

FRANCIS CHIA-HUI LIN

# Heteroglossic Asia

THE TRANSFORMATION  
OF URBAN TAIWAN



ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN PLANNING AND URBAN DESIGN

ROUTLEDGE

# Heteroglossic Asia

*Heteroglossic Asia* presents an analysis of geographical, historical, cultural, economic, spatial and political factors underlying Taiwan's maritime urbanity by means of case studies based on Taipei and Kaohsiung: two cities which represent the multi-accentual character of Taiwan's urban environment and its recent changes and development through architecture.

Focusing on the concept of a heteroglossic Asia Pacific, exemplified by the analysis of Taiwan's urban transformation, the study argues that Taiwan's urban environment shows a form of intended 'fuzziness' which cannot be described as resting on either a simplified nationalist base or chaotic societal anxiety. Rather, this form lies between binary poles: autocracy and democracy, nation state and day-to-day life, top-down and bottom-up orientations, orthodoxy and hybridisation.

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### **Heteroglossic Asia**

The transformation of urban Taiwan

*Francis Chia-Hui Lin*

# Heteroglossic Asia

The transformation of urban Taiwan

Francis Chia-Hui Lin

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獻給我的父親 林清長先生，母親 賴浣月女士以及姐姐 林俐紋女士。

**This book is dedicated to my family for years of support**

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# Preface

The initiation of this work emerged when, just having arrived in Australia in 2008, I first realised my situation, as a Taiwanese and an Asian in a global context. As an architectural professional, I commenced my interest in Asian architecture and urbanism when I entered the discipline in 1998. As an academic, I entered the field by approaching Western history and theory as the basis of knowledge for my studies. Yet, as a Taiwanese undertaking studies of Asia – its history, architecture and urbanism – I never recognised what exactly the context of various Asian cases was and how significant and influential their modern histories were for architectural and urban evolution in the contemporary world. For instance, the lifting of Martial Law in 1987 in Taiwan represented not only a key turning point for Taiwan and its present face but also for the imprint of decolonisation experience in the post-war Asia Pacific. 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 modern Asia, 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 Asia to the field of architecture and urbanism both professionally and internationally.

Some of the discussions in the book that follow first appeared as fragmentary pieces in papers with different foci, some of which were partially published in less accessible journals and formats. In bringing them together I have contextually, conceptually and directionally rewritten, reorganised and developed these earlier forms, taking into account new research as a whole. Therefore, the contents of this book present the innovative notion of heteroglossia that I intend to voice to current scholarship. Various ascendant perspectives and ideologies relating to Asian historiography and its architectural and urban discourses, I hope at least through this book, can be addressed and displayed from different schematic contexts in different chapters. Particularly, above and beyond all other considerations, 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 key representative in the Asia Pacific, and aligning it with an international perspective in the book, stands out remarkably and proudly.

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Throughout the process of planning, operating and writing this book, I received invaluable and indescribable support from many individuals and institutions. By evidence of this work, I hope that the appreciation is at the very least imprinted on the text honestly from what is always echoing in my mind.

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In Taiwan, there are some individuals and institutions that I would like to mention here, and their assistance was highly appreciated. At the Kaohsiung City Government, I thank Tsung Lin Lee, Sam Hsueh and I-Ting Yeh from the Bureau of Public Works, and Li-Mei Peng from the Bureau of Urban Development. At the Kaohsiung Museum of History, I thank Pao-yu Chang. I also thank the Taipei Culture Foundation and *Architect* magazine. This book would have been impossible without their help.

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There are others who have given me a hand in a variety of ways. To anyone I might have unwittingly omitted from this document, I state the feeling of thankfulness and appreciation belatedly.

*Francis Chia-Hui Lin*  
*Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014*

## A note on Romanisation

This book applies the Romanisation conventions generally used for work on Taiwan (except the original use in the citations or references and those terms which have already become well known and extensively recognised by the public and academics). In other words, instead of the *Hanyu Pinyin* system that is commonly used in China, the Romanisation system adopted in this research follows the Wade-Giles system.



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# Introduction

## Heteroglossia in the Asia Pacific

When compared with most Western urban analyses that examine identifiable street patterns or traceable historical lineage, modern cities in the Asia Pacific are often described in formalist and contextually ahistorical terms such as ‘dense’ and ‘developing’. Observers of practical changes of cities and architecture in the Asia Pacific believe this impression is a compromise with a ‘global trend’ constructed in the West. Helen Castle argues that the predominant modes of considering urban Asia and its architecture in the West have, in recent years, been largely confined to corporate practices, which have perceived the Asia Pacific urban development as a ‘depersonalised phenomenon’ (Boyarsky and Lang, 2003). Considering the modern situations of the Asia Pacific beyond these terms, cities in the Asia Pacific are still frequently saddled with an under-theorised imagery of ‘ugliness’ or ‘chaos’ due to their relatively young age in global modern development. As Ashis Nandy has suggested, no matter how close Asia is related to the West, it cannot be designated either as simply ‘West’ or as ‘non-West’ (Nandy, 1983). In other words, Asia cannot simply be schematised by a conventional Western logic and chronology as marginalised and chaotic. The circumstances of depersonalisation and chaos need to be decoded by an alternative perspective. In order to avoid framing such a perspective within superficial concepts of dualism, such as modern versus barbaric, or the West versus the non-West, and to avoid imposing a formalist overlay as mentioned above, this decoding has to be globally contextualised, regionally focused and historically generated.

However, it is difficult to depict cities and their architecture in the Asia Pacific at present given a generalised understanding of the situation. On the one hand, globalising the Asia Pacific tends to put the emphasis on cultural and environmental homogeneity. On the other hand, if one considers many other aspects which reveal different historical connections and different cultural, socio-economic and political situations that transform the globalised value and culture into the geostrategic dynamic of the Asia Pacific, one makes possible a reading of heterogeneity. Scholars and observers of cities and architecture also experience the difficulty of employing conventional Western structures and theory in the Asia Pacific. For instance, most East Asian cities, after the Second World War,

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experienced either a heavy reconstruction or rapid development importing modern technologies that hybridised with different post-war situations in the region. These post-war situations, unlike those in Europe, comprised the appearance of spatial, social, cultural and political compositions and combinations, i.e. they are unthinkable in traditional European cities. Such a different place that represents an urban transformation that allows such unthinkable productions therefore encourages different explanations.

One explanation has been given by a group of practitioners who are active, in recent years, across Asian cities, redefining the Asian urban built world in their own terms. This group is comprised of mainstream corporate Western architects who target an emerging market and avant-garde architects and theorists who are known by their global works of cultural and environmental speculation. These players, not to judge their impact on the Asia Pacific built environment, have voiced opinion as to the urban and architectural transformation of the broad modern Asian situation but not necessarily accurately. Another explanation is shaped by the ways in which city and architectural processes are enacted in many dramatically different countries and cities in the Asia Pacific. In other words, this suggests that understanding the Asia Pacific is hardly unitary and simple. This problematises the approach of aligning the situations of the Asia Pacific with a singular factor, say, along with one sole political, economic, or cultural aspect. It also underlines the unique character of the Asia Pacific, especially its societal, cultural and visual forms, over-multiplicity, complexity and unpredictability. For instance, in Australia, Julie Willis and Philip Goad suggest that in order to better understand the context and history of Australian architecture and cities, rather than knowing them only through a few signature buildings, such as the Sydney Opera House and the work of a handful of architects, a multilayered framework is necessary. And this framework needs to be contextualised by reconciling indigenous architecture, examining the colonial condition, accepting authentic city and landscape, acknowledging internationalism and re-evaluating aesthetic conclusion about Australian architecture (Willis and Goad, 2008). This perspective gives insight into the complication and multiplicity of architecture and cities, which represent multilayered cultures, histories, political forces and society, not only in Australia but also hinting at the general context of the Asia Pacific. This book attempts to provide an alternative explanation of the modern urban transformation in the Asia Pacific. It alludes to the immediate historicity of architecture and cities. In this research, apart from the focus on history and space, treating urban and architectural representation of cultures and society as a form of discourse is seen as a way to decode the 'under-theorised depersonalisation and chaos' in the Asia Pacific urban built world. In other words, it is a way to construct an urban and architectural discourse of the Asia Pacific by interrelating its represented spatiality and intrinsic textuality in cultures and society.

Four rational and tangible urban transformations are often considered when modern Asia is examined: economic transformation, physical

transformation, social transformation and informational transformation. Economic and physical transformations have been mostly observed from changes after the Second World War, which was a turning point that led to reforms of the economy and infrastructure reconstruction in the Asia Pacific. Social and informational transformations linked to the impacts of the present global age are largely driven by forms of political democratisation and information digitalisation. However, urban transformations in the Asia Pacific which have arisen from complicated cultural and historical factors (and sometimes controversial and ideological) are seldom discussed. This applies especially to those that address the post-war atmosphere of decolonisation as one major phenomenon that has been richly registered in the Asia Pacific urban built environment through unique geopolitical, cultural-political, historical and everyday conditions. Any discussion of cultures in the Asia Pacific must sooner or later raise the question of their relations to colonialism, including a broad and global definition of neo-imperialism. This notion is testified by Ackbar Abbas. When writing about Hong Kong, Abbas underlines key issues not only of the city's relation to colonialism but also of the interplay between various colonisations and complex local and specific factors in Hong Kong (Abbas, 1997). Most importantly, this complicated interaction, Abbas emphasises, includes factors that take form at the intersection of the era of imperialism and the era of globalism.

Those who have been involved in the colonisation of the Asia Pacific between the seventeenth century and the present are simultaneously enamoured of these colonies and troubled by them. This tension is due not only to relationships between rulers and the ruled, and to the discrepancy experienced by the colonised between the professed contours of the colonisers and the lack of commitment to them that come from being outsiders to them. It is also because of the multilayered, complicated and unpredictable factors in the Asia Pacific that are ideologically constructed amongst observers, interventionists and the natives. Although the characteristics of multiplicity, sophistication and unpredictability in the Asia Pacific have been highlighted, written scholarship that addresses this issue has paid less attention to the imagery of the urban field which consists of a variety and complexity of geographic, cultural, political as well as historical conditions. In a number of written works that depict the post-war atmosphere of decolonisation in the Asia Pacific urban built environment, a singular locality and the unitary cultural-political individuality still lead the methodology of examining each case. For example, most studies focus on just one city. Most importantly, there has been no book focusing on the contemporary Taiwanese built environment whose construction has resulted in large part from this variety – complex conditions of cultural-political and historical backgrounds. In Taiwan, colonisation is always regarded as a most influential and crucial factor. Before 1624, Taiwan was still considered a savage land, inhabited by scattered indigenous tribes and a few external migrants. Yet after 1624,

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Taiwan began to experience varied colonial rules as its destiny and this has become a remarkable characteristic of its history. The weight of Chinese culture, a Japanese legacy and Western cultural influences in both earlier and post-war periods have shaped the cultural-political factors which are represented, differently, in Taiwan's architecture and cities. These have affected the daily life of its people, enriched Taiwan's maritime culture and nurtured its multilayered intrinsic quality.

This book demonstrates that multiplicity and complexity registered in the urban built environment are Asia Pacific's characteristic elements. Crucially, these elements have been schematised not only in individual cities but also in urban fields which are at times larger than merely a city or a city state, and a singular cultural entity, no matter whether at the level of its geographic scale or of its cultural-political identification. Taiwan, for instance, represents a context of culture and the urban built environment which simultaneously encloses heterotopic and complex conditions – e.g. an imaginary mainland ideology at one level and a geostrategic maritime scenario at the other, i.e. the nationalist formalism and a maritime character imprinted in public and urban architectural practices at the same time. Hence, these conditions cannot be equally distributed or individually highlighted when many cities and cultures have been read as a whole in one urban field. Taiwan is by no means one of a kind but broadly it is representative of the Asia Pacific.

Treating cities and architecture as represented textual discourses has a history in the disciplines of architecture, urban studies and cultural studies. In retrospect, seeing space as a discursive entity was traceable before the postmodern era. In a wider context, the idea has been historically described, spatially described and conceptually theorised. Michel Foucault has suggested that there is no narrative that describes history apart from the situated-ness of the storyteller (Foucault, 1989), i.e. there are forms of authorship which are inevitably registered in different pieces of history that can be described as historicity. This nature of historicity is not merely limited within literature; it takes form in different discourses and historiographies amongst different disciplines, civilisations and cultures. In architecture and cities, various implications and specific meanings that emerge at the intersections between space and history, beyond the material presence of the built world, allude to forms of spatial historicity. The encounters between this nature of historicity and the sophistication and multiplicity in the Asia Pacific, therefore, reveal problems and a need to be theorised by a framework that transcends logical simplification, Western orthodoxy and philosophical and aesthetic duality.

Scholars, observers and theorists in the post-war generation employ this notion to speak for otherness that was once ignored or marginalised by a dominant ideology. Hence, it becomes necessary to fulfil ideas of restoring, reconstructing or constructing alternative identities that are opposed to one authorised by official, formalistic, or external forces. Robbie Boon Hua Goh in his examination of the city-state of Singapore provides an exemplar (Goh, 2005). Goh sees Singaporean space as a model that represents conversations

that occur in Singaporean society, including authorised and unauthorised ones. Through this, Singapore, as a representative example amongst countries, cities and their architecture and cultures in the Asia Pacific, is finely depicted without being obscured by the unique character of multiplicity and complexity in the Asia Pacific. Like a dialogue between various participants, Singapore's multilayered society, cultures and spaces are hence able to be contextualised within the nature of its own historicity, which speaks not only for internal intersections but also for external interactions as a global city. Notably, being a global city characterises not only Singapore but also nearly all the major cities in the Asia Pacific in terms of their inevitable relationships with imperialism and globalism.

This research is inspired by Bakhtinian thought, specifically by his concept of heteroglossia (Bakhtin and Holquist, 1981). Literally, heteroglossia means 'different-speech-ness'. The work in this volume aims to theorise the urban transformation and iconic characteristics of the built environment in urban Taiwan and their implication for the broader urban field of the multilayered, sophisticated and conventionally unpredictable Asia Pacific. This notion produces a dynamic account of social, cultural and spatial forms which shape urban transformation. This dynamic sees itself pulled in opposite directions: centripetally, towards a unitary centre; and centrifugally, towards various forms which actually make up the obvious but false unity of the former one. Put simply, the official ideology and its alterity are depicted in a bi-directional way which avoids, formally, centralising or marginalising any individual text in a context. Russian theorist Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin has proposed some important ideas about language, more exactly, about the dynamic forces towards language. Nevertheless, these forces are not simply linguistically influential; they are produced by historical forces that are external to language which allude to society, politics and culture. Although Bakhtin does not draw substantially upon ideology, it is implied in the interlocutory uses of languages as they occur amongst people. In this sense, Bakhtin underlines the over-multiplicity of social languages that comprise the clear unity of an authorised language such as one of a state or of an official organisation. In other words, one's utterance, to a certain extent, represents one's societal identity and ideological orientation in the 'language' used. This notion in linguistics remains a powerful metaphor for social and cultural forms that consist of 'unitary' and 'individual' accounts. Particularly in the context of the Asia Pacific, individualities allude to social and cultural multiplicity and complexity that are separate from ones that are dominant or officially authorised.

The study of post-war Taiwan's cultural and historical context has, for a long time, 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 history, architecture and literature is represented not only by top-down dominance but also by bottom-up practices that are frequently controversial and divergent. It has

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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, Taiwan has always been an important way station for trans-Pacific voyagers because of its geographic location. Most importantly, this is also the chief influence in shaping the character of Taiwan's maritime culture.

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' (Jameson, 1992). Based on the segregation of post-war Taiwan's awkward national and international status<sup>1</sup> and its de facto essence of everyday scenario, the representations of Taiwan's society, along with its cultural politics of identification in the physical environment, are problematic. This phenomenon includes the imagery of the nation's architecture and its cities. 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 its territory; the Japanese Empire took it as the base for southward advance; and the Chinese Nationalists took it as a 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 cultural authenticity. In post-war Taiwan's architectural and urban representation, the chaotic presentation of building forms and diversified interpretations of spatial indigenusness are evidence of this phenomenon. To investigate this issue, this historical crack must be addressed and post-war Taiwan's urban built environment and its interplay with the cultural politics of the time have to be scrutinised. Moreover, one objective of this investigation is also to define the pivotal moments that create a lack of clarity in the cultural politics of identity and the configuration behind this ambiguity. In other words, this study will examine Taiwan's contemporary urban and architectural evolution with a historical perspective. By looking at the changes of reception in Taiwan's history, the transformation of urban Taiwan and its implication for the broader context of the Asia Pacific will be revealed in a clear and understandable way.

Looking at the social political presence in Taiwan today, one sees a confusion and anxiety about identity in cultural and spatial terms due to the complex past and its legacy 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. Moreover, these are also the chief turning points for the native Taiwanese, inducing a shift in the mainstream value of society in Taiwan from a nationalist collectivity to a civilian subjectivity, and realising it in the actual space of the island, so that the subject is not located on an imaginary mainland but in the everyday spaces of Taiwan. After the transitional era of the 1980s and 1990s, the present idea of Taiwanisation 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'<sup>2</sup> is the distinctive example. According to recent research on the history and genealogy of Taiwan's native population, intermarriage is an important factor in decoding the origin of Taiwanese people, since archaeological and medical research has proved that the earlier *Han* migrants, who settled in Taiwan from the coastal area of China, were nearly all bachelors,<sup>3</sup> no matter whether because of various conditions or because of the official passage restriction imposed by the Ming Empire (Brown, 2004). 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 people today, shattering the myth of a *Han*-only origin which was imposed by the Nationalist Government in order to maintain their political priority and dominance. Of course, this trend towards Taiwanisation 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 and urban historiography in Taiwan.

In this research, three important types of identification – culture, historiography and spatial discourse – have been examined in addition to empirical evidence. The cultural context, the production of historiography and the post-war native discourses in architecture and cities are strategically focused. Colonial legacies in post-war Taiwan especially from China and Japan are addressed in the book 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 legacy, on the other hand, consists of popular but repressed memories which can be found in many aspects of current everyday life. In a synthetic scrutiny of the interplay of these two colonial sediments with modern Taiwan society and the shift between post-war Taiwan's dominant subjects and objects before and after the lifting of Martial Law, they are clearly also important bridges linking the cultural politics of identity and urbanism in post-war Taiwan.

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.<sup>4</sup> Interestingly, apart from the strong 'Chinese orthodoxy', the so-called Greater China ideology, planted by the ruling power, Taiwan's



## 8 Introduction: heteroglossia in the Asia Pacific

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 time despite its retreat and downside situation from the series of unsuccessful endings to the Chinese Civil War when compared to Taiwan's fairly modernised and Westernised early post-Japanese society. These two characteristics in Taiwan's urban built environment were also apparent from the strong formalist exteriors of most of the public buildings designed in a traditional Chinese Palace Revival Style and in the rapid infrastructure recovery in the early post-war period. The KMT faced challenges from Taiwan's *Tangwai* movement (literally, the movement outside the Chinese Nationalist Party)<sup>5</sup> in the 1980s and eventually attempted, unsuccessfully, to eliminate this emerging force. This action, politically and socially, activated the commencement of Taiwan's democratisation. On 10 December 1979, the Tangwai communities held lectures and a parade in Kaohsiung City to commemorate International Human Rights Day. That night, during the parade conflict between the police and the populace erupted. KMT government forces immediately started to arrest all the related members of *Formosa Magazine*, a journal which hosted this parade. Called the Formosa Incident, this event nowadays is also known as the Kaohsiung Incident. This incident is 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 a recognised opposition party. In 1987, the year before Chiang died, Martial Law was lifted. By 1988, the Chiang authoritarian regime had passed. Since individual consciousness 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 the Taiwanese people could participate in decisions about their own future.

In cultural and spatial practices, the historical sites built in the Japanese era were particularly pinpointed as foci 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 legacy challenged the once dominant Greater China ideology in post-war urban built environment. Most importantly, echoes of that legacy also played the role of bridging the changes of reception in history and space from the Martial Law period to the present when individual consciousness and indigenous autonomy were gradually awakened. The following chapters scrutinise key urban phenomena

which reflect the current mainstream value of 'heteroglossia' in the Asia Pacific urban context. Framed in this way, the book poses the fundamental question: 'What is the identified representation of architecture and urbanism in the Asia Pacific beyond the context of culture and politics?' It therefore examines the contemporary urban built development of the Asia Pacific by analysing Taiwan and its representative cities as an example.

This book is organised thematically: the intention is to present a history that is registered in different localities and ideologies. Accordingly, the book unfolds by considering issues, mediums, phenomena and cases that not only identify the transformation of urban Taiwan but also hint at an alternative theorisation of the broader urban field of the Asia Pacific. Chapters 1 to 4 shape a contemporary urban context in Asia by comparing and contrasting three remarkable cases, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. Before further analysing the urban built environment of each case in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, Chapter 1 focuses on one conspicuous and collective characteristic of the urban Asia Pacific that is, diversely and individually, represented in three cases through different translations of the historicity of colonial Asia. Although decolonisation is one obvious issue that develops the contemporary urban context in the Asia Pacific, particularly its post-war cultural politics, different levels of colonial influence and relationships between colonisers and the colonised have made this context 'quasi-colonial'. These synchronic representations of decolonisation have also made the urban Asia heteroglossic. That is to say, there are different explanations to be offered when decolonisation has been examined in the urban Asia Pacific. Cases that transfigure the imprinted coloniality into post-colonial or internal colonial situations are examples. This phenomenon is especially evident when the cultural politics of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan is scrutinised from theoretical standpoints in this chapter.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 provide careful observations on Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan through a selection of critical and representative discourses. These observations are made particularly in their urban built environment that registers, differently, the post-war atmosphere of decolonisation in Asia. Chapter 2 reviews Ackbar Abbas's work to outline the social and spatial context in Hong Kong's post-war period and the characteristics presented in the corresponding urban built environment. Underlining Hong Kong's history in discontinuities, Abbas describes how disappearance has spoken for today's Hong Kong, anxious as it is about its identity and future. However, this anxiety, interestingly, as a representation of exploring contemporary Hong Kong culture, has become a form and identity of Hong Kong culture. This process of identity construction, which this chapter subsequently reviews, is also reflected in Hong Kong's architecture and urbanism. In detail, Hong Kong's dominant cultural forms, representations, urban characteristics and representative architectural cases are surveyed and analysed.

Chapter 3 analyses Singapore by reviewing Robbie Boon Hua Goh's work. Although Singapore and Hong Kong have comparable conditions – both are

Asian coastal cities and both had colonial relationships with the Japanese and British Empires – Singapore’s geostrategic cultural politics as a city-state in the centre of Southeast Asia with its multi-national and multi-cultural status has constructed a dramatically different historicity. Drawing an analogy between a text and a city, Goh depicts Singapore as a literary work that communicates to the world. Unlike Hong Kong, a strong cultural imagery and top-down ideology also direct Singapore’s architecture and urbanism to a particular representation amongst Asia Pacific countries. In the chapter, different cases of Singapore’s urban architecture that reflect this dialogic character and involve relevant societal and cultural-political issues are observed and critiqued.

Chapter 4 looks at Taiwan and its urban built environment. When compared with Hong Kong and Singapore, Taiwan, as another representative case in the Asia Pacific, represents a third-type translation of colonial historicity. Hong Kong shows one type that affiliates to ‘mainland proper’. Singapore demonstrates another which introduces itself, independently, to the world. Taiwan, interestingly, embraces not only complexity but also ambivalence that construct its in-between culture. This character can be seen from the asynchronous forms of post-war Taiwan’s cultural-political historiography, e.g. the formalised termination of the Chinese Nationalists’ dictatorship in the 1980s and the presence of a compromised democracy which the authoritarian influence continues in everyday life. The KMT’s internal colonisation drives complicated ambiguity in Taiwan’s cultural politics and society. In order to decode this historical sophistication, this chapter contours Taiwan’s post-war history and its heteroglossic registration in the urban built world. Various trajectories of representations from its early post-war period to the present, from its cultural industries to policymaking *inter alia*, are contextually examined.

To evidence urban Taiwan’s dramatic transformation, Chapter 5 focuses on the positional shift of Taiwan’s subjectivation, i.e. the process of forming its subjectivity, from the Other to the Self. Taiwan itself and its cultural forms, including its architecture and urbanism, have transformed, passively or actively, from a marginalised object of colonisation to an autonomous subject in the presence of democratic society. This chapter scrutinises, historically and empirically, two representative cities in Taiwan – Taipei and Kaohsiung – and their urban histories and architecture. The capital city of Taiwan, Taipei, once represented ideologically the only metropolis in modern Taiwan and formed the ‘typical’ urban and spatial texture in post-war Taiwan. The constant change of political power in Taiwan, however, has challenged Taipei’s ‘typical’ position and spatial legitimacy. An extended argument that a unitary ideology in Asia Pacific’s heteroglossic character is unlikely to be constructed is therefore established. Kaohsiung, in this sense, is argued as a new type of leading city in today’s Asia Pacific, which has emerged and been popularised. As a conclusion, the emergent significance of historicity in the everyday built environment, particularly in Asia Pacific’s heteroglossic atmosphere, is highlighted in the chapter.

**Chapter 6** synthesises an observation of the iconic characteristics of Taiwan's urban built environment and their implication for the broader urban field of the Asia Pacific. These characteristics, conceptually, also suggest useful strategies in branding the present global urban field. As evidence, several issues beyond physical and spatial form are analysed. At the physical level, issues of heritage preservation, adaptive reuse and urban museumisation in spatial practices are broadly and intensively discussed. At the theoretical level, issues of civil society and the public sphere which are hotly contested in related urban and social discourses are analysed. Lastly, these issues discussed in the chapter are integrated through the concept of semiotic acculturation. An abstract model that shows the registration of semiotic acculturation in post-war Taiwan's urban built texture is established as an analytic observation to theorise contemporary urban architectural character in the heteroglossic Asia Pacific.

Based on the framework and analyses developed from previous chapters, **Chapter 7** concentrates on the last empirical case study, an urban waterfront community in Kaohsiung, in detail. This chapter demonstrates that the concept of heteroglossia emerges not only from a macro context of the Asia Pacific but also from micro urban fields such as the waterfront of Kaohsiung. The correlation between Taiwan, the Asia Pacific and the global urban field is therefore established. In this chapter, urban and spatial ideas between unitary and individual accounts of Taiwan society are framed. The waterfront community in Kaohsiung is subsequently analysed from its highlighted identity – water – by discussing the worldwide issues of urban waterfront revitalisation and urban deindustrialisation. Moreover, Kaohsiung's widely recognised urban landmarks – the harbour, Love River, and different groups of buildings alongside the waterfront – are finely explored. To summarise, the relation between the concept of heteroglossia and the maritime imagery that is gradually popularised in the contemporary global urban field is underpinned by Kaohsiung's experience of replacing singular civil collectivity with 'collective individualities'.

The chapter structure, at first glance, could seem unusual, as there is an empirical chapter after the theoretical discussion. **Chapter 6** indeed is a theoretical discussion that reflects all cases studied before, and it summarises, from both practical and theoretical perspectives, the Asia Pacific urban situations argued in the book. These situations are not just simply split into binary groups, e.g. the dominant urban representations and the 'otherness', but are complicatedly articulated to the context of the Asia Pacific as a heteroglossia, speaking a unique discourse. However, it is indeed a bold stop linking the study to a broad Asia Pacific context right after individual case studies, although in some ways they are undoubtedly connected. Moreover, it is also a part of the argument in the book that the concept of heteroglossia can be observed not only from macro cases such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan but also from micro cases such as individual cities, communities, even urban architectural objects. This is a

point which is intentionally highlighted in the book, beyond the immediate Asia Pacific perspective. Therefore, [Chapter 7](#) and the Conclusion represent an intention to unfold the theorisation in steps where the last parts of the case study and theoretical conclusion are allocated. [Chapter 7](#) is not only an empirical chapter but also a summarising chapter that once again reflects the theoretical issues of heteroglossic Asia, such as the everyday, within a micro case. [Chapter 7](#) also pinpoints some comparative issues that are happening, either generally or predictably, in the Asia Pacific. Hence, the Conclusion portrays an emerging discourse that speaks specifically for the urban Asia Pacific on the road ahead.

The research therefore presents new empirical evidence and provides an explanation of Asia Pacific's urban transformation emerging in the contemporary global urban field. Theoretical factors related to today's Asian Pacific urban built environment evolution, such as urbanisation, post-colonialism, the everyday, glocalisation, historic conservation and urban revitalisation, are all explored through the concept of heteroglossia. In addition, apart from orthodox examination in architectural and urban studies, interdisciplinary perspectives of seeing urban spaces, such as cinematic reinterpretation, social policymaking, and cultural industry reconstruction, also refresh the field of study by providing an alternative pathway of qualitative spatial analysis. New empirical evidence and explanations will contribute to the establishment of an integrated model clarifying the spatial structure of the contemporary Asia Pacific urban built environment. Most importantly, a basic reading of the research is that a new thinking in contemporary architectural and urban studies worldwide can be constructed, one which is sensitive and responsive to Asia Pacific urbanities. This therefore relates to other developed and developing cities in the Asia Pacific, such as Singapore, Manila, Shanghai, Hong Kong, Taipei, Kaohsiung, Ho Chi Minh City and so on, which share the temperament of cross-fertilisation and accessibility, and exemplifies today's urban development that moves towards a cultural and stylistic multiplicity – heteroglossia. This book therefore pinpoints a paradigm of architectural and urban discourse in the Asia Pacific today which is increasingly legitimised and widely recognised by the general public. Most importantly, it is a discourse of urban transformation which this book has identified, defined and placed within a context that might be understood and further examined by future scholars and urban professionals.

## Notes

- 1 The awkwardness of Taiwan's national and international status is described by Melissa J. Brown as a 'global political spot' in terms of Taiwan's present transformation of identity construction which conflicts with the PRC's national identity and ethnic politics. Details see Brown, M. J. 2004. *Is Taiwan Chinese? The impact of culture, power, and migration on changing identities*, Berkeley, University of California Press.

- 2 For a long time, the Nationalist 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 autocracy in the late 1990s.
- 3 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'.
- 4 The authoritarian regime of the KMT in Taiwan had gradually collapsed from 1988 onwards, the year when the two-generation Chiang regime was terminated.
- 5 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.

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# 1 A quasi-colonial context

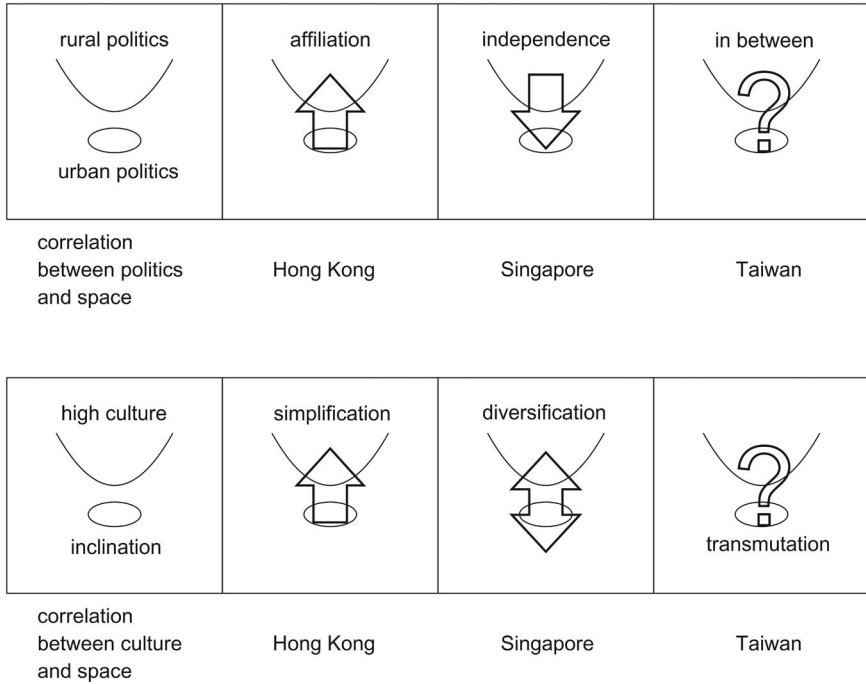
## An imprint of decolonisation

Interventions by 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. Among all of them there are several remarkable similarities and differences that can be traced from Hong Kong and Singapore and contribute to an analytical platform for this research. In other words, Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan can be regarded as three typical forms, briefly speaking, representing centripetalism, centrifugalism and nomadism of Asia Pacific architecture and urbanism.

When one reads the cases of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan as representative examples in the context of Asia after the Second World War, 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 the war. Amongst them, the dominant population of the so-called 'Chinese Diaspora' is immediate.<sup>1</sup> According to official statistics, more than 90 per cent of modern Taiwan's population has a consanguineous relation to various Chinese ethnicities; approximately 95 per cent of Hong Kong's population was rooted in Chinese civilisation, which is slightly higher than Singapore's 75 per cent Chinese community across its whole population. Ethnic compositions, in fact, not necessarily pure ethnic compositions – blurred ethnic imageries should be a more precise description instead – comprise the first important element when one examines the characteristics of any urban fields within the Asia Pacific context. Ethnic imageries represent cultures; dominant 'ethnicity' represents one specific region's high culture; and high culture shapes representative, not exactly authentic but inarguably immediate and surface, urban landscape and architecture in its dominant region. For instance, Australia's 'white' culture, although it comprises various Western ethnic groups, shapes the West-imagery culture and therefore West-imagery urban landscape in Australia. In China, a country comprising different ethnicities, the urban landscape is also shaped by its high culture, *Han*, which is established by an ideologically emerged ethnicity – the 'Chinese nation'.

Geopolitically, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore all have the character of maritime-based cultures when compared to the mainland cultures that correspond to them geographically. Unlike Europe, urban fields in the Asia Pacific, apart from capital cities, are relatively fragmental and in small scales. A characteristic that most of them share is that they developed from the coast or the riverbank because of Asia Pacific's geographic condition. That is to say, the 'mainland' character of urban areas in the Asia Pacific, when compared to European metropolises, is less relevant. This urban geographic character is clearly evident not only in Hong Kong, Singapore and most cities in Taiwan but also in many metropolises in the Asia Pacific, such as Sydney, Jakarta, Manila, Ho Chi Minh City, Shanghai and Bangkok. Moreover, sometimes a colourful colonial past or an on-going colonial process in the present is another pivotal element with regard to Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, especially in the period up to the end of the Second World War when they were ruled by the Japanese Empire.<sup>2</sup> The Asia Pacific, in terms of colonialism, can be put, interchangeably, into two categories, imperialism and globalism, which comprise a unique and complicated context different to Europe and other third world regions. In the first category, the Asia Pacific is a site including both imperialist colonies and imperialist 'probers' (a 'proper' being the 'motherland' of the colonised). Japan, for instance, not only achieved colonisation in the Asia Pacific, competing with the then European empires in the Asia Pacific, but also developed its empire internally. Some dictatorships in Asia have been transformed into semi-autocratic forms of governance, giving rise to quasi-colonialism, while in other cases compromised democracy has been the outcome – the Chinese Nationalists' internal colonisation of Taiwan is one remarkable example. In the second category, globalism as a form of broad imperialism and a representation of globalisation today also has its impact on the Asia Pacific region. 'Americanisation' as a form of popular culture in Asia is one example. In architecture, global trends and modern technology contrasting with traditional forms, material and techniques are almost a universal phenomenon that 'colonises' the present built environment in the world. Finally, in resisting colonial influence, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore all construct cultural identities which oppose the so-called orthodox (mainstream) *Han* culture. Representations in languages clearly testify to this fact. The primary native language in Taiwan (Taiwanese), Hong Kong's Cantonese and English and Singapore's various southern Chinese dialects, the 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. This highlights the postcolonial element of urban Asia Pacific. The rise of 'Otherness', as posited by Edward Said in his book *Orientalism* (Said, 1978), is one phenomenon that is characteristic of the Asia Pacific. For instance, the use of other languages, no matter whether native or popular ones such as English, in place of an official or dominant language as a cultural form can be seen not only in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan but also in Australia, Malaysia, Thailand and many Asia Pacific





*Figure 1.1* An analytical model of the post-war cultural politics between Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. (Source: the author)

countries. In architecture and urban development, regionalism and the cultural revitalisation of either previously marginalised native cultures or previously repressed, externally introduced cultural legacies are prodigiously highlighted in recent built projects in urban Asia. The recent status of heritage conservation in Taiwan that focuses on Japanese-built buildings strongly confirms this. This postcolonial standpoint integrates the other elements and highlights an imprint of decolonisation in the present-day Asia Pacific.

Although these similar points provide a platform from which to examine urban metropolises in the Asia Pacific, they are, however, 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 between the three cases and their spatial representations as well as the cultural-political interactions, certain issues in post-war Taiwan can be discussed and developed. This is initially observed from an abstract model which differentiates the cultural-political characteristics and the correlations with the spatial representations in Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan (*Figure 1.1*).

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. This model suggests three typical forms of the urban built fields, as mentioned earlier, representing centripetalism, centrifugalism and nomadism respectively. Hong Kong is a typical example of the first urban field which shows the dynamic of a centripetal move in terms of its politics, culture and space. Examining the interaction between politics and space, the transfer of the sovereignty over Hong Kong to the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1997 has meant that the current political status of Hong Kong affiliates, as a relative rural 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, a representation of the second form, originating 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 and therefore a nomadic characteristic of its urban field.

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 as a result of 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 *Han* culture society: its geographic segregation from China and the multi-aspects of its openness towards to the ocean and hence the world.

Amongst three forms, the third shows strong uncertainty while the first and the second move towards two opposite situations of the cultural politics of space – affiliating with or gaining independence from its cultural and political 'relative'. Although the third form of the urban field indicates its unclear situation, this vagueness characterises one unique situation of the Asia Pacific in terms of its complicated postcolonial complex, e.g. India bears evident witness that it maintains an awkward relationship with British cultural politics – sometimes being intimate and sometimes antagonistic. Post-war Taiwan's awkwardness in status and its wavering cultural-political conundrum, which caused forms of ambiguity in cultural identity and anxiety about locality in its architectural discourses and practices, is another remarkable example. 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 and urbanism, reflect this uncertainty in post-war Taiwan's political and cultural chaos? To what extent does the

trend of modern architectural and urban development in post-war Taiwan wander between two polar ends such as those chosen by Hong Kong and Singapore? How does the urban 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? These questions have to be answered from analyses of the unique nomadism of the Asia Pacific, which has different representations in terms of different positions between the two ends of the situation.

### **An issue-targeted comparison**

A schematic context for these three forms, taking post-war Hong Kong, Singapore and early Taiwan's spatial and cultural-political representations as examples, therefore has to be described first. This context, analysed here, is the contextual delimitation and starting point of this research on Taiwan. 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. Four emergent overall concerns of post-war Taiwan's spatial evolution, which largely influenced the design strategies and identity construction in a quasi-colonial context, are listed and analysed through four quotations that indicate four different theoretical issues involved.

1: Patches and rags of daily life must be repeatedly turned into the signs of a coherent national culture.

(Bhabha, 1994)

Homi K. Bhabha's idea of 'everyday life' appears to be the first hidden 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 this means late-colonial, internal-colonial, postcolonial 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).

The quotidian landscape of Hong Kong since the Second World War has changed in accordance with different conditions during different periods. Developing from a primitive fishing village, Hong Kong turned quickly and dramatically into an international port city once the colonial powers – the British Empire and the Japanese Empire – were involved. The everyday scenario of Hong Kong therefore was sophisticated from a simplified fishing

life into trade, international, modern and Westernised society. The colonisation process in Hong Kong obviously changed its political dynamic. The representations of the everyday, however, told the detailed story of Hong Kong's urban landscape. The image of a primitive southern Chinese fishing village was suddenly turned into that of an international trade port in 1842; since then, Western architecture and modern urbanisation have been introduced. In less than four years, between 1941 and 1945, Japanese culture had infiltrated into Hong Kong's educational system and introduced social policies which impacted on its daily routines as well as urban landscape. Street names, urban and religious landmarks, during that period, started to be further hybridised and complicated amongst southern Chinese, Western and Japanese cultural elements. Before and after 1945, when the British was reclaiming the ruling power from the Japanese, Hong Kong society started to face its fate of high density when there was a sudden increase in population; this was due to an influx of émigrés from China caused by the founding of the PRC and the war-time chaos in China during the Second World War and the Chinese Civil War. Northern Chinese images, for instance, had been added into Hong Kong's everyday life. Confrontations amongst different ethnic groups, political forces, religious forces and cultural legacies therefore forged the basis of Hong Kong's modern urban landscape. From the 1970s onwards until 1997, Hong Kong society moved towards stability and prosperity; its high-density and internationalised population shaped the general imagery of today's urban architecture in Hong Kong. Yet the nature of Hong Kong's urban landscape was not so much fixed as changeable; the PRC, which took over sovereignty from the British in 1997, adds a variable into Hong Kong's quotidian condition. New social policies and systems which incline towards the mainland heavily reshape Hong Kong's day-to-day urban landscape owing to a considerable increase of mainland visitors and interventions into Hong Kong's daily routines. The real estate industry that is currently impacted by this situation and is therefore reorganising the existing streetscape of Hong Kong using mainland Chinese investment is one remarkable example. These changes, from the spatial point of view, are indirectly connected to the issue of 'state' but directly associated with the everyday of Hong Kong which is actively pushed by its 'cultural politics' instead.

The change in the nature of Singapore's everyday landscape was activated by motivating events similar to those in Hong Kong but it results in different presentations and moves in dramatic directions. Singapore also moved into a social and cultural-political sophistication owing to British and Japanese colonisation from a Malay island. Owing to its geostrategic relationships with these colonial forces and various political forces from the Asian continent, e.g. with Malaysia and China, Singapore reflects even more colourful representations in its everyday landscape in terms of its ethnic communities, languages and cultures. Joining the Federation of Malaya in 1963 distanced Singapore from British control, but in 1965 it gained independence and joined the Commonwealth, which moved it in a different direction from

that of Hong Kong. Being geographically and racially complex, Singapore's quotidian face is always open and diverse, and this becomes the one unique characteristic, including both harmonious and conflicting representations, that shapes Singaporean urbanism. This everyday face gained its balance through a neutral imagery which had been ideologically added into its streetscape by the new government after independence. Targeted at internationalisation, this neutral imagery forges modern and new construction of urban architecture as well as infrastructure in Singapore and provides a space of public sphere reorganising its complex social and cultural everyday life. Everyday life again in the case of Singapore plays an immediate motif of shaping its urban landscape. Although political involvement can never be eliminated from the context, the 'cultural politics' that is associated with the daily routines is the more precise issue when its spatial representation is examined.

In considering the case of post-war Taiwan, a series of questions again arise when compared to Hong Kong and Singapore. What is the typical representation of the built environment in 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 period 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? These questions are unfolded along with the perspective of everyday life by analysing three other essential concerns below – the issues of ideology, multiplicity and subjectivation.<sup>3</sup>

2: Hey, you there.

(Althusser, 1994)

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 that ideology hails 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 (Adorno et al., 1984). The situation of Taiwan is even more complicated and blurred than that in 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 free but conditioned by certain 'safe' principles. Foucault pinpoints that the liberated act is not equal to liberated practice (Foucault, 1988); 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.<sup>4</sup> However, after the termination of the KMT's dictatorship and since 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, Taiwanese 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 but, 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) in order to generate a fairly natural consensus instead of repressed and imposed identifications.

3: The sign represents the present in its absence. It takes the place of the present.

(Derrida, 2000)

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 space is not strictly defined, i.e. it is able to be reinterpreted variously and is always capable of being supplied with a concept such as *différance* 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 into a new context as a whole. In other words, it does not matter that one admits that Hong Kong lacks previous history. It does not matter that the small amount of historical heritage inherent in Hong Kong's colonial past 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 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, one which is closer to the majority of the ethnicity and the geographic correlation and is much easier to govern as a result of this contextual simplification since 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, values, social classes and living conditions, 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



*Figure 1.2* Hung Kuo Building, Taipei, Taiwan. (Source: the author)

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-war imagery of architecture as the example, has represented a kind of post-modern 'explanation' to cope with its cultural multiplicity. Architects have been experimenting with these post-modern ideas since the 1960s. Robert Venturi asserted his vision of using complexity as a new formalism as unconnected with experience and program in 1965 (Venturi, 1965); 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 1977 (Jencks, 1978); and Quinlan Terry claimed that the use of classical patterns is a better means than the modern approach in 1990 (Terry, 1990). Meanwhile in the 1950s, however, 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 express the concept of the symbolic orthodoxy of 'new Chinese architecture in Taiwan'. Undoubtedly, those post-modern ideas 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, Taiwanese architect C. Y. Lee's buildings from this period,

such as Hung Kuo Building, seem to testify to this transition, extensively documented by architectural academics in Taiwan claiming that he is the person who linked architectural representation in Taiwan after the Second World War from the so-called 'new Chinese architecture in Taiwan' to 'post-modernism in Taiwan' (Figure 1.2).

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 of defining various forms of its cultural multiplicity since 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 differences, ethnicities, cultural-political identification and economic competition have gradually risen to the surface as the mainstream values of society.<sup>5</sup> The examples in architectural development such as the consideration of locality in the 1980s, the impacts of globalisation in the early 2000s and the recent application of indigenisation – Community Development – all prove the intention of adopting diverse positions in spatial practice.

4: India is not non-West; it is India.

(Nandy, 1983)

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 the subject of India is never called the West and it is not even dualistic non-West but itself – *India*.

Hong Kong's subject making is 'periodical' according to its immediate historicity. Every stage of Hong Kong's subject position is clear, different and within a different context, e.g. from a functional point of view, this difference can be seen from its positions ranging from a regional fishing village to an international trade port. From a cultural-political point of view, this difference can be seen from its positions ranging from a British colony to a Chinese coastal city. In terms of Hong Kong's spatial subjectivation, its position has gradually been marginalised since it is, now, stronger as a text in the China context than in the global one, when compared with its glorious period that peaked in British rule. However, since Hong Kong has periodical representations of its immediate historicity, and obviously a single state identification could not integrate all the periods as a whole, the question here is: instead of the name only, how does one locate the 'subject' of Hong Kong?

Singapore has the similar problem of subject positioning, although its problematic is not with discontinuity in history and development but with contextualisation and centralisation. Internationalisation and multiculturalism



are characteristic of Singapore, and they have made difficulties in positioning the country itself as a whole. Spatially, this is even tougher. For instance, to which context Singapore can properly locate herself in terms of a developing direction towards openness and internationalism? What are the criteria and platform of centralising cultural identification when the spatial representation of Singapore is so multicultural and international? If the problematic of Hong Kong's subject making lies with diachronic issues, Singapore's lies on the contrary with synchronic ones.

Similarly, spatial transition in post-war Taiwan has shown the intention of locating, or even establishing the subject position of Taiwan herself 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 (Hegel, 1998). 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 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, owing to the 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, realising this concept is by no means an easy task and it has eventually resulted in a state of chaos in reality. For example, as regards the political aspect, whether to become independent from or unified with China is no longer the most critical issue for Taiwanese people today. Rather, their main concern focuses on the necessities of everyday life, which is why most of the people in Taiwan chose a compromised way between these two poles, namely maintaining the status quo of the current unclear political status nationally and internationally.

Nevertheless, frustration in politics, to a certain extent, pushes architectural thinking to adjust the evaluation of subjectivity as a form of 'freedom' to '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 the 'Self' and the '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 the self always appears in comparison to the others (Foucault, 1988). 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 one target in this book.

## **Summary**

In retrospect, the analyses of the spatial atmospheres of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan 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 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. 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. History, in the spatial dialectic of Hong Kong, Singapore and 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 unitedly. In so far as 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 displace itself. Therefore, the questions to be asked are: what is the difference amongst

the cases of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan's spatial atmospheres; and, how does the situation of Taiwan's spatial representation stand out amongst other post-war Asian cases?

Taking Taiwan's Martial Law period as an example, the symbolism of constructed nationalism then explains the sense of loss. Since the populace had been suppressed and facts about the natives were deliberately concealed, the collective representation constructed by the ruling power accordingly was generated as a single text in Taiwan's context. Quotidian works of the time were inevitably relegated to the lowest priority. Besides, if one looks closely at the evolution of architecture from the Japanese period to the Martial Law period, it is clear that a system of monopoly operated officially in society, which was 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 functional and pragmatic need for rapid reconstruction after the war meant that creativity in design projects was repressed because of this Nationalist Government's political ideology. As a result, native reality was subordinated to the imaginary 'orthodoxy' and the daily environment was neglected purposely, declining into a state of utter chaos even though the development of the native quotidian reality never stopped.

These schemata that characterise Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan's spatial identification and question the problematic of their subject locations, especially their situations after the Second World War, are further unfolded in the following three chapters. Representative literature, cultural forms and characteristics are reviewed, discussed and highlighted in these chapters.

## Notes

- 1 The notion of adopting 'Chinese Diaspora' as a basis for comparing Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan is argued here to be inappropriate for the case of Taiwan in terms of its historical, cultural, political and, most importantly, spatial complexity. From a historical perspective, the post-war recognition of Taiwan as a concept constructing the Chinese Diaspora in the post-Martial Law period is better understood as constructing the theoretical Creole or Mestizo (the people of mixed native blood and various external races). The cultural subject of Taiwan is no longer associated solely with imaginary and imposed Chinese orthodoxy but also with spontaneous 'indigenou-ness'. The spatial context in society does not only emphasise the state and nation as a whole but also includes various parts of the everyday and social alterity, which used to be ignored and suppressed in the earlier years after the Second World War. Hybridisation of space and the environment nowadays are led by the island itself instead of by various external forces. The construction of spatial identity today has shifted from the early 'underprivileged native' to the early post-war 'privileged external', and currently appears to be at the stage of the 'emerging

native'. The definition of Taiwan's context, to a certain extent, is relatively fuzzy but the distinctions are dramatic and critical.

- 2 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.
- 3 Subjectivation is a concept coined by Michel Foucault referring to the constructing process of the individual subject, i.e. subjectivity.
- 4 In Martial Law Taiwan, architectural objects and discourse were 'disciplined' to reflect the KMT's ideological collectivity. For instance, a public building would never obtain building permit without adopting a Chinese palace roof; any author who made aggressive or controversial critiques of the Greater China ideology might suffer from the KMT's White Terror after their publication.
- 5 When Martial Law was lifted in 1987, the ban on newspapers, political parties and many restrictions which were set for Taiwan's native social development by the KMT government were also lifted in the following years; Taiwan society therefore has gradually moved towards an open and democratic system.

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## 2 Hong Kong

### Becoming culture

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 specific way. All the differences between typical post-war Asian countries can be compared with post-war Taiwan, particularly in their cultural-political representations in space. Therefore, this chapter and the next chapter strategically select two books, *Hong Kong: Culture and the politics of disappearance* (Abbas, 1997) by Ackbar Abbas and Robbie Boon Hua Goh's *Contours of culture: Space and social difference in Singapore* (Goh, 2005) as the chief material for comparison in the examination of Taiwan's post-war urban and architectural discourses.

The studies of Hong Kong and Singapore's post-war cultural politics of architecture and space are various and many. Yet the selection of the works of Abbas and Goh is based on their specific attention to the cultural complexities of Hong Kong and Singapore that have arisen in Asia's post-war atmosphere of decolonisation. The Asia Pacific's decolonisation ambience in the period following the Second World War is regarded as a crucial point in this book since the external interventions are placed as the first and most obvious point of departure for the examination of any study on post-war Taiwan. Yet, this issue in architectural and spatial studies about Hong Kong and Singapore is comparatively 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 (Marshall, 2003). The standpoint in this study commences with 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* (Wee, 2002), 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. By way of 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 Southeast 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* (Olds, 1999), 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. And in Beng-Huat Chua's study, *Political Legitimacy and Housing: Stakeholding in Singapore*, elitism is examined in relation to Singapore's distinctive public housing projects (Chua, 1997). From a bottom-up map, Michelle Huang's book, *Walking between Slums and Skyscrapers*, discusses the issue of everyday life as the key to looking at Hong Kong's open spaces and the ideology beyond (Huang, 2004); 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 (Teo, 2004). Other works such as Nuala Rooney and Joel S. Kahn's studies (Kahn, 2006; Rooney, 2003) 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, critically and concisely, is that with specific schemata, these two studies are able to scrutinise post-war spatial evolution amongst Asia Pacific 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 moves onto the case of post-war Taiwan, especially its architecture and urbanism.

### 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. In history, Abbas believes that the relation between Hong Kong's colonial past, current Chinese governance and Hong Kong's primary Chinese ethnicity constructs a 'floating identity' in today's Hong Kong. It shows the temptation of autonomy and decadence in reality. Hong Kong, in Abbas's view, 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 as it appears 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: already disappeared) 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. Abbas analyses 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. Among 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. From the emergent heroism of Bruce Lee’s Kung Fu movie in the 1970s to Jackie Chan’s Kung Fu comedy in the 1980s, 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.

From Abbas’s standpoint, Bruce Lee’s films present an anti-colonial message and a strong Chinese identity in heroism. However, the anti-colonial anger in them rarely refers to the present, nearly always deferring to the past, which shows the absence of current society and its spatiotemporal ambiguity. The past, in Abbas’s contestation, is also traced in the vague 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 to a certain degree, Chan’s Kung Fu comedy grew 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 as to some vague notion of ‘Chinese-ness’ since the PRC would take over the comparative ‘exotic atmosphere’ in previous colonised Hong Kong as a ‘native’ dominator, no matter which political direction Hong Kong would incline to in the near future. For Abbas, optimism was 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 would continue to be dominated by Chinese authoritarian rule. Moreover, this phenomenon also means that there was no possibility in modern Hong Kong society to separate local and global development. The anxiety around 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 paralysis, 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 by which to express the concept of 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 what he says about 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. 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 only weakly 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. Three building types cited by him outline these concerns. The first type is the architectural object described by Abbas as 'merely local' architecture. Buildings of this type belonged to another historical era but exist in the present. These buildings, Abbas asserts, are mainly on the economic margins of the city. For instance, there are those which have their roots in the Ching Empire; they are constructed in vernacular styles that are similar to those that, typically, evolved in Kuangchou and Shanghai in China; or, more specifically, buildings such as the Main Building of the University of Hong Kong, which has a 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 space<sup>1</sup> of power in Hong Kong, defining a form of monumentality such as Hong Kong's Central Plaza. This is linked to the concerns about hyperdensity in Hong Kong. That is, owing to limitations on space 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.



## **Hong Kong's architecture and urbanism**

Hong Kong, which had been constructed as a place with a lack of culture and long-term popular memory, is in the process of making culture from the popular cultural forms observed by Abbas. Using Kung Fu movies as an example, this 'making culture' phenomenon has existed from the early days of nationalist emotion through to the pre-1997 optimism about daily reality and it has 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.

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. 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. In the case of Hong Kong, all the signs have indicated a yearning for a clear subject: signs such as the anxiety about ethnic identity, the borrowing from fiction to compensate for a sense of uncertainty in space, and the almost total lack of optimism based on anything inherited from history other than the everyday life of contemporaneity or the use of colonial heritage as the icon of 'local'. These all show a popular thirst 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 . . .

(Abbas, 1997)

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 for them to be able to achieve that identification. As a consequence, therefore, the reflection of this ideology emanating from such uncertainty brings about a cultural location of 'disappearance' in a variety of ways such as discomfort from commodification, which transfers all the subjects into goods with prices following Adorno's argument that: 'there is no freedom as long as everything has its price' (Adorno, 1994). The subject in Hong Kong was absent; now it is emerging although it is still not clear enough.

## **Summary**

Engagement with the urgencies in the lives of Hong Kong people is the phenomenon which may be summarised from Abbas's observation

about Hong Kong's recent cultural-political transition. At first glance, two remarkable points sketch Abbas's spatial context in his 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 fact. The impetus towards commercialisation is translated from the populace of Hong Kong to building objects, internationalised office-style buildings branded by internationally well-known companies: these explain the hunger for life quality felt by middle-class Hong Kong people. His second point relates 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 portrait of Hong Kong people. Moreover, the essential 'practices of freedom'<sup>2</sup> 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.

Ackbar Abbas schematises modern Hong Kong's spatial atmosphere 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. The fact that it was once a small fishing village 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, in Abbas's words, this is just the trend to make the presence of uncertainty become the very culture itself.

## Notes

- 1 This idea is borrowed from Michel Foucault's notion of heterotopias to describe a space in which contradictory elements are juxtaposed; the original source of this notion can be found in Foucault, M. 1986. Texts/Contexts of other spaces. *Diacritics*, 16, 22–27.
- 2 This notion was initially claimed by Michel Foucault; the original source of this idea can be found in Foucault, M. 1988. The ethic of care for the self as a practice of freedom. In: Bernauer, J. W. & Rasmussen, D. M. (eds.) *The Final Foucault*. 1st MIT Press ed. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

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# 3 Singapore

## Speaking culture

### Dialogic strategies to the world

In contrast to what Abbas has described as a ‘floating cultural-political identity’ in Hong Kong society, modern Singapore presents, in Robbie Boon Hua Goh’s view, strongly characterised cultural circumstances from the top-down level to everyday life. Reading the city as a text of power and signs, Goh contends in his study of Singapore that ‘DialogiCity’ is a notion that suits this city-state well. Put another way, Goh examines multiple and ongoing discursive engagements, looking 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, and he attempts to differentiate the turning points between dominant and alternative discourses. Drawing on a concept of inscribing historical identity with space and time (‘chrontopia’ is the term 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). 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.

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 as 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. With this in mind, the civic district has been marketed with a transformation from a religious to a cultural and artistic symbol, for example, marketing the 'classical' architecture as an attractive space for commercial activities or converting 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, Goh asserts.

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. Goh asserts that, as a compromise between state ownership and individual property rights under Singapore's political policy, Singapore's public housing carries the ideological burden of being the modernised national estate. The Housing and Development Board (HDB) therefore had been established by the Singaporean government in order to redevelop public housing and to express communal harmony amongst different components in Singapore such as race. Nevertheless, Singapore's approach to public housing development followed a different strategy, heeding the importance of amenities in comparison to the poor planning, management and high-income restricted policy in many other countries. To promote this goal, an ideology of upgrading and upward shifts that affects everything from infrastructure to housing quality in Singapore's public housing projects has been imposed. Besides, a well-organised subsidised-rate mortgage has also been announced as a policy for compensation. This provision therefore creates a strong temptation for Singaporean people who would make a point of choosing public housing rather than private property. From another standpoint, apart from the public housing issue, this phenomenon is part of the attempt to establish 'global standards' in Singapore as its economic competitiveness. Undoubtedly, investment in public housing for the local people has utilised the economy and value system to achieve Singapore's global development ambition. 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 arising from Singapore's policy for public space. To be precise, the term 'void' has been used by Goh to describe this ideological imposition, predominantly in Singapore's communal space. This 'void culture', in Goh's assertion, has become a ubiquity in Singapore as a social symbol to cope with its 'diversity' (by reducing any social stigma from the alterity of Singapore). Indeed, the idea of 'void' is represented variously; the cases of 'void decks' as well as 'streets with no names' are the notable 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' is concerned, it describes 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. To summarise from Goh, this 'void culture' was initially conceived to avoid 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 the Singaporean city-state.

As a matter of fact, Singapore does consider dealing with the 'local' issues based on its multicultural or multiracial circumstances and combining them with 'global' spaces. The Malay Village project in Geylang area, which was redeveloped in the 1960s, is a case in point. The purpose of the Malay Village project was to constitute a whole spatial entity where traditional Malay life could be experienced. However, the result seemed only superficial compared with the intention and Malay culture was eventually reduced to merely a food business (an outdoor food court represents the village as a whole). More critically, this project seems to increase 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 view, this is the dark side of Singapore's official discourse, repackaging its multicultural heritage with an economic purpose.

In contrast to Singapore's public housing for the majority, private property has become a sort of privileged domain which draws less public attention. In other words, a community group which owns private property in Singapore is identified by Goh in terms of 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 sector in a societal perspective, and private sector housing on the other hand enjoys pragmatically tangible and independent living modes when compared to the public housing projects in Singapore.

### **Singapore's architecture and urbanism**

In Goh's analysis of 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 the symbolic meaning of its quality of life, the marketing of multi-racial authenticity and hierarchical class elitism. Every aspect is ideologically framed and finely controlled; this, therefore, creates an order of cultural representation in modern Singapore. In relation to post-war Taiwan, its cultural historicity is enclosed by the position

of subjectivity. Highlighted by the contestation between colonial hegemony and conscious rectification of history, the story in post-war Taiwan has been told as a subjectivation from absolute obedience during the period of Martial Law to 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.

Singapore, on the other hand, shows a disciplinary order, in Goh’s judgement. 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 onto Singapore’s public space as the strategy for controlling and settling conflicts between local-global, racial and cultural differences in everyday life. More importantly, ‘being international’ shows the ultimate intention within Singapore to cope with this multiplicity of different classes, living styles and values in such a small-scale country (city-state). Unlike Hong Kong, Singapore presents a strong collectivity that imposes a contrary ideology of ‘void’ from its multifaceted circumstances. The intervention of state apparatus guides 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 of the variety of differing ways in which Singaporean people choose to locate their cultures, therefore how to introduce a balanced view amongst all the voices becomes the key question for the government. The built environment, for example, demonstrates an even clearer policy. Surveillance of the streets and the piazzas of public housing are, from the governance point of view, necessary. Nonetheless, different treatment for different classes is the undoubted compromise under this power-resistance zero-sum game.

This contestation of subjectivation, in the cases of post-war Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore, is inevitably critical but it is represented differentially 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 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 kept between different races, cultures, languages and linked with spatial conditions. The ideological equality and balance produced by the 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.

## Summary

The question of establishing what the cultural representation in Singapore's built environment is, then, is apparent for Goh from a top-down point of view. The government of Singapore has provided a well-organised policy to express an ideological 'local' identity in relation to 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 private property become an exception since it has been identified as a 'foreign' or 'privileged' space in Singapore? Many projects that offer the referential 'tropical-resort' themed condominium in order 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.

The schema of Singapore's space and culture modelled by Goh describes a conversation between the top-down governance and the bottom-up reality witnessed in modern Singaporean society. A collective ideology and a quasi-authoritarian management by government are the means by which 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 the fact that the government has imposed a simplification of the ideology, reflecting popular culture in Singapore and its interaction with contemporary urban space.



# 4 Taiwan

## In-between culture

### Post-war Taiwan's spatio-temporal contours

When post-war Taiwan is read as a text in a quasi-colonial context, it has been pinpointed as raising a series of questions: What is post-war Taiwan's de facto scenario? 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? Or, simultaneously, are both relevant? These questions are tied into Taiwan's colonial past and present. More precisely, the questions examine 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.

Since the lifting of Martial Law by the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1987, a date which is widely regarded as the commencement of Taiwan's democratisation, nationalism has no longer been dominant. Rather, a pragmatic consciousness about this island's de facto scenario, which has emerged as a distinct phenomenon and a historical turning point, is evident in modern Taiwan's dominant cultural forms. Since then, Taiwan has begun to be recognised as an individual subject rather than as a subordinate and subsidiary object. The built environment at Taiwan's post-Martial Law stage, its architecture, however, 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 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 since 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.

A problematic concern must be indicated first in terms of the case of post-war Taiwan, and this applies to many other Asia Pacific countries. Taiwan is not like Hong Kong and Singapore from either a political or a geographic point of view. Therefore it is not possible to scrutinise universally and physically its urban field as a whole, at least in terms of locality and uniqueness constructed in a specific city. Yet a general survey of Martial Law Taiwan's built environment shows that Taipei's urban texture seemed to be extensively written as typifying post-war Taiwan, both spatially and 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 historiography, literature and cinema, focusing particularly on their representations of and implications for post-war space in Taiwan.

Taiwan's half-century post-war history and historiography form the context for its contemporary 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 Taiwanese historian Wang Chingchia:

Demanding for domestic development, historiography in Taiwan began to reflect a trend of 'indigenisation', which was quickly enhanced because the change of Taiwan's international status in the 1970s. A form of 'Chinese orthodoxy' once constructed had no longer matched the presence of Taiwan society; Taiwanese people eventually realised that there is a sense of historic crisis emerging from their consciousness. Historians hence started to reposition Taiwan's history. A debate about Taiwan society's 'indigenisation' and 'Chinesisation/Sinicisation'<sup>1</sup> 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, historiography in Taiwan 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 have no longer missed in Taiwan's historiography . . . distinct phenomenon is the flowering of '*Taiwan Shib*' (Taiwan History). In addition, the history of 'everyday culture' is another example . . .

(Wang, 2002)

In other words, Wang pinpoints the fact that the term Taiwanese History, and thus its meaning, did not exist, and were not allowed to exist, before the 1970s. It was not until 1987 that the term really took root. The debate about 'indigenisation'<sup>2</sup> and 'Chinesisation' opened the door for the people of Taiwan to examine the cultural essence of this country in which everyday life occurs and self-consciousness is generated. The emergence of Taiwan's

native culture in the 1970s was due to changes in Taiwan's international status and its political ideology which shocked the country and its people at that time.<sup>3</sup> 'Pentu Literature', literally native soil literature, subsequently comes to the forefront as a controversial issue representing Taiwanese historiography. 'Pentu 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. it was the traditional Chinese cultural system. This result was influenced by the Nationalist Government's Greater China ideology. At that time, the concept of 'Taiwan Shib' was still in its infancy.

The time when 'Taiwan Shib' became a mainstream view of value in Taiwan was linked to the moment when the Kaohsiung Incident<sup>4</sup> happened in 1979. At that time, Taiwanese consciousness began to be recognised not only in practices of historiography but also amongst the intelligentsia. Taiwanese consciousness represents an identified attitude which sees the island as a cultural foothold and acknowledges it as the de facto land where Taiwanese people grew up. As this emergent consciousness of identity developed, Taiwan's past under Japanese colonisation, previously neglected, began to be discussed and recognised. The significance of Japan's colonial past in the development of Taiwan society in the 1980s began to be regarded as an asset to Taiwan's cultural politics. Today, it exists not only as Taiwan's colonial past but it has also become Taiwan's social capital – a phenomenon that brought modernisation to the island. At that moment, the previous dominant Chinese nationalist identity was challenged and changed into another nationalist spirit, now not targeted at China but at Taiwan. Although the entire context was still framed by a nationalist ideology, the chief texts of historiography were obviously changed. As Wang observes, a new stage of Taiwan's historiography emerged when Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Changes of reception in historiography were highlighted by extending the research domain, removing the research delimitation and reinterpreting various aspects of history (Wang, 2002). These changes drew research attention to Taiwan's experience of Japanese rule and presented attempts at identifying Taiwan's national identity by showing respect to all colonial pasts.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, this transition also shaped a current consensus with regard to Taiwan's historic characteristics.<sup>6</sup>

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 is without doubt the emergence into both academic and popular consciousness of a regard for everyday life as a form of popular memory in history. That is to say, this alternative account of power relations provides another perspective from which to look at the relationship between dominant and subordinate as well as knowledge making. This power-knowledge relation in post-war

Taiwan changed the state of native 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 made by the chief opposition political party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), pinpoints this phenomenon:

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.

(Tsai, 2011)

That is, the land and people are denoted in this statement as the essential elements of Taiwan, which used to be ignored in the era of the KMT's authoritarian dominance. Yet nowadays, even though the KMT has once again taken over the political authority of Taiwan since 2008, this essence eventually is able to retain its prior position in Taiwanese society as another statement of identification parallel to the government's nationalist ideology. Convincingly, this statement has now superseded the nationalist ideology as an ascendant discourse, and is recognised as received knowledge in today's Taiwanese society.

Architecturally, too, contestations heteroglossically reinterpret this power-knowledge relation. Chang Wei-Hsiu shows that for more than a decade the grassroots movement has been challenging the people's 'given' rights, i.e. those that were imposed ideologically top-down by the state, and fighting to replace them, instead, with the greater rights which they believed they deserved (Chang, W. H., 2006). 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. Accordingly, the nationalist concern in historiography had once again been decentralised into a different focus – the history of everyday culture – since the 1990s. Pure political thinking is no longer enough to match the new social climate and cultural circumstances in today's Taiwanese society. Nowadays, nationalism to a certain degree has become less important, although it still survives in certain instances, and its replacement is a concern with the day-to-day. In architecture, the preservation of historic sites is one translation that spatially reflects this day-to-day concern in historiography. Lee Chian-lang highlights this concern when he points out that a historical site is designated by the standard of its 'history' while the preservation of history is not necessary linked and equal to its

criticism, no matter whether that criticism is made by the collective or by individuals (Lee, 2008). Lee argues that the rise of indigenous consciousness is key to adjusting this chronic misunderstanding that has judged historical sites by political bias.

### Taiwan's architecture and urbanism

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 Taiwanese society has been following a trend towards economic liberalisation since the end of the Second World War. 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 lies in 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 to become a distinct characteristic of Taiwanese society today. Eventually, these memories have been melded with today's social conditions and have become a unique spatiotemporal form of identity. This identification happened gradually and was spontaneously generated, and it is reducing the influence of Taiwan's burdensome past as positive history. The emergence of Taiwanese 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 point at which to divide the post-war society of Taiwan into two periods: the Martial Law and post-Martial Law periods.<sup>7</sup> However, as a historical divide in the study, the discussion needs to be critically started from the period of Japanese rule. The period before 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 that date the dominant power of Taiwan was transferred to Japan in 1895,<sup>8</sup> which is a very short period when it is seen as part of the history of Taiwan's modern architectural evolution. A symposium hosted by *Architect*<sup>9</sup> 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*<sup>10</sup> . . . 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*<sup>11</sup> . . . In architecture, the *Taiwan Sotokufu*<sup>12</sup> and the

*Senbai-Kyoku*<sup>13</sup> are the representatives . . . they both embodied the idea of ‘practical is the truth’.

(Liu, 1984)

In other words, the buildings built in the Japanese era were marked largely by the quality of colonial modernity and functionalism as well as by the symbolic hierarchy established by its powerful Westernisation strategy. However, the social and cultural-political implications of the Japanese era with regard 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 owing to the autocratic context under KMT government rule. The KMT took over political power from Japan after 1945 and as the representative of the Allies when the Second World War 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 in Taiwan after losing the civil war and giving up all political power in China. When it retreated to Taiwan in 1949 it took with it a degenerate legacy of brutal and corrupt government.<sup>14</sup> These events caused Taiwanese people to yearn for Taiwan’s previous ruling power, Japan, which had exercised similar high-pressure domination but was relatively respectful of 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 eliminate Japanese cultural influence, the KMT started to impose a strong Chinese nationalist identity onto Taiwanese society, which inevitably included the field of architecture.<sup>15</sup> It is the well-known ‘Greater China’ political ideology which later dazed, physically and mentally, the social and cultural identification of Taiwanese people. This conundrum of identification, curiously, still partially exists in contemporary Taiwanese society even today. This contrasts the anti-Japanese complex with the Japanophilic complex which is evident through the celebratory 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 influence on the profession, producing the cultural impact of China on modern architectural constructions seen in post-war Taiwan in the 1950s and the 1960s. Hua Chang Yi indicated this phenomenon by analysing Chinese imitative buildings and several related features in Taiwan in 1962, finely explaining the pros and cons of 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 meanings . . . 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 . . .

(Hua, 1962)

Japanese historian Shin Muramatsu also analysed this antiquarian context of Chinese nationalism in Taiwan in 1994. He believed that what was repositioned from China to Taiwan including both the political party (KMT) and the ‘Chinese orthodoxy’ turned out to have a formalistic existence only. Those ‘big roofs’ (Figure 4.1) were the best representatives (Muramatsu, 1994).

Accordingly, this nationalist complex evoked an anxiety about social and cultural identity and forced Taiwanese people to reconsider their sense of belonging. Reflecting their response to this insecurity, a sense of self-consciousness in space as well as society came to the forefront as a mainstream value in Taiwan society after the 1990s. This realisation has caused an about-turn in the thinking of the Taiwanese people: having previously regarded Taiwan as an alienated *other* in contrast to the idea of a powerful Greater China which they saw as the reality, they have come to recognise that Taiwan exists *in itself* as an independent concept and



**Figure 4.1** The Grand Hotel, designed by Yang Cho-Cheng in 1973, in Taipei, Taiwan. This building can be regarded as a typical case of using the ‘big roof’ style in Martial Law Taiwan. (Source: the author)

entity. This phenomenon has also been progressively represented through different societal exchanges with transdisciplinary subjects. Seamlessly, this experience – changes of reception – also happened in the built environment and related discourses. An interview conducted by Japanese architectural journalist, Mariko Terada about post-war Taiwan’s architectural representations in the late 1990s with the well-known architect C. Y. Lee is an evident case. Mariko described her understanding of ‘new’ Taiwanese architecture as observed in 1994 and referred it to C. Y. Lee’s works. C. Y. Lee is the architect who designed numerous works utilising post-modern methods 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 which well utilised the Chinese language is just like several Chinese people standing in front of us . . .

(Terada, 1994)

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’ carried over into the work from his mind exhibits a strong anxiety about Taiwan’s post-war self-identity. Although his work, along with similar design strategies which applied such post-modern methods, shows formalistically the concept of Chinese architectural patterns, what remains is less of a Chinese spiritualised character but, rather, more semiotic. Essentially, what was shown in his work apart from these codes are all a consideration of local circumstances which says nothing about traditional Chinese culture but everything about the everyday life of *Taiwan*. Consequently, combining the major external interventions along with the socio-political evolution chronologically before and after the Second World War, the development of post-war Taiwan society is read as a competing procedure of ideological attitudes (Figure 4.2).

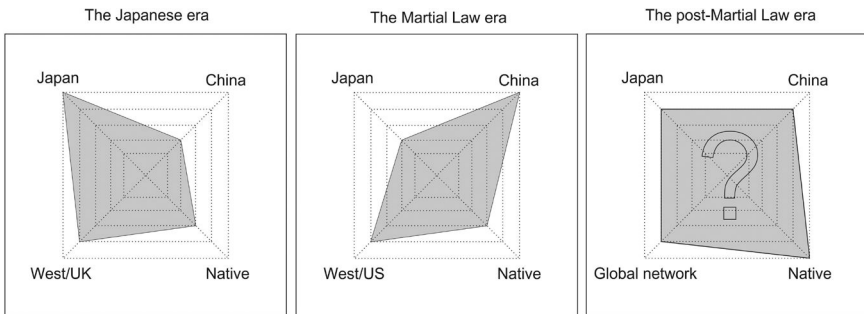


Figure 4.2 A metering model of Taiwan society along with four dominant forces from its Japanese rule to the current stage. (Source: the author)



Before the end of the Second World War, the dominant Japanese force and its British-derived 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 was all designed in traditional Japanese styles; most of the public buildings, followed Japan's Westernisation, were all constructed using Japanese-Western templates. The traditional Chinese building type, which was imported mostly during the Cheng era in the seventeenth century, could merely be seen in the low-class communities: not to mention the very native aboriginal building type that always belonged to the minority of the time.

Yet after the war, the emergent Chinese dominance, along with reconstruction supported by America, changed this hierarchy in society. This political transfer also pushed Japanese intervention to the bottom, implementing the political intention of the ruling collectivity of the time. During that time, massive Beaux-Arts Chinese Revival and modern International Style buildings formed the majority of the public projects. And US Aid infrastructure projects of the time replaced the British-influenced 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 represented either by crude placeless public housing or by shabby Japanese and native Taiwanese-Chinese houses, combining maritime Taiwan aboriginal and traditional southern Chinese building forms.

Interestingly, when Martial Law was lifted in 1987, the native way of life, long-repressed and now affected by 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 has become, equally, more important than all the external (once dominant) forces, even expanding its contextual coverage into the world. This phenomenon, along with a problematic deduction, therefore forms the topic of greatest interest in the periodisation of post-war Taiwan's post-Martial Law time in the research. It is not appropriate to denote Martial Law as a division of partitioning post-war Taiwan into two dramatically different domains or 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, will take 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 synchronically in Taiwanese society.

Taiwanese cinema developed with the growth of native literature, particularly along with its transformations after the lifting of Martial Law.

The native literature, to a certain degree, establishes the base of the filmic works and provides an alternative reflection of public reception in history. First and foremost, the trend highlighted in the development of Taiwan's post-war literature has given access to the past through popular memory which differs to the top-down official discourse. After the rise of Taiwanese literature, the manifold unofficial discourses on this island's post-Martial Law cultural-political identities thus indicate an atmosphere of simultaneous heteroglossia.<sup>6</sup> That is to say that the construction of cultural identity in today's Taiwan is no longer simplified and merely based on nationalism. Rather, it is constructed on 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 enough, is heading towards an awkward stage for the reason, described by Jameson, that 'this small island is a non-national nation state' (Jameson, 1992). This 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 arises 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 nomination, through which the social identity is constructed' (Bourdieu, 2000). 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 the everyday life of modern Taiwan society, i.e., in the architectural and urban aspect – living spaces.

To what extent is it legitimate to link post-Martial Law Taiwan 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, rather it indicates 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' (Foucault, 1986). 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, and 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: although the government of the Republic of China is confined to Taiwan now, yet it still believes that it is the rightful ruler of the 35 provinces of China; it is said that Taiwan contains no cultures other than orthodox Chinese culture, but realistically the fact is that Taiwan contains multiple cultures, which have a precise and distinctive 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.

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 (Williams, 1983). 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 Taiwanese cinema as a transitional key shaping the research context of the research.

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.

(Benjamin and Arendt, 1968)

That is to say, through the reproduction, the quality of the presence is always depreciated; the authenticity of a thing is often not legitimised. However, in this research, which concerns both the identification and representation of architecture in historiography, film appears as a powerful agent with which 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. 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 in 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' (Yip, 1997). 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 is concerned not with high culture but very much with mass culture, is the 'nostalgia film' (Jameson, 2002). The word 'nostalgia' is fundamentally close to post-war Taiwan's cultural-political identity which is always connected to this island's native past. Taiwanese cinema, 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. We can combine the transition in identity in post-war Taiwan from a nationalist to a day-to-day context with Foucault's notion of 'popular memory' (Foucault, 1996) which provides a different perspective on historiography. He indicates that film is an effective means of re-programming popular memory that no longer has any way of expressing itself although it did once exist. The historical representation of popular memory constructed in Taiwan's cinematic space, 'Taiwan experience' as Yip calls it (Yip, 1997), once again marks the proper name of post-war heteroglossia and creates an observable lens at its post-Martial Law stage, and this study borrows that representation to look at Taiwan's post-war architectural historiography and its construction of spatial identities. Three spatial characteristics which are always the issues on the island at its post-war stage have been presented in post-Martial Law Taiwanese cinema, and they are then transferred into concrete spatial form with the cultural-political transition of the time: (1) the polemic between the city and countryside, (2) geographic identification, (3) the idealised space of nostalgia and its social transition to spatial indigenisation.

The city-countryside polemic is one issue of great concern that needs to be widely discussed as a de facto problematic amongst developing countries, particularly in the Asia Pacific region. However, from the early post-war period to the present, taking Taiwan as an example, this issue has been represented with different spatiotemporal concerns and experienced within different social contexts. For instance, in *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* (1994), the film reinterprets the very early post-war difference distinguishing two issues – livelihood and transportation. *A Brighter Summer Day* (1991) reconstructs the idea of Taipei, once Taiwan's 'only' metropolis between the 1950s and the 1960s, and the idiosyncratic urban temperament which then emphasised the metropolitan identity of American popular cultural and military footholds. Even so, this philosophy has been challenged by works of 'Taiwan New cinema'. *The Boys from Fengkoei*

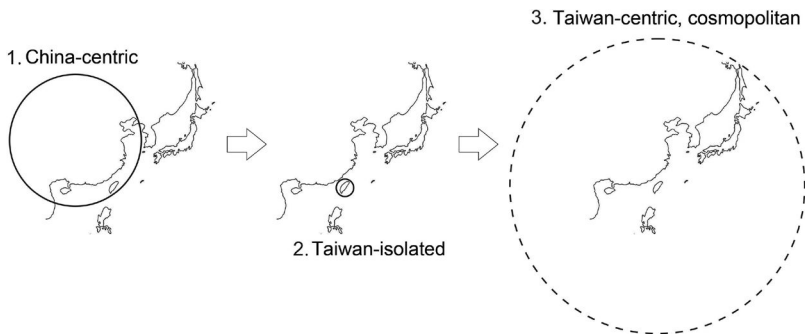
(1983) documents the rise and flourishing of Kaohsiung. Meanwhile, *The Boys from Fengkoei* also witnesses Taiwan's 'real' countryside representing Taiwan's maritime cultural landscape such as the village image in Penghu<sup>16</sup> instead of an imagination of continental grassland seen in earlier films. Taking another subject, *Dust of Angels* (1992) and *Goodbye South Goodbye* (1996) deal with Taiwan's rapid urbanisation between the 1970s and the 1990s, and as evidence, the freeway and the railway were brushed in the film to blur the boundary between the metropolis and the countryside.

A later work, *Grandma and her Ghosts* (1998), displays Taiwan's social scenario in the late 1990s. The urban-rural polemic focuses on the gap between the modern environment and cultural tradition created by rapid urbanisation. In such a situation, native cultural activities such as *Chungyuan Pu Tu*<sup>17</sup> are hardly ever seen in metropolitan areas, as these districts and the people in them are gradually becoming internationalised and placeless. On the other hand, these activities, to a certain extent, have increasingly lost their authenticity or been mutated while the age of technology has taken their place pervasively. For instance, the Austronesian *Tao* village in Orchid Island filmed in *Fishing Luck* (2005) shows the transmutation of indigenous *Tao* life by the importation of automobiles, tourism and technologies from Taiwan, and on the other hand by the exportation of the work force to Taiwan. The local tribal landscape in Orchid Island nowadays has become hybrid; it is especially noticeable in the mutated *Tao* buildings which combine a reinforced concrete structure with a traditional stilt house form. In recent years, complications in environment and community have come to the forefront. In *Island Etude* (2007), the filmmaker identifies recent events involving native consciousness in Taiwan society. The highly contaminative industries which were usually set in the countryside now face debate and strict examination not only by administrative institutes but also by non-governmental organisations. The variance and gap between cities and rural areas have become relatively imprecise at this stage. Further, in *Cape No.7* (2008) and *Su Mi Ma Sen Love* (2009), community issues of retrieving regional identity in cultural industries, space conservation, building preservation, BOT<sup>18</sup> and the crisis of losing regional character translate a different version of the city-countryside interaction while the contemporary offset internationalises and urbanises those 'rural' regions.

Geographic identification is another issue in space, showing a shift of identity construction from an imaginary continent to a global context (Figure 4.3). This shift is also connected to the identification process of post-war Taiwan. In its post-war period, Taiwan was placed as a marginal cultural subdivision of China from the early post-war years to a transitional period of isolation, and it is presently situated as an individual cultural subject. *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* (2008) demonstrates the disappointment felt by the Taiwanese people who were abandoned by the Manchu Ching Empire which signed a treaty to permanently cede the island to Japan, and by their

bitter-sweet *Han* kin who provided the geographical affiliation to the continent that eventually cast Taiwan away. In stark contrast, *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* shows the strong national identification with Japan of a group of native Taiwanese after 50 years of Japanisation or even Japan's further impacts on cultural colonisation after 1945. A Japanophilic complex hence turned out to be the most difficult obstacle for the KMT who wanted to remove it from the island but without success. This sense of frustration, felt by the Mainlanders, is evident when *A Brighter Summer Day* is observed. The movie symbolises the awkward sense of the Mainlanders who treated Taiwan as a temporary settlement or new territory. This group of newcomers denotes the privilege granted to take over all the properties the Japanese had left behind. But it also depicts their resignation to having to live and work in those Japanese style buildings. During this period, the geographic sense of belonging and the cultural identity were intensely imaginary and nationalist, and they were constructed following the ideology of the Chinese mainland and Greater China that was in fact not applicable to the island's real life but a compelling imposition.

The sense of indigenisation that arose in the period between the 1970s and the 1990s made the identification move towards Taiwan nationalism. Films such as *The Boys from Fengkoei*, *A City of Sadness*, *Dust of Angels*, and *Goodbye South Goodbye*, all exhibit this move of environmental identification. The scenes these films show are restricted to the island's regions only and the locations characterised in the films are only markets and street landscapes. That is, it seems that all external impacts had been carefully purified and excluded, except the island's insularity. After the Martial Law period, this situation was once again changed to a cosmopolitan scale when geo-identification was centralised in Taiwan with native consciousness and a form of consensus. More specifically, after the late 1990s, globalisation and Taiwanisation became the primary texts within the context of Taiwan's geographic identification. The sense of insulated and placeless urbanisation



**Figure 4.3** The transition of geographic identification in post-war Taiwan.  
(Source: the author)

appears no longer enough to support any focus on the identification of place. As a reflection of this, the existing spatial traces of native history such as the old gate emphasised in *Cape No.7* become clear 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.

With the changeover of geographic identification, representations of nostalgia in the built environment exemplify more explicit characteristics of the making of Taiwan’s post-war idealised spaces. Two typical sets of nostalgic space signify post-war architectural ideologies in Taiwan – *Washitsu*<sup>19</sup> and the *Minnan*<sup>20</sup> style house. First, *Washitsu* (Figure 4.4) can be regarded as the most idiosyncratic idealised space in post-war Taiwan. In practice, the Japanese style room has always been a common room setting in the houses of most Taiwanese families since the Japanese time. This room, interestingly, seems to be idealised as a fundamental spatial icon with meaning across cultures, ethnicities, ages and functions in Taiwan’s post-war built environment. In *A City of Sadness*, *Washitsu* is represented as a room providing social activities, communication, negotiation and active living space, and even hospital wards. In *A Brighter Summer Day*, *Washitsu* is not only highlighted as a temporal place for most of the Mainlanders but also features in the luxury villa of a privileged mainland Chinese general. In recent films, *Washitsu* frequently appears as an interior archetype in contemporary 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. That is, the use of *Washitsu* today in Taiwan society, as an



*Figure 4.4* A typical *Washitsu* in contemporary Taiwanese architecture, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

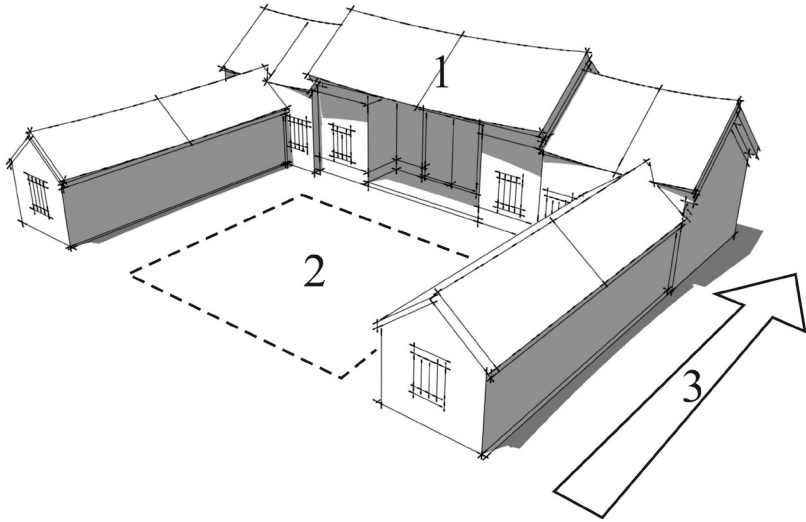
element of post-war Taiwan's spatial hybridisation, has formed a unique form of identity transcending its origin and symbolic meaning. No matter whether *Washitsu* is from Japan originally or not, no matter whether the new generation of Taiwanese people know that it is from Japan originally or not, *Washitsu* has been widely accepted as a crucially essential symbol of Taiwanese living space today. Obviously, this space is idealised for identification psychologically. As for the exact function of *Washitsu* in Taiwan today, which would legitimise the essential of its existence, it is undoubtedly less vital or even unmeaning for most Taiwanese people these days.

Unlike *Washitsu's* multi-definitions in post-war Taiwan's space, the *Minnan* style house (Figure 4.5) is always firmly associated with local ethnicities – the native Taiwanese and the *Hakka*, although ironically it has its origins in China. Seen in film, the *Minnan* house provides a proven atmosphere as a nostalgic 'home' for native ethnic groups. As an idealised 'Taiwanese' *Minnan* house, three components always stand out: one, certain sections (normally three) with a compound; two, a semi-open courtyard (or an open field); and three, a clear symmetrical axis which indicates different positions in the family hierarchy (Figure 4.6). These components thus comprise a secure sense of belonging. As examples, in *Blue Brave: the Legend of Formosa in 1895* (reconstructing the time of 1895), *A City of Sadness* (reconstructing the time of very early post-war Taiwan in urban settings), *Duo Sang: A Borrowed Life* (reconstructing the time of very early post-war Taiwan in rural settings), *The Boys from Fengkoei* (capturing real space in 1983), *Dust of Angels* (showing real space in 1992), *Island Etude* (describing real space in 2007), and *Cape No.7* (depicting real space in 2008), the *Minnan* house captures the nostalgic position as an idealised 'home' for local



Figure 4.5 The *Minnan* style house in Taiwan. The middle part of the building usually houses ceremonial activities for ancestors and gods as the most important space in the family hierarchy. Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)





*Figure 4.6* The typical form of the traditional *Minnan* style house in Taiwan. Three primary characteristics are indicated with numbers. (Source: the author)



*Figure 4.7* A typical core family place in a modern Taiwanese house. Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

families, no matter whether from the Japanese period or from the most recent times. Importantly, the compound of the *Minnan* house and the central lobby along with the courtyard or open field determine the centre of family activities such as communication and important ceremonies. Similar to *Washitsu* in Taiwan, the *Minnan* house is apparent today in Taiwan society as an idealised space, particularly from the transfiguration of the compound and the central lobby. It is a fact that while the *Minnan* house is no longer used as contemporary Taiwan's major housing type, the centre of the floor plan in most native houses and apartments can still be implied as the space of the principal and essential ceremony in a family now (Figure 4.7).

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. This conflict is highlighted and illustrated in *Cape No.7*, a film considering the prevalence issue of BOT projects in Taiwan with 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 resistance on the part of the residents and the successful result in redeveloping an old community in Kaohsiung 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 rather than a collection of lapidary monuments’ (Taylor, 2005).

## Summary

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 are more or less in connection with the lineage, culture and colonial past of previous external interventions, 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 entities, the 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 as 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”’ (Taylor, 2005). The proper statement as to 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 Taiwan culture along with aboriginal cultures, Dutch culture, Spanish culture, Manchu culture, Japanese culture and Western culture’.

(Jacobs, 2007)

To summarise: this transition in post-war Taiwan’s historiography details the geographic transition of post-war Taiwan into a geopolitical transition. 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.

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 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.

## Notes

- 1 These two terms – indigenisation and Chinesisation/Sinicisation – were originally represented by other terms in Chinese according to the different levels and political standpoints argued by different authors. In other words, 'localisation' and 'being inland' were frequently used in early post-war studies in Taiwan instead of 'indigenisation/Taiwanisation' and 'Chinesisation/Sinicisation', which are pervasively recognised in Taiwan today.
- 2 Chen Chi Nan proposed the idea of 'indigenisation' in 1976, creating a model of 'Taiwan history' on the island. This idea was also published in Chen, C. N. 1990. The construction and transformation of the Han immigrant society in Taiwan. In: Chen, C. N. (ed.) *Family and society: fundamental ideas of Taiwan and Chinese studies*. Taipei: Lien Ching.
- 3 In 1971, the position of Taiwan (the Republic of China) in the United Nation was superseded by the People's Republic of China; in 1978, the United States severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan; in 1972, Chiang Ching Kuo took the position of premier and conducted the change of governmental policy from previous 'counterattack on the mainland' to a focus on developing Taiwan's economics as well as politics. These events, consequently, led to the commencement of Taiwan's political democratisation.
- 4 The Kaohsiung Incident, also known as the Formosa Incident, was the result of pro-democracy demonstrations that occurred in Kaohsiung on 10 December 1979.
- 5 From the 1980s onwards, colonisation by Japan has ceased to be marked in Taiwan's historiography purely as a period of cruel negative rule; instead there now also exists a pervasive recognition that Japan pioneered Taiwan's modernisation. This, to a certain extent, shows an equal respect for the island's different colonial pasts, and from then on this respect can be seen in the rectified description of different time periods, such as from the earlier 'Japanese occupation' to the current 'Japanese rule'.
- 6 Most Taiwanese historians nowadays agree 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.

- 7 The Martial Law period in Taiwan commenced in 1949 and ended in 1987, a fact which gives Taiwanese society two very dramatic aspects.
- 8 The Ching Empire signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, ceding Taiwan to Japan and abandoning power in Taiwan in 1895 after its defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War.
- 9 *Architect* is a professional and academic magazine in architecture published by the Architect Association of Taiwan since 1975.
- 10 Nanyang was the early appellation referring to today's Southeast Asia which was commonly used in the Pan-Pacific region.
- 11 Tatami mats are traditional Japanese flooring. They have become fairly common and idealised flooring in Taiwan nowadays.
- 12 The Taiwan Sotokufu was Taiwan's highest ruling institute (the 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 the Second World War as it still is to the present day.
- 13 The Senbai-Kyoku was established in Taiwan as a governmental agency for selling goods as the hub of monopolisation during Japanese rule. It was renamed the Taiwan Tobacco and Wine Monopoly Bureau in 1947 and nowadays the building of the Senbai-Kyoku has been renovated as the Taiwan Museum of Industrial History.
- 14 This legacy ensured that the people who fled from China in the 1940s and 1950s were backward, poor and under-educated, and remained so.
- 15 In Martial Law Taiwan, most of the architectural projects (particularly in public buildings) had to deal with statutory requirements to adopt 'traditional Chinese patterns', such as a Chinese palace roof, to symbolise a 'Chinese orthodoxy'. The use of a Chinese palace roof in Taiwan is widely known, by many academics, as the 'big roof' style of modern Chinese architecture in Taiwan's Martial Law period.
- 16 Penghu Islands, also known as Pescadores Islands, are an archipelago off the west coast of Taiwan.
- 17 *Chungyuan Pu Tu* is a salvation ceremony in Taiwan's ghost month.
- 18 BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) is a form of project which is financed and planned by the government, operated by private organisations and eventually has its management authority transferred back to the government after the cost of the investment returns.
- 19 *Washitsu* is the name for the traditional Japanese style room in the Japanese language. *Washitsu* is sometimes also called the *Tatami* room in its English translation; however, the use of *Washitsu* in Taiwan is not always confined to the room which has the *Tatami* flooring.
- 20 *Minnan* usually refers to the Southeast coast of China.

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# 5 When the otherness becomes selfness

## Urban Taiwan's transformation

### Taipei: a form of constructed 'typicality'

Taiwan's distinctive role in Asia today and its representative status of urbanisation and modernisation amongst Asian metropolises are undeniable facts. Google maps announced its German version Street View service in 2010 and Taipei was chosen as the only representative city of Asia in its demonstration clip. It is evident that Taipei 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 the typical form of Taiwan's urbanism and spatiality. The city, for a long time, has also been promoted as the only metropolis in post-war Taiwan. But 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? These questions also echo an interesting phenomenon nationally and internationally about Taiwan: a politically slanted perspective of 'seeing the world from Taipei'.<sup>1</sup> In the Street View clip, apart from the modern street landscape of Taipei, two obvious spatial characteristics have been highlighted both symbolically and politically by Google. The first is the modernised Chinese Revival buildings which possess a strong nationalist image; the building featured is the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall and its surroundings, full of ROC national flags. The other characteristic, on the other hand, is the particular combination of traditional Chinese building heritage presented in Taipei: the case shown in the clip is the old East Gate constructed originally with a traditional southern Chinese gate style in 1879, with a northern Chinese palace roof style replaced by the KMT in 1966.

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? Can it entirely and equally reflect the realistic spatial scenario of today's 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 with a scrutiny of a building 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. Second, the chapter 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. Taipei and Kaohsiung undoubtedly emerge here after the question has been asked. Two building objects which have been strategically selected and analysed here are the Red House in Taipei and the Kaohsiung Museum of History in Kaohsiung.

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 an aspect of the 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 bear 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 *Exploring the old Taipei City* (Yuan-Liou, 2000), 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*, are considerably less relevant, even culturally contradictory to its architectural imagery. In other words, it is necessary 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, are crucially related.

The Red House can be analysed at two levels: the first is to see it as a singular building in Taiwan; and the second is to examine the building's role(s) in the history of quasi-colonial Taiwan. The Red House was constructed in 1908 by Japanese architect Kondo Juro, who worked within the Prefectural Civil Engineering Office in Taiwan's *Sotokufu* (the Governor-General's office). Kondo had his architectural training at Tokyo Imperial University, where he gained knowledge about Western architectural styles from his British supervisor Josiah Condor, who worked with Tokyo



Imperial University for 47 years, mainly training his students to understand Western architectural methods (Yu, 2002). Kondo joined the Prefectural Civil Engineering Office in 1906 and the Red House is his first design work in Taiwan. The building contains an octagonal building (known today as the Octagon Building), a cruciform structure and the adjacent square.

The Red House functioned as Taiwan's first government-built public market when the main buildings were constructed in 1908.<sup>2</sup> The ground floor of the Red House at that period was a department store, and the first floor was a market for second-hand goods and souvenirs.<sup>3</sup> Surrounding the Octagon Building was the market place called Shinkicho Market, which was created in the 1890s. In 1928, the neighbourhood was restructured and it was renamed Ximen Market; a row of shops was also built at that time. Two years later the role of the Octagon Building changed to that of a teahouse, while 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 encountered heavy bombing from the US Air Force; the first floor of the Red House then was converted into 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 by Green Gang mobster Chen Hui Wen to house an operatic troupe performing Beijing Opera.<sup>4</sup> In 1953, the role 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.<sup>5</sup> In 1963, the Red House was turned into a cinema, screening second-hand movies, and became 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 was turned into a place screening pornography. In 1994, the Le Shan Foundation, a non-governmental organisation, and local academics proposed that the Red House be regenerated as part of Community Development. The purpose was to gather ideas from administrators, professionals, artists and neighbourhood residents as to a potential future use. In 1997, the building was formally designated as a listed historical site but simultaneously, the project for the building's regeneration was stopped. During the period of planning for a new use for the Red House, Taipei city mayor, Chen Shui-bian, promoted a proposal to run the building as a film museum, which would mainly screen artistic films and documentaries. However, the cruciform building was destroyed by fire in 2000 and the plan was suspended until 2001. In that year, the next city mayor, Ma Ying-jeou, decided to change the function of the Red House to that of 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.

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

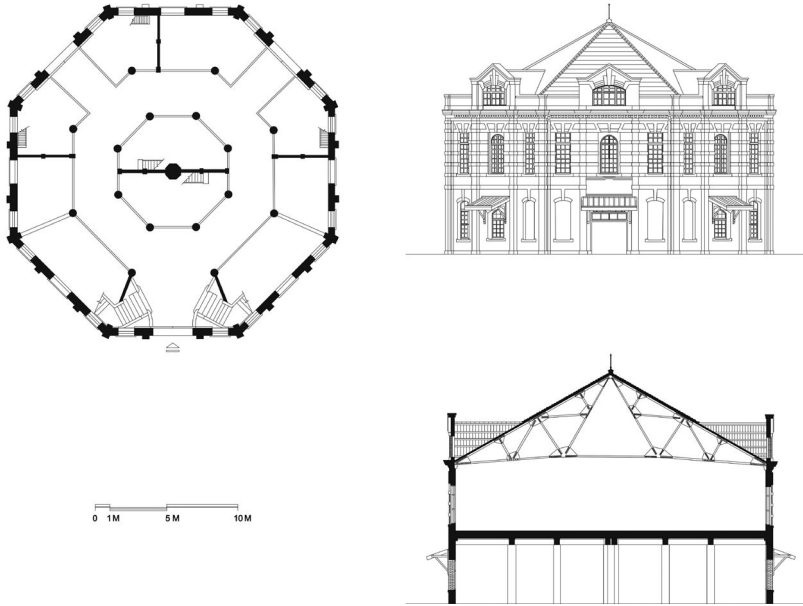


Figure 5.1 The plan, façade and section of the Octagon Building before the fire.  
(Source: the author)

concrete column system, an L-shaped steel truss system roof and a timber internal structure (Figure 5.1), exhibiting a strong *Tatsumo* style, a typical Japanese colonial building style.<sup>6</sup>

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

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.

(Coaldrake, 1996)

In the late 1880s, as Taiwan was at that time Japan's southernmost colony as a result of its *Nanyang*<sup>7</sup> colonisation, Taiwanese architecture was influenced by the *Meiji Ishin*. In order to become a modernised country, during

that period Japan was dramatically changing its political and social structure, leading to a process of modernisation by Westernising the military, capitalising society and industrialising manufacturing. At the beginning, owing to the lack of modern techniques and people with specialist abilities, many pupils 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 had practised 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 the Taiwanese *Sotokufu*, including Kondo Juro, were educated by Conder.

The Red House, therefore, is a comprehensive case of Japanese-Western eclecticism. Some elements can be read as indicators. The first is the frequently repeated keystone pattern 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. At that time in Taiwan, this kind of roof structure and the material steel represented advanced construction techniques imported from Japan (it also 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 5.2), which underline the



Figure 5.2 The buttresses of the Red House. (Source: the author)



Figure 5.3 The horizontal bands and keystones of the Octagon Building. (Source: the author)



Figure 5.4 The pediments and dormer windows of the Octagon Building. (Source: the author)

designer's Western knowledge, derived from Victorian Gothic brought by Conder to Japan and his connection with William Burges. The decorative horizontal banding (Figure 5.3) and the eight pediments with dormer windows (Figure 5.4) from the eight elevations of the Octagon Building are other notable features that have British precedent.

The Red House was rebuilt in 2002 after a fire burned down the cruciform building in 2000. The renovation exemplified a notion of adaptive

reuse which can be regarded as a very popular technique in the current built environment in the world 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 (Lee, 2000). In this report, Lee suggested a 'subtractive' approach to restoring the remaining mass of the Red House. The original internal cement skin and ceiling of the first floor of the Octagon Building was removed to re-establish the brick wall and steel-trussed interior. 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 teahouse and central display space. 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 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 the Queen Anne Revival, and it must subsequently seek to understand their influence on Imperial Japan and its then colony, Taiwan. The Red House as a building in itself is insufficient to address the representative historicity, identity and cultural politics of post-war Taiwan. Here the analysis is about the history of the city where the Red House is located in order to clarify the correlation between the building itself as an individual text and the city as its corresponding context. More importantly, it opens up 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-war Taiwan.

After the city area of Taipei had been roughly defined in 1879, the city's urban evolution continued to be pushed by different ruling powers. The architectural representations of these powers emphasise this phenomenon of change. The most distinctive example can be found in the changes and adoption of political powers between the Taiwan *Sotokufu* (1919–1945) and the Presidential Office after the Second World War (from 1949), especially since both authorities were housed in the same building, designed by another *Tatsumo* style Japanese architect who worked in the *Sotokufu*, Nagano Uheiji. Similar to 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.

The name of 'Taipei' at the very beginning was an indicator (from its *Han* initials) of a tribe's geographic location on northern Taiwan '臺灣'北'部. That is, the word 'Taipei' referred originally to an area in northern Taiwan. During that time, the locale of today's Taipei before 1875

employed the name *Monga*,<sup>8</sup> which was one of Taiwan's three major settlements<sup>9</sup> of the time. The area of Taipei in 2000 BCE was a basin. 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. Before Taipei had been 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, settled in *Monga*, this area was the home to the *Katagalam* people, who formed one of Taiwan's earliest *Pingpu* (native plain-living) ethnic groups. Tribal society was the major social mode of the time. The Chen Lai Chang Organisation settled in the neighbourhood, digging the land and exchanging goods with the *Katagalam* people and the Spanish. The Spanish established a colony in northern Taiwan at that time; in 1626 they built forts in this area called San Salvador and Santo. The Spanish at that time mostly used this colony as their trading base between Asian countries and the chief interaction with the *Katagalam* people was through missionary work.<sup>10</sup> After the Cheng Family's rule, the Manchu Ching Empire took over as the ruling power in Taiwan in 1684 and set up the Taiwan Prefecture as the central political foothold. Owing to the massive expansion of the population later, the Taipei area was separated from the Taiwan Prefecture, authoritatively becoming the Taipei Prefecture in 1875. Yet, until that time, Taipei was still a name representing the geographic area of northern Taiwan.

In 1875, the area was officially established as the Taipei Prefecture and the Manchu Ching Empire built the wall and five gates defining a district containing all the prefectural buildings in 1879 called the 'Inner City'. Today's central city area was generally defined by this 'Inner City' and two other major footholds – *Tataocheng*<sup>11</sup> and *Monga*. These three major settlements were known as the 'Three Cities Area'. 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 conventional southern Chinese city plan and had a consideration of its *fengshui*. More precisely, the 'Inner City' followed two axes: the first obeys the landscape of the Taipei basin area and the second corresponds to the Cynosure. Moreover, 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. Nonetheless, changes to political power over the decades gave this city a hybrid and paradoxical appearance. In 1895, the Ching Empire signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, 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 Taihoku City (1895–1945), which was officially proclaimed an administrative city in 1920. The 'Inner City', during the Japanese period, was only to be inhabited by those 'authentic' Japanese who directly settled in Taipei from the Japanese proper. At that time, the 'Inner City' area was re-zoned and the

existing street-naming system was replaced by a block-naming system. Thus the 'Inner City' area at that period had no detailed names of main streets but only blocks in the typical Japanese *Machi* habit.

The Red House, in the history of Taipei, was constructed in this period within the newly planned Ximen *Machi*. The Japanese instigated two significant acts of city planning in 1900 and 1905 to re-zone the 'Three Cities Area' in preparation for the founding of *Taihoku*. The West Gate area of the 'Inner City' (also known as Ximen *Machi* since 1900) during Manchu Ching rule was a poor area, consisted of nothing but farms and a cemetery. However, 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 began to develop it. The Japanese government first dismantled the existing wall and drew a new boulevard along the wall line called Ring Garden Boulevard (also known as Three Lines Boulevard, indicating the modernised wide boulevard along with two median strips). In order to make the environment correspond to this new Western-style boulevard, the colonial government planned to dismantle not only the walls but also the rest of the five existing city gates (Figure 5.5). Nevertheless, strong resistance from the public eventually forced the new ruling power to cancel the plan. The West Gate, consequently, was the only gate to be demolished in the re-zoning city plan during the Japanese colonial period.

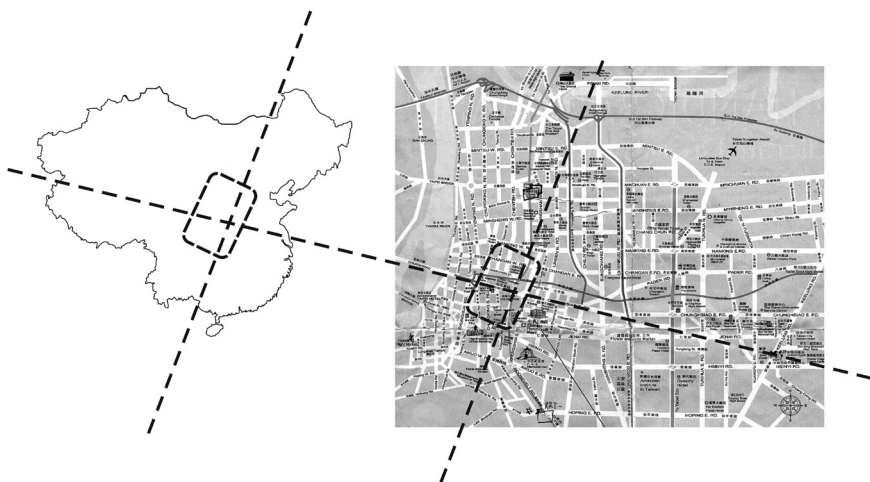


Figure 5.5 The present-day North Gate, Taipei, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

Therefore, Ximen *Machi* was reconstructed as Taihoku's entertainment centre. The city was reconstructed following ideas of Japanese-Westernised urbanisation and most of the commercial functions were collected in Ximen. 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 had a Shinto shrine built alongside the Octagon Building. 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 US bombing in 1945 and no longer exists. However, a reconstructed structure of the shrine today has become a key element in the revitalisation of the neighbourhood as a community cultural landmark, and it stands along with the Red House as a critical marker of change in historical reception, testifying to the site's interaction with ideological nobility, symbolic pauperisation and today's quotidian community function. 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'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.

In 1945, the KMT took over as the new coloniser 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 altered by the new authority. The KMT government in 1947 commissioned Shanghai architect Chen Ting Pang to devise a replanning programme aimed at removing 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 the reforms of Imperial Japan which had aimed to bring about modernisation, was full of nationalist and nostalgic consideration. Chen overlaid a map of the ROC China onto Taipei City and, with the 'Inner City' area as the centre, drafted a miniature of the ROC over the top of the city (Figure 5.6). Interestingly, because the Japanese set up the block names replacing the street names which were set in the Ching period, Chen was able to straightforwardly apply the geographic miniature to the void roads and streets of Taipei. If the 'Inner City' area is read as the centre of ROC China, the major names of the provinces and cities in the continent can be easily traced from the corresponding geographic locations. Moreover, with respect to the rest of the roads and streets, which were newly constructed or could not be accurately applied with the geographic miniature, some ideological principles were utilised as the guidance. The terms of political propaganda such as 'restoration', the ethnic and moral values such as 'faithfulness and filial piety' and the names of politicians such as 'Sun Yat-sen' were examples.





*Figure 5.6* The ‘miniature of the ROC (including today’s Mongolia)’ imagery and the present-day central city layout of Taipei. (Source: the author)

On the other hand, the city’s physical growth in the immediate post-war years also impacted on the city fabric and cultural politics. The Japanese had applied Westernised city planning to Taihoku and the gridded sub-areas can be roughly read from the later street plan of Taipei in the last decade of Japanese rule. During the 1950s and 1960s, the KMT began to build up the east part of the city based on the existing street grid that the Japanese had left. The ‘Inner City’ area, as the result of the expansion, eventually became a marginal district, no longer crowded as the focus of the city. Due to the growth towards the east and the rapid development of the urban landscape, Taipei in the 1990s revealed a modern-traditional paradox in its spatial representations. Likewise, Ximen *Machi* was also impacted by saturated residential density and the transfer of the city centre away from it. It became an out-dated and neglected area. The Red House, formerly one of the area’s characteristic landmarks, finally fell into disuse within an environment that lacked public security and sanitation. This condition 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 out-dated district were 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 ultimately demolished had there not been an awakening consciousness in the 1990s which urged the populace to preserve and restore this cultural site. The adaptive reuse of the Red House in fact reflected the urban crises and popular anxiety in Taiwan in the 1990s.

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 and reconstructed the previous spatial morphology. To be precise, the physical parts of the reconstruction were focused on the surrounding mass of building and the building's integration into the neighbourhood. The revitalisation of the front plaza as well as the row of shops represented community consensus to restore the Red House as a community landmark. Furthermore, the reconstructed structure of the Shinto shrine, which was destroyed in 1945 at the same location, also refreshes the symbolic recognition of native beliefs and cultural locality as a meaningful constructed identity (Figure 5.7). The plaza of the Red House nowadays, outlined by a steel structure implying the shape and the location of the once existing Shinto shrine, not only forms 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 an indicator of a revival of a cultural centre within Taipei, evidencing the origins of the city and its remarkable character derived from the various past powers, far from the nationalist imposition of the Martial Law period. The Japanese past, from a cultural-political perspective, is a historical fact that cannot be ignored. This presents a change in the view of Taiwan's colonial past today, from the adoption of a political prejudice to quotidian cultural communication. The past could be bloody and negative, yet its communication with the present can, nevertheless, be meaningful and contribute culturally to society and the built environment. As a Western architectural implantation in colonial Asia, the moral nobility of the Gothic has been once again 'revived' after the renovation of the building, and the original quality of social hierarchy has been transfigured into a day-to-day quality in the current spatial context of community.



Figure 5.7 The reconstructed Shinto shrine at the Red House, Taipei, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

**Kaohsiung: Taiwan's 'other capital'**

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 always shows forms of national symbolism. Yet, the question raised here is: Does this ideological symbolism provide a realistic scenario of Taiwan's common post-war built environment? The answer would be affirmative if one were to read 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 individual consciousness in society encourages a drive to earn tangible goods necessary for living. The sense of suppression in society has gradually been superseded by forms of so-called democratic freedom.

Most importantly, Taipei has failed to meet the Nationalist Party's early expectation of its 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 it does not adequately represent 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 has failed to be perfectly applied to the other cities, even to building objects, in Taiwan today. The example of the renovation of the Red House, to a certain degree, is a reflection of this phenomenon. In other words, as a response 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 disappeared either domestically or 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 section therefore examines cases of post-Martial Law Taiwan which are in contrast to the situation of Taipei and are closer to the common scenario of the post-Martial Law built world – reflecting, in a way, 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 takes as its starting point a crucial element existing in Taiwan as a form of authenticity no matter whether in society, history, culture or even many other forms. This element is beyond any 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 response 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, might seem to be irrelevant to its cultural identity except that any island state needs its maritime connections in order to survive. It might appear less important compared with Taiwan's former primary identity as Chinese which is represented worldwide by its 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. As one of the foci in this study, the maritime connection cannot be adequately explored by looking at 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. A different case, which has analogical and chronological similarities with Taipei, but which has less relation to power intervention and more correlation with Taiwan's authentic maritime context, is analysed as a comparison and contrast. As a contrast with Taipei, the study here intends to sketch post-Martial Law cultural politics using different architectural imagery and its representative identity construction. As in the example of Taipei, a building is discussed after its history and urban context are analysed, and the building strategically selected here is the Kaohsiung Municipal Museum of History in Kaohsiung.

Extending the observation from a building to its context, Kaohsiung grew out of a dramatically different history to that of Taipei, with a relatively 'singular' cultural atmosphere, creating its well-known role as Taiwan's 'southern capital'. The decision to use the appellation 'capital' to describe this municipal city was officially announced by the authorities and has been extensively recognised by the public since the DPP mapped its distinctive success in the mayoral elections of Kaohsiung. This political success remains unchallenged: the DPP won the election of Kaohsiung mayorship in 1998 as the first non-KMT-affiliated leader of Kaohsiung after the end of the Second World War. The DPP and its candidate for the 1998 mayorship of Kaohsiung City, Frank Hsieh, proposed their *Pentu Hua* (Taiwanisation) political slogans to make Kaohsiung 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' by politicians, academics and the mass media. By common consent it has become the norm to measure off the 'domain' of Taiwan's southern politics by using Choshui River<sup>12</sup> to divide Taiwan into two parts geographically and geopolitically. Evidence suggests that several

recent crucial elections still bear witness to the fact that the DPP's political domination in Taiwan frames the majority of the island's southern political territory. A very recent example was the 2010 Five Special Municipality Elections for mayors and city councillors. Bruce Jacobs observes of this election that:

The strong geographic pattern of a 'green (DPP) south and a blue (KMT) north'<sup>13</sup> 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 per cent 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 . . . <sup>14</sup>

The word 'capital' has been used in relation to Kaohsiung only recently as a political slogan and, according to Jacobs's critique, this situation is chiefly caused by ethnic confrontation in post-war Taiwan. However, both the recent flowering of the city's landscape, which has encouraged the growing trend of calling it a 'capital', and Kaohsiung's early appellation *Kang Tu* (harbour city) since Japanese rule seem to have already evidenced this deduction regardless of whether in terms of the city's multiform cultural imagery or its complex history.

Kaohsiung is by no means the only harbour city in Taiwan. But the term *Kang Tu*, interestingly, has a fixed identity in Taiwan, which has always referred to the city of Kaohsiung since the commencement of Taiwan's modernisation and urbanisation from the mid-Japanese era (1930s) onwards. This shows the high correlation between Kaohsiung's social political context and its historical significance to Taiwan. The location of Kaohsiung was directly highlighted by its significance as a natural lagoon port, a fact illustrated by an early nautical chart made by the Dutch indicating this area as an important trading foothold in Taiwan.

Historically, the city of Kaohsiung was the home to a *Pinpu* tribe, *Makatao*, and the area was known as *Takao* which originated in the *Makatao* language meaning 'bamboo forest' and this implies that early on, bamboo was Kaohsiung's environment. *Takao* in the early period under Dutch rule was only a fishing village. At that time, the Dutch traded salt with the *Makatao* people in exchange for deer meat and fur – deer was the major animal

hunted for meat 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 the chief centres of local politics. Among many camps there was one, established close to *Takao*, which became a settlement of Kaohsiung City, called Tsoying (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 ensure its capacity for independent salt production. *Takao* was one of the three major salt farms in Taiwan at the time. The early function of *Takao*, 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, subsequently creating a county called Fengshan County near the Tsoying camp. At that time, *Takao* 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 *Takao*. The British and Germans also established consulates in *Takao* which they considered as a crucial foothold for their international trade. From this period onwards, the major settlements in the neighbourhood of *Takao* began to expand from the Cijin Subsidiary Island (which encloses the lagoon between it and the Kaohsiung plain). Meanwhile, the salt industry in *Takao* during this period continued to expand as a leading foothold of salt production in Taiwan. In the 1890s, the income from selling salt from *Takao* accounted for nearly 40 per cent of Fengshan County's total annual income (Hsu, 2007).

The year of 1895 was a crucial point in Kaohsiung's history, turning the area 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 proposals – to build the first *Tsung Kuan Hsien* 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 by another important person, Goto Shinpei.<sup>15</sup> The first complete section of the railway was from *Takao* to Tainan, which switched the position of Kaohsiung plain from a poor fishing village to a strategic, crucial and well-known *Kang Tu* in Taiwan.

*Takao* 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 terms of its geographic advantage as a natural lagoon and its

demonstrative significance with regard to Japan's *Nanyang* colonisation. As a consequence, the Japanese expanded and reinforced the port in *Takao* three times in the years from 1908 to 1937). The port construction, which included Taiwan's first land reclamation from the sea, established the first city centre of Kaohsiung called *Hamasen*. The name *Hamasen* originally gained its name from the Japanese pronunciation of a newly constructed railway station (in the Japanese language, means a railway alongside the seashore) on this new land in order to establish a convenient method of transportation to the port. In the same year when the port construction began (1908), *Hamasen* was being carefully planned as a city intended to contain approximately 42,000 persons and to 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 one of the most important cities in Taiwan. This phenomenon could be seen in the flourishing development of *Hamasen* and the increasing size of the 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 resulted in a shortage of land in the urban area, as *Takao* grew rapidly from a salt farm-based fishing village into an international-level harbour city within a decade. This situation forced the Japanese colonial government to consider reforming the industrial structure of the city, which was to cease its salt-producing industry and reclaim land for more efficient usages. Although the salt farm in *Takao* of the time before and after 1906 had become the first source site of salt in Taiwan, the entire salt-producing industry in Taiwan had already been developed to a certain scale, and had been able to export by itself since 1900. In other words, comparing the loss of the smaller income from producing salt with the large profits to be derived from the rapid expansion of the port facilities, 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 tsubo (units of area), i.e. roughly 1,700,000 square metres, eventually, became *Takao*'s second-generation political centre and the trigger for Kaohsiung's modernisation and urbanisation. Most importantly, it is the location where the Kaohsiung Museum of History (then the *Takao* Municipal Office) was built, called *Yancheng Machi* (literally the salt farm).

In the 1916 *Takao City Planning Report* produced by the government of the time *Yancheng Machi* had already been recognised as a potential centre for commerce, industry and residence, as well as for entertainment, in terms of its closeness to the political centre of Kaohsiung, *Hamasen*, at that time (Chan, 2001). In the 1920s, *Yancheng* underwent a series of expansions by being combined with its neighbouring *Machi*, which clearly indicated its future growth. Simultaneously, in 1920, the name of *Takao* was officially amended to 'Kaohsiung' 高雄, which took a similar sound of the Japanese

pronunciation of *Takao* 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. In 1939, the *Takao* Municipal Office was relocated from *Hamasen* to Yancheng, which announced the political and economic significance of Yancheng with a distinctive flourish. This situation peaked in the early 1970s.

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 as a *Kang Tu* in Taiwan. After the Nationalist Government's power change in 1945, an attempt to develop Taiwan's economy became evident in its urban landscape. As an existing major international harbour city in post-war Taiwan, with its political correlation with southern Taiwan, Kaohsiung was naturally given the role of handling industrial development by the Nationalist Government. This contrasted with the symbolic political significance and role of Taipei, evidenced by the fact that Taipei was the previous location of the Japanese *Sotokufu* – the political foothold of its Taiwan colony.

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. Studies of Kaohsiung's industrial transition that look at the distribution of industrial development in the city from the late Japanese years to the period after 1998 show that the extent 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 urban development to evolve in a different direction that was no longer based on Kaohsiung's industrial advantage and 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.

During the Pacific War, Kaohsiung became a vitally important base for the Japanese Empire, assuming great military significance as a harbour. Nevertheless, this significance made it a target of extensive bombing by the Allies and serious damage was inflicted upon the city. After the end of the Second World War, the Nationalist Government established a central



governmental level institute, the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau, to be in charge of reconstructing and managing port affairs.<sup>16</sup> 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 made a vigorous recovery 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.

In the Martial Law period, the influence of US Aid made itself felt by means of not only its financial support but also its cultural stimulation. The United States sent a Military Assistance Advisory Group to Taiwan after the war in 1951, and four years later the Seventh Fleet of the United States was under orders to patrol the Taiwan Strait. Later, in 1965, the Vietnam War occurred. At the same time, 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 between the 1940s and 1970s. Importantly, American soldiers during this period not only increased the 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 the political significance established by the Japanese Empire. More precisely, the place was Yancheng rather than Kaohsiung.

After the Second World War the *Takao* Municipal Office was retained and adopted to be used as the City Hall by the KMT mayors. When they subsequently vacated the building in 1992, the move hinted to some degree at a plan to relocate the political as well as the social centre of Kaohsiung City to another site outside Yancheng. Changes in the neighbourhood of the City Hall building replaced its thriving image with an atmosphere of depression between the early post-war 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 Tu* in Taiwanese people's minds. Although the old City Hall building in the Martial Law period from the 1940s to the 1970s was inscribed with different historical, social and symbolic meanings, this building occupied 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 always showing crowded traffic, emphasised its political importance. Moreover, the site opposite the old City Hall building alongside the river was also influential in the transition of the old City Hall building. This site was

originally a factory, yet when the *Takao* Municipal Office was located in Yancheng, the site became a racetrack and was also used for military training, public demonstrations and commercial performance in the Japanese period. When the KMT government took over ownership of the City Hall, the site was redesignated as a common sports ground for the populace. However, government-organised demonstrations as well as professional sports competitions were also frequently held at this ground. This sports ground was turned into a place housing commercial activities in the 1970s, which also reflected the later relocation of the Kaohsiung City Hall when the Yancheng district was facing depression.

Yancheng began to lose its position as Kaohsiung's political and economic centre from the 1970s. 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 with it a park at ground level as a physical stimulus to the recovery of this once flourishing district. The subterranean shopping centre, the first of its kind in Taiwan, was built to a modern three-storey design and its opening was well received by the public; it remained as a successful commercial hub in the old City Hall neighbourhood for a while. The park above it consisted of a Chinese garden using mainly traditional architectural elements such as a Chinese pavilion and fake waterfall. However, this attempt to revive the dominant position of Yancheng in Kaohsiung was not sufficient to withstand the relocation of the city centre nor to provide an answer to social anxiety about cultural authenticity as a form of locality for the populace as indigenous consciousness arose as a mainstream value in the 1970s. The lack of public sanitation and security ultimately became the backdrop to the failure 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. The following year a fire destroyed the shopping centre, and along with it the park. Although the shop owners mounted street protests in their attempts to force the government to reconstruct the shopping centre, it remained unchanged in its desolate burnt-out state for years. The closure of various previously well-known landmarks such as the Far Eastern Department Store<sup>17</sup> increasingly added to the visibility of the economic slump in Yancheng. In addition, the decision to split the management of the harbour and the city between the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau and the city government also made for a sense of separation between the populace and Kaohsiung's maritime landscape. This separation not only caused anxiety in respect of the cultural locality of Kaohsiung but also accelerated Yancheng's depression. When in 1992 the City Hall was relocated to its current site, it was tantamount to an announcement that the bloom of this area had now been relegated to 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. On

the one hand, this move showed that the new locus of the Kaohsiung City Hall represented an attempt to highlight a change of city scale and the creation of a new urban identity with a strong technological and industry-oriented city image. To correspond with this image, the new building was of a modern design, incorporating modern materials, and it was located in a brand new and internationalised district that did not have 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 impoverishment 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 – were eventually erased 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 images of stasis, desolation and environmental decay such as the presence of prostitutes and gangsters and illicit construction all around the neighbourhood.

The old Kaohsiung City Hall, built in 1939, had been designed by Oono Yonezirou, who worked with the *Shimizu* Corporation<sup>18</sup> at the time. The building functioned as the *Takao* Municipal Office in the Japanese period and it acted continuously as the City Hall of Kaohsiung when the KMT ruled the city after the Second World War. After 1998, the building was renovated as the Kaohsiung Museum of History and listed as a historical site in 2004. The year 1939, when the building was built, was the peak time of Japanese imperialism in world history. Japan had been involved in the Pacific War<sup>19</sup> since 1941 and the biggest port city in Taiwan – Kaohsiung – which was also the then southernmost city of Japan's colonies, turned out to be the most important foothold in its Taiwan base to commence the attack and demonstrate its colonisation of *Nanyang*. In order to build up a symbolic image of the empire the colonial government of Japan began to construct a series of public buildings in the so-called 'Imperial Crown Style' (some simplified examples were also called the 'Asian Renaissance Style').<sup>20</sup> The 'Imperial Crown Style' building is in reality a symbolic building style representing the powerful empire by showing eclectic building forms overlaid onto a modern structure. Distinctive examples in Taiwan are the former *Takao* Municipal Office (1939) and the old Kaohsiung Main Station (1940) (Figure 5.8). The *Takao* Municipal Office was later taken over by the KMT 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 publicly reopened as the Kaohsiung Museum of History. In 2004 the building was designated as a city-owned listed building with regular exhibitions of Kaohsiung's historical, social and culture footprints.



*Figure 5.8* The old Kaohsiung Main Station building, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014.  
(Source: the author)

Shimoda Kikutaro was the Japanese architect who first developed the prototype of the imperial style for the Japanese Empire. From this prototype the 'Imperial Crown Style' and the 'Asian Renaissance Style' were developed and refined and put forward in the entry for the competition for Japan's Imperial Diet Building in 1920 (Fu, 1999). In their details, the styles differ slightly in terms of their ideological design purposes and functions. The 'Imperial Crown Style' building refers to an object which is given a Beaux Arts style body with a Japanese style roof. As for the 'Asian Renaissance Style' building, it is an object which has a modern style body with a Japanese style roof. The differences are also clear from the symmetrical spatial layout of the 'Imperial Crown Style' object (the old Kaohsiung City Hall building is a significant example in Taiwan) and the relatively organic spatial layout of the 'Asian Renaissance Style' (the building of Taipei Broadcasting Bureau<sup>21</sup> is the representative example in Taiwan) (Figure 5.9).

Although the old City Hall building encountered a series of socio-political changes after the Second World War and was eventually renovated as a museum, the building had always represented a focused intention by the designer and the users since it was built (Figure 5.10).



*Figure 5.9* The main façade of the old City Hall building (top) and the main façade of the former Taipei Broadcasting Bureau building (bottom), Taipei, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

A symmetric plan is the most notable characteristic of the old City Hall. There was a rear building to it which was demolished in the early post-war years by the KMT. This rear building and the existing mass indicate the entire layout of the site as a symmetric ‘日’ shape. This ‘日’ shape not only implied a symmetric building plan, along with its administrative function, but also signified a symbolic meaning as the Japanese Empire’s southernmost political centre through an implication of this *Han* character, i.e. ‘日’ refers both 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 that comprises descendants of Amaterasu – a sun goddess in Shintoism.

Aside from the symmetrical spatial layout, there are several features of the old City Hall building that also pinpoint 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. In the centre of the front of the building, the main entrance consists of a portico (*Figure 5.11*), a ceremonial feature often employed in designing a governmental building. Behind the portico is

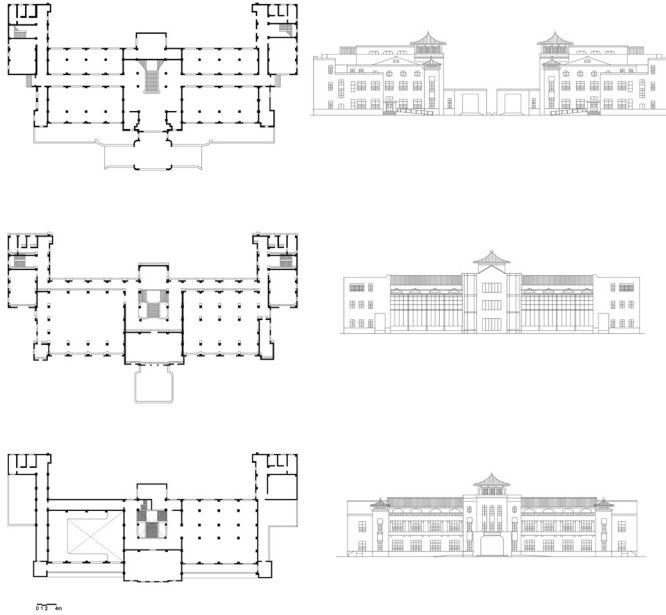


Figure 5.10 The current plans and façades of the old Kaohsiung City Hall building. (Source: the author)

an entrance hall along with a principal staircase, which integrates the entire circulating route. There are six columns around the staircase creating strong imagery that suggests the superior authority of the coloniser. Responding to the eclectic form of the building, the capital of the columns, which embrace the staircase, combines a group of cloud-shaped *Chueh Ti*,<sup>22</sup> which implies traditional oriental timber structure, and the acanthus of the Greek Corinthian order, which demonstrates the result of Japan's Westernisation, referring to the *Meiji* Restoration (Figure 5.12). On the one hand, this 'hybridisation' of the traditional oriental architectural member and typical Western classical architectural pattern metaphorically states a coloniser's supremacy by showing two 'high cultures' imposed on the colony. These two cultural representations, oriental tradition and a symbol of Western civilisation, to a certain extent, implied an intention to subordinate colonial Taiwan's popular culture and more importantly to display a sample of Imperial Japan's assimilative purpose. On the other hand, the use of *Chueh Ti* and acanthus – two symbolic architectural members of primitive buildings in two ancient civilisations – has two levels of implication: one, to create a spatial atmosphere of the sublime, which is unusual in ordinary buildings which existed in the colony; and two, to bear witness to colonial modernity, which showcases the coloniser's familiarity with modern techniques adopted from the Western world and its understanding of cultures and histories both from the ancient Western and oriental civilisations.



*Figure 5.11* The portico at the main entrance of the old City Hall building, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)



*Figure 5.12* The eclectic capital of the columns in the old City Hall building, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

Visible from outside there are three towers along with dark green Japanese tented roofs located at the east and west ends and in the centre of the building. The central tower is the highest one, emphasising a symbolic shape that implies Kaohsiung's *Han* initial '高'. It draws an analogy between symbolic representations of the building not only as the city's political centre but also as the southernmost foothold of the empire (Figure 5.13).<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, the surface of the building is decorated with traditional Japanese textural patterns (Figure 5.14), once again suggesting a harmonious mixture of different civilisations through cultural and architectural inscription.

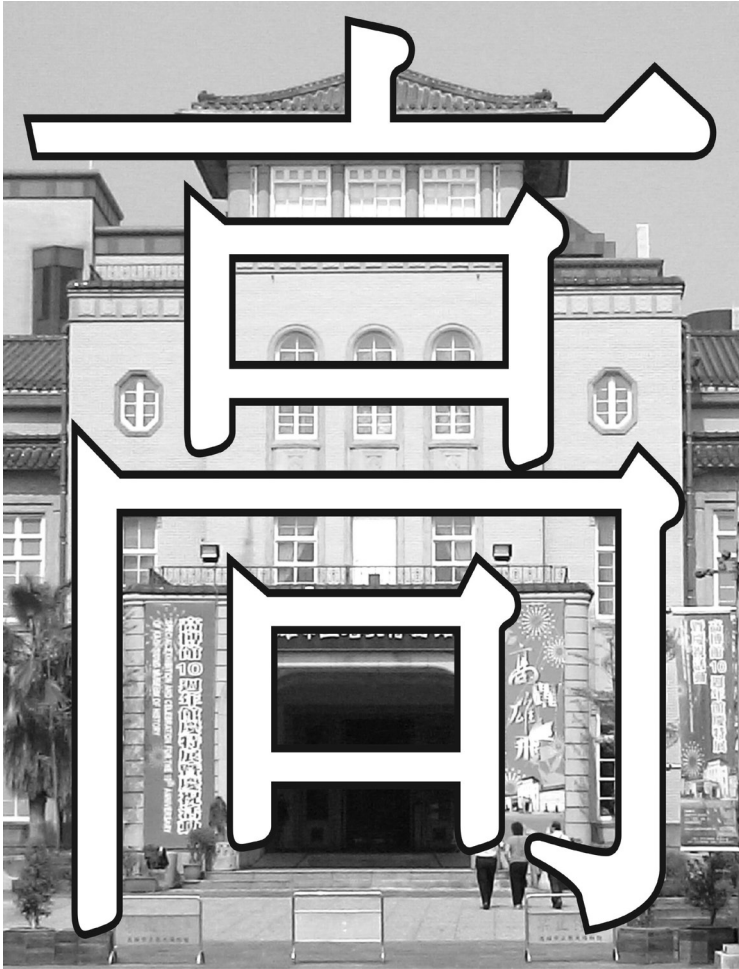


Figure 5.13 The central tower of the old Kaohsiung City Hall and its implication of the *Han* character '高'. (Source: the author)





*Figure 5.14* The decorations of the old City Hall building, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

When the City Hall was relocated to the current site in 1991, a debate whether the old City Hall building should be retained or pulled down suddenly emerged as a popular issue. In 1993, thanks to strong public support, it was decided to preserve the building. The commission for the conservation project was won by architect Lin Kui Jung the following year. The renovation was completed in 1998 and the building was officially opened in the same year as a museum of history. The old City Hall building originally comprised a laterally wide front rectangular building and a rear building. The rear one was demolished after the Second World War, 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 one was partially rebuilt (*Figure 5.15*).

As a key building in Kaohsiung's urban context, the old City Hall displays an emergent consciousness of restoring cultural-political identity by looking for particular locality as well as its lost popular memory. The old City Hall building, as a representative of popular memory and a native landmark, ultimately escaped the fate of being demolished thanks to the resistance of the bottom-up forces. 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 reconsider opening the building to the public. Architect Lin Kui Jung took on the commission to renovate it as the site for the Kaohsiung Museum of History. The burnt-out underground shopping centre was remodelled as the 228 Memorial Park to be linked to the museum and this was supported by local NGOs and local cultural and



*Figure 5.15* The present-day rear building, the old Kaohsiung City Hall, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

historical workshops. The environment of the old City Hall neighbourhood, which had always lacked 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 enable it to become a centre of Kaohsiung in a positive sense. 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 on its cultural significance.

## Summary

For a long time, the imposition of the KMT government's political ideology had been 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 regarded as the typical face of 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.

Seen in the light of 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. Intentional neglect or refusal to acknowledge spatial evolution, following the lessons of 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-war 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) has transformed the way of interacting with history, particularly as a reflection on post-Martial Law spatial practices (Derrida, 2000).

The success of renovation projects like the Red House, which had been deliberately forgotten in post-war Taiwanese society, attests to this regeneration as their undeniable identity forms 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 testifies to the interaction of the moral consciousness of architecture, which originated in Western civilisation and was appropriated by Asian colonisation.<sup>24</sup> 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 the perspective of recording post-war Taiwan's urban development or from that of 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 state as a whole.

The fact that Kaohsiung was superseded by the appellation '*Kang Tu*' 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 an example of a typical 'modern Chinese city' in relation to the imposition by the KMT government of its Greater China ideology. Not to mention that the city was the Japanese Empire's southernmost political centre and had fewer 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, in Taiwan's Martial Law history its only importance was 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 an intermediate status 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 it gives an authentic context of 'native-ness' in a cultural juxtaposition. The dialectic of Taiwan's maritime connection has merged

different power interventions with a heteroglossic colonial past on the island in full awareness of a de facto historic and indigenous context. Today, the example of the Kaohsiung Museum of History bears tangible witness to this change in native historiography, framing a new ascendant discourse. More precisely, from the building and the implications beyond the building object 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 in the public's 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)constructed and legitimised in this way, radically changing from playing a subordinate role in the past to taking on a dominant role today.

## Notes

- 1 '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 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 from 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.
- 2 The Red House today is the only existing government-built public market built in Taiwan under Japanese rule; other markets in Taiwan were all reconstructed or dismantled.
- 3 According to architectural historian Lee Chian-lang's research, some specific items were sold in the Red House in 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 for cloth during the holidays also implies that the market was initially set up to service wealthy Japanese families in Taiwan. More details see Lee, C. L. 2008. *Architectural history of Taiwan*, Taipei, Wu Nan.
- 4 The Green Gang was a criminal organisation that operated in Shanghai in the early twentieth century and included numerous members of the KMT. This organisation therefore had a strong political connection with the KMT and held powerful influence when the KMT fled to Taiwan during the 1940s and 1950s.
- 5 The Shaoxing Opera and Beijing Opera are both regional Chinese operas.
- 6 Tatsuno Kingo was one of the first-generation students who graduated in 1879 under Josiah Conder's direction. Tatsuno had a strong influence on 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.

- 7 *Nanyang* was the earlier name referring to today's Southeast Asia commonly used in the Pan Pacific region.
- 8 *Monga* is the pronunciation of 'canoe' in the *Pingpu* language. *Pingpu* refers to Taiwan's early native aboriginal tribes who lived on the plains.
- 9 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 the geographic scales of these three settlements. 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).
- 10 Missionary activity by the Spanish, the Dutch and the British in Taiwan influenced Taiwan's native aborigines a great deal; this is the main reason why most of the Taiwanese aborigines today convert to Catholicism as well as adhering to their own tribal belief.
- 11 The name of Tataocheng refers to this area's original function as a big field where farmers used to dry the rice.
- 12 Choshui River, in terms of its geographic and geopolitical location, is widely recognised in Taiwan as serving as an unofficial boundary between the north and south of Taiwan.
- 13 In Taiwan today, different colours are commonly used to differentiate different political standpoints. Specifically, 'green' refers to the DPP and 'pan green' usually refers to 'native and pro-independence communities'; 'blue' or 'pan blue' specifically refer to the KMT and 'China friendly communities'.
- 14 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* [www.taipetimes.com/News/editorials/print/2010/11/30/2003489756](http://www.taipetimes.com/News/editorials/print/2010/11/30/2003489756). November 2010).
- 15 Goto Shinpei was a Japanese statesman. He served as the head of Bureau of Civil Affairs in Taiwan during the Japanese period. He can be regarded as the most important person in establishing the basis of Taiwan's infrastructure system and modernisation.
- 16 The management and authority of the port, which was handed over to the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau, in fact separated the port of Kaohsiung politically and economically from the city government and caused anxiety about identity on the part of the public in relation to Kaohsiung's cultural authenticity.
- 17 The Far Eastern Department Store has been a well-known chain store organisation in Taiwan since 1967.
- 18 The *Shimizu* Corporation was a leading architectural, engineering and general contracting firm in Japan which offered integrated planning, design and building solutions for a broad range of construction and engineering projects worldwide. The *Shimizu* Corporation in Kaohsiung in the Japanese period had a high reputation, constructing most of the public buildings and doing business in Kaohsiung City for more than three decades. More details of the *Shimizu* Corporation can be found in Lin, K. J. 1997. Kaohsiung Museum of History. *Architect*, 12, 138–139.
- 19 The Pacific War harks back to the Japanese Empire's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere ideology between the late 1930s and the early 1940s. Hence the Pacific War is often called the Great East Asia War.

- 20 These two styles can be regarded as the 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.
- 21 The Taipei Broadcasting Bureau has been renovated today as the 228 Memorial Museum in Taipei City.
- 22 *Chueh Ti* is a member, a decorated bracket, 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.
- 23 The name 'Kaohsiung' was introduced 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.
- 24 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 eras.

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## 6 Theorising urban architecture for the Asia Pacific

### Branding the urban field

The Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History are located in Taipei and Kaohsiung 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 settlements to the present have shed light on the characteristics of spatiality in post-war Taiwan. When referring to a broader context of post-war Taiwan's built environment, and its implications for the theorisation of Asia Pacific's architecture and urbanism, it is necessary to analyse the issues implied beyond this cultural-political interaction between today's Taiwan society and its corresponding architectural representations. Owing to the openness of native society and the awakening public consciousness, i.e. the commencement of democratisation from the late 1980s onwards, Taiwan's social indigenisation has also emerged since then. Intersubjective criticism as a method of approach began to lead popular discourses 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 lifting of the bans on newspaper publishing, the end of the Chiang regime<sup>1</sup> and the biggest massive student demonstration which asked for democratic reform against the Nationalist Government's authoritarian system.<sup>2</sup> These reforms, to a certain extent, enlightened the senses of 'civil society' in Taiwan in the 1990s (Kuo, 2009). 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 local historical sites. At that time, a term from the English language – Cultural Heritage – which is a representation of historic legacies and cultural values was introduced, and the previous term – *Kuchi* (monument) – which mainly highlights levels of antiquity was revised in the building codes. This deed through codification

redefined the scope of implementing historic conservation, predominantly in the architectural discipline, in Taiwan. Codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* witnessed this phenomenon in architectural practices and native historiography. Based on the deed of recognising cultural multiplicity, prevalent in the 1990s, and a sequence of codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* since 1983, many present-day buildings built in the Japanese period which are underlined with de facto historic values but were organised to be ignored politically by the KMT forces are now able to be identified and designated as listed historical sites. This adjustment in policy codification and social appreciation reframes the top-down regulation of historical sites in both the central and local governments in Taiwan. In another word, building codes which are linked to issues of historic conservation hence increasingly approach the popular memory and living experience of the populace in Taiwan in the present day.

Since Taiwan's modern historic legacies became publicly connected to the reality of Taiwan's historic complexity and cultural multiplicity in the 1990s, the movement of historical preservation can be regarded as a representation through its key ideas of revitalising popular memory and cultural locality. These notions, as ways of pursuing a recognised trend in Taiwan society, were accepted concurrently by the state apparatus through the policy of Community Development in 1994 as critical to decision making in spatial practice, and it pushed the construction of 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 methods through government supervision and the general public's everyday involvement. At the social level, this movement is commonly known as communitarianism by local academics, emphasising its notable community meaning. At the architectural level, important preservation projects, such as the Red House in Taipei and the Kaohsiung Museum of History in Kaohsiung, can be regarded as Taiwan's spatial registration of communitarianism after its Martial Law period.

In 2004 the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) officially defined the meaning and approaches of its Community Development cultural policy by differentiating formations of space in connection with the past, present and the future (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2004). Amongst these three chronological groups, preservation of cultural heritage and the adaptive reuse of historical sites have been tangibly fulfilled as the CCA's endeavour to cope with the 'past' and to create a first-class cultural environment. The so-called 'first-class' here is connected to the promotion of the Local Cultural Centre, which has been set up for the 'present' catalogue. Put specifically, the adaptive reuse of historical sites in local cultural affairs is emphasised in the policy as a critical mission. Stimulatingly, applicable buildings under this focus present unexpected complexity and impacts after fulfilling the reformation. The two buildings scrutinised in the previous chapter both demonstrated this complexity.



The subject of adaptively reused historical sites in Taiwan simultaneously arose before and after the Japanese-time-built buildings were publicly recognised in the 1990s. Consistent with Fu Chao-ching's study, the idea of the adaptive reuse of historical sites in Taiwan was first introduced in 1977 by an American landscape architect Lawrence Halprin and later became a mainstream methodology of putting built-heritage conservation into practice in Taiwan from 2001 onwards. The reason why it has become a leading approach in Taiwan, claims Fu, is because of the advantages of building recycling, economic as well as structural durability and mediation between historic facts and modernity (Fu, 2005). However, its presentation met certain complications because of the selection of the building objects and relevant codification. Fu, in 1993, offered a notion that the buildings built in the Japanese period would be challenging but appropriate objects for practising built heritage adaptive reuse in Taiwan. His explanations were:

From a historical perspective to look at the notion of adaptive reuse in Taiwan, the Japanese period is a turning period of Taiwan's modern architectural development . . . Nevertheless, according to the existing *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code*, historical sites built in the Japanese period have been disregarded deliberately in a clear way . . . By scrutinising Taiwan's historical divisions, historical sites built in the Japanese period, which commonly are located in the city centres, actually take the advantages of their quantity and dimensions. Yet, based on the evidence of Taiwan's urbanisation and the rise of property prices in the city centres, it has formed the main reasons why most of these Japanese-time-built buildings were frequently intended to be demolished by the governmental institutes in Taiwan no matter whether in the past or present. Consequently, there is a priority to preserve this group of buildings and through this measure to mediate Taiwan's urban construction and historical building preservation . . . also these buildings have the legitimacy to employ the adaptive reuse notion based on their durability (most of them were made by reinforced brick or reinforced concrete), symbolic function (a critical position which led modernisation to Taiwan's architectural and urban development), historic imprints (well maintenance) and economic consideration for future management.

(Fu, 1993)

Put in a different way, Fu points out that even though these buildings built in the Japanese period are strong candidates for adaptive reuse, earlier professional and academic debate, which largely addressed national identity and economic profit, to a certain degree turned out to be an obstacle to meet the reality. This was so evident in terms of the then tough conditions stipulated in building codes and of public opinion which was ideologically misled.<sup>3</sup>

Nevertheless, this earlier nationalist ideology in reality not only impacted on the preservation of historical sites built in the Japanese period but also of any other 'non-orthodox-Chinese' based sites in Taiwan. Enormous historic sites, therefore, were demolished in Taiwan between the 1950s and the 1970s. Furthermore, rapid economic growth in the 1970s also accelerated this wave of destruction of historical sites in Taiwan because of the intention to reclaim land for the use of commercial projects, which used to be assumed to be a more efficient and thoughtful way of maintaining property prices. This phenomenon and public reception were transformed later by the inspiration of the awakening of Taiwan's indigenous consciousness in the 1980s when the strategy of preserving historical sites was underlined as a practical way of democratising post-Martial Law society, tangibly achieving the social value of retaining popular memory in Taiwan.

This interpretation of changing public reception of historical sites is also held by Lee Chian-lang (Lee, 2008). Lee believes that due to the rise of Taiwanese native consciousness, an unprejudiced treatment of history had already become the mainstream perspective in Taiwan, although history is never objective. Moreover, he also claims that historical criticism made with political bias and the preservation of history that addresses events that occurred in the past must be separated. He concludes two main reasons why the buildings built in the Japanese period were excluded from authoritative protection and even at times subordinated in the Martial Law period. First, these buildings were measured as 'young' objects when compared to Chinese culture's 5000-year history. The other reason was said to be the political prejudice of the KMT, who intended to efface Japan's colonial past in Taiwan. Particularly, Japanese-built constructions are detested in Taiwan because of the KMT's bitterness in defeat in the Second Sino-Japanese War, before the civil war with the Communist Party in China. This nationalist attitude and the 5000-year myth about China in Taiwan's historiography, after years of debate, was finally laid to rest by official bodies, academics and, most importantly, the general public. Criticism and the facts of the past are now able to be differentiated.

Since the methodology of adaptively reusing the historic built heritage shares a rational meaning of the emergent reception of native historiography through architectural practices, it is worth exploring and analysing it both from its social context and its theoretical roots. In 1998 Wang Huey-Jiun proposed that possible issues of Taiwan's historical building adaptive reuse could be scrutinised in three respects (Lin, 1998). First, the building should have a meaning, identifying either a specific design method or material of the time, or even as a landmark in physical or mental ways. Second, techniques adopted for adaptive reuse should be updated and take local circumstances into account. Finally, the effectiveness of both the economy and the publicity should pragmatically divide the reuse approaches into: one, to retain the external shape of the building and reorganise the interior; two, to modify or add partially to the existing building and retain the external skin alone; and three, to reconstruct the building meaningfully. In brief, adaptive reuse

concerns local features, historical circumstances and relevance to contemporary standards of management as well as the surroundings. In other words, it is thoughtful in terms of community standpoints, local and day-to-day based. Although these principles are clear and understandable, there is always something implied beyond the projects themselves, which is related to the broader social, cultural, even theoretical contexts, in a fairly abstract way. The analyses below are divided into two parts. The first considers social and cultural issues beyond the projects themselves. The second, by contrast, uses the physical projects themselves to look at these issues and reflect on them.

Notably, although the functional shifts of the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History – one has changed from a market to a theatre and the other from a City Hall to a museum – are dramatic, the identical current practice of these two buildings, as museums, invites inspection of the interaction between Taiwan's cultural politics and its architectural representations after Martial Law by branding the construction of identity and locality locally and nationwide. The early post-war KMT historiography consisted of the myth of the 5,000-year Grand Chinese history in Taiwan and represented the official voice. The post-Martial Law *Pen Tu* (indigenous) way of thinking acknowledged the truth of the 400-year native history of Taiwan. The transition from one historical phase to the other moved cultural ideologies forward, from identifying historical sites from the early post-war *Kuchi*, literally representing levels of antiquity, to the post-Martial Law Heritage, highlighting values of culture. It is this evolution in political and cultural ideologies that links the historical backdrop of Taiwan and its modern presence as a spatiotemporal 'community'. This community, from a transdisciplinary standpoint, is echoed in many social practices such as the introduction of museology which has brought to the forefront as a mainstream strategy the physical realisation of the community conception in the post-Martial Law built environment. The founding of the Kaohsiung Museum of History is one idiosyncratic witness to this phenomenon as the first museum organised by the city government. This institute, as Jeremy E. Taylor claims, is just one of the distinctive examples amongst the dozens of cases in the post-Martial Law period that are

often housed within city-registered *Kuchi*, 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 Museum<sup>4</sup> or categories such as 'national treasures'.

(Taylor, 2002)

This 'museumisation' phenomenon, therefore, becomes a critical topic and one which can be exploited in various cultural affairs.

Unfolding post-war Taiwan's museumisation phenomenon, the analysis should begin from the psychological function of the museum space, which

exhibits the theme of museumisation, tying community philosophy to historical sites in Taiwan. First, the museum's specific characteristic of life styles is a key.<sup>5</sup> Pierre Bourdieu has suggested that a museum has the function of classifying the connection between academic education and applied knowledge: 'one has explained nothing and understood nothing by establishing the existence of a correlation between an "independent" variable, until one has determined what is designated in the particular case' (Bourdieu, 1984). That is, the museum can functionalise the ideological imagery of knowledge by a mixture with daily interests. This mixture, later, becomes a form of involvement. As a result, the museum is able to generate 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"' (Bourdieu, 1984). For the general public, the museum is not only instructive but also accessible. The social atmosphere of the museum, therefore, provides academic and aesthetic knowledge and experiences that delight visitors and produce spaces for meditation. Put differently, this space not only accommodates knowledge but also digests it.

Museum development in Taiwan, interestingly, appears to have split off from this psychological communication into different social contexts. The beginning of Taiwan's museum enterprises can be traced back to the late 1890s, during Japanese rule (Chang, Y.T., 2006). 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 mostly followed a similar philosophy to construct the KMT's dictatorial regime and its organised Greater China 'orthodoxy'. The KMT also always used museums, as the Japanese did, in order to wipe out all cultural-political residues from the previous rule. The National Palace Museum<sup>6</sup> was a typical case. Nevertheless, there was still a slight difference to the founding focus of museums in the late Martial Law period. In the 1970s, as a result of the clear attention to and rapid development of the country's economy, instructive knowledge of Taiwan's modernisation, natural science and geography therefore became the issues on which museum management focused. 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 on this principle.

Simultaneously, the Council for Cultural Affairs was founded in 1981 in response to an emergent anxiety about Taiwan's cultural characteristics. With the establishment of this governmental and directorial institute, museum development in Taiwan turned from applying a centralising national ideology to representing various local cultural structures. This was a change highlighting local identities. The Taipei County Yingge Ceramics Museum, reflecting Yingge town's ceramic industry, was a leading institute of the time. Consequently, in the three decades from the 1990s onwards, the

debate on legitimising the ‘museum’ in Taiwan has put its focus on encouraging local cultural identities. As a result, the CCA’s Community Development Cultural Policy along with its adaptive reuse methodology, and the founding of local cultural centres as a physical performance, have pragmatically hinted at the shared significance of cultural-historical preservation, current popular culture and the future cultural outlook of native society.

The progression of museumisation in post-Martial Law Taiwan, Wang Sung Shan suggests, is a reflection of demands on contemporary society and culture (Wang, 2003). Wang believes that this phenomenon – this ‘new museum movement in Taiwan’ – in reality echoes anxieties about indigenisation, the popularity of education, domestic culture, natural history and humankind’s inhabitation space through actual application – cultural heritage preservation and ecological conservation. In other words, this ‘movement’ not only absorbs the impact from political, economic and academic influences but also comprises the local populace’s effect through their involvement. The rise of locally characterised museums and their forerunners – cultural and historical workshops – has legitimised this phenomenon (Wang, 2003). Moreover, from a bottom-up view, the phenomenon of museumisation links pivotal social resources with communities through branding of cultural localities. A regional museum, or a local cultural centre, not only sells the museum itself but also its localised community and the city which contains the potential of identifying management direction, even revitalising regional industries (Tsai, 2005). Thus museumisation, to a certain extent, adopts cultural commodification as a branding strategy by focusing on indigenous cultural images. This phenomenon is based in forms of constructed cultural identity, native consciousness and Taiwan’s multiform maritime culture that deliver abundant materials for display. Valuable historic relics hence form an active platform for reinterpretation and identity construction. 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 freshly built with an eclectic style, either in a Western Neo-classicist style or a Beaux-Arts Chinese Palace Revival style. Museum buildings endeavoured to show strong imageries of their regimes’ powers and their constructed cultural orthodoxies by educating the public through modern knowledge and imposed or imaginary landscapes of the colonial propers. In the 1980s, when museum construction began to be considered inversely, away from a collective perspective, the museums of the time used newly constructed buildings with a highly technological form to schematise Taiwan’s rapid economic development. In most recent museums, the scales become comparatively smaller than before; the building subjects frequently reuse the historical sites; and the intentions are often multi-accentual but, similarly, endeavour to construct local identities according to different regional, historical and popular memories. Taking the Red House as an

example, the building reflects its quasi-museum function: its communication with the visitors is no longer focused on the 'answers', the nationalist approach that used to be represented by showing valuable items, but on the 'questions', using interrelated and accessible exhibitions such as the history of being a cinema and a theatre in Taipei. The key activities in the Red House are no longer intended to be 'remembered', mimicking the conventional educational exhibition of knowledge or national antiquity, but to be 'explored' amongst textual and pictorial explanations which hint at the presence of the Red House and its previous usages, social conditions and historical contexts. Subsequently, the Red House shows ways of decentralising the building's symbolic meanings into community functions as a growing spatial formation – museumisation in Taiwan.

Hence, the community museum, or the local cultural centre, has become a critical site for public participation and identity construction. Significantly, the adaptive reuse of a historical site is an essential link. Taking the Kaohsiung Museum of History as another example, the reuse of this building too adopts Community Development concepts. In other words, the building was renovated to underline the resources of the neighbourhood; the building was supported by the existing resources of the neighbourhood and the building itself was defined as a valued historical site and follows the recently enacted *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code*. On the other hand, although the time and the approach of the renovation followed this cultural-political movement in the post-Martial Law period,<sup>7</sup> the motif of becoming a public museum in fact was more dependent upon bottom-up mobilisation.<sup>8</sup> There are some other conditions which encouraged the renovation of a historical site in order to transform it into a local museum and an internally connected form of community consciousness and cultural identity for 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.

(Liao, 2003)

In other words, the renovated local museum plays an essential role in conserving a historical site, in connecting a region's past and its future, and in providing the local population with a locus of recovering or constructing cultural localities through the echoing of urban involvement in 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. It is a typical example of a new focus on local histories and themes that emphasise and celebrate Taiwan's uniqueness and its independence from

China or Japan (Vickers, 2007). This growing shift is represented through a commemoration of local socio-political records such as the *228 Incident*<sup>9</sup> when thousands of Taiwanese were massacred by the KMT. The Kaohsiung Museum of History is one of the few places today which memorialises the *228 Incident* in Taiwan. As a shared memory and trauma in post-war Taiwan, the *228 Incident* has become an icon intersubjectively recurring in different social practices. The Kaohsiung Museum of History, which, as the City Hall was one of the locales associated with the incident, witnessed the event, as it were, and interacts with the populace, the neighbourhood and the city as part of the museum's exhibits. The building, on the one hand, plays a role in recording the socio-cultural history of Kaohsiung as an axiomatic demonstration. On the other hand, it has an intersubjective role, memorising the incident itself. The implied meaning of public communication in the building transcends instructive purpose when the Kaohsiung Museum of History is compared with those other conventional museums.

The instance of introducing the incident in the museum not only socially and culturally shows the past and popular memory of Kaohsiung but also reconstructs publicly the urban experience of Kaohsiung spatiotemporally through narrative. Most importantly, by signifying the urban context in the narrative and identifying 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 interconnected vividly to the public. The spatial communication between the museum and the public, therefore, is no longer one-sided but intersubjective, i.e. is accessible as a mixture of academic and life-style atmospheres, as Bourdieu argues. The museum today in post-Martial Law Taiwan has finally presented the psychological function of museum space which was lacking in the past.

### **Semiotic acculturation**

While the Red House and the Kaohsiung Museum of History were developed in two different geopolitical positions in Taiwan and encountered two relatively different historical transitions, they both in the end bore witness to the consensus which endeavoured to employ Taiwanisation and historic conservation to construct a new formation of cultural identity. The latest codification of the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Code* is a submission of this consensus to 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 assembled the multiform cultural-political spaces in post-war Taiwan, together schematising a new spatial formation as a form of identified locality. This spatial form of identity appears to fit itself into the present, to adopt a strategy of being economically efficient and, most importantly, to communicate with the populace by fulfilling an educational function in reminding people about the socio-political context of a place.

Yet, when these two buildings are observed along with their socio-political contexts in different historical transitions, another problematic emerges. These buildings represent concerns with preservation, popular memory, indigenisation and the construction of locality as forms of autonomous consciousness in the post-Martial Law period. It seems, however, that the most distinctive elements in the projects are neither the individual designers who took the commitment to renovate the cases, nor the newly constructed buildings themselves, but the authentic and restored historic remains as well as the spaces which are designated for public communication and exploration beyond the physical constructions. The question here is that external forms seem no longer to be taken as key images of the spatial representation in the post-Martial Law period. During the Martial Law period external forms could be fully used to reinterpret signs of the state and its centralised collective of the time but, by contrast, in the present period it is arguably the case that internal form, as analysed here, can better and more properly shed light on the spirit of historicity.

The point made here is not that there are no tangible references or public values expressed either by those individual designers involved in the adaptive reuse preservation projects, or through those freshly constructed building parts on the sites. In point of fact they present comparatively less importance than the historical sites themselves as well as an internal formation of the space, which are emphasised through an interaction between the general public and the entire project. More specifically, one finds that those individual designers, clients and the newly constructed building parts are decentralised into the conservation, becoming relatively anonymous players.

In the case of the Red House, the interior of the cruciform building in the end ultimately acquired a universal function as the venue for creative fairs or concerts showing certain degree of placelessness, i.e. it is less meaningful with regard to the exterior wall of the building – the retained historic structure. The row of reconstructed shops has an image similar to that of the cruciform building. The Octagon Building and the reconstruction of the shrine, on the other hand, hold the most attractive and interesting elements as well as representational meanings to the general public. In the case of the Kaohsiung Museum of History, its Music Centre and the Commercial and Exhibition Hall nowadays are normally closed unless for special circumstances, such as concerts and fairs. What is highlighted by these adaptive reuse projects is their significance in being renovated as cultural centres or local museums, their symbolic spatiality that forms community consensus, and the individual distinctiveness of buildings, all of which deliver a mainstream sense of cultural-political consciousness as a spatial identity.

From a cultural-political point of view, the post-Martial Law architectural trend in Taiwan shows that the recognition of Taiwan's immediate historicity is subject not only to Chinese culture but also to Japanese, European, popular American and even Austronesian cultures. This important topic, which has been raised amongst various Community Development practices,



powerfully demonstrates that the physical land of the island could not be established as the realisation of a 'home' to the people in Taiwan today were it not for its historic foundations, and this depicts a post-colonial situation of the heteroglossic Asia Pacific. The discussion here, therefore, draws another scale which scrutinises these two buildings as examples of an inter-subjective metamorphosis. That is, the discussion here looks at the buildings as a connection between the place and the people, demonstrated through soft and concrete means. 'Soft means' refers to interactive activities such as local exhibitions, and 'concrete means' refers to the projects as a reconsideration of public space between the polar ends of restricted spaces, namely, between purely private and governmental spaces.

When one reads the architectural practices as the representations of Community Development, which have already been strongly marked in the post-Martial Law Taiwan, there is a noticeable tendency highlighted in the discussions among academics and professionals to theorise this trend of community function in space – so-called communitarianism – by employing notions of civil society and the public sphere. More specifically, these two concepts allude to communication with and actions for the public. To be precise, they claim that spatial practices in Taiwan's post-Martial Law situation are more suitably regarded as a 'forum' or public media in modern society, or, simply as a public space which offers the collective embodiment of popular memory and common good. Hannah Arendt's writing on publicity provides a starting point. For Arendt, human life can be divided into the public and private realms (Arendt, 1958). The public realm, Arendt believes, is shared by 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 varies from privately owned place and the reality, and which accommodates a number of perspectives and aspects simultaneously. From a sociological perspective, Jürgen Habermas specifies the context of publicity by defining a sphere for public opinion, and this argument is frequently involved in architectural discourses. Habermas's idea mainly identifies 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 ultimately was relocated to an acclamation of public communication as its modern role. Amongst this shift of representing the publicity, Habermas asserts that the disappearance of the bourgeois public sphere embodied a subdued connection to politics. That is to say, society and the state, which were powerfully tied together in the past, presented a hierarchical delimitation to the middle-class. Still, Habermas also argues that the bourgeois public sphere, which was established from eighteenth-century coffeehouse 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 inspected the religious sphere of the medieval era, which was converted to a dissimilar 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 in this day and age.

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' (Habermas, 1991). Put precisely, he argues that the public sphere in today's society is, to a certain extent, registered in the form of institutions which are shaped as centres of criticism of such as literature or politics. Moreover, these institutions are able to strengthen the city in its predominance. Critically, this public sphere in the end is involved in the political realm, underpinning itself as an organ of the state, and is also engaged in a critical debate about political issues, becoming a sphere which reflects and expounds civil society and its interests (Habermas, 1991). In other words, the public sphere today, Habermas notes, is a consensual space which covers various subjects in society as a way of achieving public communication and interaction. In this sense, public opinion subsequently represents a consequence 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' (Habermas, 1991), i.e. public opinion acts as a soft but forceful strength in society today.

From an architectural perspective, it is worth pinpointing notions of Critical Regionalism, argued by Kenneth Frampton, and the cultural logic of post-modernism, stressed by Frederic Jameson. By extending Arendt's and Habermas's enlightenment of the public, Frampton sees architecture as a bridge which mediates the public and private realms. This form of mediation, as Frampton argues, acts as a social resistance arising between the public and the private ends (Frampton, 1998). In other words, Frampton suggests 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 (Frampton, 1983). On the other hand, Jameson believes the publicity of architecture has moved towards a post-modern logic as an aesthetic populism (Jameson, 1991). That is to say, unlike the cautious mediation between universalness and a particular locality proposed by Frampton, Jameson touches on the styles of nostalgia and pastiche which are fragmentary and concurrently presented as a cultural trend towards overall commodification. Like the example of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel discussed in his study, the property of the public is represented sharply: he says that 'it does not wish to be a part of the city but rather its equivalent and replacement or substitute' (Jameson, 1991). The theoretical conception of the public, which has been transferred into different ages, is therefore borrowed by scholars and professionals to mount the issue of participation in Community Development. Nonetheless, no matter which direction the public in Taiwanese architecture is reinterpreted, it raises a crucial 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.

(Habermas, 1991)

Put simply, the problematic here asks 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 conception in Taiwan context, its architecture. Taking the two buildings 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 discourses. People talk to each other not only about the buildings but also about histories of the buildings, including histories of the cities where the buildings are located, and the historical events which once happened in the buildings. Concurrently, the buildings too make conversation with the populace: they cast specific issues about which people might not be clear or have noticed. The buildings draw the populace to explore those constructed issues behind the architectural objects themselves. Thus, discourses are produced. Second, the buildings demonstrate a sense of consensus within neighbourhoods. The buildings offer homogeneous 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 (Foucault, 1986). The last level concerns the issue of everyday. Cheng Huang-Er has a reinterpretation 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 (Cheng, 2007). In other words, the buildings make a promise to the community. The issues which are underlined in these buildings might be less weighty for the entire city, even the country; however, they are unquestionably essential to the neighbourhoods because they embrace the members of the community as a form of recognised consensus.

There is a general belief that since Martial Law was lifted in 1987, Taiwan society has moved towards democratisation. However, it is still questionable whether or not modern society in Taiwan is a realistic representation of democracy. Democracy is in actual fact metaphysical terminology when an endeavour is made to apply it to concrete social circumstances such as the social transition of post-war Taiwan. That is, although it makes sense that the crucial notion of being democratic rests on what 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 situation in post-Martial Law Taiwan sits neither on one side of this theoretical framework representing democracy nor on the other side representing an

autocracy, but somewhere in between. This is extensively debated for many reasons, such as the heteroglossic colonial identities and ethnic confrontations, as well as the exploitation of the mass media. This phenomenon therefore roots 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. However it is also not difficult to find that the process of preservation at the very beginning was pushed only 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 at the ballot box for 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 decision-making by community members need active participation from the populace. Certain architectural practices provide a pathway overcoming these concerns. The idea of using the preservation of historical sites to exemplify the concept of the everyday 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' (Chen, 1986). The movement to preserve historical sites in post-war Taiwan could not get rid of the ideology of only defining the site that was contained in 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. Using everyday as a means to revitalise and redefine the general recognition of Taiwan's history has successfully changed modern Taiwanese 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 these two buildings 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 to 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 dramatically different when compared to these Martial Law cases. The movement to preserve 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. 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 trend in post-Martial Law Taiwan is examined again, a converse reflection to this problem arises, one which occurred at the very beginning of the discussion about the embodiment of the community conception in the physical built environment – a bottom-up way of fulfilling community ideas through the individual. 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 regardless of whether or not the political power affiliates with any ideological identity from the past to the present.

The variable and inevitably 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 hybridised successfully together with Taiwan's authentic life as a fundamental element. Second, 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 had formerly been omitted, and Austronesian aboriginal cultures,<sup>10</sup> which have already been largely marginalised and politicised today, and are also crucially inscribed as part of Taiwan's daily life. Finally, the trend towards communitarianism today as a measure of realisation has become mixed with various representations of cultural-political identities to emerge as a unique form in post-Martial Law Taiwan.

These three fundamentals of Taiwan's cultural condition therefore acculturate post-war architecture in Taiwan, presenting a transitional interaction amongst society, human subjects and spatial objects. The cultural politics which is constructed through the architectural museumisation of post-war Taiwan has encountered a three-step move and fascinatingly it has shown a semiotic journey which echoes the transfiguration of the meaning of the Eiffel Tower from its original utility to a universal symbol of Paris as argued by Roland Barthes (Barthes, 1997). In this transition, codes in different time periods are defined differently. Taking the Kaohsiung Museum of History as a schema (Figure 6.1), in the early post-war years, Taiwanese society was suppressed by authoritarian rules. The construction of subjectivity that interrelated to the building object presented a durable form of collectivity as a whole. The building itself was imbued both functionally and symbolically with political powers. In other words, an ideology-driven and superior authoritative institute depicts the object apart from its representative appellation and function, which was initialised as its *Han* character 府 (literally the Governing Hall). The building served the ruling powers of the time and promoted monumentality through a constructed and superior ideology. To a certain degree, the building itself and its representative authority were idolised as a metaphysical 'god' 神 (e.g. the Greater China ideology) in society. Later, when the colonisers' authoritarian ideologies began to collapse and to be replaced by the colonised in native society in transition, forms of reciprocal subjectivities had withdrawn from the building object, making it an isolated one. The building was regarded as an idealised 'temple' 廟 (e.g. a stylistic, isolated and disused former City Hall building) from a cultural-political point of view instead of its previously political imposition. The position of the building was registered as a genealogical 'ancestor' 祖 (acting as a landmark at the 'womb' of Kaohsiung in which it was founded). Its monumental meaning was retained but its social hierarchy became somewhat more inclined towards the general public and away 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 no longer serves to express an idea of unchallengeable political or cultural collective but rather, a fuzzy in-between appropriateness. In this sense, 'museum' 館 (a form of communication with the public), particularly a community museum, often called a cultural centre, is its corresponding title. The monumentality previously imposed on the building still exists but is no longer registered as the priority over the representation of the everyday, and is superseded by forms of community consciousness that actually represent day-to-day essence. The building's once constructed monumentality today is presented as a part of popular memory and a form of Taiwan's immediate historicity 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 (standing for the group of humankind) taking the position even closer to the populace and society.

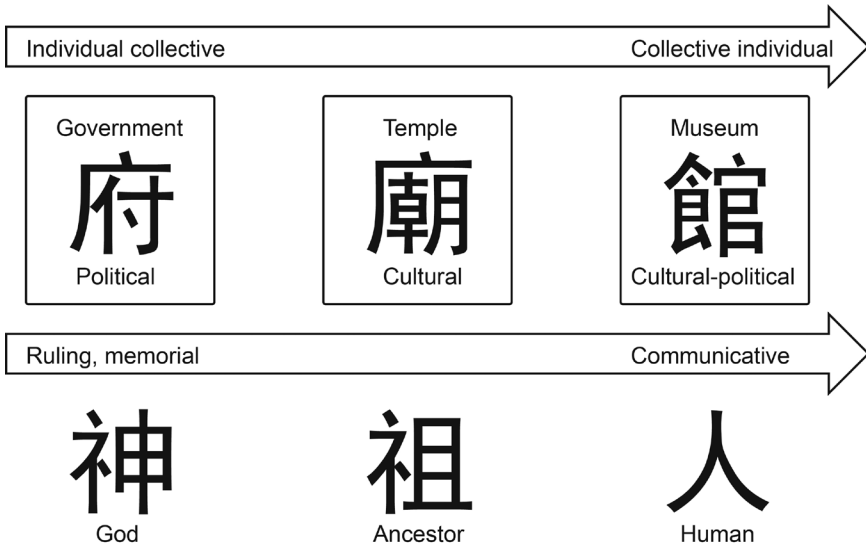


Figure 6.1 A semiotic model of the old Kaohsiung City Hall building. (Source: the author)

This model summarises and integrates theoretical issues involved in the cultural politics that is contextualised by the quasi-colonial character of Taiwan and, broadly, that of the Asia Pacific after the Second World War. It is, therefore, an alternative model that theorises the Asia Pacific's urban architecture differently from those shaped by Western orthodoxy or classical architectural academicism, i.e. it is an explanation made not by the imposed forces or the coloniser but instead by the native, the colonised, or the formerly colonised.

## Notes

- 1 In the first 43 years of its post-war period Taiwan was ruled by the Chiang family as a dictatorship. Chiang Kai-shek held the position of the ROC president for five terms from 1949 to 1972 and his son, Chiang Ching-kuo, took over the position from Chiang Kai-shek after his death for two terms until 1984.
- 2 A six-day student demonstration in 1990 known as the *Wild Lily Student Movement* (or the *March Student Movement*) demanded democratic reform. This demonstration represented the first public social movement in Taiwan.
- 3 The debate about whether buildings erected in the Japanese era are proper to be preserved mainly centred on whether or not they were a kind of 'national shame' or purely a historical fact. Because of anxieties about this, the earlier version of the *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, C. C. 1999. *Taiwanese architecture in the Japanese period*, Taipei, Ta Ti Ti Li. and Chen, C. N. 1998. Historical buildings, architecture and community development. *Architect*, 46–48.

- 4 The National Palace Museum in this research refers to the one in Taiwan rather than the one in China, the Forbidden City in Beijing.
- 5 It is a key in as much as it highlights economic and social conditions of the everyday.
- 6 When the KMT force fled to Taiwan in the 1940s and 1950s, they brought with them most of the portable exhibits which were displayed in the Forbidden City (the National Palace Museum in Beijing, China today). Because of this, the KMT established a 'National Palace Museum' in Taiwan to contain and display these items. In doing so their main aim was to demonstrate that Taiwan possessed the entire collection of the National Palace Museum except for the building itself, which was the core of its so-called 'Chinese orthodoxy'.
- 7 The reuse of the building as the Kaohsiung Museum of History caught the post-Martial Law tendency when state administrative power was decentralised to local governments. Since the founding of the CCA and the enactment of the Community Development Cultural Policy, this was the first public museum in Taiwan to be managed by local government.
- 8 The Kaohsiung City Government of the time planned to demolish the old City Hall building when it was relocated to the current site. However, faced with strong resistance on the part of professionals, academics and the public, the government eventually decided to retain it and renovate it as a museum.
- 9 The 228 *Incident*, also known as the 228 *Massacre*, was an anti-government uprising in Taiwan that began on 27 February 1947 and was later violently suppressed by the KMT forces. The massacre in Kaohsiung started 6 March in the City Hall. According to relevant research, more than 60 people were sacrificed in the auditorium of the City Hall. More details about the 228 *Incident* in Kaohsiung can be found in Lee, S. F. 1998. *Interpretation on 228*, Taipei, Yu Shan she.
- 10 Native aboriginal cultures here refer to aboriginal ethnic cultures which currently exist in Taiwan as well as the *Pingpu* cultures which have largely disappeared.

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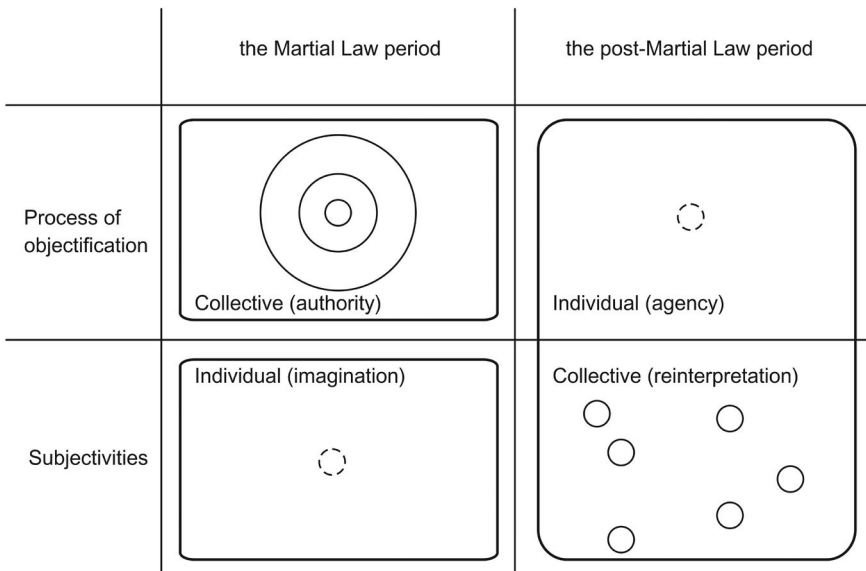
## 7 A paradigm of the contemporary urban Asia Pacific

### Maritime imagery and ‘collective individualities’

Taiwan’s post-Martial Law heteroglossia is the focus of this book. 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 previous chapters, different stories of post-war Taiwan’s spatial and historic identification have 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 Taiwan society through its multiple representations of Taiwan’s maritime culture. Yet its architecture and urbanism, curiously, reflect 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. However, 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.<sup>1</sup>

Reasons for this phenomenon include the remnants of authoritarianism, 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) (Figure 7.1). 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. In the Martial Law period, the position of building objects was dominated mostly by a centralised form of collectivity – the power of the authorities. Like the two buildings analysed in the previous chapters, the Red House was a government-built market place during the Japanese period, which became out-dated due to the relocation of the city centre. This situation was partly due to the development policy of the time and partly due to a repressed atmosphere and 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 that of the Red House, interestingly, it underwent a similar process of change: it was run by government powers and abandoned by the authority for same social reasons. 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 secondhand movies, even pornography, which only highlighted the building itself regardless of the surroundings. The old City Hall of Kaohsiung functioned as a government building and was used to restrict the access of the populace unless they had certain permits or there were 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



*Figure 7.1* An analytical model of Taiwan's post-war subjectivities.  
(Source: the author)

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 thanks to the 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’.

This chapter extends the scope and method of analysing one individual building in a waterfront community in Kaohsiung as an overall discussion of this ‘quotidian’ phenomenon in Taiwan’s heteroglossic urban built environment. 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 reflecting modern society’s spontaneous balance between globalisation and indigenisation. Following this case study, a discussion of popular presentation in society and urban architecture is highlighted in contrast to the 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 maritime 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.

The relevance of Taiwan’s maritime presence was discussed in [Chapter 5](#), p. 75 above. Here, the characteristics of Taiwan’s maritime presence are analysed and contextualised in different aspects which transcend a geographic face alone.

Joseph Beal Steere’s book *Formosa and its Inhabitants*, completed in 1878, is the detailed account of a trip he made through Taiwan in 1873 when he accompanied the evangelist William Campbell on one of his missions. Steer himself was primarily an ornithologist but his interests extended to observing and documenting the people and the island, and his account was collected by the early Western clergy, who recorded trajectories of Taiwan by nineteenth-century Western travellers. First-hand data on Taiwan’s aboriginal tribes and history in this work is a major contribution. In particular, 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 was not observing Taiwan from an anthropological point of view but mainly sees this island from a religious standpoint.<sup>2</sup> According to this survey, at that time Formosa (Taiwan) 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 at that time exhibited language, customs and a way of life very similar to those of the inhabitants of Java and Philippines (Steere, 2002). The west coast, later in the 1870s, according to Steere's description, had been revealed like a real Chinese landscape after its reclamation by the *Han* migrants (Steere, 2002). That is to say, including the very first batch of the 'non-native natives' – the Austronesians, the immigrant dwellers and the constructed environment of Formosa (and the author himself) all testified to a kind of 'foreignness' which was brought across the ocean into Taiwan.

Public reception in history and racial exploration are another level from which to observe Taiwan's relationship with maritime culture. In different receptive histories of Taiwan, regardless of whether they looked at the island and its residents from a domestic or an external standpoint, and regardless of who produced them – the islanders, later migrants or outsiders, Taiwan's history has always been contextualised as part of world history rather than as an individual state history alone. Liu Chao Min investigates this by positioning Taiwan on historical maps. He argues that the first map in the world that marked the location of Taiwan exactly was made by the Portuguese Lopo Homen who used eight pieces of lambskin to map the world in 1554 (Liu, 1994). 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 on maps of China before Matteo Ricci made the first world map that used Chinese characters (Liu, 1994). Chen Fang Ming, on the other hand, examines Taiwan's history as a native historian. He asserts that because Taiwan is an island state which always interacts with external cultures, forms of hybridisation in the characteristics of native culture shape the maritime base of Taiwanese culture (Chen, 1988). Kakubu Naoichi, a Japanese writer who lived in Taiwan during the Ching and the Japanese times, also claims in his field study of Taiwan that significant cultural characteristics of the island and its various racial elements are strongly related to those of parts of Southeast Asia (Naoichi, 1991). 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 it is highly likely that the Formosan languages acted as the hub for the spread of the Austronesian and Polynesian languages (Blust, 1980). By 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 (Li, 2010). 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 Bellwood's research

on Taiwan's prehistory (Bellwood, 2000) and Roger Duff's survey of stone adzes in Asia (Duff, 1970), pinpoint the significance of Taiwan as the basis of the Austronesian languages and as an influential transitional location which witnessed the movement from the Austronesian civilisation towards the so-called Polynesian triangle area (Hawaii, Easter Island and New Zealand). In cultural studies, Liu Chiwai contextualises the maritime connection to Taiwan by examining Taiwan as a part of the Indonesian cultural system and characterising the correlation between this system and Taiwan's *Pingpu* tribes (Liu Chiwai, 1979).

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, looked at from an architectural aspect, there seems to be no correspondence to this maritime character of Taiwan as convincing evidence apart from external forms of hybridisation and compatibility. However, Sumet Jumsai's study of Asian and Pacific regions (Jumsai, 1988), particularly focusing on the architectural registration of 'water symbols', provides an interesting clue to this puzzle. 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, focuses on the ice age (10,000 years ago) and, by contrast, looks at the human and cultural movement from the ocean to the mainland. Most importantly, from a physical analysis of constructed spaces, Jumsai pinpoints an interesting similarity amongst Asian countries that is based on aquatic behaviour. He argues that although aquatic behaviour on the Asian waterfront seems to have been suppressed with the supremacy of predominantly land-based Western culture, 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 Southeast 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.

(Jumsai, 1988)

Jumsai's observation, which is based on the aquatic behaviour of the Asian living space, partially 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 on ideological issues. In other words, everyday life bears even more important meanings than do constructed ideologies, which is gradually accepted and recognised in Taiwan society today.

## The Kaohsiung experience

Evidence suggests that Taipei's 'rightful and widespread' spatial representation, as a sole icon in the best interests of post-war Taiwan, has now been questioned by voices ranging from the domestic to the international. In contrast to Google maps' focus on the 'alien ideologically-driven' city of Taipei, the National Geographic Channel (NGC) film 'Megacities: Kaohsiung'<sup>3</sup> pays particular interest to Taiwan's 'actual face' and pinpoints the implication of this emerging city in Taiwan for the world. The programme describes a city that for a long time was omitted from local discourses and whose existence was misunderstood. The episode was filmed in 2010 after the NGC's introduction of Taipei in 2007; obviously the programme was not satisfactory for the result in terms of seeking emergent cities that represent specific regions. In other words, it implies a sense of curiosity from a global perspective that there must be a different imagery to that of Taipei in Taiwan which, most importantly, represents the majority of its immediate and real urban situations. In this episode, the recent transformation of Kaohsiung was chronologically paraphrased and a longstanding myth and nationalist ideology of 'seeing the world from Taipei' was also rectified in the work. 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 parts 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 it 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 . . . 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 willing 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.<sup>4</sup>

This revolutionary change emphasised in Kaohsiung, undoubtedly, began from an emergent communication between top-down ideology and bottom-up mobilisation, branding the city as Taiwan's 'Ocean Capital'. Its spatial practice, designed to reflect this social interaction, was textually transcribed 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 . . .

*(Dialogue, 2002)*

Former mayor of Kaohsiung Frank Hsieh's ideas of the new city urban planning in an interview with *Dialogue magazine* in 2002 had already outlined the scenario of Kaohsiung today. Hsieh underlined a vivid transformation in Taiwan when compared to its development with a single core in the past. Taipei in the past was everything, playing multiple roles as the political, economic and cultural centre of the country. However today, this situation has been decentralised; Kaohsiung becomes another significant centre in Taiwan as a freshly, or more accurately, a revitalised thematic character in the South. It is characterised by Taiwan's maritime culture that manifests itself in the multiplicity, comprehensiveness and resourcefulness of the city. These characteristics had been missing in Kaohsiung due to a heavy industrial orientation in the past, which had obstructed public access to the ocean, and therefore to the world. Nevertheless, Kaohsiung's maritime character signifies authentic Taiwanese culture which seems to be alive and has already been recovered in recent years as the city's outstanding icon. In contrast to Taipei where the architectural imprint of Chinese culture was greater, in Kaohsiung, maritime features were able to be preserved and revitalised promptly and successfully.

Charged with realising Hsieh's plan for Kaohsiung, the then Director General of the Bureau of Public Works in Kaohsiung, Charles Lin, practically defined the way to change the image of the city in 2002 using three chief elements: (1) deindustrialisation, (2) appropriate investments for the city's development and (3) the adaptive reuse of abandoned public spaces (Lin, 2002). Acting as one of the most pivotal official tacticians in post-Martial Law Taiwan's urban and architectural construction,<sup>5</sup> 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 undeniably a crucial point for post-Martial Law architectural development closely 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.

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.<sup>6</sup> 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 (Chang, Q. T., 2006). Kaohsiung harbour was controlled by a central governmental department – the Kaohsiung Harbour Bureau – for nearly half century after the end of the Second World War. The administration of the harbour, therefore, had less of a link to the city of Kaohsiung.<sup>7</sup> 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.

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. 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 the Second World War. 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 carried out, and these were pinpointed as indicators of action. In 2003, *Hamasen* was renovated; in 2005, the waterfront was redesigned. And in the same year, Wharf 12 was renovated to become today’s Love Pier. In 2006, an international competition called ‘the National Gateway Project’ in Taiwan was held by the central government. Kaohsiung harbour was one of the target projects. 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. In respect of 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. 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 of the city and a sense of its 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.

However, the identity that has been constructed today in Kaohsiung and the city's representation of the spatial identity as a paradigm in post-Martial Law Taiwan are the outcome neither simply of political flux nor of 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 cannot be dealt with either by its globalised living space as a universal 'community' nor by the typical 'community' construction in the official discourse but by 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 is the argument here. It is addressed as a key to critical changes in the city which shows how different the built environment has become in contrast with its past decline. And it is strongly defined by 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.

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 pin-points Melbourne as a typical example not only in terms of its waterfront but also its post-industrial reform (Dovey, 2005). As a financial and industrial centre in nineteenth-century Australia, 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. Just as the current work considers 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 suggested by Dovey in the case of Melbourne's regeneration. Because of the economic transformation in Melbourne in the late twentieth century, which meant that the city was no longer required to serve 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 as an attractive and positive 'new economy' in order to replace the previous run-down character of the waterfront? 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. As well as economic motives, 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. In respect of the remnants of industrial activity in the city area, four principles considered in the Melbourne model are pinpointed as the general basis for regeneration: (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 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' (which often refers to culture as a context) are linked as a strategic 'combination' in implementing 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, 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 (Smith, 2006). 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 Smith calls it, 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 in 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, and which equally stand on the cultural and economic benefits they make. The real Bilbao effect for Smith, therefore, is what one might describe as 'Bilbao affection' because, for him, the really crucial factor is the pragmatic influence of

the Bilbao urban transformation on society today, rather than its cultural meanings, despite the fact that the latter are widely emphasised by many. It is like a sense of fashion which will ultimately pass. The crucial point for him related to the influence caused by the Bilbao case is in fact that it creates a business which 'will be always in time, be forever contemporary' (Smith, 2006).

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' (Ockman, 2004). The situation of Bilbao, when compared with similar examples 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 is 'remote from the main pilgrimage routes of contemporary tourism and requires an effort to get to' (Ockman, 2004). Second, 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 (Ockman, 2004). Lastly, like another iconic example, the Sydney Opera House, the Bilbao museum derives much of its energy from its location on the water's edge which helps to license its formal otherness and sustains its oscillation between the ontology of architecture and landscape (Ockman, 2004). 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 in both cultural and architectural practices. More generally, Melbourne's waterfront transformation and the case of Bilbao alike both present an architectural narrative of homogenisation, commodification and globalisation (sometimes mainly 'Americanisation' when this global 'museumisation' phenomenon is examined); that narrative highlighted here and the entire context comprise the controversy between authenticity (culture) and the building object (placement). To summarise, as Dovey and Ockman have both pointed out the notion of 'scapes'<sup>8</sup> is highlighted as a key when revitalisation is examined as a goal. In other words, various influences, 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 regional additions, the industrial backdrop and the waterfront landscape are often considered as the motifs. As an example, the city revitalisation of Manchester is vivid and evident.

Manchester, like many cities, has experienced great changes taking place after the end of two World Wars, and these changes have been legitimised by its profound history and represented in architecture both formally and politically. Similar to the evolution of post-war Taiwan, the past fifty years has been a pivotal period for Manchester, particularly in its spatial imagery. Lying on the banks of the River Irwell and with the climatic advantages

that the area experiences high humidity, high rainfall and an abundance of soft water, Manchester had become a major centre of the cotton industry and there was dramatic increase in mill building in the nineteenth century (Manchester City Council England, 1995). 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. After the Second World War, all the traditional industries in the region, including Manchester, went into decline. The subsequent 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 research. The fifty-year regeneration of Manchester shows a brief schema to relevant cases. First, the end of the Second World War was the 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 local manufacturing industry caused the following economic depression of the city. In addition, housing problems after the war gave rise to a sickness of the environment and public anxiety. The loss of urban population, interestingly, had occurred simultaneously. The anxiety that people felt as to the city's loss of identity and unconnected popular memory provoked the emergence of a movement to preserve or reuse the historical heritage and to develop new industries. Lastly, consideration of the economic and global profits to be gained led to various bids to host international activities and these too sometimes also acted as catalysts in the 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 is schematised in the 1998 brief, scrutinising the architectural aspect outlined by the *Financial Times*:

Manchester is beginning to look and feel like a European city. Magnificent warehouses from an earlier age are being converted into modern loft apartments 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.

*(Financial Times, 1998)*

Adopting the schema framed from the discussion of regenerating an urban waterfront which had decayed as a result of its slide into industrial decline, 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

the 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 and being a paradigm of city regeneration in Taiwan, all worthwhile issues to be analysed.

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'<sup>9</sup> 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.  
(Yeh et al., 2006)

The discussion starts from a pivotal regional feature: Love River in the city area of Kaohsiung. Love River (Figure 7.2), it goes without saying, is a vitally important base of Kaohsiung, as it flows through the centre of the city and acts as an icon of Kaohsiung. Love River also plays a pivotal role



**Figure 7.2** The mainstream portion of Love River and the city centre of Kaohsiung, Taiwan. (Source: the author)

that testifies to 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 the 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.

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 in its history the river has 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. Before the end of the Second World War the upriver water was mainly supplied by irrigation water and rainwater. However, the source of the upriver water today is mostly industrial and family wastewater. *Takao* River, from the *Makatao* language, was the initial name of the river given to it by the *Pingpu* tribe in Kaohsiung. In 1920, the Japanese officially renamed and developed the city as 'Kaohsiung' when they carried out the threefold reconstruction of the port. The river was also renamed the Kaohsiung River. The main stretch of the river today was established during the Japanese period when the waterfront of the river was reclaimed as the city centre. At that stage, the midstream and downstream portions of the river were radically redeveloped, 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 area of Kaohsiung and industrial transportation was the river's chief function until the late 1990s. During the Japanese period, due to the waterfront, a precinct was planned to function as the city centre and accommodate the government institutes, thus opening up an opportunity to reclaim the waterfront as an attractive area free from industrial activity. After the war, Kaohsiung was consolidated as the industrial centre of the island and therefore the river gradually became contaminated. In 1949, the name of the river was changed to Love River, when the city centre gradually moved towards the east.<sup>10</sup> In 1968, the name of the river was once again changed to *Jen Ai* River due to the KMT mayor's political imposition.<sup>11</sup> However, because this 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.

The landscape and spatial function of Love River and its waterfront were maintained from its very first appearance when they were established by the Japanese up until the early 1990s. During this period, the river was only utilised as a part of the sewer system and for industrial uses such as transporting logs. The whole of the waterfront consisted of concrete banks, used by pedestrians and supporting some plant life, but framing a placeless atmosphere. The bank in the later years of the period even became a site for illicit construction, making the waterfront into an urban slum. Although

the river had already been restored to a healthy condition by the government from the 1970s onwards in order to pacify public opinion about the contamination of the water and the environmental depression of the Love River waterfront, the spatial atmosphere was never addressed as a focus of the renovation. The 'renovation' concentrated solely on improving the water quality.

The renovation of Love River played 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 and its effects had been ignored or disliked for a long time. Everyday life in the city was affected by contamination and environmental depression. As was to be expected, the city's cultural authenticity and locality were also masked. 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. However, at that time the waterfront itself was not the focus. The main focus of the construction was the establishment of the storm-water sewer system and the interceptor stations. Up until 1986 11 interceptor stations had been built and they were listed as a political milestone in the waterfront renovation by the government of the time. Later, the continuing environmental chaos and depression of the landscape eventually caught the attention of the government. From the 1970s onwards until 1998 the emphasis of the renovation was on the dismantling of the illicit constructions and the clearing of the vegetation from the bank alongside the water. During this period, two parks (Sanmin Park 1 and 2) and the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum<sup>12</sup> in the midstream portion of Love River had been built; this was the main outcome of the spatial reformation. These two projects – the parks and the museum – however, apparently failed to regenerate the area since they offered no amenities and were irrelevant to the surrounding communities and the waterfront. Ultimately, they were all abandoned.<sup>13</sup>

The locality and cultural identity of the waterfront have recently been highlighted politically both by the government and by community members. In 1998, the DPP took over the political leadership of Kaohsiung City after the KMT's nearly half-century governance. The 'Ocean Capital' outlook promoted by the new mayor Frank Hsieh and a strong call by the public to recover/renovate the waterfront environment in the city area were the forces behind the potential for transformation of the waterfront. Accordingly, the landscape and the non-physical aspects of Love River began to be considered. The dramatic change and a favourable response to it by the populace became the turning points of constructing a paradigm of spatial identity in post-Martial Law Taiwan. The decade after 2000 was a crucial time for shaping and restoring the 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 . . .

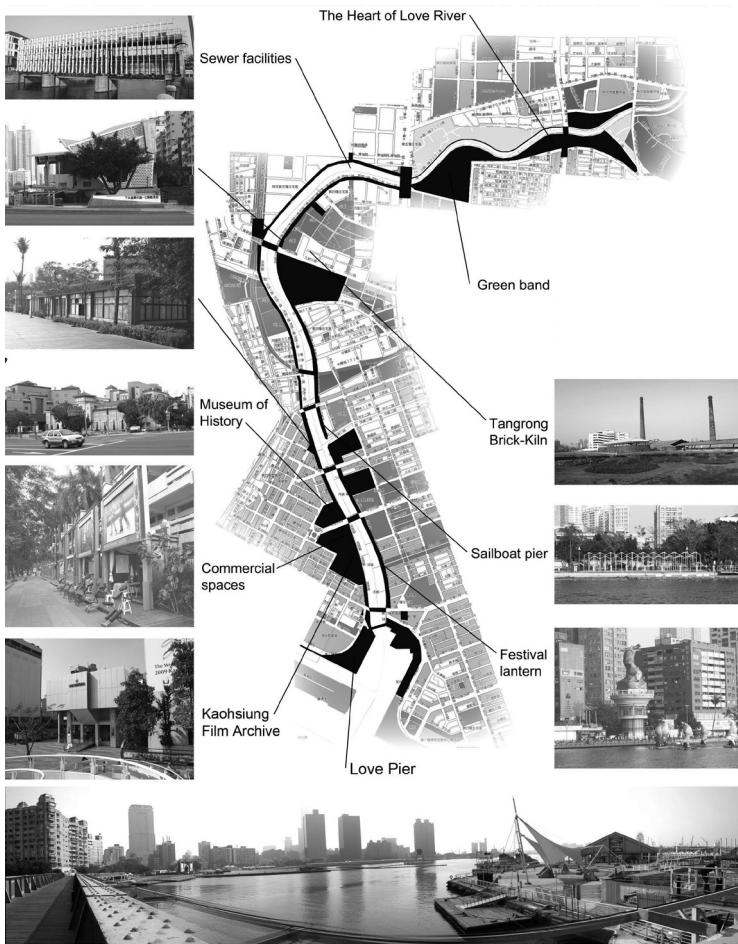
(Tsai, 2007a)

The eight-year long waterfront renovation project was not only the key starting point of the comprehensive landscape changes in Kaohsiung but also laid 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 said that Love River is the focus and conveys the main impression of Kaohsiung's landscape reconstruction. Additionally, the successful experience of transforming Love River has had omnidirectional effects on the city; it carries social and public awareness and further stimulates 'the proud sense of the citizen' (Tsai, 2007b).

The real intention of this study is to examine the spatial reflection of this phenomenon and its social and cultural implications. As the well-known *Kang Tu* in Taiwan, Kaohsiung after 1988 was highlighted as a distinctive example presenting spatial forms of post-Martial Law acculturation. On the one hand, different buildings alongside the river and the harbour present various individualities in today's Taiwanese society. On the other hand, the waterfront community comprises a series of building objects that now characterise the spatial ubiquity of Kaohsiung today both formally and 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. In discussing 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. Second, the idea of community has been involved. Third, 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) in order to revolutionise the early social scenario of sole collectivity. Lastly, there is a strong recognition which has also been generated spontaneously to unite these varied individualities as a specific spatial character. Kaohsiung today has 26 'cultural centres' listed in its official discourse

(Tseng, 2006). 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 functions. The scope of the following 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 projects (Figure 7.3) are discussed respectively and in synthesis with different issues.

First, adaptive reuse as a strategy for spatial revitalisation in waterfront Kaohsiung is very strongly associated with Kaohsiung's deindustrialisation. This is demonstrated in a remarkable way by the rejuvenation of certain disused buildings and obsolete high-voltage towers in what are



*Figure 7.3* The waterfront community and key groups of buildings in Kaohsiung city centre. (Source: the author)

today valueless locations; they are featured in a way that highlights their once spatial significance as cultural and regional icons and as part of the identity of the communities that witnessed the history of the neighbourhood (Figure 7.4).

Ta Yuen Building is one successful example of this revitalisation process. This building was stopped halfway through its construction in 1998 because of financial problems encountered by the contractor. This building therefore had become a dark but marked site in Yancheng in terms of its downside but it occupied a critical geographic position at the outfall of Love River in Kaohsiung. In 2004, this building was identified by the Kaohsiung City Government on the basis of its significant location and problematic situation in the waterfront neighbourhood when the outfall area and the river were being considered for renovation. Thanks to the adoption of an adaptive reuse strategy, this building has now been renovated as an advertising site 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 example, which stresses the process of deindustrialisation in particular, is the Kaohsiung Tower of Light. The industrial background has a



*Figure 7.4* Ta Yuen Building, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010, and the Tower of Light, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

close link with the spatial imagery of the post-industrial status of Kaohsiung today. As Taiwan's once most important industrial city, Kaohsiung installed a high-voltage system which was completed in 1970. This construction, a ground network system, was superseded by a subterranean infrastructure during the period from 1994 to 2000, and the electric cables and towers have been gradually dismantled 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, an idea proposed by the community architects in 2002. In consideration of its historic value and the preservation of collective memory, the City Government finally agreed this proposal to preserve Tower No. 4 as an observation tower. The redevelopment of the tower combines the means of lighting and a 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 has nowadays 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 significance in the recording of Kaohsiung's deindustrialisation process.

This process of deindustrialisation is very much connected to the so-called close-to-water design strategy. The idea of close-to-water design (at times called water-friendly design) is not aimed at making the water touchable, exactly, but rather to make it comprehensible. The renovation of the interceptor stations puts this concept into practice. 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 of longstanding improvements targeted at water quality, the water of Love River is no longer smelly and seriously contaminated. The interceptor stations, nowadays, are in actual fact no longer used but they have been preserved in case of emergency. They all date from the 1970s and they were built only for their physical function, without any consideration of a formal or aesthetic connection to the environment and the neighbourhood. These building masses therefore stand awkwardly right beside the water as a result. When the concept of adaptive reuse arises, it suddenly becomes a proper strategy to acknowledge the existence of the interceptor stations, since these buildings alongside Kaohsiung's waterfront are not very efficient but are 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 how to make them comprehensible as elements of the waterfront landscape that bear the imprint of Kaohsiung's industrial past (Figure 7.5).

The renovation of Wharf 12 is also distinctive. Wharf 12 was a discharge pier for cargo vessels which fell into disuse in the 1990s with the advent of the container ship. When it was renovated as part of the DPP City Government's 'open the port' strategy the wharf, which was previously



*Figure 7.5* Interceptor stations in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010. (Source: the author)

used as a fence between the port and the city, suddenly became the gate and key locale through which the public could access the Kaohsiung waterfront. Wharf 12 was renamed Love Pier by the citizens after its renovation, and it was reopened in 2005 (*Figure 7.6*). The new function of the wharf is designated as a Wharf Service Station taking on the role of passenger transshipment in waterfront Kaohsiung; it has become the hub of the river and maritime traffic in the city today because of its critical location at the outfall of Love River.

Employing 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 7.7*).

From another perspective, it has been argued forcefully by many architectural academics that historical sites in Taiwan were a burden on the city's development in the Martial Law period<sup>14</sup>; however, these no longer play a delimiting role today for the city's redevelopment and renewal as they now embody potential when the issue is covered under the Community Development policy in the post-Martial Law context. The former Tangrong Brick-Kiln (*Figure 7.8*) is the place in which the first *Pakua* kiln (Hoffmann Kiln)<sup>15</sup> was



*Figure 7.6* Wharf 12, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)



*Figure 7.7* The Wharf Service Station and cafeteria, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

built in Taiwan. This kiln was disused for more than two decades, and now it is preserved as an official historical site, designated as such in 2004.

The iconic image of the kiln consists of two chimneys located on the site. The presence of these chimneys has shared different ideologies respectively during different socio-political contexts. The chimneys were considered by the community residents as a taboo in terms of *fengshui* rules in the past,



*Figure 7.8* The preserved former Tangrong Brick-Kiln, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014.  
(Source: the author)

and hence protests were frequently held in order to force the government to remove them from the neighbourhood. Yet, today they are no longer a taboo but an important urban temptation to attract and visitors and tourists in Kaohsiung after the revitalisation of its cultural locality. This change not only brings commercial profits to the community but also largely helps to improve the spatial quality in order to maintain the status quo. The explanation by the former director of the Kaohsiung Cultural Affairs Bureau Wang Chih-Cheng 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 . . .

(Wang, 2005)

As one cultural and historic landmark alongside the waterfront, the Tangrong Brick-Kiln shares significance as a component of the architectural group in waterfront Kaohsiung. This project, to a certain degree, represents a change of local residents' consensus and reception of space before and after a cultural revitalisation from the earlier time to the present. Today, the community members appreciate this site as an asset to the neighbourhood

and those negative impacts upon the community that used to be indicated in *fengshui* principles, interestingly, have been spontaneously converted into positive ones. Correspondingly, on the one hand, the successful works of historical site conservation in Kaohsiung once again echo transformations of public reception in history from the Martial Law period to the present time. On the other hand, the materialisation of the reused historical sites in Kaohsiung, which is categorised as a group of cultural centres, also underpins the notion of community in post-Martial Law Taiwan. This not only recognises the presence of various historic imprints as a fact of history but also absorbs them into everyday life, showing optimistic meanings and even making unique 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 being targets of political criticism.

Being the major waterfront city in maritime Taiwan, Kaohsiung has 27 bridges over Love River within its approximately 10 kilometre catchment area in the city. Bridges, to a certain degree, can be regarded as an important regional characteristic of Kaohsiung City with its strong cultural and geographical 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. Consideration of 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. 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; it is highly related to the individualities within the neighbourhood, giving a feel for the community. The form itself acts as a locality that represents the everyday life of the region highlighting its interaction with the neighbourhood and recognition from the residents. 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 improves 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.

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





*Figure 7.9* The Heart of Love River, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

Heart of Love River' (completed and opened in 2007). This site is located at the waterfront area of Sanmin Park 2. This park, which was discussed in an earlier section of 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 7.9*). Various spaces created by the project have generated a new sense of placeness for the community residents and for tourists who stop by or transfer from the ferry and the metro, constructing a unique waterfront atmosphere.

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.<sup>16</sup> Simultaneously, the spatial quality on the west-side of the Heart of Love River has also been stimulated and renovated. A flyover bridge connecting two districts that were previously cut off from each other by a main road has been reconfigured and extended to allow for improved access to the regenerated neighbourhood where the waterfront has been highlighted as a new community centre and as embodying the spatial identity of the region (*Figure 7.10*).

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 7.11*). A new bridge on the north-eastern side of Sanmin Park 2, the bridge of Love River Nung 21, 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.

The bridges, which have been built to satisfy the everyday need to connect 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 methods of realising these aims include highlighting them by using different colours, lighting and additional functions, such as the ferry pier or the ferry's maintenance pier. These bridges over Love River,



*Figure 7.10* Two bridges at the Heart of Love River, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)



*Figure 7.11* The pedestrian Love River Nung 21 Bridge (above left) and a floodgate alongside Love River (above right), Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2014. (Source: the author)

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, rather than as placeless infrastructure.

Another result anticipated from the revitalisation process, similar to the situation in Bilbao, is that Kaohsiung's urban waterfront transformation also powerfully involves acculturation in space. In Kaohsiung, the so-called cultural centre plays a vitally important role, translating cultural subjectivity and into spatial imagery. The founding of the community cultural centre in Kaohsiung denotes the spatial registration of communitarianism in post-Martial Law Taiwan as a form of its immediate historicity. As one thematic

‘cultural-spatial’ element, the Lantern Festival beside Love River in 2001 was the touchstone of branding the city and changing the popular impression of the river from being Kaohsiung’s longstanding shame and disfigurement to being an asset 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 portrait 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 Tu*. The Lantern Festival was initially held as a temporary event in Kaohsiung. It first took place in 2001 on the water bank and combined the landscape of Kaohsiung’s river and ocean characteristics; one well-known lantern that featured in the festival was retained and now provides a daily reminder of the spatial identity of Kaohsiung in Taiwan. The decision to preserve the 2001 main festival lantern – ‘Leaping Dragon-fish’ – 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, and this suggests a way creating of spatial historiography by translating forms of immediate historicity into specific localities. Today, this lantern in Kaohsiung has become one distinctive example in Taiwan representing the branded urban locality of Kaohsiung (Figure 7.12). The lantern in the midstream portion of Love River was retained and reinforced as a permanent construction to play as a locus of conjoining the end of the road and the waterfront. The neighbourhood of the lantern has become one of Kaohsiung’s friendly footholds for community residents and tourists nowadays to experience the maritime presence of Kaohsiung. Commercial profits have also been brought into the region by means of this phenomenon, boosting its economic competitiveness.



*Figure 7.12* The ‘Leaping Dragon-fish’ lantern, retained from the 2001 main festival, and its neighbourhood, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010. (Source: the author)

A plan 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<sup>17</sup> from an old school building in the 1970s. The building form of this ‘public service station’ has a united feature imposing the KMT’s nationalist ideology – a symmetrical façade decorated by the Nationalist Party’s emblem (Figure 7.13). 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. This ensured that the monumentality which was established initially to highlight a nationalist ideology is now transferred into a sense of public building that communicates community memories.

More interestingly, the Kaohsiung Film Archive itself was not designed simply to be a base of filmic culture in southern Taiwan. As one of the cultural centres beside the waterfront, which is underlined by its community function, the building and its piazza become a vitally transitional space which gathers together as a whole all the spatial components – the old communities, old buildings, regional histories of the waterfront and the residents in the neighbourhood (Figure 7.14). Critically, this transitional space has created such an opportunity to pinpoint the essential but once ignored urban experience that 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 regular route between their homes and school. Similarly the school has also freed the ground for a studying area towards this transitional space. Several multi-functional chambers have been put in place, superseding the school concrete fence and forming a ‘cultural corridor’. This ‘cultural corridor’ houses an idea of cultural placement which functions as an educational space during the day and as a commercial and cultural space at night. It



*Figure 7.13* The Kaohsiung Film Archive and a KMT public service station, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010. (Source: the author)



*Figure 7.14* The Kaohsiung Film Archive, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010; The Love River Cultural Corridor, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2010. (Source: the author)

also identifies the place as a unique locality. On the other hand, this is not only a form of urban experience which marks a daily routine for the community residents and citizens; it also shows understanding of Kaohsiung's waterfront localities to be experienced by various visitors, e.g. experience gained by 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 needs of the community members but also creates an urban attraction for outsiders who are able to experience the presence of maritime Kaohsiung in different ways. In other words, they can either personally visit the site or visually 'zigzag' the site across the watercourse. They can also mentally 'wander' the site and even extend the scope towards the whole city by exploring the urban and cultural history by visiting the cultural centres. These spatial practices realise the idea of museumisation which has effectively translated urban experience and popular memory from a formalistic 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 reciprocal and intersubjective act becomes a unique conversation between space and cultural identity. The neighbourhood of the Film Archive, therefore, brands heteroglossic forms – different or relevant cultural components – by employing 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 and post-war Taiwan's multi-accentual character, and too schematises the Asia Pacific heteroglossia.

### Summary

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 well-known global examples. 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 to its intention of generating public consensus in culture. Therefore, 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 7.15). However, this ‘infection’ is thematic but based in the everyday; 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, it is to be seen as a form of new identity construction in space and in Taiwan’s cultural domain after Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Moreover, this is a spontaneous reaction in the remaking of a new Kaohsiung city identity which is recognised and consented to by its citizens in an emerging democratic context.

It is apparent that the physical impact of the ‘everyday’ in the post-Martial Law built environment is not realised either from the founding of the issue as a top-down cultural policy or entirely from the community members’ participation as a bottom-up mobilisation, but as an establishment of spontaneous consciousness. 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 towards the built world of post-war Taiwan should be credited to the cultural politics constructed via this movement. This form of cultural politics, constructed, like symbolic nationalism, as an identified discourse in the early post-war built environment, also commenced with political intentions.<sup>18</sup> However, surprisingly it has resulted in success, as evidenced by the high public recognition accorded to it. This transformation is also evident from the boundary effacement amongst the political, ethnic and cultural



*Figure 7.15* Kaohsiung’s waterfront community, Kaohsiung, Taiwan, 2011.

(Source: the author)

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 the everyday, 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 rather to convert the authentic elements from history and culture into resources which might benefit different aspects of society, such as education, the 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 legitimation of public opinion. Kaohsiung's maritime presence, when compared to its 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.

## Notes

- 1 Unlike the unique Greater China context in which architecture interprets a mainland character, which would totally disregard Taiwan's de facto island character, spatial hybridisation in post-war Taiwan embodies both 'imported' and Taiwanese characteristics and absorbs resources from the surroundings, and its representation has not been ideologically imposed but has, rather, emerged spontaneously. Geopolitically, this is evident from maritime Taiwan's current administrative division in as much as it has only one 'inland' county (Nantou county is the only administrative division in today's Taiwan where has no direct contact to the ocean). On the democratic front, 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.
- 2 Most of the early evangelists held the view that native peoples were barbarian and uncivilised. Therefore they were interested in travelling and exploring 'uncivilised' land during their evangelical missions.
- 3 The 'Megacities' series is produced by the National Geographic Channel, and introduces the world's representative cities through objective and academic perspectives, highlighting 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.
- 4 *Megacities: Kaohsiung*, produced by the National Geographic Channel.

- 5 Lin can be regarded as one of the most influential men like Chen Chi Nan in post-Martial Law Taiwan's spatial development, both being extensively involved in Taiwan's architectural and urban policies and practices. Lin was a university academic and then became 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.
- 6 Since Frank Hsieh won the mayorship of Kaohsiung City in 1998 representing the opposition party – the DPP – the KMT's political power has been distanced from Kaohsiung's political dominance until today.
- 7 Because the harbour management was vested in the central government after the Second World War the authority and transaction profits produced by the port never go to the city of Kaohsiung; even though the city government has negotiated with the central government striving for the harbour's openness towards the city today.
- 8 In Dovey and Ockman's studies, they both mention the 'scapes' notion proposed by Arjun Appadurai; this talks about various instruments which are imported on the site intending to benefit the construction by certain way.
- 9 Because of political suppression by China, 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'.
- 10 The use of the name 'Love River' to replace 'Kaohsiung River' was well known and started to be recognised by Kaohsiung people after a 'couple suicide' and its related news in 1949.
- 11 In 1968, Kaohsiung mayor of the time, Yang Chin Hu, forced the city council of Kaohsiung to rename Love River *Jen Ai River* in order to celebrate Chiang Kai-shek's birthday by the meaning of 'Jen' Min 'Ai' Wu (literally humanity to people and love all, the phrase here is referring to the Confucian virtue).
- 12 Construction of the Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum first started in 1997 and finished in 1998. The location of the museum was chosen at the waterfront of Love River in Sanmin District where the main settlement of the *Hakka* ethnic group in Kaohsiung City used to be. This location was the last destination when the *Hakka* people settled down in Kaohsiung alongside the river from the earlier time.
- 13 The location of these two parks (Sanmin Park 1 and 2) is very close to 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 the scrap metal industry, vehicle repair shops and dog meat restaurants. From 1993 onwards, the Kaohsiung City Government started to dismantle the illicit buildings and to build two parks as the replacement. However, these two parks which were finished in 1996 lacked the corresponding recreation facilities and were accompanied by an intolerable smell from the contaminated river water. The active population in the parks was hugely reduced and eventually it became the home of vagrants. The Kaohsiung *Hakka* Cultural Museum finally also became disused and was ignored by the end of the 1990s because of its irrelevance to the location.
- 14 There was a series of debates during the Martial Law period about historical sites as features of urban development. Most of the arguments in the architectural field at the time took the position that the existence of historical sites preserved by the 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 at the time, provides an example of this view. The details of this debate can be found in CHUANG, F. R. 1986. Do not let historical sites have no choices. *Architect*.

- 15 The Hoffmann Kiln is the most common kiln used in the production of bricks; it was patented by German Friedrich Hoffmann for brick-making in 1858. In Taiwan the kiln is commonly called the *Pakua* kiln due to its octagonal shape on the two sides of the kiln.
- 16 The east side of Sanmin Park 2 was a river 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 and is now a more attractive and investment-friendly environment than before.
- 17 The 'public service station' here refers to the branch of the KMT's city chapter in Kaohsiung. During the Martial Law period, the KMT force established public service stations widely across Taiwan in order to achieve autocratic control of native society.
- 18 It is undeniable that the policy of Community Development was developed with a strong political intention on the part of the DPP, as it was attempting to use indigenisation (Taiwanisation) to challenge the KMT's exercise of its Greater China indoctrination programme that ran for more than half a century.

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# Conclusion

## Acculturating the contemporary urban Asia Pacific

This book is not only a study of post-war urban Taiwan but also of the urban Asia Pacific. The study's analytical perspectives reflect the architectural and urban evolution of Asia Pacific and its history from several points of view as well as the purely architectural. The book aims to explore a social, cultural and political problem which was chaotic and suppressed in the past but whose solution is emerging to provide a significant and systematic order within architecture and urbanism today. With this in mind, the study assesses the context, relevant theoretical issues and forms of high culture, and depicts how a once gloomy popular culture in Taiwan has given way to a vibrant and self-confident flowering of identity in the island's society and its architecture. Taiwan reflects this phenomenon in its spatial practices of regeneration, and those practices are rooted in the new ideas and the 'community and quotidian' conceptions that have made it possible to discard the old colonial and nationalist imagery of the typical, and once widely accepted, 'Taipei model'.

For a long time, the field of Taiwan Studies has been positioned awkwardly. First, the ambiguous and complex definition of Taiwan raises the difficulty of positioning its status nationally and internationally. Second, because of Taiwan's unclear position, the location of Taiwan Studies is easily marginalised by being subordinate to broader study fields. Moreover, the intervention of the state apparatus in this study field still dominates the context as a form of high culture to a certain extent. 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, especially as a unit of analysis within the Asia Pacific context. 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 adds significance

to the field of study. In history, Taiwan's variety of existing cultural and colonial remains 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 satisfies the position of studying Taiwan but is also identified as a crucial element in cross-cultural studies. This book, therefore, given these conditions, highlights Taiwan's academic significance by examining its cultural politics as they are represented in architecture and urbanism.

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 related to 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 in a different direction – towards independence. Because of Singapore's 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, in its socio-political evolution post-war Taiwan, 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 Taiwanese society became more complicated 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 Taiwanese society. Amongst them, issues concerning everyday life are noticed; forms of indigenous consciousness are discussed; Taiwan's cultural subjectivity enters the consciousness of the Taiwanese people and comes to replace the previous ideology imposed by the KMT in imagining a Greater China. The field of literature and its reinterpretation in native cinema have reflected this phenomenon from the outset. The native-built environment, with 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 is no longer legitimate or sufficiently convincing in Taiwan society now that 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. Second, 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. Today, however, this situation can be amended. Thanks 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 on and attitudes towards historiography in Taiwan such as oral history are widely recognised today to have their own validity and to be comparable 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, geographical 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 Taiwanese nationalism in the 1970s and the 1980s, this insularity has been transformed into a cosmopolitan context along with Taiwan's geopolitical maritime culture. Second, 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 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 everyday spatial practices bear distinctive witness to this.

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. Formerly Taiwan's 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 noteworthy that on the one hand, even though Taipei is now known as the home to one of Taiwan's aboriginal native tribes, *Katagalam*, their name now only exists marginally as the name of a road.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, all the external impacts 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 recognisable from a miniature of the ROC map imposed by the KMT force, and some of the current district names use the traditional *Machi* system introduced 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 trend of the everyday still brings changes and challenges. If the city and the architecture of Taipei used to be regarded as a prototype of the modern Taiwanese built environment, the cases concerning buildings that have recently emerged in Taipei play a role in changing 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 the Greater China complex, and even its current extension for commercial function, all stand for that fact. However, what is highlighted in this day and age about this building are neither these power interventions nor the building masses themselves. Rather, the issues highlighted by 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 spatial construction and its spatio-temporal 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.

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 or valued in the post-war period until the 1990s. In other words, nearly all the resources in Taiwan were distributed to Taipei, 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. However, by contrast the central government had, in other ways, deliberately neglected cities outside Taipei, including Kaohsiung, in particular by limiting the supply of essential goods and services. Therefore as a result these cities were always short of resources. This organised negligence can be regarded as providing a kind of protection against political brainwashing, allowing them to remain more authentic in terms of being 'Taiwanese' cities. Thus 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. In particular, this phenomenon is highlighted by public resistance – a form of cultural consensus – to external imposition, i.e. despite both the chronic industrialisation since the Japanese time, and the near total lack of development during the KMT mayors' governance, Kaohsiung has always been known as Taiwan's *Kang Tu*, 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 element.

The Kaohsiung Museum of History is a building project which testifies to this spatial identification. After the adoption of the concept of Community Development, the museum was renovated and opened to the public in 1998, having formerly been a City Hall which used to be a restricted zone only open to the authorities. By respecting and facing the de facto background of being ruled by the Japanese Empire and the Nationalist authoritarian government, it was possible to retain the main mass of the site, with a symmetric layout and ceremonial form as a military/official building. 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 by 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 the Second World War.

Structurally, the post-Martial Law built environment along with this changing conception addressing quotidian characteristics in society 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 and Name Rectification in Taiwan society afterwards. In detail, previous conceptions of seeing historical sites architecturally with a context of 5,000 years of Chinese history has been gradually amended to be aligned with the context of four hundred years of actual Taiwan history. The former definition of a historical site, *Kuchi* (recognition of antiquity), has therefore been gradually transferred to the idea of Cultural Heritage which is more concerned with the concept of cultural values. And the Cultural Heritage Preservation Code which was enacted in 1983 consequently becomes crucial in this sense. In a regulatory sense, the founding of the CCA 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 using a top-down approach. On the other hand, using a bottom-up mobilisation, historical site preservation is a strategy of performing community and everyday 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 present 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, with topics such as authentic cultural forms and the quotidian existence of the building, and its current usage, tracing the link 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 on the part of the public has 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 publicity. Starting from a top-down cultural policy, the idea of citizenship attempted to evoke and encourage autonomous individuality to manifest itself in place of a previous social atmosphere which was overshadowed by collective suppression; the idea of publicity wanted to attract attention 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 to follow 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 for producing and distinguishing spaces in the current society of post-Martial Law Taiwan.

As a cultural apparatus of political policy in post-Martial Law Taiwan, the everyday makes a real impact in spatial aspects in terms of its function of connecting the past, the 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 are successfully combining its colonial past, and now even transcend it, creating its own spatial identity and cultural locality. With water as the core motif, there is a strong consensus in favour of developing Kaohsiung's built environment with participation from both the government and the populace. In this transformation Love River, a central feature of Kaohsiung, plays a vitally important role in linking popular memory, geographic characteristics and community members. These three pivotal elements comprise the essential and indigenous substance of spatial Kaohsiung. In particular, the concept of group architecture takes centre stage in the community alongside the river no matter whether it consists of a group of adaptive reused projects, a group of de-industrialised 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. In using this strategy, Kaohsiung's waterfront community highlights a relationship between the parts and the whole which characterises the strong social nature of 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 the city as a context. Accordingly those projects which were initially constructed as political achievements during periods of government by different political parties 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 recognising the everyday, 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. Consequently this creates iconic examples of architecture that the general public recognises and strongly identifies with.

The cases of Taipei and Kaohsiung, interestingly, clearly show that the everyday 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 articulates the current way of constructing, using and seeing a building object. The previous frustration and anxiety about hybrid cultural and spatial identity now become an acceptable form of appropriate fuzziness; the existence of previously 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 years and differentiated from Taiwan's authoritarian post-war years.

This book is intended as a history of post-war urban Taiwan, one which is commensurate with the understanding of Taiwan's history as it is commonly circulated worldwide nowadays. But in what ways 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 with an intention that echoes Edward Said's statement:

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).

(Said, 1995)

Said's introduction to *Orientalism* provides a template for the transmission of the intention in this book which attempts to draw attention to an ascendant discourse of architectural analysis about the post-war history of Taiwan. It is intended as an academic critique, which reflects not a political bias but rather a viewpoint 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 which is a record of subjectivation (the construction of Taiwan's cultural subjectivity), spoken from a Taiwanese priority position. In short, it is a post-colonial critique (an observation of decision-making in the process of Taiwan's development by the Taiwanese people themselves rather than by external or specific political forces), written in its quasi-colonial present, in a context which still involves rich external forces and their interventions.

When forms of nationalism and formalism are criticised in the study in the course of highlighting an emergent form of quotidian concern, the book should be understood as a contestation of the ascendant discourse of history and architecture in present day Taiwan. As Melissa Brown has suggested, the "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' (Brown, 2004). The discourse sketched in this research is produced through an articulation between knowledge and specific historical contexts. In other words, forms of 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, and other former colonised and quasi-colonial Asian countries, in the past. In the present, by contrast, because of the rise of individual consciousness

and various forms of public reception, this system of discourse becomes a way of violence in modern Asian 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 the Asia Pacific today which is legitimised and widely recognised by the general public. Most importantly, it is a discourse of urban Asia which is gradually being noticed by professionals and academics regionally and internationally. In conclusion, the constitution of architectural discourse in the Asia Pacific 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 Asian architecture and urbanism has decentralised a nationalist ideology, one constructed in the past, into everyday life, and it has created an emerging formation of interaction between building objects and the populace of Asia today, both mentally and physically, both theoretically and practically, and both pervasively and particularly.

## Note

- 1 The physical trajectory of the *Katagalam* tribe today in Taiwan is nearly extinct as regards both its language and its cultural traditions: the only non-academic record which can remind the public about *Katagalam's* existence as part of the Taiwanese people's genealogy today probably can be found in the name of *Katagalam* Boulevard, a road in front of Taiwan's Presidential Building in Taipei. *Katagalam* Boulevard superseded Long-lived Chiang Kai-shek Road when it was renamed by a former mayor of Taipei, Chen Shui-bian, to commemorate this tribe.

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# Glossary

**Chinese culture** So-called Chinese culture is not specifically located as the cultural system in China but applies generally to shared *Han* culture. As a result of mass Chinese (im)migration all over the world, the traditional *Han* cultural system has already adapted and mixed with various native cultural and social systems as ‘shared *Han* culture’. Representations of ‘Chinese Culture’ in Taiwan, Singapore, Malaysia are notable examples.

**Chinese orthodoxy** The KMT’s authoritarian regime had penetrated into political, educational, economic and societal aspects of life in post-war Taiwan, even into its culture. The Cold War atmosphere of anti-communism and anti-Russia was the target which the Nationalist Government imposed in its propagandist cultural policy. In 1966, when the Chinese Communists launched the Cultural Revolution, which severely questioned and challenged traditional Chinese culture; the so-called Greater China ideology was constructed as the official cultural context and imposed on Taiwan, and the world, by the Nationalist Government in order to promote the so-called orthodoxy of Chinese culture in the face of the Cultural Revolution occurring in China at the time.

**Colonial past and external impacts** The colonial past of Taiwan and the external impacts on it mentioned in this book refer to all the previous ruling powers since the end of Taiwan’s purely Austronesian tribal society and before its first native political power flux in 2000. These foreign powers were the Dutch (1624–1662), overlapping with 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, although the dictatorship was gradually collapsing.

**Colonial regime** So-called colonial regimes refer to regimes which were ruled by outsiders for the benefit of the outsiders; therefore, there is a difference between a colonial regime’s political intention and a native regime’s priority of indigeneity and its benefit.

- Community and everyday life** The idea of community in this book 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 book 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.
- Community Development** This term in the book specifically refers to the English translation of post-Martial Law Taiwan's social movement 'Community Development'. However, 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 definite ambiguity in Taiwan's status in national and international discourses as to whether it is a national state or a state without being a nation. Nevertheless it is incontestable that Taiwan exists as a *de facto* independent sovereign state which has a permanent population, a defined territory, and a state government, i.e. it is recognised by other states as being independent and has the legal capacity to enter into relations with other states.
- Democratisation** Taiwan's democratisation commenced around the time when Martial Law was lifted in 1987. Between 1945 and 1987 Taiwan was dominated by the KMT government and under its authoritarian control. However, although the issues are closely linked, the issue of democratisation in this book is argued to be differentiated from the social, cultural and political movement of indigenisation (Taiwanisation). Indigenisation in post-Martial Law Taiwan emphasises identification with Taiwan, consciousness of Taiwan, and even Taiwanese nationalism, to which democratisation is less closely tied.
- Genealogy of the native Taiwanese** There was a saying that goes: 'there are no *Tang Shang* grandmothers but only *Tang Shan* grandfathers'. *Tang Shang* was the general appellation for China used when Taiwanese people referred to it in the period before the 1950s. It explains that Taiwan's early *Han* immigrant society consisted mostly of only males, for 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 *Pingpu* females (Austronesian 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 going back to Taiwan's Dutch and Spanish colonisation in the seventeenth century.

- History of Taiwan** The term Taiwan's history as used in the book refers to the 400 years of recorded history since the civilisation of the island, which is different to the once imaginary 5,000 years of Chinese history imposed on Taiwan by the Nationalist Government in the early post-war years.
- Identity and identification** Generally speaking, this book sees the discussion of identity as a procedure of 'becoming' which establishes points of similarities or dissimilarities. In other words, identification represents the procedure of constructing identity; the subject location in Taiwan's social, cultural and political discourse is constituted by means of this procedure.
- Indigenisation (Taiwanisation)** Two waves of indigenisation in Taiwan receive mention in the book. One happened in the 1970s and the other occurred in the 1990s, and they were conducted within different cultural contexts. The first, motivated when Taiwan severed its diplomatic relations with the United States, was contextualised with the atmosphere of promoting the so-called Greater China ideology; the intention of this 'indigenisation' was to attempt 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, or a discursive debate about native soil in a placeless manner. The latter wave of indigenisation was motivated after the lifting of Martial Law (1987) and it was contextualised with the atmosphere of awakening consciousness and individual autonomy; the focus of this movement fell on Taiwanese culture and society rather than on a broader 'shared Chinese culture'. The book concentrates on the later wave which is also at times emphasised by using a specific term 'Taiwanisation'.
- Kaohsiung** In 2010, Kaohsiung City had merged with Kaohsiung County as the new Kaohsiung City in Taiwan's administrative division. However, 'Kaohsiung City' which has been mentioned in this book still refers to the city of Kaohsiung before this administrative merger.
- Mainland** The term 'mainland' as used in this book refers to the ideal 'motherland', 'colonial proper' or related political centres of different external ruling powers, i.e. the 'Chinese mainland' refers to 'China' that was once ruled by the Republic of China government before 1949; the 'Japanese mainland' refers to the context of the Japanese Archipelago under Imperial Japan.
- Martial Law period and post-Martial Law era** These are two stages of Taiwan's recent post-war 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 book refers to the corresponding period from the late 1890s onwards.

**Nationalism, popular culture and everyday life** Nationalism in this book 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 Taiwan and the Asia Pacific today, 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 this book refers specifically to the government in post-war Taiwan led by the Chinese Nationalist Party (also the KMT/ *Kuomintang*) from 1945 to 1999. Before 1986, the founding year of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the KMT was the only 'legal' political authority ideologically imposed in post-war Taiwan on the general public.

**Native ethnicities and languages** Native ethnicities and languages are highly relevant in the discussion of space and cultural politics of post-war Taiwan in this book. Currently, there are four main ethnic groups which are widely recognised in Taiwan society: 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 to be the very earliest original source of the Austronesian languages) but they are currently a minority in Taiwan society. Various forms of the Austronesian languages (also known as the Formosan languages) shape its significance worldwide. Despite the fact that Taiwanese aborigines were the most dominant and widespread primitive dwellers in Taiwan, the population, languages and cultures of the Taiwanese aborigines have become the most vulnerable and marginal elements in Taiwan society today. The native Taiwanese constitute the major ethnic group in Taiwan today; their origin can be traced to the population, and its offspring, that consisted of families whose members had mainly inter-married before 1945, i.e. *Pingpu* (aboriginal) females and *Han* males. The mother language of this ethnic group is *Taiwanese*, which was adapted from the southern Chinese dialect *Hoklo* and later evolved into today's *Taiwanese* by hybridising specifically linguistic elements of the Japanese, European, aboriginal languages (Austronesian languages) and English. The *Hakka* is the ethnic group who emigrated from mainly southern China to the world including Taiwan between 1684 and 1895. The *Hakka* division in Taiwan is another minority in the country today. The language which this group uses is *Hakka*; it has numerous variants spoken in the early Chinese migration areas. As for the ethnic group of the Mainlanders, this term refers 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 across all the Chinese communities in the world.

**Other** The concept of the 'other' in the book is strongly connected to post-colonial and cultural-political issues of identity and 'difference', i.e. one part of the identity construction is defined by the difference between individual identity and the other. To explain, 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** A cultural representation discussed in this book, arguably, is linked to an ideology and its symbolic formation. The relationship which applies to this notion is perhaps most simply encapsulated in René Descartes' famous maxim 'I think, therefore I am' (Descartes, 1968), i.e. subjectivity is positioned after the construction of the ideological collectivity.

**Subject and object** In this book, 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 on the basis of which one may pinpoint a host–guest or apparent duality. Specifically, 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 between subjective and objective perspectives: namely, as argued in this research Taiwan existed prior to the lifting of Martial Law as an object within the Greater China context, but since then Taiwan has gradually become recognised as a subject that is strongly committed to Taiwanese indigenisation, a process in which that recognition itself plays a very important part.

**Taipei** 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 at the time. These Chinese emigrants in Taiwan mostly settled in the urban areas, and Taipei City, where the KMT had its political centre, contained the greatest number. This is the chief reason why Taipei received most of the political and social resources in the post-war years and why it developed as post-war Taiwan's former 'only' metropolis. It is also a motif in this research to observe and analyse Taipei as a 'prototype' of post-war Taiwan's early built environment and its architectural imagery along with the challenges it faced.

**Taiwan** This book attempts to look at post-war Taiwan's urban development through its cultural politics of native identification and architectural representation instead of simply 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 address various subjects of this island and its society, culture, and environment. The name 'Taiwan' is used in preference to other relative appellations, such as the Republic of China, which would cause misunderstanding geographically and politically.

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