Red House today is successful as a community centre and as a fashion centre within Taipei City. It is also an indicator of a revival of a cultural centre within Taipei, evidencing the origins of the city and its remarkable character of variable past powers, far from the nationalist imposition of the Martial Law period. The Japanese past, from a cultural political perspective, is a historical fact which cannot be neglected. This presents a change in the view of Taiwan's colonial past today, from the adoption of a political bias to quotidian cultural communication. The past could be bloody and negative, yet its communication with the present can, on the contrary, be neutral, even culturally contributing to society and the built environment. As a western architectural implantation in colonial Asia, the moral nobility of the Gothic is once again "revived" after the renovation of the Red House, and the original quality of social hierarchy has been transfigured into a day-to-day quality under the current spatial context of community.

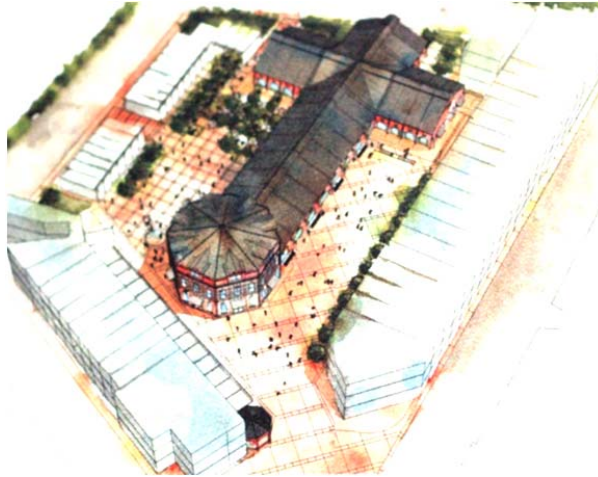


Figure 78 The reconstruction of the Red House by Lee Chian-lang. In the project, the main buildings of the Red House (the Octagon Building) were not greatly changed. Major construction was focused on the surrounding building masses and their integration into the neighbourhood (Chiu Li Hui, 2008: p. 48).



Figure 79 The current situation of the front plaza of the Red House. The plaza and its surrounding shops demonstrate the intention of the revitalisation, highlighting the community centre and urban regeneration (Taken by the author).



Figure 80 The pictures show the reconstructed image of the *Shinto* shrine which was destroyed by United States bombing in 1945 at the same location alongside the Red House. The reconstruction uses a steel structure to define the plaza and imply the original shape and location of the shrine (Taken by the author).

CHANGING RECEPTION IN HISTORY: THE UNFAITHFULNESS OF “SEEING THE WORLD FROM TAIPEI”

For a long time, the imposition of the KMT government’s political ideology became the ascendant discourse in Taiwan’s various architectural representations. The city of Taipei, the place of the KMT’s central political foothold in Taiwan, was inevitably presented as the typical form under this tendency. The spatial witnesses of these variable powers, except the “orthodox” objects of “Chinese-ness”, all seemed to face sedimentation, a sinking to the bottom of society. As a consequence, years of neglect had marginalised these “other” historical objects and simplified the character of the city as an iconic ROC capital among its territories.

Under this philosophy, Taipei and its architectural representation are typical as a construction of history which faithfully inscribed Taiwan’s colourful past. However, as an

examination of history's reception, the history of the Red House reveals a challenge. It is now widely recognised that historical facts can never disappear but can only be concealed. The intentional neglect or refusal to acknowledge spatial evolution, following the lessons from various architectural changes, ultimately needs to address regeneration once a social context has been changed. Pure symbolic representation, constructed as the typical face of post-WWII spatial identity in Taiwan therefore faced a realistic conundrum when the dictatorship was terminated. The longstanding standpoint of "seeing the world from Taipei" is no longer universal and unassailable. The concept of *différance* (a thing always has more-than-one supplements)¹⁵⁵ has transformed the way of interacting with history, particularly as a reflection on post-martial-law spatial practices.¹⁵⁶

The success of renovation projects like the Red House, which had been purposely forgotten in post-war Taiwanese society, attests to this regeneration as their undeniable identity form key parts of Taiwan's spatial essence. On the other hand, as an example of the imagery of Victorian influence in colonial Asia, the story of the Red House is witness to the interaction of the moral consciousness of architecture, which originated in western civilisation and was appropriated by Asian colonisation.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ See **Chapter 1**: A quasi-colonial context.

¹⁵⁶ Derrida, "Différance," p. 87.

¹⁵⁷ In other words, the everyday face of the environment constructed from history and the actual lands of Taiwan have today started to share significance in a society, which used to be represented and contextualised as an object of pure political symbolism in both its colonial and Martial Law ages.

CHAPTER 5:
KAOHSIUNG: TAIWAN'S "OTHER CAPITAL"

A FORGOTTEN HISTORY

Taipei has experienced the overlap of many political interventions in terms of its political property in the history of modern Taiwan. For this reason, the spatial fabric of Taipei shows always forms of national symbolism. Yet, the question raised here is: Does this ideological symbolism provide a realistic scenario of Taiwan's common post-WWII built environment? The answer would be positive when one reads it as a typical form of constructed space of Taiwan's Martial Law period. But since the lifting of the law, the social atmosphere is no longer satisfied with this collective symbolism alone. The rise of an individual consciousness in society shows an endeavour to earn tangible good for actual life. The suppressive air in society has gradually been superseded by forms of the so-called democratic freedom.

BEYOND NATIONAL SYMBOLISM

Most importantly, Taipei has failed to meet the Nationalist Party's early expectation of being the only metropolis in Taiwan. Rapid urbanisation and globalisation have weakened Taipei's role as a "typical space" in post-war Taiwan's built environment because of its insufficiency of representing the island's colourful localities. In other words, by looking at the city of Taipei alone, one is no longer able to frame a common context of Taiwan's post-Martial Law identity construction in space. The spatial character of Taipei City has failed to be perfectly applied to the other cities, even building objects, in Taiwan today. The example of the renovation of the Red House, to a certain degree, is an echo of this phenomenon. In other words, as resonance in architecture to this once organised forgotten history of Taiwan, an emerged public reception begins to acknowledge Taiwan's colourful historic traces through their inscriptions on various historical sites. Although Taipei's strong symbolic formation in space has not yet entirely retired both domestically and worldwide, there is a phenomenon indicating its step-down and decentralisation. As an emergence of Taiwan's spatial potential, the concerns of quotidian necessities transfigure spatial identity.

This chapter therefore examines cases of post-Martial Law Taiwan, which are in contrast to the situation of Taipei, which are closer to the common scenario of the post-Martial Law build world, which in a way reflects the revolutionary change in society after Martial Law, and which are able to project this emerging construction of spatial identity when the architecture is examined from within the context of Taiwan society today.

The examination commences from a crucial element existing in Taiwan as a form of authenticity no matter whether in society, history, culture or even many of other forms. This element is beyond ideological symbolism, which had been constructed by various power interventions and had acted as a form of suppression, and which had been subsequently forgotten for a long time. As a form of responding to such ideological symbolism, this element is a reminder to the general public, and it represents most of the leading cultural forms involved in Taiwan's social evolution. It is Taiwan's maritime connection.

Taiwan's maritime presence, at first glance, seems to have no convincing point apart from its de facto truth as an island state both nationally and internationally when compared to a well-known registration of "Chinese-ness", which is represented worldwide in forms of political nationalism or architectural formalism. Notwithstanding, a connection to maritime culture has interestingly and increasingly emerged as a legitimate issue today in Taiwan. At the same time the process of constructing cultural subjectivity is the other ideological construction of identity, replacing collective forms of nationalism and external formalism.¹⁵⁸

As one of the foci in this study, the maritime connection is insufficient to be explored from the cases of Taipei and the Red House. In other words, in terms of a global characteristic of maritime history, the Chinese and Western elements fail to clearly frame the context of contemporary Taiwanese architecture. By examining this, another case, which has analogical and chronological similarities with Taipei, which has less relation to power intervention and more correlation with Taiwan's authentic maritime context, is analysed as a comparison and contrast. The scrutiny here intends to sketch the post-Martial Law cultural politics from

¹⁵⁸ Taiwan's emergent concern with its maritime context has been discussed and placed in **Appendix 5: A maritime connection to Taiwan.**

another architectural imagery and its representative identity construction when compared to the case of Taipei. Similarly, a building is discussed after its history and urban context are analysed. The building case which strategically selected in this chapter is the Kaohsiung Municipal Museum of History in Kaohsiung City.

TAIWAN'S "SOUTHERN CAPITAL"

LEADING THE SOUTH: A HISTORY OF KAOHSIUNG

Extending the observation from a building to its context, Kaohsiung unlike Taipei was developed under a dramatically different history with a relatively "singular" cultural atmosphere, creating its well-known role as Taiwan's "southern capital". Using the term "capital" to describe this municipal city was officially announced by the authorities and extensively recognised by the public since the DPP (Democratic Progressive Party) mapped its distinctive success in the mayor elections of Kaohsiung City. This political success still remains as the DPP won the election of Kaohsiung mayorship in 1998 as the first non-KMT-affiliated leader of Kaohsiung City after the end of World War II. The DPP and its candidate for the 1998 mayorship of Kaohsiung City, Frank Hsieh, have proposed their *Bentu Hua* 本土化 (Taiwanisation) political slogans to make Kaohsiung City act as Taiwan's "maritime capital", demonstrating Taiwan's emergent consensus on its maritime cultural basis. Most importantly, this promotion has successfully stimulated extensive public reflection. This phenomenon, after 2000, when the DPP's candidate Chen Shui-bian won the presidency of Taiwan, shows even stronger consensus on Kaohsiung's role as Taiwan's "southern capital" in the public eye.

This remarkable phenomenon with regard to Kaohsiung's "rulership" in southern Taiwan is evident from the frequent use of the term "Taiwan's southern politics" 南方政治 by politicians, academics and the mass media. Generally speaking, a common understanding and standard to measure off the "domain" of Taiwan's southern politics is using Choshui River 濁水溪 to divide Taiwan into two parts as a geographic/geopolitical divide (Figure 81). Evidence suggests that several recent crucial elections still witness this deduction that the

DPP's political domination in Taiwan frames the majority of the south island's political territory. A very recent example was the 2010 Five Special Municipality Elections for mayors and city councillors. Bruce Jacobs has an observation of this election:

... the strong geographic pattern of a “green (DPP) south and a blue (KMT) north”¹⁵⁹ has continued. Thus, southern Taiwan continues to strongly support the DPP, while the north continues to vote for the KMT ... winning in Taipei continues to remain an “impossible” goal for the DPP, which has never won a majority of votes in the nation's capital. Taipei has the largest concentration of Mainlanders (those Chinese who relocated to Taiwan with the ROC national government in 1949 and their descendants) in Taiwan and repeated survey has demonstrated that Mainlanders continue to vote the KMT en masse. Thus, more than 80 percent will vote for a candidate identifiable as a Mainlander if given a choice between a Mainlander and a “local” candidate ... Taiwanese, Hakka and aboriginal voters are all much more likely to vote for someone from another demographic group ...¹⁶⁰

Although the word “capital” has been used only recently as a political slogan and according to Jacobs's critique that this situation is chiefly caused by post-war Taiwan's ethnic confrontation, the recent flourishing progression of the city's landscape, which moves towards this tendency, and Kaohsiung City's early appellation *Kang Tou* 港都 (harbour city) since Japanese rule seem both to have already evidenced this deduction no matter whether in terms of this city's multiform cultural imagery or its complex history.

Kaohsiung is by no means the only harbour city in Taiwan. But the term *Kang Tou*, interestingly, has a fixed identity in Taiwan, which always refers to the city of Kaohsiung

¹⁵⁹ In Taiwan today, different colours are commonly used to differentiate different political standpoints. More precisely, “green” refers to the DPP and “pan green” usually refers to “native and pro-independence communities”; as far as “blue” or “pan blue” specifically refer to the KMT and “China friendly communities”.

¹⁶⁰ This criticism about the latest election in Taiwan in 2010 published on *Taipei Times* by Professor Bruce Jacobs is entitled “Election pointers for the future” (Cited from the website of the *Taipei Times* <http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/editorials/print/2010/11/30/2003489756>. November 2010).

since the commencement of Taiwan's modernisation and urbanisation from the mid-Japanese era (1930s) onwards. This has a high correlation between Kaohsiung's social political context and its historical significance to Taiwan. The location of Kaohsiung City was directly highlighted by its significance as a natural lagoon port, which can be found from an early nautical chart made by the Dutch indicating this area as an important trading foothold in Taiwan (Figure 82).



Figure 81 The geographic/geopolitical locations of Kaohsiung (the bottom circle) and Choshui River (indicated in the middle part of the map) demonstrate Taiwan's "southern politics" divide (Made by the author).

Figure 82 A nautical chart made by Joannes van Keulen, a Dutch cartographer, in 1653 shows the early situation of Kaohsiung as an important natural lagoon port by using its Dutch name *Tacco* (Cheng Te Ching. *Tsung Ti Tu Yueh Tu Kaohsiung- Kaohsiung Ti Tu Yang Mao Chi* (從地圖閱讀高雄-高雄地圖樣貌集) (*the Maps Collection of Kaohsiung*). Kaohsiung: Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Kaohsiung City Government, 2004: p. 12).

Historically, the city of Kaohsiung was the home to a *Pinpu* tribe, *Makatao* 馬卡道族, and the area was known as *Takau* (or *Tancoia*, *Tancoya* and *Tacco* depending on different recording languages) which originated in the *Makatao* language "bamboo forest" implying Kaohsiung as an early habitat of bamboo. *Takau* in the early period under Dutch rule was only a fishing village. This name had been first recorded in 1603 by Chinese historian Chen Ti in his travelling accounts *Tung Fan Chi* 東番記 (translation, the travelling accounts of

foreign land in the East).¹⁶¹ At that time, the Dutch traded salt with the *Makatao* people to exchange deer meat and fur – deer was the major source of hunting in Taiwan at that time. Salt used by the native tribes in Taiwan during this period (from 1624 to 1662) was mainly imported by the Dutch from China. In 1662, the Cheng family defeated the Dutch and became an alternative ruling power in Taiwan. The military camp farming system was introduced to Taiwan in order to till the land. Naturally, the camps became chief centres of local politics. Amongst many camps, there was one, established close to *Takau*, which became a settlement of Kaohsiung City, called Tsoying 左營 (literally the left side of the camp). During the Cheng regime, because of frequent battles with the Ching Empire in China, the salt farm was introduced to Taiwan in order to gain an independent capacity of producing salt. *Takau* was one of the three major salt farms in Taiwan of the time.¹⁶² The early function of *Takau*, as a salt farm, therefore was an early indication of Kaohsiung as an industrial-based city before its post-Martial Law period.

In 1683, the Ching Empire took over political power from the Cheng family and became the new ruler of Taiwan and subsequently created a county called Fengshan County near the Tsoying camp. At that time, *Takau* had already been looked upon as an important port of Taiwan, although it was not even a political settlement but only a subsidiary fishing village of Fengshan and Tsoying in the neighbourhood. In 1853, the Ching Empire officially established a customs office in *Takau*. The British and the German also established consulates in *Takau* which they considered as a crucial foothold for their international trade (Figure 83). From this period onwards, the major settlements in the neighbourhood of *Takau* began to expand from the Cijin Subsidiary Island (in which encloses the lagoon between it and the Kaohsiung plain). Meanwhile, the salt industry in *Takau* during this period continued to expand as a leading foothold of salt production in Taiwan. In the 1890s,

¹⁶¹ Chanh Shou-chen, "The History of Yancheng," in *The Journal of Kaohsiung Museum of History*, ed. Kaohsiung Museum of History (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of History, 2001), p. 42.

¹⁶² Three major salt farms in Taiwan during the Cheng regime were *Lai Kou* 瀨口, *Chou Tzu Wei* 洲仔尾 and *Takau* 打狗. *Takau* is today's Kaohsiung.

the income of selling salt from *Takau* accounted for nearly 40% of Fengshan County's total annual income.¹⁶³



Figure 83 A map printed by I. Leon de Rosny in 1858 shows the early situation of Kaohsiung area in 1856, the two forts in the picture were the early political centres in the neighbourhood of *Takau*, where were located at the north of today's Kaohsiung City. In the map, *Takau* is at the bottom where is close to the ocean (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 17).

The year of 1895 was a crucial point in Kaohsiung's history, turning this place from a salt farm to a modern metropolis as well as a pivotal international port in Taiwan. Kabayama Sukenori was a general working with the Japanese Empire; he became the first Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan (1895-1896) when Japan took over the ruling power of Taiwan from the Ching Empire. Kabayama's distinctive contribution to Kaohsiung City was based on one of his propositions - to build the first *Tsung Kuan Hsien* 縱貫線 railway (literally "penetrating railway"), which is the first north-south railway along the western coast of Taiwan. Although this plan was not realised immediately, it was completed four years later

¹⁶³ Hsu Lingling, *Chu Shen Shou Hu Te Yan Cheng Chu* (諸神守護的鹽埕區)(Yancheng, Where Is Protected by Various Gods) (Kaohsiung: Wen Hua Ai He Hsieh Hui, 2007), p. 7.

by another important person, Goto Shinpei.¹⁶⁴ The first complete section of the railway was from *Takau* to Tainan, which switched the position of Kaohsiung plain from a poor fishing village to a strategic, crucial and well-known *Kang Tou* (harbour city) in Taiwan.

Takau in the early Japanese years had been carefully investigated and defined as an important port amongst several big harbours of the time in Taiwan in term of its geographic advantage as a natural lagoon and its demonstrative significance towards Japan's *Nanyang* (South-East Asia) colonisation (Figure 84). As a consequence, the Japanese expanded and reinforced the port in *Takau* three times (started in 1908 and finished in 1937) (Figure 85). The port construction which included Taiwan's first land reclamation from the sea established the first city centre of Kaohsiung called *Hamasen* 哈瑪星. The name *Hamasen* originally gained its name from the Japanese pronunciation of a newly constructed railway station (濱線, in the Japanese language, means a railway alongside the seashore) on this new land in order to establish a convenient transport to the port. *Hamasen*, in the same year when the port construction began (1908), was being carefully planned as a city intended to contain approximately 42,000 persons and function as the Japanese Empire's southernmost base. In 1912, with the first stage of the port construction completed, the efficiency and significance of Kaohsiung, as a port city and military base, made it as of the most important city in Taiwan. This phenomenon could be seen in the flourishing development of *Hamasen* and the increase of immigrant population into the neighbourhood of *Takao*. On the other hand, the completion of the first port's construction and the subsequent flourishing of *Hamasen* also indicated an insufficiency of land and the urban area, when *Takau* suddenly became an international level harbour city from a salt farm based fishing village within a decade. This situation forced the Japanese colonial government to consider reforming the industrial structure of this emerging harbour city, which was to cease its salt producing industry and reclaim land for more efficient usages. Although the salt farm in *Takau* of the time before and after 1906 had become the first source site of salt in Taiwan - the entire salt

¹⁶⁴ Goto Shinpei was a Japanese statesman. He served as the head of Bureau of Civil Affairs in Taiwan during its Japanese time. He can be regarded as the most important person to establish the basis of Taiwan's infrastructure system and modernisation.

producing industry in Taiwan had already been developed to a certain scale, which was able to export by itself since 1900. In other words, to compare the loss of the income from producing salt and the rapid expansion of the port necessities, the Japanese colonial government decided to reclaim all the salt farms as an expanded urban area when the second stage of the port construction was commenced in 1912. This new constructed area, with approximately 510,000 level-ground 坪 (around 1,700,000 meter square); eventually, became *Takau's* second generation political centre and the trigger of Kaohsiung's modernisation and urbanisation. Most importantly, it is the location, where the Kaohsiung Museum of History was built, called Yancheng *Machi* 鹽埕 (literally the salt farm) (Figure 86).



Figure 84 A chart made by the Japanese shows the comparison of two major footholds as well as ports in Taiwan in 1937 according to the investigation result of import and export (Keelung and Kaohsiung) (Taiwan Hsiang Tu Ti Li Yen Chiu Hui (台灣地理鄉土研究會) (Taiwan geographic research group). *Hsin Chih Taiwan Ti Li Kai Shuo Kai Ting Pan* (新制臺灣地理概說改訂版) (*the Introduction of the Geography of Taiwan*). Taipei: Hsin Kao Tang Shu Tien, 1942: p. 49).

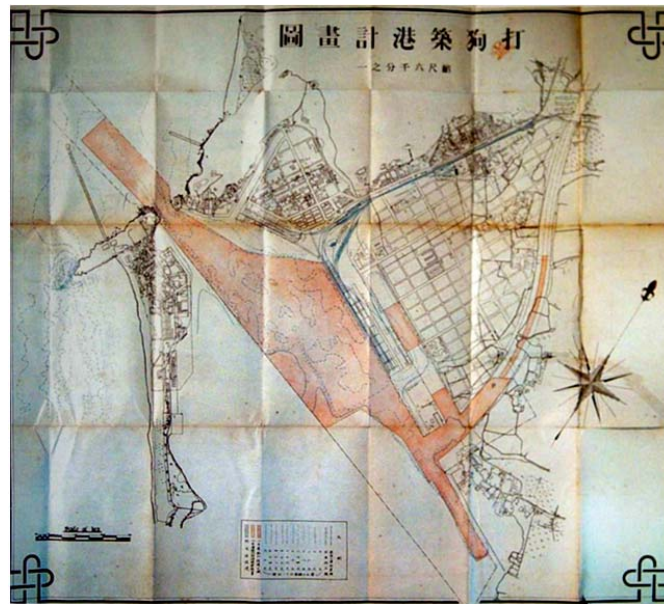


Figure 85 The master plan made in 1919 by the Japanese shows the plan to construct Kaohsiung port (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 74).

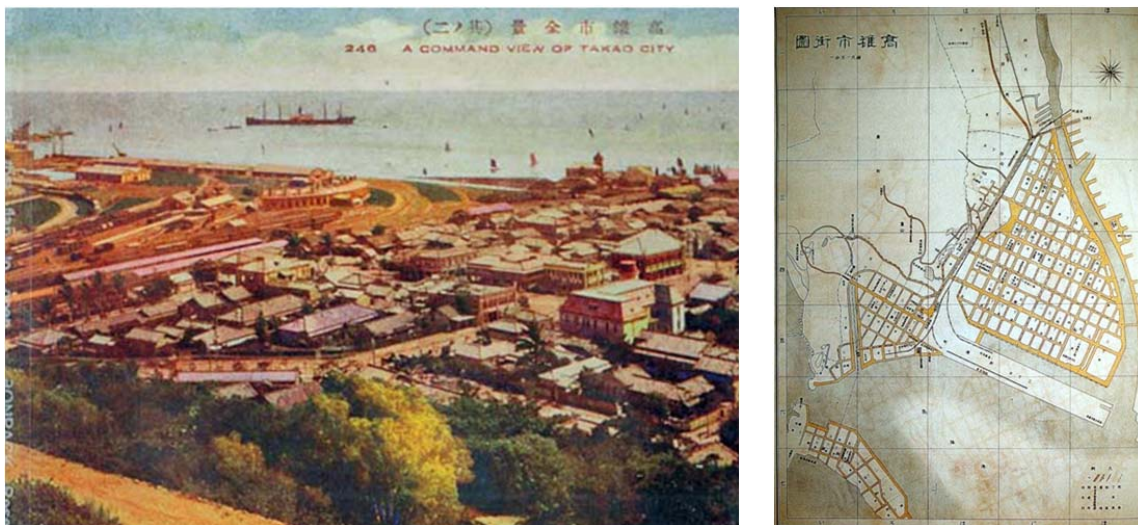


Figure 86 The picture on the left shows the flourishing of Hamasen in the 1930s; the map on the right shows the street network of Kaohsiung in 1935 and the expansion from Hamasen to Yancheng (The left: Hsu Lingling. *Mei Li Kaohsiung Tou Chen Hsing* (美麗高雄逗陣行) (Beautiful Kaohsiung). Kaohsiung: Wen Hua Ai He Hsieh Hui, 2005: p. 22. The right: Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 92).

Yancheng *Machi* in 1916's *Takau City Planning Report*, made by the government of the time, had already been regarded as a potential as a centre of commerce, industry, residences as

well as entertainment in terms of its intimate relation to the political centre of Kaohsiung, *Hamasen*, at that time.¹⁶⁵ In the 1920s, Yancheng performed a series of expansions by combining its neighbouring *Machis*, which clearly indicated its future growth (Figure 87). Simultaneously, in 1920, the name of *Takau* was officially amended to “Kaohsiung” 高雄, which took a similar sound of the Japanese pronunciation of *Takau* and a symbolic meaning of Kaohsiung’s *Han* initials: 在南方天地“高”躍“雄”飛 (to jump “**highly**” and to fly “**powerfully**” on southern land and sky). Kaohsiung City, at this moment, had ensured its political significance as a southern capital and began to outline a modern metropolis with a form of Japanese-westernised urbanisation that can still be seen today (Figure 88). In 1939, the *Takau* Municipal Office was relocated from *Hamasen* to Yancheng, which announced the political economic significance of Yancheng with a distinctive flourish. This situation peaked in the early 1970s.

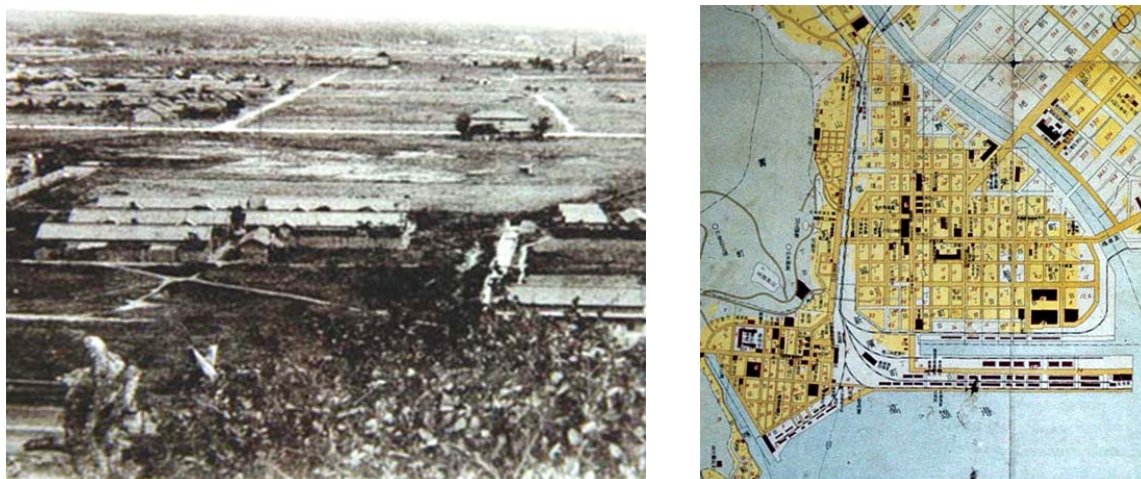


Figure 87 The picture shows the land reclamation and development of Yancheng in the 1920s (Hsu Lingling, *Chu Shen Shou Hu Te Yan Cheng Chu* (諸神守護的鹽埕區) (*Yancheng Where Is Protected by Various Gods*). Kaohsiung: Wen Hua Ai He Hsieh Hui, 2007. p. 14).

Figure 88 The street network of Kaohsiung in 1937 shows the city planning under Japanese-Western city planning principles (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 120).

¹⁶⁵ Chanh Shou-chen, "The History of Yancheng," p. 49.

With regard to Kaohsiung's industrial structure as well as its transition, the salt farm industry along with Kaohsiung's geographic advantage as a trading port was the initial motif of Kaohsiung City's early development and urbanisation. However, it goes without saying that the construction of the port and the urban planning undertaken in the Japanese period can be regarded as the basis of modern Kaohsiung's industrial transition. In the Japanese period, Kaohsiung ensured its political, social and cultural position with its well-known maritime imagery of *Kang Tou* in Taiwan. After the Nationalist Government's power change in 1945, an attempt to develop Taiwan's economy became evident in its urban landscape. Kaohsiung, as an existing major international harbour city in post-war Taiwan, apart from its political correlation with southern Taiwan, was naturally given position of handling industrial development by the Nationalist Government unlike Taipei City's symbolic political significance and meaning, evidenced from the fact that Taipei was the previous location of the Japan's *Sotokufu* - the political foothold of its Taiwan colony (Figure 89).



Figure 89 The upper left is a map which shows the urban formation of Kaohsiung in the 1960s characterised by the cargo harbour and various industrial footholds (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 165). This situation, in addition to the later imposition of the Greater China image (upper right picture), can still be traced from some building relics today (bottom pictures). Part of them today has been renovated as artistic workshops and exhibition centres (Taken by the author).

However, this industrial imagery was revised by the rise of Kaohsiung's cultural locality in the late 1990s as Taiwan society began to step towards political democratisation. Through this political movement, spontaneous forms of indigenisation emerged as mainstream values in the post-Martial Law period. Cheng Chun-Fa investigated Kaohsiung's industrial transition by looking at Kaohsiung's industrial distribution from the late Japanese years to the period after 1998 (Figure 90). The research shows that the distribution of the industrial area in Kaohsiung dramatically increased during the 1970s and late 1990s. But, interestingly, the distribution maps also show a slight reduction after 1998 especially in the area of today's city centre. In other words, there was a social transition forcing, or evolving urban development to move towards a different direction that was no longer based on Kaohsiung's industrial advantage as well convenience. This phenomenon reflects an emerging form of Taiwan's post-Martial Law cultural politics of identity, looking at the city as an individual subject rather than as a placeless subsidiary member of the state.

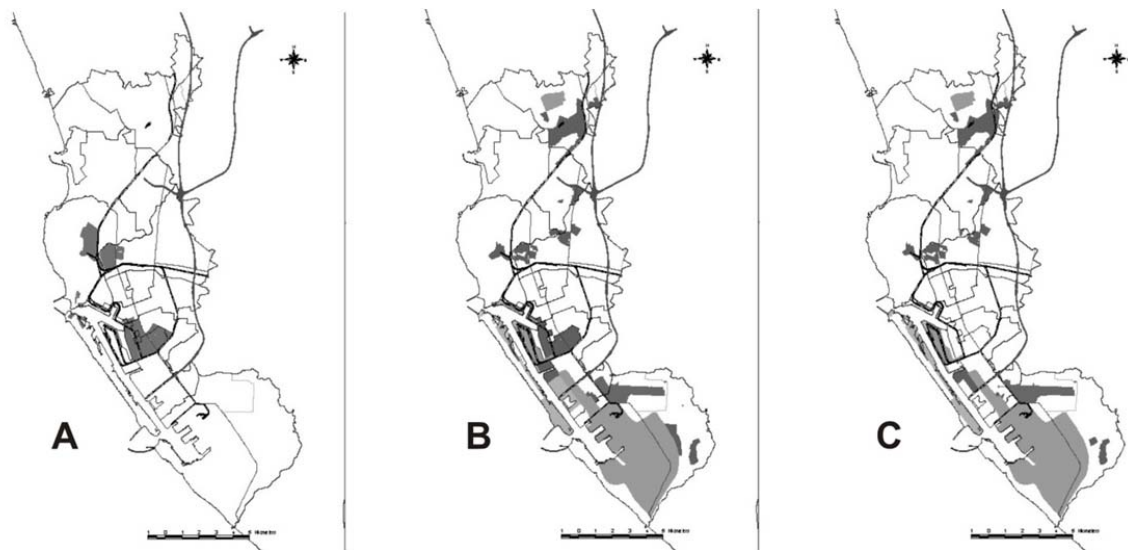


Figure 90 Three figures show the analysis of the industrial distributions in Kaohsiung City from the late Japanese years to the period after 1998. Figure A shows the situation between 1932 and 1938, figure B shows the situation between 1975 and 1998, and figure C shows an apparent reduction and decentralisation from the city centre of Kaohsiung after 1998 (Modified by the author from Cheng Chun-Fa. "A Research in Development Mechanisms of Harbour-City Interdependency in Kaohsiung City." *Journal of Taipei Municipal University of Education* 39, no. 1 (2008): p. 20).

During the Pacific War, Kaohsiung became a vitally important base for the Japanese Empire, engaging military significance as a harbour. Nevertheless, this significance faced a destiny of being extensively bombed by the Allies and serious damage was inflicted upon the city. After the end of World War II, the Nationalist Government established a central governmental level institute, the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau, in charge of reconstructing and managing port affairs.¹⁶⁶ Financial support from US Aid was also distributed to support the reconstruction of Kaohsiung City. After more than a decade's redevelopment, Kaohsiung City and the harbour recovered with a flourish and the city area began to expand towards the east, showing the rough boundary of today's city centre. The city centre of the time, until the 1970s, was still located at Yancheng (Figure 91).

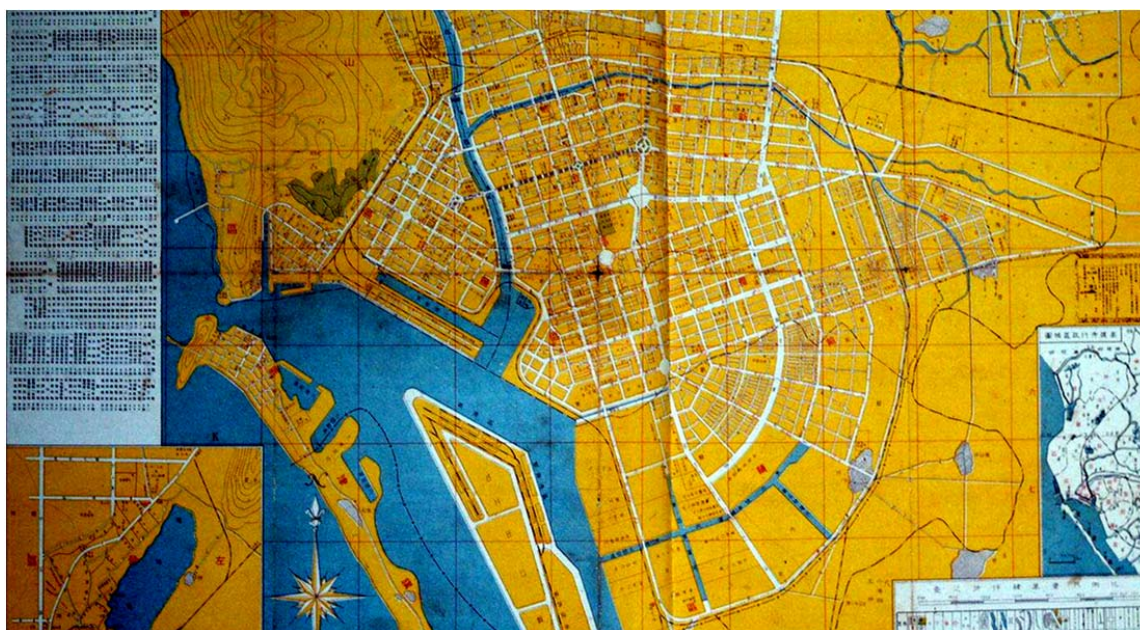


Figure 91 The map of Kaohsiung in 1967 shows the rough layout of Kaohsiung City today (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: p. 166).

¹⁶⁶ The management and authority to the port, which handed over to the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau, in fact separated the port of Kaohsiung politically and economically from the city government and caused an identity anxiety of the public about Kaohsiung's cultural authenticity. This issue is addressed in later analysis of the chapter and in **Chapter 7: Post-Martial Law Taiwan's maritime imagery and "collective individualities"**: waterfront Kaohsiung.

In the Martial Law period, the influence of US Aid was not only formed by its financial support but also by its cultural stimulation. The United States sent a Military Assistance Advisory Group to Taiwan after WWII in 1951, and four years later the Seventh Fleet of the United States was under an order to patrol the Taiwan Strait. Later, in 1965, the Vietnam War occurred. During the simultaneous time of these events, Kaohsiung was designated as a site to accommodate US soldiers while on furlough. According to the record, there were approximately 20,000 to 40,000 American soldiers who were given furlough in Kaohsiung every year during the period between the 1940s and 1970s (Figure 92). Importantly, American soldiers during this period not only increased consumption of commercial activities in Kaohsiung but they also introduced American popular culture and modern technologies to Kaohsiung. The city at that time was a place which had unequal resources when compared to Taipei, since this southern Taiwanese city was only used to support industrial development and intentionally decentralised to remove political significance established by the Japanese Empire. More precisely, the place was Yancheng rather than Kaohsiung.



Figure 92 A picture taken in the 1970s shows the American navy and bar girls in Yancheng Bar Street (Hsu Lingling, 2005: p. 43).

The *Takau* Municipal Office after World War II was retained and adopted to be used as the City Hall by the KMT mayors until 1992. The later situation of vacating this building, to a certain degree, hinted at an action of relocating the political as well as social centre of

Kaohsiung City to another site outside Yancheng. The change of the City Hall building neighbourhood from an image with a flourish to a depression between the early post-WWII years and the late 1990s can also shed light on the relocation of the city centre. In the early post-war years, Yancheng was still a representative appellation of Kaohsiung City because of its authentic imagery as a *Kang Tou* (harbour city) in Taiwanese people's minds. Although the old City Hall building in the Martial Law period from the 1940s to the 1970s was inscribed different historical, social and symbolic meanings, this building took a stable position as Kaohsiung City's political, social and cultural centre. Before the 1970s, the old City Hall building and its neighbourhood were implanted with different political ideologies. At that time, there was a fountain in the middle of the front plaza of the City Hall creating an atmosphere of solemnity. Restricted access between the plaza and its opposite across the road, by showing always crowded traffic, presented its political importance of the time (Figure 93). Moreover, the opposite site of the old City Hall building alongside the river was also influential to the transition of the old City Hall building. This site was a factory, yet when the *Takau* Municipal Office was located in Yancheng, this site became a turf for military training, public demonstration and commercial performance in the Japanese period. When the KMT government took over the City Hall ownership, this site was reconstructed to be a common sports ground for the populace. However, governmental-organised demonstrations as well as professional sport competitions were also frequently held at this ground (Figure 94). This sports ground in the 1970s was turned into a place housing commercial activities, which also reflected the later relocation of the Kaohsiung City Hall when the Yancheng district was facing depression.



Figure 93 The situation of the City Hall building and its neighbourhood in 1945 showed the flourish of Yancheng of the time as a city centre. In this picture the rear building of the City Hall had not been demolished yet. The fountain at the front plaza can also be told from this picture (Kaohsiung Museum of History, ed. *The Journal of Kaohsiung Museum of History*. Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of History 2001: p. 77).

Figure 94 The situation of the City Hall building and its neighbourhood in 1961. The opposite site of the City Hall was a sports ground reconstructed from a turf in the Japanese time (Kaohsiung Museum of History, 2001: p. 77).

A SIMILARITY IN SPATIAL AND CULTURAL DEPRESSION AND REVITALISATION

Yancheng began to step down from the position of Kaohsiung's political and economic centre from the 1970s, an interestingly similar situation to that of Ximen *Machi*, the neighbourhood of the Red House in Taipei. In 1973, former KMT mayor of Kaohsiung City, Wang Yu Yun, decided to relocate the sports ground to the east side of the city and construct an underground shopping centre at the site combining a park at ground level (Figure 95) as a physical stimulation to recover this once flourishing district. The underground shopping centre was designed as a three-storied subterranean modern shopping centre. The park above it was established as a traditional Chinese garden which contained mainly traditional Chinese architectural elements, such as a Chinese pavilion and fake waterfall. The shopping centre was constructed as the first underground shopping centre in Taiwan and the opening of the shopping centre was well-received by the public,

and it remained as a successful commercial hub in the old City Hall neighbourhood for a while. Nonetheless, this constructed effectiveness of reviving the centralised position of Yancheng in Kaohsiung could neither withstand the relocation of the city centre nor provide an answer to the social anxiety about cultural authenticity as a form of locality for the populace as indigenous consciousness rose as a mainstream value in the 1970s. The lack of public sanitation and security ultimately became the scenario of the shopping centre and the neighbourhood of the old City Hall only a decade after the shopping centre was opened. In 1988, the shopping centre was eventually closed in consideration of public safety. In the next year, a fire occurred and the shopping centre along with the park was burned down. Although the shop owners attempted to force the government to reconstruct the underground shopping centre by times of street demonstrations, the desolate fact of the burned shopping centre still could not be changed for years (Figure 96). The economic slump of Yancheng continued to appear by the shutting down of those once well-known landmarks such as the Far Eastern Department Store.¹⁶⁷ In addition, the decision to cut the management of the harbour and the city between the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau and the city government also made segregation between the populace and Kaohsiung's maritime landscape. This segregation not only caused an anxiety about cultural locality of Kaohsiung but also accelerated Yancheng's depression. In 1992, the City Hall was relocated to its current site, which, to a certain respect, announced that the bloom of this area had now stepped down to history.

¹⁶⁷ The Far Eastern Department Store is a well-known chain store organisation in Taiwan since 1967.



Figure 95 Two pictures show the underground shopping centre and the park above it in 1981. The City Hall is on the bottom of the picture on the right (The left: Kaohsiung Museum of History, 2001: p. 77. The right: Kaohsiung Museum of History).



Figure 96 The left picture shows the underground shopping centre in the fire in 1989 and the right picture shows a street demonstration mobilised by the shops owners protesting for their survival business in the same year after the fire (The left: Hsu Lingling, 2007: p. 47. The right: Kaohsiung Museum of History).

Accordingly, the city centre had a second move to a new urban area in the east of Kaohsiung after the first one from *Hamasen* to *Yancheng* (Figure 97). Through this movement, on the one hand, the new locus of the Kaohsiung City Hall presented an endeavour to highlight a change of city scale and the creation of a new formation of urban identity with a strong technological and industrial-oriented city image. The new building was represented as a corresponding building form along with modern materials and located in a brand new and internationalised district without any historical “burden”. However, on the other hand, the abandonment of the existing cultural locality and historic texture also raised public anxiety and sped up the deprivation of the environmental quality of the old city centre of Kaohsiung.

The district of Yancheng and its central area - the neighbourhood of the old City Hall, eventually were removed from public memory by the loss of development value and the loss of significance of its geographic, cultural and political potential. What remained in this area were only forms of stasis, desolation and environmental decay, such as the occupation of the prostitutes, gangsters and illicit construction all around the neighbourhood (Figure 98).

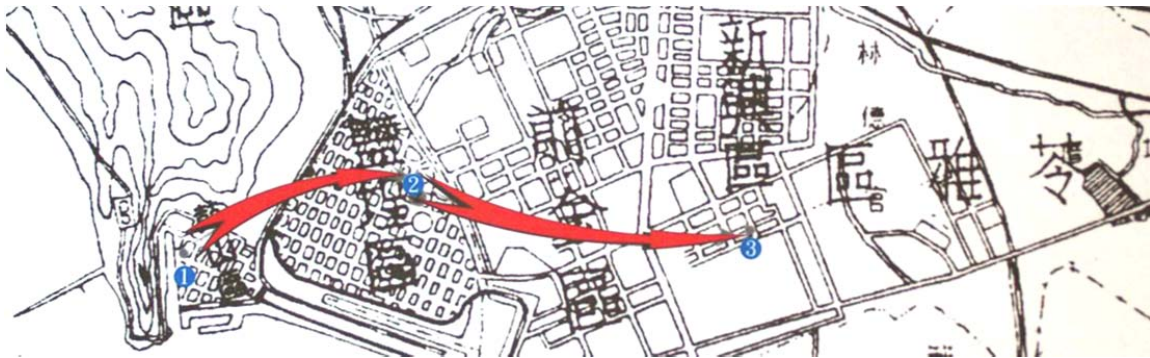


Figure 97 A diagram shows the movement of the city centres in Kaohsiung in different time periods and its implied representation of the city expansion. The three city centres are *Hamasen*, *Yancheng* and *Sinsing* in a chronologic order (Kaohsiung Museum of History, 2001: p. 69).



Figure 98 Two pictures show the newly constructed Kaohsiung City Hall on the current site and the simultaneous depressive situation on the neighbourhood of the old City Hall where was full of prostitutes and a lack of public security (Kaohsiung Museum of History, 2001: p. 69).

KAOHSIUNG MUSEUM OF HISTORY (KMH)

POPULAR DISCOURSE OF THE KMH

Kaohsiung Municipal Museum of History is the first history museum planned and established by a local government in Taiwan. The opening of the Museum on October 25th 1998 has symbolised that Kaohsiung City, in its effort to advance toward an ocean city in the 21st century, especially wants to record the deeds of the ancestors who endeavoured to pioneer the city in the past.

The City Government hopes to let more people understand the trace of development of Kaohsiung from remembering the past to planning for the future through the display of precious historic and cultural items and the result of research and promotional activities. The Museum has taken the sublime and sacred mission.¹⁶⁸

The relevance of the Kaohsiung Museum of History (KMH) is highlighted by its historic and contemporary significance to the city of Kaohsiung. Historically, this building broadly summarises forms of nationalism through different political powers and the stylistic application of the Classical Revival. The correlation between the act of colonisation and the building's post-colonial treatment constitute another level of understanding the city. This building also represents the city of Kaohsiung by its adaptive function as a public museum today. According to the description stated in *Kaohsiung Pictorial* published by the Kaohsiung City Government, the Kaohsiung Museum of History is a museum that:

... is a regional museum purposed on the preservation, research, display and promotion of the regional history of Kaohsiung; the strategy of display in the museum is very clear focused on Kaohsiung history and supported by Taiwan history; focused on everyday life

¹⁶⁸ This transcription is the introduction of the Kaohsiung Museum of History stated by its official website (Cited from the official website of the Kaohsiung Museum of History http://www.khm.kcg.gov.tw/khm_en/PerFace/PerFace.asp. January 2011).

and supported by other cultural forms. It is intended to be constructed as a field of modern museum which embraces the discourses of Kaohsiung's urban history.¹⁶⁹

In the discussion below, representations of the history and contemporaneity of Kaohsiung through the role of the Kaohsiung Museum of History are analysed. Issues which relate to Taiwan's post-war architectural evolution and historiography, such as the spatial application of daily concerns and the functional orientation of community conceptions, are also raised in the chapter. Particularly, a different cultural and architectural context with regard to post-war Taiwan's maritime connection beyond a nationalist construction presented in Taipei's built environment is addressed here.

THE ARCHITECTURAL KMH

The Kaohsiung Museum of History was built 30 years later than the Red House, in 1939. The designer of this building was Oono Yoneziru, who worked with the *Shimizu Corporation*¹⁷⁰ of the time. The building was the site of the *Takau* Municipal Office (Figure 99) in the Japanese era and it was also the City Hall of Kaohsiung (Figure 100) when the city was ruled by the KMT after World War II. After 1998, the building was renovated as the Kaohsiung Museum of History and designated as an official historical site in 2004. The Kaohsiung Museum of History today includes three buildings: the old City Hall building, the

¹⁶⁹ Kuo Li Jui, "Shih Cheng Fu Pien Shen Po Wu Kuan: Kaohsiung Shih Li Shih Po Kuan Shih Nien Sui Yueh (市政府變身博物館: 高雄市立史博館十年歲月)(the Transformation from a City Hall to a Museum: The Ten Years Time of Kaohsiung Museum of History)," *Kaohsiung Pictorial* 6(2008): p. 24.

¹⁷⁰ The *Shimizu Corporation* 清水建設株式會社 was a leading architectural, engineering and general contracting firm in Japan who offered integrated planning, designing and building solutions for a broad range of construction and engineering projects worldwide. The *Shimizu Corporation* in Kaohsiung in its Japanese time had high reputation, which constructed most of the public buildings and held the business in Kaohsiung City for more than three decades. More details of the *Shimizu Corporation* can be found in Lin Kui Jung, "Kaohsiung Museum of History," *Architect* 12(1997).

Commercial and Industrial Exhibition Centre and a Music Hall (Figure 101). This chapter mainly focuses on the old City Hall building.¹⁷¹

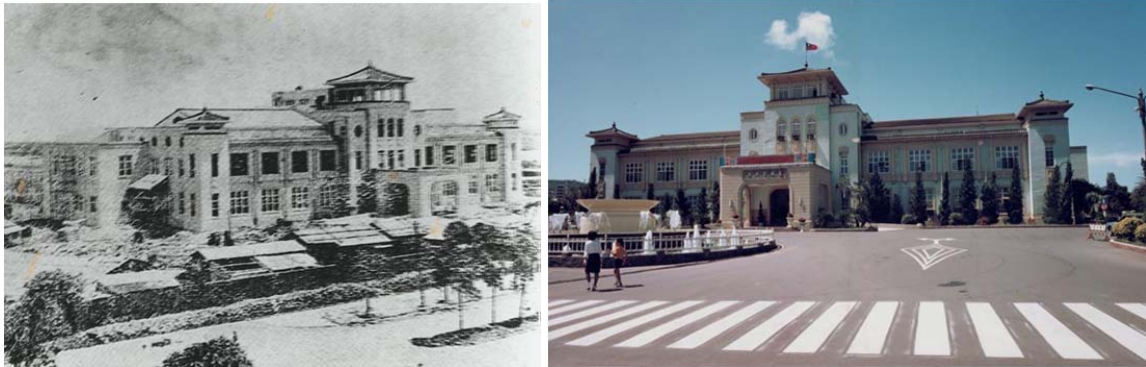


Figure 99 The view of the *Takau* Municipal Office taken in 1939 (Chang Chia Hsing, ed. *Kaohsiung Pictorial*. 6. 2008. Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung City Government, 2009: p. 23).

Figure 100 The picture shows the old City Hall of Kaohsiung under the KMT's domination in 1960 (Chang Chia Hsing, 2009: p. 25).

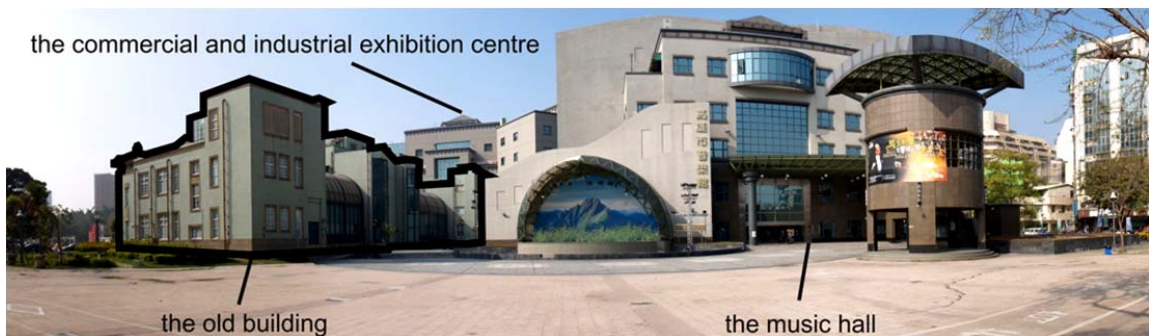


Figure 101 The current building constitutions of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, from the left to the right are the old City Hall building, the exhibition centre and the music hall (Taken and marked by the author).

The year of 1939, when today's Kaohsiung Museum of History was built, was the peak time of Japanese imperialism in world history. Japan had been involved in the Pacific War¹⁷² since

¹⁷¹ The rest has been discussed in **Chapter 7: Post-Martial Law Taiwan's maritime imagery and "collective individualities": waterfront Kaohsiung.**

1941. The biggest port city in Taiwan – Kaohsiung - which was also the southernmost city of Japan’s colonies, therefore became the most important foothold in its Taiwan base to commence the attack (also, to demonstrate a good city example of Japan’s colonisation) to *Nanyang* (South-East Asia). The colonial government of Japan, in order to establish a symbolic image of the empire, for that reason began to build a series of public buildings in the so-called “Imperial Crown Style” 帝冠式樣建築 (some simplified cases also called the “Asian Renaissance Style” 興亞式樣建築).¹⁷³ The “Imperial Crown Style” building is in reality a strong symbolic building style representing the powerful empire by showing eclectic building forms overlaid onto a concrete structure. Distinctive examples in Taiwan are the former *Takao* Municipal Office (built in 1939, the Kaohsiung Museum of History today) and the old Kaohsiung Main Station (1940) (Figure 102).



Figure 102 The old Kaohsiung Main Station building, today it has been renovated as a museum-like building called “the Vision for Kaohsiung” 高雄願景館 displaying the official outlook of Kaohsiung City (Taken by the author).

¹⁷² The Pacific War also refers to the Japanese Empire’s *Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere* 大東亞共榮圈 ideology between the late 1930s and the early 1940s. Hence the Pacific War is often called the Great East Asia War.

¹⁷³ These two styles can be regarded as two most important representations with regard to the Japanese Empire’s colonial demonstration and political propaganda in architecture. These two styles are analysed in later sections.

The *Takao* Municipal Office was taken over by the Nationalist Government and functionally had been adopted and replaced as the KMT mayors' office building between 1945 and 1991. In 1991, The City Hall of Kaohsiung was relocated to a new site in another district, and in 1998, the old City Hall building was officially reopened as the main building of the Kaohsiung Museum of History. In 2004, the old City Hall building was designated as a city-owned historical site with a regular exhibition of Kaohsiung's historical, social and culture footprints (Figure 103).



Figure 103 The general exhibitions in the Kaohsiung Museum of History which are printed on the steps of the museum entrance hall, they are all relevant to the city's history, social events and cultural affairs, such as Kaohsiung's urbanisation (the bottom left of the picture) and the 228 *Incident* in Kaohsiung (the middle right) (Taken by the author).

The “Imperial Crown Style” and “Asian Renaissance Style” were proposed by a Japanese architect Tashita Kikutarou in the entry for the competition of the Japan Parliament House in 1920.¹⁷⁴ In details, the “Imperial Crown Style” and the “Asian Renaissance Style” are slightly different in terms of their ideological design purposes and functions. The “Imperial Crown Style” building refers to an object which is presented as a Beaux Art style body with a Japanese style roof. As far as the “Asian Renaissance Style” building, it refers to an object which has a modern style body with a Japanese style roof. The differences also can be distinguished from the symmetrical spatial layout of the “Imperial Crown Style” object (the old Kaohsiung City Hall building is a remarkable example in Taiwan) and the relatively

¹⁷⁴ Fu Chao-ching, *Jih Chih Shih Chi Taiwan Chien Chu* (日治時期台灣建築)(*Taiwanese Architecture in the Japanese Era*) (Taipei: Ta Ti Ti Li, 1999), p. 48.

organic spatial layout of the “Asian Renaissance Style” (the building of Taipei Broadcasting Bureau¹⁷⁵ is the representative case in Taiwan) (Figure 104).



Figure 104 The upper picture is the main façade of the old City Hall building which shows a symmetric layout. The bottom picture is the main façade of the Taipei Broadcasting Bureau building which shows an organic layout (Taken by the author).

Although the old City Hall building encountered a series of socio-political changes after World War II and eventually was renovated as a museum, the building had always represented a concentrated intention from the designer and the users since it was built. In other words, unlike the functional changes of the Red House, the old City Hall building maintains a unique symbolic meaning from its symmetric spatial layout, specific external form and its Japanese-Westernised ornamentation (Figure 105).

¹⁷⁵ Taipei Broadcasting Bureau has been renovated today as the 228 Memorial Museum in Taipei City.

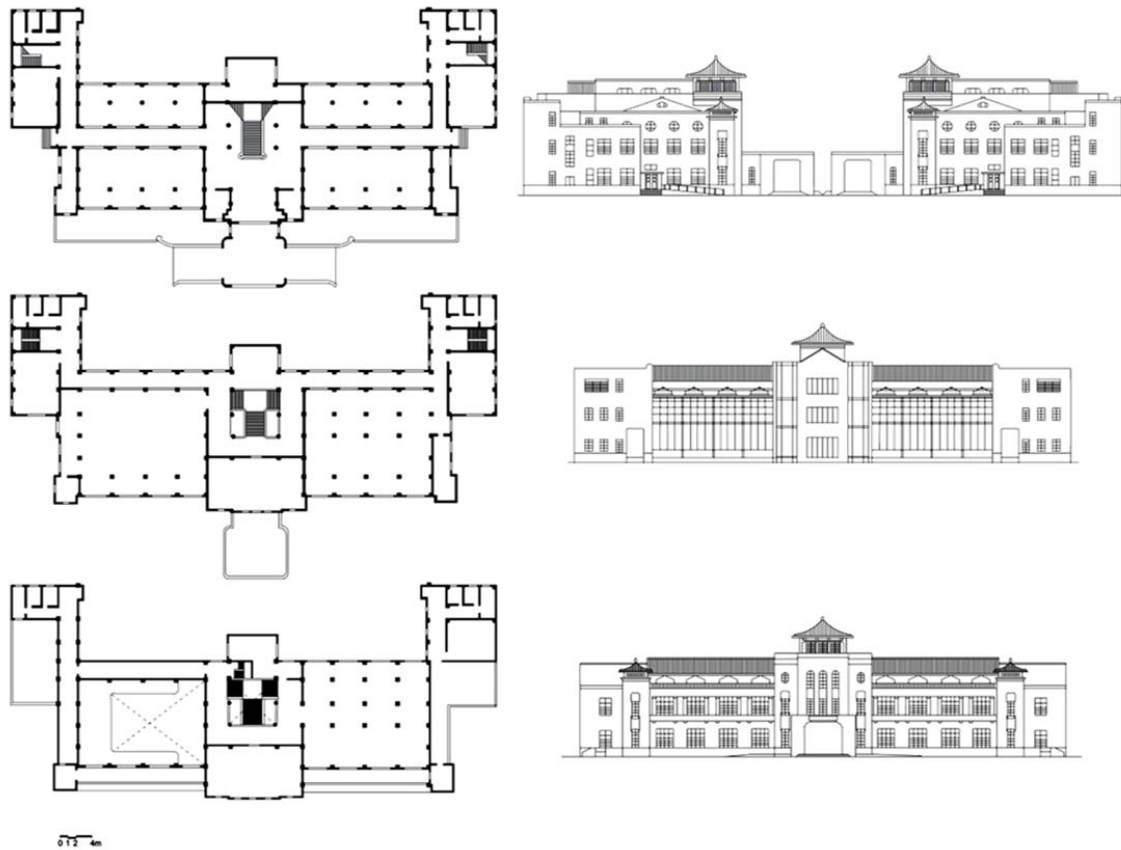


Figure 105 The current plans and façades of the old Kaohsiung City Hall building (Made by the author).

A symmetric plan is the most remarkable characteristic of the old City Hall. There was a rear building of the old City Hall, which was demolished in the early post-war years by the Nationalist Government. This rear building and the existing mass indicate the entire layout of the site as a symmetric “日” shape. This “日” shape not only presented a symmetric building plan, along with its ceremonial function as an administrative building, but also represented symbolic meaning as the Japanese Empire’s southernmost political centre through an implication of this *Han* character, i.e. “日” both refers to its meaning, which is the sun – symbolically the origin and legitimacy of the authority, and to its ideological

imagery as the Japanese Empire's initial -“日”本帝國, an empire comprises descendants of Amaterasu (a sun goddess in Shintoism).¹⁷⁶

Apart from the symmetric spatial layout, there are several characteristics of the old City Hall building that also identify an early intention to establish the building as a political centre, both in the Japanese period and its subsequent use as the KMT City Hall when the Nationalist Government took over the regime of Kaohsiung in 1945. In the middle part of the building - the main entrance of the site, there is a portico (Figure 106) which presents a ceremonial means of designing a governmental building. Behind the portico is an entrance hall along with a central staircase, which shares an integration of the entire circulating route. There are six columns around the staircase creating a strong spatial atmosphere as an administrative building of the empire (Figure 107). Responding to the eclectic form of the building, the capital of the columns, which embrace the central staircase, combines a group of cloud-shaped *Chueh Ti*,¹⁷⁷ which implies traditional Japanese timber structure, and the acanthus of the Greek Corinthian order, which demonstrates the result of Japan's westernisation referring to the *Meiji* Restoration (Figure 108). This “combination” of the traditional Japanese architectural member and typical western classical architectural pattern, on the one hand, symbolically declares a coloniser's supremacy by showing two “high cultures” imposed on the colony. These two cultural representations, Japanese tradition and a symbol of Western civilisation, to a certain extent, implied an intention to subordinate colonial Taiwan's popular culture and most importantly to demonstrate a sample of Imperial Japan's assimilative purpose. On the other hand, the use of *Chueh Ti* and acanthus - two symbolic architectural members of the primitive building, has two levels of implication: (1) to construct a spatial atmosphere of the sublime, which is different from ordinary building

¹⁷⁶ The rear building of the old City Hall is discussed in later sections and an image of the rear building can be found in Figure 93 in the chapter.

¹⁷⁷ *Chueh Ti* 雀替 is a member of traditional East Asian architecture. It was originally designed as a wooden item placed at the intersection of a beam and a column. It spreads out on both sides of the column creating a setting for the beam. Decreasing the clear space of the beam, it therefore reduces the shearing stress.

types which existed in the colony and (2) a witness to colonial modernity, which shows a way of using modern techniques adopted from the western world and an understanding of cultures and histories both from the ancient western and eastern civilisations.



Figure 106 The picture shows the portico at the main entrance of the old City Hall building (Taken by the author).

Figure 107 The picture shows the central staircase along with the surrounding six columns in the old City Hall building (Taken by the author).



Figure 108 Two pictures show the eclectic capital of the columns designed in the old City Hall building (Taken by the author).

Externally, there are three towers along with dark green Japanese tented roofs located at the east and west ends and the middle part of the building. The middle tower is the highest one, leading the whole building to show a symbolic shape of Kaohsiung's *Han* initial - “高”. It draws an analogy between symbolic representations of the building not only as a centre of political power in Kaohsiung City but also as the southernmost foothold of the empire

(Figure 109).¹⁷⁸ Moreover, the external walls are decorated with traditional Japanese textural patterns (Figure 110), which show a harmonious mixture of different civilisations through cultural and architectural inscription. The representation of the building shows the empire of Japan continuing a grand Japanese tradition as the industrial age of modern technologies is coming into existence. In addition to the representations of cultural political, aesthetic, and modern symbolism, the main structure of the building is constructed in reinforced concrete and faced in a so-called “defence colour”¹⁷⁹ (Figure 111). This was a necessary consideration during war time.



Figure 109 The central tower of the old City Hall implies the *Han* character “高” (Taken by the author).

Figure 110 The decorations of the building echo the traditional craft in Japan (Taken by the author).

¹⁷⁸ The word “Kaohsiung” was named by the Japanese during its rule, the origin of this name and the connection between Kaohsiung City and the old City Hall are analysed in the following sections.

¹⁷⁹ In consideration of acting as a political and military base to attack *Nanyang* (South-East Asia), a sky blue paint was applied to the surface of the old City Hall building as a protective colour. However, after around seven decades’ time, the colour today on the building surface is no longer like sky blue but grass green.



Figure 111 A picture which was taken in early post-war time still shows the defence colour - sky blue, when compared to today's grass green (Fu Chao-ching, *Jih Chih Shih Chi Taiwan Chien Chu (日治時期台灣建築) (Taiwanese Architecture in the Japanese Era)*. Taipei: Ta Ti Ti Li, 1999: pp. 48-49).

When the Kaohsiung City Hall was relocated to the current site in 1991, the issue of whether the old City Hall building should be retained or pulled down suddenly emerged as a popular debate. In 1993, due to strong public support, it was decided to retain the building. The reuse and preservation project was commissioned to architect Lin Kui Jung by the next year. The renovation was completed in 1998 and the Kaohsiung Museum of History was officially opened in the same year. The adaptive reuse of the old City Hall building, interestingly, is similar to the case of the Red House. In other words, most of the exterior was kept with slight renovation and a new functional consideration combined with the interior. The old City Hall building originally comprised a laterally wide front rectangular building and a rear building. The rear one was demolished after World War II, before the post-Martial Law period. In the renovation of the old City Hall, the front façade of the building was retained because of its strong image as a spatial icon of the city and the rear façade was partially rebuilt (Figure 112).



Figure 112 The rear façade of the old City Hall building after the renovation (Taken by the author).

The interior of the old City Hall was renovated as a display area, a reading area (on the ground floor and the first floor) and an office space (on the second floor). In the building, most of the Japanese-Western style decorations and atmosphere (Figure 113) were retained and only exhibits and renewed facilities were added (Figure 114). The rear side of the ground floor was reconstructed as a two storied-high display area; a steel structure and some reused materials and native architectural members, such as the old wine-jars and the traditional Taiwanese trceries, constitute the current space (Figure 115). Some architectural models, mainly those designated historical sites in Kaohsiung City, are displayed in this area showing the landmarks of Kaohsiung. In addition, a small library is located on the ground floor next to the display area, housing government documents and publications regarding Kaohsiung's history, culture and urban development.



Figure 113 The ceiling of the central hall of the old City Hall building shows the original “Imperial Crown Style” atmosphere and the Japanese-Western style decoration (Taken by the author).

Figure 114 Two pictures show the renewed facilities and part of the exhibits at the corridor of the old City Hall building (Taken by the author).



Figure 115 Three pictures demonstrate the newly constructed interior display area and the exterior along with both new and reused materials (Taken by the author).

As a key building in the urban context, after the Martial Law period, the old City Hall in Kaohsiung City, (similar to the case of the Red House in Taipei City) reflected an emergent consciousness of restoring cultural political identity through looking for particular locality as well as its lost popular memory. The old City Hall building, as a representative of popular memory and a local landmark, in the end, escaped the destiny of being demolished thanks to the resistance from academics, local cultural and historical workshops and mobilised public opinion. The former KMT mayor of Kaohsiung, Wu Dunyi, who wanted to demolish the building and temporarily place the site on hold, was forced to change the decision and consider reopening the building to the public. Architect Lin Kui Jung took the commitment to renovate the old City Hall building as the main space of the Kaohsiung Museum of History. The burnt underground shopping centre was reconstructed as the 228 Memorial Park to be linked to the museum and was supported by local NGOs and local cultural and historical workshops (Figure 116). There were also two buildings newly constructed next door to support the old City Hall as a group of buildings of the Kaohsiung Museum of History. The language applied to the new buildings was an attempt to create a connection to

the formal characteristics of the old City Hall (Figure 117). The environment of the old City Hall neighbourhood, which used to show a lack of public sanitation and security, was cleaned up and consolidated with the surrounding community and the riverside landscape after the renovation. This change of environment again revitalised the neighbourhood of the old City Hall to become a centre of Kaohsiung in a positive sense (Figure 118). The difference between the present and the past is that the present status here as a centre of Kaohsiung is not based on its political but cultural significance.



Figure 116 The upper left shows the main entrance of the 228 Memorial Park. The upper right shows the view combining the park and the Kaohsiung Museum of History. The bottom picture shows the view of the park taken from the front plaza of the museum (Taken by the author).



Figure 117 The newly constructed Exhibition Centre and the Music Hall which are intended to show the stylistic interaction with the old City Hall building both formally and materially (Taken by the author)



Figure 118 The rear of the Kaohsiung Museum of History today shows its relationship with its neighbourhood (Taken by the author).

FACING AUTHENTICITY: REGIONAL AND TOUCHABLE

The city of Kaohsiung had never taken a substantial position in Taiwan's post-war history before the end of Martial Law no matter whether from a perspective of recording post-war Taiwan's urban development or representing Taiwan's modern architectural evolution. Kaohsiung's existence in Martial Law mainstream discourse was because of its competitiveness as Taiwan's economic foundation, i.e. this contribution of Martial Law Kaohsiung was remarkable because of the goods produced from this "place" to support Taiwan's rapid economic development in the early post-war years. As far as where the exact "place" is, it in fact did not matter to the entire state.

The fact that Kaohsiung was superseded by the appellation "*Kang Tou*" (harbour city) to exist in Taiwan's Martial Law history is because Kaohsiung's previous representation was reinterpreted as neither worth acting upon nor positive enough to be idealised as a typical "modern Chinese city" example from the KMT government's Greater China imposition. Not to mention, the city was the Japanese Empire's southernmost political centre and had less historical relics that tangibly related to symbolic "Chinese-ness". Put differently, although Kaohsiung was known by the public for its historic significance in politics, geography and Taiwan's maritime culture, it only took the position in Taiwan's Martial Law history as a harbour, as an industrial base and as an organised but forgotten narrative in official discourse. Kaohsiung was constructed as an "other" space altogether: real but concealed.

Interestingly, this polar relationship of reception in history between dominant and subordinate was mediated to a status in between via a debate about native historiography in the 1970s and 1980s. This “place” (Kaohsiung) certainly is real, yet this reality, which used to be concealed no matter whether by the government or the public, is now being understood and rectified. This part of history in Kaohsiung no longer depicts a collective of “Chinese-ness” as a sole context of political imposition but simultaneously also involves “Japanese-ness” as a context of post-colonial nostalgia and most importantly is an authentic context of “native-ness” in a cultural juxtaposition. The dialectic of Taiwan’s maritime connection has merged different power interventions and a heteroglossic colonial past on the island without any ignorance of a de facto historic and indigenous context. Like the case of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, it is a tangible witness today to this change in native historiography framing a new ascendant discourse. More precisely, from the building and the implications beyond the building object, which have shown to the public, they speak not only of recent ideological nationalist history from a just ended authoritarian rule but also a once concealed history inscribed by the Japanese Empire’s colonisation. Most importantly, a phenomenal tendency is highlighted through this construction of post-Martial Law Taiwan’s cultural politics that a place’s locality is able to be communicated and sketched via various perspectives no matter whether they are positive or negative, no matter whether they are ideological or materialistic, and no matter whether they are pervasive or inactive on public understanding. The general representation of space in post-Martial Law Taiwan has been evidenced thus; the imagery of several cities in Taiwan is like this. Arguably, a form of cultural authenticity has also been (re)construct and legitimised through these means, radically changing from a subordinate role in the past, to becoming a dominant role today.

CHAPTER 6:
THEORISING TAIWAN'S POST-MARTIAL LAW CONTEXT:
CULTURAL IDENTIFICATION IN HISTORY AND SPACE

AMONGST HISTORY, ARCHITECTURE AND SOCIETY

The Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History are located in Taipei City and Kaohsiung City respectively. These are two major cities in northern and southern Taiwan; they also represent Taiwan's two different senses of metropolitan development – derived from external forces and the country's geopolitical character. The analyses of Taipei's "political cultural" history and Kaohsiung's "cultural political" history along with these two buildings from their earlier years to the present have shed light on characteristics of spatiality in Taiwan.

When referring to a broader context of post-war Taiwan's built environment, it is necessary to analyse the issues implied beyond this cultural political interaction between today's Taiwan society and its corresponding architectural representations. This chapter summarises and discusses critical issues which have arisen from the previous two chapters. Most importantly, this chapter attempts to highlight an overall tendency within Taiwan's post-Martial Law context of space by analysing an emergent reception of history in current society and its significance in contemporary Taiwanese architecture and urbanism.

Due to the openness of native society and an awakening public consciousness, i.e. the commencement of democratisation from the late 1980s onwards, Taiwan's social indigenisation has also emerged since. Intersubjective criticism as an approaching method began to lead popular discourse in Taiwan society instead of a previously one-sided explanation. Heteroglossic perspectives in native historiography are evidence of this phenomenon. Martial Law was lifted in 1987, and from that year onwards, there was a series of socio-political reforms, such as the release of the bans on newspaper publication, the end of the Chiang regime¹⁸⁰ and the biggest massive student demonstration which asked for

¹⁸⁰ Taiwan in the first 43 years of its post-WWII period was ruled by the Chiang family as a dictatorship. Chiang Kai-shek held the position of the ROC president for 5 terms from 1949 to 1972 and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, took the position from Chiang Kai-shek after his death for two terms until 1984.

democratic reform against the Nationalist Government's authoritarian system.¹⁸¹ These reforms, to a certain extent, enlightened the senses of "civil society" in Taiwan in the 1990s.¹⁸² Most importantly, Taiwan's characteristic multiplicity has risen to the surface, replacing the longstanding social suppression as the mainstream value of modern society in Taiwan.

The most distinctive echoes of this social pluralism in the built environment were the preservation and codification of historical sites. At that time, a new terminology from the English language - *Cultural Heritage* - which is a representation of historical legacies and cultural values was introduced, and the previous term - *Kuchi* 古蹟 - which mainly highlights levels of antiquity was amended in the building codes. This act through codification redefined the scope of performing historic conservation, particularly in architectural field, in Taiwan. Codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* (文化資產保存法) witnessed this phenomenon in architectural practice and native historiography. Based on the act of recognising cultural pluralism, popular in the 1990s, and a sequence of codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* since 1983, many contemporary buildings built in the Japanese era, which present de facto historic values but were organised to be ignored politically by the KMT force, are now able to be identified and designated as official historical sites. This change in policy codification and social recognition reframes the top-down supervision of historical sites in both the central and local governments in Taiwan. In other words, building codes which are related to issues of historical conservation hence gradually approach popular memory and living experience of the populace in Taiwan today.

Since Taiwan's contemporary historical legacies were officially connected to the reality of Taiwan's historic complexity and cultural pluralism in the 1990s, the movement of historical preservation can be regarded as a representation through its key ideas of revitalising popular

¹⁸¹ There was a six-day student demonstration happened in 1990 asking for democratic reform called the *Wild Lily Student Movement* 野百合學運 (or the *March Student Movement* 三月學運). This demonstration presented the first public social movement in Taiwan.

¹⁸² Kuo Chaolee, "Conservation of City Architecture and Public Sphere in the Postwar Taiwan," *Journal of Architectural* 67(2009): p. 88.

memory and cultural locality. These ideas, as ways of pursuing a recognised tendency in Taiwan society, were adopted simultaneously by the state apparatus through the policy of Community Development in 1994 as a critical means in spatial practice constructing modern Taiwan's cultural subjectivity. Preservation of historical sites in post-Martial Law Taiwan is therefore incorporated into popular culture using both top-down and bottom-up ways through government guidance and the general public's everyday experience. At the social level, this movement is widely named as communitarianism by native academics in Taiwan, highlighting its remarkable community function. At the architectural level, notable preservation projects, such as the Red House in Taipei and the Kaohsiung Museum of History in Kaohsiung, can be regarded as the spatial registration of communitarianism in Taiwan.

AN ARCHITECTURAL APPLICATION: THE SIGHT OF HISTORICAL SITES

The CCA in 2004 officially stated the definition and strategies of its Community Development cultural policy by differentiating formations of space in connection with the past, present and the future.¹⁸³ Amongst these three chronologic categories, preservation of cultural heritage and the adaptive reuse of historical sites have been physically fulfilled as the CCA's attempt to deal with the "past" and to construct a first-class cultural environment. The so-called "first-class" here is connected to the promotion of a Local Cultural Centre, which has been established to cope with the "present". Put precisely, the adaptive reuse of historical sites in local cultural affairs is highlighted in the policy as a crucial task. Interestingly, relevant buildings under this focus present unexpected complexity and impacts after fulfilling the reformation. The two scrutinised buildings in the previous chapters - the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History - both illustrated this complexity.

¹⁸³ The Council for Cultural Affairs, *Wen Hua Taiwan: Hsin Shin Chi Hsin Jung Yen* (文化台灣：新世紀新容顏)(*Cultural Taiwan: New Century New Face*), pp. 105, 142.

The issue of adaptively reused historical sites in Taiwan concurrently rose before and after the Japanese-time-built buildings were officially recognised in the 1990s. According to Fu Chao-ching's research, the idea of historical sites' adaptive reuse in Taiwan was first introduced in 1977 by an American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin and later became a mainstream approach to Taiwan's historical building preservation since 2001. The reason why it has become a dominant approach in Taiwan, argued by Fu, is because of the advantages of building recycling, economic as well as structural durability and balancing historic fact and modernity.¹⁸⁴ However, its performance encountered certain difficulties because of the selection of the building objects and relevant codification.

Fu, in 1993, proposed a notion that the buildings built in the Japanese era would be difficult but proper targets for performing this idea of adaptive reuse of historical sites in Taiwan. His reasons were:

From a historical perspective to look at the idea of adaptive reuse in Taiwan, the Japanese era is a turning period of Taiwan's modern architectural development ... However, according to the current *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code*, historical sites built in the Japanese era have been ignored purposely in a clear way ... By examining Taiwan's historical divisions, historical sites built in the Japanese era, which mostly are located in the city centres, in fact take the advantages of their quantity and dimensions. However, based on the evidence of Taiwan's urbanisation and the rise of property prices in the city centres, it has formed the chief reasons why most of these Japanese-time-built objects were mostly intended to be demolished by the governmental institutes in Taiwan in the past, even now. Therefore, there is a priority to preserve this group of buildings and through this measure to balance Taiwan's urban construction and historical building preservation ... also these buildings have the legitimacy to apply the adaptive reuse idea in terms of their durability (most of them were made by reinforced brick or reinforced concrete), symbolic function (a crucial position which introduced

¹⁸⁴ Fu Chao-ching, "Taiwan Hsien Chih Kung Chien Tsai Li Yung Li Lun Chien Kou (台灣閒置空間再利用理論建構)(Theorising Adaptive Reuse of the Unused Space in Taiwan)," in *Taiwan New Landscape Movement*, ed. Chen Chi Nan (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, 2005), pp. 359-360.

modernisation to Taiwan's architectural and urban evolution), historic imprints (well maintenance) and economic consideration for future management.¹⁸⁵

Put differently, Fu indicates that although these buildings built in the Japanese era have a strong legitimacy to apply adaptive reuse, earlier professional and academic debate, which mainly talked about national identity and economic profit, to a certain extent, became a block by setting the condition on building codes and impacting public opinion.¹⁸⁶ Nonetheless, this earlier nationalist ideology in reality not only impacted upon the preservation of historical sites built in the Japanese era but also any other “non-orthodox-Chinese” based sites in Taiwan. Massive historical sites, therefore, were demolished in Taiwan between the 1950s and the 1970s. In addition, rapid economic growth in the 1970s also accelerated this demolition of historical sites in Taiwan because of the intention to reclaim land for the use of commercial constructions, which used to be believed as a more efficient and reflective way of maintaining property prices. This phenomenon and public reception were changed later by the influence of the awakening of Taiwan's indigenous consciousness in the 1980s when the issue of preserving historical sites was highlighted as a pragmatic means of democratising post-Martial Law society, in terms of its social value of retaining popular memory of Taiwan.

¹⁸⁵ Fu Chao-ching, "Li Shih Hsing Chien Chu Chih Tsai Li Yung: I Jih Chu Shih Chi Wei Li (歷史性建築之再利用：以日據時期為例)(the Adaptive Reuse of the Historical Building: the Japanese Era as the Case)," *Architect* (1993).

¹⁸⁶ The debate about whether buildings built in the Japanese era are proper to be preserved or not were mainly argued between that if this group of buildings is a kind of “national shame” or just purely a historical fact. Due to this qualm, the earlier version of *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* excluded the possibility of designating this group of buildings as official historical sites, which can be protected by the authority. More details about this debate can be found in Fu Chao-ching, *Jih Chih Shih Chi Taiwan Chien Chu (日治時期台灣建築)(Taiwanese Architecture in the Japanese Era)*. and Chen Chi Nan, "Ku Chi, Chien Chu Yu Che Chu Ying Tsao (古蹟、建築與社區營造)(Historical Building, Architecture and Community Development)," *Architect* (1998).

This deduction of changing public reception of historical sites is also supported by Lee Chian-lang.¹⁸⁷ He believes that because of the rise of Taiwan's indigenous consciousness, an objective treatment to history had already become the mainstream perspective in Taiwan. Moreover, he also argues that the criticism of history (political bias) and the preservation of history (historic fact) must be separated. Lee summarises two chief reasons why the buildings built in the Japanese era were excluded from authoritative protection and even at times subordinated in the Martial Law period. First, these buildings were considered as "young" objects when compared to Chinese culture's 5000-year history. Other reason was put down to a political bias of the Nationalist Government, which intended to efface Japan's colonial history in Taiwan. Particularly, there is a sense of hatred towards the Japanese-built constructions in Taiwan, which arose from the KMT's bitterness of defeat in the Second Sino-Japanese War (in Chinese, 八年抗戰, which means the eight-year battle with the Japanese Empire) before the civil war with the Communist Party in China. This nationalist and 5000-year Chinese myth in Taiwan's history, after years of debate, was ultimately rectified by authoritative institutes, academics and, most importantly, the populace. Criticism and the facts of history are now able to be differentiated.

COMMUNITY THINKING INVOLVED: REALISATION AND THEORISATION

Since the approach of adaptive reuse shares a pragmatic significance of the emergent reception of native history in architectural practices, it is worth being explored and analysed both from its social context and its theoretical basis. Wang Huey-Jiun, in 1998, suggested that potential issues of Taiwan's historical building adaptive reuse could be examined in three aspects.¹⁸⁸ First, the building should have a meaning, which either presents a specific

¹⁸⁷ Lee Chian-lang, *Taiwan Chien Chu Shih (台灣建築史)(Architectural History of Taiwan)*, p. 213.

¹⁸⁸ Wang Huey-Jiun and Lin Hui Wen, "Chiu Chien Chu Tsai Li Yung Yu Tso Tan Hui (舊建築再利用與建築教育座談會)(Historical Building Adaptive Reuse and Architectural Education Conference)," *Architect* (1998): p. 105.

design approach or material of the time, even a meaning as a landmark in physical or mental ways. Secondly, the techniques of adaptive reuse should be updated and combined with regional conditions. Lastly, the efficiency of both the economy and the publicity, which practically divide the reuse approaches into three ways: (1) to retain the external shape of the building and reorganise the interior, (2) to modify or add partially to the origin building and retain the external skin alone or (3) to rebuild the building significantly. In short, the adaptive reuse approach concerns regional characteristics, historical conditions and the interaction with present management as well as the environment. In other words, it is thinking in terms of community perspectives, regionally and day-to-day based.

The two buildings discussed in the previous chapters basically meet the three conditions suggested by Wang and mix those three reuse approaches in their physical design practices. Yet, there is always something implied beyond the projects themselves, which is relevant to the broader social, cultural, even theoretical contexts, in a comparatively abstract way. The discussion here is divided into two parts. The first analyses social and cultural issues beyond the projects themselves. The second, by contrast, uses the physical projects themselves to look at these issues in reflection.

BRANDING IDENTITY AND LOCALITY: FROM 5,000 YEARS TO 400 YEARS

Interestingly, although the functional transitions of the Red House (from a market to a theatre) and the Kaohsiung Museum of History (from a City Hall to a museum) are dramatic, the same current usage of these two buildings, as a museum-like building, provides a clue to examine the interaction between Taiwan's cultural politics and its architectural registration after Martial Law through branding the construction of identity and locality regionally and nationally.

The changes in political ideology from the early post-war official (or, the KMT) historiography (the myth of five thousand years Grand Chinese history in Taiwan) to the post-Martial Law *Ben Tu* 本土 (indigenous) thought (looking at the four hundred years actual native history of the island) and the shifts of cultural ideologies in identifying historical sites from the early post-war *Kuchi* (levels of antiquity) to the post-Martial Law

Heritage (values of culture), connect the historical backdrop of Taiwan and its modern presence as a spatiotemporal “community”. This community, from an interdisciplinary perspective, is echoed in many social practices such as the introduction of museology which has brought to the forefront as a mainstream means, this community conception’s physical realisation in the post-Martial Law built environment. The founding of the Kaohsiung Museum of History is one distinctive witness to this phenomenon (the first city-government-organised museum). This institution, as Jeremy E. Taylor argues, is just one of the distinguishing cases amongst the dozens cases in the post-Martial Law period that are “often housed within city-registered *Kuchi* (historical site), and endeavour to exploit the architectural setting in which they are located in exhibitions. In doing so, they have frequently rejected earlier traditions of museum management in Taiwan, such as those formulated in the National Palace Museum¹⁸⁹ or categories such as ‘national treasures’”.¹⁹⁰ This “museumisation” phenomenon, therefore, becomes a crucial topic and exploitable means in various cultural affairs.

MUSEUMISATION: EDUCATION AND COMMUNICATION

In looking at the issue of post-war Taiwan’s museumisation, the discussion should begin from the psychological function of the museum space, which demonstrates the motif of museumisation, which bridges community thinking with historical sites in Taiwan. First, the museum’s specific characteristic of life styles is a key.¹⁹¹ Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that museum has a function to identify the relationship between academic education and practical knowledge: “one has explained nothing and understood nothing by establishing

¹⁸⁹ The National Palace Museum in this thesis refers to the one in Taiwan instead of the one (Forbidden City in Beijing) in China.

¹⁹⁰ Jeremy E. Taylor, "History and the Built Environment in Taiwan's Southern Capital" (The Australian National University, 2002), p. 88.

¹⁹¹ It is a key no matter whether through highlighting economic and social conditions of the everyday.

the existence of a correlation between an ‘independent’ variable. Until one has determined what is designated in the particular case”.¹⁹² That is to say, the museum is able to functionalise the ideological illustration of knowledge by a combination with daily interest. This combination, later, becomes a form of experience. As a consequence, the museum is able to create a quasi-scholastic atmosphere which “differs from the relation developed by those born into a world filled with art objects, familiar family property, amassed by successive generations, testifying to their wealth and good taste, and sometimes ‘home-made’”.¹⁹³ For the populace, the museum is not only educational but also accessible. The social atmosphere of the museum, therefore, offers both academic (sometimes aesthetic) knowledge and experience of delight to visitors, which create spaces for meditation. In other words, this space not only accommodates knowledge but also digests it.

Museum development in Taiwan, interestingly, seems to have separated this psychological communication into different social contexts. The origin of Taiwan’s museum enterprises can be traced back to the late 1890s, its Japanese era.¹⁹⁴ The Japanese Empire established eighteen museums in Taiwan during its rule for the purpose of propagating knowledge through educational exhibitions. Later, between the 1950s and the 1980s, the museums established in Taiwan basically followed a similar means to construct the KMT’s authoritarian regime (as a replacement ruling power) and its organised Greater China “orthodoxy”. The KMT also adopted this means repeatedly as the Japanese did in order to wipe out all cultural political relics from the previous rule. The National Palace Museum¹⁹⁵

¹⁹² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 30.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁹⁴ Chang Yui-tan, "Cultural Policies and Museum Development in Taiwan," *Museum international* 58, no. 4 (2006): p. 64.

¹⁹⁵ When the KMT force fled to Taiwan in the 1940s and 1950s, most of the portable exhibits which were displayed in the Forbidden City (the National Palace Museum in Beijing, China today) had been brought to Taiwan. Because of this, the KMT established a “National Palace Museum” in Taiwan to contain and display these items, most importantly, to state that the one in Taiwan has the entire

was a representative case. However, there was still a slight change on the founding focus of museums later in the end of the Martial Law period. In the 1970s, because of an obvious attention and rapid development of economics, the educational knowledge of Taiwan's modernisation, natural science and geography therefore became the concentrated issues of museum management. The National Museum of Natural Science and the National Museum of Marine Biology and Aquarium, which began to be organised in the early 1980s, were both planned under this principle.

Simultaneously, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) was founded in 1981 representing an emergent concern of Taiwan's cultural characteristics. Due to the setting of this governmental supervisory institute, museum development in Taiwan was altered from an application of centralising national ideology to representing various regional cultural features. This was a move towards the highlight of local identities. The Taipei County Yingge Ceramics Museum, characterised by Yingge town's ceramic industry, was a leading institute of the time. Subsequently, in the three decades from the 1990s onwards, the discussion of legitimising the "museum" in Taiwan has put its focus on promoting local cultural identities. As a result, the CCA's Community Development Cultural Policy along with its adaptive reuse approach in preserving historical sites and the founding of local cultural centres as a physical performance have pragmatically hinted at the interactive significance amongst cultural historical preservation, current popular culture and the future cultural outlook of society.

The process of museumisation in post-Martial Law Taiwan, Wang Sung Shan suggests, is a reflection of demands on contemporary society and culture.¹⁹⁶ Put differently, Wang believes that this phenomenon - this "new museum movement in Taiwan" - in reality reflects concerns of indigenisation, the popularity of education, national culture, history of the nature, and humankind's living space through actual application: cultural heritage collection of the National Palace Museum except the building itself, which is the core of its so-called "Chinese orthodoxy".

¹⁹⁶ Wang Sung Shan, *Cha I to Yang Hsing Yu Po Wu Kuan* (差異、多樣性與博物館)(*Difference, Multiformity and Museum*) (Taipei: Tao Hsiang, 2003), p.2.

preservation and ecological conservation. In other words, this “movement” not only absorbs the impact from the political, economic and academic influences but also includes the local populace’s effect through their participation. The emergence of locally characterised museums and their pioneers - cultural and historical workshops - have legitimised this phenomenon.¹⁹⁷ On the contrary, from a bottom-up perspective, the phenomenon of museumisation connects pivotal social resources with the communities through branding of cultural localities. A regional museum (cultural centre) not only sells the museum itself but also its locating community and the city which comprises the potential of identifying management direction, even revitalising regional industries.¹⁹⁸ In other words, the phenomenon of museumisation, to a certain extent, adopts cultural commodification as an approach to branding indigenous cultural images. This phenomenon is based on forms of constructed cultural identity, indigenous consciousness and Taiwan’s multiform maritime culture that provide abundant materials for display and thematic issues, so that valuable historic relics form an active platform for reinterpretation and the construction of identity. Most importantly, museumisation allows the interior (museum space) to echo the urban experience of post-war Taiwan in a narrative way.

Spatially, Taiwan’s museums built in the Japanese and the KMT periods were mostly newly constructed with an eclectic style (no matter whether in a Western Neo-classism style or a Beaux-Arts Chinese Palace Revival style). Museum buildings attempted to show strong images of their regimes’ authoritarian powers and their constructed cultural orthodoxies through educating the public through contemporary knowledge and imaginary landscapes of the “motherlands”. In the 1980s, when museum construction began to be considered differently, away from the nationalist approach, the museums of the time used newly constructed buildings with a highly technological form to symbolise Taiwan’s rapid economic development. In most recent museums, the scales are comparatively smaller than before; the building subjects mostly reuse the historical sites; and the intentions are usually

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹⁹⁸ Tsai Wang-Chou, "Globalization and the Future of Museums in Taiwan: Integrated Regional Cultural Marketing Strategies," *Museology Quarterly* 19, no. 4 (2005): p. 52.

multi-accentual but similarly endeavouring to construct indigenous identities according to different regional, historical and popular memories. Taking the Red House in Taipei as an example, the building is highlighted by its quasi-museum function, its interaction with the visitors is no longer focused on the “answers” (such as used to be represented as a nationalist approach by showing valuable items) but on the “questions” (by using slightly related and accessible exhibitions, such as the history of being a cinema and a theatre in Taipei) (Figure 119). The main activities in the Red House are no longer designed to be “remembered” by the visitors (such as the conventional educational exhibition of knowledge or national antiquity) but to be “explored” (textual and pictorial explanations, which hint at the presence of the Red House and its previous usages, social conditions and historical contexts) (Figure 120). Consequently, the Red House shows ways of decentralising the building’s symbolic meanings into community functions as an emergent spatial formation (museumisation) in Taiwan’s post-Martial Law period.



Figure 119 The reconstruction of the previous movie ticket booth of the Red House (Taken by the author).

Figure 120 The exhibition of the Red House shows the building’s historical and social conditions (Taken by the author).

Accordingly, the community museum (local cultural centre) has become a crucial site for public participation and identity construction. Importantly, the adaptive reuse of a historical site is a pivotal connection. In looking at the Kaohsiung Museum of History as another example, the reuse of the old City Hall also adopts Community Development concepts. In

other words, the building was renovated to highlight the resources of the neighbourhood; the building was supported by the existing resources of the neighbourhood and the building itself was defined as a valuable historical site and follows the recently enacted *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code*. On the other hand, it is still contestable that whether these are key reasons why the old City Hall was renovated as a Museum of History in Kaohsiung. Although the time and the approach of the renovation followed this cultural political movement in the post-Martial Law period (Figure 121),¹⁹⁹ the motif of becoming a public museum in fact was more dependent upon bottom-up mobilisation.²⁰⁰



Figure 121 A news reports the opening of the Kaohsiung Museum of History as the first locally-managed public museum which echoes the Community Development Policy announced by the CCA and the founding of the local cultural centre (Kaohsiung Museum of History, ed. *The Journal of Kaohsiung Museum of History*. Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of History 2001. p. 56).

¹⁹⁹ The case of the Kaohsiung Museum of History caught the post-Martial Law tendency when the state administrative power was decentralised into the local governments. Since the founding of the CCA and the enactment of the Community Development Cultural Policy, the Kaohsiung Museum of History was constructed as the first public museum managed by the local government in Taiwan.

²⁰⁰ The Kaohsiung City Government of the time planned to demolish the old City Hall building when it was relocated to the current site. Yet, the building eventually was decided to be retained and renovated as a museum due to strong resistance from professionals, academics and the public.

Moreover, there are some other conditions which encouraged a renovated historical site to become a local museum and an internally connected community consciousness and cultural identity to the neighbourhood. Liao Ping-hui has suggested:

Visiting a museum, which was renovated from a historical site, is beneficial to recall a region's popular memory, such as the childhood life and the environment surrounded by the site. How to secure the memory through a fixed landmark, landscape or spatial imagination has become a critical task, particularly in this day and age when the urban landscape is changing so quickly.²⁰¹

In other words, the renovated local museum plays a crucial role in a preserving historical site, in connecting a region's past and its future, and in providing the local populace with a locus of recovering, even constructing, cultural localities through the echoing of urban experience from the exhibitions. The case of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, its reorientation from a former political centre to a local public museum, reflects this sense of native consciousness in the post-Martial Law period. It is a representative case of a new focus on local histories and themes that emphasise (or celebrate) Taiwan's distinctiveness from the Chinese or the Japanese mainland.²⁰² This emergent shift is represented via a commemoration of local socio-political events such as the 228 *Incident*²⁰³ when the Taiwanese were killed in the KMT's massacre.

²⁰¹ Liao Ping-Hui, *Keyword* (Taipei: Rye Field Publications, 2003), p. 163.

²⁰² Edward Vickers, "Museums and Nationalism in Contemporary China," *Compare* 37, no. 3 (2007): p. 378.

²⁰³ The 228 *Incident*, also known as the 228 *Massacre*, was an anti-government uprising in Taiwan that began on February 27th 1947 and was violently suppressed by the KMT force later. The massacre in Kaohsiung was started from the sixth in the next month in the City Hall. According to relevant research, more than 60 people were sacrificed at the auditorium of the City Hall. More details about the 228 *Incident* in Kaohsiung can be found in Lee Shaw Fong, *Interpretation on 228* (Taipei: Yu Shan she, 1998).

The Kaohsiung Museum of History is one of the few places today which memorialises the *228 Incident* in Taiwan (Figure 122). As a collective memory and trauma in post-war Taiwan, the *228 Incident* has become a representative topic intersubjectively recurring in different social practices. The building of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, which was one of the locales during the incident, to a certain degree, has become a witness to this incident's interaction with the populace, the neighbourhood and the city as a portion of the museum's exhibitions. This building, on the one hand, plays a role in telling the socio-cultural history of Kaohsiung as an axiomatic demonstration. On the other hand, it has as an intersubjective role, memorising the incident itself. The implied function of public communication in the building transcends educational purpose when the Kaohsiung Museum of History is compared with so-called conventional museums in Taiwan.



Figure 122 The pictures show the exhibited narratives of the *228 Incident* in the Kaohsiung Museum of History and the reconstruction of the *228* Kaohsiung locales (the old City Hall and old Kaohsiung Main Station were both involved, they can be traced from the pictures in the middle). The picture on the right hand side indicates the gate where the victims tried to escape during the incident in the old City Hall building (Taken by the author).

The example of introducing the incident in the museum not only socially and culturally shows the history and popular memory of Kaohsiung but also reconstructs publicly the urban experience of Kaohsiung spatiotemporally through narrative. Most importantly, by indicating the urban context in the narrative and pinpointing the actual location in the

building as well as the neighbourhood (as one of the 228 *Incident* locales in Kaohsiung), the history of the city along with its cultural political context is communicated vividly to the public. The spatial interaction between the museum and the public, therefore, is no longer one-sided but intersubjective, i.e. is accessible as a combination of academic and life style atmospheres as Bourdieu argues. The museum today in post-Martial Law Taiwan has eventually presented the psychological function of museum space, which was lacking in the Martial Law period.

CHARACTERISING CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE IN POST-MARTIAL LAW TAIWAN

While the cases of the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History were developed in two different geopolitical positions in Taiwan and encountered two comparatively different historical transitions, they both ultimately bore witness to a post-Martial Law consensus which attempted to use the ideas of indigenisation and historical preservation to construct a new formation of cultural identity. The latest codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* is an application of this consensus in architecture. During this version of codification, two community concerns - using adaptive reuse of historical sites and the establishment of cultural centres in different cities - have mixed the multiform cultural political spaces in post-war Taiwan together shaping a new spatial formation as a form of identified locality. This spatial form of identity, to a certain extent, fits itself in the present, by adopting a strategy of being economically efficient, and most importantly, by communicating with the populace by fulfilling an educational function of reminding people about the social political context of a place.

However, when these two buildings are observed along with their social political contexts in different historical transitions, another interesting issue emerges. These buildings represent concerns of preservation, popular memory, indigenisation and the construction of locality as forms of autonomous consciousness in the post-Martial Law period. Yet, it seems that the most distinctive parts of the projects are neither individual designers, who took the commitment to renovate the cases, nor the newly constructed buildings but the authentic and restored historical relics as well as the spaces, which are highlighted for public

communication and exploration beyond the physical constructions. The critical question here is that external forms seem no longer to be taken as key representations of the spatial texts in the post-Martial Law period. Unlike the Martial Law period when external forms could be fully used to reinterpret symbols of state and a centralised collective of the time, internal form analysed here, arguably, can better and more properly shed light on the spirit of the post-Martial Law period.

THE MAKING OF THE CONTEXT: THE POPULACE, PUBLIC SPACE AND CULTURE

The argument here is not saying that there are no tangible references as well as public values either from those individual designers involved in the adaptive reuse preservation projects in post-Martial Law Taiwan, or those newly constructed building parts on the sites. They in point of fact present relatively less significance than the historical sites themselves as well as an internal formation of the space, which are highlighted through an interaction between the populace and the entire project. More precisely, one finds that those individual designers and clients even of the newly constructed building parts are decentralised into the preservation, becoming comparatively anonymous players.

In the case of the Red House, the interior of the cruciform building eventually functions as a universal usage for creative fairs or concerts showing certain degree of placelessness, i.e. it is less meaningful in regard to the external wall of the building - the retained historic relic. The row of the reconstructed shops has the similar representation as the cruciform building. Yet, the octagon building and the reconstruction of the shrine, on the other hand, show the most attractive interests as well as symbolic meanings to the populace, even local community, when compared with the others.

As far as the case of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, the Music Centre as well as the Commercial and Exhibition Hall nowadays are normally closed unless for special circumstances, such as the concerts and fairs. What are highlighted as the points in the adaptive reuse projects are their meanings of being renovated as so-called cultural centres or local museums, are their symbolic spatiality forming a community consensus, are the

distinctions of these objects in the post-Martial Law period showing its mainstream sense of cultural political consciousness as a spatial identity.

From a cultural political point of view, the post-Martial Law architectural tendency in Taiwan shows that the recognition of Taiwan's de facto historical context is not only influenced by traditional Chinese culture but also by Japanese culture, ancient European culture, popular American culture, and even Austronesian aboriginal culture. The significant issue which has been raised amongst various community development practices strongly indicates that the touchable land of the island could not be established without any part of its historic elements as the realisation of a "home" to the people in Taiwan today. The discussion here, therefore, draws another scale which examines these two buildings as examples of an intersubjective metamorphosis. That is, the discussion here looks at the buildings as a connection between the community and the populace and demonstrated through soft and concrete means. The soft means refers to interactive activities such as local exhibitions, and the concrete refers to the projects as a reconsideration of public space between the polar ends of restricted spaces, namely, between purely private and governmental spaces.

BEYOND THE PROJECTS: AMONGST UNIVERSALISATION, REGIONALISM AND POST-MODERNISM

When one reads the architectural practices as the representations of the Community Development movement, which have already been strongly marked in the post-Martial Law period, there is an obvious intention highlighted in discussions of academics and professionals to theorise this tendency of community function in space (so-called communitarianism) by using ideas of civil society and the public sphere. More precisely, these two concepts refer to the communication and the actions for the public. That is to say, they argue that spatial practices in Taiwan's post-Martial Law scenario are more properly regarded as a "forum" or a public media in modern society, or, simply as a public space which concerns the collective embodiment of popular memory and common good.

In discussing the issue of publicity, Hannah Arendt's notion of the public realm provides an initial idea. For Arendt, human life can be divided into the public and private realms.²⁰⁴ The public realm, Arendt believes, is common to all citizens; and the private one is a site of the property, which is a realm of necessity. The public realm, to a theoretical degree, can be signified as an appearance of the widest publicity - the common world, which differs from privately owned place and the reality, and which accommodates various perspectives and aspects simultaneously. In a social way, Jürgen Habermas's specifies the context of publicity by defining a sphere for public opinion, and this argument is often involved in architectural discourse. Habermas's idea basically indicates the representation of the public, which originated as a platform of the spectacle in the Middle Ages, then became a deliberative process of the bourgeois public sphere, and eventually was transferred into an acclamation of public communication as its modern role. Amongst this transition of representing the publicity, Habermas asserts that the disappearance of the bourgeois public sphere represented a subdued connection to politics. That is, society and the state, which were strongly tied together in the past, presented a hierarchical delimitation to the middle-class. However, Habermas also argues that the bourgeois public sphere, which was established from eighteenth century coffee-house culture, can be dissociated from the social context of the time and be modelled as an idealised space bridging the private sphere and the nation state. In short, he examined the religious sphere of the medieval era, which was converted to a different type as the concept of the public sphere for proprietary class in the eighteenth century, and in the end was transferred as a site of mass consumption for the public nowadays.

According to Habermas, the public sphere is "a specific domain- the public domain versus the private. Sometimes the public appears simply as that sector of public opinion that happens to be opposed to the authorities".²⁰⁵ Put precisely, he argues that the public sphere

²⁰⁴ Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition*, Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures. (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1958), pp. 50-67.

²⁰⁵ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Studies in Contemporary German Social Thought. (The MIT Press, 1991), p. 2.

in today's society, to a certain extent, is represented as institutions which are formed as centres of criticism of such as literature or politics. In addition, these institutions are able to strengthen the city in its predominance. Most importantly, this public sphere is eventually involved in the political realm, establishing itself as an organ of the state and is also in the end engaged in a critical debate about political issues becoming a sphere which reflects and expounds civil society and its interests.²⁰⁶ In other words, the public sphere today, indicated by Habermas, is a consensual space which contains various subjects in society as a way of performing public communication and interaction. In this sense, public opinion subsequently is developed as an outcome of this communication. Public opinion "encapsulates the latter's natural laws: it does not rule, but the enlightened ruler would have to follow its insight",²⁰⁷ i.e. public opinion acts as a soft but forceful strength of society today.

From an architectural perspective, it is worth pinpointing notions of Critical Regionalism, claimed by Kenneth Frampton, and the cultural logic of post-modernism, asserted by Frederic Jameson. By extending Arendt and Habermas's explanations of the public, Frampton sees architecture as a bridge which mediates between the public and private realms. This bridge, as Frampton argues, acts as a social resistance arising between the public and the private ends.²⁰⁸ In other words, Frampton proposes a critical way of seeing architecture as the mediation between the universal civilisation and the peculiarities of a particular place through carefully evaluating the balance between the place and the form, the culture and the nature, and the visual and the tactile.²⁰⁹ On the other hand, Jameson believes the publicity of architecture has moved towards a post-modern logic as an aesthetic

²⁰⁶ Ibid., pp. 59, 69.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 96.

²⁰⁸ Kenneth Frampton, "The Status of Man and the Status of His Objects: A Reading of the Human Condition," in *Architecture Theory since 1968*, ed. K. Michael Hays (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 362-377.

²⁰⁹ Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (Port Townsend, Wash.: Bay Press, 1983), pp. 21-29.

populism.²¹⁰ In other words, unlike the careful mediation between universalness and a particular locality proposed by Frampton, Jameson feels the styles of nostalgia and pastiche are fragmentary and concurrently presented as a cultural tendency towards overall commodification. Like the example of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel discussed in his study, the property of the public is represented sharply that “it does not wish to be a part of the city but rather its equivalent and replacement or substitute”.²¹¹

The theoretical conception of the public, which has been transferred into different ages, is therefore borrowed by scholars and professionals to frame the issue of participation in Community Development. However, no matter which direction the public in Taiwanese architecture is reinterpreted, it raises a critical question (as Habermas has carefully indicated) that public opinion would take different meanings depending on:

... whether it is brought into play as a critical authority in connection with the normative mandate that the exercise of political and social power be subjected to publicity or as the object to be moulded in connection with a staged display of, and manipulative propagation of, publicity in the service of persons and institutions, consumer goods, and programmes.²¹²

Put simply, the problematic issue when looking at the Community Development project which is often examined as a public sphere today in post-Martial Law Taiwan is: who is participating in the public sphere and which indicator is representing mobilised public opinion?

The answer is hinted at from the spatial realisation of the Community Development conception in Taiwan context, its architecture. Taking the Red House and the Kaohsiung

²¹⁰ Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1991), p. 2.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

²¹² Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, p. 236.

Museum of History as examples, the idea of the public sphere is represented in architecture at three levels. First, buildings are shaped as centres of public communication; they are the spaces of producing social discourse. People talk to each other not only about the buildings but also histories of the buildings (even histories of the cities where the buildings are located) and the historical events which once happened in the buildings. Simultaneously, the buildings also talk to the populace, they cast specific issues about which people might not be clear or have noticed. The buildings attract the populace to visit and explore those constructed issues behind the architectural objects themselves. Therefore, discourse is produced. Secondly, the buildings demonstrate a sense of consensus within neighbourhoods. The buildings provide homogenous spaces for the cities which are full of different human subjects along with heterogeneous circumstances like Foucault's suggestion of realistic heterotopia which mirrors the unreal utopia.²¹³ The last level concerns the issue of everyday life. Cheng Huang-Er reinterprets this issue that the spatial realisation might be an abstract political outlook for the politicians as well as the government, but it is definitely a concrete affair to be coped with by the civilians all the time.²¹⁴ In other words, the buildings make a kind of promise to the community. The issues which are highlighted in these buildings might be less significant to the entire city, even the country, yet they are unquestionably essential to the neighbourhoods because they embrace the community members as a recognised consensus. Notwithstanding, the legitimacy and realisation of the concept are another two problematic points when the issue of using theoretical "civil society" and the "public sphere" is examined as the main spirit of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan's social practices.

There is a general belief that since Martial Law was lifted in 1987, Taiwan society has stepped onto the road of democratisation. However, it is still arguable that whether modern society in Taiwan is a realistic representation of democracy or not. Democracy is in actual fact

²¹³ Michel Foucault, "Of Other Space: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997).

²¹⁴ Cheng Huang-Er, ed. *Shuang Cheng Gu Shih (雙城故事)(the Story of Taipei and Kaohsiung City)* (Taipei: tian yuan cheng shih, 2007), p. 7.

metaphysical terminology when it is attempted to be applied to concrete social circumstances such as the social transition of post-war Taiwan. That is to say, although it makes sense that the central idea of being democratic is that which the regime should be able to establish on a basis of agreement from the public, contestation would be focused on how the agreement has been generated. The scenario in post-Martial Law Taiwan sits neither on one side of this theoretical frame representing democracy nor on the other side representing an autocracy but somewhere in between. This is extensively debated for many reasons, such as the co-existing contradictory national identities, ethnic confrontations as well as the abuse of the mass media. This phenomenon therefore causes a dysfunction of the mechanism to shape so-called civil society and the public sphere in modern Taiwan. For instance, one's advocacy of grassroots democracy is often reduced to populism; public opinion is twisted as a political apparatus and the so-called participatory projects at times are operated as top-down propaganda. The Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History both shed light on this phenomenon. These two historical buildings themselves were both retained ultimately by the government and designated as official sites of heritage because of strong public opinion. On the contrary, it is also not difficult to find that the process of preservation at the very beginning was only pushed by academics without any support from the residents in the neighbourhoods or the authorities. When the projects eventually caught public attention, they suddenly assumed a certain level of political competitiveness for the ballots of the politicians who even once claimed that these buildings should be destroyed. In summary, public opinion bridges and legitimises this post-Martial Law phenomenon making it a mainstream value.

Apart from legitimacy, the question of how to physically realise Community Development also challenges the movement. The ideas of communicating with the community, learning from the community and making decisions by community members need active participation from the populace. However, it seems very difficult to encourage community members in Taiwan in a short term since its society had been suppressed by the Japanese Empire and the KMT government for more than a century.

Interestingly, certain architectural practices provide a pathway overcoming these concerns. The idea of using preservation of historical sites to perform the conception of Community Development represents the public memory of society physically and successfully. And it

removes the boundaries of the private and privileged spheres and presents a social responsibility like Chen Chi Nan's description that "architecture is capital of society and the populace".²¹⁵ The preservation movement of historical sites in post-war Taiwan could not get rid of the ideology to only define the site that was under the myth of 5,000 years traditional Chinese culture in Taiwan and was restricted by ignoring other cultural essence which de facto existed simultaneously before 1987. Although it is undeniable that after the power flux in 2000, the DPP used Community Development as a state apparatus to tie the political identity (advocating the Community Development cultural policy) with forms of cultural identity, they are gradually recognised by the public since the late 1980s. Using Community Development as a means to revitalise and redefine the general recognition of Taiwan's history has successfully changed modern Taiwan society. In other words, communitarianism in post-Martial Law Taiwan, to a certain degree, has sketched a new formation of popular identity and realises this new ideology by the newly defined preservation projects of historical sites in Taiwan. It goes without saying that the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History are just two distinctive examples amongst many.

In the Martial Law period, there were two phenomena which could be applied easily to the preservation projects. One could look at the historical site as an obstruction of urban development, which needs to be demolished. Another one was to reuse the site without considering the site as a connection to the urban fabric or popular memory. Yet, using Community Development as a cutting point in the post-Martial Law period to look at the preservation project can be argued as a dramatic difference when compared to these Martial Law cases. The movement of preserving historical sites is regarded as a sort of participation in public affairs; participation itself is a representation of civil involvement. To put it differently, the site is a bridge to reach community consciousness. Community Development is the means to preserve history, which creates a win-win relationship between the present development and the memorial past.

²¹⁵ Chen Chi Nan, *Hun Yin Chia Tsu Yu She Hui* (婚姻家族與社會)(*Marriage, Family and Society*) (Taipei: Yun Chen, 1986), p. 159.

A SEMIOTIC ACCULTURATION MODEL OF POST-WAR TAIWAN'S ARCHITECTURE

Altogether, the critical point of looking at museumisation and its functional relationship with the community (as an embodiment of theoretical communitarianism) in Taiwan is hereby highlighted. It exists between the state and the family, which successfully connects individualities to the collectivity. It is a means to realise the social discourse by documenting local collective memory and bringing it into concrete space as a proper form of the public sphere in post-martial law Taiwan. It is a form of architectural acculturation in post-war Taiwan, which houses the cultural politics of identity through an imagery of contemporary Taiwanese architecture.

When the spatial tendency in post-Martial Law Taiwan is examined again, a converse reflection to this problem, which arose at the very beginning of the discussion talking about the embodiment of the Community Development conception in the physical built environment, arises - a bottom-up way of fulfilling community ideas through the individuals. In other words, unlike the enforceable cultural policy and building codes, bottom-up action is softly correlated with locality and autonomous consciousness. To be precise, using the adaptive reuse of historical sites as the example, it not only physically embodies the purpose of preserving Taiwan's popular memories by retaining them on existing historical sites but also invisibly stimulates the populace to learn, explore, even think about the past, present and future of their "community" as a touchable and participatory "home" which has been defined firmly no matter whether the political power affiliates with any ideological identity since the past to the present.

The variable and inevitable paradoxical cultural politics of identity in Taiwan, therefore, reflects a phenomenon that has been gradually digested and recognised along with history showing a current equilibrium in Taiwan's post-war stage. Physically, by looking at the representation of post-Martial Law architectural practice, the current recognition and construction of identity are presented by the populace. First, it is undeniable that shared *Han* culture has been mixed successfully together with Taiwan's authentic life as a fundamental element. Secondly, it is also starting to be recognised that as the de facto

existence in addition to this cultural foundation, there are many “others”, such as Japanese culture which once had been omitted and Austronesian aboriginal cultures²¹⁶ which have already been largely marginalised and politicalised today, are also crucially inscribed as part of Taiwan’s daily life. Finally, the tendency of communitarianism today as a measure of realisation has mixed with various representations of cultural political identities to emerge as a unique form in post-Martial Law Taiwan.

These three elements therefore acculturate post-war architecture in Taiwan, presenting a transitional interaction amongst society, human subjects and spatial objects. The cultural politics which is constructed in architectural museumisation of post-war Taiwan has encountered a three-step transition (Figure 123) and interestingly it has shown a semiotic move like the transfiguration of Eiffel Tower’s meaning from its original utility to a universal symbol of Paris as argued by Roland Barthes.²¹⁷ In this transition, symbols in different time periods are defined differently. Using the Kaohsiung Museum of History as the model, in the early post-war years, Taiwan society was repressed by an authoritarian rule. The formation of subjectivity that interacted with the building object showed a strong collectivity as an individual. The building itself was used both functionally and symbolically with a political purpose. In other words, an ideological-driven government building can be described apart from its representative appellation and function, which was initialised as its *Han* character 府 (literally the City Hall). The building of the time served the ruling power and demonstrated monumentality through a constructed idea. To a certain extent, the building itself and its representative authority were idolised as a metaphysical “god” 神 (the Greater China ideology) in society. Next, when the KMT’s authoritarian ideology began to collapse and to be replaced by the individualities in native society before and after the lifting of Martial Law, forms of interactive subjectivity had withdrawn from the building object making it an isolated object. The building was regarded as an idealised “temple” 廟 (the

²¹⁶ Native aboriginal cultures here refer to those current existing aboriginal ethnic cultures and largely disappeared *Pingpu* cultures in Taiwan.

²¹⁷ Roland Barthes, “The Eiffel Tower,” in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997), pp. 164-172.

stylistic, isolated and disused former City Hall building) from a cultural point of view instead of its previously political concerns. The position of the building was established as a genealogical “ancestor” 祖 (a landmark at the “womb” of Kaohsiung City). Its monumental meaning was retained but its social hierarchy was comparatively inclined towards the populace from the authorities. Lastly, in recent decades, the emerged form of subjectivity, which interacts with the site, has been shifted in a contrasting way by various individuals. The building itself is no longer used with a pure political or cultural purpose but with a fuzzy in-between function. In this sense, “museum” 館 (a form of communication with the public), particularly the community museum, is its corresponding title. As far as its previous monumentality imposed on the building, nowadays it is hidden beyond the concrete building and superseded by forms of community consciousness that actually represent day-to-day life. The building’s once constructed monumentality today is presented as a part of popular memory which the visitors would be interested to explore by themselves instead of being educated. The building, in this stage, physically communicates with the “public” 人 (the group of humankind) taking the position even closer to the populace and society.

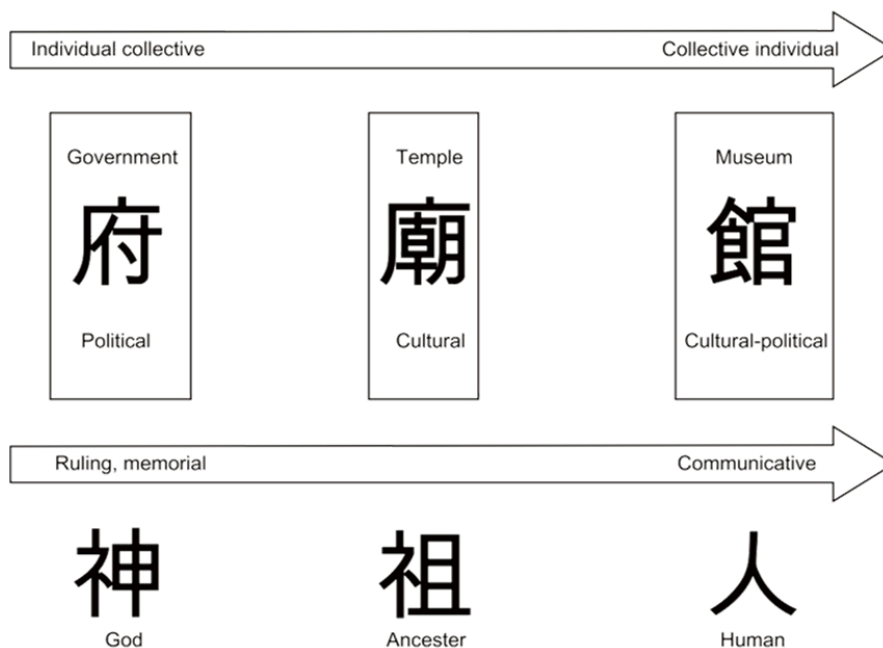


Figure 123 The socio-political correlation shows post-war Taiwanese architecture’s acculturation from the early years to the present (the Kaohsiung Museum of History as the model) (Made by the author).

In the next chapter, the case of the waterfront community in Kaohsiung City is discussed in comparison to individual architectural objects (Figure 124), as a means of using groups of buildings (Figure 125) to fulfil the conception of Community Development. The maritime presence of Taiwan discussed in Chapter 5 is pragmatically examined in today's Kaohsiung in terms of its spatial practices which are argued in the study as differing from the “typical” spatial imagery of Taiwan constructed in Taipei nationally and internationally. The strategies which are used in Kaohsiung's spatial reformation can be put in the form of questions: how is a longstanding constructed industrial city able to revitalise its maritime cultural base and successfully recognised by the populace? And from an overall examination, how does this case study frame the cultural politics of identity and architecture in post-Martial Law Taiwan, thus rectifying popular reception and the native ascendant discourse?

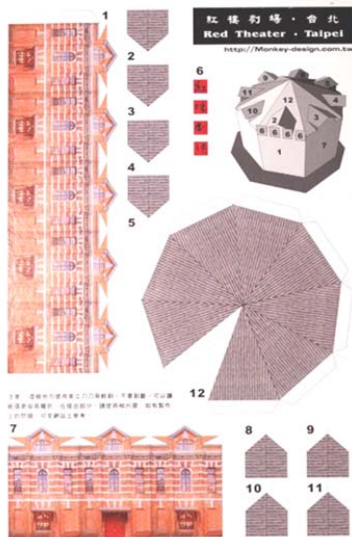


Figure 124 An individual building (in this picture is the Red House) which is packed to represent the Community Development ideas (Rephotographed by the author from the postcard designed by the Red House).

Figure 125 The waterfront community in Kaohsiung shows an overall representation of the Community Development ideas (Wen Shu Ting. *Tan Hsun Kaohsiung Cheng Shih Wen Hua Kuan (探尋高雄城市文化館) (the Exploration of the Cultural Centres in Kaohsiung City)*. Kaohsiung: Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Kaohsiung City Government, 2004: p. 1).

CHAPTER 7:
POST-MARTIAL LAW TAIWAN'S MARITIME IMAGERY AND
"COLLECTIVE INDIVIDUALITIES": WATERFRONT KAOHSIUNG

THE SPATIAL CHARACTER OF CONTEMPORARY TAIWAN

Taiwan's post-Martial Law heteroglossia has attracted attention in this study. The emergent awareness of Taiwan's maritime presence through an interaction between public receptions in space and history has been registered through forms of identity construction of contemporary Taiwan, especially its cultural subjectivity. In Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, different stories of post-war Taiwan's spatial and historic identification had been constructed in the context of dominant ideology, popular memory and social contemporaneity. The debate about nationalism and everyday life is evident from Taipei and Kaohsiung's geopolitical and historical participation in architecture. The concerns of everyday life, arguably, have decentralised a sole nationalist voice into Taiwanese society through its multiple representations of Taiwan's maritime culture. Yet the architecture, curiously, reflects this phenomenon in a relatively blurred way. On the one hand, the concern of everyday life, at a social level, presents a universal meaning of space, which is neutral and placeless. On the other hand, if this notion is examined from a cultural perspective, it becomes particular and seemingly local. Contemporary Taiwanese architecture can be contextualised in this way. As a top-down ideology, day-to-day concerns have been metaphysically pinpointed as a schema that is likely to be similar to forms of imposed nationalism in the Martial Law period. Yet as a bottom-up observation, these concerns reflect an authentic essence of the land and the populace, which is positioned as a sense of spontaneity rather than imposition. Taiwan's maritime culture, for instance, is translated through spatial hybridisation reflecting everyday presentations of contemporary Taiwan both geopolitically and democratically.²¹⁸ The spatial character of Taiwan today, therefore, contains both universal and particular elements.

²¹⁸ Unlike the unique Greater China context of architecture interpreting a mainland character, which totally disregards Taiwan's de facto island climate, spatial hybridisation in post-war Taiwan honestly respects this island's characteristic of absorbing resources from the surroundings. Geopolitically, this is evident from maritime Taiwan's current administrative division that has only one "inland" county (Nantou county is the only administrative division in today's Taiwan where has no direct contact to

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AS AN ISSUE OF CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY

At a universal level, Community Development acts as a cultural apparatus of political policy in post-Martial Law Taiwan, which faces conundrums of integrating fragmentary cultural elements to draw a comprehensive vista. For instance, the generation of so-called participatory construction in the DPP's Community Development cultural policy, to a certain degree, does not resolve the longstanding marginalisation of Taiwan's aboriginal issues but actually revolutionises today's aboriginal culture through actual projects performed within current tribes. More precisely, Community Development was intended to employ participatory strategies to retain and restore aboriginal culture in the rebuilt space. But irrelevant external and contextual design concepts which were proposed by the commissioned architects, and a political interaction with the administrative supervision of the aboriginal tribe reconstruction after the *921 Earthquake*,²¹⁹ which were largely involved in Community Development concepts, reduced and diluted Community Development's initial purpose. The preservation of historical sites is another example: the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History can both be regarded as Community Development projects, yet they also both faced difficulties under this umbrella. Their eventual success, interestingly, lies beyond the Community Development projects themselves.

Reasons of this phenomenon include the authoritarian residues, the political praxis and the position of subjectivity. These critical points also highlight changes in reception since the lifting of Martial Law. These changes in architectural registration are evident when analysed chronologically through the positioning process of social and cultural meanings in architecture (objectification) and the construction of subjectivity (subjectivation).

the ocean). From a democratic observation, the existence of different identities, which is formally illustrated in architectural practices in Taiwan today without any political or social suppression, also translates Taiwan's multi-accentual regionalism and everyday popular culture.

²¹⁹ There was a severe earthquake happened in Taiwan on 21st of September in 1999. This earthquake destroyed numerous buildings particularly in the middle part of Taiwan. Amongst them, school buildings and aboriginal tribes were the majority.

THE EMERGENT "COLLECTIVE INDIVIDUALITIES"

It is undeniable that there is a dramatic change when the process of objectification represented in cultural forms, especially in architecture, and constructed forms of subjectivity, which interact with buildings, are examined between the Martial Law period and the post-Martial Law era (Figure 126). In the Martial Law period, the position of the building objects was dominated mostly by a centralised form of collectivity - the power of the authorities. Like the two buildings analysed in the study, the Red House was a government-built market place during the Japanese period, which became outdated due to the relocation of the city centre. This situation partly due to the development policy of the time and partly due to a repressed atmosphere then implied that the residents could not really change or improve their societal status autonomously. Although the old Kaohsiung City Hall has a totally different social background and function to the Red House, interestingly, it shows a similar encounter: it was run by government powers and abandoned by the authority on a same social occasion. The Red House functioned as a place hosting various Chinese operas and Anti-Communist opera, which was largely irrelevant to the regional characteristics of the neighbourhood. Later, it was run as a theatre screening second hand movies, even pornography, which only highlighted the building itself regardless of the surroundings. The old City Hall of Kaohsiung acted as a government building and was used to restrict the access of the populace, without certain permits or through special circumstances. Therefore, interaction with people was limited. However, in the post-Martial Law era, the dominant group of subjects changed to that of individuals instead of the ruling collectivity. The intervention of the authorities, to a certain extent, was transferred to a form of agency (individual authorship). The Red House and the old City Hall survived dismantlement due to pressures of public opinion and resistance, which forced the administrative departments to retain the buildings. Moreover, the newly constructed function for community communication also reinterpreted this change to interact amongst various individuals. Most significantly, these individuals reached a consensus and consciousness of everyday life in modern society, acting like a group of "collective individualities".

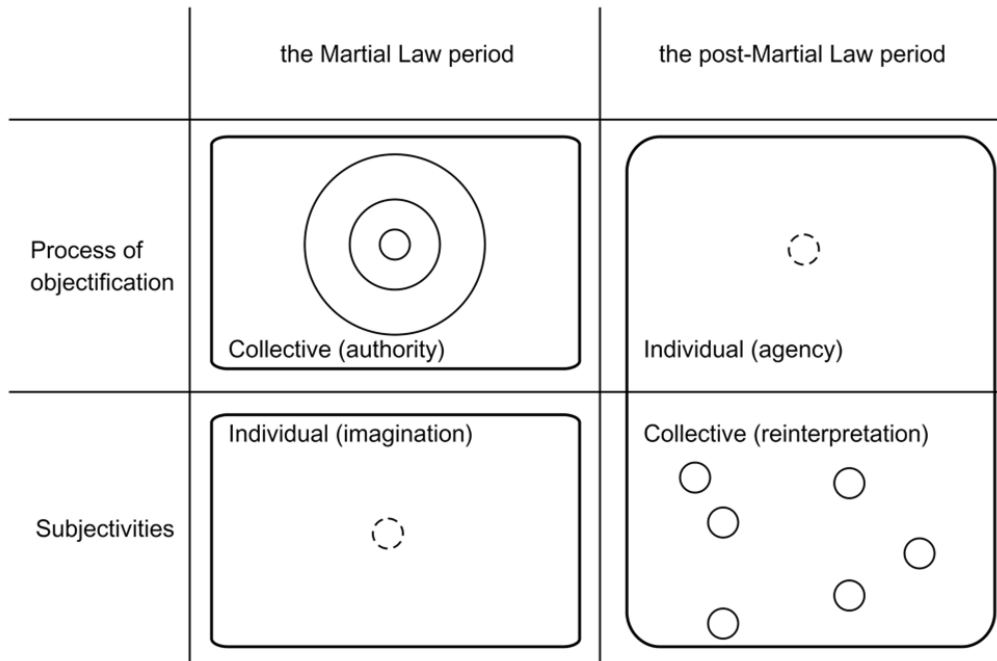


Figure 126 A model shows the general tendency of different orientations and interactions with related subjectivities from the Martial Law period to the post-Martial Law era (Made by the author).

In summary, the concept of Community Development can be generally induced by two universal steps. The first step is to investigate the cultural or historical conditions of a place, which no longer exist or are recognised by the public. The second step is to make good use of these conditions combining them with current circumstances and then to brand the place through recovering the spirit of these conditions. However, the actual application, particularly in architectural practice, is more sophisticated than just two steps. Most importantly, it is never performed universally.

This chapter, in this sense, extends the scope of Chapter 5 - an analysis of a building - to a waterfront community in Kaohsiung as an overall discussion of this community phenomenon in Taiwan’s built environment. The study explores the reasons why those so-called Community Development projects are still able to act as an icon in the construction of spatial identity while the process of applying Community Development conception was in fact not so successful. Also explored are the implications beyond Community Development as a top-down cultural policy through its bottom-up mobilisation, which specifically and regionally embodies the success of these projects. The emergent characteristic of post-

Martial Law Taiwan in comparison to its Martial Law scenario - the formation of the “collective individualities” - is argued here as a theoretical schema. The actual case of the waterfront community in Kaohsiung City, therefore, can be analysed to see the imagery of this issue sketched at the level of an entire built environment instead of individual building objects, thus able to reflect modern society’s spontaneous balance between globalisation and indigenisation. Following this case study, a discussion of popular presentation in society and architecture is highlighted in contrast to contestable high culture constructed by the early post-war authoritarian system as a form of different public reception looking at the cultural politics of identity and architecture in post-war Taiwan. A particular notion of using “community” universalness in post-Martial Law Taiwan’s regional and quasi-colonial context and its correlation with the construction of identity in the built world are analysed and argued as a conclusion. Through this discussion, relevant worldwide cases are briefly discussed, and the urban experience which involves distinctions between the daily routine and external perspectives and echoes between the real urban landscape and spatial imagery of Taiwan’s current museumisation movement are also examined.

A SPATIAL PARADIGM OF TAIWAN’S POST-MARTIAL LAW IDENTITY

Evidence suggests that Taipei’s “legitimate and universal” spatial representation as post-war Taiwan’s spatial icon has been questioned today extending from a domestic voice to a global level. Unlike Google maps’ focus on the “alien ideological” city of Taipei, the National Geographic Channel (NGC) filmed “Megacities: Kaohsiung”²²⁰ showing its interest in Taiwan’s “actual face” and pinpointing the significance of this emerging city in Taiwan, even to the world. The programme describes a city which for a long time was omitted from

²²⁰ The “Megacities” series is produced by the National Geographic Channel, which introduces the world’s representative cities through objective and academic perspectives and highlights different strategies in response to different contemporary issues in cities. Before the focus on Kaohsiung, major cities around the world, such as New York, Paris, Las Vegas, Mexico City, Hong Kong, Sao Paulo, Bombay, Taipei and Seoul have appeared in the series.

discourse and its existence misunderstood. The episode was filmed in 2010 after the NGC's introduction of Taipei in 2007 (Figure 127).



Figure 127 Captures of “Megacities” TV programme on Kaohsiung from the video and its introduction on the official website of the National Geographic Channel (The left: captured from *Megacities: Kaohsiung*, produced by the National Geographic Channel. The right: captured from <http://www.ngc.com.tw/programmes/Main.aspx?Id=1979>. February 2011).

In this episode, the recent transformation of Kaohsiung has been chronologically restated and a longstanding myth and nationalist ideology of “seeing the world from Taipei”²²¹ has also been rectified. In the programme, interestingly, the changes of public reception in history and Kaohsiung’s iconic urban landscape have been specifically marked and particularly divided into two sides before and after the 1970s:

It’s set at the crossroad of Asia ... It’s the emerging megacity of Kaohsiung ... It’s the industrial heart of Taiwan ... For Kaohsiung, the future shines brightly, but this diamond in the rough, it didn’t always sparkle. This is the way was just a decade ago, the city of industrial wasteland ... and the Love River filled with garbage and devoid of life ... the Love River was regarded as the ugliest landmark in the city (Figure 128).²²²

²²¹ The myth and ideology of “seeing the world from Taipei” is discussed in **Chapter 4**: Taipei: typicality and its challenge.

²²² *Megacities: Kaohsiung*, produced by the National Geographic Channel.



Figure 128 Captures of *Megacities: Kaohsiung* show the downside of Kaohsiung in the past (Captured from *Megacities: Kaohsiung*, produced by the National Geographic Channel).

... and in 1971, the government officially declared it dead ... if Kaohsiung's transformation is a medical procedure, it would be open heart surgery, in the city, in the throes of cardiac arrest ... in southern Taiwan, a revolution has begun ... The most crucial significance of Kaohsiung's transformation is the Kaohsiung citizens have changed their mind bravely. In the past, nobody was will to say they are from Kaohsiung ... that is the claim: We are Kaohsiung people ... that was then, this is now ... the final obstacle is wondrous played the city for decades ... in the past, people from other city always joked the city of Kaohsiung is the desert of culture ... Kaohsiung people are hard at work, they are ongoing effort now served as a model of the megacity worldwide.²²³

This revolutionary change highlighted in Kaohsiung, without a doubt, began from an emergent interaction between top-down ideology and bottom-up mobilisation of branding

²²³ Ibid.

the city as Taiwan's "Ocean Capital". Its spatial application, designed to reflect this social interaction, was officially stated by the government of Kaohsiung:

As far as urban planning, we see ourselves becoming an "Ocean Capital" which includes three primary facts. First, we hope to make the ocean as the integral part of our city. When one looks at the Taiwanese urban centres, there are very few places that successfully combine the river, port and the ocean as its core. I suppose this is a good starting point to develop Kaohsiung's uniqueness ... Secondly, we hope to create a "capital-class lifestyle", which is to create an environment where everyone has a good life, job and a sense of ecology ... Finally, we are putting a bit of international wisdom into this liberal port ...²²⁴

Former mayor of Kaohsiung City, Frank Hsieh's sketches of the new city urban planning in an interview with *Dialogue magazine* in 2002, had already outlined the scenario of Kaohsiung today (Figure 129). Hsieh highlighted a dramatic difference in Taiwan when compared to its development as a single core in the past. Taipei in the past was everything, playing multiple roles as the political, economic and cultural centre of the island. Yet nowadays, this situation has decentralised; the city of Kaohsiung becomes another important centre in Taiwan as a newly, or more precisely, a restored thematic character in the South. It is characterised by Taiwan's maritime culture that manifests itself in the variety, inclusiveness and creativity of the city. These characteristics had disappeared in Kaohsiung due to a heavy industrial orientation in the past, which had blocked public access to the ocean/world. Nonetheless, Kaohsiung's maritime character indicates traditional Taiwanese culture which seems to be alive and has already been recovered in recent years as the city's remarkable icon (Figure 130). In contrast to Taipei where the architectural imprint of Chinese culture was greater, in Kaohsiung, maritime characteristics were able to be preserved and revitalised promptly and successfully.

²²⁴ Dialogue editorial staff, "The South New World- the Future Blue Print of the Ocean Capital. Interview with the Mayor of Kaohsiung City Government, Frank Hsieh," *Dialogue*, no. 11 (2002): p. 86.



Figure 129 A satellite map shows today's Kaohsiung city, which indicates Kaohsiung's correlation with the river, the port and the ocean. The crossing lines in the middle are the Metro network in the city, which started its operation in 2008 becoming part of the support for the city to achieve a first-class quality city in Taiwan today (Cheng Te Ching, 2004: pp. 184-485).



Figure 130 A picture shows that maritime culture and the critical status of Kaohsiung city have been highlighted and extensively recognised recently in Taiwan as an "Ocean Capital" 海洋首都. In the picture, there is a sailboat on Love River marked the slogan "Ocean Capital, a friendly city" (Tseng Li-shu, ed. *Lai Tzu Kaohsiung Te Ming Hsin Pien- Tsui Ai Kaohsiung Pa Nien Tui Pien 1998-2006* (來自高雄的明信片-最愛高雄·八年蛻變 1998-2006)(the Postcard from Kaohsiung- Favourite Kaohsiung, Eight Years Transformation 1998-2006). Kaohsiung: Information office, Kaohsiung City Government, 2006: p. 53).

Charged with realising Hsieh's plan for Kaohsiung, the Director General of the Bureau of Public Works in Kaohsiung City, Charles Lin, practically defined the way to change the image of the city in 2002 by three chief elements: (1) deindustrialisation, (2) appropriate

investments for the city's development and (3) the adaptive reuse of the abandoned public spaces.²²⁵ Acting as one of the most pivotal official tacticians in post-Martial Law Taiwan's urban and architectural construction (like Chen Chi Nan, who was mentioned in Chapter 3),²²⁶ Lin established the city of Kaohsiung as a "paradigm of the city" in Taiwan by implementing these three elements. To be precise, deindustrialisation of the city began at the end of the 1990s through the government's advocacy of communitarianism (which includes the official policy of Community Development announced in 1994). The important investments for city development were realised in several distinctive constructions, such as the sewer system, the metro system and renovation of the port and the river. Amongst them, the renovation of the port and the river is the key to shaping both the new face and local identity of today's urban landscape and architecture in Kaohsiung City. Regarding the adaptive reuse of the abandoned spaces, it is undeniable a crucial point for post-Martial Law architectural development highly related to issues, such as Community Development and the awakening consciousness of the citizens, as has been discussed in previous chapters. From an overall point of view, communitarianism and the renovation of the river as well as the port in Kaohsiung have been strategically selected as the issue and case study of this chapter.

²²⁵ Charles Lin, "The Master Plan for Space Design and Architectural Adaptive Use in the City of Kaohsiung," *Dialogue* 11(2002): p. 96.

²²⁶ Lin can be regarded as one of the most influential men like Chen Chi Nan in post-Martial Law Taiwan's spatial development, they both extensively involved in Taiwan's architectural and urban policies and practices. Lin acted as an academic in universities, the director of the Construction and Planning Agency (CPA) under the Ministry of the Interior and the directors of the Urban Development Bureau and the Bureau of Public Works in Taipei City, Kaohsiung City and HsinChu City respectively from 1986 to 2007.

“WATER” AS A HINGE: POST-INDUSTRIAL IDENTIFICATION IN POST-MARTIAL LAW TAIWAN’S “COMMUNITY”

Kaohsiung is a waterside city: it is evident from Chijing, Hongmao Port, *Hamasen* and Yancheng²²⁷ ... The water in Kaohsiung is close at hand, unlike the unreachable waters in Taipei; here, you can get involved in all kinds of waterside activities ...²²⁸

To begin from a top-down point of view, the city-port reunion and the renovation of Love River can be regarded as the most remarkable changes when Kaohsiung was disengaging itself from the dominance of KMT power.²²⁹ Kaohsiung has more than 160 kilometres of waterfront; the riverfront is around 58 kilometres, the lakefront is around 11 kilometres, the oceanfront is around 45 kilometres, and the remaining 45 kilometres are counted as the harbour.²³⁰ Kaohsiung harbour was controlled by a central governmental department - the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau - for nearly half century after the end of World War II. The administration of the harbour, therefore, had less relation to the city of Kaohsiung.²³¹ And the authentic maritime characteristics of the city, as a consequence, were blocked by an actual fence and this “external domination” acted as an “invisible fence”. The origin and identity of the city, inevitably, had become blurred and confused.

²²⁷ Chijing 旗津, Hongmao Port 紅毛港, *Hamasen* 哈瑪星 and Yangcheng 鹽埕 are all iconic locations in Kaohsiung referring to its distinctive waterfront character.

²²⁸ Wang Chih-Cheng, "Extending Historical Memory and Building a Cultural Harbour Capital- a Conversation on "Space Vitalisation" with Chin-Cheng Wang, Director of Cultural Affairs Bureau, Kaohsiung City," *Dialogue* 9(2005): p. 97.

²²⁹ Since Frank Hsieh won the mayorship of Kaohsiung City in 1998 representing the opposition party - the DPP, KMT's political power has been distanced from Kaohsiung's political dominance until today.

²³⁰ Chang Qui-Tsai, "The Redevelopment of the Waterfront in Kaohsiung," *Architect* 4(2006): p. 86.

²³¹ Due to the harbour management which was vested to the central government after WWII, the authority and transaction profits produced by the port never go to the city of Kaohsiung; even through the city government has negotiated with the central government striving for the harbour's openness towards the city today.

Yet, this situation gradually changed from 1999 to 2006, after the DPP took over Kaohsiung's city governance, constructing and recovering its once forgotten and unclear identity in culture, urban landscape and architecture (Figure 131). As a milestone of its political contribution, in 2005 the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau signed a contract with the Kaohsiung City Government to officially transfer the management authority of part of the harbour, which was regarded as the very first step of a city-port reunion since the end of World War II. There is an official list made by the city government showing the changes in the DPP's projects, particularly on the openness of the port and the renovation of Love River. For the opening up of the port, in 2002, part of the port fence was removed and an initial landscape renovation of Wharf 21 and Wharf 22 was performed, and these were pinpointed as indicators of action. In 2003, *Hamasen* was renovated; in 2005, the waterfront was redesigned (Figure 132). And in the same year, Wharf 12 was renovated to become today's the Love Pier (Figure 133). In 2006, an international competition called "the National Gateway Project" 國家門戶計畫 in Taiwan was held by the central government. Kaohsiung harbour was one of the target projects (Figure 134). In the same year, Wharfs 11, 12, 13 and the channel around them were renovated as the so-called close-to-water, or water-friendly area (Figure 135). Regarding the renovation of Love River, the establishment of the sewer system and waterfront landscape were the two turning points since the renovation of the river was employed first as a political consideration in Kaohsiung in 1977.²³² These two changes to the river not only improved the quality of the water, since it had been highly polluted by industrial waste, but also gradually recovered and established the identity and a sense of the city's glory for all citizens. All in all, locality and the cultural uniqueness of Kaohsiung City today cannot be mentioned without these two dramatic constructions of "water": the port and the river.

²³² The history of Love River is discussed in the following sections.



Figure 131 The picture here shows the current situation of Kaohsiung City representing a strong identity drawn from Taiwan’s maritime cultural authenticity (Taken by the author).



Figure 132 The renovation of *Hamasen* and its waterfront area (Charles Lin. "A city with a Waterfront: The Redevelopment of Kaohsiung Harbour Area." *Architect* 4 (2006): p. 93).

Figure 133 The picture shows the Love Pier entrance in construction taken in 2009 (Taken by the author).

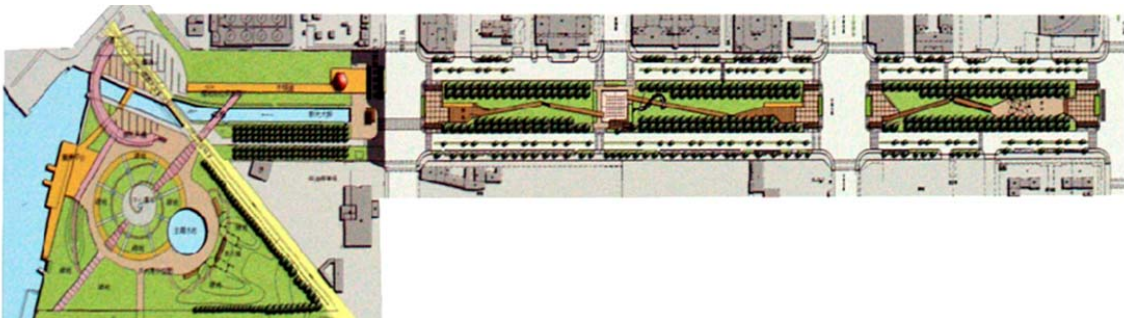


Figure 134 The master plan of Kaohsiung harbour which was proposed in the “National Gateway Project” in 2006 (Charles Lin, (2006): p. 96).



Figure 135 The left picture shows the port area of Kaohsiung. The circle in the middle indicates the area of Wharfs 11, 12 and 13 (Made by the author, sourced from the Urban Development Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government). The right picture shows the current close-to-water (water-friendly) landscape of Wharf 13 (Taken by the author).

However, the identity that has been constructed today in Kaohsiung and how Kaohsiung represents the spatial identity as a paradigm in post-Martial Law Taiwan are neither just because of political flux nor the official list of the DPP's establishment in the city but more because of the fundamental results of social regeneration caused by the interplay between the city and the populace. In other words, the concept of looking at the case of waterfront revitalisation of Kaohsiung is neither dealt with by its globalised living space as a universal "community" nor the typical "community" construction in the official discourse but the unique architectural representation which reflects the emergent cultural consensus, or post-Martial Law formation of identity, beyond the policy of Community Development in Taiwan.

"Water" as an experience of Kaohsiung (Figure 136) is the argument in this chapter. It is addressed as a key to critical changes in the city, which makes the built environment dissimilar to its downside in the past. And it is strongly defined in various aspects in architectural representations and forms of the cultural politics of identity, such as Kaohsiung's recent socio-economy, cultural education, environmental protection, tourism, recreation and the public space, when compared to the Martial Law period. Most importantly, the waterfront community in the city presents an impression of the changing urban landscape and represents the identity of the city in architectural practices in post-Martial Law Taiwan.

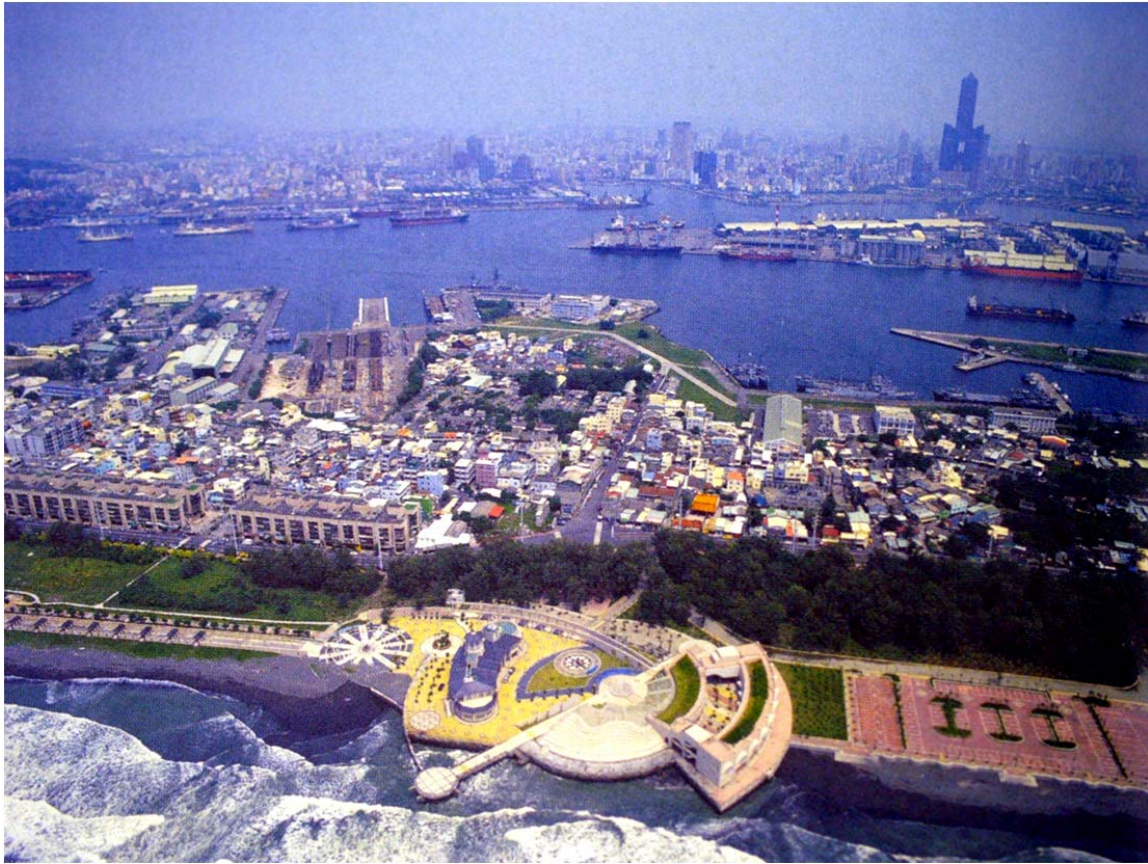


Figure 136 The picture shows the “water” imagery of Kaohsiung City today (Tseng Li-shu, 2006: p. 24).

A CITY'S WATERFRONT AND POST-INDUSTRIAL IMAGERY

The case of Kaohsiung's spatial revitalisation is certainly not a unique model. Distinctive examples and discussions are traceable to various urban issues of waterfront renovation and post-industrial phenomena. Kim Dovey presents a survey of Melbourne's urban waterfront transformation which suggests the general strategies lying behind waterfront renovation and pinpoints Melbourne as a typical example not only in terms of its waterfront but also its post-industrial reform.²³³ As a financial and industrial centre in nineteenth century Australia,

²³³ Kim Dovey, *Fluid City: Transforming Melbourne's Urban Waterfront* (Sydney: University of New South Wales Press, 2005).

Melbourne has a profound imagery of architecture both in historical and technological aspects. The waterfront of the city, Yarra River, Melbourne Docklands and Port Phillip Bay, from another point hint at a key urban strategy behind this city's modern and de-industrial revitalisation. Similar to the heteroglossic multiplicity of Taiwan's maritime presence, Dovey uses the notion of fluidity which highlights the economic openness of riverside Melbourne to analyse urban transformation. He sees it as an ideology and condition of a waterfront city. Beside economic openness, public interest is another point in the case of Melbourne's regeneration, suggested by Dovey. Because of the economic transformation in Melbourne in the late twentieth century, which no longer required serving as a working port or an industrial sewer, the waterfront became available for redevelopment since it mainly comprised disused industrial land related to former port uses. Yet, the critical point worth considering was: what kind of function should be introduced to replace the downside situation as an attractive and positive "new economy"? From Dovey's observation, this consideration of waterfront reconstruction is commonly connected to spectacles of artistic, social and economic dynamism as an imagery of public interest. Apart from economy, locality and cultural authenticity are often borrowed as the stimulating approaches. The case of Melbourne is evidence of this, demonstrating Kulin aboriginal culture of the past in connection with today's urban landscape. Besides, the name of the river - "Yarra" - is another link to the native aborigines of Australia. Regarding the industrial residues in the city area, four principles considered in the Melbourne model are pinpointed as the general consideration of the revitalisation: (1) the essential supplementation of the city area, (2) a proper instrumentality introduced in the reconstruction, (3) publicity of the reconstruction, and (4) an appropriate guideline package. As the physical conditions, the hinterland and attraction of the investment are also essentially involved (no matter whether in terms of stimulating regional, national, or even reflecting global economy). For Dovey, waterfront revitalisation, from a pragmatic perspective, needs not only a new stability but also a negotiable flexibility.

Since economy and the "public interest" (often refers to culture as a context) are tied together as a strategic "combination" of performing urban revitalisation, it is necessary to highlight the well-known "Bilbao effect" and relevant post-industrial city examples. Bilbao's urban transformation comprised cultural, economic political and spatial elements which are highly relevant to an architectural study of Taiwan and Kaohsiung. According to Terry

Smith's argument, during the skyscraper boom of the 1990s in parts of Asia, cultural and educational buildings, especially museums, at the same time are inscribed in the vocabulary of contemporary architecture.²³⁴ One distinctive example is the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao. The case of Bilbao, Smith argues, implies both the bright and dark side behind the phenomenon. From a cultural, economic and political standpoint, the phenomenon which mirrors the spectacular (the "iconomy" as Terry uses, literally refers to the subtle power exchanges between "icon" and "economy") is a more important value beyond the so-called "Bilbao effect", instead of the superficial value created. In other words, this contemporary effect is not a purely cultural affair for him but a business, treating culture as an industry, and that is why the economic success story of the Guggenheim Bilbao is cited again and again. From this standpoint, the establishment of Bilbao creates a type of contemporary icon which is recognised worldwide as having joined well-known landmarks, such as the Pyramids in Egypt, Angkor Wat in Cambodia and the Great Wall in China, equally stand on the cultural and economic benefits they make. The real Bilbao effect for Terry, therefore, is "Bilbao affection" because, for him, the cultural meanings of the Bilbao urban transformation are not even more crucial than its pragmatic influence to society today. It is like a sense of fashion which ultimately will pass. The crucial point for him related to the influence caused by Bilbao case is that it in fact performs a business which "will be always in time, be forever contemporary".²³⁵

From a spatial point of view, Joan Ockman puts the focus on the Guggenheim Museum which "immediately became synonymous with an entire city and a symbol of regeneration for a troubled region of Spain".²³⁶ The situation of Bilbao, when compared with other similar cases such as the Centre Pompidou in Paris, is not centripetal but centrifugal for Ockman for several reasons. First, the city of Bilbao is located in the northeast corner of Spain which

²³⁴ Terry Smith, *The Architecture of Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), p. 7.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

²³⁶ Joan Ockman, "New Politics of the Spectacle: "Bilbao" and the Global Imagination," in *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance, and Place*, ed. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren (Oxford ; New York: Berg, 2004), p. 227.

is “remote from the main pilgrimage routes of contemporary tourism and requires an effort to get to”.²³⁷ Secondly, surprisingly, no one would have imagined that the building of the museum in Bilbao is actually “made in the U.S.A.” and more astonishing that it could provide an authentic image and a sense of hope for a place so fiercely protective of its own identity and autonomy.²³⁸ Lastly, like another iconic case, the Sydney Opera House, the Bilbao museum derives much of its energy from its location on the water’s edge which helps to licence its formal otherness and sustains its oscillation between the ontology of architecture and landscape.²³⁹ In other words, the “not uniform” surface of the landscape and unexpected human participation plus the “foreignness” and “openness” imported to the site contextualises this phenomenon no matter whether in cultural or architectural practices. More generally, no matter whether looking at Melbourne’s waterfront transformation or the case of Bilbao, there is an architectural narrative of homogenisation, commodification and globalisation (sometimes mainly “Americanisation” when this global “museumisation” phenomenon is examined) highlighted here and the entire context comprises the controversy between authenticity (culture) and the building object (placement).

As a summary, as Dovey and Ockman both have cited, the notion of “scapes”²⁴⁰ is highlighted as a key when revitalisation is examined as a goal. In other words, various ways, such as aroused consciousness, ideological or ethnic identity construction, the rise of otherness, and even technological or financial support, generate the convergence of the urban revitalisation strategies. Moreover, as the regional additions, industrial backdrop and the waterfront landscape are often considered as the motifs. As an example, the city revitalisation of Manchester is vivid and evident.

²³⁷ Ibid., p. 228.

²³⁸ Ibid., p. 230.

²³⁹ Ibid., p. 233.

²⁴⁰ In Dovey and Ockman’s studies, they both mention the “scapes” notion proposed by Ariun Appadurai; this notion talks about various instruments which are imported on the site intending to benefit the construction by certain way.

Manchester, like many cities, has encountered changes taking place after the end of two World Wars, and these changes have been legitimised from its profound history and represented in architecture both formally and politically. Similar to the evolution of post-war Taiwan, the past fifty years is a turning period for Manchester, particularly in its spatial imagery. Lying on the banks of River Irwell and with the climatic advantages that the area experiences high humidity, high rainfall and an abundance of soft water, Manchester became the focus of attention for the cotton industry and a dramatic increase in mill building in the past fifty years.²⁴¹ Most importantly, these pushed the city of Manchester to become one of England's great cities today, outstanding for its combination of Victorian architecture and industrial heritage. The successful revitalisation story of the city, which has become a well-known "package", consists of cultural, waterfront and post-industrial contexts. The discussion of Manchester here provides an analytic model for the Kaohsiung waterfront discussed in this thesis. The fifty-year regeneration of Manchester shows a brief schema to relevant cases. First, the end of WWII is a start and motif of the regeneration. Although the destruction brought by bombings caused chaos in the city, on the other hand, it helped the city move towards a bright future. Secondly, the inexorable decline in the local manufacturing industry caused the following economic depression of the city. In addition, housing problems after the war represented illness of the environment and public anxiety. The loss of urban population, interestingly, had simultaneously occurred. Due to an anxiety about missing identity and unconnected popular memory, the movement of preserving or reusing historical heritage and arousing corresponding new industry emerged to the forefront. Lastly, considering the economic and global profits, the bid to host international activities sometimes also acted as catalysts in city's regeneration. For Manchester, previous bids to host the Olympic Games for the years 1996 and 2000 plus its successful bid for the 2002 Commonwealth Games were the stimulus for the environmental improvement of the city. In summary, the regeneration of a city, when one reads it as a hint of an architectural scrutiny, is schematised in the 1998 brief stated by the *Financial Times*:

²⁴¹ Manchester City Council (England), *Manchester, 50 Years of Change: Post-War Planning in Manchester* (London, 1995), pp. 1-3.

Manchester is beginning to look and feel like a European city. Magnificent warehouses from an earlier age are being converted into modern loft apartment and offices. Railway arches are being turned into café bars and shops alongside the canals. Residential developments in areas ... are luring people back into the city to live. Manchester is shaking off its dirty industrial image ... business people outside the city are already saying it is an attractive place to invest.²⁴²

LOVE RIVER

After more than 20 years waterfront development, Kaohsiung is able to compete with some riverfront cities such as San Francisco, Portland, Lisbon and London's riverbank of Thames. In addition, Kaohsiung harbour is the only identified location of Taiwan on the World Nautical Chart. This differentiates the general understanding of "Chinese Taipei"²⁴³ worldwide today as the identity construction of Taiwan, Kaohsiung is often known as "Taiwan Kaohsiung". And this is the spirit and imagery of Taiwan today.²⁴⁴

Adopting the schema framed from the discussion of regenerating an urban waterfront which was degenerated by its retirement from industrial bloom, the case of Kaohsiung shares certain similarities. The revitalisation story of Kaohsiung, likewise, has been popularised by these "universal" conditions, such as the waterfront context, industrial history and the successful bid for 2009 World Games, which are cited again and again in the popular discourse. Yet, as the former city mayor of Kaohsiung Yeh Chu-Lan says, there are still some unique conditions, such as the issues of city-port reunion, the openness of the city boundary

²⁴² "Reporting Britain: Manchester," *Financial Times*, 19 February 1998.

²⁴³ Because of China's political suppression, Taiwan's status which is used for international participation today is often compelled to use "Chinese Taipei" as a compromise and replacement instead of "Taiwan" or "ROC".

²⁴⁴ Yeh Chu-Lan, Evan Lin, and Arwin Lin, "Kaohsiung Ariese: An Interview with Acting Kaohsiung Mayor Yeh Chu-Lan," *Architect* 04(2006): p. 79.

and being a paradigm of city regeneration in Taiwan, all worthwhile issues to be analysed. The discussion is started from a pivotal regional feature: Love River in the city area of Kaohsiung.

Love River (Figure 137), goes without saying, is a vitally important base of Kaohsiung, which lies on the centre of the city and acts as an icon of Kaohsiung. Love River also plays a pivotal role that witnesses the development and changes of Kaohsiung, particularly its transition from an industrial city to a post-industrial waterfront city. The river was contaminated for more than four decades since the city had been defined as an industrial centre of the island, and because of this, the river was regarded in the past by the public as a shameful canal. The neighbourhood of the river, therefore, became a lowly location, an urban slum of Kaohsiung until the late 1990s.



Figure 137 The corresponding location and the relationship between the mainstream portion of Love River and the city area of Kaohsiung today (Made by the author).

HISTORY OF LOVE RIVER

Love River today is 12 kilometres long; the catchment area of Love River where it crosses the city centre of Kaohsiung is more than 10 kilometres. Yet, this river encountered dramatic change. It came into existence in the seventeenth century as a natural rivulet. The main source of the river is tidal (from the ocean) and upriver water. The upriver water before the end of World War II was mainly supported by irrigation water and the rainwater. However, the source of the upriver today is mostly from industrial and family wastewater. *Takao* River 打狗川, from the *Makatao* language, was the initial name of the river denominated by the *Pingpu* tribe in Kaohsiung. In 1920, the Japanese officially renamed and developed the city as “Kaohsiung” when they preformed the three-time port construction. The river was also renamed as Kaohsiung River. The main stretch of the river today was established in the Japanese time when the waterfront of the river was reclaimed as the city centre. At that stage, the midstream and downstream portions of the river were highly developed, and the watercourse was reduced to half of its original width. Meanwhile, the Japanese also established the waterfront area of the river as the industrial settlement of Kaohsiung, and this was the river’s chief function, that of industrial transportation, until the late 1990s. During the Japanese time, due to the waterfront, the precinct was planned as the city centre where all the government institutes were located, and the landscape of the waterfront began to be established and beautified (Figure 138). After WWII, Kaohsiung was consolidated as an industrial centre of the island and therefore the river gradually became contaminated. In 1949, the name of the river was changed to Love River (Figure 139), when the city centre gradually moved towards the east.²⁴⁵ In 1968, the name of the river was once again changed to *Jen Ai* River 仁愛河 due to the KMT mayor’s political imposition.²⁴⁶ However, because this

²⁴⁵ Using “Love River” to replace “Kaohsiung River” was well-known and started to be recognised by Kaohsiung people from a “couple suicide” societal event and its related news in 1949.

²⁴⁶ In 1968, Kaohsiung mayor of the time, Yang Chin Hu, forced the city council of Kaohsiung to rename Love River as *Jen Ai* River 仁愛河 in order to celebrate Chiang Kai-shek’s birthday by the meaning of “**Jen**” Min “**Ai**” Wu (“仁”民“愛”物, literally humanity to people and love all, the phrase here is alluding the Confucian virtue).

name was barely recognised by the populace in Kaohsiung, the name of the river was eventually changed back to Love River in 1972. This name is widely accepted and known as an icon of Kaohsiung City today.



Figure 138 Two pictures show the Kaohsiung city centre and the scenarios of Love River (called Kaohsiung River of the time) in 1931 and 1938 from the left to the right respectively (Sourced from the Kaohsiung Museum of History).



Figure 139 Two pictures show the scenarios of Love River in the 1950s along with placeless concrete bank (Sourced from the Kaohsiung Museum of History).

The landscape and spatial function of Love River and its waterfront were maintained from its very first appearance when established by the Japanese to the early 1990s (Figure 140). During this period, the river was only utilised as a part of the sewer system and for industrial transportation such as transporting logs. The waterfront of the river all the way consisted of concrete banks, a united pedestrian and vegetation system, framing a placeless atmosphere. The bank in the later years of the period was even full of illicit construction making the

waterfront like an urban slum. Although the renovation of the river had already been performed by the government from the 1970s onwards in order to pacify public opinion about the contamination of the water as well as the environmental depression of the Love River waterfront, the spatial atmosphere was never addressed as a focus of the renovation. The improvement of the water quality was the only concentration of the “renovation”.



Figure 140 The left image shows Love River and its function of transporting logs in the early post-war years; the right image shows a similar situation in 1994 (Sourced from the Kaohsiung Museum of History).

The renovation of Love River acted as an important role in transforming the waterfront community of Kaohsiung. It is also a motif to remind the populace about Kaohsiung’s loss of initial identity since the water, or its maritime characteristics, had been ignored and disliked for a long time. These characteristics which in fact imply everyday life in the city were covered by contamination and a depression of the environment. Expectedly, the city’s cultural authenticity and locality were also concealed. Yet it is noticeable that the actual renovation of the landscape and neighbourhood of the waterfront was never a concern before 1998.

The year 1977 was the first time in which the waterfront “renovation” was politically considered. During this act, the waterfront however was not the focus. The main performance of the construction was focused on the establishment of the storm-water sewer system and the interceptor stations. Until 1986, there were 11 interceptor stations which had been established and listed as a political milestone of the waterfront renovation by the government of the time. Later, the continuing environmental chaos and depression of the

landscape eventually caught the eyes of the government. From the 1970s onwards until 1998, the emphasis of the renovation was put down to the act of dismantling illicit constructions and the virescence of the bank alongside the water. During this period, two parks (Sanmin Park 1 and 2) and the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum²⁴⁷ in the midstream portion of Love River had been built as the chief result after the spatial reformation. These two projects - the parks and the museum; however, could not apparently satisfy the attempt of reforming space since they were in a lack of use efficiency and had weak connections to the surrounding communities and the waterfront. Ultimately, they all became disused.²⁴⁸

Locality and cultural identity of the waterfront, recently and politically, have been highlighted both by the government and community members. In 1998, the DPP - the biggest native political party in post-war Taiwan, took over the political dominance of Kaohsiung City after the KMT's nearly half-century governance. The new mayor Frank Hsieh's "Ocean Capital" outlook and a strong public appeal to recover/renovate the waterfront environment in the city area have been the forces behind the possibilities of the waterfront transformation. Accordingly, landscape and the mental function of Love River began to be considered (Figure 141). The dramatic change and a favourable recognition from

²⁴⁷ The very early construction of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum was built in 1997 and finished in 1998. The location of the museum was chosen at the waterfront of Love River in Sanmin District where used to be the main settlement of the *Hakka* ethnic group in Kaohsiung City, this location was the last destination when the *Hakka* people settled down in Kaohsiung alongside the river from the earlier time.

²⁴⁸ The location of these two parks (Sanmin Park 1 and 2) is just nearby Love River. The first renovation of the river in the 1970s established the concrete bank instead of the original natural river landscape and since then the bank and the waterfront were illegally occupied by scrap metal industry, vehicle repair shops and dog meat restaurants. From 1993 onwards, the Kaohsiung City Government started to dismantle the illicit construction and build two parks as the replacement. However, these two parks which were finished in 1996 lacked corresponding recreation facilities and were accompanied by intolerable smell from the contaminated river water. The active population in the parks were hugely reduced and eventually it became the home to the vagrants. The Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum lastly also became disused and was ignored by the end of the 1990s because of its irrelevance to the location.

the populace became the turning points of constructing a paradigm of spatial identity in post-Martial Law Taiwan. The waterfront community in Kaohsiung, which has been established after 1998, is therefore argued in this research as a critical case.



Figure 141 Two pictures from the left to the right show the before-and-after scenarios of the last Love River renovation (the left: Tseng Li-shu, 2006: p. 15. The right: taken by the author).

WATERFRONT COMMUNITY: WATER, GROUPS OF BUILDINGS AND ITS PARTICIPANTS

Kaohsiung's waterfront revitalisation, when compared to many worldwide cases which were targeted at the transformation of regional economy and performed by the government at the first beginning, was initially motivated by an appeal of improving environmental sanitation and recovering cultural essence from bottom-up forces. One crucial non-governmental power of this act emerged after the founding of the Cultural Love River Organisation 文化愛河協會 - a NGO who mainly concerned with Kaohsiung's environment - in 1994.²⁴⁹ This organisation can be regarded as a pioneer in Kaohsiung to assemble voices crying for changes to the "shameful waterside", and which mobilised a bottom-up force in the KMT period. The first success of this organisation was the replacement of the underground

²⁴⁹ This organisation initially concerned only specific environmental issues relevant to Love River in Kaohsiung, and the early motive for founding the organisation was to against the KMT authority in the 1990s that intended to entirely seal the river by covering the watercourse instead of improving the water quality and its neighbourhood.

shopping centre (which was burned down in 1989) as a park.²⁵⁰ Although the park which was established later was barely related to the proposal suggested by this organisation,²⁵¹ this was certainly a success of the very first non-official power who lobbied the KMT mayor to reconsider the ruined underground shopping centre. Most importantly, this act also became a motif for the DPP government after 1998 to develop its so-called “city cultural centres” (at times are also translated as community cultural centres or local cultural centres): a series of buildings forming a group alongside the waterfront (Figure 142). This founding of groups of buildings alongside the waterfront, as an idea which emerged from a NGO’s proposal and realised as today’s government project, is argued as a key factor in the re-sketching of the landscape and cultural atmosphere in post-Martial Law Kaohsiung.



Figure 142 Two pictures show the strategy of using groups of buildings as the connection and cultural construction in today’s waterfront Kaohsiung (Taken by the author).

²⁵⁰ The underground shopping centre was just right opposite to the old Kaohsiung City Hall as the city centre before the 1990s. The details of the shopping centre are discussed in **Chapter 5**: Kaohsiung: Taiwan’s “other capital”.

²⁵¹ The organisation suggested the city government to rebuild the underground shopping centre as a thematic park which highlights the historic fact of this location where was the original settlement of the *Makatao* tribe in Kaohsiung; however, this proposal was not accepted by the government of the time. For more details see Chi Hsien, "He Hsi Tsou Lang, Ai He Te Lu Se Sui Tao (河西走廊，愛河的綠色隧道)(the Corridor Alongside the River West, the Green Tunnel of Love River)," *Kaohsiung pictorial* 5(1995).

The decade after 2000 was also a crucial time for the shaping/recovering locality and (re)constructing the cultural subjectivity of Kaohsiung after the Martial Law period. Charles Lin's statement in the interviews with *Dialogue* magazine supports this:

... the strategy which is proposed by the (Kaohsiung) Public Work Bureau, which is applied to the waterfront space, is a "conversion from liabilities to assets". Only through the recognition of the environmental character of Kaohsiung's mountain, ocean, river and ports, we can use lowest funds and shortest time to convert Love River from a longstanding load of Kaohsiung to a profitable asset and simultaneously to recharge the energy of the city reformation ... apart from this "conversion" of Kaohsiung, the "openness and renovation of the harbour" is another revolutionary challenge to Kaohsiung's waterfront space ...²⁵²

The eight-year long waterfront renovation project is not only the key starting point of the comprehensive landscape changes in Kaohsiung but also laying an excellent foundation for later development. This project was carried out gradually with Love River as an axis, from the northeast to southwest throughout Kaohsiung, a considerable amount of infrastructure built along Love River created unique and special day and night scenes. It can be expressed that Love River is the focus and the main impression of Kaohsiung landscape reconstruction. Additionally, the successful experience of transforming Love River has brought omnidirectional effects to the city; it carries social and public awareness and further stimulates "the proud sense of the citizen".²⁵³

Yet, the intention of this study does not in a superficial way recount the DPP's political achievements in Kaohsiung. It is not enough and legitimate to show the social and cultural political transformation in post-Martial Law Kaohsiung. The real intention of this study is to examine a spatial reflection to this phenomenon and its social and cultural implications.

As the well-known *Kang Tou* 港都 (harbour city) in Taiwan, Kaohsiung after 1988 has been highlighted as a distinctive example presenting spatial forms of post-Martial Law acculturation. In other words, waterfront Kaohsiung, to a certain degree, represents a

²⁵² Diane Tsai, "New Concept and Policy of Ecological City: Interview with Chin-Rong Lin, Director General of Public Work Bureau, Kaohsiung," *Dialogue* 1-2(2007): pp.72-73.

²⁵³ Diane Tsai, "The Next Step of the Waterfront Kaohsiung," *Dialogue* 1-2(2007): p. 70.

relationship between the parts (heteroglossic forms in society) and the whole (unique identity in society), which has been gradually shaped culturally in Taiwan after the Martial Law period. On the one hand, different buildings alongside the river and the harbour present various individualities in today's Taiwan society. On the other hand, the waterfront community comprises series of building objects that now characterise the spatial ubiquity of Kaohsiung today no matter whether formally or consciously. Accordingly, the waterfront and these groups of buildings have shaped unique characteristics associated with an imagery of urban experience (which is drawn from both the residents and visitors) as a spatial form of identity construction.

Amongst these buildings within the Kaohsiung waterfront community, several issues are addressed as the examining foci and sketch the research delimitation. First, the meaning of historical preservation has been extended. Secondly, the idea of Community Development has been involved. Thirdly, the idea of decentralisation (no matter whether in terms of the point of power, ideology or cultural subjectivity) has been reinterpreted through the spatial phenomenon of museumisation (cultural centres) and communitarianism (community function in spatial practices as the construction of localities) to revolutionise the early social scenario of sole collectivity. Lastly, there is a strong recognition which has also been generated spontaneously on the other hand to unite these varied individualities as a specific spatial character. The following sections analyse the waterfront community, targeting different issues and building objects. Kaohsiung City today has twenty six so-called "cultural centres" listed in its official discourse.²⁵⁴ Interestingly, more than half of them are in the neighbourhood of the city's waterfront. More surprisingly, most of the cultural centres were renovated and reused from existing buildings with different conditions. The scope of the scrutiny is focused on the area from the seaport to the mainstream portion of Love River, which covers the city centre of Kaohsiung. The entire community and the individual

²⁵⁴ Tseng Li-shu, ed. *Lai Tzu Kaohsiung Te Ming Hsin Pien- Tsui Ai Kaohsiung Pa Nien Tui Pien 1998-2006*(來自高雄的明信片-最愛高雄·八年蛻變 1998-2006)(*the Postcard from Kaohsiung- Favourite Kaohsiung, Eight Years Transformation 1998-2006*) (Kaohsiung: Information office, Kaohsiung City Government,2006), p. 105.

projects are discussed respectively and synthetically in the following sections (Figure 143). Specific groups of buildings are also analysed.

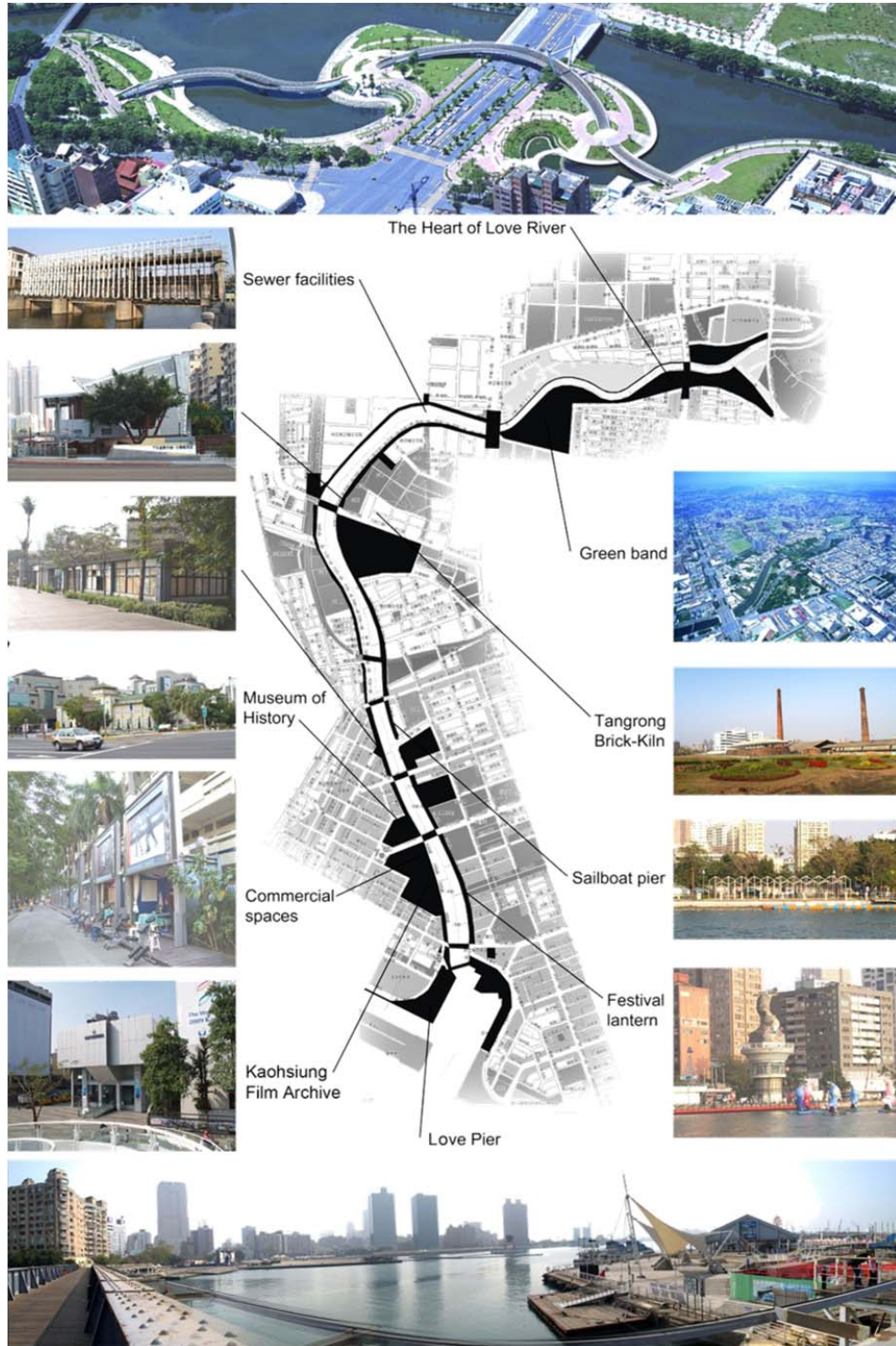


Figure 143 The waterfront community and key groups of buildings in Kaohsiung city centre (Sourced from the author and the Urban Development Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government).

Adaptive reuse and deindustrialisation

Adaptive reuse as a means of spatial revitalisation in waterfront Kaohsiung is strongly connected to Kaohsiung's deindustrialisation. As remarkable evidence, disused buildings and obsolete high-voltage towers along with their valueless locations today in Kaohsiung were revived through the highlighting of their once spatial significance as cultural and regional icons or identities to the communities which witnessed the history of the neighbourhood (Figure 144).



Figure 144 Two successful adaptive reuse examples in Kaohsiung's waterfront in relation to the city's recent industrialisation process by transforming once valueless sites into regional and cultural landmarks create different functions at day and night times. The left is a current unused building - Ta Yuen Building (top left), which has been renovated as an advertising and local landmark today (bottom left); the right hand pictures show an old high-voltage tower which has been renovated as an observation tower alongside Love River. These two cases are distinctive examples of revitalising disused building and former industrial symbol (Taken by the author).

Ta Yuen Building is one building example. This building was stopped halfway through its construction in 1998 due to financial problems encountered by the contractor. This building therefore had become a dark but marked site in Yancheng in terms of its downside but occupied a critical geographic position at the outfall of Love River in Kaohsiung. In 2004, this building was identified by the Kaohsiung City Government from its significant location and problematic situation in the waterfront neighbourhood when the outfall area and the river were being considered for renovation. By adopting an adaptive reuse strategy, this building now has been renovated as an advertising board for public and commercial purposes. Although the building itself is still disused at the moment, the façade and the mass of the building today have already been revitalised successfully as a new icon in Kaohsiung taking its competitive location and association with the new waterfront environment.

Another case, the industrial background has a tight tie with the spatial imagery of the post-industrial status of Kaohsiung today. As Taiwan's once most important industrial city, Kaohsiung accomplished the complete high-voltage system, finished in 1970. This construction, as a ground network system, had been superseded by a subterranean infrastructure during the period from 1994 to 2000, and the dismantlement of the electric cables and towers was gradually performed since 2002. One of the high-voltage towers, Tower No. 4 in Sanmin Park 1, was retained and renovated as a watch tower, named Kaohsiung Tower of Light 高雄光之塔, proposed by the community architects in 2002. In consideration of its historic value and the preservation of collective memory, the City Government at the end agreed this proposal to preserve Tower No. 4 as an observation tower. The redevelopment of the tower combines the means of lighting and solar panel system along with a group of buildings in the midstream portion of Love River, such as the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum and various thematic bridges and parks. As a result, Kaohsiung Tower of Light nowadays has become a new iconic site in northern Kaohsiung alongside the river, and it is also well-known to the public in terms of its educational/communicative meaning of recording Kaohsiung's deindustrialisation process.

Regarding Kaohsiung's deindustrialisation, it is very much connected to the so-called close-to-water design strategy. The idea of close-to-water (or is at times called water-friendly) is not exactly aimed to make the water touchable but comprehensible. The renovation of the

interceptor station is an example of this concept. The sewer system is part of everyday life beside the river; however, when one reads it as a necessary element of the community, i.e. to make it educational and understandable for the community, this infrastructure has another essential function as one of the spatial elements alongside the waterfront.

After a series and longstanding improvements targeted at the water quality, the water of Love River is no longer smelly and seriously contaminated. The interceptor stations, nowadays, are in actual fact not used but preserved in case of emergency. Nonetheless, the building masses of these interceptor stations were all built in the 1970s, i.e. they were built without any consideration of formal or aesthetic connection to the environment and the neighbourhood but only for their physical function. These building masses had therefore become abrupt standing beside the water as a result. When the conception of adaptive reuse arises, it suddenly becomes a proper strategy to acknowledge their existence, since these interceptor stations alongside Kaohsiung's waterfront are not fairly efficient but still necessary in this day and age. When one reads these building masses as everyday necessities in the waterfront community, what renovation needs to be considered is only to make them comprehensible as elements of the waterfront landscape and the imprints of Kaohsiung's industrial past (Figure 145).



Figure 145 Four examples show the renovation result of the interceptor stations which are currently acting as Kaohsiung's urban landmarks and educational sites recording Kaohsiung's industrial past alongside Love River. The series of renovated interceptor stations is regarded as a group of cultural centres today (Taken by the author).

The renovation of Wharf 12 is also distinctive. Wharf 12 was a discharge pier for cargo vessels (Figure 146), which became disused in the 1990s due to the rise of the container ship. When it was renovated under the DPP City Government's "open the port" concept, the location of the wharf which was used as a fence between the port and the city suddenly becomes the gate and key locale for the public to access to the Kaohsiung waterfront.



Figure 146 A prior look of Wharf 12 in the 1990s (Sourced from the Urban Development Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government).

Wharf 12 was renamed to Love Pier by the citizens after its renovation, and it was reopened in 2005 (Figure 147). The new function of the wharf is designated as a Wharf Service Station taking the role of transshipment in waterfront Kaohsiung; it has become the hub of the river and maritime traffic in the city today based on its critical location at the outfall of Love River.



Figure 147 The current look of Wharf 12 at night acts as a popular and iconic multi-functional urban piazza (Taken by the author).

By using the idea of adaptive reuse, the Wharf Service Station was placed in the former warehouse on the site. The structure and part of the roof of this old warehouse were retained in the renovation project, and an internal structure was added as a functional necessity as a Wharf Service Station (Figure 148).



Figure 148 Two pictures show the renovation result of Wharf 12 - today's Love Pier. The left is the current landscape which acts as an urban piazza and ferry pier; the right is the former warehouse which has been renovated as the Wharf Service Station and cafeteria (Taken by the author).

Another warehouse at the wharf, following a similar concept, was renovated as another piazza and viewing platform. The former interior of the warehouse was opened, connecting the vacant lot with the port as an urban piazza. Various public activities, such as festival fairs, concerts or circus performances, are frequently held here. The roof of the warehouse, taking advantage of the site's geographic location, was designated as a viewing platform which has become one of the new landmarks in waterfront Kaohsiung (Figure 149); moreover, cooperating with the fixed Lantern Festival and New Year's Eve Firework Shows on the water, the platform is often full of people.



Figure 149 A picture shows another warehouse next to Love Pier renovated as a roof-top viewing platform; exhibitions and fairs are often held here (Taken by the author).

Revitalisation of historical sites

Historical sites in Taiwan were highly argued by many architectural academics as a burden on the city's development in the Martial Law period;²⁵⁵ however, these no longer play a delimiting role today for the city's re-development and renewal but embody potential when the issue is covered under the Community Development notion in the post-Martial Law context. Two cases of building preservation in waterfront Kaohsiung share this idea as examples (Figure 150).



Figure 150 Two examples show the historical buildings which are integrated as elements of the group architecture in waterfront Kaohsiung being a cultural and historical indicator. The left image is the preserved former Tangrong Brick-Kiln 中都唐榮磚窯廠; the right image is the Holy Rosary Minor Basilica-Cathedral (Taken by the author).

²⁵⁵ There was a series of debates during the Martial Law period about historical site as an issue of urban development. Most of the arguments in architectural field of the time took the position that the existence of historical sites preserved by its relevant building codes blocked the development of the urban area in Taiwan. An article written by Chuang Fang Rong, a Section Chief of the CCA then provides an example of this view. The details of this argumentation can be found in Chuang Fang Rong, "Mo Jang Ku Chi Tan Wu Nai (莫讓古蹟嘆無奈)(Do Not Let Historical Sites Have No Choices)," *Architect* 1986.

The former Tangrong Brick-Kiln is the place in which the first *Pakua* kiln 八卦窯 (Hoffman Kiln)²⁵⁶ was built in Taiwan. This kiln was disused for more than two decades, and now it has been preserved as an official historical site and was designated in 2004. There are two chimneys located on the site and the existence of these chimneys has shared different ideologies respectively during different socio-political contexts. The chimneys were regarded by the community residents as a taboo of *fengshui* (geomantic omen) rules in the past and protests were often held in order to force the government to remove them from the neighbourhood. However, nowadays they are no longer a taboo but an important urban attraction in Kaohsiung after the revitalisation of its cultural locality. Former director of the Kaohsiung Cultural Affairs Bureau Wang Chih-Cheng's explanation sheds light on this notion:

... because of the kiln's location which is near the midstream portion of Love River, with the *Hakka* Cultural and Art museums in the upstream portion of the river, and the Film Archive, the Museum of History, and the Medical Culture Centre, Pier 2 Art District in the downstream portion of the river, the rebuilding of the kiln shall fill up the gap in the cultural map along Love River, and help shape the unique waterside art landscape of Kaohsiung City. The Tangrong Brick-Kiln shall move towards the goal of an industrial culture park that covers areas of history, tourism and education ...²⁵⁷

As one cultural landmark alongside the waterfront, the Tangrong Brick-Kiln shares significance as an element of the architectural group in waterfront Kaohsiung. This project, to a certain extent, represents a change of local residents' consensus and reception of space before and after a cultural revitalisation from the earlier time to the present. Nowadays, the community members see this site as a value of the neighbourhood and those negative

²⁵⁶ Hoffmann Kiln is the most common kiln used in production of bricks; patented by German Friedrich Hoffman for brick making in 1858. In Taiwan the kiln is commonly called *Pakua* kiln 八卦窯 due to its octagonal shape on the two sides of the kiln.

²⁵⁷ Wang Chih-Cheng, "Extending Historical Memory and Building a Cultural Harbour Capital- a Conversation on "Space Vitalisation" with Chin-Cheng Wang, Director of Cultural Affairs Bureau, Kaohsiung City," pp. 91-92.

influences used to be indicated in *fengshui* principles, interestingly, have been spontaneously switched to positive nowadays.

Another distinctive historical site in Kaohsiung's waterfront is an important religious building in Taiwan - the Holy Rosary Minor Basilica-Cathedral. The cathedral was built in 1860 as Taiwan's first Catholic Church and rebuilt to its present dimensions in 1928 in a Gothic and Romanesque Revival style. This building was designated as the seat of the Archbishop of Taiwan by the Vatican in 1948, and it was for a long time an urban landmark in Kaohsiung since its establishment until the 1960s. In 1961, the building became the cathedral of Kaohsiung bishopric, and in 1995, the cathedral was designated as the Basilica (in an ecclesiastical context) by the Vatican. The cathedral is located at the east-side of Love River's downstream portion and it has been designated by the government and religious groups today as a historic site and an educational institute. Most importantly, similar to the kiln, this site today is not only a preserved heritage but a cultural landmark in Kaohsiung's waterfront community combining both inscribed historic traces and newly adaptive functions.

Accordingly, on the one hand, the successful projects of historical site preservation in Kaohsiung once again reflect changes of public reception in history from the Martial Law period to the present time. On the other hand, the emergence of the reused historical sites in Kaohsiung, which is categorised as a group of cultural centres, also highlights the community conception in post-Martial Law Taiwan. This not only recognises the existence of various historic imprints as a fact of history but also combines them along with everyday life showing positive meanings, even creating specific localities based upon them. From spatial and historical points of view, historical sites are now facts existing in society along with cultural optimism, instead of a target of political criticism.

Characterising the bridges

There are 27 bridges over Love River within its approximately 10 kilometres catchment in the city area of Kaohsiung. Bridges, to a certain degree, can be regarded as an important regional characteristic of Kaohsiung City where has a strong cultural and geographic base as

a maritime city. In the KMT period of Kaohsiung, bridges over Love River had only provided a function of transporting traffic between two sides of the watercourse (Figure 151). Consideration to aesthetics and the neighbourhood at that time had barely been given by showing only unique monumentality. This form of monumentality was established through a universal adoption of typical western classical decorations and a nationalist language such as national flags attached to the structure of the bridges.



Figure 151 Two images show two sides of Chung Cheng Bridge 中正橋 over Love River in the 1980s and a general form which adopted on the bridges during the Martial Law period in Taiwan. The bridges of the time were usually irrelevant to the neighbourhood except the function of transporting traffic (Sourced from the Kaohsiung Museum of History).

Yet, a bridge not only exists in the city, particularly in a maritime city, as a functional construction but also as an installation of art and architecture, which imports character to a place. In addition, the representation of the bridge should not always be a monumental collectivity of the state; individualities and localities within the neighbourhood of the bridge should also be included and indicated. After 1988, a sense of creativity which specifically belongs to each bridge has been attached to the existing spatial hardware as a new form. This new form is neither permanent nor universal; this new form is highly related to the individualities within the neighbourhood, as an inkling of the community. The form itself acts as a locality that represents everyday life of the region highlighting its interaction with the neighbourhood and the recognition from the residents (Figure 152). Through a combination of the lightings and the railings, the beauty of the bridge and the river itself are borrowed to create different kinds of effects by dots, beams and belts of lights, which physically improve the visual space and beautify the portrait of the city. From the upstream

portion of Love River to its outfall, the variation of the waterfront therefore has been characterised by different thematic bridges and the waterside sections which are partitioned by these bridges.



Figure 152 The picture shows that all the bridges in Kaohsiung today have acted as pivotal roles to connect the waterfront (city centre). And different characterised forms have represented different bridges implying different waterside sections of the city centre. Therefore, the bridges have constructed various senses of locality in different sections (Diane Tsai. "The Next Step of the Waterfront Kaohsiung." *Dialogue 1-2* (2007): p. 67).

In the upstream portion of the river in the city area, a basin was constructed in order to form an inland foothold which connects the water and land transportation between the port and the metro system. A series of bridges was associated together in order to shape a thematic site, called "the Heart of Love River" 愛河之心 (completed and opened in 2007). This site is located at the waterfront area of the Sanmin Park 2. This park, which has been discussed in earlier section in the chapter, was a "waterfront" location showing a lack of placeness, regional connection and instrumentality to the waterfront. The newly constructed basin is crossed by three pedestrian bridges along with a curved structure and lighting at night (Figure 153). Various spaces created by the project have generated a new sense of placeness

for the community residents and the tourists, who stop by or transfer from the ferry and the metro, constructing a unique waterfront atmosphere.



Figure 153 A picture shows one of the thematic pedestrian bridges at the Heart of Love River at night (Taken by the author).

The bridges at the Heart of Love River also bring and link this unique atmosphere as well as relevant waterfront activities across not only the river but also the traffic from the west-side (Sanmin Park 2) to the east-side, which has been recently extended as a new park.²⁵⁸ Simultaneously, the spatial quality on the west-side of the Heart of Love River has also been stimulated and renovated. A transporting bridge which connects two different districts on two sides of the river has been renovated, even extended, since the neighbourhood has been revitalised and the waterfront has been highlighted as a new community centre and as embodying the spatial identity of the region (Figure 154).

²⁵⁸ The east-side of the Sanmin Park 2 was a water bank occupied by illegal factories and constructions. The founding of the Heart of Love River influenced the land value of its neighbourhood, the east-side of the park, therefore, has been extended by the administrative departments, property agents and community members as a friendly and investable environment better than before.



Figure 154 The left image is a bridge at the Heart of Love River; the right figure is a newly renovated bridge next to the Heart of Love River in 2010 showing a high connection to the Heart of Love River (Taken by the author).

In consideration of the existing circulation system and water management facilities, new connections and beautification had also been added alongside the river while the river was under renovation (Figure 155). A new bridge on the north-eastern side of the Sanmin Park 2, the bridge of Love River Nung 21 (愛河農 21 橋), which connects two different districts along the two sides of the watercourse, was built in 2002. The existing floodgate on the other side of the park was also decorated, again emphasising the waterfront image.



Figure 155 Two pictures from the left to the right show the pedestrian Love River Nung 21 Bridge and the floodgate alongside the river after Love River's last renovation (Taken by the author).

The bridges which have been built to satisfy everyday necessities connecting the traffic over the river, to reduce their spatial universality and to highlight their regional characteristics as well as individual creativity are the strategic ways to differentiate localities and gather community consensus. Successful examples which realised these notions are highlighted by using different colours (Figure 156), lighting and additional functions, such as the ferry pier or the ferry's maintenance pier (Figure 157).



Figure 156 Two pictures from the left to the right show two main bridges (Chih Ping Bridge 治平橋 and Chung Tou Bridge 中都橋) in midstream of Love River in the city area designed with different styles and colours (Taken by the author).



Figure 157 Two pictures from the left to the right show different constructed functions of the bridges over Love River in addition to their transporting function, a light-decorated waterfall and the ferry circulation point. The left is Chien Kuo Bridge 建國橋 and the right is Chung Cheng Bridge 中正橋 (Taken by the author).

These bridges over Love River, accordingly, participate within the riverside community as objects of spatial acculturation in Kaohsiung's waterfront. This form of spatial acculturation discussed here, apart from those existing bridges, the attached additional facilities and relevant renovated/reused structures, such as using a disused railway bridge as a bike/pedestrian bridge, also share an emergent attention and recognition whether to revitalise or to create local characteristics by highlighting everyday necessities or regional elements as physical indicators (Figure 158), rather than as placeless infrastructure.



Figure 158 Two pictures from the left to the right show the outdoor loudspeakers which are integrated with the bridge (Kaohsiung Bridge 高雄橋) and a renovated former railway as a pedestrian and bike bridge in Love River outfall (Taken by the author).

Cultural placement: the local cultural centre

As essential aspect of the revitalisation experience of Kaohsiung, like the case of Bilbao, also strongly involves acculturation in space. In the case of Kaohsiung, the so-called “cultural centre” plays a vitally important role, translating cultural subjectivity into spatial imagery. The founding of the community cultural centre in Kaohsiung, arguably, denotes the spatial registration of communitarianism in post-Martial Law Taiwan (such as the Kaohsiung Museum of History and the Red House). The role of the cultural centre in Kaohsiung’s spatial revitalisation has been officially stated:

What can best represent Kaohsiung? ... Cultural assets serve as the core to the beautification, sophistication and glorification of a city. The cultural centres highlight the historical, social and cultural aspects of the everyday lives of the people who have lived in the city. The good times, hard time, livelihood and passion are all well recorded. With the passing of time, the definition of the culture has been revaluated and appreciated in new light. Historical sites, which were once considered nothing but ruins, are now recognised as symbolic to the culture, with each and every site representing a different era through which Taiwan has experienced. People’s change in attitudes has also helped us preserve our historical heritage without bias; to be respected treasured

and protected. This is the spirit of the cultural centres ... Take a trip to one of our various distinguished centres ... and feel the lift of the city inside you. The cultural centres here in Kaohsiung serve as a link for the past and present – traditions that have been passed on for generations, history that has helped shaped us into what we are today, fine arts and contemporary music appreciation and all in the spotlight. In short, we are devoted to arts.²⁵⁹

As one thematic “cultural spatial” element, the Lantern Festival beside Love River in 2001 (Figure 159) was the touchstone of branding the city and changing the river’s popular impression from Kaohsiung’s longstanding shame and tumour to its “glory” today through the establishment of the cultural centres alongside the water. The waterside community today in Kaohsiung has become an indicator of its fashionable culture which is known for its unique characteristics, such as the group of museums, series of urban landmarks, and its waterside activities. This form of cultural placement has successfully re-framed the general picture of Kaohsiung’s river and port for the populace. Moreover, this form of cultural placement has also successfully revitalised the identity of this waterfront city in Taiwan as its well-known appellation - Kang Tou 港都 (harbour city).

高雄燈會水火共舞 璀璨 2009 個「高」燈堆成主題燈 愛河宛如港都

(記者王正杰／高雄報導)高雄燈會燈火、水火共舞主題燈秀2月22日隆重揭開序幕。為了要將最佳的視覺效果呈現給民衆，昨天晚間市府建設局特別測試主題燈，吸引不少民衆前往觀賞。今年的燈會活動精彩可期，尤其以主題燈由2009個「高」的造型字堆疊而成一個巨大的「高」字燈火台，整座主燈長15公尺、寬15公尺、高16.8公尺，在「高」字燈火台旁矗立3根柱子，柱子上方各站立一個運動選手守護著燈火台，每個柱子的柱身展示了「世運會」的34項比賽項目，透過光和水的韻律，炫耀高雄獨一無二的城市性格，也提早感受2009年的脈動，兼具現代、科技及傳統美學。

此外，水火共舞平台設計係以主燈為中心，除了傳統長條形水舞平台外，更增加了左、右共

影。意境，讓展演基地氣勢更加磅礴，亦可讓全國參觀民衆欣賞到一場結合「水、火、聲、光」與眾不同的一場音樂饗宴。

為讓全國民衆感受南台灣不一樣的海港元宵節，市府建設局昨天晚上特別進行主題燈測試工作，當時不少觀光客在愛河旁活動，當主題燈開燈時觀光客紛紛拿出手上相機拍攝。

建設局長李文良表示，今年的元宵節燈火燈秀呈現比往年更輝煌燦爛的視覺效果，整個活動及燈光裝飾將往北延伸至建國橋，屆時愛河兩岸燈光耀耀，夜空下恰如高雄的鑽石腰帶，閃閃動人，不用到巴黎的塞納河，高雄愛河的左岸右岸將帶給民衆一樣的浪漫風情。

(記者王正杰／高雄報導)2005高雄燈會開幕前的暖場表演「燈車遊行晚會」將於2月

校設計精彩、別緻的主題開場演出，預料將為燈會揭開熱烈的序幕。

為使本次活動更具熱鬧、多元與豐富的視聽享受，並充分表現「2009迎世運、健康高雄 YOUNG 起來」的主題特色，承辦單位中華藝術學校動員美術、音樂、舞蹈、影劇、大眾傳播、多媒體動畫等一、二年級學生，擔任主題開場演出，演出內容將分4幕進行。

中華藝校以「2009迎世運、健康高雄 YOUNG 起來」為主題所設計的表演節目，在服裝與道具上耗費巨資，分別有美術科及多媒體動畫科同學扮演多姿多彩的魚類、大型人偶，舞蹈科同學扮演健康活力的運動員，影劇科同學則扮演著不同的民族如西部牛仔、阿拉伯人與非洲土著。

另有音樂科同學扮演的原住民團體，共同展現海洋都會、運動休閒與族群融合的城市面貌，所有表演的服裝及道具都由中華藝術學校師生共同



Figure 159 The left is a news reporting the Lantern Festival with a theme on water and fire (2.19, 2005, Taiwan Daily); the right is the picture showing the festival alongside Love River (Taken by the author).

²⁵⁹ Cultural Affairs Bureau and Kaohsiung City Government, "Kaohsiung, Experience of Obsession, Obsessed to Experience," (2010).

Interestingly, the Lantern Festival which was initially held as a temporary activity in Kaohsiung has later become a well-known quotidian issue and spatial identity of Kaohsiung in Taiwan since its first performance on the water bank combining the landscape of Kaohsiung's river and ocean characteristics in 2001. The determination of preserving the 2001 main festival lantern – “Leaping Dragon-fish” 鯨躍龍翔 - afterwards as one of the cultural centres can be regarded as a motif for Kaohsiung's waterfront cultural placement through a subject-object exchange from temporality to permanency. Today, this lantern in Kaohsiung has become the distinctive example in Taiwan as the branded urban locality of Kaohsiung (Figure 160). The lantern in the midstream portion of Love River was retained and reinforced as a permanent building today to play as a locus of conjoining the road's end and the waterfront. The neighbourhood of the lantern has become one of Kaohsiung's friendly footholds for community residents and tourists today to experience the maritime presence of Kaohsiung. Commercial profits have also been brought into the region due to this phenomenon, in terms of its economic competitiveness.



Figure 160 On the left are images showing the retained 2001 main festival lantern; the pictures on the right show the neighbourhood of the festival lantern (including the side across the river) developed as a popular spot for tourism and day-to-day necessity today (Taken by the author).

In this sense of creating a thematic waterfront landscape for the city, “community designers” were assigned to help the community create a sense of character for the environment. Related academics were also invited to participate in the projects, which establish the connection between professionals and the community establishing a so-called “partnership of Community Development”. This was the idea of the DPP’s Community Development promotion - “small government, big community”, and it has been successfully applied to various layers of Taiwan’s regional governance. Details on waterfront Kaohsiung, such as the ferry pier and the school sailboat training pier, can all be traced from this notion (Figure 161). A new ferry pier was recently built in midstream of Love River in order to connect the transport network from the water to the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts and its neighbourhood, a district which has developed rapidly in the passing years as an expected city centre of the future.²⁶⁰ By highlighting this neighbourhood’s locality, forms of installation art have been set in the watercourse as part of the beautification of the waterfront. In addition, in order to reflect the historic backdrop of this district - the *Makatao* Road²⁶¹ in the neighbourhood as a constructed theme - aboriginal imagery has also been included in the placement of installation art.

²⁶⁰ The community around the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts neighbourhood where used to be an underdeveloped region in Kaohsiung City has been developed very soon in the passing years in terms of its geographic competitiveness next to the museum and its short distance to reach the waterfront. Because this potential and significance of the location, the City Government even had the consideration to relocate the City Hall to this area.

²⁶¹ Under the Community Development conception of recovering the historical identity, a road in this neighbourhood has been named as *Makatao* Road to highlight the region where used to be a major settlement of Kaohsiung’s earliest native tribe.



Figure 161 The left hand side is an image showing the new pier and installation art in Love River watercourse in order to establish the connection and circulation from the river to a new residential district and the Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts nearby; the right hand side is a picture showing the sailboat pier which established alongside Love River by Chi Hsien Junior High School 七賢國中 and the community nearby (Taken by the author).

Waterfront schools in Kaohsiung and their benefits of approaching the waterfront also witness the result of this act of cultural placement. Because of the geographic location next to the river, sailboat activity was introduced as a training course to the schools when the water quality of Love River was improved in the late 1990s. Interestingly, this temporary sailboat activity has now become well-known and popular amongst waterfront schools in Kaohsiung. Nowadays, the sailboat pier is even set on the riverside by the City Government as a fixed facility. “Soft” activities, such as the Lantern Festival and this example, have been transferred into physical hardware sketching the landscape of waterfront Kaohsiung and acting as a spatial realisation of community cultural placement.

Clearly, the renovation of the old City Hall and the later establishment of the cultural centres as an idea of the architectural group in the recent decay have registered post-Martial Law acculturation into space. This is evident from the changes of popular memory about Love River waterfront’s downside scenario:

... ten year ago, if someone proposed to have a walk at Love River waterfront, he must catch unusual eyes from the public. At that time, the only woman haunting there was the prostitute ...²⁶²

The successful revitalisation of the old Kaohsiung City Hall and the environmental renovation in its neighbourhood have opened the window of adopting cultural placement as a means to identify different but relevant characteristics in a community context (e.g. waterfront community). A music hall behind the old City Hall was built in 2000, which functioned as one of the cultural centres in waterfront Kaohsiung. This music hall shares the piazza with the old City Hall and the river through connecting other cultural centres in the community. The neighbourhood of the old City Hall (the Kaohsiung Museum of History today) is revitalised as a centre of the city just as it was in earlier times - not the centre of politics but of culture (Figure 162). The environmental integration, from another perspective, is an enhancement to group different buildings and places together with a unique character. The renovation of the old City Hall neighbourhood uses the integration of cultural activities and Kaohsiung's maritime characteristics to form a waterfront community, which changes the longstanding scenario of this region as an urban slum full of illicit constructions and prostitutes. The openness of the "city fence" - the renovation of the disused wharfs, also strengthens the water image of Kaohsiung, recovering its spatial and cultural authenticity. The strategy of cultural placement and its realisation through various inclusive participatory practices, therefore, have brought the issue of the everyday experience to the forefront.

²⁶² Cheng Huang-Er, ed. *Shuang Cheng Gu Shih (雙城故事)(the Story of Taipei and Kaohsiung City)*, p. 56.



Figure 162 The left image shows the renovation of the old City Hall neighbourhood integrated with waterfront landscape and a group of buildings (culture centres); the right shows the openness of the former military wharf (Wharf 13) which acted as the an urban fence between the waterfront and the city, the wharf today is designed as a close-to-water (water-friendly) urban piazza in conjunction with the sky-line of the city opening towards the populace (Taken by the author).

An intention to link and revitalise the neighbourhood of the waterfront is another issue since the areas alongside the river and the harbour house old communities. The founding of the Kaohsiung Film Archive is one example which highlights this situation and realises this intention. The building mass of the Kaohsiung Film Archive was first renovated as a “public service station” of the KMT (國民黨民眾服務站)²⁶³ from an old school building in the 1970s. The building form of this “public service station” has a united characteristic imposing the KMT’s nationalist ideology of the time (Figure 163) (a symmetrical façade decorated by the Nationalist Party’s emblem). In 1993, the building was used as a practice room for the Chinese Orchestra and later it was renovated as the Film Archive in 2002. The renovation project retained the building form by attaching a skin onto the existing building mass. Through this act, monumentality which was established initially to highlight a nationalist ideology is now transferred into a sense of public building sharing community functions.

²⁶³ The “public service station” here refers to the branch of the KMT’s city chapter in Kaohsiung. During the Martial Law period, KMT force extensively set the public service stations in Taiwan in order to fulfil the autocratic control of native society.



Figure 163 The left shows the current look of the Kaohsiung Film Archive and the centre and right pictures show a KMT public service station today nearby the site, which adopted the same building form yet along with strong nationalist patterns (Taken by the author).

More interestingly, the Kaohsiung Film Archive itself was not just designed to be a base of cinematic culture in southern Taiwan. As one of the cultural centres beside the waterfront, which is highlighted by its community function, the building and its piazza become a pivotal transitional space which gathers all the spatial elements - the old communities, old buildings, regional histories of the waterfront and the residents in the neighbourhood together as a whole (Figure 164). Arguably, this transitional space has created such an opportunity to pinpoint the essential but once ignored urban experience which happens in this place every day. Today, many students in this district are happy to use the bank of the river through this transitional space as a routine circulation between their homes and school. The school, in a similar sense, has also freed the grounds of studying area towards this transitional space. Several multi-functional chambers have been placed and superseded the concrete fence of the school creating a so-called “cultural corridor”. This “cultural corridor” houses an idea of cultural placement which combines an educational space during the day and an alternative function as a commercial cultural space at night. It also identifies the place as a unique locality. On the other hand, this is not only a form of urban experience which shows a daily routine of the community residents and citizens; it also shows an understanding which is experienced by various visitors, such as tourists or newcomers who interact spontaneously with this environment. As a spatial and cultural convergence, the neighbourhood of the Film Archive not only supplies and enhances the cultural necessities of the community members but also creates an urban attraction for outsiders who are able to experience the maritime presence of Kaohsiung in different ways. In other words, they can either physically visit the site or visually “zigzag” the site across the watercourse. They

can also mentally “wander” the site even extend the scope towards the whole city by exploring the urban and cultural history by visiting of the cultural centres. These spatial practices realise the idea of museumisation which has effectively translated urban experience and popular memory from a formal and external presentation into interior exhibition - a two dimensional and narrative medium. No matter whether they gather inside or intersect with different cultural centres, this act of interaction becomes a unique conversation between space and cultural identity. The neighbourhood of the Film Archive, therefore, brands the forms of different but relevant cultural substances by using ideas of communitarianism, homogenisation, commodification and globalisation in space. More importantly, this form of “cultural centre” is not only a social agglomeration for the daily users but also a registration of the openness towards the general public presenting a spatial character which echoes Kaohsiung’s maritime multiplicity, even post-Martial Law Taiwan’s multi-accentual heteroglossia.



Figure 164 Three examples show forms of spatial renovation and social agglomeration in Kaohsiung’s waterfront community (the neighbourhood of the Kaohsiung Film Archive). The first picture is the piazza of the Kaohsiung Film Archive integrating the waterfront and other cultural facilities. The second is the lane way between Love River and Yancheng Junior High School 鹽埕國中, several multi-functional cambers have been added to act as the “Love River Cultural Corridor” and “Cultural Night Market” (Taken by the author). The third is a picture showing the night time of the lane way (Tseng Li-shu, 2006: p. 17).

Wetlands and the green band

Environmental issues, in this day and age, are ineluctable issues no matter whether observing the urban regeneration of Manchester or the cultural politics of identity and architecture which has been analysed in this study. Environmental improvement is often borrowed as a means of spatial reformation, including the revitalisation case of the Kaohsiung waterfront.

The waterfront, in this sense, is therefore regarded as a green band of Kaohsiung; the green band is also a chief space of citizens' activities. However, this band was never developed before the time when the populace noticed that the waterfront is in fact not a tumour of the city but a treasure. From 1997 onwards, NGOs²⁶⁴ have played crucial roles on behalf of public opinion to work with the authorities in order to build up the green band of Kaohsiung. The wetland system is a distinctive example of their combined effort. Although the conservation of the natural environment is less relevant to the consideration in space but an ecological conception, the implication beyond conservation is highly related to the construction/restoration of this city's spatial identification. A recent example was the re-programming of the Jhong-du Wetland as a basin park of Love River in its midstream portion from an industrial land next to the former Tangrong Brick-kiln (Figure 165).²⁶⁵ In this case, the wetland system has been combined with the historical site, the cultural centre and the water bank becoming a green band park in the city area of Kaohsiung. By associating a series of green band parks, an ecological network has been conjoined with the waterfront. Today's post-industrial identity therefore has been regenerated (Figure 166).

²⁶⁴ The non-governmental-organisations here mainly refer to several specific environmental organisations in Taiwan, such as the Wetlands Taiwan 台灣溼地聯盟, who was the key to establish the wetland system in Kaohsiung.

²⁶⁵ This re-programmed wetland is called the Jhong-du Wetland 中都溼地, which is indicated in the right bottom in Figure 166.



Figure 165 Two pictures indicate the Jhong-du Wetland Park in construction (Taken by the author).

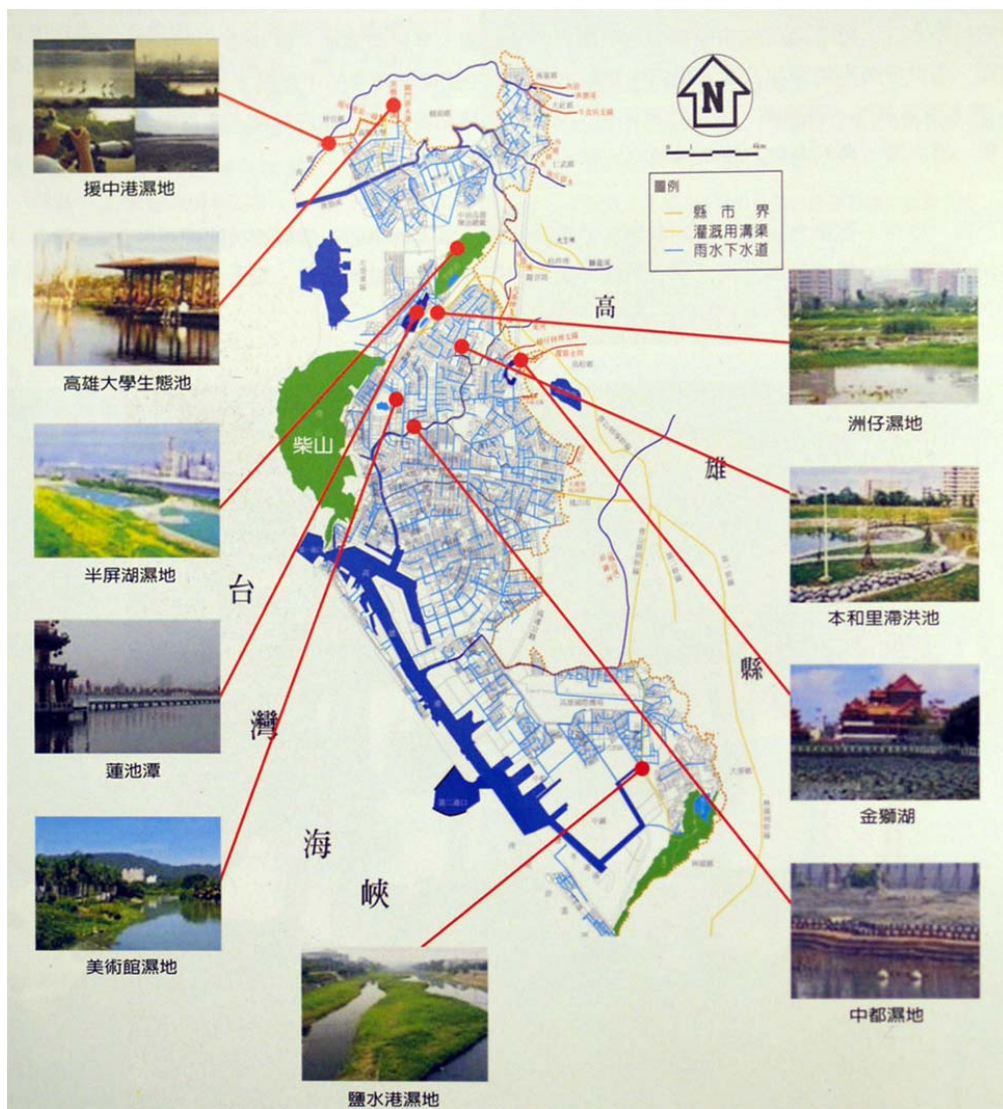


Figure 166 The figure shows the wetland system in Kaohsiung city (Tseng Li-shu, 2006: p. 186).

If the demolition of the concrete bank is a nostalgic form of the natural river bank, the highlight of the wetland is the contestation to the previous image which denoted Kaohsiung as a solely industrial city. Man-made wetlands through this ideology are therefore to highlight the network of the green system in Kaohsiung and to decentralise/transform its previous industrial residues. Consequently, a negotiation between human-centred and natural-centred orientations represents the post-Martial Law social, cultural and political tendency as a form of appropriate fuzziness instead of choices of extremeness (such as nationalism and populism).

A COMMUNITY “INFECTION” OR A SPONTANEOUS REACTION?

In summary, the success of adopting cultural placement and everyday-centred construction to renovate, restore, or build up forms of locality and a community consensus is today recognised by government and the populace. This success seems to speak of an infective phenomenon in modern Taiwan. However, this “cultural effect” in post-war Taiwan has also drawn a distinction between itself and other global well-known cases. Unlike the clear economic target which was involved in cases of spatial (re)vitalisation and (re)construction, such as Bilbao and Melbourne, the case of Kaohsiung seems to draw more attention on its intention of generating public consensus in culture. The very recent renovation case of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum provides a close look at this phenomenon. The renovation project itself, particularly its spatial imagery, has shown an attempt to represent contemporary popular culture, no matter whether the economic and social efficiency of the project is positive or negative. In other words, this phenomenon is far more complex than just a collective community “infection”.

The renovation of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum was performed along with an extension of the waterfront community in 2010. The Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum, built in 1997, was not exactly a successful example of placing culture in the community although it was founded under this purpose (Figure 167). From an architectural and cultural

perspective, the museum was built in a traditional Taiwanese *Hakka* house form²⁶⁶ but in fact the building itself was highlighted by symbols of nationalism and modernity. More precisely, while the external form of the museum basically followed a Taiwanese *Hakka* compound style, the adoption of the Martial Law time's spatial means which comprised a symmetric layout, a monumentalised front plaza along with a row of flagpoles, the simplified members of the building, and the extensive use of modern materials had indicated strong symbolism of the nation and its modernisation instead of *Hakka* culture itself, not to mention *Hakka* culture's settlement within the neighbourhood. As a result, the museum had been closed for years due to the weak cooperation with the neighbourhood and the occupation of illicit constructions in the surroundings. The museum and its neighbourhood were reconsidered by this downside situation and renovated in 2010 when the Community Development conception agitated for change. Although the site, after the renovation (Figure 168), is still contestable that whether it is successful or not, but there are several changes are apparently worth examining more closely in terms of its involvement with the conception of Community Development, which has been applied to Love River community in Kaohsiung.



Figure 167 The prior look of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum main mass (Taken by the author).

²⁶⁶ The typical building form generally appears on Taiwan's traditional *Hakka* houses and its distinction between itself and other *Hakka* buildings worldwide is discussed in the section later.



Figure 168 The Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum after a recent renovation and extension (Taken by the author).

First, the “fence” is opened and the environment has been integrated. The building masses of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum, after a recent renovation and extension, are placed in an integrated waterfront park which is accessible and friendly to residents. Secondly, the building objects have been decentralised. The subject of this project is no longer the masses themselves alone but also the whole site where communicates and interacts with the populace. Finally, the image of authority has been removed. In other words, the project now is closer to the emerging “collective individualities”, which are individually and freely existing but collectively and spontaneously recognised.

Curiously, when the museum is observed as an architectural object, apart from the environmental and symbolic changes from the Martial Law period’s nationalist principle to today’s community openness, it is noticeable that in comparison to the prior museum main building mass, its extension has shown several changes which imply a different cultural context. First, its cultural essence (*Hakka-ness*) is still suggested by the building form, but the new adoption of the style also suggests a sense of “foreignness” instead of authentic locality. The site of the museum is regarded as the centre of Kaohsiung’s *Hakka* settlement. Repeated survey also suggests that Kaohsiung’s *Hakka* community is a convergence of Taiwan’s north, middle and south *Hakka* migrants. In other words, the spatial imagery of Kaohsiung’s *Hakka* community should be represented only within the island. However, if the new building form of the museum extension is examined, the *Yuen Lou* (圓樓, literally roundhouse) style never appears as an architectural form in Taiwan’s *Hakka* community.

Generally speaking, a traditional *Hakka* building in Taiwan is very similar to the form of the *Minnan* style house.²⁶⁷ Besides the slight differences between these two styles, which can be found in their functional placements and decorative members, the basic layout is always a compound. The roundhouse style usually refers to the *Hakka* community which settled in a mountain area implying its functional and structural purposes of fortification. The adoption of this building form in the extension of the museum, therefore, shows an attempt of transferring forms of symbolic nationalism and modernity to forms of quotidian regionalism and multicultural post-modernism. The spirit of the building today is no longer just registered on the external form but represented through the interaction with the populace highlighting the involvement of subjectivity. The external form acts only as a hook (no matter whether it is authentic or not); the real essence of the project is in actual fact the indication of the *Hakka* and the neighbourhood.

Therefore, the question arises: Is this a spatial and cultural “infection” of the Community Development phenomenon in post-Martial Law Taiwan? This phenomenon is clearly evident from the continuous extension of the waterfront community. The two ends of Love River discussed in previous sections²⁶⁸ in 2010 are no longer regarded as the ends today. The waterfront construction now is extended from the upstream portion of the river towards its branch canals; it is also extended from the outfall of the river towards the coast of the city and its ports (Figure 169). The waterfront of the city is today being reconsidered as a new identification. The continuous practice of the bridge phenomenon is one distinctive example (Figure 170). However, this “infection” is thematic but everyday based, it is individually existing but collectively recognised, and it is top-down planned but participated in from the bottom-up. Most importantly, it is argued here as a form of new identity construction in space and in Taiwan’s cultural domain after Martial Law was lifted after 1987. To be critical, this is rather a spontaneous reaction of remaking new Kaohsiung city identity which is recognised and consented to by its citizens in an emerging democratic context.

²⁶⁷ The *Minnan* style house is discussed in **Chapter 2**: Taiwan’s post-Martial Law “heteroglossia”.

²⁶⁸ The two ends here refer to the analytical area from the upstream portion to the outfall of Love River, which is defined in Figure 143 and its relevant discussion.



Figure 169 The ongoing phenomenon of developing up Kaohsiung's waterfront. The left and the right images show the expansion from the current two ends of the mainstream portion of Love River towards the sea and the city area (Taken by the author and sourced from the Urban Development Bureau, Kaohsiung City Government).



Figure 170 Two pictures show the continuous construction and improvement of the waterfront facilities, such as the bridge renovation and floodgate beautification (Taken by the author).

This civic reaction through spontaneousness is evident when the city of Kaohsiung is examined between its chronologic burden (no matter whether in its politics or economy) and its freshness of being identified as Taiwan's southern capital. Cheng Huang-Er highlights Kaohsiung citizens' eventual preference through the depiction of the 2006 Kaohsiung City Mayor Election:

Compared with eight years ago, the economic condition of Kaohsiung has not been improved! Economy is still the conundrum which puzzles the bottom class populace in

Kaohsiung City ... but it is very tricky in the mayor election this time that the citizens of Kaohsiung did not vote for the candidate who has the academic background in economics to solve Kaohsiung's plight of depressed economic ... this result is mobilised by a strength of public recognition.²⁶⁹

For a long time, Kaohsiung was constructed as an industrial and commercial city in terms of spatial identity. Therefore, spatial considerations as well as development for a long time followed this orientation. Although the concern of Kaohsiung's native cultural construction had been on the agenda in periods of the KMT mayorship, the focus on industrial and commercial development had made this identification ambiguous due to their character of internationality. Moreover, because of the fixed orientation on industry and commercial activities, cultural construction was often sacrificed; the demolition of series of historical sites built in the Japanese period is one example. Because of this, Kaohsiung used to be described as a "desert of culture" by the general public. This "desert" was a place which could not accommodate the earlier identity construction of Chinese nationalist culture since most of the "essential" cultural elements of the time were located in Taipei.

However, from 1998 onwards, cultural policy was redefined by the new government of Kaohsiung (and the new state authority from 2000 to 2008) as a means to brand the city. A different focus on cultural construction, especially through spatial practices, has shaped a dramatic change of identity construction, and also gained strong public support. This current shape of identity does not follow the previous focus on just improving the economic infrastructure but also the cultural and societal infrastructure. This is the reason why the idea of Community Development has come to the forefront as a form of ascendant discourse in modern Taiwan and been differentiated from those economic oriented cases elsewhere in the world.

It is apparent that the physical impact of Community Development in the post-Martial Law built environment is neither realised from the founding of the issue as a top-down cultural policy nor entirely from the community members' participation as a bottom-up mobilisation

²⁶⁹ Cheng Huang-Er, ed. *Shuang Cheng Gu Shih (雙城故事)(the Story of Taipei and Kaohsiung City)*, p. 178.

but as an establishment of spontaneous consciousness. In other words, the founding of the cultural policy was a motif for advocating the idea of Community Development into Taiwan's spatial practices. The community members' participation was an attempt to adjust the previous impacts of a nationalist base which could not work well nowadays. The real contribution of the idea of Community Development towards the built world of post-war Taiwan should put down to the cultural politics constructed via this movement. This form of cultural politics, like symbolic nationalism constructed as an identified discourse in the early post-war built environment, also commenced from political intentions.²⁷⁰ However, it surprisingly shows a success afterwards, which has been evidenced by high public recognition. This transformation is also evident from the boundary effacement amongst the political, ethnic and cultural biases, particularly in its application to spatial reformation. The reason is argued here as a chief difference, when compared to the KMT's nationalist means, that the idea of Community Development, imperceptibly, has constructed forms of appropriate fuzziness, which satisfy the anxiety of Taiwanese people about post-war Taiwan's powerless status and its loss of self-consciousness.

The so-called community, argued here in post-Martial Law Taiwan, is a contestation of local individualities and diversification as an agency instead of state authority and sole universality. The concept of community is neither to impose an imagination of history nor to recover the complete traditions from the past without any consideration but to convert the authentic elements from history and culture into resources which might benefit different aspects of society, such as education, cultural industry or tourism. Therefore, its application to architecture is neither objective nor subjective but intersubjective, i.e. it is able to open a dialogue and negotiate with the populace and popular culture. From Kaohsiung's "glocalisation" experience, forms of imposed industrial and Chinese nationalist culture have been challenged since the decentralisation of the state authority and the legitimisation of public opinion. Kaohsiung's maritime presence, when compared to its

²⁷⁰ It is undeniable that Community Development was developed with a strong political intention from the DPP, which aimed to use indigenisation (Taiwanisation) against KMT's more than half century Greater China indoctrination.

industrial culture and Chinese nationalist culture, plays a more authentic and recognisable role for the populace which is simultaneously cultivated by it and spontaneously proud of it.

CONCLUSION:
IDENTITY AND ARCHITECTURE FROM THE OTHER

INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS THE “OTHER”?

This thesis is a study of post-war urban Taiwan. Yet as the sub-title states that “knowing from the other”, the analytical perspectives of the thesis reflect post-war Taiwan’s architectural and urban evolution and its history from not purely architectural points of view. This thesis aims to explore a social, cultural and political problem which was chaotic and suppressed in the past but is emerging as a significant and systematic order within Taiwanese architecture and urbanism today. For that reason, the context, relevant theoretical issues, forms of high culture, and a once gloomy popular culture as well as a most recent phenomenon in Taiwan society and its architecture are assayed and placed in the study. As the physical evidence which reflects this phenomenon in spatial practices, different ideas and cases of “community” conception disregarding the longstanding imagery constructed under typical “Taipei model” (external and nationalist constructed), no matter whether domestically or worldwide, are pinpointed.

PROBLEMS AND POSITION OF TAIWAN STUDIES

For a long time, the field of Taiwan Studies has been positioned awkwardly. First, Taiwan’s ambiguous and complex definition raises the difficulty of placing its status nationally and internationally. Secondly, because of Taiwan’s unclear position, the location of Taiwan Studies is easily marginalised through being subordinate to broader study fields. Moreover, the state apparatus’s intervention in this study field, to a certain degree, still dominates the context as a form of high culture. As a consequence, this intervention interacts with various cultural confrontations (for instance, in ethnic aspects) forming Taiwan’s inevitable awkwardness – as a non-national nation state. In other words, although the study field of Taiwan contains rich and colourful layers of history and culture as a whole, it is not yet, in reality, completely hybridised in its native society and in the global context as a strong study subject.

Nevertheless, these problems still legitimise Taiwan Studies as a unique research category. In political economics, Taiwan's national and international economic evolution is doubtless representative amongst Asian countries. In geographic terms, Taiwan's location in the Pan-Pacific also draws significance to the field of study. In history, Taiwan's variety of existing cultural residues transcends its location from a regional or specific national subject to a global context. Lastly in cultural forms, especially in architectural and urban representations, Taiwan Studies not only satisfy the position of studying Taiwan but also are identified as a crucial element in cross-cultural studies. This thesis, therefore, based on these conditions, highlights Taiwan's academic significance through examining its cultural politics as they are represented in architecture and urbanism.

THE CONTEXT

By looking at Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan as the texts in a quasi-colonial context, three different stories have been composed under different social circumstances. Hong Kong is the representative that eventually affiliates to another political power. Although the conditions of ethnicities and location in Hong Kong are geopolitically connected to China, the latest political flux in 1997, interestingly, seems to highlight a long term anxiety about identity. The reason why anxiety about identity remains strong is based on the lack of historical and cultural recognition, self-definition, and the impact of internationalisation. Hong Kong's spatial imagery therefore reveals a sense of impermanence, apart from its highly characteristic hyper-density. In stark contrast, Singapore moves towards a different direction - independence. Because of the political segregation from the Malay Peninsula and its distinctive multi-racial characteristics, the Singaporean model is targeted to be developed as an international city-state with a strong economic-oriented policy conducted by the ideological collectivity of the government. The social and cultural, even spatial, representations all strictly follow Singapore's semi-authoritarian system.

However, post-war Taiwan, its socio-political evolution, interestingly, is situated somewhere in between Hong Kong and Singapore. The political and national status of post-war Taiwan is blurred although its status quo as a de facto independent country is relatively clear.

Taiwan's pervasive cultural system, undoubtedly, is relevant to shared *Han* culture, but its geopolitical and indigenous maritime presence is on the other hand dramatically different from the roots of so-called mainland culture. In early post-war Taiwan, its society was highlighted by rapid economic achievement but ruled by the KMT's authoritarian Martial Law. In post-war Taiwan's spatial imagery in its early years, interestingly, the position of "Taiwan" was absent but strongly taken by a "Chinese orthodoxy". This situation hence caused a competition between the subject positions of Taiwan and China later at the end of Taiwan's Martial Law period. Forms of Chinese and Taiwanese nationalism, therefore, could be regarded as chief representations of Martial Law Taiwan's cultural politics of identity in architecture.

The constructed collectivity of nationalism in post-war Taiwan was challenged, and the context of Taiwan society became no longer simplified when Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Suddenly, those "others" beyond nationalism, which were for a long time ignored and marginalised, even decentralised, rose to the surface as crucial elements of native culture and politics in Taiwan society. Amongst them, issues concerning everyday life are noticed; forms of indigenous consciousness are discussed; Taiwan's cultural subjectivity is conceived and stands at the forefront prior to the previous imagination of Greater China in the past. The field of literature and its reinterpretation in native cinema have reflected this phenomenon from the outset. The native built environment, based on its complex context, has recently mirrored this phenomenon.

To be precise, the social and spatial circumstances in the post-Martial Law era show a great change - from a form of ideological simplification to another form representing multi-accentual heteroglossia. This change has a twofold meaning. First, the presence of subjectivity in the post-Martial Law era has shifted from an authority to an agency orientation. The once dominant collectivity of the KMT dictatorship, nowadays, is no longer legitimate and convincing enough in Taiwan society when the self-consciousness of the populace has been awakened after the lifting of Martial Law. Instead, forms of emerging collective "individualities" comprise various individual values as a present mainstream construction of subjectivity in Taiwan society today. Secondly, the past is able to be rectified and reinterpreted. Because of Taiwan's colourful colonial character, its historiography is always connected to different rulers and their constructed ideologies. Many aspects of

historic facts in official discourses are frequently concealed and revealed as “others” in terms of the good of the political power of the time. However, this situation is able to be amended today. Due to the rise of individual autonomy, the populace who, de facto experienced Taiwan’s history, is now able to speak and highlight different trajectories of the past. Those “others”, therefore, are able to be understood and re-appraised by the public. New foci and attitudes of historiography in Taiwan such as oral history are widely recognised today to be compared with official historical discourses. Most importantly, “records” of history are no longer unique, unchallenged and superior.

With this dramatic change in Taiwan society, the built environment in post-Marital Law Taiwan and its interplay with Taiwanese people have also adjusted. First, the movement of geographic identification is noticeable. Along with the rise of indigenous consciousness, geographic identification is no longer imaginary but nostalgic. Taiwan is situated at the centre of native society today rather than at the margin; the bloody and brutal part of its past is no longer untouchable but memorable and tangible. Although there was a short period of social isolation which appeared as a resistance to previous Chinese nationalism, which was aggressively presented as Taiwan nationalism in the 1970s and the 1980s, this insularity has been transformed into a cosmopolitan context along with Taiwan’s geopolitical maritime culture. Secondly, a hybrid character formed from Taiwan’s colourful colonial past has been reflected in space as the present imagery of Taiwan’s heteroglossic society. Nostalgic forms, such as *Washitsu* and the *Minnan* style spaces, which originally came from Japan and China, are now idealised as common room settings in modern Taiwan. These spaces no longer indicate their very original locations but reinterpret Taiwan’s popular memory as an adaptive transfiguration in Taiwan. Those daily spaces, such as the temple gateway and the night market, which represent the everyday life of today’s Taiwan society, therefore become more critical than those ideological forms which were symbolically constructed in architecture. The rise of Community Development and its spatial practices bear distinctive witness to this.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Issues of Community Development in post-war Taiwan are developed along with, varied, and differentiated from its social identification and recognition in native historiography. The term “Community Development” was first used in Taiwan in 1965. At the time the term and its idea were borrowed from the UN’s economic restoration project which was designed for mainly post-war developing countries. However, policy-based propaganda was the only chance to perform community development in the Martial Law period when Taiwan was entirely dominated by an authoritarian government. The idea of Community Development was once again reinterpreted and highlighted from the 1990s onwards when the identification of native society and the recognition of native history re-sketched mainstream values in Taiwan society. Concepts of consciousness, empowerment and participation are pinpointed and legitimised in this new wave of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan along with its emerging significance of pushing Taiwan’s cultural indigenisation, subjectivation (construction of subjectivity) and the individual autonomy of the populace.

Architecturally, Community Development is regarded as a concrete practice to represent the emergence of self-consciousness, local empowerment as well as public participation of the populace in the tangible, physical and visible built environment. Spatial practices of Community Development, from the 1990s onwards, show a nostalgic and active sense in Taiwan’s post-Martial Law development of architecture through several shifts which were against state collectivity and social suppression in the early post-war years. Although the efficiency of this social performance is still debateable, a bottom-up participation to construct the built environment, especially its everyday spaces, in which the populace faces frequently, has dramatically shocked the contemporary thinking within Taiwanese architecture. Through the ideas of Community Development, the social construction of identity is linked to space; the imagination of “home” is now able to be conceived and realised by individuals along with quotidian necessities and the popular culture of Taiwan society. Furthermore, the ideology of forming civil society is now superseding Martial Law nationalist collectivity as a mainstream value. In architectural practices, concepts of grassroots participation/mobilisation, the involvement of the CCA and NGOs, and the impact of globalisation have turned the foci not only on building objects but also on their

interplay and subjectivation (process of constructing subjectivity) with and from designers, users, and supervisors. Significant public debate and practical discourses of adaptive reuse, participatory design, and everyday concerns have presented an experience and relevant attempts to achieve all these ideas.

“TYPICALITY”

The observation of Taipei and its architectural representation is the first case of Community Development which has been embodied in physical space along with Taiwan’s historic backdrop, social value and geographic identification. As Taiwan’s once only great metropolis, Taipei represents Taiwan’s iconic variable powers from its colourful colonial past combining with its urban experience, which is evident when one reads the evolution of Taipei’s urban texture from its earlier years to the present. Although spatial hybridisation accounts for part of the current urban fabric of Taipei, individual spatial distinctions from different ruling periods still lead the character of the city’s architecture today. From an urban point of view, the geographic expansion and chronological layers of the city area of Taipei are able to shed light on this phenomenon. It is notable to mention that on the one hand, even though Taipei is now known as the home to one of Taiwan’s very native tribe, *Katagalam*, this fact in this day and age only exists marginally as a name.²⁷¹ On the other hand, all the external impacts, interestingly, have taken physical form. For instance, the former Chinese and Japanese settlements defined the origin of the city; the centre of the city area is sketched by the infrastructure which was mainly constructed by the Japanese Empire; the current grid circulation system of the city is distinguishable from a miniature of the ROC map imposed

²⁷¹ Physical trajectory of the *Katagalam* tribe today in Taiwan is nearly extinct no matter its language or its cultural traditions, the only non-academic record which can remind the public about *Katagalam*’s existence as part of Taiwanese people’s genealogy today probably can be only found from the name of *Katagalam* Boulevard 凱達格蘭大道, a road in front of Taiwan’s Presidential Building in Taipei. *Katagalam* Boulevard was renamed from Long-lived Chiang Kai-shek Road 介壽路 by former mayor of Taipei, Chen Shui-bian, to commemorate this tribe.

by the KMT force, and some of the current district names use the traditional *Machi* system nominated by the Japanese. From an architectural point of view, the image of variable powers is also obvious at first glance. The most representative case is the Presidential Office Building. This building, ironically, represents not only the current state power of Taiwan but also the former autocratic KMT government, even the Japanese Empire's highest political institute in Taiwan (the Taiwan *Sotokufu*). Other examples, such as the current chief governmental buildings, which were built in the Japanese era, former city gates, which represent the city which followed a traditional southern Chinese city layout, former ruling powers and rulers' memorial halls, which represent marked cultural and public spots of the city. All clearly address this phenomenon.

Even if this character is strong when one reads the city of Taipei as a whole, the post-Martial Law Community Development tendency still brings changes and challenges. If the city and the architecture of Taipei, which used to be regarded as a prototype of the modern Taiwanese built environment, the building cases of Community Development, recently emerge in Taipei as playing a role to change this mindset. Take the Red House as an example, the building is undeniably a site which encountered different periods under different political and social ideologies. The Japanese-Western building form and its structure, which previously functioned as a government-built public market, propagandist theatres for Greater China complex, and even its current extension for commercial function, all stand for the fact. However, what are highlighted in this day and age about this building are neither these power interventions nor the building masses themselves. Rather, the highlighted issues of the Red House today are its social values, which the histories of the building stand for, and its symbolic recognition as an everyday necessity of the neighbourhood. What the project of the Red House pinpointed is a new identification and understanding about the spatial construction and its spatiotemporal conditions, such as history, environmental texture and symbolic functions. The concern of a building nowadays is not only with the building object but also with its context and the subjects which interact with it. In short, the role of this kind of building in today's Taiwan is twofold: one presents itself to the populace as an object, and the other represents the populace to history as a witness.

THE EMERGENT OTHERNESS

Yet, the city of Taipei is no longer legitimised enough as a sole example to examine post-war Taiwan's spatial imagery today. Kaohsiung shows a different but comparatively closer situation to Taiwan's current status. Similar to many other cities in Taiwan, Kaohsiung comprises a specific character and geopolitical conditions based on its history, geographic location and cultural base. But, this city had never been noticed and valued in its post-war time before the 1990s. In other words, nearly all the resources in Taiwan were distributed to Taipei no matter whether socially, culturally and politically. Kaohsiung, at the time, was only regarded as an industrial city although this city physically played a vitally important role not only as an economic but also a cultural and diplomatic key of modern Taiwan. The city of Kaohsiung, like Taipei, also encountered various forms of political imposition, such as Japan's colonial rule and the KMT's dictatorship, which can be seen from trajectories of their urban and architectural interventions. Nonetheless, an organised negligence from the central government in Taipei, to a certain extent, seems to provide the potential for reducing the political "thought reform" to those cities which are outside of Taipei, apart from a lack of resources. Namely, these cities have gained the space to maintain their cultural and social authenticity out of early post-war years' cultural and political "unification" in Taiwan. Particularly, this phenomenon is highlighted by public resistance – a form of cultural consensus – to external imposition, i.e. no matter whether the chronic industrialisation since the Japanese time, or a nearly blank development during the KMT mayors' governance, Kaohsiung is always known as Taiwan's *Kang Tou*, the famous harbour city in Taiwan due to its strong maritime cultural characteristics. Therefore, Kaohsiung's spatial identification began to show its specific character not from its economic achievements but from its cultural and spatial potential. One historic and geographic characteristic of Kaohsiung – water – is the crucial example.

The Kaohsiung Museum of History is a building project which witnessed this spatial identification. Adopting the conception of Community Development, the museum was renovated and opened to the public in 1998, from a former City Hall which used to be a restricted zone only opening for the authorities. By respecting and facing the de facto background of being ruled by the Japanese Empire and the Nationalist authoritarian

government, the main mass of the site, with a symmetric layout and ceremonial form as a military/official building, has been retained. Nevertheless, the function and part of the interior have been considered as integrating with the neighbourhood as a museum space. Moreover, the building project was also designed to play a role as a community centre in the neighbourhood through connecting the waterfront and groups of cultural centres in the Kaohsiung city area. Of course, this museum is only one of the nascent projects in Kaohsiung's post-Martial Law reformation. This reformation, crucially, has pinpointed a milestone of the spatial generation/regeneration of Kaohsiung's cultural and local network, which, for the first time, has been clearly created/revitalised since the end of World War II.

IDEOLOGY

Structurally, the post-Martial Law built environment along with its turning conception - Community Development - can be read at two different levels, from an architectural and a theoretical point of view. The architectural level concerns political, historical and practical aspects, whereas the theoretical level focuses on social and political aspects.

It goes without saying that the architectural transformation and identification in the post-Martial Law era commenced from changes of reception in historical consensus and native historiography in the late 1980s, which largely echo through the movements of Taiwanisation 本土化 and Name Rectification 正名運動 in Taiwan society afterwards. In detail, previous conceptions of seeing historical sites architecturally with a context of five thousand years Chinese history has been gradually amended to be with the context of four hundred years of actual Taiwan history. The once definition of a historical site, *Kuchi* (recognition of antiquity), has therefore been gradually transferred to the idea of *Cultural Heritage* concerning more, the concept of cultural values. And the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* which was enacted in 1983 consequently becomes crucial in this sense. In supervisory aspect, the founding of the CCA (The Council for Cultural Affairs) in 1981, and its cultural policy of Community Development (announced in 1994) have theorised an idea which applies to post-Martial Law Taiwan's spatial practices from a top-down approach. On the other hand, from a bottom-up mobilisation, historical site preservation is a strategy of

performing Community Development conception in space. Through the approaches of adaptive reuse and museumisation, Community Development highlights an emergent relationship between Taiwan's spatial past and current localities, i.e. these two approaches focus on a building's native past and its presence. At one level, the adaptive reuse of a historical building connects the past and the presence with the "hardware" - the existing and new materials, spaces and building forms. At the other level, the issue of spatial museumisation fully uses the "software" - activities, exhibitions and events - as the medium, such as authentic cultural forms and quotidian existence of the building, and its current usage, between the history of the neighbourhood and the populace today.

The theoretical level of post-Martial Law Taiwan's built environment, when compared with its architectural aspect, is less practical and tangible. Rather, it shows an intention to adjust the ideological understanding constructed during the Martial Law period. Before the late 1990s, the so-called Chinese orthodoxy was the chief formal or "indigenous" cultural identity to be achieved when one read architectural practices in the then social context. Yet, since the emergence of individual consciousness and different attitudes toward a new reception of the history of Taiwan gradually awakened after the lifting of Martial Law, a new ideological consensus of the public gradually expanded from the political domain to various spatial related disciplines. More precisely, a shared *Han* culture is no longer the only identified text of Taiwanese architecture. In formation, external form is no longer enough to express an emergent recognition of society and culture in post-Martial Law Taiwan. The indigenisation of Taiwan's spatial object in this new stage is reinterpreted by a relatively complicated and abstract ideology - ideas of citizenship and the publicity. Begun from a top-down cultural policy, the idea of citizenship wanted to evoke and encourage autonomous individuality from a previous social atmosphere which was overshadowed by a collective suppression; the idea of the publicity wanted to attract attentions from the populace on the de facto everyday necessities and lives of the neighbourhood rather than on an imaginary illusion which was constructed by political propaganda. Bottom-up practices as the following of these ideas have been realised as ways of spatial identification. In short, individualities and communication between space and humankind have been developed as new ideas of producing and distinguishing spaces in the current society of post-Martial Law Taiwan.

QUOTIDIAN ARCHITECTURE

As a cultural apparatus of political policy in post-Martial Law Taiwan, Community Development has the actual impact in spatial aspects in terms of its function of connecting the past, places and the people who are relevant to them. In other words, this issue represents a change of social atmosphere after the lifting of Martial Law, from a form of simplified collectivity to emerging “collective individualities”. The individuals who have different backgrounds and historical or memorial identifications are therefore crucial to the construction of contemporary space in Taiwan today. Kaohsiung and its distinctive maritime presence as well as architectural characteristics have represented this phenomenon. Unlike Taipei, recent spatial practices in Kaohsiung in a successful manner combine its colonial past, and even transcend it, creating its own spatial identity and cultural locality. Using water as a hinge, Kaohsiung’s built environment receives a strong consensus to be developed with participation from both the government and the populace. Love River, a river which is located and across the city centre of Kaohsiung, in this transformation plays a vitally important role to link popular memory, geographic characteristics and community members. These three pivotal elements comprise essential and indigenous substances of spatial Kaohsiung. Particularly, an idea of group architecture takes a remarkable position in the community alongside the river no matter whether it is a group of adaptive reused projects, a group of de-industrial projects, a group of historical revitalisation projects, a group of infrastructure localisation projects, a group of cultural placement projects or a group of landscape design projects. By using this strategy, Kaohsiung’s waterfront community highlights a relationship between parts and the whole as a strong social character in post-Martial Law Taiwan. On the one hand, multi-accentual characteristics in society reinterpret Taiwan’s different cultural parts - its post-Martial Law heteroglossia. On the other hand, a consensual identity translates Kaohsiung’s unique locality in Taiwan as a whole when one examines this city as a context. In this sense, those projects which were initially constructed as political achievements of different political parties’ ruling periods are now combined together and merged into everyday necessities, even spatial identities, based on the awakening consciousness and subjectivities in Taiwan’s post-Martial Law era. Through the movement of Community Development, a process of their spatial generation/regeneration, building objects which exist or are newly constructed alongside the waterfront therefore

spontaneously and intersubjectively associate with cultural authenticity, regional history and everyday users. Iconic architectural cases along with a strong recognition from the general public are consequently formed.

The cases of Taipei and Kaohsiung, interestingly, clearly show that Community Development itself is in actual fact not just influential and visible through those projects but invisibly strong through forms of post-Martial Law societal recognition, consensus, cultural political performance, and mobilisation of the individuals. Nonetheless, this cultural political flux still strongly conceives the current way of constructing, using and seeing a building object. The once frustrating anxiety about hybrid cultural and spatial identity now becomes an acceptable form of appropriate fuzziness; the existence of once omitted but essential everyday life is now exposed and re-highlighted. Most importantly, the leading role of this post-Martial Law space is therefore identified. Space is generated not only from a clear objective and indigenised subjectivity but also from a bidirectional interaction which is intersubjectively characterised in the post-Martial Law era and differentiated from Taiwan's authoritarian post-war years.

CONCLUSION: WRITING AN ASCENDANT DISCOURSE OVER NATIONALISM

It is, above all, a discourse that is by no means in direct, corresponding relationship with political power in the raw, but rather is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power shaped to a degree by the exchange with power political (as with a colonial or imperial establishment), power intellectual (as with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences), power cultural (as with orthodoxies and canons of taste, texts values), power moral (as with ideas about what "we" do and what "they" cannot do or understand as "we" do).²⁷²

²⁷² Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 12.

A POST-COLONIAL STANDPOINT IN QUASI-COLONIAL TAIWAN

This thesis is intended as a history of post-war urban Taiwan, which is commensurate with the understanding of Taiwan's history which is commonly circulated worldwide nowadays. But from what point is this historical study in architecture and urbanism differentiated from a general (or official) description? This study is hoped to be more honest and critical about Taiwan's historic facts. Edward Said's introduction of Orientalism is an example translating the intention into this thesis; this thesis attempts to draw attention to an ascendant discourse of architectural analysis about the post-war history of Taiwan.²⁷³ It is intended as an academic critique, which reflects not a political bias but to a view point that does not exclude any influence of Taiwan's cultural politics. It is an observational mechanism in a chronological context, which is neutrally connected to the discourses of the past and the present, and is a record of subjectivation (the construction of Taiwan's cultural subjectivity), which is spoken from a Taiwan priority position. In short, it is a post-colonial critique (an observation of decision making of Taiwan's developing tendency, through Taiwanese people themselves rather than through external or specific political forces) written in its quasi-colonial presence (in a context which is still involved rich external forces and their interventions).

When forms of nationalism and formalism are criticised in the study through highlighting an emergent form of quotidian concern, the thesis should rather be understood as a contestation of the ascendant discourse of history and architecture in present day Taiwan. As Melissa Brown has suggested, "Taiwan problem' is an identity issue, which is formed by individuals who share common social experiences because they are classified as members of a single group".²⁷⁴ The discourse sketched in this research is produced through an articulation between knowledge and specific historical contexts. In other words, forms of

²⁷³ A quotation of *Orientalism* in the beginning of the section denotes Said's intention of drawing a unique narrative through the making and discussion of "Orientalism".

²⁷⁴ Brown, *Is Taiwan Chinese?: The Impact of Culture, Power, and Migration on Changing Identities*, p. 211.

coloniality in this sense are not only forms of power which maintain a regime but also forms of power which produce dominant knowledge. This knowledge provides the reason why nationalism was able to be legitimised as a dominant discourse in authoritarian Taiwan in the past. On the contrary, because of the rise of individual consciousness and various forms of public reception, this system of discourse becomes a way of violence in present Taiwan society, as does the reflection on native architectural registration. Therefore, from a theoretical perspective, this study pinpoints a paradigm of architectural and historical discourses in Taiwan today, which is legitimised and widely recognised by the general public. Most importantly, it is a discourse of Taiwan which is gradually being noticed by professionals and academics nationally and internationally. In conclusion, the constitution of architectural discourse in post-war Taiwan is not only related to a general conversation about objects of architecture but also an interaction between a hierarchical competition of social legitimisation and exclusion which is registered in architecture. The rise of popular culture as a form of strategic and recognisable ideology in contemporary Taiwanese architecture has decentralised a nationalist ideology, constructed in the past, into everyday life and created an emerging formation of interaction between building objects and the populace of Taiwan today, both mentally and physically, both theoretically and practically, and both pervasively and particularly.

AFTERWORD

This study did not entirely cover all the issues, which have existed amongst architectural and urban history, theory and the field of Taiwan, and complete problematic points, which have arisen to the surface while the study was being undertaken. They are grouped and listed here for future reference.

The first is the maritime history of Taiwan, particularly, an analysis of native architectural evolution since the civilisation has been recorded on the island. Taiwan's correlation with maritime history is not only connected to the island itself but also globally transited from the Pan-Pacific area, including Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand through South-East Asia all the way to Madagascar, sketching an Austronesian community. Secondly, the issue of museumisation in architectural discussion, with regard to the revitalisation of native history, culture and community, is a crucial topic. The rise of individuality and autonomy in society also highlights the issue in architectural profession as a pragmatic and theorising strategy. Based on this tendency, public reception in historiography therefore draws another direction for relevant studies. A distinction between four-hundred-year Taiwan history and five-thousand-year Chinese history has differentiated modern Taiwan's cultural political forms into dramatic ways. A deeper analysis of their reflections within architectural discourses and practices is crucial and essential. Comparative studies amongst quasi-colonial countries with a similar conception are also necessary. Particularly, as a comparison to Taiwan's colonial past and its post-war development in terms of its architecture and history, South Korea has appeared to be a different but intimate context when compared to the discussion of Hong Kong and Singapore in the thesis. The similarities between colonial modernity, colonial nationalism, post-war modernisation and political democratisation would link Taiwan and South Korea together as a discussable model. The last group largely concerns architectural representations of post-industrialisation and urban waterfront transformation. Many cases, such as Manchester and Kaohsiung analysed in the thesis, have proved that there is an extensive interest today in many countries to transform a once industrial wasteland into an entirely new environment. This issue, no matter whether in a pragmatic aspect or at a theoretical level, is definitely worthwhile exploring. By concluding the study here, it is hoped that this study can provide a base to extend research on

architecture and urbanism of Taiwan. And potentially, this study should benefit further studies of post-war Taiwan's history of architecture in terms of its discipline, and to extend it globally as it relates to the history of world architecture by asking a question: did Western architectural ideas, particularly those imprints directly or indirectly brought to Taiwan during its colonial past, in Taiwan's quasi-colonial context participate in broader agendas of cultural representation, or in its ethnic or social transformation?

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APPENDIX 1:
CHARACTERISING CULTURAL TAIWAN, HONG KONG AND
SINGAPORE

HONG KONG: DISAPPEARANCE AS A FORM AND IDENTITY

“Disappearance” is Ackbar Abbas’s argument on post-war Hong Kong’s social circumstances, especially during the period before and right after 1997. This notion, it is argued, arises from Hong Kong’s history and cultural representations such as cinema and architecture.²⁷⁵ In history, Abbas believes that the relation between Hong Kong’s colonial past, current Chinese governance and Hong Kong’s primary Chinese ethnicity construct a “floating identity” in today’s Hong Kong. It shows the temptation of autonomy and decadence in reality. Hong Kong, in Abbas’ viewpoint, is not as the favourite phrase goes “a cultural wasteland”; rather, it is a specific cultural form which is “untheorised”. More importantly, this uncertain identity also causes the problem of ambiguous cultural imagery, which is apparently shown in the practices of cinema and architecture in Hong Kong.

As one of the representative cultural forms in Hong Kong, the term *Déjà Disparu* (meaning: has disappeared already) is borrowed by Abbas as the representative theme of cultural disappearance in new Hong Kong cinema and the “fact” and “fiction” in films are asserted as its trajectories.²⁷⁶ Five chief features of Hong Kong cinema, namely, (1) history and its spatialisation, (2) spatial dislocations and discontinuities, (3) the use of genres, (4) language, and (5) the presence of a politics of identity, are analysed by Abbas. Amongst these features, the remarkable film genre, the Kung Fu genre, becomes the spokesperson of “indirect” representation of the changing nature of coloniality in modern Hong Kong.²⁷⁷ From the emergent heroism of Bruce Lee’s Kung Fu movie in the 1970s to Jackie Chan’s Kung Fu comedy in the 1980s, which followed by Tsui Hark’s Kung Fu movies in the 1990s, the notion of disappearance has been chronologically shown in the transformation of coloniality in new Hong Kong cinema.

²⁷⁵ M. Ackbar Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, p. 15.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-31.

From Abbas's standpoint, Bruce Lee's films present an anti-colonial sense and a strong Chinese identity in heroism. However, the anti-colonial anger barely refers to the present but defers to the past, which shows the absence of current society and its spatiotemporal ambiguity. The past, from Abbas's contestation, is also traced in the vaguely animus and stereotyped opponents in Lee's films. At the second stage of the Kung Fu films in Hong Kong, Jackie Chan's Kung Fu comedy presents a different level far from Lee's nationalist ideology in heroism - optimism in a life of survival. Abbas claims that Chan's Kung Fu comedy, to a certain degree, grows the general public's confidence in Hong Kong's international viability, which led to a new "local" culture. This means that there was no conviction to some vague notion of "Chinese-ness" since the PRC will take over the comparative "exotic atmosphere" in previous colonised Hong Kong as a "native" dominator, no matter which political direction Hong Kong will incline to in the near future. For Abbas, optimism is a strategy for the populace in late British Hong Kong society to overcome the frustration and anxiety about a miserable past and unpredictable future when Hong Kong was and is going to be dominated by Chinese authoritarian rule. Moreover, this phenomenon also means that there is no possibility in modern Hong Kong society to separate local and global development. The anxiety about Hong Kong's political uncertainty was therefore slightly relieved. Nevertheless, Kung Fu films in Hong Kong in the 1990s can still be identified by this social paralysation although the level of cultural and political ambiguity has been reduced. To illustrate this, Tsui Hark utilises sophisticated technology (in the form of 3D imagery and animation) as the vehicle in his Kung Fu films to conceive an implicational and transnational space showing the uncertain classification between the colonial memories from the past and the future dominators.

New Hong Kong cinema, Abbas therefore asserts, shows a mutation of disappearance which can intervene in political debate more effectively by problematising the visual than by advancing direct arguments about identity. The means used in the films such as the adoption of Hong Kong's spatial narratives and the hunger for understanding the "local" has insufficient "clarity" amongst Hong Kong's middle class. Themes of discontinuity as continuity and a slow affectivity in fast-developing Hong Kong all evidence this disappearance.

From another aspect, is Hong Kong's architecture a representation of Hong Kong's cultural political identity? The answer in Abbas's argument is slightly different to new Hong Kong cinema. Modern Hong Kong architecture shows more desperation since it does not concern itself with the question of Hong Kong's cultural self-definition but only presents a false image of power.²⁷⁸ As examples, Abbas mentions the skyscrapers which inscribe capitalism in Hong Kong; the spatial routine plays out as the high reception to styles (i.e. economy plays the form of subjectivity), the constant "building" and "re-building" and a pursuit of hyperdensity. For Abbas, each of these visible spatial phenomena barely defines cultural identity in Hong Kong.

In summary, is cultural self-definition so blurry in Hong Kong's built environment? Abbas in fact proposes an "indirect" way to approach Hong Kong architecture by looking at issues of preservation and memory, political allegory and subjectivity.²⁷⁹ Three building types cited by him outline these concerns. The first type is the architectural object called by Abbas as "merely local" architecture. Buildings of this type belonged to another historical era but exist in the present. These buildings, asserted by Abbas, are mainly on the economic margins of the city. For instance, they are those buildings which have the roots in the Ching Empire; they are vernacular buildings constructed in similar styles typically formed in Guangzhou and Shanghai in China; or more specifically such as the main building of the University of Hong Kong, which has colonial-style construction. These types of works may not inspire a second look, but they in actual fact form the majority of built space in Hong Kong. The second type of Hong Kong architecture presents a stark contrast to the "merely local": the "placeless international buildings" named by Abbas. These buildings for Abbas present a heterotopic space²⁸⁰ of power in Hong Kong, which defines a form of monumentality such as

²⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 79-89.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 91-110.

²⁸⁰ This idea is borrowed from Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopias to describe a space which contradictory elements are juxtaposed; the original source of this notion can be found in Michel Foucault, "Of Other Space: Utopias and Heterotopias," in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. Neil Leach (New York: Routledge, 1997).

Hong Kong's Central Plaza. This is linked to the concerns of hyperdensity in Hong Kong. That is, due to the limited spaces and the demand to exploit economic gains, the reflection on Hong Kong's urban vernacular represents a space of anonymity: the massive cheap and housing estates are the most obvious example. These three building types might not stand for the "good qualities" of Hong Kong architecture for Abbas, yet they do become "iconic" and they do define the spatial identity of Hong Kong's built environment.

SINGAPORE: DIALOGIC STRATEGIES TO THE WORLD

Unlike Abbas's "floating cultural political identity" in Hong Kong society, modern Singapore presents, in Robbie Boon Hua Goh's observation, a strong inclination in cultural circumstances from the top-down level to everyday life. Reading the city as a text of power and signs, "DialogiCity" is Goh's contention in his study of Singapore.²⁸¹ Put another way, by examining the multiple and ongoing discursive engagements, Goh looks at the civic district (landmark), the public housing (with the ideology of upgrading and the means of creating a neutral zone), the official discourse of multiculturalism, private property and the competition between localisation and globalisation, he attempts to differentiate the turning points between dominant and alternative discourses. From a concept to inscribe historical identity with space and time ("chrontopia" as Goh uses), Goh proposes three key elements of Singapore's governance: (1) a context of democratic political participation, (2) the open-market competition along with Singapore's small size, and (3) its official English discourse (as the mainstream discourse).²⁸² In stark contrast to this mainstream discourse produced in the official domain, the wide array of media which comes from a messy hybrid culture in modern Singaporean society is the picture of alterity in discourse.

²⁸¹ Robbie B. H. Goh, *Contours of Culture: Space and Social Difference in Singapore*, p. 7.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

As a token of Singapore's historical identity, landmarks in Singapore have been established as neutral space. Several reasons have been analysed by Goh and this neutral space is described as a "civic district" in his argument. More precisely, because of the endurance and restored experience of a series of landmarks and precincts, which present a condensed symbol of Singapore's previous memory and its contemporaneity, landmarks in Singapore have provided not only attractions for tourists but also internal meanings of being the sites of power and culture. In other words, the civic district presents a duality between power and culture as an abstract space which supports the blurry function for education, religions and classes. On the one hand, the civic district represents the power of Singapore's citizens, which nationalises the public discourse. On the other hand, this site also presents the civic memorials, which inherit Singapore's colonial culture. This duality, as an embodiment of imperial culture and ideology, has sketched an overdetermined meaning of the Singaporean context. Based on this intention, this civic district has been marketed with a transformation from a religious to a cultural and artistic symbol, for example, marketed the "classical" architecture as an attractive space for commercial activities or converted the duality between global and local signs into the signs of national wealth. This commercial ideology seems inextricably related to and emerging as Singapore's sense of national identity, asserted by Goh.

Although the "civic district" embodied the official discourse in a privileged circumstance in Singapore, it does not constitute the vast majority of Singapore's built environment. Instead, public housing takes this position. Singapore's public housing, Goh claims, as a compromise between state ownership and individual property rights under Singapore's political policy, carries the ideological burden of being the modernised national estate. HDB (Housing and Development Board) therefore had been established by Singaporean government as the approach involved in public housing. It is created to conceive the communal harmony amongst different components in Singapore such as race. Nevertheless, Singapore's approach to public housing development followed a different strategy of heeding the amenities in comparison to the poor planning, management and high-income restricted policy in many other countries. In terms of this intention, an ideology of upgrading and upward shifts from infrastructure to housing quality in Singapore's public housing projects

has been imposed.²⁸³ Besides, the well organised subsidised-rate mortgage has also been announced as a policy for compensation. This ideology, for that reason, forms the strong temptation for Singaporean people who would specially choose public housing rather than private property. From another standpoint, apart from the public housing issue, this phenomenon is based on the attempt to establish “global standards” in Singapore as its economic competitiveness. Undoubtedly, the application in public housing for the local people has utilised the economy and value system to achieve Singapore’s global developing outlook. More precisely, the amenity priority strategy in public housing projects has identified the spatial atmosphere of Singapore with a global perspective.

A particular sense of identity is the other consequence from Singapore’s policy for the public space. To be precise, the term “void” has been used by Goh to describe this ideological imposition, predominantly in Singapore’s communal space.²⁸⁴ This “void culture”, in terms of Goh’s assertion, has become a ubiquity in Singapore as a social symbol to cope with its “diversity” (to reduce any social stigma from alterity of Singapore more exactly). Indeed, the idea of “void” is represented variously; the cases of “void decks” as well as “streets with no names” are the remarkable examples. “Void decks” is the term describing the open and largely unfinished spaces on most of the HDB flats’ ground floors. These unfinished spaces have been placed there on purpose by the government, not only to facilitate Singaporean society’s functional flexibility but also to foster surveillance and management of the populace. As far as the concept of “street with no name”, it is describing the use of numbers as the names of the streets in order to reach a compromise between the government’s authority and the multiplicity of the general public. Summarised from Goh, this “void culture” was initially conceived to avoid the ideological and physical confrontations but eventually it pushed the “local” to be absent, which reveals a tendency to ideologically segregate local and global spaces of this city state - Singapore.

²⁸³ Ibid., pp. 58-65.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.71-107.

As matter of fact, Singapore does consider dealing with the “local” issues based on its multicultural or multiracial circumstances and combining them with “global” spaces.²⁸⁵ The case of the Malay Village project in Geylang area where was redeveloped in the 1960s is one distinct example. The purpose of the Malay Village project was to constitute a whole spatial entity where the traditional experience of Malay life was to be obtained. However, the consequence seemed only to stay on the surface of an intention and Malay culture was eventually reduced to merely food business (an outdoor food court represents the village as a whole). More critically, this project seems to increase the anxiety about race, which makes this particular space bear the cultural burden of spatial authenticity. The space of the village as a consequence is not authentic Malay but intentionally designed to be authentic Malay. In Goh’s observation, this is the dark side of Singapore’s official discourse, to repackage its multicultural heritage with economy.

In contrast to Singapore’s public housing as the majority, private property has become a sort of privileged domain which draws less public attention.²⁸⁶ In other words, a community group which owns private property in Singapore is identified by Goh by specialised issues, such as class, status and values. This identity construction has created a “foreign” space, or the place of elitism, which is free from the HDB’s high restriction for residents in Singapore. That is to say, public housing, to a certain extent, is more symbolic than the private houses in a societal perspective, and the private houses on the other hand have pragmatically tangible and independent living modes when compared to the public housing projects in Singapore.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 112-126.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 144-150.

A THEORETICAL DISCUSSION COMPARED WITH TAIWAN

*"HEY, YOU THERE": IDEOLOGY AND THE STATE APPARATUS*²⁸⁷

Louis Althusser believes that ideology is an illusion which is a representation of the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence, and ideology is hailing individuals, encouraging them to become subjects. In other words, ideology is the representation of the real world, which matches Theodor W. Adorno's description: the socially necessary semblance.²⁸⁸ In the case of Hong Kong, all the traces have inclined towards the yearning for a clear subject such as the anxiety about ethnic identity, the borrowing of fiction to fill out uncertainty in space, the optimism in nearly nothing from history but everyday life of contemporaneity or the use of colonial heritage as the icon of "local". These all show a popular aspiration for a defined cultural position combined with a sense of powerlessness, as Abbas says:

It offers hope for understanding, but it does not address with sufficient clarity or take for enough the question of how cultural space of Hong Kong can be understood or addressed ...²⁸⁹

People in Hong Kong have the freedom to strive for identification with current space; however, the burden of the historical and geographic limitation is too heavy to release such a possibility. The reflection of this ideology from such an uncertain circumstance as a consequence, therefore, is reinterpreted as a possible cultural location of "disappearance", such as a discomfortable feeling from commodification, which transfers all the subjects into goods with prices following Adorno's argument that: "there is no freedom as long as

²⁸⁷ Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj iek (London; New York: Verso, 1994), p. 131.

²⁸⁸ Theodor W. Adorno, Gretel Adorno, and Rolf Tiedemann, *Aesthetic Theory*, International Library of Phenomenology and Moral Sciences. (London ; Boston: Routledge & K. Paul, 1984), p. 304.

²⁸⁹ Abbas, *Hong Kong: Culture and the Politics of Disappearance*, p. 39.

everything has its price".²⁹⁰ The subject in Hong Kong was absent; now it is emerging although it is still not clear enough.

Unlike Hong Kong, Singapore presents a strong collectivity that imposes a contrary ideology of "void" from its multifaceted circumstances. The intervention of state apparatus conducts the orientation of Singapore, and this is the way that the government of Singapore attempts to balance the voices all around. In other words, because Singaporean people's identification of locating their cultures shows variety in clear distinctions, therefore how to set a balanced view amongst all the voices becomes the most important key for the government. The built environment, for example, demonstrates an even more clear policy. Surveillance of the streets and the piazzas of public housing are, from the governance point of view, necessary. Nonetheless, different treatments for different classes are the undoubted compromises under this power-resistance zero-sum game.

The situation of Taiwan is even more complicated and blurred than Hong Kong and Singapore when its Martial Law period is read as the general form which represents its early post-war scenario. It has confronted a different ideological context. A series of discrete interventions from state apparatuses such as Japan, China, the United States and even influences from western religions and international commercialism has conceived a controversial context that includes a simplified and strict collectivity, repressed public opinion and the shock of globalisation. In terms of the spatial consideration for Martial Law Taiwan, the discussion of design was freely but conditioned by certain "safe" principles. Foucault pinpoints that the liberated act is not equal to liberated practice;²⁹¹ the bottom line of the flexible design in Martial Law Taiwan was never able to touch the taboos under the nationalist ideology. The cost of crossing the line was usually severe and painful.²⁹² However,

²⁹⁰ Theodor W. Adorno, "Messages in a Bottle," in *Mapping Ideology*, ed. Slavoj iek (London ; New York: Verso, 1994), p. 36.

²⁹¹ Foucault, "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom," p. 3.

²⁹² In Martial Law Taiwan, architectural objects and discourse were "disciplined" to reflect the KMT's ideological collectivity. More precisely, a public building would never obtain building permit without

after the termination of the KMT's dictatorship and since the democratic society began to be established in the 1990s, the collective ideology also started to be transferred from a pure nationalist context to a comparatively socially necessary base. In other words, Taiwan society had stepped into the post-Martial Law era. In post-Martial Law Taiwan, a different ideological collectivity was therefore conceived. As a new form, it no longer looked at Taiwan as a whole, rather, as many parts to represent the whole. To be precise, unlike the centralised Greater China complex in the Martial Law period, the architectural domain in today's Taiwan promotes the consciousness of individuals (such as the singular person, the specific or geopolitical communities) to generate the fairly natural consensus instead of repressed, imposed identifications.

*"THE SIGN REPRESENTS THE PRESENT IN ITS ABSENCE. IT TAKES THE PLACE OF THE PRESENT": THE MORE-THAN-ONE SUPPLEMENTS*²⁹³

While issues of multiplicity abounded in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, as texts in a quasi-colonial context, there is a concurrent idea that the meaning of the space is not strictly defined, i.e. it is able to be reinterpreted variously and always capable of being supplied with a concept such as *defférance* as argued by Jacques Derrida. In the case of Hong Kong, the return of sovereignty to the PRC in 1997 provided the legitimacy to combine different spatial elements to a new context as a whole. In other words, it does not matter to admit that there is a lack of Hong Kong's previous history. It does not matter that the small amount of historical heritage belongs to Hong Kong's colonial past which is not so directly relevant to the majority of the dwellers, it does not matter that the built environment is full of placeless international patterns. In today's Hong Kong, they are all included in a new

adopting a Chinese palace roof; the author made aggressive or controversial critiques against the Greater China ideology might suffer from the KMT's White Terror after the publication.

²⁹³ Jacques Derrida, "Différance," in *Identity: A Reader*, ed. Paul Du Gay, et al. (London ; Thousand Oaks, Calif.: SAGE Publications in association with The Open University, 2000), p. 87.

cultural political context. It is also acceptable to develop the vertical world in terms of Hong Kong's hyperdensity which interplays with various social concerns such as the overcrowded population or the associated investment with foreign enterprises. They are now all new Chinese texts within a brand new socio-political context, which is closer to the majority of the ethnicity and the geographic correlation and much easier to be governed by this contextual simplification from political reunification in 1997.

Singapore, when compared to Hong Kong, provides a dissimilar definition of its multiplicity. With the diverse conditions of Singaporean society such as the differentiations of languages, races, cultures, living classes and qualities, Singapore chose to face those parts individually. For instance, spatially, it utilises a unique pattern to cope with different cultural differences, using historical landmarks as a neutral area, and establishing specific cultural areas such as the Malay village and Little India to maintain particular cultural styles (the actual results are still arguable though). Without going into the questions of its pros and cons, the treatment of Singapore's cultural diversity is a dramatic converse to Hong Kong's situation, which intends to create, or construct a universal schema/system from its chaotic parts.

Taiwan, taking early post-WWII imagery of architecture as the example, has represented a kind of post-modern "explanation" to cope with its cultural multiplicity. While those post-modern ideas had been proposed such as when Robert Venturi asserted his post-modern idea of using complexity as a new formalism as unconnected with former experience and programme in 1965,²⁹⁴ when Charles Jencks gave the definition of post-modernism as "double-coding" which uses a partly comprehensible language like a local and traditional symbolism to be the means in 1977²⁹⁵ and when Quinlan Terry claimed that the use of

²⁹⁴ Robert Venturi, "Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture: Selection from a Forthcoming Book," *Perspecta: The Yale Architectural Journal* 9/10(1965): p. 18.

²⁹⁵ Charles Jencks, *The Language of Post-Modern Architecture*, rev. enl. ed. (London: Academy Editions, 1978), p. 6.

classical patterns is a better means than the modern approach in 1990,²⁹⁶ the use of traditional Chinese architectural patterns, which are a fairly marginal cultural form in Taiwan, had already been used in design works as the way to conceive the symbolic orthodoxy of “new Chinese architecture in Taiwan” in the 1950s. Undoubtedly, those post-modern ideas mentioned above had also influenced and “reinforced” this design tendency in the 1980s along with the commercialism that happened in Taiwan society at that time. To a certain degree, architect C. Y. Lee’s buildings from this period seem to bear witness to this transition, extensively documented by architectural academics in Taiwan claiming that he is the person who linked architectural representation in post-WWII Taiwan from the so-called “new Chinese architecture in Taiwan” to “post-modernism in Taiwan”(Figure 171).



Figure 171 Two pictures show the change of design means from “formal Chinese pattern” to “abstraction of Chinese-ness” in C. Y. Lee’s works opening the post-modern age in Taiwan. The left is Tainan China Town designed by C.Y. Lee in 1983 and the right is Hung Kuo Office Building designed by the same architect in 1990 (Taken by the author).

Yet this movement could not entirely account for the cultural diversity in the post-war evolution of Taiwanese architecture. As matter of fact, post-Martial Law Taiwan shows more possibilities to define various forms of its cultural multiplicity when native society has gradually become open and autonomous after the collapse of the KMT government’s authoritarian control in 1987. Since Martial Law was lifted, the concerns of cultural

²⁹⁶ Quinlan Terry, “The Authority for Architecture,” in *New Classicism : Omnibus Volume*, ed. A. Papadaks and Harriet Watson (London: Academy Editions, 1990), pp. 77-79.

differences, ethnicities, cultural political identification and economic competitions have gradually risen to the surface as the mainstream values of society.²⁹⁷ The examples in architectural development such as the consideration of locality in the 1980s (Figure 172), the impacts of globalisation in the early 2000s (Figure 173) and the current application of indigenisation - Community Development (Figure 174), all prove the intention of adopting diverse positions in spatial practice.



Figure 172 The building of the Changhua Cultural Centre design by Han Pao-teh in 1983, which shows the attempt of highlighting locality in design project (Taken by the author).

Figure 173 The building of the Yingko Ceramics Museum designed by Chien Hsueh-Yi in 2000, which shows a strong influence from the global commercial design means (Taken by the author).

²⁹⁷ When Martial Law was lifted in 1987, the ban of the newspaper, political party and many restrictions which were set for Taiwan's native social development by KMT government were also lifted in the following years; Taiwan society therefore has gradually moved towards an open and democratic manner.



Figure 174 The renovated Kaohsiung Wu-de Temple in 2005 (originally built in 1924 for training *Budo*, Japanese martial arts) shows the current Community Development movement in Taiwan's built environment, which intends to combine historical site with everyday life (Taken by the author).

*"INDIA IS NOT NON-WEST; IT IS INDIA": THE SUBJECT AND THE OBJECT*²⁹⁸

Questions and contestations of subject position in the quasi-colonial context are always critical issues. This phenomenon has been highlighted by Ashis Nandy in *The intimate enemy* (1983), contesting the relationship and interaction between India and its previous coloniser, the British Empire. Nandy argues that even though India was colonised by the British and inherited undeniable cultural influences from the west, today's subject of India is never called the west and it is not even dualistic non-west but itself - *India*. This contestation of subjectivation, in the cases of post-war Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, is inevitably critical but represented in different ways in terms of their geographic and socio-political conditions. From a spatial perspective, the case of Hong Kong utilises the space of contemporaneity to identify the subject position. Everyday life, middle-class common spaces

²⁹⁸ Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983), p. 73.

and a highly global “local” environment therefore become the chief images of “Hong Kong space” in the public understanding. In Singapore, multiplicity is the key feature of space. In other words, the subject position is always enclosed by the question of how the balance can be made amongst different races, cultures, languages and be linked with spatial conditions. The ideological equality and balance produced by state apparatus, in terms of Goh’s argument, speak the scenario in today’s Singapore. The spatial atmospheres of the ground floor spaces of the HDB towers and identified cultural towns are created to highlight cultural otherness formally and officially in spatial practice.

Similarly, the spatial transition in post-war Taiwan has shown the intention of locating, or even establishing the subject position of Taiwan itself by seeking the root and place of native culture. Basically, there are three tensions which are interplayed with each other regarding to the “cultural location” of post-war Taiwan, i.e. (1) the competition between hybrid cultural tradition and colonial inherited modernity; (2) the negotiation between imaginary mainland culture and native maritime culture; and (3) the unease between global and indigenous inclinations. These tensions identify different contexts of “subjectivity” representing the yearning for autonomy, independence and identity respectively. In the Martial Law period, Taiwan had presented a collective way of locating its cultural position as a subject, which is like the statement of subjectivity suggested by Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel - a group of properties.²⁹⁹ Hegel indicates that the individual and simple subjectivity are indifferent when compared to collective subjectivity. More precisely, this collective subjectivity in the context of early post-war Taiwan was the “state”. At that stage, the field of spatial design in Taiwan located its cultural location in the first two contexts of subjectivity, which considered the question whether the post-war Taiwanese architecture should be autonomous and independent from the traditional backdrop or not. Apparently, the answer given by the predominant collectivity was usually negative. However, this construction as a general recognition has become more and more blurred since Taiwan society has become gradually open and more democratic from the 1990s onwards. In other words, due to the

²⁹⁹ Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Hegel Reader*, ed. Stephen Houlgate (Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), p. 261.

impact of a global ethos and the rise of indigenous politics, Taiwan society has started to expand the Taiwanese-Chinese relationship to a Taiwanese-global relationship and the issues of individuality and locality have been promoted as forms of “freedom”. This freedom is released from previous ideological suppression; it not only concerns specific issues of state but also deliberates various real conditions of the island. Predictably, this concept is by no means an easy task and eventually has come out as a state of chaos in reality. For example, in the political aspect, the intentions of being independent from or being unified by China are no longer the most critical issues for Taiwanese people today. Rather, concerning the necessities of everyday life, which is the reason why most of the people in Taiwan chose a compromised way between these two poles, namely maintaining the status quo of current unclear political status nationally and internationally.

Nevertheless, the frustration in politics, to a certain extent, pushes architectural thinking to adjust the evaluation of subjectivity as a form of “freedom” to a “justice” since the solution cannot be found at any rate in the short term as the reality. Hence, the identification of cultural location in post-Martial Law Taiwan’s spatial representation is no longer a simplified competition between collectivity and individuality, tradition and modernity or Taiwan and China but an appropriate form of “fuzziness” which copes with the interaction between “self” and “other”. In other words, post-Martial Law Taiwanese architecture no longer strives for a representation of cultural displacement amongst architectural objects but searches for an intersubjective “recognition” which adopts various existing cultural subjects. This notion is like Foucault’s suggestion that the care of self always appears in comparison to the others.³⁰⁰ They cannot be separated individually; the value of individuality must be highlighted within the social context. That is to say, a marginalised text exists based on the existence of the centralised text. The outstanding example that bears witness to this phenomenon in post-Martial Law Taiwanese architecture, therefore, is examined as the target of this research.

³⁰⁰ Foucault, "The Ethic of Care for the Self as a Practice of Freedom," p. 7.

APPENDIX 2:
POST-WAR TAIWAN'S NATIVE LITERATURE AND CINEMA

IDENTIFICATION AND TRANSFORMATION IN NATIVE WRITINGS

Post-war Taiwan society, on the one hand, has a colourful character derived from both its varied colonial past and recent global impacts. On the other hand, this island has also constructed a series of unique identities in different time periods.³⁰¹ In a similar sense, spatial objects which represent and inscribe the traces of history and culture should echo correspondently these historical distinctions as the analytical essential. However, this deduction becomes problematic when it is examined during the recent three decades since 1987. The construction of identity in Taiwan today, and which includes its registration in architecture, is no longer simplified and obvious.

It is a notable phenomenon that albeit this superposition of social complexity in Taiwan after the late 1980s predictably has continued to be shaped by the impact of globalisation, cultural identity seems to have become no longer unique and simplified because of the emergence of a different cultural logic. This logic, Fredric Jameson suggests, is like an emerging scenario of post-modernism, which has presented a loss of autonomy of culture, which makes it difficult to speak of cultural systems and to evaluate them in isolation.³⁰² In other words, everything is culture today; the concept of “pastiche” creates a neutral practice to resist the “orthodox”.³⁰³ The interpretation of culture in Taiwan, accordingly, is no longer

³⁰¹ Identity construction, politically and culturally, in Taiwan’s history before the late 1980s was relatively clear and unique when compared to the chaotic and anxious manner afterwards. It is evident from Taiwan’s chronological division, i.e. its early settlement (tribal society), its European colonisation (generalisation of western religion), its first massive *Han* settlement (generalisation of traditional Chinese culture), its Japanese colonisation (Imperial Japan and modernisation) and the period of Nationalist’s autocracy (authoritarian system and economic development).

³⁰² Anders Stephanson and Fredric Jameson, "Regarding Postmodernism: A Conversation with Fredric Jameson," *Social Text*, no. 21 (1989): pp. 3-30.

³⁰³ Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism and Consumer Society," in *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture*, ed. Hal Foster (New York: New Press, 2002), pp. 111-125.

strictly defined; different social status has started to challenge the longstanding judgment of cultural identification in Taiwan, which used to be purified merely as Chineseness.

Spatial identification in native Taiwan literature has borne witness to this phenomenon since the bans on the newspaper and publication were released in the late 1980s right after the Martial Law period. For instance, the Taiwanese writer Wu Cho-Liu's work *Ya Hsi Ya Te Ku Erh* (亞細亞的孤兒)³⁰⁴ (originally finished in 1945 in Japanese) describes the orphanhood of Taiwanese people before and after 1945 wherever they lived on the island, the travels to the Chinese "mainland" or the settlements on the Japanese "motherland". The use of a mother tongue³⁰⁵ was barely recognised at the time; the social position of the islanders of Taiwan both before and after 1945 was always inferior when compared to the colonisers. However on the other hand, Chung Li He's *Yuen Hsiang Jen* (原鄉人)³⁰⁶ presents a strong nostalgic emotion from the *Hakka* ethnic group to affiliate with their "Yuen Hsiang" (original country) to the Chinese mainland.

From another standpoint, Hsiao Li-hung's *Chien Chiang You Shui Chien Chiang Yueh* (千江有水千江月)³⁰⁷ and *Bai Shui Hu Chun Meng* (白水湖春夢)³⁰⁸ have reinterpreted the emasculation of the native people in Taiwan during the war, as they faced encounters with the Chinese, the Japanese, and even the American forces. The native intellectuals who tried to strive for their autonomy and consciousness about their home country (Taiwan) in the early post-war years usually caused their own unfortunate deportation to foreign countries. The sense of cultural belonging at that time was limited to a merely imaginary Nationalist illusion, which is the place they have never been to since their birth to the present. On the

³⁰⁴ Wu Cho-Liu, *Ya Hsi Ya Te Ku Erh* (亞細亞的孤兒) (Kaohsiung: Huang He, 1959).

³⁰⁵ The mother tongue of Taiwanese people usually refers to *Taiwanese*.

³⁰⁶ Chung Li He, *Yuen Hsiang Jen* (原鄉人) (Taipei: Tien Hsia Wen Hua, 1983).

³⁰⁷ Hsiao Li-hung, *Chien Chiang You Shui Chien Chiang Yueh* (千江有水千江月) (Taipei: Lian he bao she, 1981).

³⁰⁸ Hsiao Li-hung, *Bai Shui Hu Chun Meng* (白水湖春夢) (Taipei: Lien Ching, 1996).

other hand, Chu Tien Hsin's *The Old Capital: a novel of Taipei*³⁰⁹ (originally published in 1997 in Chinese) attempts to yearn for the social "evenness" for the Mainlanders when the Taiwanese started to construct the native subjectivity.³¹⁰ And this phenomenon is claimed by Chu that it has subordinated the community of the Mainlanders, the "once privileged" ethnic group. This has been strongly stated in her book's very first sentence: "Is it possible that none of your memories count?"³¹¹

On the one hand, Chu strategically marginalises the dark side of this collectivity constructed by the KMT and legitimates its early totalitarian violence in order to highlight a day-to-day collective memory from the Mainlanders, which is not objectively fair historically or factually. However, Chu does pinpoint the cultural differences and socio-political transformation that the Mainlanders have constructed and the dilemma and resistance what the islanders have faced and reflected since the year of 1945. For instance, the different senses of belonging between the native and the Mainlander university students in the Martial Law period were evidence of this phenomenon. The Mainlander students were usually born into wealthy families and most of them had the plan of migrating to the United States after graduation. Yet it was the situation that many native students could never afford to do so. Chu also highlights the issue that current social development is no longer based on a pure sense of nationalism but on the presence of everyday life. In other words, she hints at a new socio-political struggle between power and the common good from a very "global scale" - an environmentally friendly standpoint (she in fact mentions the ongoing debate about social and spatial communitarianism on the island nowadays). And eventually she concludes her book by being shocked by the de facto social scenario of this island's spatiotemporal hybridisation.

³⁰⁹ Chu Tien Hsin and Howard Goldblatt, *The Old Capital: A Novel of Taipei (古都)*, Modern Chinese Literature from Taiwan. (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

³¹⁰ This rise of the so-called native consciousness was evidently highlighted by the election of the ROC presidency in 2000 when Chen Shui Pien and the DPP achieved Taiwan's first peaceful and democratic political power transfer from external forces to a native one.

³¹¹ Chu Tien Hsin and Goldblatt, *The Old Capital: A Novel of Taipei (古都)*, p. 111.

These reflections within popular culture in post-war native literature, socially and spatially, illustrate a different transition from the Japanese era to the post-war time when compared to the high culture that was constructed under a strong and simplified Chinese nationalism as the official discourse. In this sense, Taiwan's modern colonial relationship and the related ambivalence to it are able to be pinpointed (Figure 175). In this relationship, different subjects in Taiwan's history are differentiated and positioned. The Japanese Empire, as a coloniser, ruled Taiwan with a modernised civilisation due to westernisation achieved through the *Meiji* Restoration. And the Nationalist Government after WWII as the replacement government ruled the modernised Taiwan with a degenerate civilisation due to the longstanding battle in China and the unstable social status of the time. Interestingly, no matter whether Taiwan was colonised by Japanese or Chinese forces, the native ethnicities (which in actual fact should be positioned as the subjects of the island) were both orphanised in colonisation. They were neither Japanese nor Chinese.

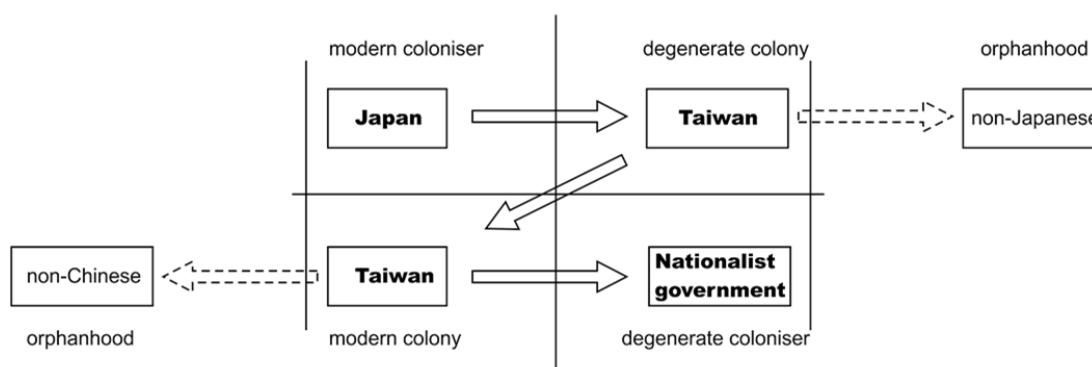


Figure 175 Modern colonial relationships and ambivalence of Taiwan (the first relationship is looking at Japan as a relatively modern coloniser who rules degenerate Taiwan, and the second relationship is looking the Nationalist Government as a relatively defenerate coloniser who rules modernised Taiwan) (Made by the author).

Significantly, the resistance to this former censured collectivity nowadays seems to have become a powerful representation to reconstruct, or inasmuch as to revise the memories omitted in official historiography. A recent oral history - *Ta Chiang Ta Hai 1949*,³¹² written by

³¹² Lung Ying Tai, *Ta Chiang Ta Hai 1949* (大江大海一九四九) (Taipei: Tien Hsia Tsa Chih, 2009).

Lung Ying Tai, speaks broadly to cover the segregation of ethnicities and geographic boundaries. This island, in terms of Lung's arguments, could be a temporally short stay for the Mainlanders, which actually took them around "sixty years short". They claim that they can only stay in the public dormitories which psychologically have no sense of belonging and any sensibility as a "home" all the time. However, this temporal settlement, from the perspective of being one of the native dwellers, is a privileged place, constructed by modern techniques and always occupying the better views and locations. Most importantly, most Mainlanders could never pay for these things.

This island for these newcomers (Mainlanders), Lung describes, was a place full of "dark skin" people, who speak a "dialect" - like foreign language when compared with their lives in the mainland. What they did to familiarise themselves with this new environment was to apply a map of the Chinese mainland onto the existing street plan.³¹³ Therefore, the newcomers were able to easily adapt their original geographic logic to the island. For instance, to find "Beiping (北平, the former name of today's Beijing) street" in Taipei City can be located easily from a corresponding location if people look at the city as a miniaturised China. Yet, these new comers' changes and behaviour on Taiwan for the native people, on the other hand, apart from facing a replacement of their familiar neighbourhood which has been renamed as a new imaginary "motherland" they had never been to, some of them were even sent to join the campaign fighting for this imaginary motherland.³¹⁴ These are not the only disturbing senses of identities on the island. The overestimation of this new coloniser, who replaced the Japanese Empire, had made the native people face a stagnant and disappointing air when they eventually realised the expectation of getting a fresh situation from the new "motherland" after Japan's 50 years autocratic control had come to nothing or an even worse situation. Ironically, Lung describes this situation in the frustration and confusion revealed in an interview with a Taiwanese woman, who was separated in China after 1949. As a result,

³¹³ The idea of adopting a miniature of ROC China as a blueprint of urban planning in post-war Taiwan is analysed and discussed in **Chapter 4: Taipei: typicality and its challenge**.

³¹⁴ Many native Taiwanese were sent to China by the KMT during the early post-war period intending to support campaigns fighting with the Japanese Empire and the Communists.

transcribed in the interview, her native language - *Taiwanese*, which should be counted as her mother tongue, has become unconversant to her. Unexpectedly, what she believes to be is a native song from the island is actually Japan's national anthem.

PRESENCE AND ABSENCE: TAIWAN CINEMA

Taiwan cinema was introduced by the Japanese in 1907 and became a popular public medium after 1924.³¹⁵ In the post-war period, Taiwan cinema encountered changes in production procedure from an authoritative to agency oriented dominance. In the late 1940s, cinema was used as an instrument of the Nationalist Government's authority to eradicate Japanese remnants and to bolster an anti-Communist Polity atmosphere in Taiwan society. Cinema then therefore became a tool of political propaganda; historical and cultural entities were at times twisted for ideological purpose. In the 1950s, *Taiwanese Opera*³¹⁶ became the most popular form of Taiwan cinema. It evoked extensive responses from the public because the use of Taiwan's native language. Regrettably, it went out of date very soon in the 1960s on account of the repressed environment. During that time, native culture and utilising *Taiwanese* in the use of the language were largely restricted. Instead, the cinematic genre, so-called "health realism", which intended to merely highlight the social ethic and traditions rather than to criticise society, replaced the *Taiwanese Opera*. This genre later was once again replaced by commercial movies imported from Hong Kong until the 1980s.

Notably, a series of socio-political events shared the importance of the realism and commercialism in the 1970s and the 1980s in Taiwan cinema. In 1971, the position of the ROC in the United Nation was swapped by the PRC. In 1975, Chiang Kai-shek passed away. From 1977 to 1978, heated debate occurred in the field of literature about cultural

³¹⁵ Lee Tao Ming, "A Hundred Years of Taiwan Cinema (驀然回首-台灣電影一百年)," *Historical Monthly*, no. 158 (2001): pp. 42-43.

³¹⁶ The *Taiwanese Opera* 歌仔戲 is a traditional drama originated in Taiwan. The language used in the *Taiwanese Opera* is usually a combination of literary and colloquial presentation in *Taiwanese*.

authenticity. And in 1978, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan and in 1979, the *Kaohsiung Incident* happened. These events in the end caused societal anxiety and endangered the Chiang family's dictatorship at that time. Cinema, as the most well-known state apparatus then, was the best path to reflect this phenomenon. Martial Law was lifted in 1987. The ban on the newspaper and the legitimising of the existence of the opposition political party were consequently released before and after this year. The so-called *Bentu* literature (本土文學, "native soil", indigenous literature) became the mainstream around this time in Taiwan, which announced the commencement of post-war Taiwan's heteroglossic age. Taiwan cinema, inevitably, has followed this tendency creating a new value to reinterpret *Bentu* materials. Taiwan cinema that used to speak for the nation could now speak for the individual and the community history, the cinematic temperament of authority had already been shifted to a form of agency, this is the so-called "Taiwan New Cinema"³¹⁷ period. Since then, "Taiwan" has started to be filled in as a subject in native historiography and individual autonomy has started to challenge the existing nationalist collectivity. Popular memory and the "organised forgotten history", which were habitually taboos in the Martial Law period, therefore have risen to the surface as an experience of Taiwan's social and spatial historiography.

The Boys from Fengkoei (1983) and *A City of Sadness* (1989) made by director Hou Hsiao-hsien and *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991) filmed by director Edward Yang are the best examples. *The Boys from Fengkoei* raises the polemic between the city and the countryside; this film also tests the earlier concept that Taipei is the only metropolis in Taiwan by representing Kaohsiung³¹⁸ City's urban vigour and fabric. *A City of Sadness* uses one family's experience to elaborate the period of the KMT White Terror and the ethnic unfairness in Taiwan of the time. *A Brighter Summer Day* is based on a real incident that took place in the 1960s in Taipei where the teenager murdered his girlfriend on Guling Street. This film; however, is dissimilar to Hou's two films, Yang tries to point out that most of the mainland Chinese who fled to Taiwan with the KMT force in 1949 in reality lived in an uneasy

³¹⁷ "Taiwan New Cinema" is also well-known as "New Wave Taiwan Cinema".

³¹⁸ Kaohsiung City is the biggest city in southern Taiwan.

atmosphere due to the uncertainty of the sense of belonging and maladjustment on the island with a mainland attitude. Most importantly, the privileged Mainlanders were also riding roughshod over them even if they were in the relationship of genealogical homology.

Apart from the social transformation towards agency-oriented dominance, post-Martial Law Taiwan cinema has shown a strong nostalgic intention to rewrite the official discourse on history by highlighting juxtaposed and multi-accentual individual experience. Hou's produced work *Dust of Angels* (1992) and his directed work *Goodbye South Goodbye* (1996) once again highlight the gap between the city and the countryside. Simultaneously, they also represent the middle-class labour's hardship before and after the 1980s and the reason why many of them formed street gangs due to their identity crisis at that time. Director Wu Nien-Jen's *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* (1994), to a certain extent, unfolds the struggle and conflict between Taiwan's colonial past and its new colonial age, i.e. native Taiwanese people's Japanophilic complex and the KMT force's anti-Japanese hatred. Director Wang Shaudi utilises the approach of magic realism³¹⁹ in *Grandma and her Ghosts* (1998) illustrating the superimposition of the city and the countryside, and the modern world and the traditional culture. She also uses a poetic transfiguration of cultural objects to compose hybrid maritime-based Taiwan society instead of conservative movie's one-sided explanation of Chinese culture.³²⁰

In recent years, the nostalgic temperament in Taiwan cinema has become even stronger and more diverse. *Fishing Luck* (2005) made by director Tseng Wen-Chen uses a story of friendship and love between Taipei and Orchid Island³²¹ to represent the issue of the

³¹⁹ The concept of magic realism in film has been discussed by Jameson. Magic realism provides a creatable space in cinematic works which enables the trajectory of history to be represented in the present time through a nostalgic imagination. More details can be found in Fredric Jameson, "On Magic Realism in Film," *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 2 (1986): pp. 301-325.

³²⁰ *Grandma and her Ghosts*, directed by Wang Shaudi, Taiwan, 1998. Rice Films.

³²¹ Orchid Island is a volcanic island off the South-East coast of Taiwan. The island is home to the *Tao* 達悟族 - an aboriginal tribe who migrated to the island from the Batan Archipelago around 800 years ago. Today, *Tao* is one branch of Taiwan's native aborigines.

Taiwanese aborigines and recent attempts of figuring out the differences between the city and the countryside, modernity and tradition, and the present and the past of society. Director Chen Huai-En's *Island Etude* (2007) pinpoints the recent prevalence of cycling in Taiwan and several social issues such as environmental concerns, the polemic of Community Development and the cultural indigenisation process focused on Taiwan's maritime basis. In 2008, two Taiwanese films, director Wei Te-Sheng's *Cape No.7* and director Hung Chin-Yu's *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895*, celebrated the great success and appreciation both from the market and the social value they earned. *Cape No.7* tells a story about Taiwan's Japanese past, which remains in modern Taiwan society and has been merged with native culture. It highlights the fact that Taiwan's once heart-stricken past has no longer been painful but positively nostalgic and grateful. *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* uses the aside from a Japanese officer in the film to describe the resistance from the groups of Taiwanese people to Japan's control after the Manchu Ching Empire ceded this island in 1895 to establish "The Republic of Formosa".³²² In the end of the story, the nostalgic atmosphere, which Hung tries to create, is the "great reconciliation" from the longstanding ethnic confrontation on the island amongst the native Taiwanese, the *Hakka* and the Taiwanese aborigines.

A sense of belonging is another distinctive departure from earlier films to the present works in Taiwan cinema. Director Lin Yu-Hsien films the work *Su Mi Ma Sen Love* in 2009 sponsored by the Kaohsiung City Government promotes the metropolitan landscape of Kaohsiung and its successful waterfront community along with relevant conflict during the development procedure. Apart from the product placement of the urban scenes in terms of the consideration from Kaohsiung City Government's sponsorship, *Su Mi Ma Sen Love* most

³²² The Republic of Formosa existed and was founded in 1985 in Taiwan, which was the time between the removal of the Manchu Ching Empire's rule and the establishment as the Japanese Empire's colony following the *Treaty of Shimonoseki*. This republic was proclaimed by a number of Taiwanese people led by Chiu Feng-Chia. The intention of founding the republic was to declare the independence of Formosa from Japan's colonisation, therefore at times the once existence of the Republic of Formosa is claimed by certain historians and politicians as the first Asian republic.

importantly pinpoints the proceeding phenomenon of empowerment since the lifting of Martial Law.

The variability of writing historiography in Taiwan, therefore, is like Yip's observation from post-Martial Law cinema's overtly historical interrogation about Taiwan's past that:

Taiwan's rapid urbanisation and internationalisation, as Taiwanese youths find themselves caught up in a society where traditional Chinese values are collapsing in the face of American and Japanese cultural imperialism. In the increasingly liberalised atmosphere of the post-dictatorship era, Taiwanese cultural discourse has been characterised by a resurgence of interest in aspects of local history that had, until the lifting of Martial Law, been suppressed by the Nationalist Government.³²³

For that reason, Yip's observation of this transition, which concerns the subject position in Taiwan's cinematic historiography, is the restoration of native memory and the reclamation of Taiwan's position as the subject, rather than only an object of history. This evidences the post-Martial Law cultural political tendency from a subject-absent to present position, from a subject-empty to filled position, from a subject-repressed to a liberalised position, from a subject-monologic to multi-accentual position, and from a subject-imaginary to a realistic presence.

³²³ Yip, "Constructing a Nation: Taiwanese History and the Films of Hou Hsiao-Hsien," p. 140.

APPENDIX 3:
PROFESSIONAL AND ACADEMIC CONTESTATION WITHIN
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

THE ROAD OF COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

THE ORIGINATION AND BACKDROP OF THIS PROFESSION

Community Development, as a profession, can be traced back to several western social movements in the 1840s. The representative appellations of Community Development were varied and often linked to sociological concepts, such as “civil society” or “community regeneration”. Moreover, activities of Community Development were conducted by either governmental or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). These collective actions, such as the civil rights and antipoverty movements, which were based on social changes in the 1950s to the 1960s, drew much attention, leading Community Development to be recognised as a social practice and an emergent profession. Community Development, from then on, became a means to elicit changes in social, economic, political and environmental aspects of communities.³²⁴

AS A SOCIAL ECONOMIC PRACTICE

Socially and economically, according to Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman’s research, there are five basic forms which facilitate or lead to the issue of Community Development: (1) social capital, (2) human capital, (3) physical capital, (4) financial capital and (5) environmental capital. That is to say, the purpose of Community Development is to produce assets, which can physically improve or economically benefit the community. To be precise, Phillips and Pittman argue that to develop a community, essential conditions are associated firstly with a physical sense of availability, such as good infrastructure and public services, and secondly associated with economic profits, such as an incentive to begin a new business

³²⁴ Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman, "A Framework for Community and Economic Development," in *An Introduction to Community Development*, ed. Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), p. 4.

or to retain and expand existing ones.³²⁵ In these terms, Ronald J. Hustedde categorises essential knowledge that drives Community Development into social relationships, concerns about functions, about power, about symbolic meaning, communication, rational choice and integration.³²⁶ These groups, according to Hustedde's study, are indicators of a strong association amongst spatial, human as well as economic vitality. For instance, residential land use, which is the most direct collective application as well as economic investment of the humankind, sheds light on the socio-economic significance from its high density and affordability in the urban environment in this day and age.³²⁷ In addition, participatory approaches which have been applied to recent projects also bear witness to the success of Community Development. This is evident through its increasing significance in improving the overall quality of life, involving a broad cross-section of local participants, connecting previously uninvolved and often ignored participants, revitalising the community, gathering resources, identifying and cultivating organisational capacity, recruiting strategic public and private investment partners, engaging the international view point and embracing a reflection from the professional practice.³²⁸ In other words, Community Development is regarded as a form of capital, from a societal and economic perspective, which physically or financially produces common good for the populace.

³²⁵ Ibid., pp. 5-11.

³²⁶ Ronald J. Hustedde, "Seven Theories for Seven Community Developers," in *An Introduction to Community Development*, ed. Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), pp. 22-34.

³²⁷ Joseli Macedo, "Housing and Community Planning," in *An Introduction to Community Development*, ed. Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), p. 249.

³²⁸ Kenneth M. Reardon, "Neighbourhood Planning for Community Development and Renewal," in *An Introduction to Community Development*, ed. Rhonda Phillips and Robert H. Pittman (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2009), pp. 266-268.

SPATIAL REFLECTION

From a spatial point of view, the movement of Community Development is often related to certain issues, such as “Community Architecture”, “Community Planning”, “Community Design” and other forms of “Community Technical Aid” worldwide. These issues are embodied in spatial practices which emerged before and after the end of World War II and as a growing realisation that:

Mismanagement of the built environment is a major contributor to the nation’s social and economic ills, and that there are better ways of going about planning and design.³²⁹

From Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt’s observation of 1980s London, the so-called “nation’s social and economic ills” had been diagnosed from several urban symptoms, which spatially reflected the illness of society at that time: homelessness, the demolition from “mad Paternalism” and rehabilitation for nobody (massive demolition and reconstruction as the applications of the governmental ideologies), utopian housing “nightmares” (the housing idea which provides people with a combination of privacy, sociability, independence and freedom without a proper match with the construction), planned wastelands, “killing” community culture, private-sector development by remote control and the local-government’s impotence.³³⁰ Consequently, these “ills” stimulated public crises within the built environment:

The environmental professions and construction industry responsible - architects, planners, landscape architects, builders, developers and planning authorities - are in a state of chaos. They are making a mess. They are squandering massive resources. And

³²⁹ Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt, *Community Architecture: How People Are Creating Their Own Environment* (London: Penguin, 1987), p. 17.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-56.

they are undoubtedly creating a great deal of unhappiness, illness and social stress in the process.³³¹

Pioneer projects of Community Development in England showed attempts at finding a way out of this environmental chaos. In housing, the issue of tenure arose: individuals and families were given power over design and management of their own homes; an organisational mechanism was developed for people's communication; both individuals and the communities were encouraged to develop a working relationship with professionals and hence there was a partnership between residents and professionals, which enabled them to develop both design and organisational solutions simultaneously.³³² Through this, an experience of Community Development was gained. Most importantly, according to these experimental projects, (common) people who were involved in these projects became more confident and imaginative; new types of mixed-use projects with a new technical setting in buildings were therefore developed. As a result, people gradually found that their quality of life was incalculably enhanced, albeit there was still a great confusion over the concept of "community" at that time.

Community architecture, as an emerging environmental movement in the early post-WWII period concerning living quality, defined three levels of this new trend between human beings and buildings: (1) a technique which makes people participate in creation as well as management, (2) a service which provides a new type of partnership between the client and the designer, and (3) an adoption of a new attitude by the client, which makes the project more transparent and understandable.

In sum, Community Development arose during the early post-WWII period particularly in the United States and the United Kingdom. Concepts and significance of social capital and civil empowerment were highlighted in this social phenomenon; emergent social issues in

³³¹ Ibid., p.65.

³³² Ibid., pp. 70, 84, 97.

urban areas such as gentrification³³³ and embourgeoisement³³⁴ were also dramatic. Recently, global issues like “glocalisation”,³³⁵ bottom-up power, forms of the public sphere and the idea of heterotopias are also related to concepts of community³³⁶ forming a new philosophy of contemporary urbanisation and globalisation.

THEORISING THE CONTEXT: RECEPTIONS IN NATIVE HISTORY

Here, the discussion focuses on Taiwan’s half century post-WWII history and historiography, which forms the context for Taiwan’s contemporary, or post-war built environment. This half century, doubtless, has shaped the key and necessary time period of post-war Taiwan’s cultural political inclinations, which are summarised by a Taiwanese historian Wang Chingchia:

Due to the demand for domestic development, Taiwan’s historiography began to reflect a tendency of “indigenisation”. This trend was quickly enhanced because the change of Taiwan’s international status in the 1970s, i.e. the position once constructed as a form of “Chinese orthodoxy” 中國正統 had no longer matched the presence of Taiwan society; the people of Taiwan eventually realised that there is a sense of historic crisis emerging from their consciousness. Historians in Taiwan were therefore forced to reconsider and relocate the status of Taiwan’s history. A debate about Taiwan society’s “Indigenisation”

³³³ Gentrification refers to a social, economic, and cultural phenomenon whereby the working-class or inner-city neighbourhoods are converted into more affluent communities, resulting in increased property values and the outflow of poorer residents. It originated in Britain.

³³⁴ Embourgeoisement is a process of characterising certain social class of people by their ownership of capital and related culture.

³³⁵ Glocalisation is a portmanteau word of globalisation and localisation referring to a consideration in between.

³³⁶ Simon Parker, *Urban Theory and the Urban Experience: Encountering the City* (London; New York: Routledge, 2004), pp. 124, 186, 190.

土著化 (本土化, 在地化) and “Chinesisation” (Sinicisation) 內地化 (中國化)³³⁷ during the rule of the Manchu Ching Empire bore witness to the changes in identity at that moment ... after the lifting of Martial Law in 1987, Taiwan’s historiography stepped on its third stage. Due to political democratisation, the collapse of the KMT autocracy and the openness of the news media, freedom of speech, previous taboos in Taiwan’s historiography have no longer obstructed the research on Taiwan’s history ... distinct phenomenon is the flowering of “*Taiwan Shih*” 台灣史 (Taiwan History), which has already become a distinguished study amongst history studies. In addition to “*Taiwan Shih*”, another blooming area in Taiwan’s history studies is the history of “everyday culture” ...³³⁸

In other words, Wang tries to pinpoint that the term and meaning of “*Taiwan Shih*” (Taiwan History) did not exist (and was not allowed to exist) before the 1970s. It was not until 1987 that the term really took root. The debate about “Indigenisation”³³⁹ and “Chinesisation”

³³⁷ These two terms - indigenisation and Chinesisation (Sinicisation) - are originally presented by different terms in Chinese according to different levels and political standpoints argued by different authors. In other words, 土著化 (localisation) and 內地化 (being inland) were frequently used in early post-war studies in Taiwan instead of 本土化/在地化 (indigenisation/Taiwanisation) and 中國化 (Chinesisation/Sinicisation), which are pervasively recognised in Taiwan today.

³³⁸ Wang Chingchia, *Taiwan Shih Hsuen Wu Shih Nine 1950-2000: Chuan Cheng, Fang Fa, Chu Hsiang* (台灣史學五十年 1950-2000 : 傳承、方法、趨向) (*Fifty Years of Taiwan History, 1950-2000*), Chu ban. ed. (Taipei: Mai Tien, 2002), p. xvi.

³³⁹ Chen Chi Nan proposed an idea of “indigenisation” in 1976 creating a model of “Taiwan history” on the island. This idea was also published in Chen Chi Nan, “Tai Wan Han Jen I Min She Hui Te Chien Li Yu Chuan Hsing (台灣漢人移民社會的建立與轉型)(Construction and Transformation of Han Immigrant Society in Taiwan),” in *Chia Tsu Yu She Hui: Taiwan He Chung Kuo Yen Chiu Te Chi Chu Li Nien* (家族與社會：台灣和中國研究的基礎理念)(*Family and Society: The Fundamental Idea of Doing Taiwan and Chinese Studies*), ed. Chen Chi Nan (Taipei: Lien Ching, 1990). Chen’s later idea of citizenship in Taiwan conducted and activated the movement of Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan. There is an extensive discussion about him in the following sections.

(Sinicisation) opened the door for the people of Taiwan to examine the centre of this island in which everyday life occurs and self-consciousness is generated.

ALTERNATIVE POWER RELATION IN DISCIPLINARY AND POPULAR RECOGNITION

The reason why Taiwan's native culture emerged in the 1970s was based on changes of Taiwan's international status and its political ideology, which shocked the island at that time.³⁴⁰ "*Bentu Literature*" 本土文學 (native soil literature) subsequently comes to the forefront as a controversial issue for Taiwan's historiography. However, "*Bentu Literature*" was an idea developed under the Nationalist Government's political ideology of the time, which involved a strong nationalist spirit. This Nationalist spirit at that time was mainly a cultural system, in opposition to the western cultural system, i.e. the traditional Chinese cultural system. This result was influenced by the Nationalist Government's Greater China ideology. At that time, the concept of "*Taiwan Shih*" was still in its infancy.

The time when "*Taiwan Shih*" became a mainstream view of value in Taiwan was linked to the moment when the *Kaohsiung Incident*³⁴¹ was occurred in 1979. At that time, the so-called "Taiwan consciousness" began to be recognised not only in the discipline of historiography but also amongst the intelligentsia. Taiwan consciousness represents an indentified attitude, looking at this island as a cultural foothold and acknowledging this island as de facto land where Taiwanese people grew up. Based on this emergent consciousness of identity, the

³⁴⁰ In 1971, Taiwan's position (the Republic of China) in the United Nation was superseded by the People Republic of China; in 1978, the United States severed the diplomatic relation with Taiwan; in 1972, Chiang Ching Kuo took the position of premier and conducted the change of governmental policy from previous "counterattack to the mainland" to a focus of developing Taiwan's economics as well as politics. These events, consequently, led to the commencement of Taiwan's political democratisation.

³⁴¹ The *Kaohsiung Incident*, also known as the *Formosa Incident* 美麗島事件, was the result of pro-democracy demonstrations that occurred in Kaohsiung on December 10th 1979.

previously omitted past of Japanese colonisation in Taiwan began to be discussed and recognised as a historic fact. The significance of Japan's colonial past in the development of Taiwan society in the 1980s began to be noticed as an asset to Taiwan's cultural politics. Today, it has become not only Taiwan's "colonial past" but also Taiwan's "social capital", the phenomenon which brought modernisation to the island. At that moment, the previous dominant Chinese nationalist identity was challenged and changed into another powerful collective ideology, which is another nationalist spirit not targeting at China but at Taiwan.

Although the entire context was still framed by a nationalist ideology, which was changed from "Chinese" to "Taiwanese" national identity, the chief texts of historiography were obviously changed. According to Wang's observation, a new stage of Taiwan's historiography emerged in the 1980s particularly when Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Changes of reception in historiography were highlighted by extending the research domain, removing the research limitation and reinterpreting various aspects of history.³⁴² These changes transferred research attention from the time of the Manchu Ching Empire to the Japanese era and presented attempts at identifying Taiwan's national identity by showing respect to all colonial pasts.³⁴³ Moreover, this transition also shaped a current consensus with regard to Taiwan's historic characteristics.³⁴⁴

³⁴² Wang Qingjia, *Taiwan Shi Xue Wu Shi Nian, 1950-2000: Chuan Cheng, Fang Fa, Qu Xiang* (台灣史學五十年 1950-2000 : 傳承、方法、趨向) (Fifty Years of Taiwan History, 1950-2000), Chu ban. ed., Li Shi Yu Wen Hua Cong Shu (Taipei Shi: Mai tian chu ban, 2002), pp. 97-98.

³⁴³ From the 1980s onwards, Japan's colonisation in Taiwan's historiography has no longer been purely marked as a cruel negative rule but also a pervasive recognition that pioneered Taiwan's modernisation. This, to a certain extent, shows an equal respect to this island's different colonial pasts, and from then on, this respect can be seen on the rectified description of different time periods, such as from the earlier "Japanese occupation" 日據 to the current "Japanese rule" 日治.

³⁴⁴ Most Taiwanese historians now have agreed with a public consensus that Taiwan's history has certain fixed characteristics, i.e. its maritime-based culture, a past of immigrant society, its ethnic pluralism, and its colourful colonial experience.

As a consequence, the changes of reception in Taiwan's history from the 1980s onwards have provided an alternative, addressing power relations from a top-down to a bottom-up manner, and from an uncertain subject position to a fixed position. The most remarkable change, which revealed itself in disciplinary and public recognitions, without a doubt, is a concern of everyday life as a form of popular memory in history. In other words, this alternative account of power relations provides another perspective to look at the relationship between dominant and subordinate and knowledge making. This relation of power-knowledge in post-war Taiwan changed the state of disciplinary discourses, especially in terms of political and architectural reception. Politically, heteroglossic imagery highlights today's power relation as a competition of knowledge making rather than as a hierarchical position of domination. The 2011 New Year statement of the chief opposition political party in Taiwan today, the DPP, pinpoints this phenomenon by talking about how Taiwanese people today divide different knowledge contexts between Taiwan's political and de facto status:

The DPP has always believed that our country's roots are its land and its people ... The biggest difference we have with the KMT is that the KMT says, "Without the ROC there is no Taiwan". We believe, "Without Taiwan there is no ROC". They worship at the altar of power and rules. In contrast, our faith is in this land and its people. The difference is that we make Taiwan our priority and we believe we stand on the side of the majority of the people.³⁴⁵

That is to say, land and the people are denoted in this statement as the essential elements of Taiwan, which used to be ignored in the KMT's authoritarian dominance. Yet nowadays, even though the KMT has re-taken over the political authority of Taiwan from 2008, this essence eventually is able to retain its prior position in Taiwan society as another statement of identification parallel to the government's nationalist ideology. Arguably, this statement has now superseded the nationalist ideology as an ascendant discourse, and is recognised as received knowledge in today's Taiwan society.

³⁴⁵ Tsai Ing-wen, "Dpp Chair Tsai Ing-Wen's 2011 New Year Statement," *Democratic Progressive Party* (2011).

Architecturally, contestations also heteroglossically reinterpret this power-knowledge relation. Chang Wei-Hsiu's article in 2006 is one example. This article indicates that more than a decade's grassroots movement has been challenging the power of people's rights in Taiwan society.³⁴⁶ Chang argues that the political environment is not the only field reflecting this change in power relation. The bottom-up empowerment movement of the built environment in post-Martial Law Taiwan is one distinctive case of the direct representation of the quality of everyday life.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE EVERYDAY IN NATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY

Accordingly, the nationalist concern in Taiwan's historiography had once again been decentralised into a different focus - the history of everyday culture - since the 1990s. Pure political or martial thinking is no longer enough to match a new climate of society and the cultural circumstances in Taiwan today. At this moment, nationalism to a certain degree has stepped down and its apparent replacement is a concern with the day-to-day.

As evidenced in Wang's observation, she indicates that the nationalist oriented focus in historiography has a distinct weakness. This weakness is that no matter whether the emphasis is focused on racial, genealogical or ethnic differences, the context of nationalism cannot include all the essential texts and cannot clearly distinguish the differences within the presence of Taiwan society. In other words, there will be always an "other" when reading history as a text in the nationalist context. For that reason, many scholars these days begin to propose alternative ways of looking at the societal and cultural politics of identity in Taiwan, which are beyond conservative nationalist concepts and approaches. Tsai Ing-wen's "liberalistic" thinking is one example:

From a liberalistic point of view, the construction of Taiwan's national subject would easily be inclined and dominated by certain "ethnic group's" central political and

³⁴⁶ Chang Wei-Hsiu, "Does the Community Have a Right to Plan Its Neighbourhood? Urban Planning from the People's Perspective," *Dialogue* (2006).

cultural ideology. And it consequently leads to forms of extreme populism and violent nationalism or so-called collective “ethnic adoration”.³⁴⁷

That is to say, in this day and age, concerns over individuals and citizenship are more effective as a means to highlight the character of modern society rather than a pure nationalist pathway through talking about ethnicity, race or lineage alone. In a similar sense, Chen Chi Nan also proposed that citizenship would be the true foundation of constructing national or political identity. This idea subsequently became his core concept of pushing Community Development in Taiwan when he worked with the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) 行政院文化建設委員會 from 1994 to 2006. From another perspective, using post-colonial thinking to look at Taiwan’s historiography is an alternative way moving from a pure nationalist standpoint to a pluralistic and civilian observation. Examples are like Lu Chien Jung’s concept of the ambivalence of identity³⁴⁸ and Chen Kuan Hsing’s marginal cultural imagination of post-nation.³⁴⁹

In architecture, the preservation of historical sites is the first issue which spatially reflects this day-to-day concern in historiography. Lee Chian-lang has pinpointed a fact that a historical site is designated by the standard of its “history”. But the preservation of history is not necessary linked and equal to its criticism no matter whether made by the collective or by individuals.³⁵⁰ Lee argues that the rise of an indigenous consciousness is a key to adjust this chronic misunderstanding of judging historical sites by political bias. In other words,

³⁴⁷ Tsai Ing-wen, "Jen Tung Yu Cheng Chih: I Chung Li Lun Hsing Chin Fan Sheng (認同與政治:一種理論性之反省) (Identity and Politics: A Theoretical Reflexion)," *Political Science Review* 8(1997): pp. 51-83.

³⁴⁸ Lu Chien Jung, *The Ambivalence of National Identity in Taiwan (1975-1997)* (Taipei: Mai Tien, 1999), p. 8.

³⁴⁹ Chen Kuan Hsing, "The Imperialist Eye: The Cultural Imaginary of a Sub-Empire and a Nation-State," *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 17(1994): pp. 165-203.

³⁵⁰ Lee Chian-lang, *Taiwan Chien Chu Shih (台灣建築史)(Architectural History of Taiwan)* (Taipei: Wu Nan, 2008), pp. 210-217.

Lee indicates that changes of reception in mainstream historiography today in Taiwan have pushed the populace to treat history objectively. As a physical application under this concept, renovation projects of the Red House in Taipei, Kuo Min Theatre in Hsin Chu, No. 20 Warehouse in Taichung and the Kaohsiung Museum of History in Kaohsiung are, according to Lee, the pioneer projects.

To summarise: this transition in post-war Taiwan's historiography details the geographic transition in post-war Taiwan³⁵¹ into a geopolitical transition (Figure 176). Geographic identification in post-war Taiwan appears as a three-step-process which began from a Martial Law Chinese mainland identity, changed to an isolated island identity, and currently positions identity as a Taiwan-centred cosmopolitan construction. However, by only looking at geographic identification, this is still vague and insufficient to address the entire cultural political scenario of post-war Taiwan, in particular in its post-Martial Law era which appears to be heteroglossic and relatively sophisticated. In other words, in order to understand the situation of post-war Taiwan's quasi-colonial context, apart from geographic identification, the involvement between external impacts and geopolitical reflection has to be considered. In this sense, different receptions in native historiography are crucial, as they conduct the transition of post-war Taiwan society. These changes of reception, as an argument in the study, are believed also to shape architectural representations in today's Taiwan both in social and cultural political aspects.

³⁵¹ The geographic transition of post-war Taiwan is analysed in **Chapter 2: Taiwan's post-Martial Law "heteroglossia"**. Three steps of geographic identification are modelled in this discussion, details can be found in Figure 19 and its relevant section.

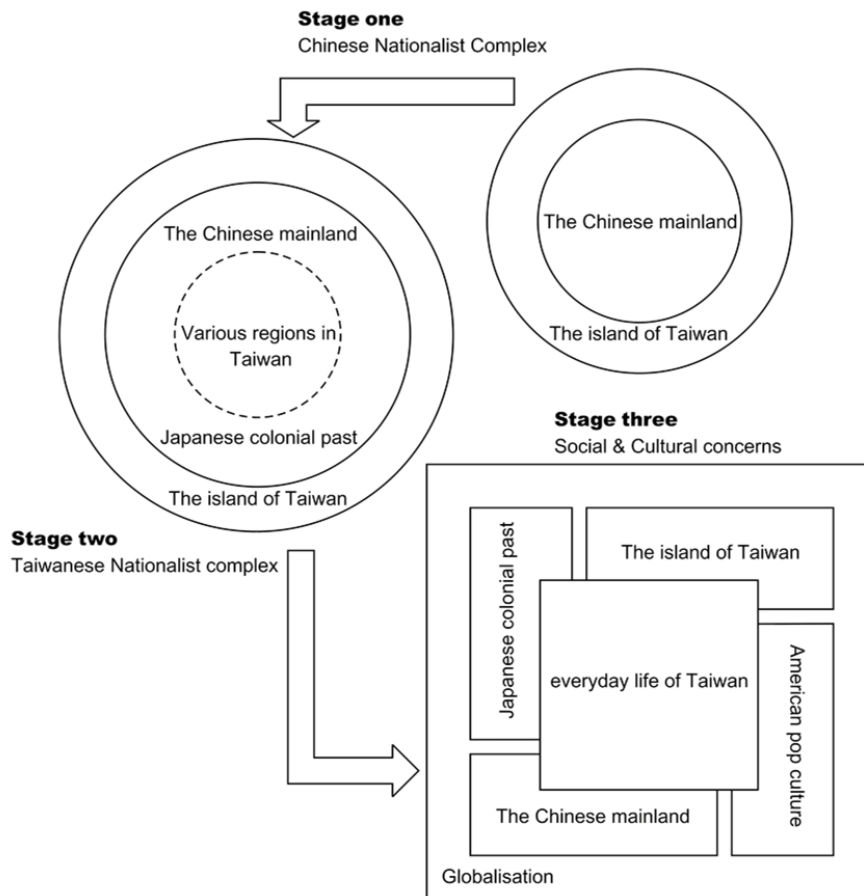


Figure 176 The transition of Taiwan's post-war geopolitical identification (Made by the author).

Incontestably, Taiwan and the “Chinese mainland” are always included in the context of a pervasive and shared *Han* culture in modern society. Nevertheless, their significance in Taiwan varies to different degrees. In time, this was shown in two stages, by a homocentric type of context and in a third stage, a context which gyrated by four cultural forces.

The centres of geopolitical identification during the first two stages were exchanged between an imaginary mainland and various regions of Taiwan, which demonstrated different views of nationalism – one Chinese-centred and, the other Taiwan-centred chronologically. During the first stage, the context was a straightforward relationship between Taiwan and the Chinese mainland. However, in the second stage, the relationship became more complicated and involved Taiwan's Japanese past. The centric circles in the diagram indicate a division of Taiwan and its various regions showing Taiwan nationalism. These two stages were differentiated between and after the 1970s. In the third stage (after

the 1980s), the context was expanded to a global scale, which switched the focus onto society and culture. The context was now concentrated on social and cultural substances, which appear on the island on a daily basis. These were influenced not only by Taiwan itself, the cultural impact of the Chinese mainland (shared *Han* culture), the Japanese colonial past and post-war Taiwan's western influences especially from American popular culture. They all equally (not in quantity but in quality) share the same context.

On the other hand, texts within different contexts at different stages are shifted chronologically (Figure 177). Take today's built environment in Taiwan as an example. Yen Liang-yi indicates that Community Development in post-Martial Law Taiwan attempts to emphasise ideologically the identity of the land from the point of view of community residents. In other words, this is a new "national imagination", viewing Taiwan as a mental "community" (*Kung Tung Ti* 共同體). In this context, the historic environment is no longer regarded as national capital but the civilians' (individuals') collective heritage.³⁵² Similarly, Hsia Chu-Joe's deduction in 1998, which talked about the change of government's cultural policy by using Community Development as a bridge, also echoes this concept.³⁵³ This chronological shift bears witness to the process of constructing interactive and plural forms of cultural subjectivity in post-war Taiwan like Foucault's assertion that repressed culture in an autocratic era is not allowed to be differentiated as a neutral and uniform value of culture or social order.³⁵⁴ If someone tries to present individual reception as a difference, he would spontaneously be associated with madness.³⁵⁵ To be precise, during the time when the

³⁵² Yen Liang-yi, "Time-Space Imagination of National Identity: The Formation and Transformation of the Conceptions of Historic Presentation in Taiwan," *Journal of Planning* 33(2006): p. 102.

³⁵³ Hsia Chu-Joe, "Historic Preservation in Taiwan: A critical Review," *Journal of Building and Planning* 9(1998): pp. 4-6.

³⁵⁴ The issue of social resistance in post-war Taiwan's spatial practices is discussed in **Chapter 7: Post-Martial Law Taiwan's maritime imagery and "collective individualities": waterfront Kaohsiung.**

³⁵⁵ Michel Foucault, *Madness and Civilization: A History of Insanity in the Age of Reason* (New York,: Vintage Books, 1973), pp. 115-116.

Nationalist Government ruled the island with martial control, cultural subjectivity in Taiwan had no way or any potential to be constructed. And therefore its place at that time was definitely maintained as a void.

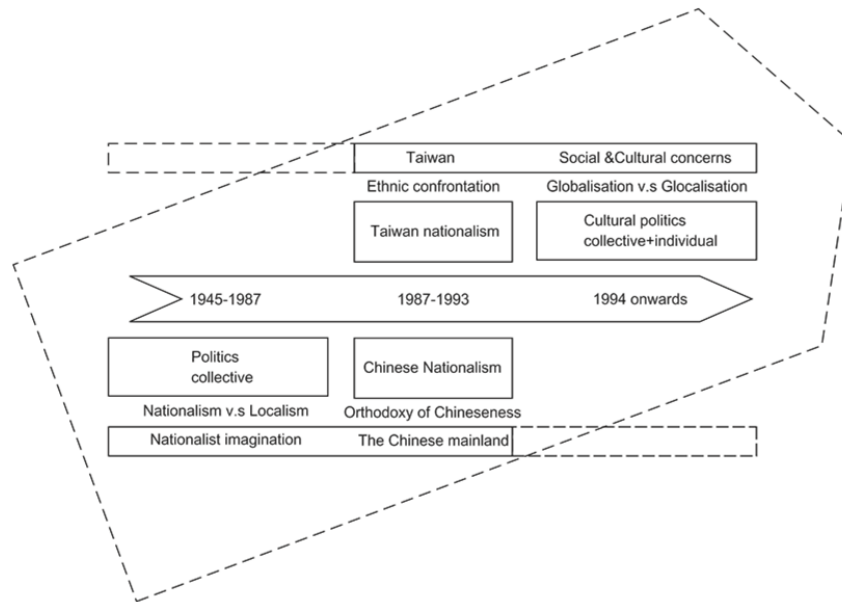


Figure 177 The ideological transition of post-war Taiwan's cultural politics of identity (Made by the author).

In brief, post-war Taiwan's ascendant ideology in society moved from a top-down collectivity to bottom-up individualities. Political nationalism, which had been driven by the authoritarian government's imagination of a Chinese nation, competed with the longstanding and repressed localism. Later, a transitional stage was sketched by a debate about a top-down ideology of maintaining cultural orthodoxy and bottom-up confrontations amongst native ethnicities. Of course, the making of nationalism was still an intention of the time. From the 1990s onwards, this intention, arguably, was decentralised into another debate about glocalisation and the making of cultural subjectivity. Because of this, day-to-day routine and various individualities have shifted the simplified nationalist ideology as dominant collectivity in today's cosmopolitan Taiwan society. As a result, the rise of individuality after the lifting of Martial Law has switched the ideological context of post-war Taiwan from an external to an internal construction, from an exotic to an indigenous ascendancy, and from a symbolic to a consensual-based identity construction.

THE MOTIF OF POST-MARTIAL LAW COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

A motif is always the first query when a social movement is examined in certain timing and geopolitical circumstances. What is the legitimacy of performing Community Development? What is the implication of calling the movement “Community Development”? Is the concept of this movement innovative? Or was the idea borrowed from somewhere? A series of doubts about Community Development in Taiwan and its nearly two-decade performance after the Martial Law period have been questioned. Chen Chih Wu compares the once worldwide popular community reconstruction movement in the 1970s, which was stuck with the idea of “citizen or grassroots participation”, with this influential movement in Taiwan’s socio-political indigenisation, which has various appellations such as “community architecture”, “community participation”, “participatory design”, and its official appellation - “Community Development”. Chen believes that the lifting of Martial Law was a critical motif for Taiwanese people to challenge Taiwan’s previously longstanding dominance of different external state apparatuses.³⁵⁶ In other words, Taiwan’s quasi-colonial circumstances produce an unusual and repressed historical context. Particularly, in the 1980s, which was the timing when native society had gradually been opened, Taiwan society’s plight, resulted from forms of suppression, was highlighted. On the other hand, it stimulated more or less rational or violent resistance from the public. Community Development, to a certain extent, has represented this resistance. Similarly, Tseng Tzu Feng and Lu Ssu Yueh use different viewpoints to analyse the time of performing Community Development in Taiwan. Tseng analyses the “crises” which transferred Community Development becoming a physical social movement from a top-down cultural policy.³⁵⁷ The crises are about Taiwan’s complex

³⁵⁶ Chen Chih Wu, "She Chu Chien Chu Te Fu Hsien: I Ke Ling Lei Te Chui Hsun (社區建築的浮現：一個另類的追尋)(the Emergence of the Community Architecture)," *Architect* 10(1996): p. 96.

³⁵⁷ Tseng Tzu Feng, "She Chu Tsung Ti Ying Tsao Yun Tung Yu Yung Hsu She Hui Fa Chan (社區總體營造運動與永續社會發展)(Community Development Movement and Sustainable Social Development)," in *Cultural Affairs, School of E-Learning Part 1: Community Development*, ed. council for Cultural Affairs (Taipei: The council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan., 2003), pp. 34-35.

background: its previously political autocracy, its repressed society, its unhealthy cultural context, and even the impact of globalisation. Therefore, a strategy of “local revitalisation” 地方活化 such as the concept of “glocalisation” 全球地方化 has become an essential issue when the development of a country and society is considered sustainably. Lu Ssu Yueh, ideologically, examines Taiwan’s democratisation as a context of Community Development. Lu asserts that the community is an operative field of representative democracy, is a productive field of public opinion, and is a practical field of grassroots democracy.³⁵⁸ In other words, Lu tries to draw an outline of Community Development through indigenisation, grassroots democracy (participatory democracy) and social transformation. He sees the movement as a constructed public sphere which communicates identity issues between the government and civilians.

EMPOWERMENT AND PARTICIPATION AS CRITICAL ISSUES

Hsia Chu-joe talks extensively in his articles about the issue of empowerment through Community Development. Architecturally, he believes that the delimitation of community architecture has nothing about the scale of a site but “communitarianism” of its architectural design. The concept of communitarianism emphasises a relationship between a constructed space and its social organisation. For that reason, community participation is an indispensable process of architectural design.³⁵⁹ He subsequently suggests that this process

³⁵⁸ Lu Ssu Yueh, "Wo Men Ju He Hsian Hsiang She Tsao? Tsao Ken Min Chu Yu She Kai Tsao (我們如何想像社造?-草根民主與社會改造)(How Can We Imagine Community Development? Grassroots Democracy and Social Transformation)," in *She Chu Ying Tsao Yen Hsi Chiao Tsai (社區營造研習教材)(a Brochure of Community Development)*, ed. Chen Chin Huang (Taipei: Ministry of the Interior, 2006), pp. 20, 23, 24.

³⁵⁹ Hsia Chu-Joe, "Tsui Sheng Hsin She Hui, Hsin Jen Lei: She Hui Pien Chien Yu She Chu Chien Chu (催生新社會、新人類：社會變遷與社區建築)(To Hasten the New Society and New Humankind: The Social Transition and Community Architecture)," *Architect* 10(1996): p. 101.

should be extended as a process of empowerment.³⁶⁰ What Hsia trying to say is, community participation is a possibility of activating a social movement, which is a third road apart from modal democracy and armed revolution. Therefore, community participation becomes a phenomenon of grassroots democracy, which avoids involving the mechanism of the state apparatus but targets the urban reformation. And this, to a certain degree, is the empowerment of the community. On the other hand, Hsia believes that although the empowerment is a process of embodying grassroots democracy, this kind of “community consciousness” in any circumstance needs to be constructed. It is a political process, which turns people’s cognition from the “community in itself” to “community for itself” and this is why this social movement is often translated into different appellations since its very commencement in the 1990s in Taiwan such as “community renaissance”, “community empowerment” or “community building”. Local autonomy is a key to keep grassroots away from populism. Local autonomy, at a practical level, is embodied through the “layering” concept of official organisations.

Participation is always a pivotal issue of the Community Development movement. Chen Liang-Chun observes the early difficulties and possible tendency at the very beginning of this movement in the early 1990s.³⁶¹ Chen indicates that Community Development began as a policy, i.e. its early participation from the public understanding was represented as a production of fashion, which was well-known but also superficial. Besides, the allocation of the resources is another problem. An immature mechanism of subsidising recourses causes vicious competitions and conflicts. Immature running techniques as well as legal system are also severe obstacles. Yet, incontestably, a participatory construction is a tendency.

³⁶⁰ Hsia Chu-Joe, "Participation and Local Autonomy: Empowering Communities in Taiwan.", pp. 16-19; Hsia Chu-Joe, "Taiwan Te She Chu Ying Tsao (台灣的社區營造)(Community Development in Taiwan)," pp. 178, 180.

³⁶¹ Chen Liang-Chun, "Bu Zai Shih Jhuan Ye Chang Du Jiao Si De Shih Dai— She Cyu Yi Shih Yu Min Jhong Can Yu De Kong Jian Guan (不再是專業唱獨角戲的時代—社區意識與民眾參與的空間觀)(No longer the Monologic Era- the Spatial Standpoint from Community Consciousness and the Public Involvement)," *Architect* 12(1993): pp. 109-113.

Community issues have become a pervasive and synthetic subject in modern Taiwan society. Chen believes that a participatory design must be working along with strong consciousness and self-cognition of the community (individuals) and well self-arousal which is established by design professionals concurrently. To be precise, the relationship amongst professionals, the local governments and community members gradually become crucial in terms of this participatory design trend.³⁶² Also, consciousness of the community is another vitally important element to shape a participatory design context. In terms of this, modern society of Taiwan is suggested as an essential basis to be understood.³⁶³ That is to say, cultural differences between professionals and the common people, Taiwan's maritime culture as well as its character of pluralism, and the rapid economic development are all critical matters with regard to the public participation. The spirit of Community Development, to a certain extent, is very platonic way of thinking: it carries one's duty to one's station. Each person in the community (land) must involve in this movement creating a new environment which suits new society in Taiwan like Tseng Hsu-Jen's description: "the essence of participation is not the effect to the architecture but to the participants".³⁶⁴

³⁶² Liu Ke-Ciang, "Design and Community: Imagining a New Professional Practice," *Cities and Design* 2/3(1997), pp. 131-132; Xie Qing Da, "She Chu Tsan Yu Shih Kung Yuen Kui Hua Chung Tsan Yu Che Kuan Hsi Chih Tan Tao (社區參與式公園規劃中參與者關係之探討)(the Discussion of the Relationship between Participatory Community Park Plan and its Participants)," *Journal of Architecture* 10(1994): pp. 198-199.

³⁶³ Liu Ke-Ciang, "Sin Taiwan She Cyu Jian Jhu Yi Shih— She Cyu Can Yu De She Huei Jia Jhieh Yu Jhuan Ye Yi Yi (新台灣社區建築意識—社區參與的社會價值與專業意義)(New Taiwanese Community Consciousness- the Social Value and Disciplinary Meaning of Community Involvement)," *Architect* 10(1996): p. 95.

³⁶⁴ Tseng Hsu Cheng, "Chih Hsu Cha Ken Te She Chu Chien Chu: Chien Chu Shih Te Hsin Chiao Se (持續紮根的社區建築：建築師的新角色)(Community Architecture Is Rooting as a New Role of Architect)," *Architect* 02(1998): p. 113.

APPENDIX 4:
A STORY OF NOBILITY IN COLONIAL ASIA: VICTORIAN INFLUENCE
AND THE RED HOUSE IN TAIPEI

INTRODUCTION: THE 19TH CENTURY IN THE 21ST CENTURY

The Victorian era (1819-1901) falls into three periods, often described as the Early Victorian, High Victorian and late Victorian phases. Architectural styles during the Victorian era however show a relative complexity across each period. Among the various styles, the rise and fall of the Gothic Revival and the Queen Anne Revival (which was born of the former) are significant to a non-European context and have left an enduring legacy. The Gothic Revival is often regarded as the crucial delegate representing the moral consciousness in the modern movement in the history of architecture. Therefore the popularity of the Gothic Revival in the nineteenth century marked itself by a form of nobility in the European built world. This constructed “spirit” was brought to Imperial Japan during its *Meiji* age, but was transferred to an idea of national nobility. The Queen Anne Revival, while departing from Gothic influenced Japanese colonial architecture not only in spirit but in style. This paper is interested in the “implantation” of this mainly Victorian influence and its architectural extension into early twentieth century colonisation particularly in Asia, the main foothold of Imperial Japan. More precisely, this study intends to explore the imagery of Victorian architecture which interacts with a colonial context and its continuous story into the twenty-first century. As Michael J. Lewis has suggested by looking at the Gothic Revival, when it is read as a text in a modern context, it is almost always positioned as “essential”.³⁶⁵ Yet this “essential” will never be unearthed if the examination only focuses on stylistic fads. The implications of style, context, patronage and use, which echo the cultural and social scenarios of the present, are the real points that need to be explored.

This study attempts to decode this sophisticated translation by analysing the Victorian influence deployed by Imperial Japan, and it strategically selects the Red House in Taipei as the analytical focus in the context of colonial Asia. The nobility of morality established in Western society and the style born of it will be reshaped by an encounter with colonisation in the East.

³⁶⁵ Michael J. Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, World of Art. (New York, N.Y.: Thames & Hudson, 2002), p. 196.

THE VICTORIAN RED HOUSE

The Red House is a Victorian building that arose within Taiwan's quasi-colonial context. Looking at such a work today, it is necessary to have a sophisticated understanding of the surrounding social and cultural circumstances of its creation. This is especially so given the location of Taiwan, a site far from the origins of Victorian architecture. The Victorian context and its correlation with Taiwan need exploration. Such an exploration must focus on two associated architectural styles, the Gothic Revival and Queen Anne Revival, and subsequently seek to understand their influence on Imperial Japan and its then colony, Taiwan. A family tree (Figure 178) shows the relationships between the architects involved in such a context.

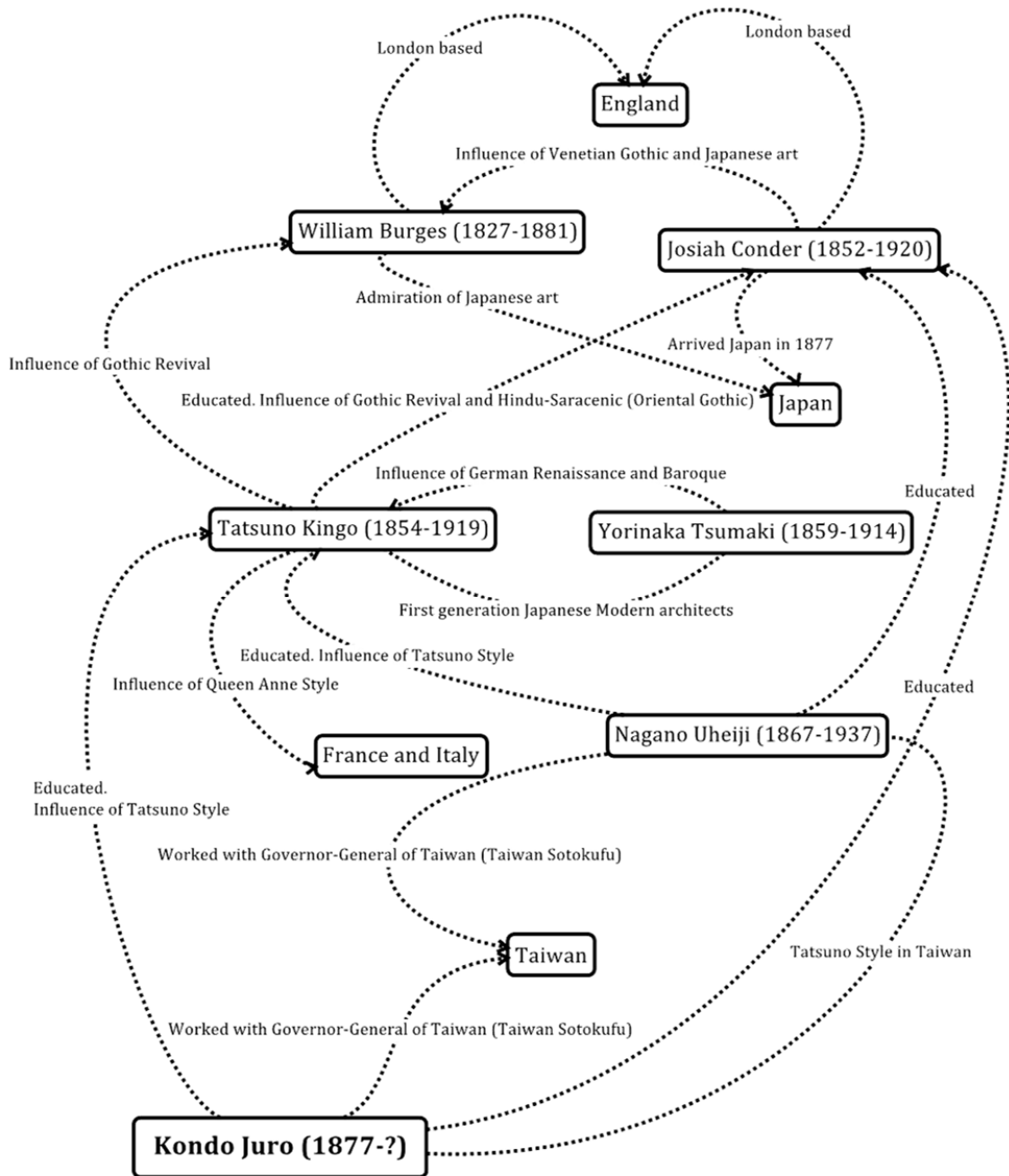


Figure 178 Professional association and employment shaped the Victorian influence that began in Europe, moved to Imperial Japan and subsequently arrived at Taiwan (Made by the author).

FROM GOTHIC TO QUEEN ANNE & FROM QUEEN ANNE TO TATSUNO STYLE

Often regarded as the pursuit of taste and morality in the history of architecture, the Gothic Revival to some extent plays a spatiotemporal role in responding to the cultural dislocation and anxiety about identity caused by the Industrial Revolution. In other words, the Gothic Revival is the story of Western civilisation's confrontation with modernity.³⁶⁶ Apart from aesthetic taste, asymmetrical composition and an increase in archaeological knowledge are two points of morality generally linked with Gothic Revival thinking. Irregularity and the principles of contrast as an aspect of picturesque theory are two of the Gothic Revival's pivotal characteristics. The platform of the Middle Ages, the religious datum point of both A. W. N. Pugin and the Ecclesiological Society, forms another intention behind the Gothic Revival. For the moral consideration of architecture, A. W. N. Pugin proposed two great rules in *The true principles of pointed or Christian Architecture* (first published in 1841) that: first, there should be no features about a building which are not necessary for convenience, construction or propriety and secondly, all ornament should consist of enrichment of the essential construction of the building.³⁶⁷ For Pugin, decoration was "to enhance and give meaning to the building though an expression of its material structure".³⁶⁸

Pugin's architectural thinking exercised much influence over British architecture and architectural theory. It formed the foundations of Victorian architecture, evident from many Victorian Gothicists' building works. William Burges was one of those followers in Britain's Victorian age, a time which represented immense change since industrialisation stimulated numerous English architects to seek appropriate architectural styles to define a "new" Britain. As a result, Gothic architecture which had originated from a Christian Europe and in

³⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁶⁷ A. Welby Pugin, *The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture* (London, New York,: Academy Editions; St. Martin's Press, 1973).

³⁶⁸ Neil Levine, *Modern Architecture: Representation & Reality* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2009), p. 124.

its clear use of strong materials and flexible space for craftsmanship presented in various England geometrical and polychromatic applications, suggested a proper schema to be applied as a national style for Britain. Surprisingly, Burges' reinterpretation of medieval imagery was itself partly inspired by Japanese art.³⁶⁹ Ironically, Burges' developed Gothic Revival which would then constitute Britain's "national style", was then implanted in another nation, Imperial Japan.

While the Gothic styles dominated church architecture, particularly between 1810 and 1860, its application across all other building types was less pervasive. As a result, the so-called "Queen Anne" manner emerged in the 1870s almost as a necessity i.e. to design for the secular world.³⁷⁰ Deborah Weiner has described this transfer in Britain, that "in the 1870s a number of architects trained in the offices of prominent Gothic Revival architects designed buildings which partook of the new vocabulary".³⁷¹ This departure from the Gothic reached its peak during the 1860s and 1870s. Unlike church design as the primary means of the Gothicist, Queen Anne Revival architects dealt with secular buildings such as houses, schools and town halls. Richard Norman Shaw (1831-1912) one of those Victorian architects trained in Gothic thinking, was a key participant in the transfer, developing his career into the Edwardian era. Shaw began practice in the 1860s with Eden Nesfield (1835-1888). At that time, both were producing Gothic works but soon moved onto the Queen Anne style. The so-called Queen Anne Revival borrowed from 17th and 18th century English vernacular architecture. The details of this style, which adopted native English domestic forms, as analysed by James Stevens Curl, were not High Gothic at all.³⁷² Shaw's representative Queen

³⁶⁹ Burges himself was one of the earliest Western collectors of Japanese feudal armour and woodblock prints.

³⁷⁰ Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins* (London: Architectural Press, 1975), p. 8.

³⁷¹ Deborah E. B. Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform in Late-Victorian London* (Manchester; New York: Manchester University Press, 1994), p. 71.

³⁷² James Stevens Curl, *Victorian Architecture* (New York, N.Y.: David & Charles; Distributed by Sterling Pub. Co., 1990), p. 116.

Anne buildings were the New Zealand Chambers, London (1872) (Figure 179) and New Scotland Yard, London (1887) (Figure 180). Shaw's later focus in practice moved toward the Classical Baroque style in large commercial buildings. Nikolaus Pevsner has suggested that Shaw kept almost entirely away from large-scale or commercial building until he was 55 years old.³⁷³ That is to say, the character and main forms of the Queen Anne Revival, were not only secular but most of the time domestic and vernacular. Interestingly, this form of "new" English architecture was later translated into the base of Japanese colonial architecture, as a nationalised eclecticism.

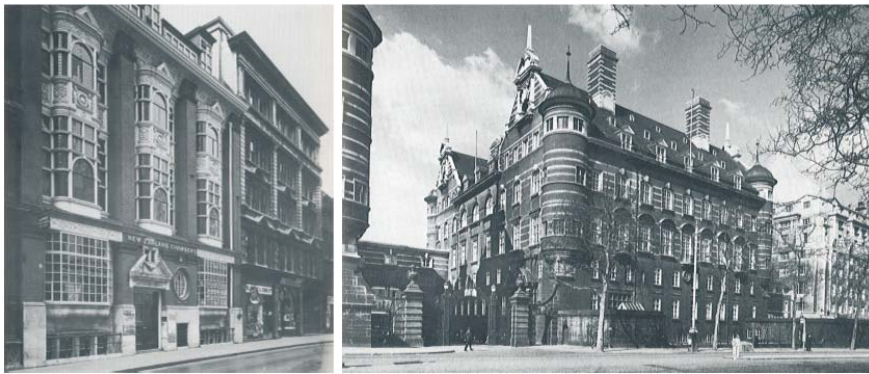


Figure 179 New Zealand Chambers (Alastair Service, *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins*. London: Architectural Press, 1975: p. 45).

Figure 180 New Scotland Yard (Service, 1975: p. 49).

In looking at the implantation of the Victorian era on Imperial Japan, especially through the introduction of the Gothic Revival and Queen Anne Revival, Burges and Conder's influence cannot be overlooked. In his admiration of Japanese art, Burges believed that the construction of a Gothic morality through medieval society and ecclesiastical space was echoed in the juxtaposed ornamental members of Japanese art, which spoke of morality and space in silence.³⁷⁴ This was most likely the initial motif connecting the Victorian Gothic

³⁷³ Nikolaus Pevsner, "Richard Norman Shaw" in *Edwardian Architecture and Its Origins*, ed. Alastair Service (London: Architectural Press, 1975), pp. 49, 51.

³⁷⁴ Lewis, *The Gothic Revival*, p. 163.

Revival to Japan in its *Meiji* restoration. *Meiji Ishin* occurred in Japan in the 1860s by pursuing the fruits of the remarkable Industrial and Economic Revolution in the West. As a visual and direct representation, architecture became an essential state apparatus for demonstrating the outcomes of modernisation and differentiating the hierarchy of the empire's authority in space. Among these *Meiji* westernised buildings, the Classical and Gothic languages were adopted as the ordering tools of Japanese hierarchical power. At the first level, the Classical language, especially Neo-Baroque forms along with the materiality of stone, were applied to represent the highest power, that of racial nobility. *Akasaka* Palace in Tokyo (1899-1909) is one such example. At a second level, red brick buildings with steel or timber frames presented along with High Victorian architectural languages were chosen to represent Japanese authority in public space. This practice was followed even at the lowest level of westernised building: structures of timber frames and weatherboards. The use of brick and steel, among these westernised buildings, played an increasing role both in the *Meiji* restoration and in the role of Victorian influence in colonial Asia. Pragmatically, brick and steel were the materials which represented the results of industrialisation because of their productive competitiveness, ease of making and quick erection. Symbolically, brick and steel were initially imported from England. This suggested the physical embodiment of knowledge and modernity gained from the West. Tokyo Station (1914) is one such significant example in Japan. The Red House in Taiwan, once a colony of the Japanese Empire, to a certain extent, is another witness of this implantation of cultural politics and aesthetic nobility.

With regard to this Victorian influence, the relationship between William Burges and Josiah Conder and their influence on Tatsuno Kingo, one of the outstanding first generation Western-trained Japanese architects educated by Conder, is crucial. Conder came to Japan in 1877 after two years of working in the Burges' office. He was invited to Japan by the government of the Japanese Empire and brought profound changes to Japanese architecture which were spread across its pan-pacific colonies by instruction in Gothic Revival thinking as a form of spatial nobility in new Japan. Apart from the nationalist imagery and aesthetic similarity between the Gothic Revival and Japanese culture, William Coaldrake suggests two

reasons to explain why Conder was invited to Japan.³⁷⁵ The first apparently connects to the relationship between Burges and Conder's skills and knowledge of the Venetian Gothic inherited from his experience working with Burges' firm. Secondly, the honour of winning the Soane Prize in 1875, the year after Conder entered Burgers' firm inspired the Japanese Imperial government's confidence in his western architectural training.

In Japan, Conder experimented with the so-called Hindu-Saracenic style, in reality an orientalisising version of the Venetian Gothic made popular in British India. The Ueno Imperial Museum in Tokyo was one of Conder's works and a group of his students adopted this idea. Tatsuno Kingo, the designer of Tokyo Station, was one of these students, educated under Conder's direction at Tokyo Imperial University. After his graduation, Tatsuno went to London working with T. Roger Smith, Conder's uncle, from 1880 and he transferred to Burges' office in 1881. Burges however died suddenly in 1881 during Tatsuno's stay. As a result, Tatsuno spent a year after 1882 travelling in France and Italy. Significantly, he brought the idea of the Queen Anne Revival back to Japan afterwards. At that time, the two favourite styles of *Meiji* Western architecture were the Renaissance and Baroque, particularly based on German influence.³⁷⁶ The works of one of the first generation Japanese western trained architects, Yorinaka Tsumaki, attest to this influence. This also influenced Tatsuno's later eclectic approach to architecture. In 1885, Tatsuno was appointed to a post at Tokyo Imperial University and he subsequently took over Conder's position as the departmental head of architecture after Conder's retirement in 1888. From then on, the Victorian influence was handed over from Burges, via Conder to a native architect in Imperial Japan, Tatsuno Kingo.

³⁷⁵ Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan*, p. 218.

³⁷⁶ Dallas Finn, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*, 1st ed. (New York: Weatherhill, 1995), p. 99.

Residues of Conder's Hindu-Saracenic plus the High Victorian Gothic and the German Renaissance were eventually merged becoming Tatsuno's "eclectic personality".³⁷⁷ Tatsuno's favourite mature style was an idiosyncratic red brick idiom trimmed with white stone. To call this "Queen Anne", argued by Dallas Finn, is close but inadequate.³⁷⁸ Its inspiration surely came from the style of the Queen Anne with emphasis on red brick and white stone, but Tatsuno also absorbed simultaneously his Gothic experience and the German classical influence in Imperial Japan. As a result, his eclectic approach developed a unique style, the so-called "*Tatsuno Style*": Tokyo Station is the typical example (Figure 181). This "personality" soon influenced architectural evolution in Japan and in its colonies.



Figure 181 Main entrance of Tokyo Station (Tokyo Suteshon Gyarari, *Like a Red Brick: Tokyo Station and Japanese Modern Brick Works*. Tokyo: Higashinohon Ryokiyaku Tetsudo Kabushiki Kaisha, 1988: p. 37).

The reason why Tatsuno's own style was so influential is probably connected to his involvement as one of the founders of the Architecture Institute of Japan (based upon the constitution of Royal Institute of British Architects, Conder was made its first honorary president). Finn has observed that Tatsuno's position as presidential chair of the Architectural Institute of Japan and his British and artistic training championed his

³⁷⁷ David B. Stewart, *The Making of a Modern Japanese Architecture: 1868 to the Present*, 1st ed. (Tokyo; New York: Kodansha International, 1987), p. 48.

³⁷⁸ Finn, *Meiji Revisited: The Sites of Victorian Japan*, p. 194.

personally developed style in Japanese architecture's private sector.³⁷⁹ In fact not only in private architecture, but as the former head of an academic department in architecture and through this connection with colonial construction firms such as Okada Engineering and his involvement with the Association of Japanese Architects and most importantly with the *Journal of Manchurian Architecture*, Tatsuno could hardly be separated from either public or private spheres of influence (Figure 182).



Figure 182 Tatsuno's works in Japan drawn by his student, Goto Keiji (Seiichi Yoshikawa and Shintaro Mizuuo, eds., *The Tokyo Station and Kingo Tatsuno*. Tokyo: East Japan Railway Company, 1991: 168.).

Furthermore, Tatsuno's influence on Japanese colonial architecture, as an indicator of the implantation of Victorian influence, cannot be overlooked. Taking Taiwan as the example, another first generation Japanese architect trained by Conder, the designer of the Red House, Kondo Juro, is one of the *Tatsuno Style's* colonial architects. The Red House was built in 1908, and completed six years earlier than Tokyo Station. Apart from its style, the initial spirit of constructing the Red House in the centre of Taipei was an attempt to establish the nobility and monumentality of the expanding Japanese Empire. These forms of constructed nobility and monumentality, interestingly, were no less than the symbolic hierarchy of a *Shinto shrine* (and in actual fact there was a shrine constructed beside the Red House, which is discussed later in this paper). The only difference is that the nobility and monumentality of the Red House adopted through Victorian influence were not established for God, but on behalf of empire. In other words, it was for the Japanese community who lived in the core

³⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 158.

district of the colony. This core district was made functionally visible and highlighted by a growing empire's declaration of ruling authority, dominant modernity and powerful coloniality (at times also combining an implied racism). The initial essence of adopting the Gothic spirit, from this standpoint, was associated with a new age and a new context, transcending the historical context of the European Gothic idiom.

While the history of the Red House is evidence of the existence of Victorian influence in Taiwan, this constructed "spirit" in Taiwan stands for a crucial position in colonial Asia and at its postcolonial stage, which is never sufficient if one examines only the building's origin and external form registered at the level of the object. The quasi-colonial context of Taiwan after WWII (i.e. after the Japanese left in 1945 and with the establishment of the Nationalist Government, itself a form of "colonial" rule from the ROC), conferred another form of nobility upon the Red House, through the nationalist ideology of Taiwan's new rule. However the building subsequently suffered pauperisation, then was "remade" to reflect quotidian necessities. It became a local community centre in the early 2000s. By discussing the "architectural" Red House as well as the "urban story" of the Red House, the building as an object and its social, cultural and political context along with its public reception in history constitute a spatiotemporal discourse of variable powers in this case study history of Asian colonisation.

APPENDIX 5:
A MARITIME CONNECTION TO TAIWAN

Taiwan's maritime presence, at first glance, seems to have no convincing point apart from its de facto truth as an island state both nationally and internationally, when compared to a well-known registration of "Chinese-ness" which is represented worldwide in forms of political nationalism or architectural formalism. Notwithstanding, a connection to maritime culture has interestingly and increasingly emerged as a legitimate issue today in Taiwan. At the same time, the process of constructing cultural subjectivity is another ideological construction of identity, which supersedes collective forms of nationalism and external formalism. Here, the characteristics of Taiwan's maritime presence are analysed and contextualised in different aspects which transcend a geographic face alone. Evidence from Taiwan's early travellers' accounts, different contestations of public reception in history, Taiwan's native racial exploration, academic works on linguistic, archaeological and cultural studies, and relative architectural deduction, is analysed here.

Joseph Beal Steere's manuscript *Formosa and its Inhabitants*, completed in 1878, is one detailed nineteenth century western traveller's account through the early western clergy which recorded trajectories of Taiwan. In this book, Steere recorded his observation and collected documentation during his 1873 evangelising trip in Taiwan. Firsthand data of Taiwan's aboriginal tribes and history in this work is a major contribution. Particularly, Steere's observation of the native inhabitants and the early *Han* migrants provides an insight into Taiwan's maritime presence from a third party point of view, although Steere did not even observe Taiwan with as a professional point of view but mainly see this island from a religious standpoint.³⁸⁰ According to this survey, Formosa (Taiwan) of the time had already been known by the *Han* Chinese and the Japanese. But groups of them who lived on the island were still a minority in the 1650s, when compared to the aboriginal population. The aborigines, who used to live along the west coast of Formosa then, spoke and customised

³⁸⁰ Most of the early evangelists held a standpoint of seeing aliens as the people who are barbarian and uncivilised. Therefore they had the interests travelling and exploring "uncivilised" land during the evangelisation. This was the main reason why Joseph Beal Steere made the fieldtrip to Taiwan and recorded his observation during the trip.

lives very similar to the inhabitants of Java and Philippines.³⁸¹ The west coast, later in the 1870s, according to Steere's description, had been revealed like a real Chinese landscape after the *Han* migrants' reclamation.³⁸² That is to say, including the very native tribes, immigrant dwellers and the constructed environment of Formosa (and the author himself) all witnessed kind of "foreignness" which was brought across the ocean into Taiwan.

Public reception in history and racial exploration are another level to observe Taiwan's relationship with maritime culture. Different receptive histories of Taiwan, no matter whether ones looked at the island and its residents from domestic or external standpoints, no matter whether ones were produced by the islanders, later migrants or outsiders, Taiwan's history has always been contextualised as part of world history instead of an individual state history alone. Liu Chao Min discusses this fact through positioning Taiwan in historical maps. He argues that the first map in the world, which exactly marked the location of Taiwan, was made by Portuguese Lopo Homen who used eight pieces of lambskin to map the world in 1554.³⁸³ Similarly in Chinese history, according to Liu, although the Chinese knew the existence of the island for a long time, Taiwan had never been positioned in maps of China before Matteo Ricci made the first world map.³⁸⁴ Chen Fang Ming, on the other hand, examines Taiwan's history as a native historian. He asserts that although the fact of Taiwan as an island state which always interacts with external cultures, forms of hybridisation as the characteristics of native culture shape the maritime base of Taiwanese culture.³⁸⁵ Kakubu Naoichi, a Japanese writer who lived in Taiwan during

³⁸¹ Joseph Beal Steere, *Formosa and Its Inhabitants* (Taipei: Academia Sinica, Institute of Taiwan History, 2002), p. 162.

³⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 191.

³⁸³ Liu Chao Min, *Taiwan Hsien Min Kan Taiwan* (台灣先民看台灣)(*the Discourse of Taiwan Produced by Its Ancestors*) (Taipei: Tai Yuen, 1994), p. 101.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 102-104.

³⁸⁵ Chen Fang Ming, *Taiwan Jen Te Li Shih Yu I Shih* (台灣人的歷史與意識)(*the History and Consciousness of the Taiwanese*) (Taipei: Tun Li, 1988), pp. 9-14.

the Ching and the Japanese times, also claims that significant cultural characteristic of the island and its various racial elements are strongly related to races of South-East Asian in his field study of Taiwan.³⁸⁶ That is to say, from different receptions in history and in race, Taiwan's maritime base is also clear.

In linguistic, archaeological and cultural studies, research outcomes also indicate a maritime history of Taiwan. Robert Blust's study of the early Austronesian languages argues that the Formosan languages have a high possibility to act as the hub of spreading the Austronesian languages and the Polynesian languages.³⁸⁷ Through examining the homogeneity of the languages, Li Jen Kui, a Taiwanese linguist, argues that unlike some languages, such as English, Mandarin, Malay and Polynesian, the Formosan languages have two characteristics: (1) evident differences amongst different branches and (2) remarkable preservation of the ancient language features.³⁸⁸ Put differently, the heterogeneity of languages in Taiwan represents not only the multiplicity of their origins but also a tie to the global context historically and culturally. Archaeological studies, such as Peter Bellw's research on Taiwan's prehistory³⁸⁹ and Roger Duff's survey of stone adzes in Asia,³⁹⁰ both pinpoint the significance of Taiwan as a basis of the Austronesian languages and as an influential transitional location which witnessed the movement from the Austronesian civilisation towards the so-called

³⁸⁶ Kakubu Naoichi, *Taiwan Te Li Shih Yu Min Su* (台灣的历史與民俗)(*the History and Customs of Taiwan*) (Taipei: Wu Ling, 1991), pp. 10-22.

³⁸⁷ Robert Blust, "Early Austronesian Social Organization: The Evidence of Language," *Current Anthropology* 21, no. 2 (1980): pp. 205-247.

³⁸⁸ Li Jen Kui, *Chen Hsi Taiwan Nan Tao Yu Yen* (珍惜台灣南島語言)(*Cherishing the Formosan Languages*) (Taipei: Chien Wei, 2010), p. 10.

³⁸⁹ Peter Bellwood, "Formosan Prehistory and Austronesian Dispersal," in *Austronesian Taiwan: Linguistics, History, Ethnology, and Prehistory*, ed. David Blundell (Berkeley: Phoebe A. Hearst Museum with Shung Ye Museum, 2000).

³⁹⁰ Roger Duff, *Stone Adzes of South-East Asia: An Illustrated Typology*, Canterbury Museum Bulletin (Christchurch: Canterbury Museum Trust Board, 1970).

Polynesian triangle area (Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand)(Figure 183). In cultural studies, Liu Chiwai contextualises the maritime connection to Taiwan through examining Taiwan as a part of the Indonesian Cultural System and characterising the correlation between this system and Taiwan's *Pingpu* tribes (Figure 184).

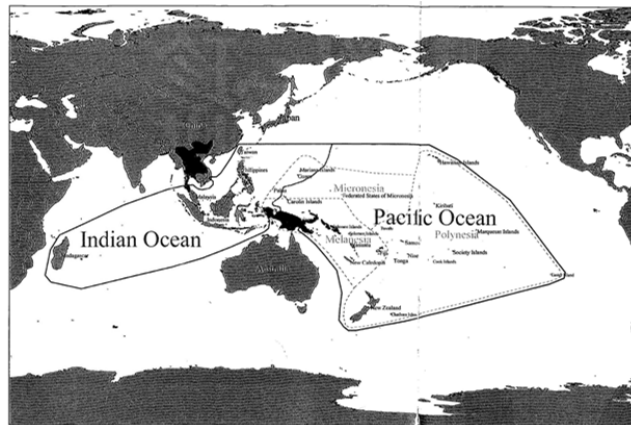


Figure 183 The distribution of the Austronesian people (Li Jen Kui. *Chen Hsi Taiwan Nan Tao Yu Yen* (珍惜台灣南島語言) (*Cherishing the Formosan Languages*). Taipei: Chien Wei, 2010: pp. 4-5).



Figure 184 The distribution of Taiwan's aboriginal tribes. The two rectangles marked on the figure are two native tribes settled in Taipei and Kaohsiung - two major cities of Taiwan. These two tribes are discussed in the thesis mainly in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 (Liu Chiwai. *Culture and Art of the Formosan Aborigines*. Taipei: Hsiung Shih, 1979: p. 31).

In summary, Taiwan's maritime presence comprises both internal and external characteristics. The internal characteristic is highlighted by a high heterogeneity, i.e. Taiwan's hybridisation and compatibility of different cultural forms. The external is distinct from its global context and ties with both related and less related cultural bases. Curiously, in architectural aspect, it seems to have no correspondence to this maritime character of Taiwan as convincing evidence apart from external forms of hybridisation and compatibility. However, Sumet Jumsai's study on Asian and Pacific regions,³⁹¹ particularly focusing on the architectural registration of "water symbols", provides an interesting clue to this qualm. Jumsai's interest, unlike other arguments in most of the disciplinary studies which examine maritime history through the Austronesian distribution that began from 5,000 to 6,000 years ago, he is interested in the ice age (10,000 years ago) which, on the contrary, looks at the human and cultural movement from the ocean to the mainland (Figure 185). Most importantly, from a physical analysis of constructed spaces, Jumsai pinpoints an interesting similarity amongst Asian countries, which is based on the aquatic behaviour. He argues that although the aquatic behaviour on the Asian waterfront seems to have been suppressed with the supremacy of predominantly land-based Western culture,³⁹² the Asian habitat's aquatic origin is still able to be traced from the custom and the use of space. Jumsai proposes his observation that:

In South-East and East Asia, the Chinese are the only people who sit on chairs; the rest traditionally sit, eat, and sleep on the floor. For Thais and Japanese, the floor therefore represents the most sensitively finished part of the house, and for this reason people remove their shoes when entering it.³⁹³

³⁹¹ Sumet Jumsai, *Naga: Cultural Origins in Siam and the West Pacific* (Singapore; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 174.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

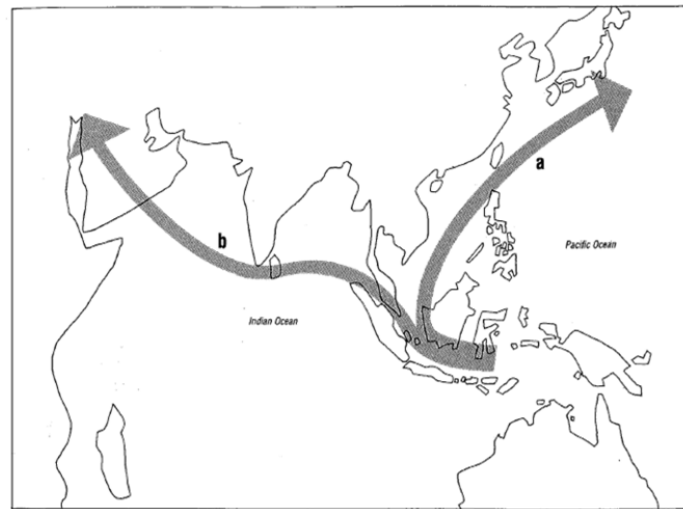


Figure 185 The reconstruction of the human and cultural movement in the ice age deduced by Sumet Jumsai (Jumsai, Sumet. *Naga: Cultural Origins in Siam and the West Pacific*. Singapore; New York: Oxford University Press, 1988: p. 7).

Jumsai's observation which is based on the aquatic behaviour of the Asian living space, to a certain degree, highlights the significant position of Taiwan as a transitional role assimilating Pan-Pacific cultures. Therefore, the characteristics pinpointed by this cultural assimilation into space, apparently, are more based on day-to-day routine rather than ideological issues. In other words, everyday life bears even more important meanings than constructed ideologies, which is gradually accepted and recognised in Taiwan society today.

APPENDIX 6:
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受文者：林家輝先生
(高雄市三民區自立一路442號)

發文日期：中華民國 99 年 09 月 30 日

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807

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第1頁

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日期: 2010/9/3 (五) 4:30:17 PM
副本:
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日期: 2010/4/14 (三) 8:15:47 PM
副本: pcle333@redhouse.org.tw;
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煩請務必註明出處
不過需再確認您引用的照片是否皆為我們所有
因為有些是我們引用別人的(像是百年特展部分與活動照片部分)
這就必須請跟原始單位取得同意
我們不方便再次授權
最後, 完成時煩請給一份給我們存檔

以上,謝謝

西門紅樓客服 敬上

APPENDIX 7:
PERMIT OF REFERENCING TEXTS

DOCUMENT 1: PERMISSION LETTER FROM THE *ARCHITECT* MAGAZINE

寄件者: 建築師雜誌 (a3788030@ms22.hinet.net)
收件者: chia_hui_lin@yahoo.com.tw;
日期: 2009/4/20 (一) 3:55:04 PM
副本:
主旨: Re: 請教關於學術引用的問題

好的，請依照論文格式，詳細註明出處及範例文章的作者姓名。

謝謝

編輯部敬上

Chia-Hui LIN