THE CONSERVATION AND INTEGRATION OF IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES: THE MILITARY DEPENDANTS' VILLAGES IN TAIWAN

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ABSTRACT

In general, one of the significant aims of conservation for a historical settlement is saving the authentic physical settings and presenting the residents' culture to the public for reproducing the sense of the place and to pass down its culture to next generations. As same as the fact that it is impossible to retain every perspective of history; in practical aspects of heritage conservation, it is impossible to protect and demonstrate everything of a place. The different selections of historical materials variously describe historical stories, memories and the meanings of a place. On a conserved historical site, the conservation strategies and practices and visitors' experiences construct the presented narratives of the place. However, still a lot of narratives that offer other meanings of the place are neglected.

Starting with an analysis of theories about the meaning of spaces, this research set uses a multi-layered framework for analysing what the narratives of the conserved sites are presenting. The framework integrates history studies, physical settings analysis, and narratives studies; and then the three aspects may affect people's conception and perception about the historical landscape. Their experiences may apply to reform the landscape and may product new narratives of the historical landscape.

Before analysing the narratives of Military Dependants Villages (MDVs), this research critically reviews the visions of current cultural heritage conservation; and then it suggests that the criteria of valuing heritage are changeable following the changes in political, economic, social or cultural conditions over time. Furthermore, protecting the authenticity of a heritage is not only keeping its original circumstance, but also has to concern the needs of present people; they have to strike a balance to present the real situation of a historical site. Also, on the aspect of the distinction between tangible heritage and intangible heritage, this research suggests that

the feature of combining tangible and intangible aspects of significance in one cultural property should be considered when practicing a conservation project. In addition, on the aspect of the authenticity of contemporary conserved heritage, this research suggests that the authenticity of a conserved heritage cannot be objective, but subjective, and it exists in the communication between people who are related with the site via their perceptions and conceptions.

Based on the suggested multi-layered framework and the suggestions for current cultural heritage conservation, this research set out to explore the narratives of conserved MDVs of Taiwan. First, from the perspective of the history of conservation in Taiwan, the conservation activities of MDVs reveal that the conserved sites are no longer political tools that serve for government and the residents gradually turned their sights from China to the Taiwan where they now live and to the history of the place when the sense of protecting heritage gradually grew among people. Furthermore, this research analysed the meaning of MDVs from the macro perspective, which are relating to the development history of these villages and their spatial and general image, and from the perspective of narratives that are dependent on subjective experiences. The former perspective represents the general image about the conserved MDVs among people; and that is the image of MDVs introduced in museums. The residents' and people's narratives and perspectives of organisations about MDVs are neglected. Thus, the perspective of narratives offers other meanings of MDVs and enriches the cultural diversity of MDVs. Last, this research analysed visitors' experiences to check the result of the conservation strategies of MDVs; and found that MDVs have get rid of the image of ghettos and started to integrate into the society of Taiwan. Moreover, most visitors think that the conserved sites are leisure places with a historical and nostalgic atmosphere.

Therefore, this thesis contributes to offer an analytic framework to explore comprehensive meaning and dynamic sense of place of historical landscape, e.g. MDVs. The analyses can be

used to check the results of conservation strategies applied on historical sites. According to the

analysis of MDVs and results of conserved MDVs, this thesis suggested the *Cultural and*

Creative Quarter for Tangible and Intangible Heritage of MDVs and *Integrated Conservation*

are two better strategies.

CONTENTS

ACRONYMS

AFSFV   Air Force Sanchong First Village

CCA   Council for Cultural Affairs

CNP   Chinese Nationalist Party

CPC   Communist Party of China

GNV   Gonghe New Village

MDVs   Military Dependants Village

OURs   Organization of Urban Re-s

ROC   Republic of China

SSV   Shi-Shi South Village

THAV   Treasure Hill Artist Village

INTRODUCTION

As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand, written in the corners of the streets, the gratings of the windows, the banisters of the steps, the antennae of the lightning rods, the poles of the flags, every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls. (Calvino, 2002, pp. 10 - 11)

PREFACE

The history of urban development is not static, but a dynamic process. Theoretically, it is similar to the property of *palimpsest* which the text can be scraped or washed off to re-use - a process of erasing and rewriting. Although old materials may be destroyed or abandoned, history and memory remain inscribed in some corners of a city and in people's minds. The way that we can explore the history of the city and its culture is to follow the historical traces left behind over time, and to perceive and conceive others' experiences about the city.

The past is fascinating for those who feel nostalgia for it. They feel melancholy when most of the familiar physical surroundings are rapidly disappearing in the world and only leave traces in some people's memories or through historical materials. (Lowenthal, 1998, Jhang, 2011) Due to the dynamicity of urban development, it is difficult to freeze a city or a community to satisfy people's nostalgia while they are forced into change by citizens or governments. That is the dilemma that was faced in Taiwan on the issue of heritage conservation. To solve the problem, abandoning the renewal mode of totally bulldozing buildings and communities and

trying to keep as many historical traces seems the feasible compromise between heritage preservation and urban development. Practices of heritage conservation or academic discussions were transforming from only focusing on protection of physical materials and settings to the belief that intangible cultural properties conservational practices, e.g. the settlement conservation and comprehensive community building in Taiwan in 1990s'. (Lin, 2011) Nowadays, the general conservation strategies for cultural heritage are concerned with how to protect both of tangible and intangible cultural properties and how to introduce the history to today's people.

Among the practical aspects of presenting a conserved historical site, how to present the history and the culture of the historical site becomes a crucial issue. Both the selection of exhibition media and the choice of presentation strategy reflect the current cultural attitude of society towards the conserved historical site. Because history and culture are complex terms which can imply all aspects of people's lives and the events that are happening in their everyday life, it seems impossible to present every detail in the conserved historical site. A comprehensive selection relating to the two issues is necessary to represent the past of the site and its meaning to current citizens. Referring back to the reason mentioned above, the property of a city is like a palimpsest, the act of conservation is a new writing on the historical site: but it protects, re-arranges and represents the past traces, instead of removing them. Thus, the contemporary conservational thought and culture must leave some traces in the place and affect the meaning of the place when they were applied to the site. Afterwards, they become a part of the narrative of the historical landscape and change the sense of the place at the same time.

Sustaining the authentic status of a historical site will be a conservational issue, following the discussion above. It seems hard to avoid the change which is caused by applying conservation practice. For example, the Baimi community, located in Yilan County, Taiwan, was the main

location of the clogs industry. The industry is conserved as a highlight theme of tourism of the community since almost no one wears clogs any more. Even though, the community sets up a clogs museum and some master artisans still produce clogs there, the value of the industry is not the same as it was before the social context changed. Conservation experts and scholars have discussed and raised criteria for maintaining the authenticity of cultural heritage, which mainly considers the aspects of protecting tangible heritage and intangible heritage, e.g. the experts' suggestions about protecting authenticity of heritage on the Nara conference 1994 and the conservation laws of Taiwan (Lin, 2011). In some cases, cultural properties cannot be distinguished into tangible and intangible ones; they are a combination of both. Tangible property without being accompanied by related intangible property is a neutral object. The intangible part behind the tangible part indicates the relationship between the cultural property and people either in the past or the present. As Heidegger's concept of dwelling and building notes, the space becomes meaningful to people after they have dwelled in the place. (Sharr, 2007) However, when it comes to conservation of a lived community, there are only a few rules which can be applied to the case which combines tangible and intangible properties conservation to sustainably maintain the aura of the place.

Military Dependants' Villages (MDVs) are this kind of historical places. They were built by the Japanese Military, the Republic of China Military, or residents; and were a kind of temporary accommodation for the soldiers and their dependants who moved from China after 1945. MDVs became residents' home after they gradually recognised that returning to China was almost impossible in the environment of the hostility between the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP) and the Communist Party of China (CPC). In most people's impressions, MDVs were

immigration communities of Mainlanders[1] which were isolated from local people. As Mau-Kuei Chang (2010) notes, they are ghetto communities. Overall, most people agreed that MDVs were shabby, not well-designed communities of poor conditions, although some of the villages built by the Japanese Military for high-ranking military officers had very comfortable environments and were well supported financially. Additionally, MDVs were one of the enduring symbols about the political conflict between Taiwanese and Mainlanders. No one thought those communities would become cultural heritages one day. Nevertheless, nowadays, people value them as important cultural properties with collective memories, special culture, and nostalgic atmosphere. Furthermore, some sites of MDVs[2] are inscribed as heritage of historical settlements or cultural landscape by central or local governments. Setting up museums, and cultural and creative quarters, running cafés or restaurants, and other conservational strategies are suggested and used to promote the remarkable history and culture of these villages. Nowadays, MDVs are no longer a group of ghettos and have been integrated with their neighbourhood. The transformation of MDVs from ghetto communities to cultural properties are important history which should be recorded, interpreted, and promoted for approaching the sense of place of MDVs in the past and present. Therefore, analysing the transformation of attitude of valuing heritage and examining the results of those conservational strategies are the main motivations to carry out this research.

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[1] Mainlander (大陸人) is the popular English translation for the people who moved from mainland China to Taiwan after 1945 and were also called Weishenren (外省人). The former means those people are from mainland China, and the later means they are from other provinces. In Taiwan, mainlander is an ethnic term which opposites to Taiwanese who had settled in Taiwan before 1945. The term is also a political indication which is used to accuse that those people have national identity to China and held political authority and privilege in Taiwan.

[2] There are 33 MDVs which had been subscribed as heritage, historical building, ruin, or cultural landscape. Referring to the List 1 in Chapter 6.

PROBLEM DEFINITION AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In my experiences of participating in the practices of MDVs conservation, one of the most popular discussions was which strategies were better for protecting and representing the spirits of MDVs. The discussion usually focuses on three main issues: the culture, the original residents, and the original physical settings of MDVs. On conferences and meetings of MDVs conservation, survey about history and culture of MDVs, and in some internet social groups, e.g. the social groups of *MDVs become Museums* and *National League of Protecting Culture of MDVs* on the Facebook, the popular criticism is that one conserved MDV site (for example the Shi-Shi South Village) merely protects part of original physical settings and exhibits cultural collections of MDVs, but does not sufficiently recreate the spirit of MDVs or not represent properly the culture of our communities. Or some conservationists doubt that the conserved sites where the original residents of MDVs had moved out are not authentic MDVs, even the original settings had been protected. They also argues that the real culture of MDVs only can be created, recreated and represented by the original residents of MDVs, although some of residents did not live in MDVs from the very beginning of the villages being built and some who were outsiders became residents of MDVs after getting marriage with insider. Additionally, some residents, particularly who had been lived in MDVs, seldom sighed for the culture of MDVs which were gradually fading after the original residents moved out their villages. Those arguments hint that the most people of MDVs strongly identify with their villages and residents; and the perfect conservation strategy is protecting the original situation of MDVs with the residents their own and the conservation practices and exhibitions should have original residents participating in. In other words, other people who are not from MDVs have not the ability to represent MDVs.

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Most residents agree that the culture of MDVs is one of the cores of the conservation activity. However, there were not accurate definitions of the spirits of the culture, even there was no coincidence between original residents. From residents' perspective, it is sufficient that the meaning of MDVs is restrictedly narrative from the things, people, events, experiences, memories, and settings in villages which have straight relationships with the residents. The issues of MDVs conservation focus on the people and settings of MDVs; moreover, the exhibitions in every MDVs museum, e.g. in the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, are also limited on the history, residents' common daily lives, and people in the villages. Even the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), which strongly supports Taiwanese national identity and local culture and promotes the policy of cultural diversity society, also follows the same perspective to provide the narratives of MDVs in its publications about MDVs (Yiong and Jhuang, 2006). It seems that the MDVs are objects which are isolated from the whole society of Taiwan and match to the local's stereotype about MDVs, *a group of ghettos*. However, that those villages existed in Taiwan is the main reason which makes the history, culture, and settings of MDVs become valued cultural heritage. If they were located in China, they would have no cultural distinctiveness with local communities and should be a kind of common military dependants' accommodations because they share the same culture.

Oppositely, the meaning of MDVs is different for Taiwanese. From locals' perspective, they are the main symbols which mark the political and national identity conflicts between Chinese and Taiwanese. Nowadays, after culture of MDVs and some villages had been valued as historical and cultural properties, they become the symbols which demonstrate the results of the policy of cultural diversity society. However, the linkage between Taiwanese society and MDVs and the transformation of the role of MDVs were not concerned in practices of MDVs conservation.

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Besides that the outsiders and insiders of MDVs created different narratives of the villages, the meaning of MDVs changed over time. From the side of the residents, the villages were temporary accommodations when they just escaped from China and settled down in Taiwan. Then MDVs became residents' second home town after they found that returning to China is impossible. MDVs were transformed to be the symbol of nostalgia after residents had to move to privatised new houses due to the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was issued and practiced. From the side of governments, MDVs were not only built to settle down soldiers and their dependants and to boost their morale in preparation for returning China, but also to set up enclosed communities for political surveillance. The role of MDVs was changed to a tool for promoting the policy of Ethnic Diversity and National Unity. From the side of conservationists, MDVs play an important role of cultural properties on aspects of architectural type, urban development, and contemporary history of Taiwan. Going further to individual level, the meanings of MDVs is various depending on personal experiences with the places. For example, MDVs could mean a space which contained endless homesickness because the first generation of residents still had very strong emotional linkage and national identity with China. They might be a place where neighbourhood is as close as kinship family. However, they could also be a place which was full of discrimination for the residents who were Taiwanese indigenes. For visitors of conserved MDVs sites, MDVs might mean historical places and recreation parks after they had been conserved and refilled with new function, like exhibition, holiday fair, restaurant, community centre, and so forth.

Accordingly, the narratives of MDVs are not a set of fixed descriptions from a single perspective, but vary between different people and organisations. They are also not static, but dynamic over time. Because of the variety and dynamics, how to comprehensively narrate the MDVs' sense of place was the first question of the research. It is also one of the very basic issues of MDVs conservation. What are the specific narratives of MDVs for residents, locals,

visitors, conservationists, and governmental managers? Following the question is that whether the conservation strategies which had been applied on some sites adequately represent and introduce MDVs' sense of place and sustainably reproduce the culture of MDVs.

RESEARCH AIMS/ OBJECTIVES

The research aimed to analyse the mobile senses of place of historical landscape[3] and to examine the conservation strategies applied on conserved sites according to the result of the analysis for next conservational strategies in the future. A multi-layered framework which includes analysis in aspects of history, settings, and narratives was developed for analysing the historical or cultural landscapes. Afterwards, the analysis based on the framework would be taken as a criterion for examining the results of conservation strategies applied on the sites; and employed the conservation activities of MDVs as observing cases for examining the framework.

The analysis framework was inspired by Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's theories about spaces and places which suggest that the narratives of a place can be analysed from the perspective of structuralism for the former and phenomenology for the later. The framework was also inspired by analyses of conserving sense of place. The analyses indicates that sense of place is diverse and includes governments', experts', conservationists', and local peoples' perspectives. Moreover, involving people with collective conservation activities in bottom-up process is a better method to keeping sense of a place.

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[3] The meaning of a place may vary when it was interpreted by different groups and such meaning may be changed over time. The popular term, *cultural landscape*, indicates that the relationship between place and culture is simple, bounded, and coherent. And the culture is spatially produced and embedded in particular places. Thus, the research intentionally uses *historical landscape* instead of *cultural landscape* to indicate the variety and mobility of the meaning and culture of MDVs.

According to the concept that the sense of place of historical landscape is mobile, the framework implies a dimension of time. It meant that for the same organisation, group of people, and individual, the sense of place might be changed over time.

The framework suggested three main analytical aspects, *history, settings,* and *narratives,* which are popular for analysing a place and valuing a cultural heritage. Each aspects are followed by several subsidiaries. First, the history aspect includes the social structure, events, and culture about the development and conservation of MDVs in the past. Second, the settings aspect includes the existing physical settings, sense of place of MDVs, and events and behaviour which often happen in villages. Last, the narratives aspects includes peoples' memories, experiences, stories, and discourses about MDVs.

The analysis of the three aspects not only focused on happened historical events and existing settings, but also studied on people's and organisations' thoughts which they interpret the meanings of MDVs. Thus, in the aspect of history, the research analysed the historical events of the development of MDVs and heritage conservation in Taiwan. The former explains why and how MDVs appeared in Taiwan and the later explained why the historical landscapes were evaluated as cultural heritage. In the aspect of settings, the research studied the typical forms of village layouts and types of buildings, general spatial features of MDVs, and people's general impressions about MDVs. In the aspect of narratives, the research studied the various narratives offered by governments, culturati, conservation sites visitors, and residents.

All aspects of the analysis basing on the multi-layered framework offer a set of description of the meaning of MDVs. The conclusion of the analysis does not tend to offer an accurate definition of MDVs, but a set of description which describes what kind of thing the MDVs is.

The set of description of MDVs offered a criterion for judging the achievements of MDVs conservation. There were 33 MDVs conservation sites to date. This research distinguished them into 7 categories according to their conservational strategies[4] and critically reviewed their advantages and disadvantages of keeping and representing the sense of place of MDVs. Furthermore, two remarkable conservation sites, Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) and Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV), were selected and comprehensively analysed based on their programmes and visitors' experiences. Again, the set of description of MDVs was used to judge the conservational strategies and the advantages and disadvantages of keeping and representing the sense of place of MDVs.

RESEARCH SCOPE

This research built a multi-layered framework to analyse the sense of place of MDVs. At the first layer, there are three aspects which include history, physical setting, and narratives about the observed sites. The second layer includes two groups of people who are related with the sites were going to give the meaning of the observed sites from their point of view.

Firstly, going further from the framework, the preliminary start of this research targeted on the history which carried out the status quo of MDVs. There were two main aspects about the history, one was related with the development of heritage conservation in Taiwan which indicates the transformations that what kinds of cultural property could be listed as heritage and who had the power to inscribe them. The transformation of valuing objects as cultural properties affects people's viewpoints and promotes MDVs to the cherished places from abandoned poor communities. The other aspect was the development of MDVs which shaped the physical

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[4] Referring to the section 6.1.

environment, spatial context, and societal context of those villages. The history is necessary for figuring out the main spatial features of MDVs and the meaning of MDVs on the aspects of how those villages appeared and why they were transformed into the situation to date.

The analysis of the Taiwan's history of heritage conservation focused on the development of the concept of heritage conservation in governments and people under different governance. Therefore, tracking back the long term history to before 1895 is necessary for learning why MDVs became a kind of cultural heritage, how present Taiwanese value the historical sites, and what kinds of role the sites play in present Taiwan's society. According to the changes of ruling authority of Taiwan and the enactment of conservation laws, the history was separated into five periods: 1) Cing Dynasty rule period before 1895, 2) Japanese rule period from 1895 to 1945, 3) the Republic of China (ROC) rule period from 1945 to 1982, 4) the period of the first edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act applied from 1982 to 2004, and 5) the period after the second edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act issued in 2005. In the first period, the studies of prefecture gazettes, and subprefecture gazettes[5] were the main material to figure out the situation of cultural heritage conservation. In the second period, besides the studies of the Acts of heritage conservation issued, three key exhibitions were studied for showing how the Japanese colonial governance built Taiwanese's national identity to Japan by inscribing heritages and comparing Japanese culture with Taiwanese. In the rest three periods, the studies of issuing and amending of the Acts of heritage conservation and affection of democratisation presented the change of the role of cultural heritage from a political tool for government to a cherished cultural property for people.

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[5] Local journal, prefecture gazette, subprefecture gazette are the official records of the history and the geographical information of each official administrative division published by different levels of governments or administrators.

The analysis of the history of MDVs focused on the development of MDVs. Due to the restriction of accessing to the files and archives hold by the Ministry of Defence and limited research time, the analysis was based on the information from publications relative to MDVs which include official publications, journal papers, dissertations, and articles in media. The development history can be separated into three periods: 1) from 1945 to 1956, 2) from 1957 to 1980 and, 3) after 1980. The transference between every period is caused by the change of the situation between the CNP and the CPC and the new welfare policy of caring for the residents of MDVs, the intent of which is to solidify residents' political inclination to the CNP. The transference also caused the privatisation and modernisation of MDVs, the integration of MDVs' residents and local people, and the localisation of MDV residents.

Secondly, after reviewing both of the two historical perspectives above, the research went to analyse the physical settings of MDVs. This analysis aimed to figure out the pervasive impression of MDVs which indicates most people's acknowledgement about the group of communities. The analysis included three subsidiaries: a) locations and dispersions of MDVs, b) spatial structure and building types of MDVs, and c) the general spatial features of MDVs. All of them are crucial aspects to studying tangible cultural property of historical settlement. First, the analysis of locations and dispersions of villages showed the trend that new MDVs were intentionally built in main urban areas, e.g. Taipei, Taichung, and Kaohsiung. The trend indicated both the military arrangement of Taiwan and political strategy of controlling and surveying residents of MDVs. Next, the research went to analyse the spatial structure and building types of MDVs and distinguished them into three types. The development of the three types indicates the residents of MDVs' history of settling down and integrating in Taiwan. Last, nine remarkable feature elements which included explicit meanings were selected and described to present the general spatial features and meaning of MDVs for most of people.

Thirdly, the research targeted on the aspect of intangible cultural features of MDVs which analyses the culture and the narratives of MDVs from different people's and organisations' perspectives which includes locals, residents of MDVs, and culturati for the former and governmental departments and museums of MDVs for the later. Because there was not a clearly definition of MDVs' culture, the research offered an outline through collecting various perspectives to describe the general impressions about the culture which were represented in research paper, media, and exhibitions of MDVs museums. However, the general impression has a gap with the real culture of MDVs. To break the represented stereotypes and offer a more comprehensive narrative about MDVs, the research separately analysed the meanings of MDVs for governments, the culturati who are interested in MDVs or participated in MDVs conservation activities, and original MDVs residents. Due to the limited research time, the narratives about the meanings of MDVs for government were referred to official publications, journal papers, dissertations, and articles in media. In addition, because it was hard to spend a lot of time to contact with the original residents who had moved out MDVs and to communicate with the residents who was still staying in villages during the very limited research period, the original residents' narratives were referred from the MDVs literatures which were written by some original residents and some residents' memoirs. Even though some events or motions were intendedly selected and exaggerated in those fictions, the writers' viewpoints represented their personal experiences and interpretations about MDVs. Moreover, the research invited two curators and two culturati to participate in as interviewees, but only the curator of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV and the architect who take the responsibility of transforming the Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) accepted the invitation. Some publications, journal papers, and articles in media were referred for getting more culturati's narratives about MDVs.

Last, the research analysed the conservation strategies which had been selectively applied on the 33 listed sites. Each strategy came with analysis of cases to explore the positive and negative

affection on MDVs conservation; especially, on the aspect of conserving the sense of place and culture of MDVs. Then, the research focused on two sites, SSV and the Treasure Hill, for testing that whether the applied strategies can appropriately represent the sense of place of MDVs and conserve culture of MDVs, or they had created new sense of places and culture for the two sites. The two sites were chosen because of their remarkable conservational activities for keeping the two sites, well-known conservation strategies among the territory of community conservation of Taiwan, and relatively clearer conservation policies and management plans than other listed sites. Moreover, many visitors were attracted by the regularly hosted activities on the two site, collecting enough samples of visitors' opinions and experiences about the conserved sites would be much easier in the limited research time. Again, the multi-layered framework was applied on analysing the two selected sites. Two villages' history of development and of conservation activities, settings, culturati's and original residents' opinions about the conservation plans, and visitors' opinions and experiences were analysed to figure out the present sense of places and culture of the two conserved sites.

VALUE OF RESEARCH

This research contributes to offer a framework for interpreting the mobile sense of place for historical landscape which includes accumulated tangible and intangible cultural properties; and also testing the conservation strategies which had been applied on MDVs conservation on the aspect of sustainably protecting the sense of place for a historical landscape.

Furthermore, this research analysed and demonstrated the more comprehensive meaning of MDVs and the present sense of places and culture of conserved sites through the suggested framework. The analysis of MDVs also helps people on deeply understanding MDVs and benefits historical site managers on improving the representation and interpretation about MDVs.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research aimed to solve the two main questions: 1) how to narrate the meaning of MDVs and 2) whether the applied conservation strategies adequately represent and introduce the meaning of MDVs to visitors and sustainably reproduce the culture of MDVs for original residents. For solving the two questions, the territories of this research are related to history that includes heritage conservation in Taiwan and development of MDVs, physical settings analysis about building type and spatial features of MDVs, and the analysis of narratives of historical landscape, government and people about MDVs. Thus, a mixed methods approach that combines qualitative and quantitative research methods is adopted in this research.

The qualitative research of the study includes a literature analysis and a semi-structured interview method. The literature analysis method is applied to three aspects: the history of heritage conservation in Taiwan, the development history of MDVs, and the narratives of MDVs. In addition, this research adopts the semi-structured interview method to unleash the limit of listed questions and to gain in-depth opinions of the interviewees' about the conservation of MDVs and the meaning of MDVs to them. The interviews invited participants or managers of remarkable conservation projects; however, it is a pity that not every potential interviewee accepted the invitation. As a result, the selected interviewees are Fung-Ching Lin, who is the curator and manager of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, and Bo-Yuan Syu, who managed the rehabilitation project of SSV[6]. Some literatures which contains the opinions of those who declined to be interviewed regarding conservation and meaning of MDVs were adopted as secondary data.

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[6] There were four invited interviewees, but only two agreed to meet the researcher. The other two, Yu-Ying Yan, who is the curator and manager of the Military Community Story House, and Min-Jin Knag, who is the manager of the Treasure Hill conservation project, did not answer the invitation of interview.

The quantitative research of the study randomly interviewed visitors at two selected conserved sites - SSV and THAV - via two self-completion questionnaires for each case. The questionnaire for SSV has 29 questions and 64 randomly selected visitors completed it. Except for the questions about personal information, the remaining questions are separated into five parts: a) experience of participation in conservational event, b) impression about MDVs, c) knowledge about SSV and purpose of visiting, d) thoughts about conserved SSV, and e) media of sharing and gaining stories. (Appendix 3-1 and 3-2) The questionnaire for THAV has 22 questions and 64 randomly selected visitors completed it. Except for the questions about personal information, the rest of the questions are separated into four parts: a) visitor's knowledge about THAV, b) visitor's image about THAV, c) visitor's assessment of activities, and d) media of sharing and gaining stories. (Appendix 4-1 and 4-2)

DATA COLLECTION

The data collected from the two approaches, qualitative and quantitative, support the theory of the multi-layered research framework on the aspects of history, settings, and narratives, and offer a comprehensive overview of the landscape narratives of MDVs. Qualitative data comes from studies of second data, interviews, and field surveys. The Quantitative data are the statistics of questionnaires distributed on SSV and THAV. The data collections of the research were listed as below:

a) The history of heritage conservation in Taiwan

- Related to the period before 1895: gazettes published in Cing Dynasty can be accessed by the National Central Library of Taiwan.

- Related to Japanese rule period: 1) the historical materials related to the Acts of heritage conservation can be accessed by the National Taiwan Library, 2) the materials related to exhibitions hosted in Japan and Taiwan can be accessed by the National Library of

Public Information of Taiwan, 3) the materials related to the Japan-British Exhibition in London 1910 can be accessed by the British Library or the National Library of Public Information of Taiwan

- Related to ROC rule period: the every editions of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act can be accessed by the Laws and Regulations Database of Taiwan.

b) The history and spatial features of MDVs

- Related the development of MDVs: the historical data can be checked in publications related to MDVs.

- Related to the spatial features of MDVs: the data were collected from author's fieldwork and referred to the exhibitions of MDVs museums.

- Related to the general impressions about MDVs: the data were derived from exhibitions of MDVs museums, reports of media, and residents' memoirs.

c) The narratives related to MDVs

- Narratives from government perspectives: governments' narratives about MDVs were collected from publications related to MDVs and academic studies about MDVs.

- Narratives from culturati's perspectives: the data were collected from reports in media, papers in journals, and interviews.

- Narratives from residents' perspectives: the data were collected from residents' memoirs and literatures because almost all of original residents had moved out MDVs and very hard to contact in the limited research time.

d) MDVs conservation strategies and visitors' experiences

- Related to types of conservation strategy and cases: the data were collected from field surveys.

- Related to visitors' experiences: the data came from the statistic of questionnaire surveys.

THESIS STRUCTURE

The research consists of 4 steps for solving the two research question. The four steps are:

- First step – Chapter 1 Analysis of Space Theories

- Second step – Chapter 2 Critical Review of the Visions of Current Cultural Heritage Conservation

- Third step – including Chapter 3, 4, and 5 which analysed the meaning of MDVs from history, setting, and narratives through the guiding of the multi-layered framework.

- Fourth step – Chapter 6 The Landscape Narratives of Conserved MDVs Sites Based on Visitors' Experience

The first step aimed to build up a method which can be applied to analyse the meaning of a historical landscape. The research suggests a triad theoretical framework for figuring out how people gain meaning of a historical place, i.e. how people read the historical landscape narrative. Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's ideas are the two main theoretical pillars of the frame. They offer two analytic scopes, *structural analysis* from the former and *phenomenological analysis* from the latter. The two analytic approaches seem contradictive and occupy opposite ends on the theoretical spectrum. However, a more comprehensive narrative of historical landscape can be represented via a combination of the two approaches. The details on how the research employs the two schools of thought are discussed in Chapter 1. The framework is a multi-layered structure with a circulating process that involves the text of a historical landscape, the history of the site, its settings, people's narratives about it, and their feelings towards conservation act and people's experiences. In turn, these feelings towards conservation act and people's experiences may affect future spatial practice.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

The second step aimed to make a critical review on how the meaning of a place is changed after the place was promoted as a heritage and how the suggested multi-layered framework contributes to analyse the sense of a place. It was carried out on four aspects: the criteria of inscribing heritage, the debate over whether heritage is tangible or intangible, the authenticity of conserved heritage, and the sense of place. First, the review points out that the value of a historical site is not given, but is recognised, and the criteria for valuing historical objects might change over time. In addition, the review on distinguishing heritage into tangible and intangible components argues that the separation is not reasonable because all tangible heritages items have an element of intangible significance. Third, sustainably maintaining the circumstances of a historical site is the better way to present the authentic aura of the site rather than just preserving the original setting. Last, the analysis based on the framework offers a comprehensive method for learning the senses of a historical place.

The third step aimed to analyse the meaning of MDVs through the guiding of the multi-layered framework described in chapter 1 and the critical reviews in chapter 2. The step studied four aspects in the subsequent three chapters that includes: 1) The history of heritage conservation in Taiwan; 2) The development history of MDVs; 3) The spatial features of MDVs; and 4) The governments' and people's narratives about MDVs.

The first aspect addressed in chapter 3, analyses the conservation history from the period of the Cing Dynasty rule through the period of Japanese rule, to this day. The main analysis focuses on the power that develops the criteria of inscribing heritage and the objects that have been selected as heritage in each period.

The second and third aspects, in chapter 4, analyses the development history, general spatial features and people's general impressions of MDVs. The development history can be separated into three periods: 1) from 1945 to 1956, 2) from 1957 to 1980 and, 3) after 1980. The

transference between every period is caused by the change of the situation between the CNP and the CPC and the new welfare policy of caring for the residents of MDVs, the intent of which is to solidify residents' political inclination to the CNP. The key event for separating the first and second period is the *Donation for Building MDVs Movement* which was organised by the National Anti-communism and Resist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Women's League of the ROC and started in 1956. And the key event for separating the second and third period was the practise of the *Act of The Essentials of Rebuilding the Old Military Dependant's Villages of National Force* in 1980 which accelerate the process of renewing or reforming of MDVs. There are three building types of MDVs, adapted from Japanese military accommodations, listed and built up during 1945 to 1980, as well as unofficial MDVs. The layout and scale of the villages, the spatial structure of buildings, living quality, and residents' management of houses vary from type to type, which in turn creates the different stories of every villages. The section of general spatial features of MDVs lists nine items and events which most often appear on sites of MDVs and usually are exhibited in MDV museums. In addition, the section on general cultural impressions about MDVs analyses the culture of MDVs that is most often described and presented in articles and exhibitions of MDV museum. Both sections present the general background to MDVs.

Chapters 3 and 4, as described above, offers a macro observation of MDVs from three aspects. The following two chapters, 5 and 6, undertake a micro observation of the case of MDVs.

The fourth aspect, in chapter 5, analyses the meaning of MDVs in several narratives from different perspectives that are offered by government, culturati and residents. The analysis of government's narratives shows the changes in the meaning of MDVs to different governments in different historical periods. The analysis of culturati's narratives focuses on the meaning of MDVs in conservation act, and, the analysis of residents' narratives presents the meaning of

MDVs from their daily experiences. Every narrative is a tiny piece of the puzzle of the meaning of MDVs. This research tried to collect as many pieces as possible to present the comprehensive meaning of MDVs.

The last step, in chapter 6, presents the landscape narratives of conserved sites of MDVs from visitors' perspectives. The first section of this chapter lists seven conservational strategies that are applied on the 33 conservational sites, and analyses the advantages and disadvantages of each strategy. Afterwards, this research goes further in analysing visitors' experiences of two selected cases, Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) and Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV), to present what the visitors read from the landscape narratives of MDVs.

CHAPTER 1: ANALYSIS OF SPACE THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

Space and *place* are the two terms we use to indicate a territory and are important terms in the territory of humanistic geography. They are also familiar words signifying common experiences with a specific area, in Yi-Fu Tuan's idea (Tuan, 1977). Thinks' ideas to the relationship between the two terms can be classified into three types. First is that *space* belongs to nature and abstract and *place* is related with human beings. For example, Yi-Fu Tuan distinguished *space* and *place* by the relationship between people and a specific area. According to his ideas, *Space* is more abstract, open, freedom, and threating while *place* has more security and stability (Tuan, 1977). Edward Casey (1996) took *space* to be the thing in mathematical territory which demonstrates the pure relationship of spaces and *place* has close relationship with lived body. Tim Cresswell (2015) also took this idea and emphasised that "*place* is not a thing in the world but a way of understanding the world" (italicised by author). Second is that both *space* and *place* are related with human beings, but they mark the distance between a specific area and people. People keep a distance and detach to *Space*, but identify to *place*. The relationship between *space* and *place* is not separate, but a dialectical structure in human environmental experience. "[O]ur understanding of space is related to the places we inhabit, which in turn derive meaning from their spatial context (Seamon and Sowers, 2008)". Last one is that not to separate the concept of *space* and *place*. Lefebvre is the remarkable thinker in this case. In his books, e.g. *the Production of Space* and series of *Critique of Everyday Life*, he used *space* to indicate every kind of territory from abstract to human being related to. He rarely use the concept of *place*; instead, he took *everyday life* and *lived space* to indicate the people's direct and perceptive experiences in a specific area. This thesis adopted Lefebvre's idea, but

still use *place* to describe the individual experiences and identity of a special area because Lefebvre's living subject in the concept of *everyday life* and *lived space* is a *social body*.

To read a space means gaining the meaning of a space and understanding the relationship between the space and people. Especially, for a historical landscape, besides perceiving directly from its physical environment, it concerns understanding the process behind how a place is formed and transformed, and the historical events during the process to help ascertain a deeper meaning. Moreover, communicating with others about oneself and their perception about a place is another way to immerse into the atmosphere of the place. Lefebvre and Merleau-Ponty are two key thinkers who inspire researchers on analysing meaning of space. For example, Lefebvre' s triad structure of space affected Edward's analysis of the spatiality of Los Angeles in his *Thirdspace* (Soja, 1996). Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological ideas on how people learn the world from their perception affected Steven Holl's architectural works and Lineu Castello's analysis on senses of place (Castello, 2010, Holl et al., 1994). Lefebvre's method has advantage on studying space from macro perspectives, e.g. development history of a space, meaning of a space given by spatial practisers or managers, and social groups' narratives of a space. Comparatively, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach has advantage on studying space from individual experimental perspectives, e.g. individual perception and conception of a space and personal memory. The two kind of approach of analysing meaning of space were adopted in the thesis. The section 1.1 analyses space using a structural approach, based on a review of Lefebvre's ideas on the production of space. The section 1.2 adopts Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach to analyse space and the relationship between space and people.

Lefebvre's theory were used as a structural analysis instrument to interpret what a historical landscape contains. It also presents a method that people can use to understand the meaning of a historical place when they visit it. Lefebvre's theory suggests a triad concept, which is

composed of spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces, as an analytical structure about the process of the production of space. The aspect of spatial practice was used to analyse history and physical setting of a space. The aspect of representations was used to analyse the narratives about a space which were given by spatial practisers, managers, and others who participated in forming the space. Last, the aspect of representational spaces was used to analyse the narratives about a space which were given by users of a space, like tourist, researcher, activist, and sojourner or dweller. Applying the triad structure to historical landscape conservation, we can analyse the history[1] of a landscape, its physical environment and its spatial practisers', managers', and users' explanations applied to the landscape.

Moreover, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach also offers an instrument to explore the meaning of a place. It helps to analyse the relations between people and a historical landscape. People's perception through the senses of their body (mostly is their sight) is the key point of the theory. The research will focus on what people perceive from the physical environment of a historical landscape and from other's perception through their body's perception. Through applying the theory to historical landscape conservation, how the arranging and interpretation in the place and narratives about the place enhance people's perception and understanding about the place are the main points of the study.

Sense of place is another term usually discussed and approach to sense of place is divers depending on scholars' or heritage conservationists' perspectives within the territory of heritage studies and heritage conservation. This thesis conducted a review on conserving sense of place

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[1] The term of history, Lefebvre's theory does not concern a specific chronological order of historical events and their sequence. Moreover, it is also not a causal relationship of those events. The history of space, according to Lefebvre, is the fourth implication in the productive process of space. It is used to explain the relations between the forces that are involved in the production in a society which includes nature, labour and the organisation of labour, technology and knowledge. (Lefebvre, 1991)

in section 1.3. First, the review showed that sense of place is a term without clear definition and is dynamic over time. According to the review in section 1.1 and 1.2, Lefebvre's triad structural spatial analyses and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach can lead analyses of sense of place by offering a clear analytical structure, except offering feasible methods to represent sense of place and to involve people to identify with their special living place.

The strategies of encouraging people to understanding sense of their place and go forward to identify with their living environment are diverse. First, it can go in a top-down process by telling stories and memories or teaching ICH of places for local people. It also can be taken in bottom-up process with activities for evoking people's interesting to their place. In addition, sense of place can be promoted by the strategy of protecting and rehabilitating key types of local building. Fourth, the concept of Comprehensive Community Building encourage suggests a bottom-up strategy which engages local people to take collective activity to rebuild their identification with their place. Last, the concept of museum family which links local museums to be a museum network. Within the museum network, every museum unit works as catalyst of protecting and representing sense of place. The network is also a platform which engages government, museum managers, local people to conserve local culture and sense of place.

Because of no clear definition of sense of place and many and various strategies for involving people to identify with their living place, a clear framework for setting a criteria to judge the result of culture and heritage conservation is necessary.

Standing on the ground built by Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's theories and analyses of conserving sense of place, this research goes further to suggest a multi-layered framework that can be applied on embodying the abstract meaning of a conserved place and dynamics of sense of place via three main items, i.e. its history, environmental settings, and people's narratives. These three main items affect the future conservation acts and people's experiences about the

site. Due to limited time for materials collection and survey, it is impossible to present every subsidiary items under the three main issues. This research suggests three second foci, i.e. selected history, collective memories, and body experiences, that are used as practicable subsidiary items in the last part of this chapter.

1.1 STRUCTURAL APPROACH

Lefebvre (1991) introduced a structural analysis on the knowledge of how a space is produced. The main idea is that all 'space' is 'social' space and indicates that every property of space does not absolutely exist as an isolated object but has strong connection to social reality that cannot be eliminated when trying to understand the meaning of a place and its relations with the inhabitants and users.

To analyse the connections between space and social reality, Lefebvre suggests a triad concept as a triad structural tool to develop his theory, including spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces. It suggests that we can gain knowledge through the physical setting itself and its building process, the verbal system that represents the space and the non-verbal system that implies the hidden meaning of the space.

The concept of spatial practice literally implies the process and consequences of a building operation with physical material in a space, but does not only indicate the analysis of the physical setting in a space. It "embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). Spatial practice also shows the desire of a group of people wanting to untie or enhance their relations through building new space, reforming exist space, or installing new behaviour in a space. Lefebvre, affected by Karl Marx's historical materialism, argues that social spaces dialectically grow from spatial practice. This idea intimates that the process of the production

of space is not stable, but dynamic. In addition, there are contradictions that exist in the social space, with any contradictions potentially triggering the next transformation of the social space. That is to say, the spatial practice and the factors involved in the practice can be unveiled through the analysis of its social space. For example, the analysis of MDVs in this thesis showed that the spatial practice of MDVs was used to enhance the relationship between CNP and military families from the perspective of the government of CNP. The pass and practice of the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* privatised MDVs and untied the relationship. However, the MDVs conservation activities presented residents' desire of enhancing their community and cultural identity. The activities also showed their worry and aspiration of localisation.

How can the implications of the spatial practices of a society be revealed? Lefebvre suggests that spatial practice can be understood through perceiving the daily reality and urban reality in the space. Both kinds of reality include the spaces where people work, live their private life, undertake leisure activities and other spaces around them. "The specific spatial competence and performance of every society member can only be evaluated empirically" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38). Nevertheless, according to Lefebvre, he also mentions that intellectually and logically conceiving cannot be totally eliminated from the analysis. It should be understood that spatial practice is the presentation of social relations in a society. Spatial practice can be comprehended mainly through perceiving the social reality in the space.

The second concept of the triad structure is representations of space. This concept indicates that studying a space and its history needs to include the represented relations of the production of space, the order that those relations impose on, the knowledge, the signs, and the codes (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 33). All of these elements, which are controlled by professional authorities,

experts or social elites,[2] construct the representations of space. The authority group, or groups, endow the perceived space and lived space with a conceived property that gradually makes a system of verbal signs (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39).

In other words, elites identify the relations, meanings, and orders of space; and they transform space into a conceived object - a conceived space. The conceived space objectively expresses the spatial arrangement, the relations of the production of space and the social relations through the conceived system, an intellectual system. This concept implies an analytical method for studying a historical landscape by studying the elites' speeches, theories, explanations or discourses related to the landscape because their thoughts dominate the space in a society. In addition, studying explanations of the history of the landscape is another way to understand the meaning of the landscape.

The third aspect of the triad structure is representational spaces. Lefebvre adopts Heidegger's and Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological theory about the relations between humans and the world. The idea concerns the lived experience of the inhabitants and users of space. It also concerns the experiences of certain artists, writers and philosophers who narrative their own perceptions of a space. Lefebvre suggests that the lived space is embodied through associated images and symbols. The images and symbols related to an individual or mass lived experience demonstrate the dark side, the veiled face of social life, as "systems of non-verbal symbols and signs" (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 39). For example, the committee office of every MDVs was set up for administrative affairs of committee of village and community assemble. However, the office

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[2] Those professional authorities, experts or social elites who identify space include scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, and a certain type of artist with a scientific bent. (Lefebvre, 1991, p. 38)

space can be a leisure room, a temporary assembly factory, a community hall, and a place where had to be visited in daily routine for different residents.

This concept, lived experience in space, offers another approach to learn the meaning of a space that is not obviously interpreted through scientific discourse when studying a historical landscape. The concept of representational spaces is different from Merleau-Ponty's perception of a phenomenological body, albeit it is adopted from phenomenology and is related to lived experience. Unlike Merleau-Ponty's theory which suggests the relationship between a person and spaces as a kind of intersubjectivity, Lefebvre still follows Descartes's idea which uses subject and object to identify the relationship. However, Merleau-Ponty's intersubjectivity does not only involve the person and the spaces but also includes other persons. The communication between each person through bodily perception influences the personal conception about their circumstance. The personal perspective is a lost piece in Lefebvre's theory. It is, moreover, a contradiction against representations of space because a scientific analysis cannot completely imply all fragmental experience. In addition, Lefebvre did not concern the individual and mass lived experience within the perception of the body. The body, he notes, is a social body. The body is our body, as a kind of social group which mixed all of personal body. The social body works like a sieve that filters perception from a space to the Ego. Then, the perception of the social body, lived experience, is expressed in social practice via language, signs, abstraction and spatial practice. Nonetheless, the representational space concept can be used as a reference in the spatial analysis of a historical landscape in research because it can supplement the incomplete parts of the scientific analysis of social space.

Unlike Merleau-Ponty's lived experience that is constructed from the sense of body, Lefebvre's theory is not only from a neutral perception but also includes conception that involves mental judgement. In other words, the lived experience includes the perception and conception of every

detail of a space to try and understand the imagination of the whole 'reality'. In addition, the lived experience contains the consequences of perceiving and conceiving the interrelationships, practices, and social activities embodied in a social space (Lefebvre, 1991).

Space, to Lefebvre, is a social space and a form of social morphology. Representational spaces, related to lived experience, are concerned more about distribution, labour, and production that happen in a social space; therefore, lived experience is more closely bound with recognising the function and structure of a space, rather than the personal emotions evoked by the space. Lefebvre analysed lived experience through users' or inhabitants' daily lives. The users' or inhabitants' space is unlike the objective space represented by experts and is subjective, depending on personal life and experience. For example, the conflicts or traumas that happen during a person's life cause a subjective meaning about a related space. The relations between a person and the spaces he uses or states also determine the meaning of the space for the spatial subject. Moreover, the practice (work, leisure, and dwelling) in space and the social subject's social character and biosocial character are the determinants of the subjective properties of a space for a social subject. However, to Lefebvre, subjection is not definitively decided by personal subjective perception and conception but more according to social activities. That is, sociological content plays a more important role in determining the meaning of a space than any intrinsic properties of that space (Lefebvre, 1991).

Concerning the conservation of historical landscape, one of the main purposes of conservation is to represent the history of the landscape to present and future generations, i.e. to pass down knowledge about the production of a historical landscape. Lefebvre suggests that his triad structure helps gain knowledge about the process of the production of space and is a route to understand past imaginings of a space and also a method to show the causes of the production of space when the triad structure offers an analytical tool for rebuilding the history of a

landscape and dissecting the factors used during the production of a space. To Lefebvre, one of the essential issues in *The Production of Space* is the history of space, the fourth implication he suggests. A space is formed by social relations and its social activities. The history of a space concerns the process of social activities, the consequence caused by those activities and explanations about the relations between the social activities and their effect. In the triad structure, spatial practice, representations of space and representational space indicate three essential aspects of space: perceived, conceived, and lived space. Lefebvre extended the three aspects of space to three categories of space, absolute, abstract and differential space. Additionally, he adds an intermediary space between each category, which is a kind of contradictory space, to explain the conflicting relation of production and reproduction between the three kinds of space. To learn the history of space is to understand the relations between each transformation of a space using the triad structure.

History is the bedrock of communication between heritage and visitors. It offers the intellectual ability for visitors to deeply conceive what heritage stresses and presents (Lowenthal, 1998). Although rebuilding and learning the history of a historical landscape helps represent the past imaginings of a space, it does not mean that all of its history should and could be thoroughly demonstrated by a conserved site. In the practice of presenting a conserved historical site, the interpretation of the site is usually selected by curators, based on the conservational aims and their educational background. The selected information may not present the real meaning in some perspectives. To visitors, extra knowledge about a historical site provides more narratives about a site, from other points of view. Thus, to read the narratives of a historical landscape do not only focus on the information offered on the site but also has to include other parts that are absent.

To understand past imaginings of Military Dependants' Villages (MDVs), the structural approach for the history of historical landscapes is applied to describe the history of MDVs in this research. From a broad view, the history of MDVs' conservation must include the whole history of the conservation practices of Taiwan as background knowledge to help understand why MDVs have become valuable cultural heritage sites in Taiwan via an analysis. From the micro perspective, the aspects related to the development of MDVs, the conservation of MDVs, the collective memories about the life of MDVs and historical residuals left on historical sites are analysed to present authentic imaginings of MDVs.

1.2 PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH

Unlike Lefebvre's structural analysis of space, Merleau-Ponty suggests another perspective, using the perception of the phenomenological body. This research focuses on two issues presented in his theory. One is how people gain the meaning of a historical landscape and the other how people communicate their perception about a historical landscape. In the practice of historical landscape conservation, these two issues help build a theoretical framework for transferring the meaning of a historical landscape from site to people.

Merleau-Ponty (2002) introduced that the relationship between things and the world is not the conception of *being-in-itself* and *being-for-itself*, but the concept of *being-in-the-world*. This indicates that the meaning of a thing is not an intrinsic property and should not be given by a subject when the thing is relatively treated as an object. Nonetheless, the relationship is a kind of being subject for each other in his phenomenological logic. That is, the meaning of a thing or the world for a person is gained from personal perception, whilst also being affected by the perception of others. In addition, the meaning is not fixed, but is dynamic. It can be redefined at any time when a person's experience is increasing (Merleau-Ponty, 2002).

To Merleau-Ponty, the perception of the body does not only involve the current sensual stimulations received by the brain. It is a perception of the phenomenological body. The meaning of a thing is formed through the phenomenological body perceiving and conceiving the situation in which the thing and body are involved. The situation, to Merleau-Ponty, does not only mean the location of a space but does also contain the concept of time. This implies that judgement about the condition is formed according to the personal perception of the phenomenological body at that moment. The judgement may change in another moment when the situation is different. That is, the judgement is subjective and involves personal experience of the past, the phenomenon in that moment and the possible tendency in the future. In other words, the situation implies past experiences, current perceptions, motive, and future decisions.

Merleau-Ponty suggests that experience about a cultural object is a crucial factor for conceiving the meaning of cultural objects. He uses the examples of someone using a pipe, a spoon or bell to explain the idea that a person experiences culture from others' perspectives:

> In the cultural object, I feel the close presence of others beneath a veil of anonymity. *Someone* uses the pipe for smoking, the spoon for eating, the bell for summoning, and it is through the perception of a human act and another person that the perception of a cultural world could be verified. (Merleau-Ponty, 2002, p. 405)

Experience from the past also helps understand and interpret a situation. When people receive stimulation from part of a scene, past experience will help them recognise what the situation of the rest part of the scene that they have not experienced.

Merleau-Ponty's theory indicates a way how people learn culture from others and demonstrated the elements which are essential for conserving cultural heritage, including tangible and intangible. Cultural object, users of cultural object, and observer were the three main physical

elements in the cases, Merleau-Ponty mentioned. The cultural objects, pipe, spoon, and bell, relates to tangible heritage. Another physical existence is the user. However, if with the broader definition of intangible cultural heritage (ICH) than the official one given by the UNESCO (2003), ICH is relates to cultural heritage without physical manifestation, e.g. knowledge, memories and feeling; and it also can represent the immaterial elements which affect all human activities. (Stefano et al., 2014) The user who owns the knowledge and skill to perform with the instrument should be viewed as ICH. Furthermore, if we take Smith's (2006) idea and treat heritage as a mentality of experiencing and conceiving and all heritage should be intangible, the observer also was an element of heritage in the case. To Merleau-Ponty, the process of learning cultural heritage, including tangible and intangible, is a kind of communication between performers of cultural heritage and receivers. Thus, cultural heritage conservation cannot only focus on material cultural properties, i.e. tangible heritage. It should also assemble the culture performers and the scene where the culture is represented and cultural heritage receivers, i.e. broader ICH.

What is the relationship between personal past experience and the experience of others? Merleau-Ponty suggests that personal past experience is the basis for interpreting others' behaviours. He states:

> "[T]he first need is to know how I experience my own cultural world, my own civilization. The reply will once more be that I see a certain use made by other men of the implements which surround me, that I interpret their behaviour by analogy with my own, and through my inner experience, which teaches me the significance and intention of perceived gestures. In the last resort, the actions of others are, according to this theory, always understood through my own; the 'one' or the 'we' through the 'I'. … The very first of all cultural objects, and the one by which all the rest exist, is the

body of the other person as the vehicle of a form of behaviour" (Merleau-Ponty, 2002,

p. 406).

Besides ascertaining the meaning of a cultural object through explaining others' behaviours based on personal inner experience, Merleau-Ponty suggests that we can gain others' consciousness by comparing their emotional expression to ours. (Merleau-Ponty, 2002) In addition, language is another thing people can use to understand others' consciousness. To Merleau-Ponty, a communication which contributes to experience exchanging between a person and the others helps the person, the others and the thing they are discussing merge together as a common world where the experience of the person to the thing, the others to the thing and between the person and the others co-exist at the same time. All of them are subjects, not objects. While reading others' words, people's inner experience is also important. People recognise the meaning of a word through their body's perception and experience. In communications between people, there is a presupposed communication system that works like a dictionary. However, the meaning of words in sentences that people learn is far from the definition offered by the communication system. People learn the meaning of words from various context in which the significant meaning gradually accumulates via the experience of each use (Merleau-Ponty, 2002). Thus, the meaning of a thing is not an objective definition but is a subjective experience formed by the accumulation of every communication with other people.

Concerning the practice of historical landscape conservation, personal experience, which includes personal inner experience and experiences learnt from others, is a very important factor to understand the meaning of a landscape. People may visit a historical landscape without any knowledge about the site. They interpret it using their own experience from their life and the perception of their bodies. They may not reach a full understanding about the site at that

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moment. It is possible that their interpretation will change after ascertaining more experience and knowledge about the site. Furthermore, people may visit a historical landscape by having some experience or knowledge learnt from others. All this inner experience before visiting, experience learnt from others and perceptions received from the landscape during a visit weaves a new interpretation of the site. Of course, this new interpretation will affect other visits if an opportunity arises.

MDVs used to be lived places for the original residents and are heritage to citizens. Different people have their own experiences and interpretations about the communities. None perspective can represent the whole experience and meaning of MDVs. According to the analysis above, the phenomenological approach can be applied to reading narratives of the conserved landscapes of MDVs. To understand different stories about past and present MDVs, residents' memoirs, travel journals and literature related to MDVs, government policies on MDVs and conservational activists' (including MDV museum curators, site managers and culturati [3]) intentions and strategies are studied to describe subjective experiences of MDVs. The themes about MDVs in residents' memoirs, travel journals, and literature are various, the study focused on the stories related to MDVs space, lives, culture, and MDVs conservation. The study on government policies on MDVs focused on building, renewing, and management of MDVs. The study on conservational activists' intentions and strategies focused on activists' articles, interviews, exhibitions in MDV museums, and publications related to conserved sites management which express MDV museum curators', site managers and culturati's subjective experiences of MDVs.

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[3] 'Culturati' refers to the cultured people considered as a class or the members of a cultural elite. (Oxford University, 2002) It also indicates the group of people who are intensely interested in cultural affairs. (Merriam-Webster Inc., 2015) The latter definition is used in this research.

1.3 CONSERVING SENSE OF PLACE

In section 1.1 and 1.2, the analyses which were from structural approach based on Lefebvre's theory and phenomenological approach based on Merleau-Ponty's theory contributed two methods to describe meaning of space. The analyses also indicated a method to offer information of a conserved historical landscape to help people enrich their experience on the place. Another term, *sense of place*, which is similar to meaning of space but more progressive on creating people's identity of a space, usually appears in conservation discourse or is used on conservation activity, especially on settlement or community conservation. However, that *sense of place* had been explored by different disciplines and is a term without accurate definition (Castello, 2010, Davis, 2010, Hawke, 2012) makes choosing strategies to protect, present and represent senses of a conserved place become central concerns (Hawke, 2012). In addition, how to attract people to get involved, to cherish, even to identify with sense of a place is another concern. Thus, for judging the result of conservation of MDVs, it is necessary to review the notion of *sense of place*.

Sense of place is divers and changes faces through individual experiences and through time as a chameleon concept (Davis, 2010). Within heritage studies or heritage conservation, scholars and conservationists have explored *sense of place* from different approaching. Bella Dicks (2000) suggested that a place can be represented through heritage exhibition. Gillian Rose (1995) explained *sense of place* in three aspects: 1) nature, 2) structures of power, and 3) politics of identity. All of the three aspects assumed that the *sense of place* is given by humans, but different by whom. The *sense of place* can be neutrally attributed to human's natural ability. Or it can be top-down defined by structural power, e.g. government or feudal lord. It also can be bottom-up explained by emotional dynamics following individual political identity. Doreen Massey (1995) explored *sense of place* from the perspective of people's activities. The

relationship net of activity which can be individual or groups defined the place which people identify with. To avoid the list of explanation became endless, Lineu Castello (2010) suggested 10 aspects for approaching the essences of sense of place within heritage conservation: 1) narrative, 2) reputation, 3) natural assets, 4) association with a historic building, 5) association with political actions, 6) association with local tradition, 7) a building with emotive connotation, 8) the construction of a fantasy, an illusion, an image, 9) the availability of sensory enjoyment and comfort, and 10) the availability of goods, services or technological facilities. All of the 10 aspects are related to socio-cultural, morphological-imaginary, enjoyment-functional stimuli.

The analysis of essences of *sense of place* above offered feasible methods to represent spirit of place which Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's space theories lack. For example, Dick's suggestion, heritage exhibition, can be hosted with issues—*Spatial practice, Representations of space,* and *Representational spaces* suggested by Lefebvre or people's perspective spatial experiences with Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological approach. Furthermore, Castello's 10 aspects of *sense of place* also can be classified into Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's theories. The aspects of 3) *natural assets*, 4) *association with a historic building*, 6) *association with local tradition*, 8) *the construction of a fantasy, an illusion, an image*, 9) *the availability of sensory enjoyment and comfort*, and 10) *the availability of goods, services or technological facilities* can be viewed as subsidiary issues of *spatial practice*. The aspects of 5) *association with political actions* can be viewed as subsidiary issues of *Representations of space*. The aspects of 1) *narrative*, 2) *reputation*, and 7) *a building with emotive connotation* can be viewed as subsidiary issues of *Representational spaces* and phenomenological individual experiences. However, those feasible methods did not cast light upon how to build people's local identity which is one of important functions of sense of place; and, to John Agnew (1992), the concept of *local identity* expresses the dynamicity of sense of place.

The strategies for involving people to identify with sense of a place are diverse. First, telling stories and memories or teaching ICH of places in school, library or community hall, a top-down process, is a popular way to pass sense of place and to build population's identity of place. Second, an activity with bottom-up process can be another strategy for evoking people's perception and conception with a place. For example, Common Ground, a charity organisation in UK, raised an activity of cognitive mapping exercise which included creating parish maps and illustrating A–Z charts to help population to re-understand and build identification with their special local features through retelling stories and sharing meanings of place (Clifford and King, 1996). Third, the conservation strategy of Bologna is another method for protecting sense of place and building people's identification of their living place. The strategy, which was suggested by Pier Luigi Cervellati and was applied on Bologna conservation project in 1970s, protected culture and sense of a place through conserving key building types. The main concern of the strategy is culture of place, and assumed that culture grew in and was supported by physical settings. Thus, the project started by analysing local culture and building types of Bologna; then focused on protecting and rehabilitating key types of building to maintain the sense of the city and local people's lives (Pieri and Scrivano, 2004). Although the conservation project of Bologna was concerned about local culture and people's lives, local people did not get involved in decision making process of the conservation activity. The fourth strategy is Comprehensive Community Building, which adopted in Machi Tsukuri of Japan and community empowerment of Taiwan. The strategy suggested a bottom-up process to engage local people to rebuild identification with their special living place (Huang, 1999, Council for Cultural Affairs, 1994, Taiwan, 1997). Not like the activity raised by Common Ground which only focused on encouraging people to recognise the special features of their community, Comprehensive Community Building also concerns spatial practice. The strategy does not pre-set any issues, but encourages local people to take collective activity to set issues, discuss and generate solutions to problems of community. Through the collective activity, people can

understand their living environment and build identification to their special place. The last strategy is the concept of museum family which links local museums to be a museum network, e.g. Yilan Museum Family, Taiwan. The strategy adopts the concept of Eco Museums, which was developed by Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine in 1970s and became more flexible today (Davis, 2010), and broadly views the territory of whole Yilan County as a ecomuseum. Every museum unit is a local protector and representor of local culture and sense of place as a traditional museum. It is also a catalyst of activity of comprehensive community building which encourage people to participate in management, exhibitions, and activities of museum. Thus, the concept of museum family links museums as a platform which involves government, experts, activists, local people together to conserve culture and sense of their place.

The analyses of sense of place shows that the connotation of sense of place can be interpreted from diverse approaches. Conservation strategies for protecting and representing sense of place can be practiced in top-down or bottom-up process. Moreover, they can involves ICH, physical setting, or comprehensively integrated conservation. Affected by the trend of political democratisation and postmodern society, conservation in bottom-up process gradually becomes popular, especially in the territory of community conservation. Within heritage conservation, it may be a better way to involve the voice of grass-roots and to build local people's identification to their place. However, all of the approaches mentioned above lack clear approach to response to the dynamicity of sense of place over time; and a comprehensive analytic framework which involves analyses of the dynamicity is needed. Although the concept of museum family and ecomuseum offers a chance of communication for government, museum managers, and local people to set issues, discuss, and generate solutions to problems of conserving culture and sense of place, a clear framework for analysing meaning of a place from different perspectives and reflecting on dynamics of sense of place and for setting a criteria to judge the results of culture and heritage conservation is still necessary.

1.4 ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR STUDYING HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE NARRATIVES

The past is fascinating, especially traces of history can only be followed by finding other people's memories or historical materials. In Taiwan, as in other developing countries, pursuing modernisation and economic development have been most crucial national policies in the twentieth century. Some Taiwanese citizens, however, have found that places which richly contain traces of people's lives have been bulldozed to make a space for a modernised building. Under the pressure of urban modernisation, citizens were forced to transform their lives into new and modern lives. Their lives might have become better but they sometimes are left sad when looking backwards because things from their lives have been lost and cannot be shared with future generations (Hsia, 1995). Modernisation has changed people's lives and also the social context. Some buildings have been abandoned and become empty ruins because some people thought that they would not be suitable for the new society. No more lived stories are produced when residents have gone. The stories of the built environment may be told via some appropriate media, but it may be impossible to create current stories that are continuous episodes that follow the stories of yesteryear unless the places become lived in again and the past is appropriately represented. Following the concept of cultural property conservation becoming better known, people have gradually started to understand that residents are better narrators and composers of what it was like to live in a place, especially those who originally lived there. For example, the residents of Jhongsin New Village supported the proposal of integrated conservation which keeps the whole original physical settings and invited residents stayed in the village for protecting the most authentic MDVs culture and representing it to visitors. Thus, two things are important to the issue of conserving a historical place, particularly in an urban area. One is protecting the spatial context of a place by keeping its original architectural artefacts in the original locations and not removing and preserving them as antiques in a museum. The other is maintaining the existing social context of a place by keeping

the original users, maintaining their original using mode in the places and inviting the original

users to participate in conservational project activities if possible. The concept, protecting both

spatial and social contexts, is one of the most important reflections about strategies of historical

heritage conservation in Taiwan after the cultural heritage conservation issue was created and

practiced from 1929 during the Japanese colonial period.

1.4.1 NARRATIVES OF LANDSCAPE IN PHYSICAL SETTING AND INDIVIDUAL NARRATIVES

The territory of heritage conservation and landscape architecture used different terms to present

the concept of introducing a historical landscape to visitor. The former prefers interpretation

and the later leans to narrative. Interpretation indicates the way that has clear intention to

explain something. The interpreter usually is people. Narrative means to tell a story and its aim

is implicit. In most of situation, narrative needs further analysis to explain its veiled meaning.

And, narrator does not needs to be people, object also can be a narrator, like landscape.

Accordingly, narrative has wider definition than interpretation. This research uses narrative to

title the stories told by landscape and people.

Historical urban areas, similar to a palimpsest, contain traces of the past that offer imaginings

of the former environment, social structure, thoughts, behaviours and customs; or using another

term, culture. In many discussions about what culture is, the term is simply concluded as being

the life of a group of people and their production (Kroeber, 1952, Kroeber and Kluckhohn,

1952, Williams, 1995, Jenks, 2004, Williams, 2005). Concerning the issue of conserving a

historical site, what the accurate outline and content of the culture belonging to a place is not

easy to define because culture is a complex and ambiguous concept. The term of *culture* for

this thesis indicated people's thoughts or intentions presenting in or on a space. Depending on

different things or events, culture comes with different tags, e.g. spatial culture means users'

intention or thoughts applied on a space. Thus, the research analysed people's thoughts and intentions applied on things and events in MDVs to explore the culture of MDVs.

As the analysis above highlights, what information a cultural site should offer to visitors is a crucial issue for a conservation programme. In addition, how to help visitors and future generations recognise past culture as deeply as possible is also a problem in conservation practice. It is a more important issue to consider how to keep the culture alive, not a mere record of the past. Therefore, historical sites play both the role of culture container and cultural bridge that transmits the past into the future sustainably, whilst given a new social function, that of cultural heritage.

Lowenthal (1985) emphasises that the past has gone and what we can learn from it is only through residual materials and individual accounts of personal experiences. In addition, it is impossible to present complete certainty about the past because the evidence left on historical sites, recorded in books and remembered in some people's minds are selectively maintained and will be changed by the passage of time. For people in the present, the past may be misread when they only have selected historical fragments in hand. This highlights two key points. One is that people can directly perceive and conceive the past from remaining tangible properties, in the research i.e. conserved MDV sites and from individual accounts of the past that can be an interpretation and a narrative. The other is that an interpretation about collected historical fragments is helpful for revealing the hidden meaning behind selected pieces of the past and approaching, as far as possible, the authentic past.

Offering information to interpret the meaning of a historical site for visitors is an important task of heritage protection and management. However, not all kinds of information offered by the curators or managers of a historical site are interpretations. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the interpretation means: a) to expound, render, or explain the meaning of

something; b) to give a particular explanation of something; c) to make an explanation or give an exposition.

Tilden (2008) emphasises the importance of interpretation to introduce natural or cultural heritage to the public. He reduces various practical strategies into six basic principles:

1. **Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.**

2. **Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.**

3. **Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical, or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.**

4. **The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction but provocation.**

5. **Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part and must address itself to the whole man rather any phase.**

6. **Interpretation addressed to [a] child (say, up to the age of twelve) should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults but should follow a fundamentally different approach. To be at its best it will require a separate program.**

The principles above emphasise the relationship between heritage, interpreters, and recipients. The personality and experience of recipients must be considered when the interpreter presents the interpretation. Moreover, information has to be absorbed and rendered into acceptable material. It is, however, implicit and difficult to structure all strategies used in different cases into some general rules.

In the practice of heritage management, interpretation is considered a strategy to increase people's (including residents and visitors) understanding and appreciation of historic sites and to manage the site by explanations in time and space. The goals of interpretation are to enhance our enjoyment of natural, historical, and architectural assets, increasing awareness of the need to conserve those assets and assisting the management of specific resources (South Derbyshire District Council, 1998).

In 1999, Australia ICOMOS's Buarra Charter provided definitions and practical rules to help interpret heritage. In Article 1.17, the interpretation is defined as "all the ways of presenting the cultural significance of a place". Moreover, the explanatory note was modified further as "[it] may be a combination of the treatment of the fabric (e.g. maintenance, restoration, reconstruction); the use of and activities at the place; and the use of introduced explanatory material". The Burra Charter indicates the core issue and importance of heritage interpretation in Article 25. It explains that interpretation should help people learn the meaning of cultural significance in a place because the significance is implicit. Furthermore, interpretation should also help people culturally understand and enjoy the significance. The mission of heritage interpretation is similar to what Tilden (2008) states, "… through interpretation, understanding; through understanding, appreciation; through appreciation, protection".

Most discussions on heritage interpretations focus on how to transfer information or knowledge to percipients. The relations between heritage sites, interpreters and percipients is a kind of
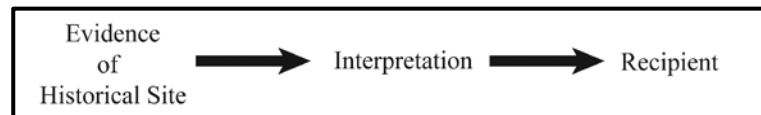
Figure 1. Information flow in a positivistic model
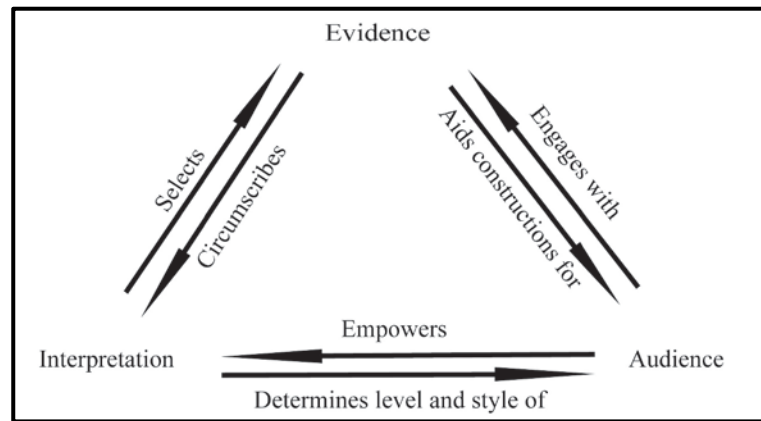
Figure 2. Information flow in a constructivist model (Adapted from Copeland 2006, p. 87)

positivistic model (Figure 1). Copeland (2006) argues that receivers are passive when accepting offered information during the presentation of an interpretation. Receivers may not learn the deeper meaning of the sites because they are filled with a lot of information that is hard to absorb at that moment. To solve this problem and enhance visitors' perceptions and conception of heritage, he suggests using a constructivist presenting model of interpretation (Figure 2). The key factor in this model is that visitors are treated as thinkers, not only passive information receivers. On one hand, visitors are encouraged to directly perceive from the historic evidence. On the other, the interpretation assists visitors to go further into understanding the meaning of the uncovered evidence. This model is familiar in the archaeology and many others discipline. In that case, every visitor is treated as an archaeologist facing a historic field. The interpreters and their interpretation help those amateur experts explore the field.

According to Copeland's interpretation model, the relationship between observers (visitors and interpreters) and a historic site or evidence is subject to object. The former is the subject who is not involved in the historic landscape. The situation of the historic site is fixed to what it was

like in the past. The newly installed activities and facilities are not considered in the interpretation presenting model. For example, the conservation activities, which include historic property rehabilitation, interpretation activity and visiting tour, etc., are usually neglected when interpreting heritage. The presented imaginings of a historical site are part of its past and do not include the present. Thus, what the visitors observe is the past of the site, not the historic site in the present.

Another term very similar to interpretation is narrative. In most discussions, narrative is usually related to literature, especially, in the discipline of narratology. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a narrative is a spoken or written account of connected events. To narrate means to recount or give an account as a narrative. In other words, a narrative is a story, with narrating being to tell a story. However, it is not only a story, it is also a kind of practice or art of telling stories, e.g. literature. To narrate is to give an account of, or tell a story as, a narrative, or to recount it. Like Cobley states, a narrative is "[a] movement from a start point to an end point, with digressions, which involves the showing or the telling of **story** events" (Cobley, 2001, p. 251).

Barthes expands on the styles of narrative from only being a spoken or written story to being any kind of media in which there is the potential to contain a story. Moreover, narrative is a *re*-presentation of events and, chiefly, *re*-presents space and time (Cobley, 2001). A narrative can be in any place that contains cultural items. As Meinig (1979) argues, every landscape should be cultural landscape. Human beings are only creatures in an environment. Landscape is conceptualised by our cultural events, which include observing, interpreting and building the landscape. A story can also be told through many different media forms, including literature, visual images, works of art, art activities and architecture.
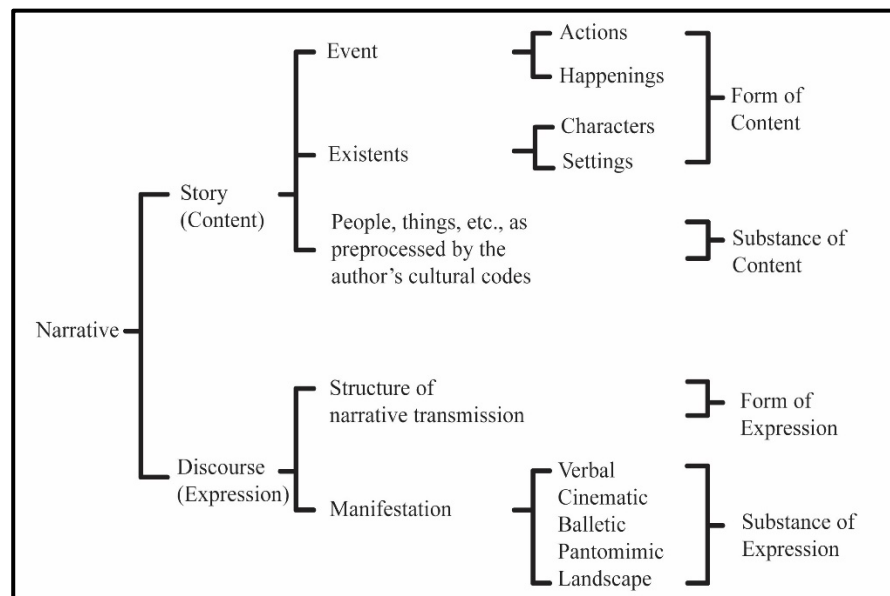
Figure 3. Narrative Structure (adapted from Chatman 1980, p.26)

Chatman (1980) explains that a narrative is a kind of structure that includes a story, the content of the narrative and the discourse, the performance of the narrative (Figure 3). Matthew and Jamie refer to Chatman's explanation about the structure of a narrative and use the idea in their theory and practice of landscape narratives. According to their theories, the landscape is a substance that contains and expresses stories that happened at that place. They suggest five methods to perform landscape narratives, which are naming, sequencing, revealing and concealing, gathering, and opening (Potteiger and Purinton, 1998).

In other words, landscape narratives to tell stories that happened at a place. These stories are the content of the landscape narrative. Another key point is how to tell a story using the landscape, the structure of the story, the form of the narrative, and the relationship between the story, narrator, narratee, and narrative recipient. This includes traces of people's lives at the place, the transformation of the landscape and the invisible culture of the landscape.

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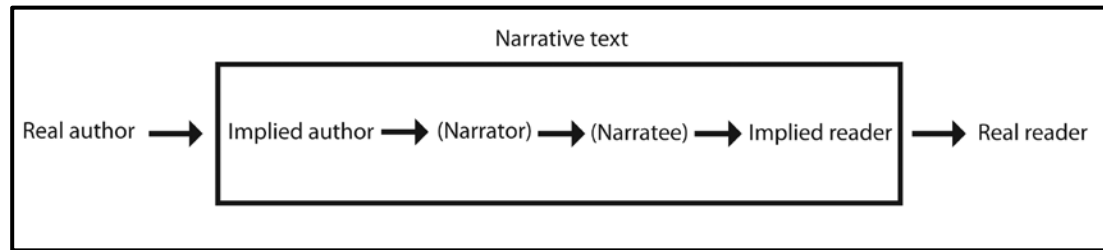
Figure 4. The flow of narrative communication (Chatman, 1980, p. 151)

Landscape narratives present a story about a place but also sometimes contain the narrator's commentary. Chatman (1980) explains that interpretation is one of the most explicit commentaries in a narrative. Interpretation offers an explanation related to the gist, relevance or significance of elements in a story. Two other explicit commentaries—judgement, and generalisation—can be included into the range of interpretation. However, Chatman left the interpretation alone into a kind of value-free commentary which explains the element in the story without doing judgement and generalisation. All of the different commentaries of a narrative can belong to the narrative givers (authors or narrators) or recipients (readers or audiences). The narrative givers' commentaries that attempt to explain the narrative appear, while the recipients try to deeply read the meaning of the narrative.

In a common narrative structure, the flow of communication is one way, like the one Chatman presents (see Figure 4). The process of communication starts from the author or interpreter and ends with the recipients. Most heritage interpretations adapt the single communication method to display the meaning of the heritage to visitors. One of the differences between heritage interpretation and a historical landscape narrative is the relationship between the narrative giver and recipients. Chitty (1999) argues that contemporary conventional methods to interpret and present the meaning of historic sites only offering historic information. They may perform or demonstrate those speeches, events or acts from the past and not really access current

information. The methods may include recreating the historic mise-en-scène that has gone. The presentation and interpretation help visitors deeply understand the histories of historic sites and enrich their experiences, whilst at the same time, the information in the presentation and interpretation may restrict visitors' perceptions and conceptions. Chitty emphasises the importance of triggering a visitor's imagination at historic sites, using James's article (1960) to explain what good interpretation about a historic site is. He not only directly offered historical information about a site but also narrated what he learnt from a site via his senses and the experiences he already had. His article expresses another possibility for visitors to access historic sites, encouraging them to open their minds to learn and imagine the meaning of the historic landscape. The narrative of the landscape offers visitors another imagination. Therefore, that they have read or did not read others' narratives may affect a visitor's experience about a place. For example, a visitor may learn that a traditional French house is just one type of historical house in France but may develop another special meaning about the space in those houses if they read Bachelard's (1994) ideas. For example, a visitor of a French house who had read Bachelard's *The Poetics of Space* (1994) may understand that a house is not just a place for living and also can reflect people's requirement for protected intimacy, e.g. the cellar means dark side and irrationality of mind and garret means bright side and rationality. Moreover, after visiting such houses, they may self-reflect and produce another narrative by themselves.

Basu and Macdonald (2007) cite Shapin and Schaffer's argument, explaining that the purpose of scientific experiment is to make the invisible visible, to analogise the essence of an exhibition, which is an experiment in meaning-making. The exhibition site works as a laboratory, in which visitors, curators, objects, technologies, institutional, and architectural spaces, playing as actants, are involved in a special relationship to narrate such knowledge.

1.4.2 MULTI-LAYERED HISTORICAL LANDSCAPE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

It has been mentioned before (p.26) that historic landscapes have similar features to a palimpsest, so earlier structures can be wiped away and re-write new messages on accumulates many past traces inscribed in different periods on the place. The traces of residents may be erased, covered or hidden by time. "[T]he majority of buildings are not palimpsests at all. As Freud once remarked, the same space cannot possibly have two different contents. But an urban imaginary in its temporal reach may well put different things in one place: memories of what there was before, imagined alternatives to what there is. The strong marks of presented space merge in the imaginary with traces of the past, erasures, losses, and heterotopias" (Huang, 2010, p. 7). The narrative of a historic landscape is not a closed narrative with a start and end but an open narrative that has no sequence, start or end. The meaning of the historic landscape can be enriched by layers of narratives and reading. The communication flow of the meaning is not a simple single way, but a circular system, like Merleau-Ponty (2002) suggests concerning the relations between subject and others in his *Phenomenology of Perception*.

The interpreters of historical sites have a chance to adjust their representation to suit different recipients, and have the authority to select what evidence should be displayed, or not. Moreover, it is not easy to communicate with other visitors if there is no appropriate sphere in which to demonstrate their experience.

Inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) theory on studying meaning of space, this thesis took history and settings of space and people's narratives about a space as the scopes for analysing historical landscape. Additionally, inspired by Merleau-Ponty's (2002) theory on studying perceiving and conceiving a space through body, this thesis added individual narratives about a space which includes personal memories, experiences, and thoughts about a space. Moreover, inspired by key thinkers of interpretation or narrative—Chatman (1980), Copeland (2004, 2006), Lowenthal (1985, 1998), and Tilden (2008), this thesis built a cyclic communication route from

reading text of historical landscape to communicating with other people. In consequence, this research suggests a multi-layered framework of historical landscape narrative to display how historical heritage can tell landscape narratives and be a cultural bridge transmitting its past to future generations (Figure 5).
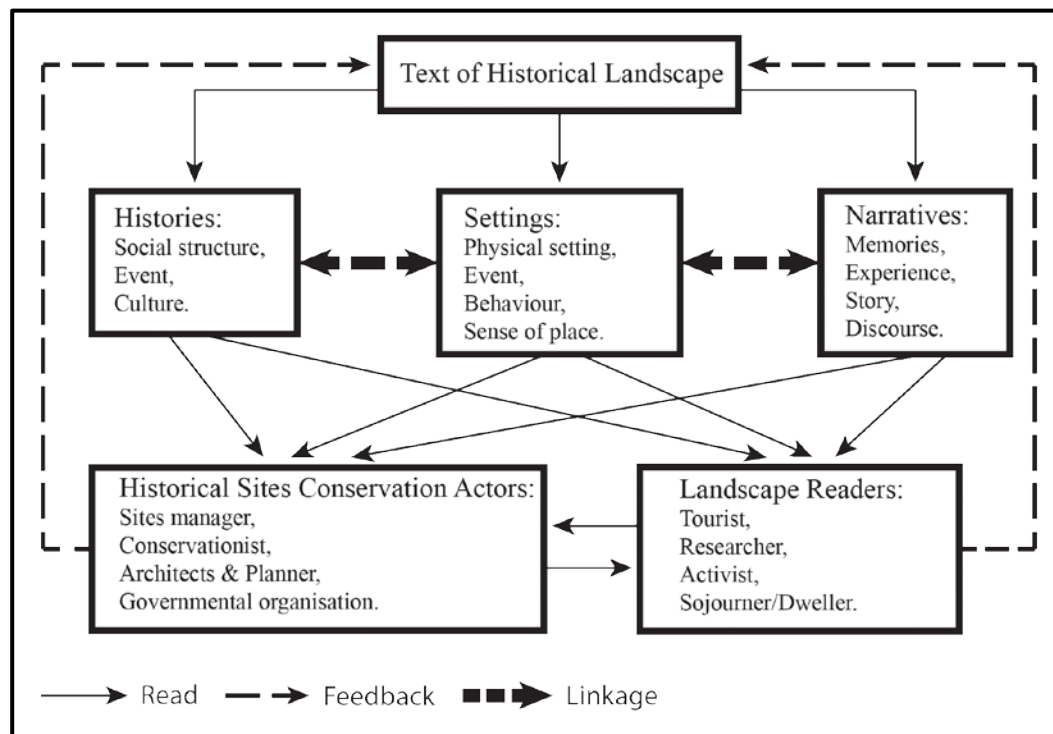
Figure 5. Multi-layered Framework of Historical Landscape Narrative (by author).

Initially, the historical landscape is considered as the text in the multi-layered structure. When people read the text, it can be analysed by splitting it into three factors: history, settings, and narratives. Both the participants of the conservational act and the landscape readers can directly read from the historical landscape. Or, they can understand the landscape through history or others' narratives related to the place. The conservation managers and the landscape readers may communicate the perceptions they get from the landscape. Both of their perceptions may echo the first impression on the landscape text and potentially even enrich it. In addition, the responses may improve the conservation strategy. Finally, the connection between history, settings, and narratives will be used to evaluate a conservational act. Thus, the authentic

situation of a conserved historical landscape read by a landscape reader is its status quo—it is both a temporary and dynamic situation. The situation not only can be perceived and conceived from its history, also should include the reasons used to selectively presenting history, the history of conservation, the spatial feature of landscape and people's narratives about the landscape. This research will apply multi-layered framework on analysing the landscape of MDVs including the aspects of the history of heritage conservation, the history and spatial feature of MDVs, the narratives of MDVs and visitors' experiences about MDVs' conservation.

1.5 THE SCOPES OF MILITARY DEPENDANTS' VILLAGES (MDVS) TEXT

The last section presents a multi-layered analytic framework model that can be applied to read the text of a historical landscape. A historical landscape narrative text can be analysed separately in relation to three aspects: history, settings, and narratives. The representation of the three aspects in the historical landscape and the related space influence the reader's perceptions and conceptions about a historical site. In addition, readers' responses (including space planner and users, visitors, and dwellers) may affect each other if there are proper opportunities to communicate. Finally, their responses may change the spatial practice or landscape narratives of the place.

This section will present more details about analysing historical landscape narratives using the multi-layered framework, especially focusing on MDVs texts. After analysing Lefebvre's and Merleau-Ponty's theories in early of this chapter, this research suggests three practicable items, selected history, heritage in collective memories and body experiences, which can be uses to analyse historical landscape narratives.

1.5.1 SELECTED HISTORY

History is the first analytic item in the model. What history should be studied when reading a historical landscape text? What history should be represented at the historical site? In addition, what history should be absorbed and emphasised into a historical heritage conservation activity to help people imagine the past of the site and continue the historical sense of the place? The research objects about history of conserved MDVs focused on the history of conservation activity of Taiwan and the development history of MDVs.

The aim of historians is to discover, collect, organise, analyse and present information about past events. "[I]n its traditional form, undertook to 'memorize' the *monuments* of the past, transform them into *documents*, and lend speech to those traces which, in themselves, are often not verbal, or which say in silence something other than what they actually say; in our time, history is that which transforms *documents* into *monuments*" (Foucault, 1972, p. 7). Moreover, "[h]istory in this sense is not to be understood as the compilation of factual successions or sequences as they may have occurred; it is the fundamental mode of being of empiricities, upon the basis of which they are affirmed, posited, arranged, and distributed in the space of knowledge for the use of such disciplines or sciences as may arise" (Foucault, 2002, p. 237). In the process of memorising the monuments of the past into documents, raw historical materials are selected to present and interpret the history by the presenter or the interpreter, according to the condition of the discourse they have to hand at that time. It is possible that the past can be presented and interpreted in different ways. Therefore, a meta-reading is required to read historical narratives. In the *English National Curriculum*, students are taught to recognise the situation and be able to distinguish and explain the different ways of representing and interpreting the past. (Copeland, 2004, Stone, 2004) In brief, history is not totally equal to the actual past. It is, however, the basis of knowledge about the past. Like Lowenthal states, "the actual past is beyond retrieval; all we have left are much-eroded traces and partial records filtered through divers eyes and minds" (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 106).

Even though history is a selected representation and interpretation of the past, should historical landscape conservation represent all of the history that we know about a site? According to Lowenthal, history and heritage work for different purposes, "[h]istory tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished and despoiled by export" (Lowenthal, 1998, p. 128). To Lowenthal, the properties of heritage are different from knowledge of history in several places. Firstly, heritage does not pursue a general and objective past description, and is exclusive for building the identity of a unique group and may not tell the true history, causing visitors to misread it, whilst being a cherished myth to the group. Unlike history aiming to present as clearly as possible about what happened in the past, heritage may maintain a distance from the truth and it may not catch the faithful outline and content of those past events when it represents and interprets them. In addition, instead of linearly listing the sequence of historical events as some historians do, heritage tries to blend all of the past as an entire construct. Putting all of the past into a single frame allows heritage to be easily linked to current life because it highlights ancestral trails and values felt to accord with current people's perspectives. Lowenthal notes that heritage is not a thing that belongs to the past, as treated by history, but is something refashioned for the needs of present life. Heritage is more familiar than the historical past to current people. It is everyday life that has been passed down from the past and will go on into the future (Lowenthal, 1998).

1.5.2 HERITAGE IN COLLECTIVE MEMORIES

Compared to selected history, heritage is closer to people's present life. It is shared by a group of people and reconstructs the image of their past. In other words, heritage is a collective memory selected and interpreted by a unique group to explain the image of their past. However,

it is still unclear how selected historical events or ICH become heritage to a group and what degree heritage is meaningful to people today who share it. Furthermore, Lowenthal's concept of heritage does not note the diversity of heritage. In other words, not every heritage is shared by each member in a society; there are various heritages belonging to different groups and each group has themselves collective memory about a heritage which makes the meaning of each heritage is diverse. To make the relationship of social collective memories clear, Halbwachs (1980, 1992) suggests two concepts to build the social structure of memory. One is collective memory that suggests that it is the memories shared by all members of a group. As there are many groups in a society, the second concept, the social frameworks of memory, works as an instrument that collects all of the collective memories of a society and reconstructs them to shape the past image of the society according to the main thoughts of the society during that period. His concepts imply that the past image or heritage of a society can be reformed or re-interpreted when the faith, notion or interests of people change. Thus, the meaning of heritage is not fixed, but dynamic. People in different periods give different meanings to heritage depending on peoples' needs during a given period.

To Halbwachs, not every individual memory has to be part of the collective memory and put into social memory frameworks, although every person will have memories. His concepts suggests that individual memory can be memorised and passed down when it has been collected by a social group and located in memory frameworks. That is to say, individual memory becomes meaningful when it connects with social memory because individuals live in a society and are not isolated. In this way, collective memory and memory frameworks also supply individual memory when they are bound with and determined by individual memory. People reconstruct their past through building the social memory frameworks of their epoch. The collective memory and memory frameworks form the milieu of a society. This milieu offers the grounding for members of a society to recollect and confirm their individual memories. The

recollection of memories does not only involve individual perceptions and conceptions with the milieu but also with others' responses to the collective memories and frameworks. The milieu then becomes pressure that forces members of the society to reconstruct their memories to match the frameworks (Halbwachs, 1992).

Assmann (2011) suggests four aspects for analysing collective memory and social memory frameworks. The first is mimetic memory, which explains that people learn actions or behaviours from others and build their action memories. The mimetic memory not only includes how to use instruments, like writing, cooking, constructing and so on, with Assmann also following René Girard's (Palaver and Borrud, 2013, Assmann, 2011) ideas and indicating that everyday manners, customs and ethics are involved in mimetic memory. Another aspect of memory is the memory of things, which refers to those objects around a person's everyday life. These objects represent personal tastes and identity, and also indicate what the person is and their past. The third aspect is communicative memory, which is memory related to communicative interaction with others using language. According to Halbwachs's theory, language communication is a main factor that helps form the most content and most collective memory frameworks. The final aspect is cultural memory, which involves the three aspects mentioned above, including actions, things and communication, and gives meanings to every of them. It is also the aspect that a society passes down to their future generations. The collective memory and social memory frameworks offer an analytical method to better understand the past image of a society.

 Halbwachs does not clearly explain the relationship between individual memory and collective memory when indicating that individual memory becomes meaningful because it is associated with the collective memory, stating, "[w]e cannot property understand their relative strength and the ways in which they combine within individual thought unless we connect the

individual to the various groups of which he is simultaneously a member" (Halbwachs, 1992, p. 53). In other words, individual memory is formed through the interactive process between a person and others in a social group. This interaction is the main part of collective memory and what can be located in the social memory framework.

Bourdieu's (1977, 2010) theory can explain why the interactive process between an individual and society can form a collective memory, something Halbwachs does not clearly analyse. Bourdieu suggested two concepts, field and habitus, to account for the relationship between an individual and society. Moreover, it can be used to explain the disposition of individual memories in the collective memory and social frameworks. To Bourdieu, analysing a society is difficult because its essence is a field that contains a network of social relations among objective social positions. In Bourdieu's theory, field refers to a structured social space with its own rules and built via interdependent agents' competitive performances. There are various fields indicating different social spaces, like economics, education, politics, culture and so on. In each field, these competitive performances develop objective social relations that define the values, rules, criteria and so on belonging to the field. These objective social relations or, using other term, the structured social environment produces habitus (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu, 2010). Bourdieu adopts the term *habitus* from the Latin verb *habere* meaning to have or to hold. He uses the term to address people's regulated behaviour and follows a structured system composed by principles of practice, without being the product of obedience to some external structure (Bourdieu, 1977). Habitus expresses the durable and transportable social disposition that represents social reality with the embodied social structure and the social attitude (Bourdieu, 1977, Bourdieu, 2010).

Bourdieu argues that both subjectivist and objectivist approaches for analysing society have a gap and cannot comprehensively represent authentic social reality. He notes that subjectivism

does not involve the social ground that is an important aspect of shaping personal consciousness and that objectivism focuses on social structures and ignores that the individual is an element of society whose conceptions and perceptions shape social reality. Therefore, he suggests the two concepts, field, and habitus, as the solution for filling the gap between objectivism and subjectivism (Johnson, 1993). That is, to Bourdieu, the objective and subjective factors that affect individual-to-individual and individual-to-group interactions in the field, the structured social space, are the representation of social reality. The habitus in a social field is the production of its history. Moreover, habitus "produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 82).

According to Halbwachs' theory, collective memory and social memory frameworks form the social milieu in which an individual can locate their personal memories and build a connection with a social group. To Bourdieu, society is assembled by various fields, in which, each have diverse habitus. Habitus shapes individual and collective performance in the social field and also shapes the social milieu. Since both collective memory and social memory frameworks, and habitus in the social field, represent social reality, they can be analytical aspects for studying historical landscape narratives and heritage conservation practices.

1.5.3 BODY EXPERIENCES

Reading through the body is another way to understand the meaning of historical landscape texts. The body is a kind of memory storage in which the memories of the emotional spatiality of the human body and haptic[4] and other sense based experiences are accumulated. Since people are not isolated in a society, body experience includes both the experience of the

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[4] The haptic experience, according to Bloomer and Moore (1977), not only indicates the sense of touch, through the instruments of touch, like the hand, but also involves the tactility of the entire body.

physical setting and communicating with others (Bloomer et al., 1977). To Merleau-Ponty (2002, 2004), the two body experiences should be discussed together because they are intertwined with each other in the sense of being-in-the-world. However, it will be clearer if we discuss them separately.

According to Merleau-Ponty's theory, language and behaviour are expressive methods for people to communicate their experiences, perceptions and conceptions about a place and what the meaning of the environment is to them. In studying how behaviour implies people's innate thoughts about a place, Rapoport (1982) suggests a method, a nonverbal communication approach, to study the meaning of an environment. To him, the environment is a teaching medium that influences what is deemed appropriate behaviour by people. Accordingly, people's behaviour expresses the experiences they have learnt from the environment and the meaning they give to a place. He follows Hall's (1990) theory, which distinctively places the environmental meaning into fixed-feature, semi-fixed-feature and non-fixed-feature [5] elements. The fixed-feature elements rarely, and if they do, slowly, change properties, e.g. the two lion statues in front of the Nottingham Council House and the entrance gates of MDVs. To Rapoport, the meaning of fixed-feature elements have to be supported by other elements, albeit with some arguing that the setting, locating and orientating of those elements imply the meaning offered by the people building them. The semi-fixed-feature elements are related to those items that can be easily and quickly changed or relocated, e.g. the annual artificial beach on the Old Market Square, Nottingham and election posts and banners of CNP in MDVs. These semi-fixed-feature elements demonstrate more environmental meaning than fixed-feature elements because the former indicates personal control over a place in the context and the personalisation has less impact on fixed-feature elements. Both fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature elements offer an environmental context and meaning, but still need the supplement of the third aspect, non-fixed-feature elements, which is the main element that the nonverbal communication approach focuses on, according to Rapoport. The non-fixed-feature elements are related to the human occupants or inhabitants in a setting, e.g. hosting BBQ party in summer in Britain and Male veterans playing Chinese chess and female residents chatting on street in MDVs. Furthermore, Rapoport lists some potential observational points that include occupants'

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[5] Rapoport suggests that the term 'non-fixed-feature' is better than the term 'informal elements' suggested by Hall.

or inhabitants' shifting spatial relations (proxemics), their body positions and postures (kinesics), hand and arm gestures, facial expressions, hand and neck relaxation, head nodding, eye contact, speech rate, volume and pauses, and many other nonverbal behaviours. These three feature elements do not work separately, with the fixed and semi-fixed elements affecting the preference of the non-fixed elements. In short, Rapoport's nonverbal communication approach studies the performance of non-fixed-feature elements in the environmental context of fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature elements (Rapoport, 1982).

Rapoport's research approach suggests two directions for analysing landscape texts. One is the physical setting that includes fixed-feature and semi-fixed-feature elements. The other is the behaviour, the non-fixed-feature elements, which people perform in a given place. For historical landscape conservation, the study of behaviour can be separated into past and present behaviour. The former demonstrates the past environmental meaning, with the latter expressing the present meaning. Past behaviour can be studied in history or narratives and represented in performances, like in drama on a stage or action art at a historical site. The represent behaviour at a conservation site, including acts, events and behaviours, and can be viewed as the body being affected by the adjusted historical landscape that describes what people learn from a site. As Fu'F Bear describes in her blog about the Simple Market in Shi-Shi South Village (SSV), what the square collects is not fashion packaged commercial commodities or fair common goods, but is the feeling of the place that is full of crowds. It is the feeling of people communicating through meeting in person and transferring their personal values to others. People are attracted by others who have the same feelings and values. It is a place in which we can slow down to perceive others and communicate (Fu'F Bear, 2012).

The physical setting of a historical landscape can also be studied in two directions: the past and adjusted settings. It can be said that every setting that involves people is to some degree meaningful to somebody. However, it is difficult to find all of those meanings and every detail about a physical setting, as well as being impossible to preserve and present all of them in a

conservation site. Evidently, selecting and presenting the more important elements make clearer landscape narratives than presenting everything. The study of space in cities can offer some suggestions for analysing the physical settings of historical landscapes. Lynch (1960) suggests five basic elements, paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks, to recognise the image of a city. Rowe and Koetter (1979) suggest six urban elements - memorable streets, stabilizers, potentially interminable set pieces, splendid public terraces, ambiguous and composite buildings, and nostalgia producing instruments - that help people learn the history of a city. What we need to keep in mind is that the six elements mentioned above do not contain all of the stories of a city but may easily catch people's attention and construct an image of the city quickly.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed specific theories on how to analyse a historical landscape text. It can be approached using a structural method (based on Lefebvre's theory) and also using a phenomenological method (based on Merleau-Ponty's theory). After reviewing the literature about heritage interpretation and landscape narratives, a multi-layered analytical framework for studying historical landscape narratives has been built. It suggests three aspects, history, settings and narratives, to analyse historical landscape texts and also helps estimate the effect of a conservation site by checking the degree of connectivity between the three aspects. The three aspects are interwoven together and affect the perception and conception of the landscape readers and those involved in historical site conservation acts. It is a dynamic structure that can help accumulate the collective memory and meanings of a given place.

The three aspects can be distinguished into several elements. The aspect of history contains social structure, events and, culture of a historical landscape. The aspect of narratives includes collective memory, individual memory, personal perception and experiences. The aspect of

settings includes the physical setting and the events, acts, behaviours in the place. These

elements are the main scopes of this research and are tools for building past imaginings of a

historical landscape and the present sense of the place.

CHAPTER 2: CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE VISIONS OF CURRENT CULTURAL HERITAGE CONSERVATION

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter, the theories about space and place and strategies about conserving sense of place were discussed. Ways how people recognise and perceive space were also presented. All aspects structured the main framework of landscape narrative about cultural heritage. History is one of the three main aspects of the framework about the narrative of cultural heritage; history is not only related to the story of the development process of a heritage site, but also includes how the site became a heritage. In other words, the criteria against which we judge historical objects or past cultures are parts of the landscape narrative of cultural heritage, and it is an important aspect that reflects how a society values their own cultural properties. In this chapter, the definition of heritage, the development of the concept of heritage, and the current strategies of heritage conservation are critically discussed.

Aplin asked the readers of his book, *Heritage: identification, conservation, and management* (2002), three sets of question at the beginning of the first chapter:

> "• What is your heritage? What things would you include? • What would you include in the heritage of each of the various groups to which you belong or have been belonged in the past? • Would other people's heritage be different?"

These questions hinted that the concept of heritage and what sort of heritage content should be provided are involved with subjective value and aesthetics. Following those questions, more questions which were related to the components of universality, natural heritage, authenticity,

and music, craft, and dance and so on that are named 'intangible' heritage, were raised. It seems that almost every property could be heritage as long as the property has been involved in someone's life and has been cherished.

Theoretically, every object, skill, or thought could be someone's or a group's heritage if these heritages features are meaningful to her/him or them. In private territory, it is possible to retain every personal representative belonging and to pass down every intangible property to one's descendants without any rational reason. However, it may be very difficult to nominate any property as heritage and then preserve or conserve it for a group, as no matter what size the group is, they do not need persuasive reasons or criteria for selecting their heritages.

After a property is nominated as heritage, it also means that the heritage will be presented to the public for identity, educational, social, and commercial reasons. The following questions address how to manage or maintain the heritage and how to present the heritage. They seem quite easily answered in theory, but complicated in practice because of the complex condition of each heritage. Like the reasons for selecting heritage, the criteria for managing or presenting heritage could be different between groups and could change as time goes by. Even though a limited budget or poor technique may restrict the result of heritage conservation, the associated thoughts and practices will reflect the social attitude about heritage conservation at that time; and the result will form a new memory overlapping on the heritage site and immersing within it as a part of it.

According to the multi-layered framework in chapter one (Figure 5. p. 55), the aspect of histories is not only related to the development of a historical landscape; setting criteria for nominating heritage and inscribing a historical site to be heritage are also important historical events for analysing a historical landscape. The history of heritage selection and nomination

shall be put on the route of feedback that historical sites conservation actors and landscape readers respond to histories, settings, and narratives of a historical landscape and redefine the meaning of the landscape. The history reveals how a society value their cultural property and shows the transformation of meaning of a historical landscape. Within MDVs conservation studies, reviewing key theories which affected selection and nomination of heritage in Taiwan is necessary for explaining why MDVs are heritage today.

Accordingly, the World Heritage Convention (WHC) (1972) and the series reports of Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention are the most effective legal instruments and criteria for selecting, protecting, managing, and presenting heritage (Smith, 2006), this chapter starts the discussion about the WHC and the Operational Guidelines. Then an explanation of the uses of heritage and strategies for heritage conservation follows. Finally, the definition of tangible heritage and intangible heritage are critically reviewed.

2.1 THE CRITERIA FOR INSCRIBING HERITAGE

2.1.1 THE OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE (OUV) AND CRITERIA FOR HERITAGE NOMINATION IN TAIWAN

Nowadays, the WHC is the most universally adopted legal mechanism which is used on the field of cultural heritage conservation for the members of United Nations and also is important references within heritage studies and conservation in Taiwan. Despite the fact that the articles in the Convention mostly focus on those heritages which are representative on a global perspective, they also affect the attitudes and criteria for selecting heritage, no matter whether a heritage is classed as a regional, national, or universally important property (Aplin, 2002,

Smith, 2006). They also are the way to understand what the visions of cultural heritage conservation are today. Although Taiwan is not a member of the United Nations and did not sign on WHC, the OUV listed in WHC still affected legislation of conservation heritage in Taiwan (Lee, 2008).

The most crucial convention held about cultural heritage conservation was the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage which was adopted by UNESCO in 1972 and known as the WHC. The Convention combined the concepts related with conservation of natural and cultural properties. Next, the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention were issued after the Convention by the World Heritage Committee (WH Committee). The Operational Guidelines were revised to adopt new concepts, knowledge, or experience of conservation if necessary. In the Operational Guidelines 2012, the definition of world heritage includes three categories - cultural, natural, and mixed heritage. There are three groups in the cultural heritage category:

1) **monuments:** architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) from the point of view of history, art or science;

2) **groups of buildings:** groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of history, art or science;

3) **sites:** works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of Outstanding Universal Value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view. (UNESCO, 2012, p. 13)

The three definitions established the range of cultural heritage involved, from a single work to sets of works, and the circumstances where the cultural material circumstances in which the cultural materials became such. The most important in the definitions is the Outstanding Universal Value which is used as the criterion for selecting valuable heritage. In the same Operational Guidelines, there are several descriptions for defining the OUV about cultural heritage.

1) **represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;**

2) **exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;**

3) **bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;**

4) **be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;**

5) **be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human**

interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

6) be directly or tangible associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria). (UNESCO, 2012, pp. 20 - 21)

In those criteria above, the OUV is based on the foundation that the cultural heritage should be, or reflect, a range of factors such as masterpiece, human values, and significant or outstanding example. However, as per Smith's argument, the foundation of such a definition is not clear. Moreover, it had to be remain unclear to retain its flexibility and tolerance (Smith, 2006). The value of selecting heritage can be diverse when it is applied to different societies, or even in different groups. From other points of view, the ambiguous criteria of OUV indicate that the definition about value is fluid and maybe changed in different periods and in different societies.

Cleere (2001) argued that the concept of universal culture should only be applied to the phases of human cultural evolution and may be applied to the global cultural phenomenon of the late twentieth century. The criterion of the OUV "appears to be an implicit assumption that there are values that transcend regional and chronological distinctions, a notion that is deeply rooted in the European cultural tradition, combining historical and aesthetic parameters that derive from classical philosophy" (Cleere, 2001, p. 24). To Cleere, culture should be diverse, and most cultures belong to specific regions of themselves according to anthropological and archaeological theories. Therefore, cultural diversity in itself is the essence of the universality and "the wealth of that diversity should be given full and equal recognition" (Cleere, 2001, p.

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24). He also thought that the concept of universality in the criteria of the OUV was failed to implement the crucial notion of cultural diversity.

In the 2008 study edited by Jokilehto (2008) on the criteria for the OUV it was shown that the content of each criterion had been revised several times to respond to the demands of the States party of the WH Committee from 1976 to 2005. The study indicated that it was not easy for the definition of the OUV to be clear or fixed. To clear figure out the use of the criteria in the application of new world heritage nominations, in 2005, ICOMOS issued a report analysing the process of heritage nomination and proposed three frameworks - *typological* frameworks, *chronological* frameworks, and *thematic* framework. The thematic framework can be used as a complement to identify the use of the criteria of the OUV. There are six main themes in the framework; there are 1) expressions of society, 2) creative responses and continuity (monuments, groups of buildings and sites), 3) spiritual responses (religions), 4) utilising natural resources, 5) movement of people, and 6) developing technologies. Each main theme has several subthemes which can be developed through the years. It appears that the open framework can resolve Cleere's argument, but the concept of universality is still retained in the OUV.

After WW II, there was no available heritage conservation and nomination Acts in Taiwan until the first edition of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was issued in 1982. The Act is the first comprehensive law with categories and criteria for nominating heritage. According to the Act, the heritage were clear classified as five categories: 1) Antiquities, 2) Monuments, 3) National Arts, 4) Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts, and 5) Natural/ Cultural Landscapes. However, the criteria for inscribing heritage is blur and roughly described as that the cultural heritage is the property which has historic, cultural, or artistic value (Lin, 2011). The heritage

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committee hosted by government holds the power to judge the value of a historic or cultural property and people did not have right to legally suggest cultural property to committee. The third amendment of the first edition conservation Act increased heritage categories to 6 by adding Historic Building and empowered people or organisation to suggest cultural property to heritage committee. But, the committee still had the power to judge the value of a cultural property. Because the first edition of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act could not cope with the situation of heritage conservation on aspects of classification, nomination, and management of heritage, the second edition was issued in 2005 followed by the announcement of the second of the Enforcement Rules of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in next year. The classification of heritage was re-organised in 7 categories: 1) Monuments, Historic Buildings, and Groups of Buildings, 2) Archaeological Sites, 3) Cultural Landscape, 4) Traditional Arts, 5) Folklore, 6) Antiquities, and 7) Natural Landscape. There are more detail definition of every category in the Enforcement Rules. Nevertheless, the same as the first edition of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, the criteria for inscribing heritage is still blur and roughly described; and the power of valuing cultural property still is held by governmental heritage committee, even people and organisation can suggest property to committee and attending valuing meeting.

According to the analyses of OUV and the legal criteria for inscribing heritage of Taiwan above, cultural diversity and voice of minority were concerned. Nonetheless, the power of inscribing heritage is still held by heritage committee. The political affection is usually intangible, but is an important factor for analysing meaning of a conserved historical site, e.g. MDVs conservation. The meaning of MDVs was analysed in chapter 5 later.

2.1.2 AUTHENTICITY AND INTEGRITY

Integrity is a less controversial issue in the area of heritage conservation. To present richer features and real significance of cultural property, including as many elements and sites is needed. In the Operational Guidelines (UNESCO, 2012) there are three requirements:

1) **includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value;**

2) **is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance;**

3) **suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect (UNESCO, 2012, p. 23)**

They are used for assessing what elements should be kept to maintain the integrity of the heritage.

Unlike the issue of integrity, authenticity - or the originality as another word - is a more difficult issue which draws very divisive opinions in the heritage conservation discourse (Aplin, 2002). A cultural property is deemed to be a cultural heritage when it wholly or partly matches the criteria of Universal Value and also has to meet the criteria about integrity and authenticity. The authenticity was an issue of concern in the Charter of Venice in 1964 (ICOMOS, 1965). In the Charter, experts suggested that all physical settings, materials, and documents have to be preserved as much as possible. Any change or added part must be easily distinguished from the original part if the change or addition is necessary. These principles founded the basic spirit of maintaining authenticity of heritage and enhanced the authenticity of past physical objects and history.

The spirit about authenticity in the Charter of Venice was adopted by the Nara Conference on Authenticity. Cultural heritage was treated as a source of trustful knowledge about the past in

the Nara Document on Authenticity published in 1994. The information offered by the cultural heritage should be "credible and truthful, in consequence, the original and subsequent characteristics of cultural heritage, and their meaning, is a requisite basis for assessing all aspects of authenticity" (WHC, 1994, pp. 2 - 3). However, in the Nara document, experts also admitted that the value judgement about cultural heritage is variable. It is impossible to offer fixed criteria of

Figure 1. The Ogimachi (Retrieved from http://ja.wikipedia.org)
The village still maintains the authentic traditional life style and at the same time residents developed tourism to ensure that the village and traditional life can be conserved.

authenticity. Thus, the Nara document suggested that the cultural context has to be concerned over cultural heritage conservation, and conservational strategies should be set according to the "specific nature of its heritage values and the credibility and truthfulness of related information sources" (WHC, 1994, p. 3).

It is quite difficult to preserve the authenticity of heritage if we still think that retaining authenticity means to keep a heritage state in its original situation. As Jokilehto (1995, p. 31) said in his paper for the Nara Conference, the change of use of a heritage will affect its cultural authenticity. He suggested that the concept of authenticity was not to "freeze change", but instead should try to build up a sustainable development structure of planning and management with realistic resources. It is a sort of dynamic context and the concept of authenticity should be seen as a relation to traditional continuity. Therefore, he defined authenticity "as something that sustains and proves itself, as well as having credit and authority from itself" (Jokilehto,

1995, p. 19). In addition, "authenticity can be understood as a condition of the heritage resource, and can be defined in the artistic, historical and cultural dimensions of this resource" (Jokilehto, 1995, pp. 31 - 32).

The concepts of authenticity and integrity present a vision of heritage conservation as maintaining a circumstance in which people can both perceive and conceive the aura of the cultural heritage and the continuity from past to current. In the case of the Ogimachi, a famous Japanese traditional mountain village, conservation expressed the attitude of the community trying to continue the authentic physical setting and their social-cultural context (Figure 1). The village is located at Shirakawa Village, Gifu County, in the middle of the main island of Japan and has been there from the thirteenth century. Its population is less than 2000, but the tourists, attracted by the village, number more than one million per year. It was nominated as a Preservation Districts for Groups of Traditional Buildings in 1976, and was inscribed into the list of World Heritage Sites in 1995. The most significant feature of the village is the building type, *gassho-tsukuri* (clasped-hands style). There are a total of 113 *gassho-tsukuri* buildings in the village, and 109 of them were inscribed as protected traditional buildings. These buildings were originally peasants' houses. Nowadays, around 30 per cent have been transformed into hostels, and a further 30 per cent are run as restaurants. Others have been transformed into museums and local product shops. The village found three institutions to handle the affairs of environment protection and management, heritage investigation and development, and tourism. Although the inscription of World Heritage Sites and tourism affected part of the life style of the residents of the village, most of residents still keep their traditional vocation as peasants and live the traditional life they have always done.

A comparative case is the Naganeupseong Folk Village in South Korea (Figure 2). The Village, located at Nagan-myeon Suncheon, in the south of South Korea, was built in the seventeenth century. There are more than 200 residents living here. It was seriously damaged in the Korean War. In 1983, the village was listed as a historical site by Korean government and restoration began in 1984 over a period of three to four years. The restoration hosted by Korean government was not to recover the damaged part caused by the Korean War, but only to restore the important public buildings, gates, and some traditional private houses, and to remove 98 private houses which were not suitable for the theme of folk village. Four more traditional private houses and two traditional food stores were newly built.

Figure 2. The Naganeupseong Folk Village (Retrieved from http://www.nownews.com)
The village was restored as a folk village, but all private houses are lived in by local people.

Figure 3. Experiencing traditional Korean straw weaving for tourists in the Naganeupseong Folk Village (Retrieved from http://www.nownews.com)

The Korean government offered good compensation for the residents and 40 per cent of the entrance fees are shared with the residents; at the same time they are bound by a condition of having to really live in the village. Although the Naganeupseong is a folk village, not every resident is employed by the manager of the village. Most of the young residents are working in the modern city, and only the elder people perform traditional skills and exhibit traditional way of life for tourists (Figure 3). Some of the
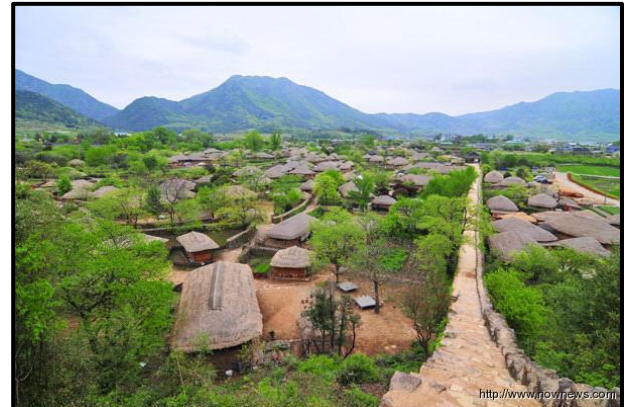
private houses are run as hostels. There are celebrations during the big full moon when folk hold contests in lunar January, the folk cultural festival in May, and the food culture festival in October.

From the restricted definition of authenticity, the Naganeupseong Folk Village is not a good case for maintaining its original situation. There are too many reformed or new-built buildings even though they are of the traditional style, material, and construction. However, besides those traditions are performed, the reformed village still keeps some authentic traditional Korean lifestyle aspects, skills, and events which evenly tangible heritage does not, e.g. ICH kept by straw weavers.

According to the analyses of integrity and authenticity of heritage and the two conserved cases above, conserving integrity and authenticity of heritage does not need to completely keep a heritage state in its original situation, but should keep conservation practice sustainable as Jokilehto's (1995) suggestion, i.e. keeping its sense of place. The Korean and Japanese cases showed that the original residents are the key element of a conserved site which keeps the ICH of place. The original residents are also the most important interpreters who can perform the ICH and sense of the place to visitors.

Within analysing and conserving sense of place of MDVs, residents' narratives and settings are significant aspects for keeping integrity and authenticity of MDVs. Both aspects are also key factors of forming sense of place. However, according to the analyses of conserving sense of place in section 1.3, dynamics is essential feature of sense of place. Thus, integrity and authenticity of historical landscape shall not be restricted as an unchangeable status, but dynamic.

2.2 THE DEBATE OVER TANGIBLE OR INTANGIBLE HERITAGE

The concepts of heritage protection have been developed for several centuries in the West. They were started from the collecting of antiquities, and then incorporated the attitude of restoring heritage according to the style and period of the historical objects. After the argument about historic authenticity, the attitude of heritage protection was turned to preservation or conservation in the nineteenth century. The principle of preservation or conservation is to reveal, protect, and present the truth of historic objects. (Jokilehto, 1999, Munoz Vinas, 2005, Orbasli, 2008) The principles of heritage preservation and conservation developed further in the twentieth century. For example, the project of the building of the Aswan High Dam aroused international attention on world heritage protection in 1959 and UNESCO became the main global organisation for world heritage conservation (UNESCO, 2013b). After the Aswan event, UNESCO supported and became concerned with world cultural heritage preservation and natural heritage conservation. The UNESCO principles and conventions about heritage conservation started from focusing on tangible heritage, including movable and immovable features, and then on natural heritage. Even though intangible heritage conservation had been discussed for a long time in UNESCO, the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage was not issued until 2003 and came into operation in 2006 (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2004, Smith, 2006).

The first international normative instrument issued by UNESCO related to the protection of intangible heritage[7] was issued in 1989 (Aikawa, 2004, Blake, 2002). Intangible heritage was

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[7]. The Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore is the first formal normative instrument for the protection of intangible heritage.

only considered an aspect of folklore. In the document, folklore was defined as the "totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community" (UNESCO, 1989). Folklore reflects the cultural and social identity of a community, including groups or individuals. It can be expressed in the forms of language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts (UNESCO, 1989). The definition of intangible heritage was extended in the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage in 2003. The intangible heritage indicates the field of "the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage" (UNESCO, 2010, p. 2). It includes the aspects of "(a) oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; (b) performing arts; (c) social practices, rituals and festive events; (d) knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; (e) traditional craftsmanship" (UNESCO, 2010, p. 2). Nowadays, the notion of intangible heritage involves people, their thoughts, and the environment where they are living; as a consequence it is also termed a "living heritage" or "living culture". Unlike a material object which is fixed when it was made, intangible heritage is continuously recreated by the community who owns it, in response to their environment (UNESCO, 2013a).

In the definitions of intangible heritage in the last paragraph, both the genres of folklore and intangible heritage imply that the tangible heritage and intangible heritage may not be distinguished from each other; that is, intangible heritage supports the meaning of tangible heritage. Like dance, games, rituals, handicrafts, architecture, and cultural spaces mentioned above, they are not created from nothing but from humans' thoughts. Without involving the hidden thoughts, the tangible heritage items are only material. On the other hand, the definitions of cultural heritage introduced in the last section also imply that tangible heritage can help

people to recognise human history, traditions, identity, ideas, and beliefs because it reflects how people respond to their living environment. For theoretically integrated heritage conservation, both tangible and intangible cultural properties should be considered and treated equally (Ito, 2003). However, in practice, the world heritage inscribing system of UNESCO is still distinguished into tangible and intangible aspects according to its main cultural properties.

What parts of tangible and intangible cultural properties should be included in integrated heritage conservation? All of the definitions about tangible and intangible heritage discussed in the paragraphs above were focused on cultural properties passed down from the past. Moreover, the main concern in the conservation principles is how to keep the original situation of the cultural property, both tangible and intangible, what people thought about the cultural property in the past, and how to pass it down to the future. Ideally, this concept of conservation is thinking about how to keep or rehabilitate original status of the past as much as possible. However, the concept about heritage and its conservation is fluid and changes over time. Furthermore, the meaning of a cultural property for a society is not always the same; again, this may change over time. Harvey (2001) argued that the meaning of heritage involves the change of a society, while Glendinning (2013) noted that the story of the Conservation Movement in the Western world should be read in the context of the modern Western society and accompanied by the concept of modernity. On the one hand, the concept of heritage conservation in the Western world was tightly linked to the coding and rationality of knowledge and practice of power, while on the other hand, it also stood against modernity in the aspects of old and new, traditional and modern, and static and dynamic. Consequently, the contemporary conserved heritage in the Western world does not only narrate the story of past, but also the present story which describes the thoughts on how people identify with and cherish their cultural properties.

Extending the idea that tangible heritage involves intangible heritage, and vice versa to the furthest point, in her 2006 publication the *Uses of Heritage*, Smith argued that all heritages should be intangible heritage because they are not inscribed objectively, but recognised subjectively. She explained that the idea of heritage is not a "thing" but "… a cultural and social process, which engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present" (Smith, 2006, p. 2). From her point of view, heritage is intangible because it is a kind of mental activity which is how people treat and understand cultural properties. As a consequence of the intangibility of heritage, to learning from a heritage is not to perceive and conceive the cultural objects or events themselves, but the meaning of the influence of the heritage (Smith, 2006).

In brief, a conserved heritage, which includes both tangible and intangible heritages of the UNESCO's definitions, narrates the past and present story of itself. Even though, most of conserved heritages present their historical perspectives, the hidden part about why the cultural property became heritage is also involved in the whole meaning of the heritage.

Important historical religious architecture is usually listed as one sort of tangible heritage due to the fact that it is a main place in which disciples host rituals and worship. The beautiful architectural design and building skills are also another reason why religious architecture is inscribed as a heritage. However, visitors

Figure 4. Mengjia Longshan Temple (Retrieved from http://taipei.traveleredge.com/GRAPH/longshan_1088.jpg)

cannot learn whole narratives of the place if they only focus on material cultural properties. For instance, the Mengjia Longshan Temple in Taiwan was listed as grade II national heritage in 1985 because it is an important historical Buddhism temple which was built in 1738 to mainly worship Guanshiyin Buddha, with around another 165 deities (Figure 4). The site layout, typical Taiwanese classical

Figure 5. The dissenters gathered in front of Longshan Temple in the 519 Green Activity, a protest against the Martial Law of Taiwan (Retrieved from http://www.chiangkaishih.com/2012/03/7.html)

architectural style, elaborate structure, elegant decoration, high-level building skills, and important Buddhist cultural properties were the main perspectives of the heritage preservation. The main foci are tangible heritage. It is hard to understand the cultural and historical value of the temple without learning the intangible properties related to the religious place. Without the knowledge of Taiwanese classical architecture, people do not know why the temple was built in the style and with the layout that it shows, and with many decorations. It is difficult to know why there are some Daoism deities are worshipped in the Buddhist temple if visitors do not have a general knowledge of the development and situation of Taiwanese religion. It is also impossible to understand why the religious place became an important political gathering point for those who supports Taiwanese subjectivity if people do not know Taiwanese history and the population layout in Taipei city (Figure 5). Therefore, the tangible and intangible cultural properties together create the sense of the place of the Longshan Temple.

Figure 6. The ritual of Dajia Matsu arriving at a visited temple during the annual tour (Retrieved from http://images.epochtw.com/20090323/a3-4.jpg)

Figure 7. One of the parade teams preforms during the tour. (Retrieved from http://blog.roodo.com/paulmild7/bb5f9270.jpg)

Intangible cultural properties help people to understand the tangible heritage. Conversely, tangible cultural properties also support intangible heritage. For example, the Dajia Matsu's[8] annual tour in Taiwan is an important religious annual event of popular belief (Figures 6 and 7). The annual event was inscribed as an important national intangible cultural heritage of Taiwan in 2008. The annual religious tour spends nine days of walking more than 300 km; this starts from the Dajia Matsu Temple, and heading for the Jiayi Matsu Temple, and returns to Dajia on the last day. During the tour, Dajia Matsu visits more than 60 temples[9] followed by

[8] Matsu is a deity of the sea who is popularly worshipped in the Fucheng Provence of China and Taiwan.

[9] Which temple the Matsu will visit cannot be actually planned. The route may be decided by the Matsu's revelations during the tour.

more than one million disciples and many parade teams. The purpose of the tour is to drive evil and disaster from the route along which the disciples travel, and to pray for peace from Matsu. The intangible religious heritage would lose its cultural value without the temples visited in the tour, the parade teams, and the artificial instruments and objects like Matsu's sacred sedan used in the tour.

The intangible and tangible cultural properties support each other and may develop into many cultural forms and formations. The Japanese Tea Ceremony[10] is one of the most important Japanese intangible cultural heritages (Figures 8 and 9). It is not a feature of native Japanese culture; and it was introduced from China in the ninth century. It has many different schools after developing over hundreds of years. Every Tea Ceremony school has its own principles for making tea. Those principles establish the

Figure 8. The performance of the Japanese Tea Ceremony (Retrieved from http://www.epochtimes.com/b5/5/2/26/n828342.htm)

Figure 9. Utensils of the Japanese Tea Ceremony (Retrieved from http://www.koryu.or.jp/kaohsiung-tw/ez3_contents.nsf/14/3F08A2BC8298492949256EBD001E978F?OpenDocument)

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[10] The Japanese Tea Ceremony is also known as the Chaodo or the Art of Tea.

aesthetics and formation of the Tea Ceremony which include the procedures and sequences of making and serving tea, and the selection of utensils. However, the most important development and essential spirit of the Japanese Tea Ceremony was adopted from Zen Buddhism in the twelfth century when Zen was introduced to Japan from China. The essence from Zen was developed and named as Ichi-go, Ichi-e which literally means one-time, one meeting. It was framed by the tea master, Sen no Rikyu, in the

Figure 10. The Yugaotei Tea House was built in 1774, and is the oldest building in the Kenroku-en, Ishikawa, Japan. The Kenroku-en, developed from the 1620s to 1840s, is one of the three great gardens of Japan. (Retrieved from http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:2002_kenrokuen_hanami_0123.jpg)

sixteenth century. He believed that serving tea expressed the spirit of Zen, focusing on the present moment. Therefore, every meeting is once in lifetime - it will never 'be' again. Following the concept, each tea serving is unique in one's lifetime and should be best at that moment of serving. The serving should totally express the server's concern for the receiver. The essential spirit was not only applied to the performance of the tea ceremony, but was also used as the main concept of the Japanese tea house and the garden around the tea house (Figure 10). According to the essence of the Tea Ceremony, the aesthetics and tea-serving formation of every school of the Tea Ceremony all follows the same formation which was transformed from the essence by the school founder. Without knowing the essence of the Japanese Tea Ceremony, every school of the Tea Ceremony will be frozen in a fixed formation and it is hard to conceive and perceive the narratives of the Japanese tea house and garden, i.e. only tangible cultural heritage left, but ICH lost. Conversely, without the diversity of the Japanese tea culture, the essence of the Tea Ceremony is a concept which may not be easily conceived.

Thus, according to the analyses above, analysing and conserving sense of a historical landscape, e.g. MDVs, shall involve tangible historical materials and intangible cultural properties. The concept had been adopted in the multi-layered framework in chapter one (Figure 5. p. 55) which analyses government's, conservationists' MDV museum managers', residents', and visitors' narratives besides analyses physical settings to explore the sense of MDVs.

2.3 THE AUTHENTICITY OF CONTEMPORARY CONSERVED HERITAGE

Cultural heritage protection and conservation, which are the first part of the heritage conservation plan, are followed by the presentation of heritage. Heritages are not only protected for and by those organisations which are related to conservation projects, but are also simultaneously presented to the public. As was stated in the first part of the 1999 International Cultural Tourism Charter, people own all of the heritages in the broadest sense and "have a right and responsibility to understand, appreciate and conserve its universal values" (ICOMOS, 1999). In addition, Ashworth and Tunbridge described how heritages have become a form of tourism resource for a city for tourism after the long-term development of the urban conservation movement which emerged from Europe. Since then, tourism had been involved into urban planning as a function of a city (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). When cultural or natural properties are nominated as local or world heritages, they are demonstrated on a stage for the public to express what cultural properties we want to keep and pass down, and to express some kind of value which we attach to the properties, and those heritages are endowed with functions including as symbols of identity, objects for research or education, or tourism destinations. In other words, the nominated heritage offers a platform for cultural exchange and discourse negotiation, and also provides a cultural site to exchange personal experience.

The presentation of conserved heritage involves two aspects - what the presenter provides, and what the visitor receives. In chapter one, the text of a historical landscape content based on three aspects - history, settings, and narratives was discussed. In addition, the three aspects will be shared between the members of conservational activities of historical sites (not need to be professionals) who present these sites to landscape readers, who in turn learn the cultural significance of a place from the presenters. In the analysis of the theoretical framework, both the members of historical sites activities and landscape readers can play the roles of narrative provider and narrative receiver. However, most of contemporary studies on the aspect of interpretation or presentation in heritage conservation usually distinguished their approaches in two aspects. One is that discussed from the view of the presenter from the aspects of strategy, interpretation, and management of heritage conservation; the other is that studied from the view of the visitor, most of whom are cultural tourists. While leisure travel, combined with experiencing heritage and the past has long been an important factor in cultural exchange territory, it has become an important aspect in contemporary heritage conservation.

From the perspective of heritage managers, the presentation of a cultural heritage expresses the curatorial intention of interpreting the heritage. Depending on the attributes of cultural heritage concerned, there are various presentation forms. Viken (2006) compiled a table to classify the presentational forms which are often used to demonstrate cultural heritage today. The classification combined Kirschenblatt-Gimlett's (1998) notion about forms of cultural heritage demonstration with categories of cultural heritage, and material-immaterial, and listed four types of cultural heritage presentation (Table 1). Those four types may be combined to present the authentic meaning of the heritage to visitors. In the categories of *in context*, the cultural objects are referred to against an interpretive frame which guides how visitors experience the objects. The interpretive frame transits strongly the heritage manager's intention to interpret the

heritage over visitors' authentic experiences (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1998). In the aspect of *in situ*, although the presentation of heritage mimics the past cultural properties, the interpretive

Table 1. The (re)presentational forms of cultural heritage (Viken, 2006, p. 61)

	In *situ*	*In* context
Material cultural heritage	Cultural monument; material objects which are conserved	Museum collection
	Cultural expressions of the past not conserved	
	Reconstructions at the locality	
Social (immaterial) cultural heritage	Living tradition	Narrative representation; text, picture and oral presentation (for instance, from a guide)
	Staged events or life forms	
	Revitalised tradition and/or life forms	

texts are needed in some cases to help visitors understand the performance. Furthermore, it is impossible for the mimetic performance to represent the whole of the past culture or life because it is constituted by heritage managers and their curatorial intentions (Viken, 2006). Thus, all forms of presentation of cultural heritage are conducted by heritage managers and affected by curatorial intention.

As mentioned above, interpretation plays an important role in heritage presentation, including tangible and intangible heritage, when it reinforces the information which was selected by site managers for the whole heritage presentation. The aim of interpretation is to demonstrate the cultural significance of a heritage to the visitor (Australia ICOMOS, 1999). The essence of interpretation is "a process of communicating or explaining to visitors the significance of the place they are visiting" (Timothy and Boyd, 2003, p. 195). It hints that the managers are story tellers and visitors are receivers. Tilden (2008) pointed out that interpretation is not a sort of instruction and does not force anyone to accept it. Some interpreters believed that entertainment may not be appropriate in presenting heritage; nevertheless, interpretation should not be uninteresting and should be as attractive as possible for the visitor. Timothy and Boyd (2003) discussed several authors' thoughts and expanded on the roles of interpretation as *education* and *entertainment*. Furthermore, in turn, the two roles work together, as the third role of heritage interpretation, in inspiring visitors to love and take care of the heritage. All of the three roles - education, entertainment, and promotion - were suggested for the managers of heritage sites. In the aspect of education, interpretation at a heritage site does not play the role of an official educational course, and visitors are not obligated to accept it. However, the manager should introduce the heritage to visitors with proper interpretation aided by the setting at the site. The interpretation should help visitors learn the past of the heritage and the history of preservation or conservation of the site during the trip. Besides playing the role of education, interpretation should also properly include entertainment to make the interpretation to be easily understood by visitors. An active and interesting interpretation may help attract more visitors to the heritage site and improve visitors' experiences in the site. In other words, to play the three roles well, interpretation should try to extend the authenticity of the heritage to visitors, to offer interesting interpretation and events to amuse them, and to get people to cherish the heritage more.

In the three roles of interpretation, visitors appear to have become the main concerning factor. The manager of a heritage site has to think about to what degree the interpretation can help visitors learn from the site, and also whether the interpretation can arouse visitors' curiosity and motivation to learn from the heritage. However, the relationship between heritage presenter and visitor according to most of the research in the field, e.g. Tilden and Timothy and Boyd, is like that described by the positive model of interpretation in the chapter one which offers a single route from presenter to narrative receiver, and is dominated by the presenter. The text of a historical site is explained and selected by presenters for visitors. What the visitor usually do is only passively receive the marked information, if he/she do not have motivation to critically think the offered information and to sensitively experience heritage.

The interpretation or narrative provided by the presenter of a historical site may not give all the information on the place from every perspective. As mentioned above, heritages serve various purposes, which include political, educational, or touristic. The interpretations are made to suit different properties of heritages by the managers of the heritage site. The main interpreter is usually a professional who works with conservation or management of heritage. For local people who know a place, the interpretation offered by experts of organisations may too simplified by ignoring too much details or other perspectives, e.g. individual memories, local groups' experiences. Moreover, although professional interpreters are often hired due to their specific expertise and philosophies about heritage, their explanations of the heritage are still affected by their group background and organisational philosophies and do not include the voice of grass-root.

> [T]he majority of 'official' interpretations strongly reflect the beliefs and philosophies
>
> of the dominant group in society, and, whether as a result of conscious decisions or not,

> more often than not they reinforce the dominant perceptions of the hegemonic group. The perceptions and personal interpretations of members of minority groups are likely to be relegated to the background, if they are mentioned at all, unless a conscious effort is made to include alternative interpretation (Aplin, 2002, p. 31).

Accordingly, the main interpretation only presents the selected part of text of the historical landscape which is developed in accordance with the thoughts of the authority who manages the landscape. Moreover, the main interpretation may present the selected part of authenticity which follows the managing strategies. However, it could be worse in that the interpretation may spread a sort of twisted history to achieve the manager's purpose.

Theoretically, the manager and the interpreter of a heritage site should present real authenticity of the site; so that visitors can receive and experience the real authenticity. However, there are gaps between the real authenticity and the authenticity of a heritage presented by the manager and experienced by the visitor. MacCannell posited that searching for authenticity is one key feature of modern tourism. He borrowed the terms *front* and *back regions* from Goffman's notion about social establishments to portray the tourist's behaviour of searching for authenticity through experiencing the *back region*. MacCannell argued that the authenticity presented to the tourist is performed by those who are toured as a kind of *staged authenticity* to satisfy the tourist's desire of gaining authenticity during their visiting (MacCannell, 1999). Feifer, (1986) and Urry and Larsen (2011) pointed out that searching for authenticity is not the key aim of the tourist; their key aim is mainly to enjoy pleasure and play. Those tourists know that it is impossible to experience real authenticity on a tour; therefore, they tend to amend their expectations, and instead appreciate the *inauthenticity* of the tour. All the processes of a tour are reassembled as a game, which is arranged for the entertainment of the tourist. (Feifer, 1986,

Urry and Larsen, 2011) From the views of tourists, not all tourists only travel for fun. Urry mentioned that playfulness is one factor of a tourist's concerns (Urry and Larsen, 2011). In addition, education, health, group solidarity, pleasure and play, heritage and memory, and nation might be some of the lenses through which the tourist views the attraction. Thus, tourists catch different meanings of a cultural landscape under different ways of reading it themselves.

According to the discussion above, authenticity in heritage tourism is not objective, but both relative and subjective. Cohen (1979) proposed four types of authenticity in different touristic experiences (Table 2). The first type is the *authentic* experience. In this situation, the heritage is real and the tourist perceives and conceives the scene as real. The second type is *staged authenticity*, e.g. the performances of traditional skills and events in the Naganeupseong Folk Village. In this situation, although the scene is staged by heritage manager, tourists feel the scene is authentic in their experience because they do not have enough prior knowledge to distinguish the staged part from the real heritage. The third type is *denial of authenticity*.

Table 2. Four Types of Touristic Authenticity (Cohen, 1979)

| | | Tourist's Impression of Scene | |
		Real	Staged
Nature of Scene	Real	(1) Authentic	(3) Denial of Authenticity (Staging Suspicion)
	Staged	(2) Staged Authenticity (Covert Tourist Space)	(4) Contrived (Overt Tourist Space)

Opposite to the second type, in this situation, the true scene is offered, but, tourists recognised that the scene is inauthentic and staged for them according to their knowledge or personal experiences. The fourth type is *contrived authenticity*. The scene claims to be staged and

tourists know that the scene is staged. In the distinction, the tourist's subjective experience plays a crucial role in judging the authenticity of the heritage.

Not only do tourists' personal intellectual capability and experiences affect their perceptions and conceptions about the authenticity of heritage, but also the various demands from different factors affect the presentation and interpretation of heritage. For example, the interpretation of the history of a heritage could be formed by tourist demand, economic and business processes, and political pressures, as Timothy and Boyd (2003) described.

Due to the fact that the pure authentic experience of heritage is impossible and that the authenticity is more dependent on tourists' personal subjectivity, to demonstrate or gain authenticity in heritage conservation may not be meaningful. From Wang's point of view (1999), even though the objects of tour attraction are totally inauthentic, tourists can turn their view to existential authenticity which is subjective and controlled by the tourist himself. The existential authenticity comprises two dimensions which are *intra*-personal and *inter*-personal. The *intra*-personal authenticity focuses on a tourist's personality which includes bodily feeling and self-making. The *inter*-personal authenticity focuses on communication and inter-activity between the tourist himself and others including family ties and touristic communitas. Wang's suggestion can be partly referred to the framework of analysis of historical landscapes text in chapter one (Figure 5., p.55). The authentic text of historical landscape exists in personal experiences about the landscape and the communication between landscape readers. However, the framework goes further than Wang's suggestion. The authenticity can also exist in members' experiences of the historical sites conservational activity and their communication with others. In addition, the landscape readers and conservation activists' responses, which are practiced on the historical sites, also belong to the authenticity related to the sites. Following Timothy and

Boyd's (2003) suggestion, authenticity as an aspect of tourism may not be worthy pursuing; instead the focus should be on tour quality. The quality is judged by the match between the tourists' expectations and experiences and the products of service and presentation offered by heritage managers. Although this suggestion may be an alternative for pursuing the almost impossible drive for authenticity, it could cause commoditisation of heritage, if tourists' demands are placed first by heritage management.

SUMMARY

The chapter reviewed and analysed the perspectives of current cultural heritage conservation. First, values of heritage are not given, but recognised (Harrison, 2013). Political, economic, social, and cultural factors affect how people value historical objects. In addition, the criteria for valuing historical objects are not fixed, but changed over time, even in the same society.

Second, the concept of integrity and authenticity is important for maintaining heritage and representing the value of heritage. For maintaining cultural property and representing all features of heritage as much as possible, the concept of integrity is still accepted in the aspect of heritage conservation. Nonetheless, the concept of authenticity has been changed from restrictive preserving of the original to sustainably maintaining the physical settings. Retaining the traditional physical settings and the sense of the place and sustaining heritage in living is better than preserving an original ruin.

Third, most discussion and documentation distinguished heritage into tangible and intangible components. However, all of tangible heritages are involved with intangible significance because heritages are recognised subjectively. Moreover, the sense of place involves tangible

and intangible cultural properties, and it also involves past, present, and future potential. People cannot learn the meaning of heritage if they neglect the invisible part.

Finally, presenting authenticity of heritage to visitors is complicated. On the one hand, the heritage presentation is affected by curatorial intention, interpreter's profession, and visitors' demand. On the other hand, authentic experience of heritage may differ due to the diversity of visitors' aims, cultural background, and intellectual capability. Thus, authentic experience is not objective, but subjective and personal. The authentic experience of a heritage site exists in people's perception, conception, and communication.

CHAPTER 3: THE HISTORY OF HERITAGE CONSERVATION IN TAIWAN

INTRODUCTION

In the last two chapters, the theories about space and place, the framework extended from those theories about landscape narrative relating to cultural heritage, the value of cultural heritage, and visitors' authentic experiences were discussed. According to the above discussion, a historical site being transformed into a cultural heritage and being presented to the public involves setting the physical environment, valuing cultural property, and personal conceptions and perceptions of cultural heritage sites. In other words, it is related with material spatial practice, knowledge and thought about cultural heritage conservation, and personal living experience.

This chapter set out to decipher the structure of heritage inscribing in Taiwan, in order to understand the history of heritage conservation. The studied time span starts from the period of the Cing Dynasty rule before 1895, through the period of Japanese rule from 1895 to 1945, and ends at the period from 1945 until 2013 when Taiwan was ruled by the government of the RO C to trace back the germ of the concept of heritage and conservation and how they were transformed. The contents will include knowledge and criteria about cultural heritage, the cases which were affected by the knowledge and criteria, and personal living experiences.

In the Cing Dynasty, the thoughts about and criteria relating to heritage were recorded in prefecture and subprefecture gazettes which were edited by scholars or literati. Common people still did not have the concept of heritage and conservation. The first law for heritage conservation in Taiwan was issued by the Japanese government in the Japanese ruling period.

However, heritage inscribing was used as a political tool to remember the people and events during Japanese rule of Taiwan and to link Taiwanese national identity to Japan. Taiwanese cultural heritage was a sort of capture - it was from the 'other-group', and did not belong to the 'we-group' from the Japanese perspective. After World War II, there was a window for conserving heritage due to the fact that the ROC government in Taiwan did not address heritage conservation as its main policy. In addition, because of the high-tension hostile situation between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP)[11], the heritage inscribing also was used as a political tool to ensure the legality of CNP's authority. Furthermore, after Taiwan was ruled by the ROC government, Taiwan's national identity turned from Japan to China. Heritage was also used for enhancing cultural and national identity, not to Japan, but to China at this time. The window period ended in 1982 later the first edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was issued. The law offered a more comprehensive legal basis for heritage conservation. In 2005, the second edition of the Heritage Preservation Act was issued. It responded to people's requests for integrity in heritage conservation and a flexible strategy. Moreover, following the democratic trend in Taiwan, heritage inscribing was not only the right of government. More and more people had the sense of heritage conservation and volunteered to participate in conservative affairs or helped to nominate their cultural property as a heritage. The criteria of selecting heritage were not fixed; they became flexible and discussible.

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[11] The Chinese Nationalist Party is usually translated as Kuomintang of China.

3.1 HERITAGE CONSERVATION BEFORE 1895

There were no records or documentation about the heritage of Taiwan until the Cing Dynasty ruled Taiwan. From 1684 to 1895, the Cing Dynasty ruled, several gazettes were published by different levels of governments or administrators. According to the records in those gazettes, the Taiwan Prefecture Gazette is the first official document which has records about heritages in Taiwan.

There are more than 40 gazettes which were published in the 212 years of the Cing Dynasty rule period; 21 of them are well complied with systematic structure[12] (Chen, 1996, Lin, 2011). Most of the gazettes are separated into around 10 volumes; a few include more than 20 volumes. For example, the Taiwan Prefecture Gazette (1695)[13], complied by Gao Gongqian[14] who introduced the writing style followed by later gazette writers, listed 10 topics with 80 sections in 10 volumes, which includes territory, rules and regulations, order of government officials, defence preparations, taxes, order of rites and ceremony, layout of the land, people, foreign affairs, literature and art.

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[12] Gazettes of Taiwan were composed and published by different levels Taiwanese local governments or administrators in the Cing Dynasty rule period. There are more than 40 gazettes which include prefecture gazettes, subprefecture gazettes, county gazettes, and township gazettes. They are a kind of historical and geographical information records. 21gazettes which were published by prefecture, subprefecture, or county governments are well complied with systematic structure, e.g. Taiwan Prefecture Gazette, Tamsui Subprefecture Gazette, and Jhulo County Gazette.

[13] The Prefecture Gazette compiled by Jiang Yuying (蔣毓英), who was Taiwan Prefect, in 1865 is the first official gazette; Gao Gongqian's (高拱乾) gazette in 1695 added to or corrected the contents in most of the topics based on Jiang's gazette.

[14] Gao Gongqian (高拱乾) was the Superintendent of Military Affairs in Taiwan and Xiamen (臺廈兵備道).

The topic of layout of the land[15] records the life and customs of people who lived in Taiwan. Most of the customs records are focused on the customs of the Han race. Further, the records were divided into two sections, Han customs and foreign customs[16] (Figures 1 and 2). The record of life and customs presents cultures of physical material, ceremonies, celebrations, rituals, beliefs of gods and ghosts, praying for blessings and warding off evil. The physical material, including food, clothes, instruments, implements, and living places, belongs to the

Figure 1. Local Foreign Custom – House Construction (Retrieved from Jhuluo County Gazette)

Figure 2. Local Foreign Custom – Transplanting Rice Shoots (Retrieved form Jhulo County Gazette)

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[15] The topic of the layout of the land is also named the Customs Annals in some gazettes.

[16] Here the foreign customs means the Taiwanese indigene's customs. The Taiwanese indigene was a foreigner for the Han race which emigrated from mainland China to Taiwan.

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tangible heritage; the other customs belong to intangible heritage, but techniques, skills, and crafts are not included.

The other topic, related to heritage in a gazette, is Miscellaneous Notes, which usually is the last and least important topic in a gazette. The heritage mentioned in Miscellaneous Notes is tangible; it includes cultural heritage and natural heritage. For example, the Tamsui Subprefecture Gazette listed eight spots of special scenery and named them the Tamsui Eight Views[17]. One of the eight spots - the Hobe district and the mouth of the River Tamsui - was selected because of the beautiful mirror-like seascape, and the steamships that often passed by (Figure 3). In the aspect of cultural heritage, city wall, castle and fortress, well, temple, tomb, kiosk and pavilion, garden, and stele were usually incorporated in this topic. Moreover, in the aspect of natural heritage, mountains, pools, lakes, and wetland which offered picturesque views were collected.

The criteria which were used to select cultural or natural heritage for gazettes concerned the rational and sentimental values of heritage. For the former, the criterion focuses on what historical trace and educational function the heritage can offer. Therefore, the heritage must be aged or a place in which historical events happened a long time ago. The other criterion weights how the heritage is magnificent or beautiful, or to what degree it can evoke the echo in a person's mind, particularly a literate. For this reason, the heritage may have an unusual scene

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[17] Tamsui Eight Views include Peak of Mt. Wujhih (Five Fingers), Sea View of Siangshan, Snow View of Keelung Islet, View of Sun Set from Mt. Fongshanci, The View of the Mouth of River Tamsui and Ship, The Mouth of River Sia, the Illusion of Jiantan (Sword Pool), and the Tide of River Tamsui at Guandu.
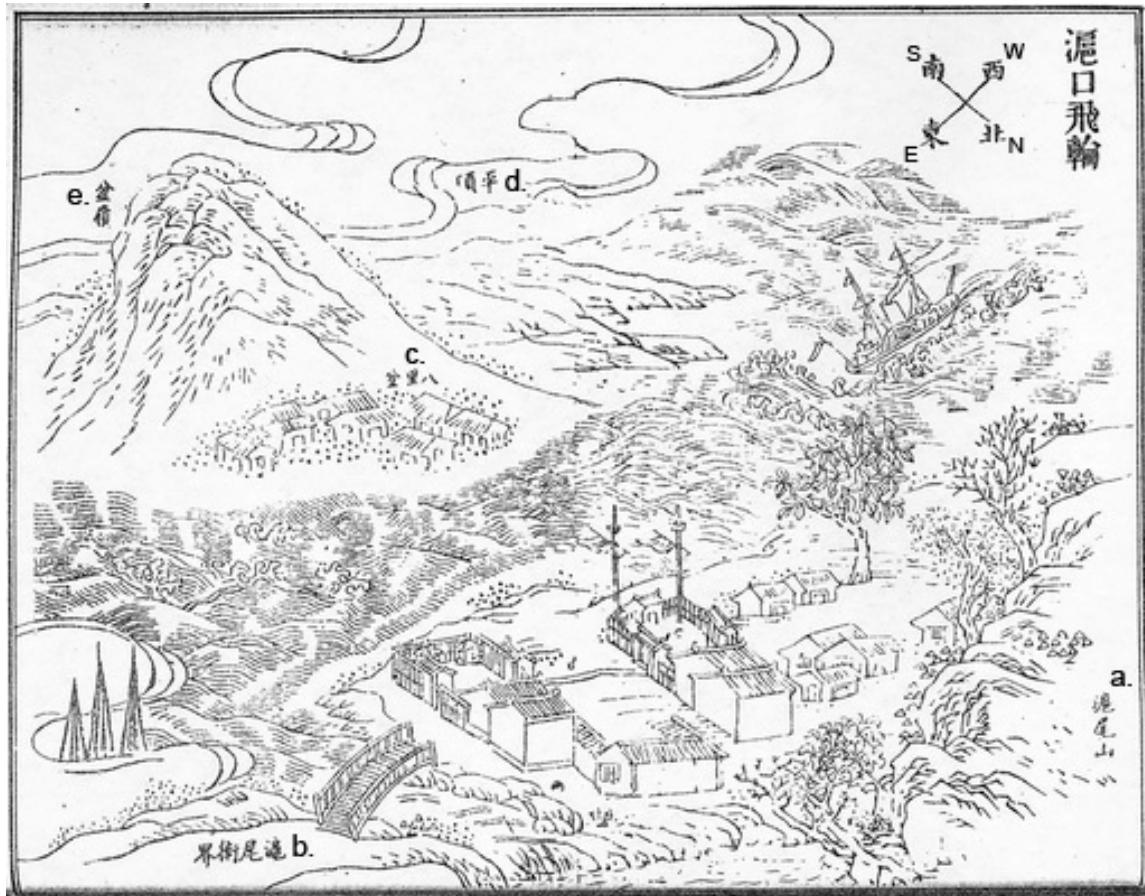
a. Mt. Hobe   **b.** Boundary of Hobe District   **c.** Balipen District **d.** Pingding   **e.** Mt. Balipen

Figure 3: The View of the Mouth of the River Tamsui and Steamships (Chen, 2006 [1871]). Hobe district, which is known as Tamsui nowadays, was the largest fishing and trading port in Taiwan by the mid-nineteenth century. The trading waned due to the accumulation of sediment in the River Tamsui, but the seascape and sun set are still very famous.

or be the location of a special historical event that happened which can satisfy people's curiosity or nostalgia.

Those criteria for selecting heritage were from Chinese immigrants' perspectives; particularly from the perspectives of those scholars who compiled gazettes. Their value about selecting heritage affected people's imagination about Taiwan and also formed the huge repository of memories at that time (Chao, 2003). However, Taiwanese indigene's thoughts about heritage were not recorded in those gazettes. In gazettes, some of indigene's customs were put into the

list of foreign custom; nonetheless those customs were picked out under the scrutiny of Chinese scholars as not being representative of the indigene's real thoughts about cultural heritage conservation. Besides the fact that scholars listed heritage in gazettes, some common Chinese immigrants had developed the concept of heritage conservation. Most of the heritage conservation activities were practiced through the organisations of martial arts, music and drama training. Some charities helped to protect animals, like turtles and old oxen (Lin, 2011). For instance, the charity, Haoshan Tang[18], was hosted by local gentlemen to help allay the suffering of baby girls, turtles, and old cattle. From the perspective of the results, the activity of protecting animals was close to the contemporary concept of animal conservation. In accordance with the inscription of the Haoshan Tang Stele of Bajhao Island, those charitable people did not have the concept of heritage conservation. Their motive was not driven by natural heritage conservation, but saving lives caused by their empathy or religious faiths.

In sum, in the Cing Dynasty rule period, the concept of heritage preservation or conservation had not been well built, and as a consequence, there was no law in place to protect heritage, and no institution or organisation which took responsibility for maintenance and protection of heritage. The information about heritage can only be found in local journals and gazettes. The records of heritage in those documents were selected according to the scholars' or literati's point of view. Although some groups and charities worked on training skills and techniques, and protecting animals, their activities were not based on the sense of heritage preservation or conservation and most of the common people did not have the concept of heritage and the sense of heritage preservation or conservation.

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[18] Haoshan Tang (好善堂) was erected by local gentlemen, including Shu-Ren Syu, Cing-Sheng Syu, and Ding-Cheng Wu at Bajhao Island (八罩嶼) of the Peng-Hu archipelagos in 1880.

3.2 JAPANESE RULE PERIOD

After the Cing Dynasty was defeated by Japan in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Taiwan and Penghu archipelagos became Japanese colonies. The concepts of heritage and sense of heritage conservation in Taiwan were deeply affected by Japan.

3.2.1 THE HERITAGE CONSERVATION ACTS ANNOUNCED BY JAPANESE COLONIAL GOVERNMENT

The first conservation law, the Instruction of Keeping the Existing Temples of Taiwan Island[19], was issued by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office in 1896. Based on respect for the religious faiths and the educational function of religious buildings, the instruction required the Japanese army to protect the temples and cultural materials which were borrowed from the owner. In 1901, for a deeper understanding of the society and geography of Taiwan, and being the reference of governing, the Governor-General's Office set up the Temporary Committee for the Investigation of Taiwan Traditional Customs [20] and employed Professor Santarou Okamatsu [21] to host the investigation. Syoujiki Yasue [22], an official of Civil Engineering Section of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, completed the Report of Material of

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[19] The Instruction of Keeping the Existing Temples of Taiwan Island (本島廟宮寺院保護相關規則告諭)

[20] The Temporary Committee for the Investigation of Taiwan Traditional Customs (臨時臺灣舊慣調查會)

[21] Santarou Okamatsu (岡松參太郎, 1871 - 1921)

[22] Syoujiki Yasue (安江正直)

Architectural History for Compilation [23] in 1907. The report gave an overview of the architecture history of Taiwan and listed 112 significant buildings which were categorised in towns, government offices, education buildings, temples, and houses. The report is the first professional book in the aspect of architectural history of Taiwan. In 1915, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office ordered Yatsunori Tsukiyama [24] to completely investigate the heritage of Taiwan, and the following year, the Taiwan Journal of Scenic Historic Ruins, which listed 331 historic sites and scenery, was published.

The information on plants and animals in Taiwan was also investigated. Takiya Kawakami [25], an official of Production Bureau of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office collected over 10 thousand plant specimens in 1903. In the same year, he finished the investigation of the birds of Taiwan and listed 17 categories and 39 species which needed to be protected. Plus, he completed the investigation of specific trees and listed 807 individual trees which had to be protected.

Unlike the investigation of significant buildings and specific plants and animals which promoted the raising of a sense of heritage conservation, urban planning and reforming destroyed some heritage features and existing urban context. Due to the narrow and tortuous streets of old towns, Japan's colonial government planned to reform and extend existing urban areas into modern cities from 1899. Unlike the old town which developed organically, the

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[23] The Report of Material of Architectural History for Compilation (建築史編纂資料蒐集復命書)

[24] Yasunori Sugiyama (杉山靖憲)

[25] Takiya Kawakami (川上瀧彌，1871-1915) was a botanist who contributed to the fundamental botanic research of Taiwan.

mechanical form which was the popular modern city concept of European urban planning at that time was used to form the new city in Taiwan. It was unavoidable that the new urban plan had to remove the existing context of the old town and many historical and specific buildings, like famous temples or magnificent houses, were bulldozed in the reforming construction. Nowadays, those urban plans still affect urban areas of Taiwan, and heritages are still threatened by them.

The sense of heritage conservation of Japanese government arose in the late nineteenth century. The Antique Conservation Law was issued in 1871 and the Old Temple Conservation Law was issued in 1897. Both laws focused on protecting single tangible objects. In 1919, the Japanese government issued the Historical Site, Scenic Spot, and Natural Monument Conservation Law[26]. The law focused on protecting historical sites, scenic spot, and natural monument. All three laws were not issued and used in Taiwan when they were first issued in Japan. The first official heritage conservation law in Taiwan was issued when the Taiwan Governor-General's Office announced that the 36 laws used in Japan, which includes the Historical Site, Scenic Spot, and Natural Monument Conservation Law, were also suited for Taiwan, in 1922. Heritage conservation became ruled by law, but the works of heritage conservation could not be practiced due to lack of conservation organisations and members. Only when the Congress of Taiwan approved a budget for the investigation and conservation of historical site, scenic spot, and natural monument in 1929, could the Governor-General's Office set up a conservation organisation along with the related enforcement rules, and the Office completed the Information of Investigation of Historical Site, Scenic Spot, and Natural Monument in 1930.

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[26] The Historical Site, Scenic Spot, and Natural Monument Conservation Law (史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法).

From the view of publishing heritage investigations and issuing and practicing conservation law in Taiwan, Japan's government seemed to place importance on Taiwanese cultural heritage. However, politics and colonial authority affected the criteria of heritage selection and the image of Taiwanese culture.

After the conservation law was issued, there were three times of heritage designation. Political effects can be found in the three lists of heritage. In the list of heritage designated in 1933, two of the six historical heritages are related with the events of Japanese rule. In 1935, four of the 15 designated heritages are related with Japanese rule. During World War II, in 1941, nine of the ten listed heritages are related with Japanese rule. Overall, in the Japanese rule period, more than 60 per cent of listed heritage sites were designated to remember the persons who contributed to or events which were related with the fact that Taiwan became a Japan's colony (Lin, 2011). Although, from the result of designating heritage, around 40 per cent of listed heritage was relative to Taiwan's natural or cultural properties, it was hard to recognise whether Japan had accepted Taiwanese culture as part of the culture of the 'we-group'.

Besides the list of selected heritage, exhibition is a proper way to trace out the cultural image of Taiwan in the minds of the Japanese. Japan began to attend exhibitions from the Great Industrial Exhibition in Berlin in 1853, but only the attendance at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London has left an actual record (Lu, 2011). Before attending the Fifth Industrial Exhibition in Osaka in 1903, Taiwanese culture had been exhibited several times in Japan. The Fifth Industrial Exhibition is the first exhibition that introduced in detail and depth the history, customs, and production of Taiwan to Japan. From 1895 to 1910, Taiwan had been exhibited in several exhibitions in Japan, Europe, and the USA. Most of the Taiwanese exhibition halls were designed in Southern China style and constructed with materials from Taiwan. The

colourful Southern China-style buildings offered a strong contrast with the Japanese halls which imitated the renaissance style. Moreover, in nearly all cases, Taiwan exhibition halls were laid out in the same buildings with cafés. The design and location of Taiwanese Halls reflect that the culture and productions of Taiwan were demonstrated to amuse the Japanese. It was portrayed as a wild place, with uncivilised inhabitants and customs. Most parts of exhibited Taiwanese items are produce, handicrafts, and natural resource which were shown to satisfy Japanese curiosity about exotic cultures and industrial investment (Lu, 2011).

The obvious intentions of the Japanese government and organisations to host or attend exhibitions were to boost foreign and domestic trade, to demonstrate the latest technology and promote the industry of Japan, and to educate the public. The most important aim, however, behind those apparent reasons was to exhibit modernised civilisation in the Japanese homeland and in her colonies. On exhibitions of different scales and in different locations, and for different main visitors, the contract between the 'civilised' and the 'barbaric' is presented in the subtle arrangements of an exhibition (Cheng, 2001, Hu, 2005, Lee, 2006, Hu, 2007, Lu, 2011). The three exhibitions, in Osaka 1903, in London 1910, and in Taiwan 1935, can be representative of the exhibition narratives about Taiwan composed by the Japanese because of their scale, various Taiwanese displays, and exhibition skills. The discussion below compares the presentations in the three exhibitions to show the main political and commercial aims of Japan's government and what image of Taiwan was held by the Japanese.

This thesis took exhibition as cultural landscape and applied the multi-layered framework to analyse the narratives of the three critical exhibitions. Therefore, the three aspects—history, settings, and narratives— would be used to analyse exhibition managers' intention and visitors' experiences about the exhibitions.

3.2.2 THE FIFTH NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL EXPOSITION IN OSAKA IN 1903

The Fifth National Industrial Exposition was hosted at Tennoji district in Osaka from 1 March to 31 July in 1903. The exhibition was the first one which systemically and comprehensively represented the images of Taiwan to the Japanese public. To enhance the special show, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office built up a Taiwan Pavilion to display the 6,028 items collected from Taiwan which introduces the natural resources, produces, races, customs, and - more important - the achievement of the colonial government. The exhibition attracted more than 4.35 million visitors which included more than 500 Taiwanese who grouped to visit exhibition and Japanese mainland. As a consequence of the successful exhibition, the mode of representing the images of Taiwan became a kind of typical style which was followed by later exhibitions related with Taiwan (Lu, 2011).

The First National Industrial Exposition was held at Ueno Park in Tokyo in 1877. After the Exposition, there was a national industrial exposition held every five or ten years. Japan had held the national industrial exposition four times during 1877 to 1895. The idea of holding an exposition was inspired by the experiences of Japan attending expositions in Europe, like the International Exhibition in London in 1862 and the Welt-Industrieausstellung in Wien in 1873. However, Japan was restricted by unequal treaties with many Western countries at that time. The first four national industrial expositions, not following the main notion of an international exposition to demonstrate rare and curious objects collected from every country, focused on domestic products to protect and to boost the Japanese domestic industry. The main points of the four expositions were educating people through expositions to learn and to compare quality, function, and price of products. Moreover, the expositions were places of exchanging produce and business information. From the First National Industrial Exposition, the censor and warding

system of Japanese exposition was introduced, which was learnt from the Exposition Universelle held in Paris in 1855. The system transformed the function of exposition from focusing on exhibiting products and technologies to highlighting the value of products in the market.

The Fifth National Industrial Exposition was different from the previous four National Industrial Expositions which mainly demonstrated Japanese domestic products, and was more like an international exposition. It could be said that the exposition was a preparation to demonstrate national strength and power for Japan after the Meiji Restoration. First, its scale was bigger than the previous four, and its site was not located in an existing park, but - learning from Western countries - on renewed old urban areas through constructing the exposition site. Furthermore, the exposition did not only exhibit Japanese domestic products and producing technologies. The organiser set up a reference pavilion in which objects from 14 countries were displayed. After defeating China in the two wars, the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the Boxer Rebellion in 1900, and a victory in signing the Anglo-Japanese Alliance Treaty in 1902, Japan considered she had become a developed and modernised country, like others in the group of world powers, and her industry and technology were not vulnerable when competing with products of other developed countries in the market. The main purpose of the exposition was to stimulate and boost industrial development and technological upgrade. Third, besides setting up the reference pavilion, this was the first to have anthropological specimen exhibitions displaying living people in an exposition. The idea was learnt from the Exposition Universelle in 1867 in Paris. Although the exposition was presented as a national exposition, it was in fact an international exposition. Japan planned to host an international exposition in 1912, but the plan was cancelled because of the limited budget of government and the passing away of the Meiji Emperor.

The anthropological exhibition was suggested and sponsored by Masatosi Nisida[27] and organised by Syogoro Tsuboi[28], who was an anthropological professor from the Imperial University of Tokyo and to be considered the father of Japanese anthropology. The exposition planned to exhibit seven races - the Ainu from Hokkaido, Taiwanese indigene, Okinawan, Korean, Chinese, Indian, and Javanese - as the Otherness from the anthropological perspective. The exhibition showed the perspective through academic research of anthropology that built Japanese modern national identity and the relationship between Japan and the other countries around her as civilised society and a barbarian, uncivilised society.
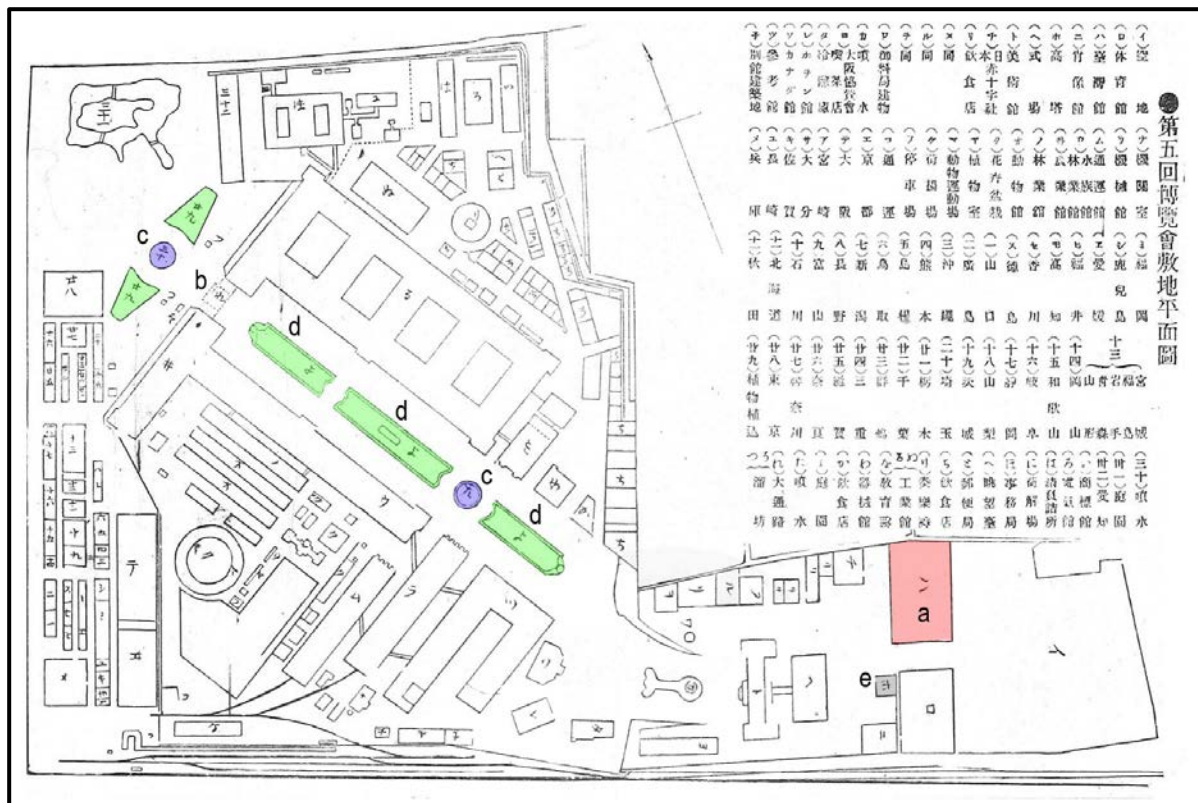
a. Taiwan Pavilion   **b**. Main Entrance   **c**. Fountain   **d**. Garden **e**. Tower

Figure 4: The Layout of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition (Retrieved from Taiwan Daily News, 1 Jan. 1903. Rendered by author.)

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[27] Masatosi Nisida (西田正俊)

[28] Syogoro Tsuboi (坪井正五郎)

There were 14 main pavilions in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition. Twelve of the main pavilions exhibited modernised Japan; these comprised Industry, Education, Electrics, Trading Marks, Agriculture, Aquatic products, Forestry, Creature, Transportation, Machinery, Art, and Physical Education Pavilions. The Reference Pavilion displayed objects from developed countries. The last one, Taiwan Pavilion, demonstrated customs, resources, architecture, food, production and produce, and education offered by Japan (Figures 4 and 5). One of the main foci of the exposition was those pavilions about Japan. The other was Taiwan Pavilion because the exposition was the first time that Taiwan had been systematically and comprehensively
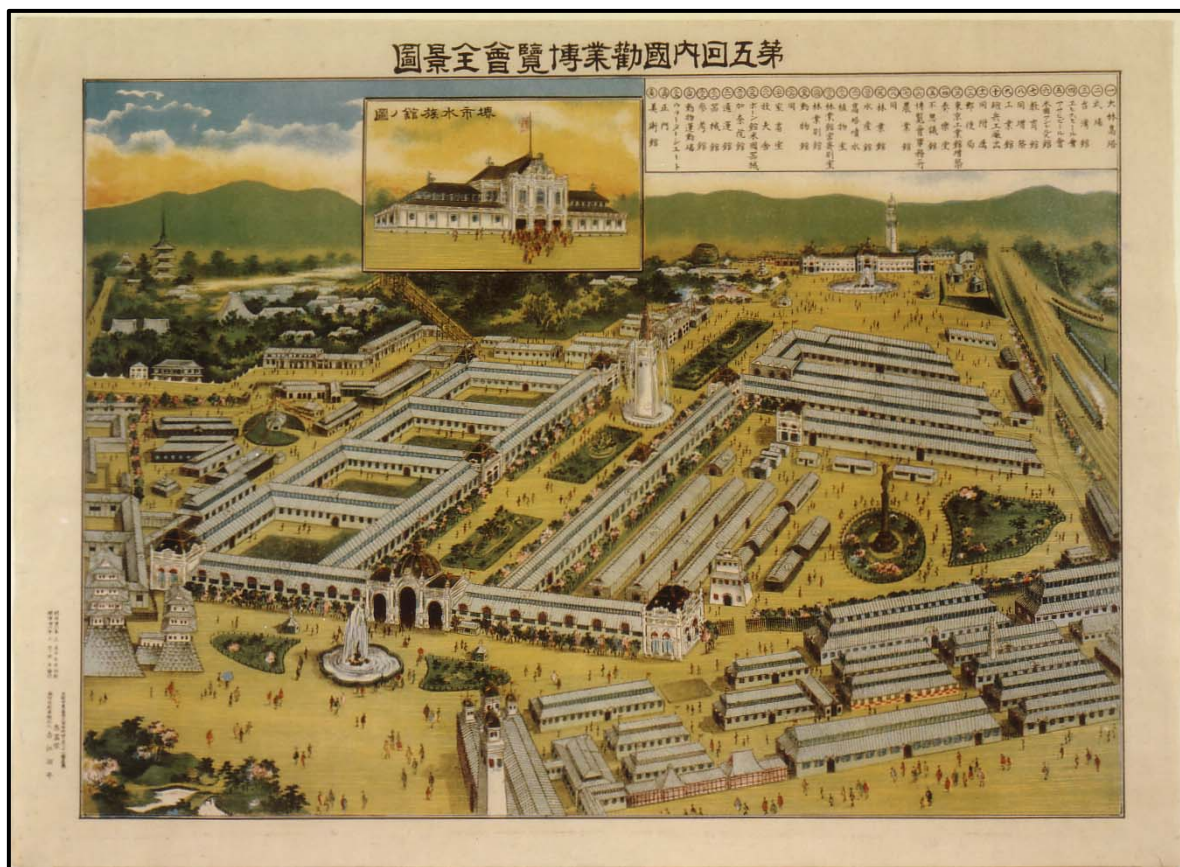
Figure 5. The Bird View of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition from above the main entrance (Unknown, 1903)

It was clearly observed from the bird view that the site was laid out following a central axis composed by fountains, gardens, and tower which started from the main entrance and ended at the tower beside the Taiwan pavilion. It was hard to see the Taiwan Pavilion when people stood at the axis.

exhibited after Japan colonised the island. The circulation of the exposition also showed the organiser's intention. After the main entrance was the main avenue of the exposition site centred round a garden and fountain. The pavilions of modern Japan were located around the garden. After the Japanese pavilions was the Reference Pavilion. The Taiwan Pavilion was located at the end of the site as the highlight of the exhibition. The organiser planned that visitors had a look at the Industry and Electrics pavilions which presented the civilised progress of Meiji Restoration and then moved on to pavilions about agriculture, aquatic productions, forestry, and creatures which formed the foundations of the Japanese economy. After understanding the developmental status of Japan, visitors moved on to the Reference Pavilion to learn the situation
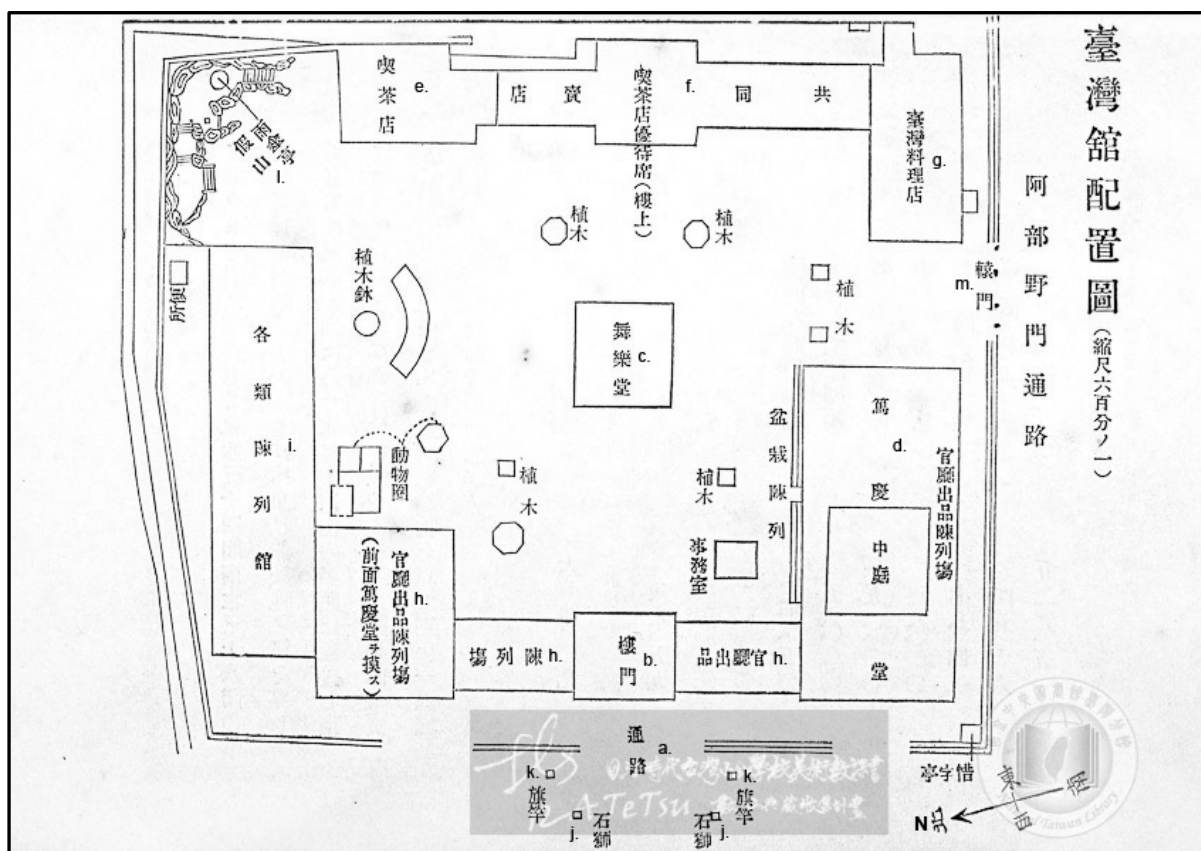
a. Main Entrance **b.** Gate **c.** Wuyue Hall **d.** Ducing Hall **e.** Taiwanese Café **f.** Shop and VIP seats were upstairs the shop **g.** Restaurant **h.** Exhibition Hall for Government **i.** Exhibition Hall **j.** Lion statue **k.** Pole **l.** Rockery and Kiosk **m.** Subsidiary Entrance

Figure 6. Plan of Taiwan Pavilion (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

and technology of other developed countries; then, went on to enjoy the Japanese art and physical education which represent the spirit of Japan. The last exhibition, and the highlight, was the Taiwan Pavilion in which was the practice of Japanese modern civilisation and the achievements they had made in ruling Taiwan.

The Taiwan Pavilion was planned by the Japanese government and was overseen by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office from 1900. For the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, the Taiwan Pavilion was a suitable place to display the achievements of ruling Taiwan. The pavilion was around 5200 square metres and was the second biggest pavilion in the exposition. The concept of its layout was derived from the traditional enclosed wall and courtyard house (Figure 6). The style of the main entrance and the gate of Taiwan Pavilion were imitated from the entrance of

Figure 7. Main Entrance of the Taiwan Pavilion (Yamamoto, 1903, Retrieved from National Diet Library, Japan)

Taipei Wall (Figure 7). There was a subsidiary entrance at south of the pavilion [29] (Figure 8). The Ducing Hall [30], at the southern corner next to the subsidiary entrance, and the exhibition hall, being of similar style to the Ducing Hall at the north of the pavilion, were the two main exhibition buildings (Figure 9). The two exhibition buildings were connected with a traditional Taiwanese arcade. The café, restaurant, and shop were located at the east of the pavilion (Figure 10). A rockery and a kiosk were set up at the northeast corner (Figure 11). The kiosk was moved from Yong-Si

Figure 8. The Subsidiary Entrance Yuanmen (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

Figure 9. The Ducing Hall (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

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[29] The subsidiary gate was referred to as Yuanmen (轅門) which was a kind of gate used as the main gate of the general office or the gate of the main official building.

[30] Ducing Hall (篤慶堂) was the Liu's Family Shrine in Tainan, Taiwan. Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (北白川宮能久親王) stayed at Ducing Hall in Tainan in 1895.

Jheng's famous Beiguo garden[31] in Hsinchu. At the centre, there was a stage, Wuyue Hall [32], which was moved from the Cing Dynasty Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall [33]. The concept of the overall pavilion design was to simulate the real scene and image of Taiwan, and the designers tried to vividly present it to visitors by collecting some traditional Taiwanese buildings in one place and adding some Taiwanese elements (Tsukiide, 1903).

There were about 6000 collections offered by the Taiwan Governor-General's

喫茶店優待所及共同賣店

Figure 10. The Shop and VIP Seat of Taiwan café (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

陳列館及喫茶店の一部

Figure 11. The Taiwan café (right), the Rockery and Kiosk (far centre), and the Exhibition Hall (left) (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

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[31] Yong-Si Jheng's (鄭用錫) Beiguo garden (北郭園) was built in 1851and was one of the four or five famous gardens of Taiwan.

[32] Wuyue Hall (舞樂堂) was the stage of the Taiwan Bu-Jheng-Shih-Sih Yamen.

[33] The Cing Dynasty Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall (台灣布政使司衙門) was the official office of the administration and financial departments in Taipei in the Cing Dynasty.

Office and local governments and exhibited in the two exhibition buildings. These displays represented the image of Taiwan from the macro scale to the micro view, and were set up in a sequential route for visitors along which the Taiwanese image was narrated under Japan's gaze. Entering the gate and turning to the right side, the first demonstration was a geographical and historical introduction of Taiwan; then, there were a model of Taiwan Island and data of land survey, maps, and cadastral maps offered by the Taiwan Bureau of Land Survey. All of them presented a general depiction of Taiwan for the visitors. After the display supported by the macro description, visitors would then enter the Ducing Hall. Here they were presented with a

臺灣舘陳列區劃圖

The Ducing Hall   The Exhibition Hall for Government   The Exhibition Hall

a. Gate **b.** Entrance of Exhibition Room **c.** Exit of Exhibition Room **d.** Courtyard **e.** Waxen Statues with Taiwanese Traditional Clothes **f.** Waxen Statues with Taiwanese Traditional Clothes, God Statues, and Ritual Instruments **g.** Displays about Taiwan Geography and History **h.** Model of Taiwan Island and data of land survey, maps, and cadastral maps **i.** Traditional Living Room **j.** Traditional Bedroom **k.** Displays about Customs and Clothes **l.** Displays about Textiles

Figure 12. The Layout Plan of Displays in Exhibition Area (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu, Rendered by auther)

simulative setting of traditional Taiwanese living room and bedroom on one side (Figure 12), while on the other side, there were eight waxen statues wearing traditional Taiwanese clothes which were used for daily life, weddings, funerals, and labours (Figures 13 - 15). Other textiles were displayed near the exit of the exhibition hall.

On the left side of the gate, the first display for the visitors comprised pictures of the daily lives of every Taiwanese tribe, and their weapons, daily utensils, and crafts (Figure 16). After that, there were products of the Taiwan Bureau of Monopoly, like a model of a salt farm, opium, introduction to the camphor producing procedure and a camphor tower, and tea. In addition, there were crafts made by prisoners. Then, going into the left wing of the Taiwan exhibition building, the products of agriculture, forestry, aquatic, and industry were displayed here. The

Figure 13. Traditional Taiwanese Female Formal Dress (left) and Male Formal Dress (Right) (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

Figure 14. Traditional Taiwanese Wedding Dress (right: bride, left: groom) (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

final part presented the achievements of colonial education and practice of assimilative policy in Taiwan by comparing the traditional school of Han and the new education system and schools set up by the Japanese.

The Taiwanese Café, restaurant, and shop were another main point that attracted visitors come to the Taiwan Pavilion. Compared with the exhibition with written introduction and specimens, it was an opportunity for visitors to experience Taiwan via their body sensations to satisfy their exotic imagination through tasting tea, foods, or shopping products offered in an exotic Taiwanese Café, restaurant, and shop (Figure 17). In the five months after opening, there were 96,202 persons visited the Café, and visitors

Figure 15. Traditional Taiwanese Clothes (right to left: Female Funeral Dress, Male Funeral Dress, Female Cantonese Common Dress, and Common Labour Dress) (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)
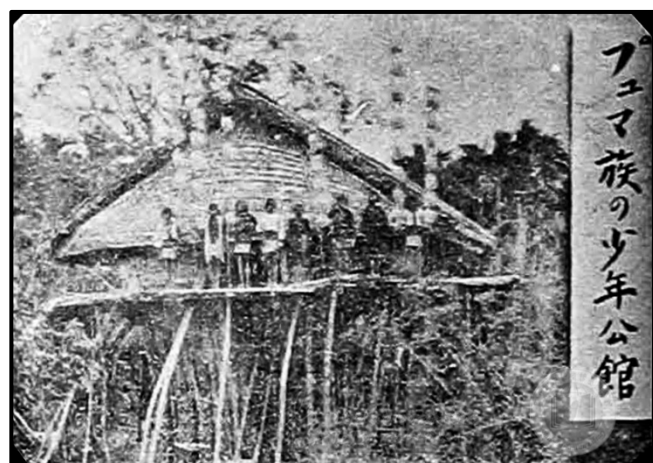
Figure 16. Picture exhibited in the Taiwan Pavilion about the Youth Assembly Hall of Puyuma Tribe (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from ATeTsu)

going to the restaurant were around 38,000 or 39,000 persons. The total turnover exceeded to 20,000 yens, apparently higher than the expectation of the Taiwan Governor-General's Office, of 5000 yens. Some of the Taiwanese specialities became very famous in Japan after the exposition, like Dajia grass mat, Dajia grass hat, camphor, and canned pineapple (Lu, 2011).

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Obviously, those demonstrated Taiwanese products, e.g. tea, Dajia grass mat and hat, and so on, were only exotic commodities, not tangible and intangible cultural properties, for the Japanese.

Even though the Taiwanese café, restaurant, and shop were very popular and had a very high business

Figure 17. Interior of Taiwan Café (Tsukiide, 1903, Retrieved from National Repository of Cultural Heritage Taiwan)

volume, the sale of speciality items was not the purpose that supported the attending of the exposition by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office. As what Shinpei Goto[34] said, "in consequence of that there are so many people, include politicians and entrepreneurs, who do not know well about real situation of Taiwan, they cannot make appropriate comments about Taiwan and cannot format suitable policies or tactics." To introduce Taiwan, the first Japanese colony, and her present situation were the main issues of the exhibition in the Taiwan Pavilion. Nonetheless, behind the main issues, to present the achievement of colonial government to Japanese authorities and public was the most important reason which supported the Taiwan Governor-General's Office to oversee the exhibition (Tsukiide, 1903), and those reasons explained why the Taiwan Governor-General's Office spent more than three years planning the Taiwan Pavilion for the exposition.

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[34] Shinpei Goto (後藤新平, 1857 - 1929). He was the head of Civilian Affairs of the Taiwan Govern-General's Office from 1898 to 1906.

In the Taiwan exhibition, the organiser cleverly compared present and past Taiwan to prove that the governing policies were correct and Taiwan had been a progressive and civilised place under the ruling of the colonial government. The exposition attempted to represent the real situation of Taiwan to the Japanese public to stop the rumours and to break the stereotype that Taiwan was still a wild land and that the inhabitants were unenlightened barbarians. For example, Shih-Li Dan[35] wrote her experience of visiting the exposition during her travel in Japan. She felt that the progress of the products and production of Taiwan were particularly impressive and astounding after six or seven years of Japanese rule. Besides the compliments, there were also some criticisms. For instance, in part of an article in the Taiwan Daily Newspaper[36], the journalist, Jiten Kimura[37], thought that the location, building, and exhibits and displaying equipment in Taiwan Pavilion were poorer than those gorgeous and spectacular pavilions in which presented past and contemporary Japan was presented. However, why did the Taiwan exhibition attract so many people and earn such a good reputation? Because Taiwan was a monument of the war for Japan and the colourful buildings, exotic customs, subtropical creatures, and many rare collections, even though the Taiwan Pavilion was located at the very end of the Exhibition site, it became the pavilion where visitors had to and first go in the exposition.

Even so, the Fifth National Industrial Exposition provoked protests against demonstrating living humans and Kanori Ino[38] argued that the setting of Taiwan Pavilion was a recollected

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[35] Shih-Li Dan (單士厘, 1863-1945). She was the first Chinese female traveling writer.

[36] A Glimpse of the Exposition (V), 8 April, 1903, First Section, Taiwan Daily Newspaper.

[37] Jiten Kimura (木村地天, 1870-1961) was a journalist of the Taiwan Daily Newspaper Press.

[38] Kanori Ino (伊能嘉矩) was an anthropologist, also one of the assistant organisers of the exposition.

scene which could not represent properly the real image of Taiwan, the exhibition strategies of contrasting Yamato people[39] with other Asian peoples and showing that Japan had turned into a civilised country had become a popular mode of presenting modern Japan.

3.2.3 THE JAPAN-BRITISH EXHIBITION IN LONDON IN 1910

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 was hosted at Great White City in Shepherd's Bush, London from 14 May to 29 October 1910. It was the largest International Exhibition Japan had ever participated in to this day. When the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was built in 1902, the British organiser of the Japan-British Exhibition 1910, Imre Kiralfy suggested an idea of co-hosting an international exhibition to the Japanese ambassador, Tadasu Hayasi[40]. However, Hayasi did not share his enthusiasm. Kiralfy proposed the idea to France and the very successful Franco-British Exhibition took place in London, 1908. Japan won the Russo-Japan War in 1905 and the success boosted Japan to become one of the major world powers. However, the war also pushed Japan to the edge of the financial and economical cliff of bankruptcy. Furthermore, Japan and Britain became opponents on railway construction and management in the north-eastern China. The Japanese government considered that holding an exhibition may promote Japanese business in Britain, attract British capital to invest in Japan or her colonies, and strengthen the Anglo-Japanese Alliance (Hotta-Lister, 1999, Lu, 2011). Therefore, the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 bore serious political and commercial tasks for Japan. For achieving the tasks, the Japanese government had to flip over the stereotypes in Britain which describe Japan as a lower civilised country. To break the existing stereotype of Japan, the first thing to

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[39] Yamato people or Yamato race is the name of dominant native ethnic group of Japan.

[40] Tadasu Hayasi (林董).

be done was to prove that the present status of Japan had caught up with the standard of superior civilisations. In other words, Japan intended to prove that she had become one member of the western powers group, not the 'Other' for them.

The size of the exhibition area may express how the Japanese government weighted the exhibition. Japanese exhibition site occupied 44,783 square metres which was close to three times the space distributed to Japan's exhibition site at the World's Fair at St Louis in 1904 (Lu, 2011, Mutsu, 2001). The Taiwan Governor-General's Office had 634 square metres in which to demonstrate its displays. In addition, there was another 1368 square metres for the Formosa Tea House. Compared to the Korean Fair's 102 square metres, Japan intended to reduce the censure about her occupying Korea and tried to enhance the British publics' impression that Japan had the ability to rule her colony and convert them into civilised place (Lu, 2011).

To improve the British people's impression about Japan and to prove that Japan is a country which owns a rich and elegant culture and long history, the Japanese government demonstrated issues about Japanese fine art, industry, education, history, and modernised governmental structure in seven main exhibition palaces[41] in the exhibition (Figures 18 and 19). The displays in the seven exhibition palaces introduced Japan from her ancient period right through to her recent state, which was intended to exchange the image of Japan in Britain from negative to positive. That Japan offered fine art pictures to exhibition abroad started from the Paris Exposition in 1867. Those works won very much praise and many compliments. With the successful experience, Japan offered more masterpieces of Japanese fine art for the Japan-

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[41] The seven main exhibition palaces are the Industrial Palace, the Historical Palace, the Textile Palace, the Palace of Natural Resources, the Palace of Varied Industries and Education, and the Palace of Government Department.

British Exhibition. The exhibition of Japanese fine art included almost all branches of fine art[42] and was divided into retrospective and modern sections. This was the first time that so widespread collections of Japanese fine art works were brought together for a public exhibition in a foreign country. Some of these works were not publicly exhibited, and, of course, had not been previously demonstrated abroad (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911, Hotta-Lister, 1999, Mutsu, 2001). To prove that Japanese civilisation was not built in the short-term and in order to offer, vividly, the atmosphere of each era of Japanese history, in the Japanese Historical Palace, Japanese authorities mainly set up 12 tableaus, each of which described Japanese manners, customs, and achievements in each period to explain the more than 2500 years history of Japan (Figure 20). The same notion of demonstrating Japan, a historical country with rich culture, instructed in the content of exhibitions in the other palaces. All of the exhibitions followed the main notion of showing that Japan was a country with long-term history and undergoing modernisation.

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[42] There were paintings, sculptures, architecture, fabrics, lacquer ware, work in metal, design, pottery and porcelain, cloisonné, and woodcuts and printing.
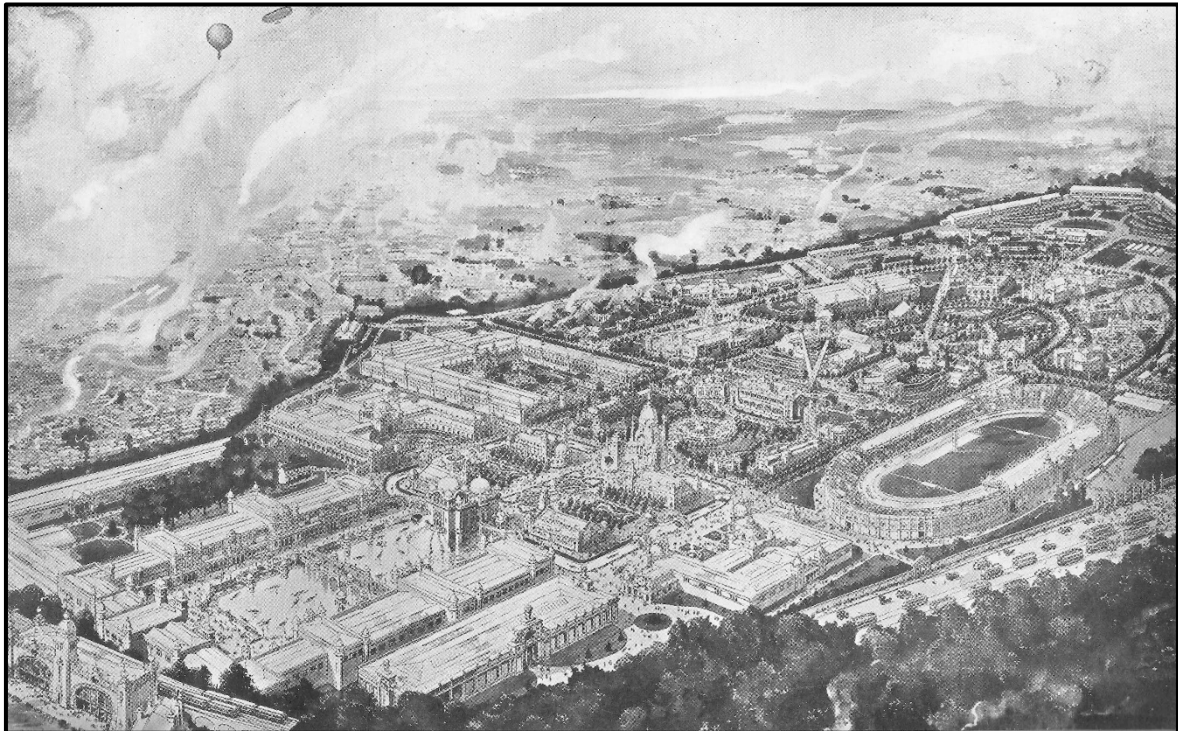
Figure 18. Bird-eye's View of the Japan-British Exhibition (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

To offer the vivid environmental setting of Japan to visitors, the Japanese government assembled several miniature Japanese temple models and a model of Taitokuin Mausoleum[43] architecture. Those models offered a colourful and effective tangible form of communicating for the non-specialist general public in the era of black-and-white photography. Those gorgeous and delicate models also transferred the aesthetics of Japanese arts when they were made as great art works (Figure 21) (Mutsu, 2001). Moreover, there was a real-scale Japanese village in

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[43] Taitokuin Mausoleum (台徳院御霊屋) is the Tokugawa Hidetada's mausoleum. He was the second shogun of the Tokugawa Dynasty from 1605 to 1623. The mausoleum was bombed and burned during World War II.

a. Main Entrance   **b.** Japanese Industrial Palace   **c.** Japanese Historical Palace   **d.** Japanese Textile Palace   **e.** British Chemical Industries, Alimentation, and Raw Materials; Japanese Palace of Natural Resources   **f.** Japanese Women's Works, Education, Forestry, Arts and Crafts, Instrument, Women's Work and Applied Arts Sections   **g.** Japanese Government Departments   **h.** Formosa Tea House   **i.** The Formosa Hamlet   **j.** Japanese Garden of the Floating Islands   **k.** The Japanese Fair   **l.** The Ainu Home   **m.** Palace of the Orient   **n.** Poetic Japan   **o.** Japanese Garden of Peace

Figure 19. The Plan of Japan-British Exhibition (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

which real life was enacted. Visitors could see the Japanese who acted as rural workers as they worked in a simulated Japanese rural village in the exhibition of Poetic Japan (Figure 22).

The Japanese garden was another main exhibit to present Japanese culture and aesthetics. There were two Japanese gardens in the exhibition - Garden of Peace (Figure 23) and The Floating Island (Figure 24). They are two different types of typical Japanese garden. The Garden of Peace brought a romantic atmosphere which contrasted to the Floating Island which was designed with a dramatic landscape. The contrast comes

Figure 20. Tableau describing the custom of cherry blooms viewing in Tokugawa period, 1603 – 1867 A.D (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911).

Figure 21. Model of Taitokuin Mausoleum (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911).

from the Japanese architectural concepts, Shin, Kyo, and So.[44] The Garden of Peace, which was designed conscientiously and carefully, expressed the essence of Shin while the other garden, the Floating Island, was designed following the concept of So with a Japan Tea House at the northern corner. The two gardens and tea house were very popular and won

Figure 22. A View of The Uji Village (The Poetic Japan) (Hotta-Lister, 1999)

Figure 23. A View of The Garden of Peace (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

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[44] Shin (真), Gyo (行), So (草). The three styles were borrowed from Chinese calligraphy style, Kai Shu (楷書), Sing Shu (行書), and Cao Shu (草書). Kai Shu is a regular script and a formal style. Sing Shu is a semi-cursive script and a semi-formal style. The last one, Cao Shu, is a cursive script and an informal style. Japanese culture transferred the calligraphy styles and applied them into concepts of tea ceremony and tea room architecture. "Extreme minuteness in the planning of the entire garden and great precision in the placing of plants, rocks, and ornaments characterize the style known as Shin; in the Gyo style much of the detail is abbreviated, while in the So style the absence of prominent rocks and many of the trees found essential in the other styles are the striking features." (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911, p.248)

Figure 24. A View of The Garden of Floating Island (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)
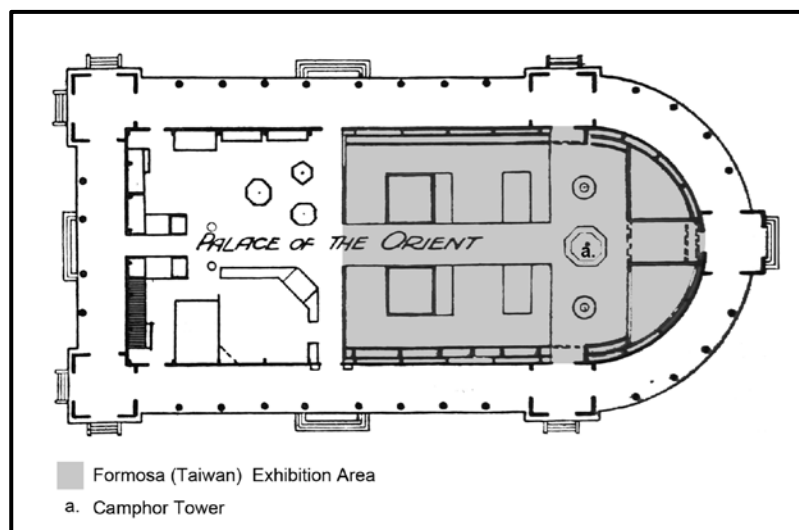
Figure 25. Plan of the Palace of the Orient (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

much praises; as a consequence, several Japanese-style gardens were built in London after the exhibition (Hotta-Lister, 1999).

In contrast with the exhibition about Japan, in which the Japanese government was inclined to prove that Japan was a civilised country with long history, elegant traditions, and modernised technology, education, and government, there were exhibitions, offered by the Japanese government, that demonstrated those Others from Japan as a kind of announcement that Japan

was in the group of world powers. These exhibitions were placed in four pavilions - the Palace of the Orient, the Ainu Home, the Formosa Hamlet, and the Formosa Tea House. The Palace of the Orient demonstrated synopses pertaining to Formosa, the South Manchuria Railway Company, the Government of Kwantung, and the Residency General of Japan in Korea (Figure 25) (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911). The exhibitions in the Palace were not to introduce, proudly, the nature, culture, or history of those areas, but to boast how progressive the effects had been under the Japanese rule. The Ainu Home and the Formosa Hamlet were

Figure 26. The Entrance to the Formosa Exhibition Area (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)
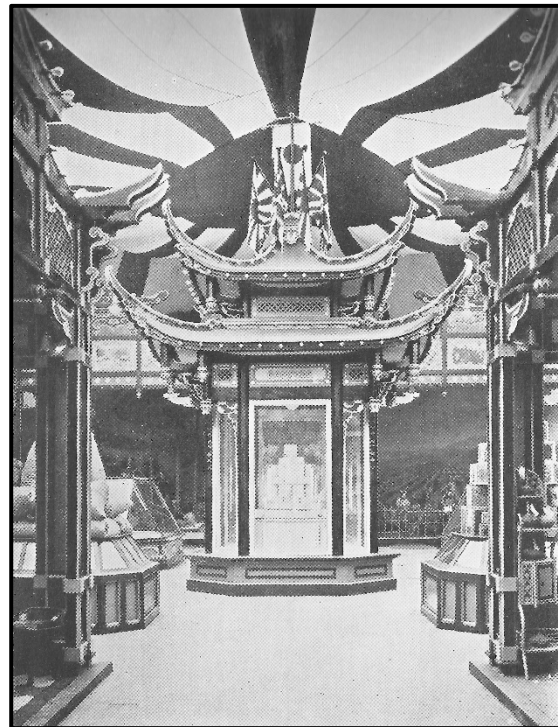
Figure 27. The Camphor Tower in the Formosa Exhibition Area (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

exhibitions with live authentic aborigines from Hokkaido and Taiwan. The last one, the Formosa Tea House, was not to present the traditional tea culture of Taiwan, but was set up to attract the British and to boost tea trading in Britain.

The image of Taiwan in Japanese to date was expressed in the exhibitions in the Palace of the Orient, the Formosa Hamlet, and the Formosa Tea House. The Formosa section was the main display in the Palace of the Orient, which occupied half of the palace and presented comprehensively information about people, resources, education, and industries (Figure 26). The first part of the exhibition in the section was the development about resources, products, and produce. In the centre of the section, there was a huge camphor tower, which piled up many camphor blocks, to present one of the four monopolies of Taiwan (Figure 27). Around the Formosa hall, many products were

Figure 28. The Tableau of Taiwan Aborigine – Paiwan Tribe (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

Figure 29. The Tableau of Tea Farm in Taiwan (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911)

exhibited, like handicrafts of grass, rice, sugar, timbers, tropical fruits, tobacco, and tea. There also were numerous pictures and description panels including charts, diagrams, and publications describing the development of Taiwan after it was ruled by Japan. The improvement, made by the Japanese after occupying Taiwan, must be given in the exhibition.

The tap water offering system, the irrigating system, the erecting and improving of harbours, the building up of medical treatment and education, the modern governmental system, and the extending and opening of roads, canals and railways were the main achievements of the Japanese authority during the period. Taiwan, the wild land for the Japanese, had become gradually a treasure island with many resources and products. There were two tableaux in the exhibition showing the changes (Figures 28 and 29). The first one described the status of the aboriginals of Taiwan. In the picture, the aboriginals were wild

Figure 30. Plan of Formosa Hamlet (Japan-British Exhibition, 1911, Trimmed by author)

Figure 31. Paiwan people showed in the Japan-British Exhibition (Retrieved from Taiwan daily Newspaper, Fifth Section, 21st Sep. 1910)

and uncivilised. The other tableau presented the status of tea plantations in Taiwan. In the picture, a Japanese man wearing western style with a Panama hat, which was made in Taiwan, was overseeing the Taiwanese female labours, who wore traditional Chinese clothes. This indicated that the Japanese triggered the enlightenment and development of Taiwan.

Besides the display of Taiwanese products, many exhibits about Taiwanese aboriginal's culture and life were arranged to represent past undeveloped and uncivilised society and modernised life at that time. Amongst these displays, there was a village, Formosa Hamlet, displaying a living human exhibition.[45] (Figures 30 and 31). The exhibition was more controversial than the one in the

Figure 32. The Street Scene in the Japanese Fair. In the site, exhibitor built up 21 traditional Japanese houses. Several kinds of craftspeople performed in the houses (Yamaji, 2009).

Fifth National Industrial Exposition because the organisers hired aboriginals to 'live' in the exhibition site during the exhibiting period. One Taiwanese aboriginal couple had real wedding ceremony and one Taiwanese aboriginal baby was delivered in the exhibition (Unknown, 1910, Yamaji, 2009).

The Formosa Hamlet was actively demonstrating the aboriginals living in Taiwan. Even if there were also real human performances to display Japanese traditional life in the Poetic Japan, the Ju-Jisu Hall, the Japanese Fair, the Japanese Wrestling Hall, and Japanese carpenters' construction show; however, the Formosa Hamlet exhibitions were different from the others (Figures 22 and 32). The former performances are a kind of display about Japanese culture

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[45] Japanese governmental exhibitors presented two living human exhibitions, the Formosa Hamlet from Taiwan and the Ainu Home from Hokkaido Japan.

herself. For the Japanese, they are the cultures belonging to the 'we-group', but the display in the Formosa Hamlet is demonstrating the culture of otherness that is the Object under the colonisers' gazes, and the exhibition place can be analogous to a human zoo (Miyatake, 2005, Blanchard et al., 2008). The persons who were arranged to play a living show were not treated as human beings, but like animals without voices that could not express their opinions. They only could be represented by colonisers and were demonstrated to satisfy colonisers' curiosity. Moreover, they were living evidences that proved the legitimacy of colonisation due to the fact that the aboriginals were uncivilised barbarians. Even though the human display was directed by anthropologists, the essence of the display confirmed the relationship between Japanese and aboriginals, as dominator and dominated. The living aboriginal exhibition was also shown as a kind of living testimony which proved that the colonies needed colonisers to efficiently manage the abundant natural resources and produces.

The comparison between the Formosa Tea House and the Japanese Tea House reveals the different treatment of Japanese to subjective culture and objective culture. To boost Japanese trading in Britain, Taiwan displayed many products in the exhibition. The most famous and popular was Taiwanese oolong tea. Japan knew that having black tea is one of British habits; therefore, the Japanese tea business institution and the Taiwan Govern-General's Office each ran a Café to market tea and to introduce Taiwanese and Japanese tea to the British. The Japanese Café had another task that introduces authentic Japanese culture to the British. In the Japanese Café, only Japanese green tea and black tea were regularly offered. The highest green tea, *gyokuro*, and finely milled green tea powder, *matcha*, had to be ordered before being served. Unlike the Japanese Café, the main point of the Taiwanese Café was not to introduce authentic Taiwanese culture, but was to sell as much tea as possible. The Taiwanese Café could adjust its menu and interior decoration style to fit British people's interests. Considering that Indian tea

and Ceylon black tea, which British people had become used to, were stronger than oolong tea, oolong tea and a mix of oolong and black tea were served in the Café. Otherwise, to cater for the British people's taste, bread, chocolate, ice cream, biscuit, cake, coffee, and tobacco were also served. Because of those adjustments, the Formosa Tea House and oolong tea were the most popular and successful fair in the exhibition. The success meant that the trade between Japan and Britain would be increased, but did not necessarily mean that the Taiwanese tea culture was well introduced and accepted in Britain.

3.2.4 THE TAIWAN EXHIBITION OF THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF GOVERNANCE

In accordance with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, which was signed on 17 April, 1895, Taiwan was separated from the Cing Dynasty, and would be ruled perpetually by Japan afterwards. In the same year, Japanese troops disembarked at Aodi[46] on 29 May, and the Yiwei War[47] began. After defeating the resistance of Chinese troops at Rueifang and Keelung in one week, Japanese entered into Taipei. Several days later, the first Governor-General of Taiwan, Admiral Sukenori Kabayama[48], also arrived in Taipei. The ceremonies were held on 17 June for announcing the inauguration of Japanese governance on Taiwan. A dominion inauguration ritual and a military review were held in the morning of that day, and a dominion inauguration commemoration ceremony was held with the attendance of Admiral Sukenori Kabayama, Prince Kitashirakawa

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[46] Aodi is located at the north-eastern coast of Taiwan.

[47] The War of Japanese Invasion of Taiwan mainly continued from 29 May to 23 October in 1895.

[48] Sukenori Kabayama (樺山資紀).

Yoshihisa[49], and the British Counsel stationed in Tamsui Town in the afternoon. Thus, the day, 17 June, was marked as the Dominion Day, which means the formal beginning of Japanese governance in Taiwan, and became one of five major holidays[50] during the period of Japanese rule until 1945 (Huang, 1992a, Ng, 1996, Tsai, 2006).

Due to political reasons, as a symbol of the commencement of Japanese dominion over Taiwan, the Japanese colonial government annually held celebrations for the Dominion Day. Except for the first decennial[51], exhibition was held in every decade to mark the major political landmark. The scale of the exhibitions of decennial governance was becoming greater with the development of Taiwan in economic, industrial, infrastructural, political, and educational aspects. Notwithstanding, many Taiwanese thought that the marking and celebrations for the Dominion Day reminded Taiwan it was colonised, and they protested against the celebrations for it, the Japanese colonial government still held those celebrations. Finally, the largest exhibition of Taiwan was held for the fortieth anniversary governance in 1935.

In 1934, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office planned to host a large-scale exhibition to celebrate the fortieth anniversary governance and to demonstrate the progress of Taiwan which was under Japanese rule. The exhibition was opened from 10 October to 25 November in 1935.

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[49] Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa was the commander of the military force for occupying Taiwan in 1895.

[50] There were four days listed as the Big Holiday in the Japanese calendar before the end of the WWII. The Dominion Day was listed as the fifth Big Day and was applied to the calendar only for Taiwan (Tsai, 2006).

[51] In 1905, the Japanese colonial government planned to host an exhibition for the tenth anniversary of governance and to invite the Emperor of Japan to Taiwan to the celebration of the decennial Dominion Day. Because the Russo-Japanese War was still going on, the plan was ceased (Cheng, 2001).

There were four exhibition sites - two main sites, a subsidiary site, and a subsidiary hall. The main sites were located in Taipei city centre which was where the Japanese living area and main government offices were located in. The subsidiary site was located in Dadaocheng district which was the Taiwanese living area as well as a prosperous business area. The
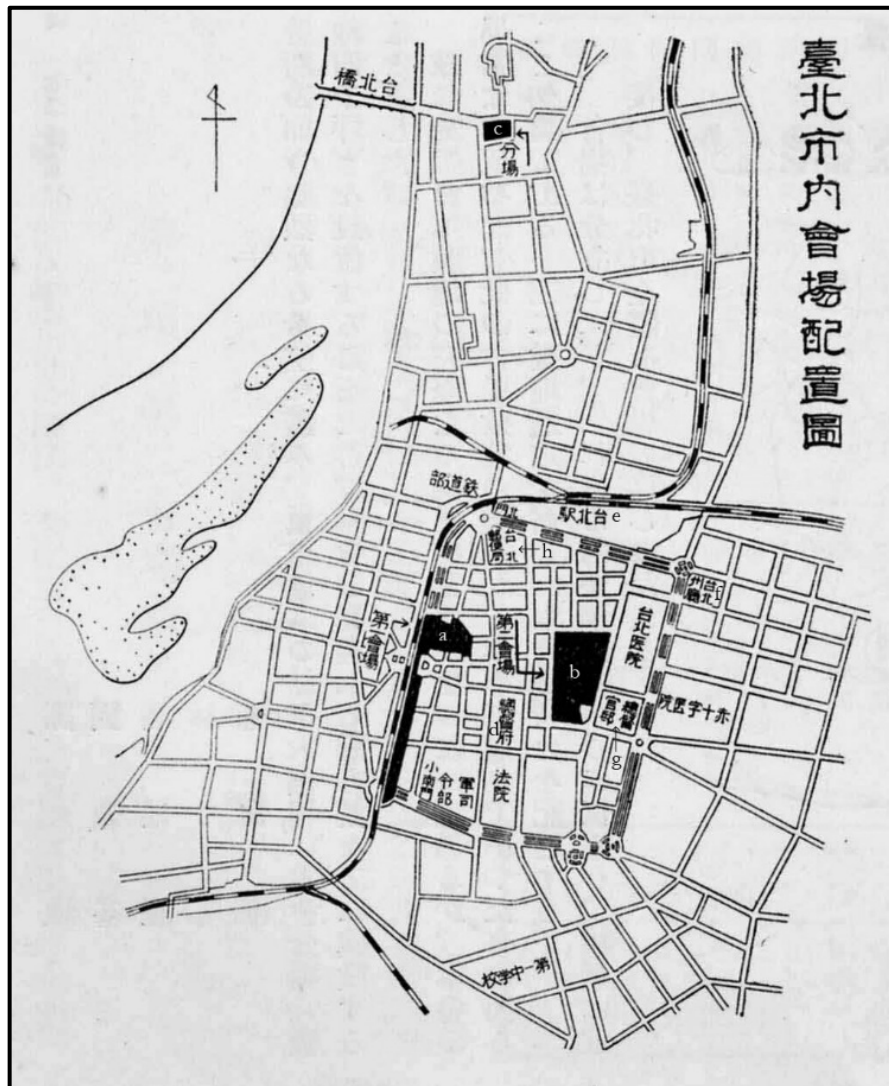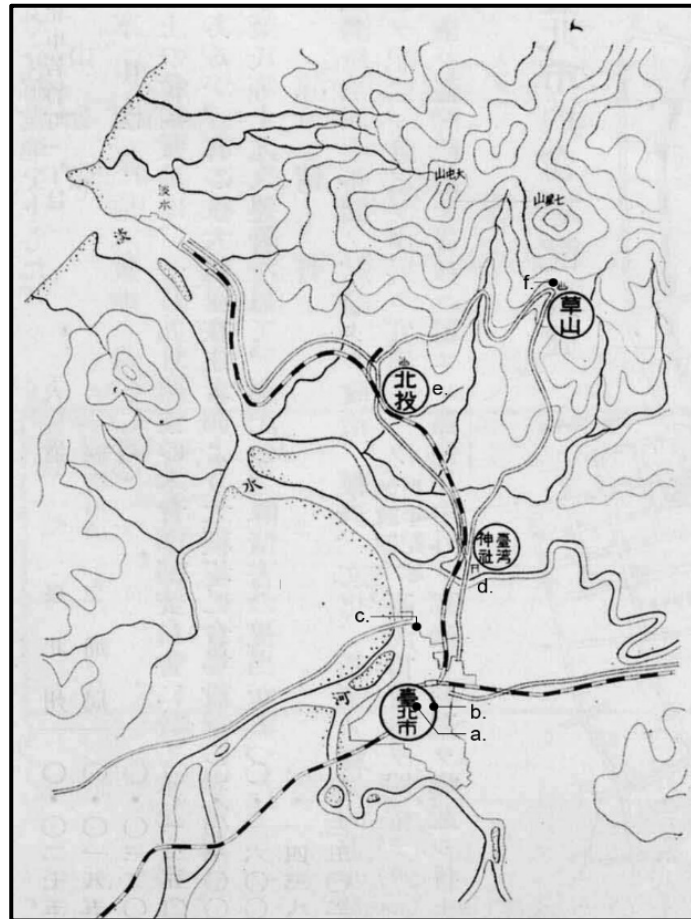

a. The First Main Site **b.** The Second Main Site **c.** The Subsidiary Site **d.** The Office of Governor-General of Taiwan **e.** Taipei Railway Station **f.** The Taihoku (Taipei) Prefecture Hall **g.** The House of Governor-General of Taiwan

Figure 33. The Locations of the Main Sites and the Subsidiary Site in Taipei (Kanomata, 1939)

subsidiary hall was located in Grass Mountain[52] which was a famous scenic spot of hot springs (Figures 33 and 34). Moreover, there were 10 relatively smaller exhibitions in other cities and districts[53].

a. The First Main Site **b.** The Second Main Site **c.** The Subsidiary Site **d.** The Taiwan Grand Shrine **e.** Beitou Town **f.** The Subsidiary Hall

Figure 34. Location of the Subsidiary Hall (Kanomata, 1939)

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[52] Grass Mountain is called Yangmingshan.

[53] The ten relative exhibitions were set up in Keelung, Banciao, Sinjhu, Taichung, Jiayi, Alishan, Kaohsiung, Taidong, and Hualian Port.

The main exhibitions were set up in the two main sites and the subsidiary site. The first main site was located on a triple carriageway which was part of the former Taipei Walls[54] and included the Taipei City Hall which was built on the site of the former Cing Dynasty Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall. The main pavilions of the first main site included Transport Infrastructure and Built Environment Pavilion, Products Pavilion, Forestry Pavilion, Sugar Industry Pavilion, Mining Industry Pavilion, Transportation and Communications Pavilion, Industry Pavilion, the First and the Second Prefectural Pavilion, Korean Pavilion, Manchu Pavilion, Fukuoka Pavilion, Japan Iron and Steel Co. Pavilion, and Mitsui Co. Pavilion (Figure 35). The second main site was located in the Taihoku Park[55]. Some existing facilities in the park were adjusted as the pavilion or facilities for the exhibition, e.g. the Taiwan Governor-General's Office Museum[56] and the Open Air Theatre[57]. The exhibition organisers arranged the pavilions which were related to education, culture, and amusement in the park which was used as the background to enhance an entertaining atmosphere. The main pavilions which were related with the educational and domestic issues included the First and Second Cultural Pavilions, the Vessel Pavilion, the Electric Appliance Pavilion, and the Defence Pavilion. The

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[54] The Taipei Walls were finished in 1884 by the government of the Cing Dynasty, and were totally removed in 1904.

[55] Taihoku is the Japanese kanji pronunciation of Taipei. The Taihoku Park opened in 1908 was the Taiwan's first urban park designed as a European-style garden. The park was one of the major resorts at the time. In 1996, it was renamed as the 228 Peace Memorial Park to recall the memory about the 228 Incident of 1947.

[56] The building of the Taiwan Governor-General's Museum was constructed during 1913 to 1915. The museum was set up in 1908 and is the oldest museum in Taiwan. It was one of the major public buildings of Taiwan in the Japanese rule period.

[57] The Taiwan Governor-General Museum was adjusted as the First Cultural Pavilion, and the Open Air Theatre was adjusted as the Music Hall.

main facilities and pavilions which were related with amusement included the Theatre, the

Cinema, the Open Air Theatre, the Aquarium, and the Children Kingdom[58]. In addition, there

were five of Japan's prefectural pavilions which introduced their local productions[59] (Figure

36).

From the side of the exhibition organiser, the Japanese colonial government, the foremost

intention of the exhibition was to display the progress of Taiwan under the Japanese

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[58] The Children Kingdom is a playground which had slide, swing, seesaw, log cabin, and flying tower.

[59] The five Japan's prefectural pavilions were Aichi Nagoya, Hokkaido, Osaka, Kyoto, and Tokyo
   Pavilions. Only the Tokyo did not sell any production, but introduced modernised industry of Tokyo
   (Kanomata, 1939, pp. 404 - 5).
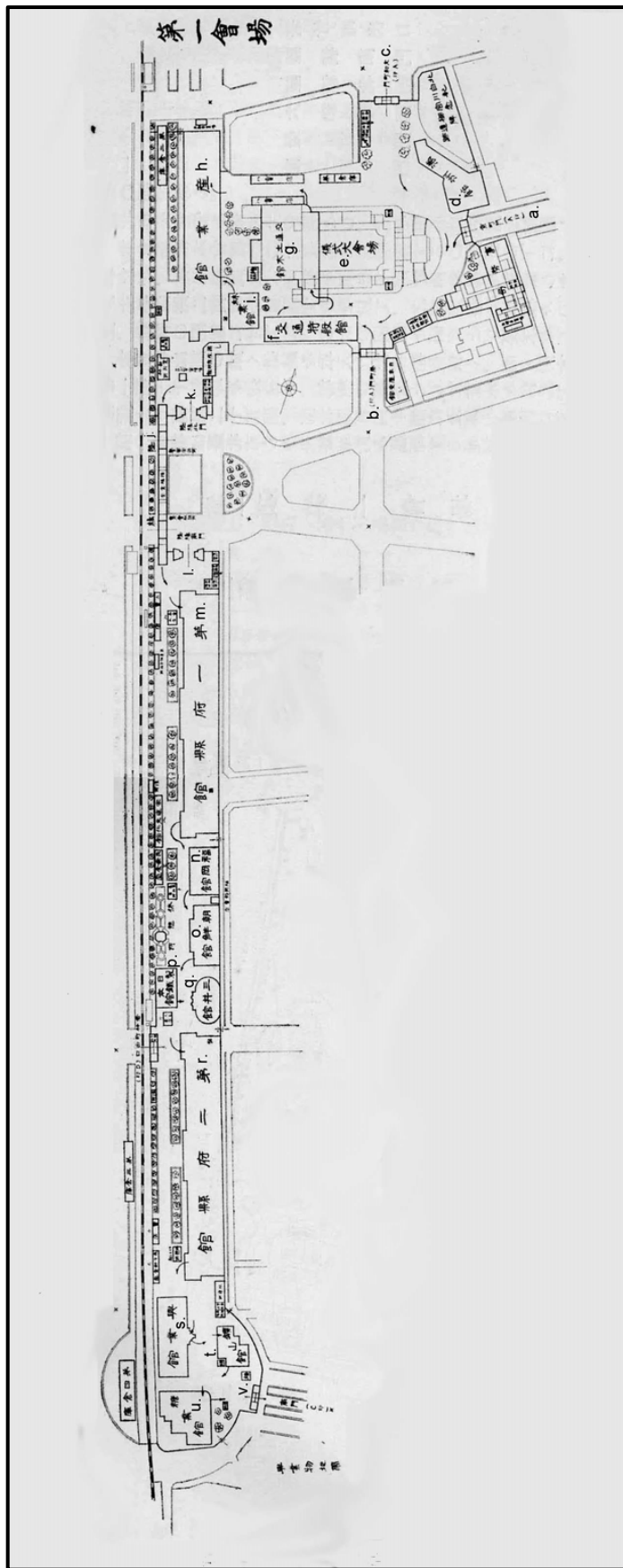
a. Kyomachi Gate **b.** Sakaecho Gate **c.** Yamatocho Gate **d.** The Manchu Pavilion **e.** The Ritual Hall (Taipei City Hall) **f.** The Transportation and Communications Pavilion **g.** The Transport Infrastructure and Built Environment Pavilion **h.** The Products Pavilion **i.** The Forestry Pavilion **j.** Flyover **k.** Flyover North Gate **l.** Flyover South Gate **m.** The First Prefecture Pavilion **n.** The Fukuoka Pavilion **o.** The Korean Pavilion **p.** The Japan Iron and Steel Co. Pavilion **q.**The Mitsui Industry Pavilion **r.** The Second Prefecture Pavilion **s.** The Industry Pavilion **t.** The Mining Industry Pavilion **u.** The Sugar Industry Pavilion **v.** The South Gate

Figure 35. Layout of the First Main Site (Kanomata, 1939).
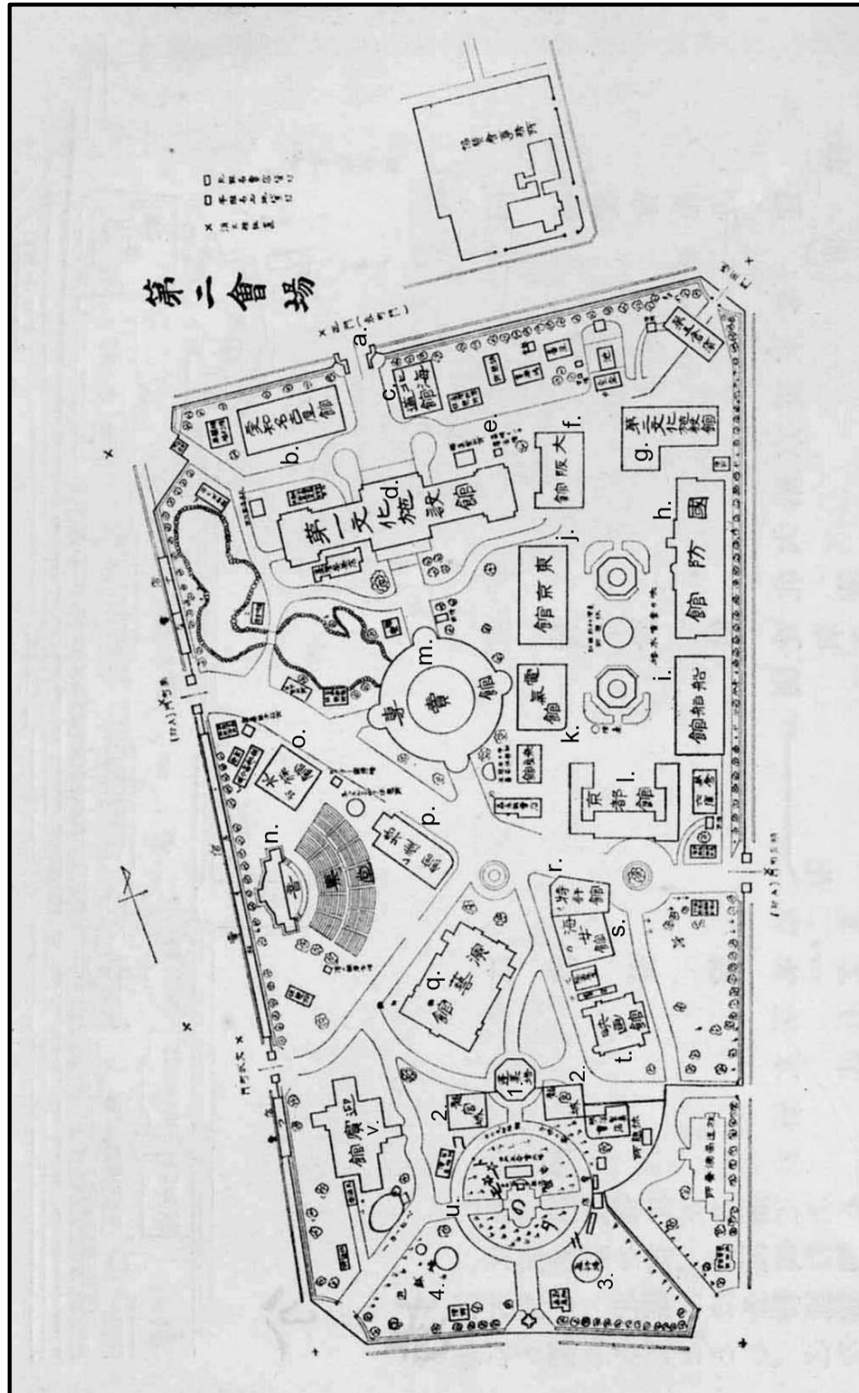
a. Omotecho Gate (Main Entrance) **b.** The Aichi Nagoya Pavilion **c.** The Hokkaido Pavilion **d.** The First Cultural Pavilion **e.** Taiwanese Aboriginal Architecture and living performance site **f.** The Osaka Pavilion **g.** The Second Cultural Pavilion **h.** The National Defence Pavilion **i.** The Vessel Pavilion **j.** The Tokyo Pavilion **k.** The Electric Appliance Pavilion **l.** The Kyoto Pavilion **m.** The Monopoly Pavilion **n.** The Open Air Theatre **o.** The Aquarium **p.** The Selected Products Shop **q.** The Theatre **r.** Selected Shops Hall **s.** The Ama Hall **t.** The Cinema **u.** The Children Kingdom (**1.** Penglai Tower **2.** Dragon Palace Castle **3.** Flying Tower **4.** Playground) **v.** The Guest Hiuse

Figure 36. Layout of the First Main Site (Kanomata, 1939).

dominance for 40 years to Taiwanese and the global community, and to celebrate the great achievement of the Japanese governance. The intention did not just begin from the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary Governance, but was proposed as the main purpose in almost every exhibition held by the Japanese colonial government in Taiwan. For instance, the tenth Governor-General of Taiwan, Takio Izawa[60], reviewed the history of Taiwan and said in the complimentary address for the Exhibition of the Thirtieth Anniversary Governance:

> **"Up to today, [Taiwan] has been ruled under Japanese government for thirty years. No matter how long [Taiwan] was ruled by other dominators[61], the success and greatness of Japanese dominance that [Taiwanese] people live in peace and contentedly, and get appropriate roles in their lives are the effort and the achievement of the Empire of Japan which cannot be ignored. … Today is the time to celebrate the anniversary and to recall the achievement of forerunner, hope the government and people can cooperate to get well developed culture and peaceful people's lives"[62] (Izawa, 1925).**

In this address, Izawa confirmed that the changes in and to Taiwan under Japanese rule were better than under other dominators and that what the Empire of Japan did really improved the status of Taiwan. He hinted that Taiwanese people should cooperate with the Japanese government to create a better life in the future.

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[60] Takio Izawa (伊沢多喜男) was the tenth Governor-General of Taiwan from 1924 to 1926.

[61] They include the Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC), the Cheng-Gong Jheng, and the Cing Dynasty.

[62] Translated by author.

As was the case with the former anniversary exhibition, the intention of the Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance was also to flaunt the success of the governance in the colony and to enhance Taiwanese people's identification with Japan, but on a larger scale and in much more details than before. The purpose of the exhibition was proposed in the first chapter of the record of the Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance. First, to compare the great changing of past and present Taiwan, Mitsuo Kanomata cited Hong-Jhang Li's[63] description on Taiwan[64] to prove that Taiwan was an uncivilised and hard-to-dominate place. Contrasting with the past of Taiwan, after 40 years immersed under the grace of the Emperor of Japan, Taiwan had been built as a paradise of which Taiwanese can be proud to the people of the motherland with the enormous increase in the aspects of agricultural, industrial, forest, mineral, and aquatic products. Secondly, for highlighting the value of Taiwan and promoting Taiwanese's identification to Japan, the exhibition introduced how Taiwan was important for Japan by playing a crucial role in developing the market and expanding Japanese power in the Southeast Asia. Finally, at the end of the article, Mitsuo Kanomata pointed out that the exhibition was an appropriate opportunity to break the ignominious stereotype existing in Japanese's mind which Taiwan was a place with ferocious and barbarous aboriginals, venomous snakes, and severe climate (Kanomata, 1939).

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[63] Hong-Jhang Li was entrusted by the Cing Dynasty court to negotiate with Japan and signed the treaty of Shimonoseki on the behalf of the court.

[64] Hong-Jhang Li sighed: "[Taiwan is] a place fulled with miasma and severe climate. The people are hard to be dominated. In addition, ferocious and barbarous aboriginals occupy everywhere. …" (Kanomata, 1939, p.1)

Furthermore, the exhibition organisers' intention can be found through reading from the posters, the size of pavilions, the visitor route, and the contents of the exhibition. There were three main posters published by the exhibition organisers[65]. On the first poster, the image of Taiwan was represented by a traditional south China-style temple and banana trees. The curvy ridge and decorations of traditional roofs were the strongest impression about Taiwanese architecture in Japanese. The image had been represented as the typical Taiwan's image in exhibitions before, like in the Japan-British Exhibition in

Figure 37. The First Poster for the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance (Kanomata, 1939).

London 1910. Moreover, the banana, a kind of tropical fruit, was one of the main products of Taiwan at that time, and clued the geographical location of Taiwan. The main focus on the poster was the office of the Taiwanese Governor-General, which was drawn in great detail in enormous scale. Going further, the layout and horizontal level of the observing point implicitly indicated the purposes of the exhibition. To contrast the past and the present Taiwan, the poster designer, Tsukamoto Kouji, put the images of Taiwan at the lower edge of the picture as the foreground with a bird's eye view to denote the past Taiwan, and the picture of the Governor-

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[65] The first and second posters were designed by Tsukamoto Kouji and were published in February and June 1935. The third poster was selected through a competition. The winner was Shigeru Tousaki from Kyoto. It was published in August 1935.

Figure 38. The Second Poster of the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance (Kanomata, 1939).
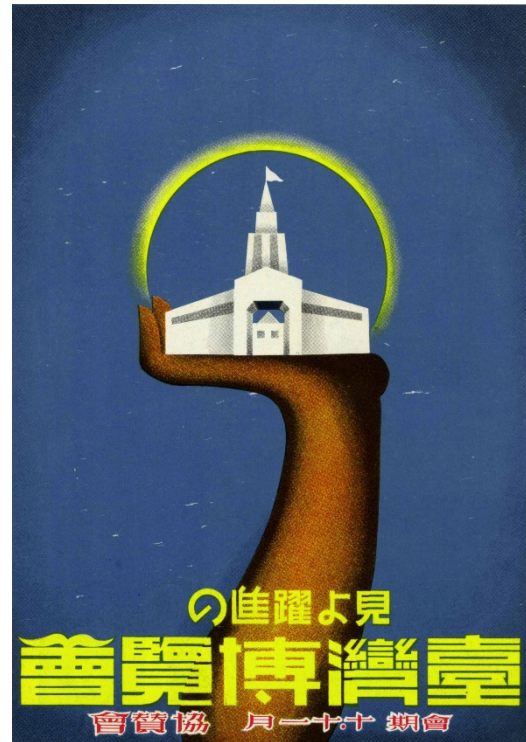
Figure 39. The Third Poster of the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance (Kanomata, 1939).

General's Office occupied the poster centre with a looking-up perspective to mean the progressive status of present Taiwan which was developed under Japanese authority (Figure 37). The main issue of the second poster was praising the achievement brought about by the Japanese. On the poster, Tsukamoto Kouji set a dove in the centre with pictures of the buildings of the exhibition to suggest that the Japanese colonial authority was not violent and seizing, but peaceful and contributing (Figure 38). On the third poster, the slogan clearly expresses the main intention of the exhibition — Look! The Progressive Taiwan[66]. The focus of the poster was a picture of a pavilion which was surrounded by a ring of light and was supported by a hand

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[66] The slogan also was assigned as the only theme of the march, which was titled as Progressive Taiwan , for advertising the exhibition (Kanomata, 1939).

(Figure 39). Obviously, the pavilion signified the progressive status of present Taiwan. However, whose hand was it which supported and developed the progress? Of course, it was not Taiwanese, but a Japanese hand in the Japanese government's view. The argument can be proved by the responses of the Taiwanese, which are discussed later.
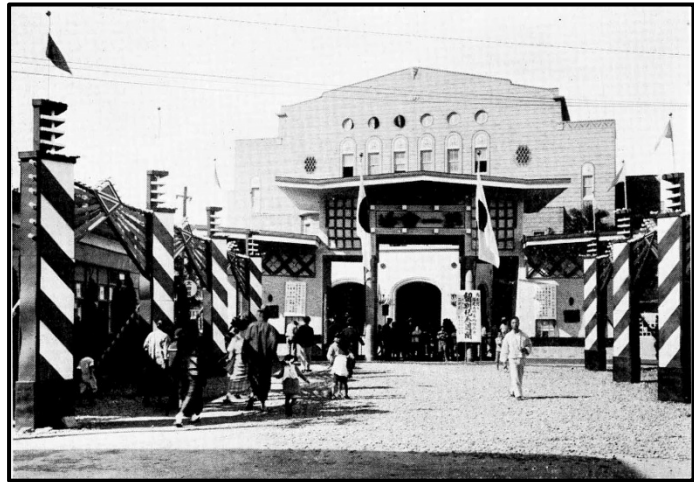
Figure 40. The Ritual Hall (from the Kyomachi Gate) (Kanomata, 1939)

The layout of the exhibition and visiting route are the ways to understand how the exhibition managers presented their intention. On the plan of the first main site, a visiting route was suggested. Visitors entered the site through one of the three gates - Yamatocho Gate, Sakaecho Gate, and Kyotomachi Gate (Figure 35). The first building that visitors faced was the Taipei City Hall[67], which was constructed as a tribute for celebrating the ascension of the Japanese Emperor Hirohito in 1928 and was used as the Ritual Hall in the exhibition (Figure 40). The building and its location, on which the Cing Dynasty Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall was located, indicated that the exhibition and Taiwan's progression were started by Japanese authority. Passing by the Ritual Hall and following the suggested route, visitors went to the

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[67] The Taipei City Hall was designed by Kaoru Ide and was constructed from 1932 to 1936.

Manchu Pavilion[68], the Transportation and Communications Pavilion, the Traffic Pavilion, the Products Pavilion, and the Forestry Pavilion in turn.[69] After seeing the Products Pavilion, they could go through the flyover to the second part of the site. Visitors entered the First Prefecture Pavilion, the Fukuoka Pavilion, the Korean Pavilion, the Japan Iron and Steel Co., Ltd. Pavilion, the Mitsui Pavilion, then went to the Second Prefecture Pavilion. Afterwards, they visited the Industry Pavilion, the Mining Pavilion, and Sugar Industry Pavilion, then finished the tour of the site.

Although visitors might not be forced to follow the suggested route, the exhibition manager constructed the narrative of the exhibition by arranging the visitor's

Figure 41. A remote controlled model and robots displayed in the Transportation and Communications Pavilion about famous Japanese folklore, Momotaro (peach boy), to demonstrate how electric waves applied on remote controlling. In 1935, electricity, robot, and electric wave were very new and rare techniques (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936).

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[68] Manchu Pavilion was located between the Yamatocho Gate and the Kyotomachi Gate. Maybe due to the location, the suggested visiting route did not include the pavilion to avoid confusing the visitors from the Sakaecho Gate.

[69] The Forestry Pavilion was an extension pavilion of the Products Pavilion. In accordance with the suggested route, visitors went to the Forestry Pavilion after looking at the Fishery displays in the Products Pavilion. Afterwards, they returned to the Products Pavilion and proceeded with the rest of visit (Kanomata, 1939).

viewing sequence. [70] Following the suggested route, first, the visitors experienced the material modernisation which was brought about by Japanese, including the development of transportation in Taiwan, the advanced transport technology in Japan, the latest vehicles, the new communications technologies, western-style architecture, contemporary infrastructure, and urban plans of main cities in the Transport Infrastructure and Built Environment Pavilion and the Transportation and Communications Pavilion (Figure 41). In particular, in the Transport Infrastructure and Built Environment Pavilion, experimental television equipment was displayed

Figure 42. A display of television. In the picture, Kenzo Nakagawa was making the first television record (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936).

and the Kenzo Nakagawa Governor-General[71] at that time used it to make the first televised record in the history of Taiwan (Lu, 2011) (Figure 42). Next, visitors entered to the Products Pavilion to learn about the major improvements in industry, commerce, agriculture, fishery, and animal husbandry in Taiwan. Most of the displays simply stated the current development on the aspects above. Using the past status to contrast with the improvement in the present and

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[70] In accordance with The Record of the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance, a visiting route was suggested and Cing-Shou Ciou (1936) wrote the song following the sequence of the suggested route, but in Hsien-Tang Lin's diary (Lin and Syu, 2004) and in Dian-Ren Jhu's essay (1992) , they did not follow the route.

[71] Kenzo Nakagawa (中川健藏) was the 16th Japanese Governor-General of Taiwan during 1932 to 1936.

the status-will-be in the future was the demonstrating strategy applied to some displays. For example, at the display of rice produce, there were three diorama scenes which described the situation of rice produce in the present, 20 years ago, and 40 years ago and how the Japanese colonial government applied farming and breeding technologies to prevent hybridisation and to raise the quality of the rice (Figure 43). It was the same sort of comparison at the farm implemented display that showed how the traditional manpower had been replaced by mechanical farm implements (Figure 44). In particular, the display, which was located near the exit of the Products Pavilion, about the past, the present, and the future of agriculture and
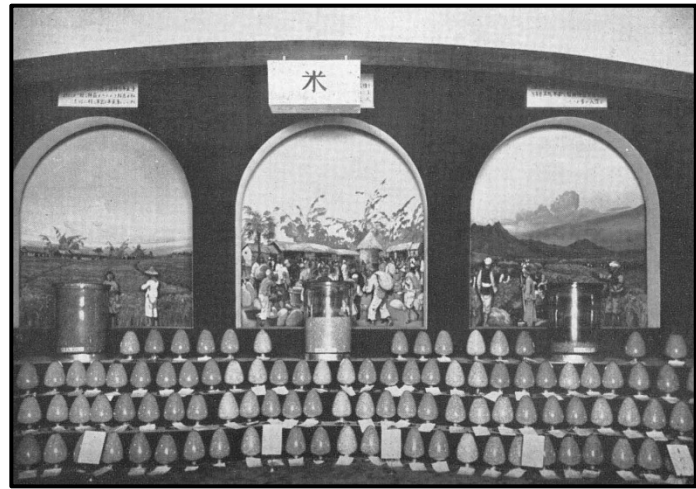
Figure 43. The displays about the improvement on rice breeding in Taiwan. The three dioramas narrated the situation of rice production in forty, twenty years ago, and present from left to right (Kanomata, 1939).

Figure 44. Comparison between past and present farming implements in Taiwan. The future mechanical farming implements were on left diorama and past were on right side (Kanomata, 1939).

industry, announced that mechanical productions would be the main trend and would replace the traditional production based on manpower in the future (Figure 45). After looking at the display, visitors passed by the souvenir shop, which was decorated with an advertisement that

visitors, carrying their souvenir, were going to the Taipei train station, before they went to the next pavilion. Many Taiwanese local handcrafted productions were demonstrated and sold as souvenirs in the shop. Contrasting with those products made by machine, the handicrafts, like River Lou ink stone, handmade knits, and handmade animal horn craft, had lost their stage in daily life and became souvenirs for entertaining.

Visitors went out from the Products Pavilion and walked through the flyover, then entered into the southern part of the site. In the site, the First and the Second Prefecture Pavilions and the Fukuoka Pavilion demonstrated the local products which came from most of the prefectures of Japan. The property of these displays in the pavilions above was not to present their

Figure 45. The displays of comparing agriculture and industry in past, present, and future (The Cylinder stand on right of the picture) (Kanomata, 1939).

Figure 46. A display of products of Gata Co (Kanomata, 1939).

culture and local significance to visitors, but was a kind of business exhibition for selling their products (Kanomata, 1939, Lu, 2011). The highlight of the first main site was the Industry

Pavilion which demonstrated natural resources of Taiwan, experimental research, and various conceptual inventions and machines; for example, at the display stall of the Gata Company, in which a serials of water-filtering equipment was demonstrated. A living show displayed how dirty and dusty water quickly became drinkable when the water went through the ceramics filter, eliminating bacteria. At the time, tap water still was not popularly equipped and wells or underground sources were still the water sources that people used in everyday life. The living show attracted groups of curious crowds, and also transmitted both the new watering technique and drinking water hygiene to visitors (Figure 46). In addition, there were displays about hydroelectric and fossil-fuel power, electric experiments, and electric appliances, and a robot orchestra showed the electricity applied for amusement.

The main features of the first main exhibition site were to demonstrate the modernised Taiwan in the fields of industry, transportation, manufacture, and communication, which was under Japanese governance, and the direction of development in the future through the suggested visiting sequence. First, visitors experienced the modernisation in Taiwan. Then, they learnt the modernisation in Japan which can be the model for Taiwan. At the end, a figure of the life in the future was presented to visitors. Afterwards, visitors went to the second main exhibition site.

The second main exhibition site was located in the Taihoku Park which was around 800 metres away from the first main exhibition site. The pavilions were arranged in the north part of the site, and entertaining facilities were in the rest part of the site. The major themes of the site were culture, education, and entertainment in Taiwan in that time. In Shao-Li Lu's description, the exhibition was significant with two entire cultural facilities pavilions because no other

exhibition had departments of cultural demonstration on such a big scale in the period from 1895 to 1935 (Lu, 2011).

The main intention of the exhibition, displaying the progress of Taiwan, was extended from the first main site to here in different aspects. In the First Cultural Pavilion, the themes were about the development of education in and out of school, welfare, and the Japanese customs and religious faith of Shindo [72] which were set up as paradigms for replacing Taiwanese customs and religions by the Japanese colonial government. Significantly, again as in the slogan which was posted on the diorama about technological and educational education in Taiwan indicated, the progression in the industry of Taiwan was made by 'us'. Obviously, the 'us' was not Taiwanese, but Japanese. It

Figure 47. A diorama narrated the development on technological and vocational education in Taiwan. The slogan said that "The Progression on Industry of Taiwan Was Made by Us!!" (Kanomata, 1939).

Figure 48. A display of knowledge and prevention of typhus (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936).

also hinted that the whole progress of Taiwan was driven by Japanese rule (Figure 47).

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[72] Shindo (神道), as known as kami-no-michi (神の道), is an indigenous religion of Japan.

In the Second Cultural Pavilion[73], the themes were about the development of aborigine governing, hygiene, police, and judicature. Repeatedly, the method of displaying the comparison between the past and the present of Taiwan hinted that Japanese government improved the status of Taiwan (Figures 48 and 49). To show the
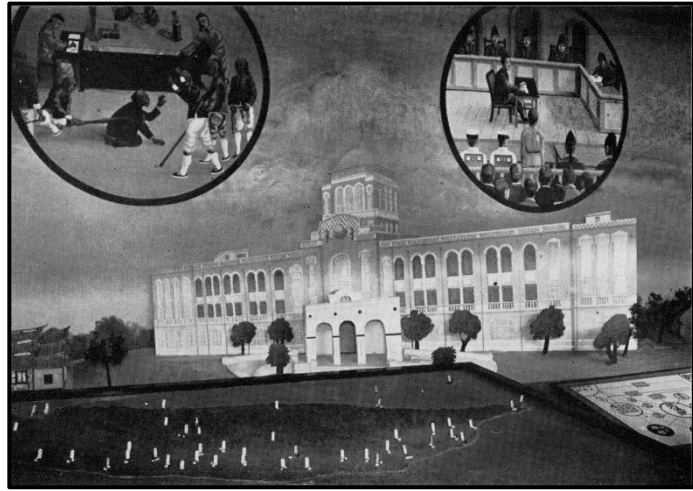

Figure 49. A diorama displayed the development of judicature by comparing past (up-left circle) and present (up-right circle) court (Kanomata, 1939).

achievement of aborigine governing, the curator set up interior diorama displays in the Second Cultural Pavilion. One of the diorama juxtaposed the original tribe and the new tribe under the domestics of the Japanese to express that the 'barbaric' Taiwanese aborigines were tamed after Japanese totally controlled the aborigine's territories (Figure 50). For a more vivid demonstration of the Taiwanese aborigine, the aboriginal expression was extended to the outdoors beside the First Cultural Pavilion and the Osaka Pavilion, where the curator arranged living aboriginal performances and a set of real aboriginal house, grain store, and observation

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[73] The curator of the Second Cultural Pavilion was the Department of Police, the Taiwan Governor-General's Office.

tower [74].The essence of the living performances are the same as the one of the living performance in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition in Osaka in 1903 and the Japan-British Exhibition in London in 1910, which are a kind of display of a human zoo under the coloniser's gaze. The living performances did not only amuse visitors with the romantically exotic culture, but also enhanced the impression of the achievement of aborigine governing (Figure 51).

Different from the amusement of living aboriginal performance offering the other's culture, the facilities in the south part of the site figured out the new activities in

a.

b.

Figure 50. **a.** Past aborigine governance **b.** Present aborigine governance.   (Kanomata, 1939)

leisure in the modernised society of Taiwan. Those facilities, including the Ama Hall [75], aquarium, cinema, open air music hall, theatre, the Electric Appliance Pavilion, and amusement

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[74] The aboriginal house and grain store belonged to the Atayal people and were removed from Hensi, Taipei.

[75] Ama is a group of Japanese divers who collects pearls. Most Ama are women.

park — the Children's Kingdom, were still very novel for most of Taiwanese [76]. Watching a movie, enjoying music or a dance performance, and tourism were part of new recreations introduced by the Japanese from the West, which followed the development of modernised society (Figure 52) (Lu, 1999). Setting up entertainment facilities in an exhibition is used to attract people (Lu, 2011). In accordance with the description of the Cooperative Committee of the Taiwan Exhibition, the Children's Kingdom was free for children to play in. More important, curators tried to educate the next generation in the aspects of intelligence, morality, and physical exercise through playing and exercising (Exhibition, 1939). The amusement park also was an embodiment of the educational policy of the Japanese colonial government

a.

b.

Figure 51. **a.** A demonstration of real Atayal watch tower and house. **b.** An Atayal girl living knitting show (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936).

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[76] The manager of the entertainment facilities was the Cooperative Committee of the Taiwan Exhibition.

and a hot spot of playground and children's tourism when the Children's Kingdom was kept as an amusement field of the Taihoku Park after the exhibition (Cheng, 2001).

Besides that, the exhibition curator suggested the recreations which would become a part of daily life for both adults and children in Taiwan, and in the Electric Appliance pavilion, the visitors were amazed by the transformation of life after electricity was introduced to daily home life[77] and entertainment which was shown by the Taiwan Power Company. One of the displays arranged six scenes which showed the sequence of daily life of an electrical family from six in morning to seven in the evening[78] (Figure 53).
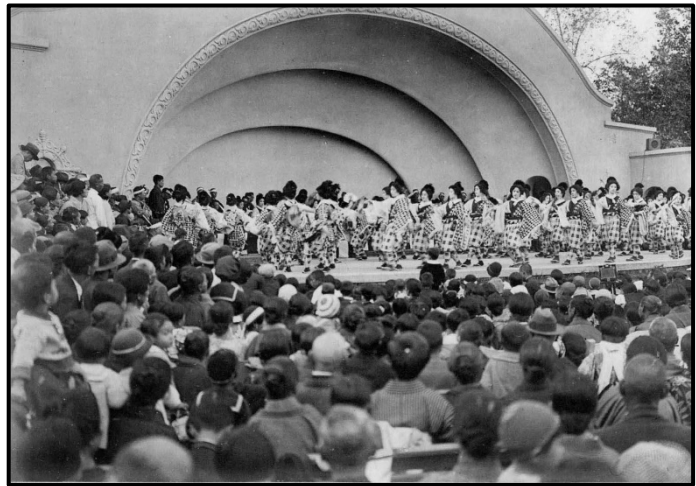
a.

b.

Figure 52. **a.** Geigi dance performance in the Open Air Music Hall. **b.** The flying tower in the Children Kingdom (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936). Both leisure activities were novel and a rare experience for Taiwanese at that time.

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[77] The serial scenes mainly introduced a common woman's home life.

[78] The daily life started with preparing breakfast at 6 am. Next, making up and dressing up at 8 am. At 10, it was sewing time. At 2 in the afternoon, friends came to have a visit; then, cleaning the house at

In the display, not merely the various electric appliances, like rice cooker, hair dryer, hair waver, heater, fan, radio, iron, and table lamp, showed the electrical life in the future of Taiwan, but also suggested the image of regularised life under a standardised time system which was introduced through the Japanese in 1895 (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936, Lu, 1995, Lu, 2011).

Figure 53. The last scene of A Day in Electrical Family. The housewife was reviewing what learnt today in housekeeping, house decorating, etc (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936).

As well as the content of the exhibition, the exhibition architecture and facilities were the obvious objects which strongly grabbed the visitor's vision and created the atmosphere of the sites. Moreover, exhibition architecture and facilities were a good media for demonstrating the progressive development of Taiwan and portraying the vision in the future. Japan, the same as the other colonial empires, changed the landscape of Taiwan by applying her architectural culture to the island. However, the difference between Japan and other colonial authorities was that Japan did not only install her traditional architecture in her colony, but also experimentally operated in Taiwan with the architectural knowledge, techniques, aesthetics, and theory which were introduced from the Europe staring from Meiji Ishin [79]. The Japanese traditional

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4 pm. Finally, it was time to review what was learnt today in housekeeping, house decorating, etc (Kanomata, 1939).

[79] Meiji Ishin is known as Meiji Restoration which was a chain of events for restoring imperial rule in Japan during the 1860s to the 1880s under the Meiji Emperor.

architecture built the symbol of colonial authority of Japan and tried to shift Taiwanese cultural identity to Japan. The European architecture, either classical, Art Deco, or modernism style, proved that Japan had caught up with the pace of industrialisation and modernisation taking place in Europe. According to Kaoru Ide's[80] analysis, the development of architecture in Taiwan could be classified into five periods[81]. The development described by Ide is the starting of the history of Japanese architectural modernisation. Every period meant that Japanese architects tried to solve the problems they encountered and consistently went forward on the road of the modernisation of Japanese architecture. For Japanese architects, the progress of Japanese architecture was not the application of a new style or new material from the Europe,

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[80] Kaoru Ide (井手薫) graduated from the Department of Architecture of the Tokyo Imperial University in 1906. He worked in the Maintenance Section of the Administrative Office of the Governor-General's Office of Taiwan during 1910 to 1940. He occupied the seat of the manager of the Maintenance Section in 1919, 1924, and during 1929 to 1940. He contributed to the founding of the Taiwan Architectural Institution and took up the post of the president of the association in 1929.

[81] Kaoru Ide basically used material as the classifying principle. The first period, from 1895 to 1907, was an experimental period of Japanese architecture. In this period, the Japanese directly planted Japanese architecture in Taiwan. The second period, from 1907 to 1917, was the brick period. Many major buildings were structured by brick and designed in the Baroque style. The third period was from 1917 to 1926. Tile in dark colour was the main feature of buildings in the period. The fourth period, from 1926 to 1936, was the reinforced concrete period. Affected by the Great Kanto earthquake, reinforced concrete was introduced as the solution for increasing earthquake-resisting capacity of building. At the same time, Art Deco and modernism were also accepted by Japanese architects and were applied on new buildings in Taiwan. The fifth period was from 1936 to 1939. This was an extension of the last period (Ide, 1939). However, some architects tried to combine the Japanese traditional roof forms to modern architecture which was named as Teikanyoshiki (帝冠様式).
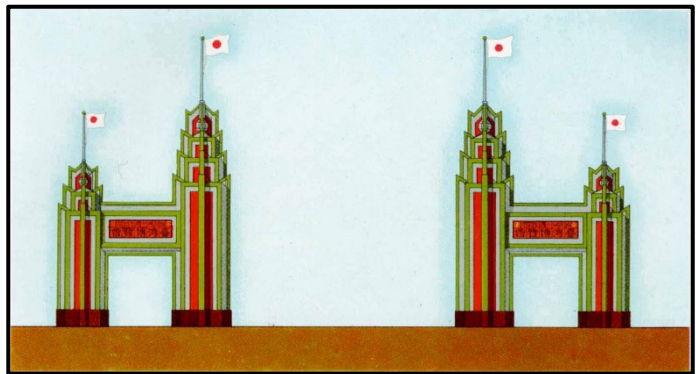
but the discipline of the Japanese architecture they continually worked on. Therefore, the Taiwan exhibition was a great stage for showcasing those Japanese architects' discipline and the progress of modernisation they had achieved at that point in time.

The exhibition buildings with the newest form underpinned the image of progressive Taiwan. This year, 1935, was the end of the fourth period and was going forward to the next period in Ide's analysis. Japanese architects had become very familiar with new materials, like steel and reinforced concrete, and new architectural styles which prevailed in Europe at the time, like Art Deco and modernism. Ide, who was the manager of the

a.

b.

Figure 54. **a.** The Main Entrance of the Exposition Internationaledes Arts Decoraties, 1925, Paris **(**Retrieved from http://www.histoire-fr.com/troisieme_republique_entre_deux_guerres_3.htm). **b.** The Welcome Gate (Kanomata, 1939).

Maintenance Section of the Administrative Office of the Governor-General's Office of Taiwan at that time, and architectural technicians of the section were the architects who very much drove the architectural trend in Taiwan. Following that, Ide was commissioned as the head of the Department of Construction of the exhibition to handle the design and construction of the facilities for the part of the exhibition which was directly hosted by the committee of the Taiwan
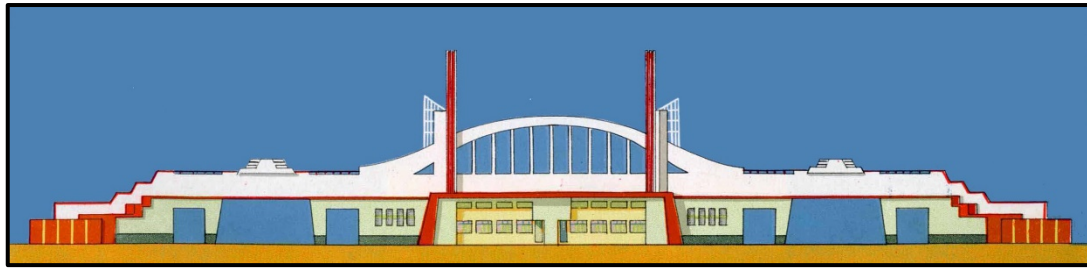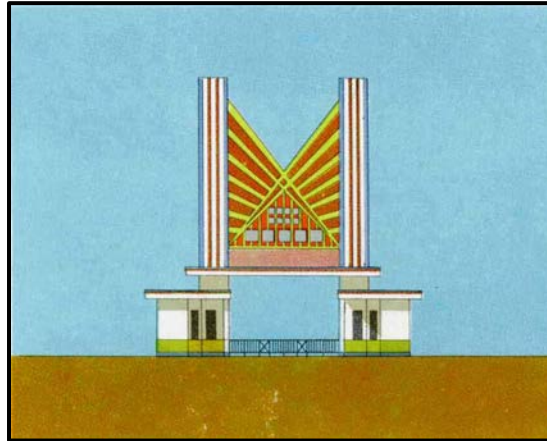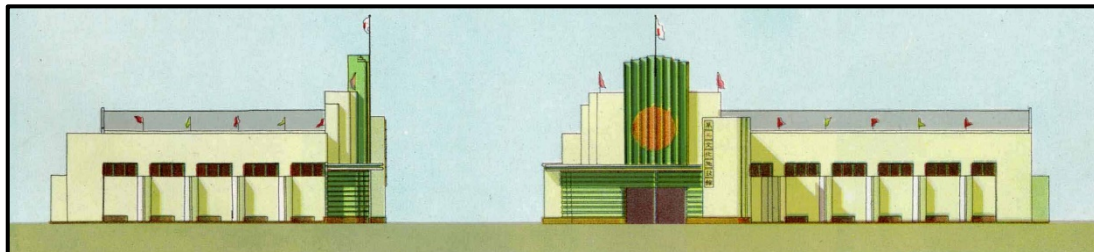
a.

b.

c.

Figure 55. **a.** The Flyover **b.** The Gate of Second Main Site **c.** The Second Cultural Pavilion (left: side elevation; right: front elevation) (Kanomata, 1939).

Exhibition[82]. The newest form and materials were applied on exhibition facilities and buildings to demonstrate a progressive Taiwan, the main intention of the Taiwan Exhibition. Except for
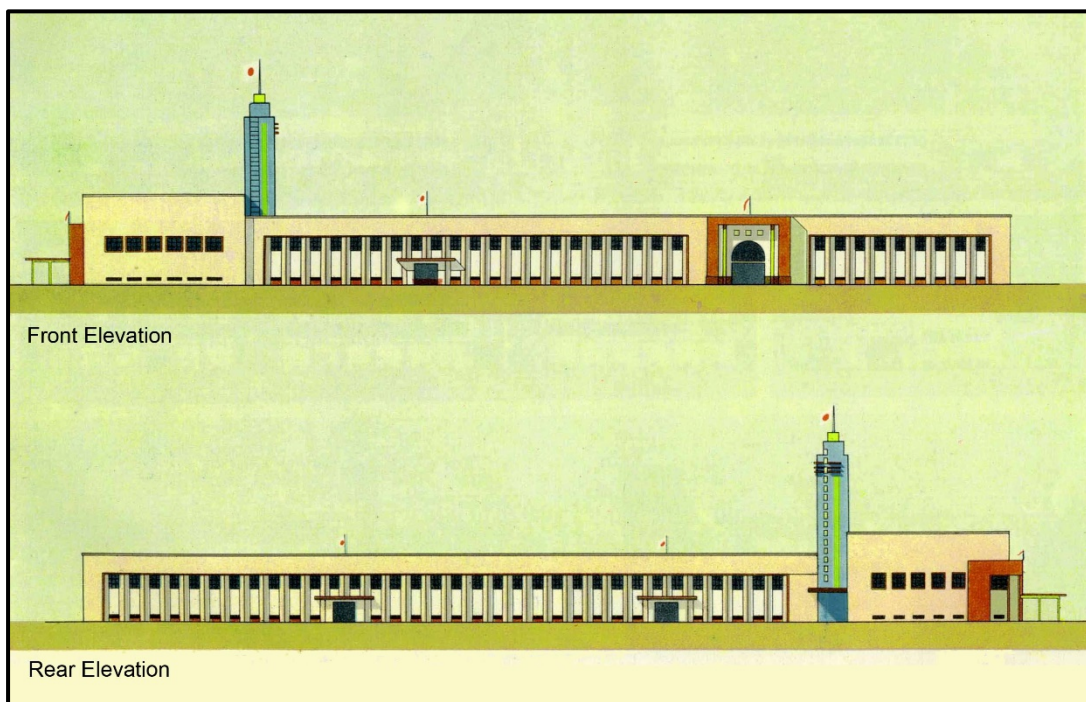
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[82] The buildings and facilities were separately commissioned to the Department of Construction of the Committee of the Taiwan Exhibition and the Department of the Facility of the Cooperative Committee of the Taiwan Exhibition. The former was charged with the most of the construction of the exhibition (Kanomata, 1939).
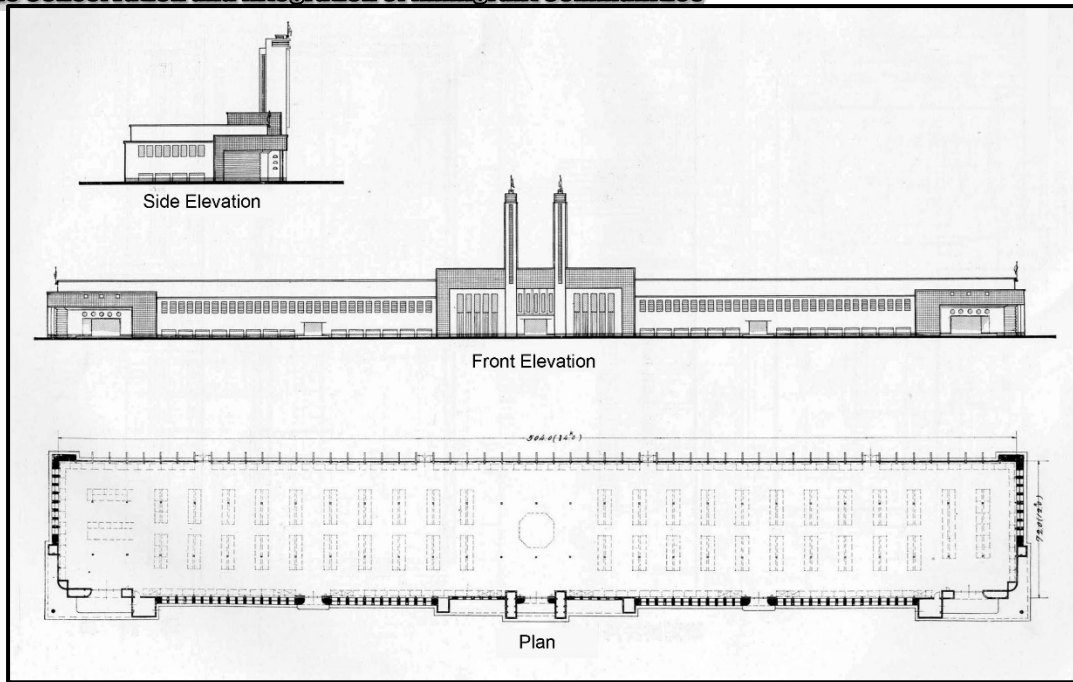
a.

b.

Figure 56. **a.**The Prefecture Pavilion (The First and Second Prefecture Pavilion were same design) **b.** The Products Pavilion (Kanomata, 1939)

the Taipei City Hall, the Taiwan Governor-General's Museum, and the Open Air Theatre, which were existing facilities and were adjusted for the exhibition, the style of other buildings

in the first and second main sites and the subsidiary site could be mainly classified into two categories, modernised and regional style. Most of the exhibition halls and facilities belonged to the first category which includes Art Deco and the modernism style. Affected by the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts in 1925, Paris, and the architectural fad of Art Deco, Art Deco style was the main style applied on the exhibition pavilions and facilities. For example, the Welcome Gate, which was located in front of the Taipei Rail Station as a magnificent landmark for giving the first impression of the Taiwan exhibition to visitors while they were coming out of the station, could be referred to as the main entrance of the International Exposition of Modern Industrial and Decorative Arts (Figure 54). Besides, in the first main site, the pavilions and facilities with Art Deco style were the Manchu Pavilion, the flyover and gates, the Industry Pavilion, the Sugar Industry Pavilion, and the advertisement tower. In the second main site, there were the gate of the second main site, the Second Cultural Pavilion, the Electric Appliance Pavilion, the Monopoly Pavilion, the National Defence Pavilion, the Theatre, and the Cinema. In the subsidiary site, the Horse Husbandry Pavilion was also designed in Art Deco style (Figure 55). Compared with those exhibition halls in Art Deco style, on which were applied a lot of vertical or horizontal decoration as the main element of their facades, the other exhibition halls in the modernism style were purified by abandoning redundant decorations and getting rid of the constraints from history. In the first main site, the pavilions in the modernism style were the Transportation and Communications Pavilion, the First and the Second Prefecture Pavilions, the Products Pavilion, the Fukuoka Pavilion, Japan Iron and Steel Co. Pavilion, and Mitsui Pavilion. In the second main site, there were the Hokkaido Pavilion, the Cinema, the Tokyo Pavilion, and the Osaka Pavilion (Figure 56).

Contrasting with the architecture in the Art Deco or modernism style which presented a sort of rhetoric of the progressive development of Taiwan by demonstrating the newest spatial experience of modernisation, the regional style offered another experience by demonstrating exotic circumstance. The regional style could be distinguished into two types - the Japanese traditional architecture and demonstrating other regional architecture. Both types of regional-style architecture in the exhibition presented themselves as local architectural culture; nevertheless, their meanings for the exhibition host and the Japanese government

a.

b.

Figure 57. **a.** The Aichi Nagoya Pavilion **b.** The Kyoto Pavilion (Kanomata, 1939)

were quite different. The first type was presenting the coloniser's regional architectural culture, i.e. the traditional Japanese architecture. There were two pavilions in traditional Japanese style, the Aichi Nagoya Pavilion and the Kyoto Pavilion; both were located in the second main site (Figure 57). The two pavilions introduced the architectural tradition of Japan to the Taiwanese in order to enhance the Japanese cultural image in the minds of the Taiwanese. Moreover, they were intensively used to as part of the strategies for changing Taiwanese cultural identity to

Japan. It was a kind of attitude that the colonial authority tried to dominate its colonial subject. The second one was representing the Others opposite Japan, which were Japanese colonies or the territories in the Southeast Asia which Japan planned to occupy. Those buildings included the Korean Pavilion, the South Pavilion, the Siam Pavilion, the Philippines Pavilion, the Theatre of Subsidiary Site, and the Special Products of Fujian Province Pavilion[83] (Figures 58 - 61). These pavilions were set up to introduce the knowledge about Southeast Asia and southern China which was prepared to underpinning Japan's Southward
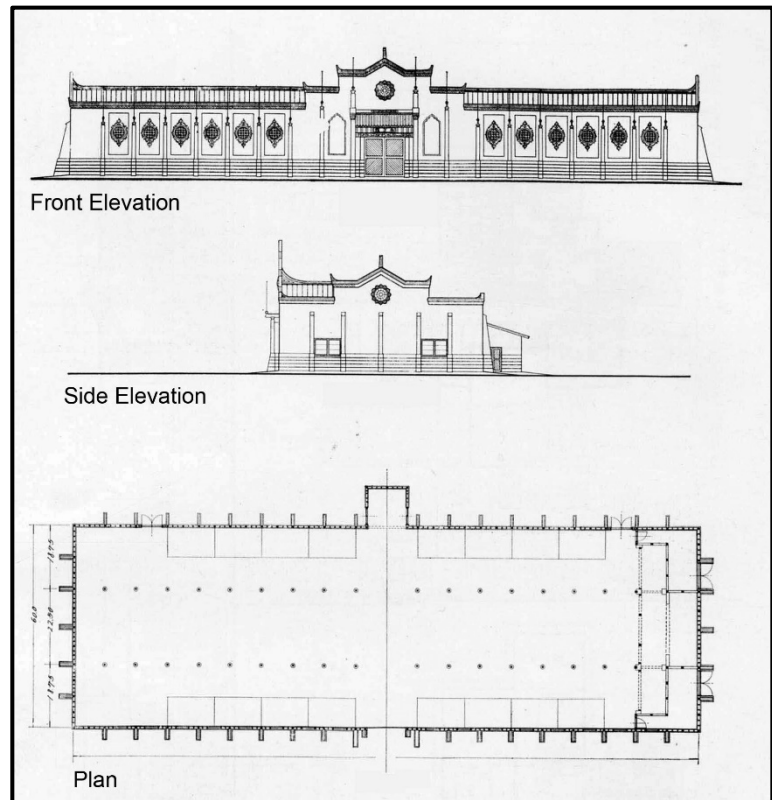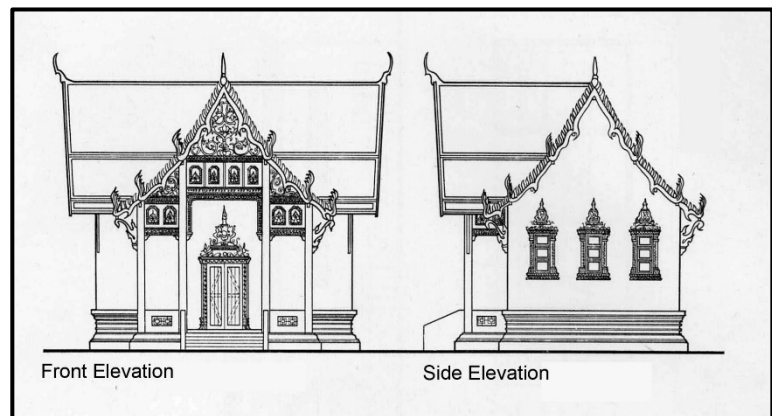

Figure 58. The South Pavilion (Kanomata, 1939)

Figure 59. The Sima Pavilion (Kanomata, 1939)

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[83] Except for the Korean Pavilion which was located at the first main site, the others were in the subsidiary site.

Policy [84]. Restricted by the function for the exhibition, most of the building types of the exhibition pavilions in the regional style did not match with their traditional exterior. For example, the Aichi Nagiya Pavilion simulated the external form of the Nagoya Castle, but the internal space was adjusted for exhibitive purposes (Figure 62). Some of the exhibition pavilions did not actually follow the traditional construction rule and architectural language; for example, the type of roof conjunction of the Special Products of Fujian Province Pavilion did not happen in the traditional architecture of southern China when the space of

Figure 60. The Special Products of Fujian Province Pavilion (Kanomata, 1939)

the whole building was an entire square (Figure 60). Specifically, the Theatre of Subsidiary Site only used the southern Chinese style on its façade as a surface decoration (Figure 61). Even though those exhibition pavilions were not really following the traditional rules of regional architecture, they adequately satisfied visitors' physical pleasure and emotional desire for gaining exotic experience. More important, for the exhibition host and the Japanese government, the Japanese traditional architecture expressed the cultural and historical depths of Japan. By contrast, other kinds of regional architecture were the represented culture of the 'Others' that were under the gaze of the Japanese Empire.
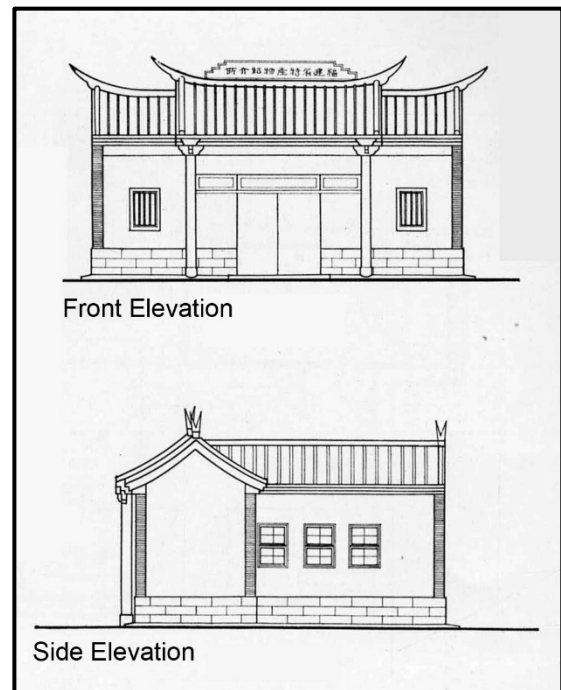
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[84] The Southward Policy was based on the Southern Expansion Doctrine which stated that the Southeast Asia was a crucial area for maintaining the existence and economic interest of the Japanese Empire.
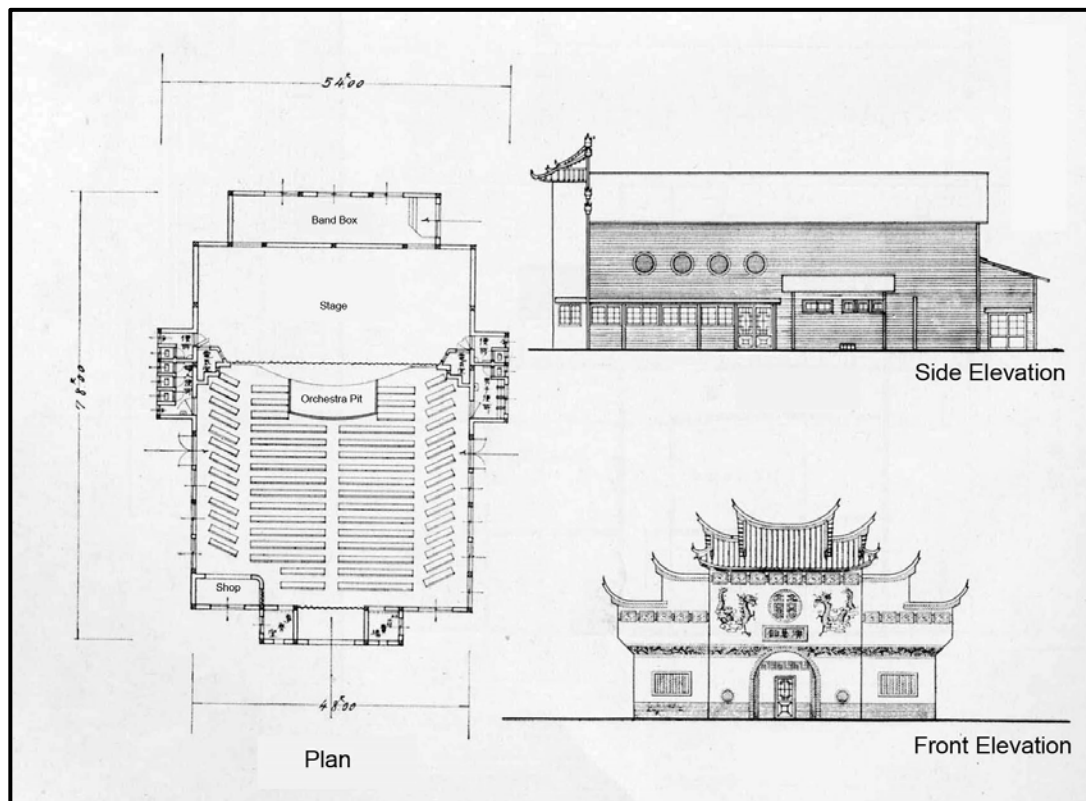
Figure 61. The Theatre in the Subsidiary Site (Kanomata, 1939)

Figure 62. Interior of the Aichi Nagoya Pavilion (The Taiwan Exhibition, 1936)

As per the discussion above, the content and arrangement of the entire exhibition and the exhibition facilities of the Taiwan exhibition indicated that the intention of the Japanese

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government and the exhibitor was to flaunt the achievements of governance and progressive development in Taiwan to the world. From the perspective of colony governing, the coloniser attempted to enhance the authority of ruling Taiwan and to shift Taiwanese's identity to Japan via showing the progress of Taiwan under Japanese rule and Japan's traditional culture and modernisation. However, how the Taiwanese perceived and conceived from the exhibition might not be as same as the results that the Japanese government and the exhibitor expected. According to the historical materials which were related with visitors' responses to the exhibition, Taiwanese's responses could be distinguished according to three perspectives. First, from the commercial perspective, the business persons were interested in the commercial benefits and business expansion that the exhibition could bring. From the experience of previously attending exhibitions, Taiwanese business persons knew that exhibition could attract a huge amount of visitors, and that the exhibition was a good place and a great opportunity for increasing benefits and expanding their commercial networks. That was the main reason why the business persons who ran businesses at the Dadaocheng district asked the Taiwan Governor-General's Office to set up a subsidiary site at the district (Kanomata, 1939). The Japanese's intent which showed off the achievement of managing Taiwan via the exhibition was not the concern of the business people. In Shao-Li Lu's analysis, the business people in Dadaocheng considered their business and life in present and in the future above the considerations they gave to honouring the past. Although the Japanese used the comparison between Dadaocheng district, which the Taiwanese settled in, and the modernised town centre area, in which Japanese residences and public buildings were located, to hint that the Japanese were more progressive than the Taiwanese, the Japanese sense of superiority was dismissed by the business persons' ignorance through shifting the Taiwanese circumstances to a sort of exotic entertainment (Lu, 2011). Here, Taiwanese culture and productions were commodities and a part of business from

the viewpoints of the business people rather than a sort of cultural property which should be cherished.

From the view of Taiwanese who did not agree with Japan's governance, the Taiwan exhibition was a trigger which evoked the sadness that the Cing Dynasty was defeated by Japan in 1895 and Taiwan fell under Japanese rule the following year. In the prose, *A Letter in Autumn*, Dian-Ren Jhu shaped a character of scholar, Dou-Wun Chen, who passed the country-level imperial examination in the Cing Dynasty, and used his experience of visiting the Taiwan Exhibition to indicate the sadness of being ruled by Japanese. Dou-Wun Chen still maintained his daily life style in the Cing Dynasty rule period, practicing calligraphy and reading classical Chinese literature, when Taiwan was ruled by the Japanese government for a long period. At the first part of the story, the scholar rejected the chance to visit the exhibition while many of his neighbours and other Taiwanese were attracted by the largest exhibition in Taiwan; however, his persistence did not be hold for too long. That a Japanese police allured Chen and suggested he visited the exhibition to compare the difference of culture between Japan and the Cing Dynasty triggered Chen's emotion hidden deep in his heart. More, almost every neighbour who returned from the trip to Taipei and the Taiwan Exhibition was very excited and praised the exhibition highly. Finally, in autumn, on receipt of a letter from a friend of Chen's grandson, both of whom were studying in mainland China, in which his grandson invited him to experience the exhibition, the scholar made his decision to go to the Taiwan Exhibition. Being afraid of running into any friend who knew that he had previously refused visit the exhibition, he stealthily took the train to Taipei. Chen was very concerned about culture and education. He went to the First Cultural Pavilion in the Second Main Site to look at the educational development that had taken place during the 40 years. In the pavilion, Chen was insulted and ridiculed by some Japanese students when he asked them to translate the slogan — *The*

Progression on Industry of Taiwan Was Made by Us — for him. Chen was hurt and felt seriously discriminated against. He murmured that the progress only belonged to 'Jap'[85]; the Taiwanese could not realise any benefits from those developments. To sooth his sadness, he wanted to have a look at the Cing Dynasty Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall. However, no one knew the location of the hall since the Taipei City Hall was built on the site and the Administration Hall was moved to the Taipei Botanical Garden. Chen was hit again. Finally, he arrived at the botanical garden and sat under a coconut tree facing the reassembled Taiwan Provincial Administration Hall and re-read the letter from his grandson. He carelessly released his hand and the letter blew off in the autumn wind (Jhu, 1992). In the story, the letter was a metaphor of the base of Taiwanese Han's cultural and national identity, and it also hinted that the identity was linked with mainland China. When the letter was blown away, it meant that the time and culture belonging to Taiwan in the old days were flying away, never to come back. The cultural heritages, like calligraphy, classical Chinese literature, and traditional architecture, lost their roots and became Japanese colonial captures and entertainments.

Differing from the business persons who were mainly concerned with their business and the Taiwanese who disagreed with Japan's governance, the common people had no capability to grasp the great opportunity of making money, and did not much care that they were none other than the people who were ruled, domesticated, and civilised by Japan. They came to the Taiwan Exhibition to enjoy the pleasure and excitement by experiencing the curiosities and to be dazzled by the latest technologies. In accordance with Yi-Ren Chen's grandfather's memory, although he knew that the exhibition was held by the Japanese to boost their achievement of

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[85] Dou-Wun Chen used the negative term, '*Jap*', to fight against the Japanese discrimination.

ruling Taiwan and to enhance Taiwanese's identity to Japan, over 60 years later, the atmosphere of gathering many novel things in the exhibition still impressed him (Chen, 1995b).

In addition, common people's impressions about the Taiwan Exhibition and their behaviour while was looking around were described in the song, *A New Folk Song of a Couple to the Exhibition*[86]. First of all, the song described the phenomenon of that common people pursued curiosities and were more superficial-looking.. The structure of the folk song expressed the hurried pace of visiting the site. The first part of the song described many details of the displays, but in the last part, many displays were neglected and only a cursory description for those noticed displays was given. It did not indicate that those ignored exhibitions were not substantial and interesting enough. The structure of the song hinted that there were quite many attractive displays; as a consequence, visitors spent much of their time on the first part of the displays and had to rush through with only superficially understanding in the other parts. In addition, the content of the song also expressed that visitors were totally attracted by the dazzling display of curiosities and hesitated to move to the next display. The writer installed many words in the song which urged visitors not to stay at one display for too long and should move on to other displays soon. For example:

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[86] The folk song book has four volumes which introduced almost every pavilion in the first and second main sites, and the subsidiary site following the suggested visiting route. It also contained brief introductions about the subsidiary hall in Grass Mountain and the Folk Pavilion in Banciao. That the folk song was composed basically in Taiwanese with a little of Japanese vocabulary reflected the phenomenon of cultural hybridity in common people's daily life. Although the folk song was written for common people and included many lower-culture slangs, it still could be regarded as a reference about the attitudes of the common Taiwanese to the exhibition.

"Having a look is enough; do not stay at one display too long. It is more interesting on other displays" (Uknown, 1936a, p. 2A).

Or

"It is useless to spend too much time on one display. [You] should tell your wife that keep moving on to other pavilions" (Uknown, 1936a, p. 4A).

The song reflected common people's attitude of trying to have a look at every display and to perceive novel experiences.

Secondly, the folk song did not mention the political motivation that drove the Japanese government to host the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance. Moreover, the epistemic structure used in the exhibition to classify displays and to lay out the pavilions was not referred to in the song. It meant that those exhibitors' intentions did not come to be recognised by common Taiwanese. As the first feature said, common Taiwanese's attitude of visiting the exhibition was pursuing as many novel experiences as possible via catching a glimpse of each display, and they only received cursory information from a glance at displays. For instance, the words about the diorama of present technological and vocational education, which had the slogan, the progression on industry of Taiwan was made by us, only said:

"Holding abacus and hammer in hands. Three persons stand together. Two are thin and one is fat. One is fat and two are thin. Three work as a group" (Uknown, 1936b, p. 2A) (Figure 47).

Common people were only interested in the displayed model and did not feel any sadness and insult such as that which Dou-Wun Chen experienced. In addition, the section about the rice

production in Taiwan just mentioned that there were many species of rice coming from each prefecture (Uknown, 1936a, p. 1B) (Figure 43). However, the agricultural problems, like lacking cultivated lands and high increase of land rent annually behind increasing rice production and improving rice quality, were serious at that time. As Hsien-Tang Lin said in his diary, the Taiwanese were banned from reclaiming land in Southeast Asia and had to face cultivated land competition against the Japanese. The problems would destabilise the lives of farmers (Lin and Syu, 2004). From the analysis above, those problems of being discriminated against by the Japanese did not draw the attention of the common Taiwanese. They were excited by exploring the various curious displays.

Last, in accordance with the description of the folk song, the common Taiwanese did not feel that they were insulted by the Japanese through the exhibition, neither did they believe that Japanese culture was superior to that of the Taiwanese and other Southeast Asian countries. Moreover, they did not conceive that the exhibition hosts' intention was to demonstrate Japan-centred cultural image to enhance Taiwanese's national and cultural identity to Japan. In the folk song, the items displayed in the First and Second Prefecture Pavilions and other local pavilions, which Japanese intentionally set up to present her culture, were only a sort of novel commodities for the common Taiwanese. Even though the Aichi Nagoya Pavilion, which was a miniature copy of the Nagoya Castle, was set up to present the traditional Japanese high culture of Daimyo[87], common people were only attracted by the two fishy decorations at the ends of the ridge. They also compared the castle to a Guanyn temple[88] due to the fact that the castle with seven floors was similar to a Buddhistic pagoda (Uknown, 1936b, p. 2A). Although

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[87] Daimyo (大名) is the class of powerful territorial lords before the Meiji Restoration.

[88] Guanyn (觀音) is the bodhisattva and is well known by the Taiwanese.

the Japanese tried to use the Subsidiary Site and Dadaocheng district as a contrast to the progress of contemporary Japan and Japanese culture, the common Taiwanese also treated the displays in that area as a sort of novel curiosity.

It cannot be denied that the aspect of the Taiwan exhibition that most affected the Taiwanese was introducing many latest knowledge, technologies, and productions at that time. No matter whether the Taiwanese would accept it or not, Taiwanese culture was served as a contrast with Japanese culture and rule (Cheng, 2001, Chen, 2003, Hu, 2005, Lu, 2011). In Donfangbai's autobiography, his father, who was an engineer, made a boxing machine copying from the same machine in the exhibition (Dongfangbai, 2008). Even the female, who was still restricted to access to public space in the early twentieth century in Taiwan, was very impressed by the Taiwan Exhibition which exhibited Japanese administration, commodities, cultural, politics, and economics, and the considerable visiting experience opened their sights about latest knowledge, techniques, and national authority (Chen, 1999b). Contrasting with those new things, the Taiwanese Southern China-style building, religious parade, indigenous dancing and performance, and products were merely objects subjected to Japan. Under Japanese rule, Taiwanese cultural properties were a sort of tool supporting political management and a sort of commodity for improving commerce.

3.2.5 SUMMARY

This section review the heritage conservation Acts announced by Japanese colonial government and three key exhibitions hold in Japan, Britain, and Taiwan during Japanese rule to explore Japanese government's intention behind inscribing, conserving, and exhibiting cultural properties of Taiwan.

The conservation Acts announced during the period legislated the concept of heritage inscription and protection in Taiwan. The heritage category listed in those Acts included tangible and intangible heritage, e.g. Taiwan's traditional architecture in Chinese style, monuments, Taiwanese customs, plants, and animals. However, the concept of settlement and urban context conservation had not been developed at that time. Therefore, existing streets of main city, e.g. Taipei, Hsinchu, Jhanghau, Tainan, and so forth, were demolished for urban development by Japanese colonial government. For the Japanese, the historical urban space and social context, i.e. the sense of the place of those cities, were not cultural properties and could be removed for the reason of urban modernisation.

Although Japanese colonial government announced heritage conservation Acts and inscribed several heritages in the three times of heritage designation, political effects can be found in the three lists of heritage. Most of listed heritages were related to events of Taiwan's colonisation by Japan and were selected to create and enhance the Taiwanese's national identity to Japan.

Japanese government's intention of exhibiting produces and cultural properties of Taiwan could be explored in the three key exhibitions hold in Japan, Britain, and Taiwan. Taiwan's image represented by Taiwanese produces and cultural properties, e.g. tea, fruits, camphor, aboriginal and Taiwanese's dresses, customs, and buildings, was used to promote Japan's industrialisation and civilisation by presenting the strong contrast between Taiwan and Japan. The comparison was also used to prove that Japan already had the ability of managing colonies the same as other Western powers owned. Nonetheless, the Taiwanese's response to the exhibitions, especially to the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance was diverse. It could be a great sadness for those who still hold identity to Cing Dynasty and Chinese culture. For Taiwanese business persons, the exhibition and the representation of Taiwan image were an

opportunity to promote their trade. Moreover, for those Taiwanese who had identified to Japanese governance and culture, the exhibition enhanced their identity and thought that Japan brought new technology and new life to them. Neither Japanese government nor Taiwanese thought that the presented produces and cultural properties were heritage which should be protected.

The announcement of heritage law, heritage investigation and designation, and exhibitions of Taiwanese produces and cultural properties presented Japanese government's intention of heritage designation and exhibition, also indicated the fact that the value of cultural properties could be affected by authority and people. The same cultural properties could have different meaning for different people or organisations in different period. For example, the Taiwan's tea, the skill of making tea, and relative buildings were developed or built for trading, not considered as cultural properties of ICH as today in Taiwan. In addition, the aboriginal and the Taiwanese's customs, dresses, buildings, and spatial context of cities and settlements were collected or demonstrated for Japanese curiosity for exotic culture, not used to establish Taiwanese identity and to promote cultural diversity as today. Moreover, according to the multi-layered framework, government and people's narratives about heritage inscription and conservation contributes to how the society interprets the meaning of a cultural property, e.g. historical landscape like MDVs. Therefore, for exploring the meaning of heritage and conservation activity in Taiwan today, an analyses of Japanese government's intention on announcement of conservation law, heritage designation, and exhibition of Taiwanese produces and cultural properties is necessary.

3.3 HERITAGE CONSERVATION AFTER 1945 TO 1982

Japan abandoned her authority over Taiwan after losing WWII in 1945. It also meant that the Act about heritage conservation issued by the Taiwan Governor-General's Office lost legitimacy, and those protected heritages lost legal protection. In the same year, the authority of Taiwan was shifted to the government of the ROC[89]. Although the government of the ROC had issued the Code of Antique Preservation in 1930 when its ruled territory did not include Taiwan, the Code was not practiced well in Taiwan because the government was fighting against the Communist Party of China (CPC) after 1945 and was focusing on how to recapture mainland China from the CPC after 1949. In 1947, the 228 incident happened, which was a Taiwanese inhabitants' reaction against the CNP's corruption and poor administration. It was provoked by the event that a smuggled cigarettes vendor was found by agents in an anti-smuggling cigarette operation on the evening of February 27. In the incident, many of the Taiwanese public and social elites were killed, arrested, or disappeared without legal reasons, and Taiwanese society was gripped by fear and was heavily controlled by the CNP. In that time, Taiwanese culture and Japanese colonial culture were abandoned in the public sphere. For instance, Taiwanese local language - Taiwanese, Hakka language, and aboriginal languages, and Japanese - were forbidden in official circumstance and school. Due to the international and domestic political situation of Taiwan, heritage conservation was not discussed as an issue before the 1970s (Hsia, 1998, Yen, 2006). As Heng-Dao Lin said, there was not any monument in Taiwan because the Taiwan history was only around two or three hundred years for those from mainland China; and to protect monument was of no benefit for those Taiwanese who

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[89] The status of Taiwan's sovereignty is a controversial issue. The statement here does not mean the ROC owns Taiwan's sovereignty.

were educated under Japanese colonial education because all of the monuments were related with the Cing Dynasty, China (Lin et al., 1995). In the 1970s, affected by the movement of anti-industrialisation and the movement of anti-modernisation, the counterculture movement in Europe and North America, the rise of the concept of conservation, and the development of international tourism, conservation became a public concern (Lin, 1996, Hsia, 1998, Yen, 2006, Lin, 2011).   In addition, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution took place and severely destroyed Chinese traditional culture in 1966. The ROC government upheld the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement against the Cultural Revolution and planned to amend the Code of Antique Preservation for the necessity of political and cultural competition. The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act remained in place until 1982. This is the first Act which systematically designated heritage conservation. The period from 1945 to 1982 can be seen as a legal gap period for heritage conservation.

Constraining Taiwanese culture and voice did not mean that the CNP government did not implement any cultural policy. To build a new national identity for the ROC and to strengthen its legality in Taiwan, the CNP government implemented the Sinicisation policy which tried to link every Taiwan culture and aspect of history with China and erased the Japanese colonial memory from the public. One of the erasing strategies was renaming of streets[90]. An ordinance of renaming streets and roads was issued in 1946. The first article said that the ordinance was created to break the thought of Japanese rule. Moreover, the third article indicated that the new street names should follow the principles of exalting the spirit of the Chinese nation, propagating the *Three Principles of the People* created by Sun Yat-sen, memorising great

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[90] In actual fact, it was naming, not renaming because there was only the district name, but no street name in the Japanese street system.

persons, and be suited to, and meaningful for, the local geography or habits. Nowadays, people can find all of the main Chinese city or province names in the main cities of Taiwan. The location of the city or province name on the Chinese map can be mapped in Taipei city. For instance, Tibet road is located to the Southwest of Taipei City in the


a . front   b. back

Figure 63. The prefecture (a.) and the Japanese era name, Showa, (b.) on a Japanese stone lantern at Lingyin Temple, Hsinchu City, were erased by cement. (by author)

same way as Tibet is located in Southwest China. The other erasing step was to remove symbols or marks. From 1946 to 1956, there were four ordinances requiring the removal of Japanese symbols, marks and monuments (Figure 63). The largest erasing or demolishing activity took place in 1974 due to the breakdown of diplomatic relationships between the ROC and Japan. Many Japanese Shinto Shrines, monuments, decoration, and buildings were demolished or removed. Many Shinto shrines were bulldozed and Martyrs' shrines were built on the sites (Figure 64). Any piece which could be traced back to the Japanese colonial period was removed, no matter what the quality or value of the historic material was, in the perspective of the CNP government at that time. However, ironically, many main official offices were still using the Japanese office buildings; e.g. the Presidential Office Building, Taipei, was the Taiwan Governor-General's Office.

Not only did Japanese historical traces have to be removed, but those cultural properties which were related with Taiwan's local, native, or traditional culture also were required to be removed or transformed. The discrimination against Taiwanese cultural property was not only held by the CNP government; it also existed among many architects and architectural workmen. Like Chen-Tsu Ho, the architect who hosted the project of the Guo-Sing-Ya temple reconstruction in 1963, said, the spatial structure had been destroyed
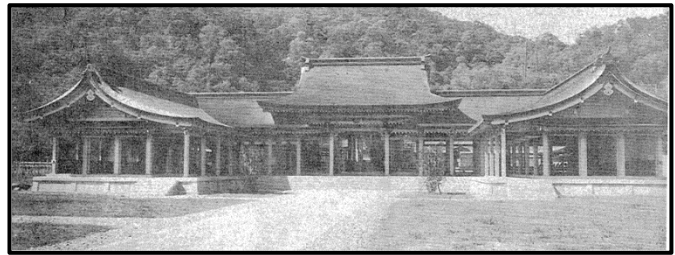
a. (Taiwan Architectural Institute, 1943)

b. (Retrieved form http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki)

Figure 64. The Taiwan Gokoku Shrine (a.) was demolished after WWII and the National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine, Taipei, (b.) was built on the same site in Chinese palace style.

by the Japanese and the situation of the temple was very poor. It was better to build a new temple in the palace style of the Ching Dynasty to replace the old one (Ho, 1966). Ho disliked the old temple and did not think that it was an important historic heritage which marked the typical architectural style in Taiwan in the late years of the Ching Dynasty (Ye, 1989). Another case was the project of the Taipei wall gate reconstruction which was hosted by Bao-Yu Huang. The Taipei wall had five gates, the West, East, North, and South Gates and the Subsidiary South Gate. The North Gate was the main gate because it was designed to orient the direction of Beijing which was the capital of the Ching Dynasty. The West Gate was demolished by the Japanese colonial government. In 1966, the situation of the four gates was that they were poor and worn; as a consequence, the Taipei City government set up a project of Taipei wall gates
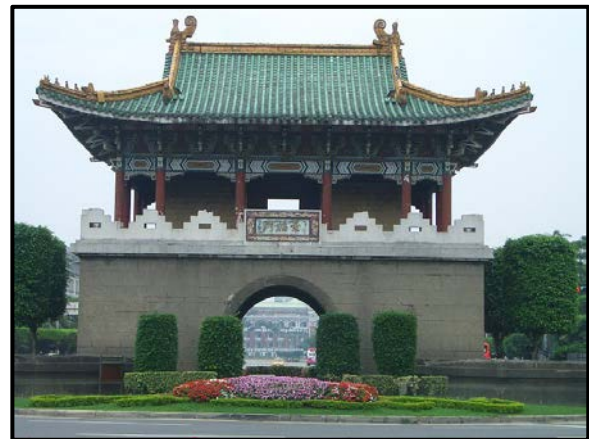
reconstruction. The project included the North, South, and Subsidiary South Gates. Huang removed the original gate towers and replaced them with palace style of the Cing Dynasty (Figure 65). The North Gate was located on the route of a planned viaduct and, in 1976, scholars argued that the viaduct would destroy an important cultural property. Thus, the gate could be saved in its original type. The main purpose of reconstruction by palace style was for displaying Chinese culture to international tourists (Ye, 1989). Another reason was that most architects and scholars did not clearly understand the principles and aesthetic of rehabilitation (Yen, 2006). The attitude of government and architects indicated that the cultural symbols from mainland China represented authentic traditional Chinese culture. The new-built Chinese palace-style buildings meant that Taiwan inherited the authentic Chinese culture and the CNP government also had the legality of ruling Taiwan and representing the whole of China (Figure 66).

a. (Retrieved from http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File)

b. (Retrieved from http://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/File)
Figure 65. The East Gate of Taipei Wall. (a.) The original type was south Chinese style. (b.) The reconstructed gate became palace style.

The attitude which thought that Taiwan's local architecture was not worth conserving was changed in the 1970s. In the early 1970s, intellects and culturati reflected on the main cultural discourse raised by government which focused on pursuing modernisation and following

doctrinal Chinese culture. The official discourse had a huge gap between local culture and really living experience (Yen, 2006). At that time, most of Taiwan's people rarely had the opportunity to make contact with the world outside the island. Students who studied abroad were the agents of new knowledge of architecture and heritage conservation. Some of the students' education and living experiences abroad triggered them to reflect on their attitude about local culture and they found that local culture and circumstances were their roots (Ye, 1989). De-Jin Si said that he could not create good works if he was to lose the sentimental linkage with Taiwan (Si, 1982). The discourse of vernacular architecture also affected those students' thoughts about the value of native architecture (Hsia, 1998). Pao-teh Han was a remarkable person who

a. (Retrieved from http://www.yuyen.tw)

b. (Retrieved from http://www.yuyen.tw)

Figure 66. Some of heritages added the emblem of the CNP to enhance the ruling legality of the party. For example, on top of the gateway of the Gou-Sing-Ye temple (a.) and roof of the Tongsiao Shrine (b.) the emblem was added.

led the trend of local architecture research and conservation. He was designated as the head of the Department of Architecture of the Tunghai University after graduating from Princeton University. He founded the architecture magazine, *Environment and Form*, which introduced the thought about vernacular architecture and contemporary Western architectural theories, when he took on the duty of the head of department. With his encouragement, some staff of the

department contributed to research or conservation projects on Taiwan's local architecture - e.g. A Survey of Traditional Architecture of Taiwan, hosted by Reed Dillingham and Chang-Lin Dillingham in 1971. The Taiwan Nativist Literature Movement, Local Literature Debate, Taiwanese Local Culture Movement, Art Nativist Movement, and Folk songs thrived, and also affected intellects' and culturati's values on traditional architecture of Taiwan. Under this atmosphere, Taiwan traditional architecture conservation bloomed.

In 1967, the wife of the American diplomat Karl L. Rankin suggested that the Lin Family Mansion and Garden in Banchao, Taipei, should be rehabilitated after a visit. Her suggestion contributed to the first heritage investigation in Taiwan, hosted by Pao-teh Han and Wen-Hsoung Houng, and the conservation project later (Figure 67). In 1970, many culturati, including Cuei-Fong Shih, De-Jin Si, and Yang Mu, appealed for the conservation of the Temple of Confucius, Changhua, which was built in 1726 and was the most complete temple of Confucius in Taiwan, when the Changhua county government decided to demolished it. The appeal was taking high risk under the political atmosphere that the CNP government still highly controlled people's thought. Fortunately, the temple was saved and rehabilitated from 1975 to 1978 (Figure 68). The case became a typical type of heritage conservation of Taiwan and the first one which followed the rehabilitation principles today. After the conservation of the
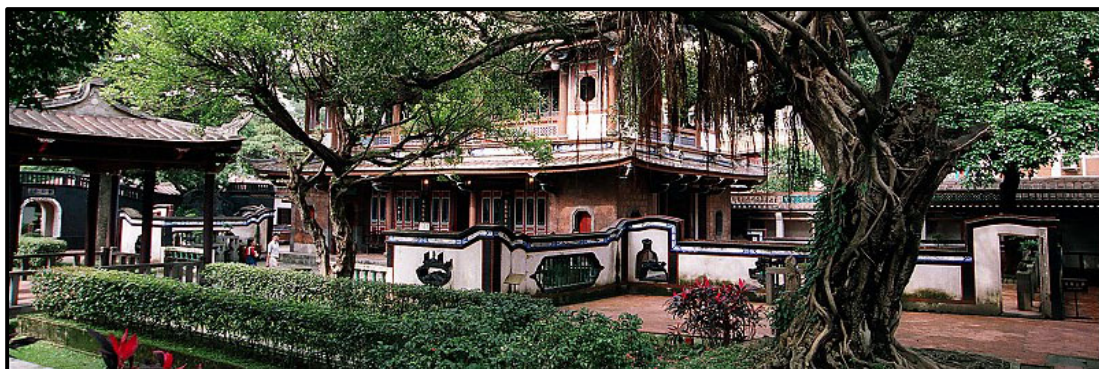

Figure 67. The rehabilitated Lin Family Mansion and Garden, Banchao (Retrieved from Lin's Family Mansion and Garden).

Temple of Confucius, Changhua, the conservation projects of the Lung-shan Temple and the old street at Lukang Township followed the conservation mode (Lin, 2011). Besides these projects, another remarkable case was the Lin-an-tai mansion in 1976 (Figure 69). The original location of the mansion was in the Daan district, Taipei. A new planned road would pass through the left side room. After many culturati argued with the Taipei City government, the mansion was moved and re-assembled on a new site. This was the first conservation case of rehabilitating a building from one site to a better one. The Lin-an-tai mansion

Figure 68. The Conserved Temple of Confucius, Changhua (Retrieved from http://zh.wikipedia.org).

Figure 69. The conserved Lin-an-tai Mansion (Retrieved from http://www.lin-an-tai.net).

conservation triggered some issues that may have to be faced in conservation, like urban development and renewal, the flexibility of urban planning, the harmonising between old and new buildings, and argument between conserving on the location and moving to others. The most important issue was how Taiwanese culture was worth conserving and protecting. The issue pushed the research on the history of Taiwan's architecture.

During this period, almost of all built environment conservation were focused on single buildings. The development of settlement conservation is later than that of conservation of the single building. Before 1975, only a few experts and culturati were promoting the notion of

settlement conservation. They proposed some rough conservational projects. Without the support from government and citizens, none of them would have taken place. In 1976, the first official and specific project was proposed by the Taipei City Government about a Han traditional settlement in Taipei. It, however, failed because the Taipei City Government lacked resources and expertise to work on the project. The first practiced plan was suggested by some local celebrities of Lugang Township, and supported by the Taiwan Province Government[91] in 1977 (Figure 70). Although government and experts suggested and practiced several plans, local

Figure 70. Old Street Conservation Project at Lugang Township (Photographed by Jhang-San Lin,).

inhabitants did not recognise that to maintain their lived environment in a sustainable way was more important than economic development and modernisation, and, moreover, they had the right to plan their future. Most conservation projects were still suggested or planned by members of the elite such as academics, architects, and officials. In addition, there was no proper law to force inhabitants or property owners to protect their historic buildings. Thus, private heritage conservation was harder to practice than governmental.

The government of the ROC had started to amend the Code of Antique Preservation in 1968 for the cultural war against the Cultural Revolution in China. Affected by those developments of conservation thoughts and attitudes mentioned above, the amendment was changed to enact

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[91] The Taiwan Province Government was dissolved in 1998.

new conservation law. The new law, the Cultural Heritage Conservation Act, was issued in 1982.

In sum, the period of rebuilding the concept of heritage conservation was from 1945 to 1982. Heritage conservation was a kind of tool for forming people's national identity and proving the ruling legality of the ROC government in Taiwan. Taiwanese local cultural properties were neglected by government and were not put on the table of heritage conservation until the late part of this period. The cultural properties which, from the points of view of the government and the culturati were only focused on those properties that could represent mainstream Chinese culture or link to China. In addition, for the political reason that Japan had a battle with China and was a former coloniser of Taiwan, many historical traces which were related with Japan were not regarded as heritage and were erased or demolished. Moreover, Taiwanese aboriginal's culture, which was thought of as a minor culture, was neglected. The intangible heritage and social context were also not issues in conservation projects. Heritage in that period was like a kind of antique, where to preserve and display it to the public and tourists was the topic of most concern. Although, government did not much concern heritage conservation, and most conservationists were not satisfied with the criteria for selecting heritage and top-down conservation policies, evoked by conservation projects and conservationists' discourses, the concept of heritage conservation finally was known by people and pushed the legislation of heritage conservation law after the period.

3.4 HERITAGE CONSERVATION FROM 1982 TO 2004

The first edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was issued on the 26 May in 1982. It was the second Act which was really practiced in Taiwan after the Historical Site, Scenic Spot, and Natural Monument Conservation Law. The Act was the first comprehensive law

which built up an institutional structure of heritage conservation, and a method to manage heritage, including heritage nomination, research, and rehabilitation, and experts education and certification. From 1982 to 2005, the Culture Heritage Preservation Act was amended four times in January and May of 1997, 1999, and 2002. Some articles were amended or added to meet and address demands about heritage conservation from experts and culturati. The most remarkable change was the modification of the definitions of heritage.

The Culture Heritage Preservation Act issued in 1982 and the Enforcement Rules of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act issued in 1984 for the first time legally listed heritage in five categories - Antiquities, Monuments, National Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts, and Natural/ Cultural Landscapes. The classification was approximately correct and was lightly amended later. In 2000, a new heritage category, Historical Buildings, was added to the definition of heritage for protecting those properties which had historical or cultural value, but which did not match the criteria of monuments. In addition, a new type, Settlement, was added under the category of monument in response to the demands to protect historical districts or settlements.

Because people's needs for cultural activities were growing following economic development, a governmental organisation of cultural affairs was planned to control the direction of cultural development - meanwhile the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was discussed (Ye, 1989). In 1981, the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) was set up to handle cultural affairs and design cultural policy. However, on the aspect of cultural properties conservation, four Ministries handled different subjects. Antiquities and National Arts were under the charge of the Ministry of Education. The Ministry of the Interior took responsibility for Monuments and Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artefacts. The Ministry of Economic Affairs was in charge of Natural/

Cultural Landscapes. The CCA only played a consultant role in the projects of planning cultural properties conservation and cooperating with other Ministries before the Culture Heritage Preservation Act second edition was issued in 2005. The second edition Preservation Act empowered CCA to take the responsibility of heritage conservation.

Having a listed definition of heritages and the classification and setting up of the CCA and other Ministries to handle cultural property conservation did not mean that there were not conflicts or difficulties on the issue of heritage conservation. There were three features of heritage conservation in this period. The first was the conflict between conservation and economic development. Urban development in Taiwan was following the value of economic development. Urban planning was both a tool to support the value and a force to destroy urban history and cultural heritage (Chen, 1995a, Hsia, 1998). Chu-Joe Hsia (1998) described urban development as a kind of destructive creation which created and accumulated a lot of capital through destroying existing urban structures and buildings. The destructive creation also erased the history and memory of a city. Because the designation and conservation of heritage were addressed separately under the charge of several Ministries, the cultural heritage conservation affairs were not practiced effectively (Chen, 2006). In addition, setting up an organisation and pushing heritage conservation just was a political strategy against the growing pressure to have national identity transferred from China to Taiwan, and was an unimportant policy. When the issue of heritage conservation was against the needs of economic development, the latter usually was the winner, and heritage would be destroyed (Chen, 1995a). The situation would be worse when the cultural properties were private.

The Sansia Old Street, which included present Min-Cyuan Street and Jhong-Shan Road, was a noticeable case of conflict between development and conservation (Huang, 1992b). The old street was built late in the eighteenth century and was a busy district benefiting from the trading of textile dyeing, camphor, and tea. In 1971, culturati argued against the urban planning of

Figure 71. The Sansia Old Street after rehabilitation. (Retrieved from http://a8034a8034.pixnet.net/blog)

Sansia which planned to broaden Min-Cyuan Street and to demolish historical buildings beside the street. In 1991, the Ministry of the Interior designated those historical buildings as third-grade monuments. The designation provoked inhabitants' complaints because their rights of development would be restricted after their buildings became monuments. Thus, the designation was cancelled in 1993. Because part of the lands had been expropriated by the government, inhabitants were restricted to demolish and renew their buildings and the street declined. In 2002, the old street district was re-designated as a historic area in a new urban plan. The plan suggested that inhabitants could be compensated for heritage designation by allowing them to transfer their development rights. Finally, inhabitants accepted the suggestion and the rehabilitation of the façade started in 2004. After the completion of rehabilitation in 2007, the old street district was the first conservation project of street type and became a popular tourist spot (Figure 71).

The second feature of heritage conservation of this period was that the top-down conservation mode could not satisfy people's needs following the trend of democratisation of Taiwan. With

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this mode, heritage designation was held by government, and only focused on preservation and rehabilitation of physical settings. People's lives and memories were not issues of concern. People also did not have the opportunity to practice their thoughts on adjusted heritage.

After the discourse of settlement conservation and the discourse of comprehensive community building had been presented in the 1990s, the bottom-up heritage conservation mode gradually affected the value and activities of heritage conservation. The discourse of settlement conservation was led by Chu-Joe Hsia[92] (1995). He raised two questions - Why should heritage be conserved? and Whom should heritage be conserved for? He argued that heritage conservation hosted by the government neglected inhabitants' social context and collective memories. Settlement was developed by inhabitants and belonged to the cultural landscape category. The intangible heritage, like folk art and customs, was part of inhabitants' lives and happened in their living places. Settlement conservation had to consider both the physical settings and the inhabitants. In other words, the value of a cultural property was not given according to its value of architectural aesthetics; inhabitants were the subject of cultural property. A heritage was formed by the society, which included the culture, the life, and the inhabitants, and it could not be isolated from society. Thus, a settlement conservation project had to include the physical settings, the culture, inhabitants' lives and social context. In addition, the most important criterion was that inhabitants should participate into conservation activity. Heritage conservation should be treated as a kind of local development plan with a society-building perspective and was a bottom-up mode of development plan. Through bottom-up conservation activity, a settlement which owned autonomy on cultural, economic, and political

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[92] Chu-Joe Hsia was a professor of Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, Taiwan University and retired in 2012.

development had the power to fight against its potential destruction from government or developers. Moreover, heritage conservation with inhabitants' participation was a living conservation and the conserved heritage was no longer a cold and dead antique (Council for Cultural Affairs, 1994, Hsia, 1995, Yen, 2006).

Unlike the discourse of settlement conservation which evoked inhabitants' concern about their place by pushing heritage conservation, the discourse of comprehensive community building focused on building inhabitants' community consensus on the future of their place. The discourse was promoted by Chinan Chen[93] in 1994 when he was the vice-minister of the CCA. The discourse was related with community culture, community consciousness, and community identification, and practiced as a policy of the CCA. Monuments, historical buildings, and settlement conservation were only some of the subjects of the comprehensive community building. The others included improving community spaces and facilities, discovering local industries and culture, propagating local customs and events, introducing local history, remarkable people, legends, and historical traces, promoting communication with other communities, building friendly high streets, and building community identity. 'People' is the most important factor in community building. They should involve inhabitants and grass-roots organisations, experts, and government and proper laws (Chen and Chen, 1998, Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003). According to the concept, the practice of cultural affairs should be promoted by people and local organisations. It should come from the people's autonomic consciousness, not from the intentions of the government. In addition, the community building

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[93] Chinan Chen introduced the concept of community building to Taiwan and promoted the movement of Comprehensive Community Building (社區總體營造) in 1994 when he was the vice-minister of the CCA. The main concern of the movement is rebuilding the Taiwanese's identity to their living environment and empowering local people to create their culture.

pursued a sustainable community management and was an ongoing project. The practice of heritage conservation under the comprehensive community building was not only protecting the physical settings, but had to involve the whole community (Chen and Chen, 1998, Hsia, 1998, Chen, 1999a, Council for Cultural Affairs, 2003). The comprehensive community building later triggered off the rise of MDVs' conservation activity and MDVs residents' cultural and community identity when local communities were enhancing their identity to inhabitants' living place. The concept pushed the second, third, and more generations of MDVs inhabitants to pursue the meanings of their community and to figure out and

a.

b.

Figure 72. The No. 14 and 15 Parklands to be. **a.**) The illegal squatter settlement before demolished. **b.**) The Linsen Park (No. 15 parkland to be) after removing illegal buildings (Both pictures are retrieved from http://taipeisomethings.blogspot.co.uk).

propagate their culture. The strategies of MDVs' conservation inspired by the experience of community building was not only focusing on how to protect and maintain MDVs' culture, but also should concern how to communicate with people who may not know MDVs well and had to try to connect MDVs with Taiwan history and common daily life (Association of Mainlander Taiwanese, 2007, Dong, 2007, Kao, 2011).

The No. 14 and 15 Parks Conservation Movement in 1995, the Bo-Pi Liao Conservation Movement in 1997, and the Treasure Hill Conservation Movement in 2003 were three notable cases of settlement conservation. The No. 14 and 15 Parks were two designated parklands to be installed beside Linsen North Road according to the urban plan set by the Japanese colonial government. They were illegally squatted on by a group of mainlanders after 1949. Gradually, migrants from rural areas moved into the two parklands in the 1950s. Until 1996, there were 961 families living in the area. Because most of the inhabitants were in low financial situation and could not afford to improve their houses, the whole migrant community looked like a huge slum

a.

b.

Figure 73. **a.**) The Bo-Pi Liao Historical District. **b.**) the Heritage and Culture Education Center of Taipei (by author).

surrounded by modernised buildings. Arguing with the rough bulldozing and renewing plan of the Taipei City government, many culturati and organisations, like the National Taiwan University Graduate Institute of Building and Planning and the Organization of Urban Re-s, suggested that the urban plan should be adjusted concerning the existing social and spatial context. The suggestion was not accepted by the City government and all the illegal squatter houses were demolished (Figure 72).

The Bo-Pi Liao was a district built around the 1850s in the Cing Dynasty ruling period. After developing in the Cing Dynasty period and reformed by the urban reforming plan in Japanese rule period, the buildings in this area included town house type of the Cing Dynasty and baroque façade installed in the Japanese period. Moreover, because the area was designated as part of the campus to be part of the Lao Song Elementary School, the buildings were restricted and not allowed to be renewed. In 1997, that the Taipei City government planned to demolish all buildings disturbed habitants and promoted them to set up an organisation to resist the plan. At that time, Min-Jay Kang went to help inhabitants to proclaim their thoughts about saving their homes and conserving the historic district. In Kang's point of view, the ideal plan was a living conservation that retained the historic settings and allowed inhabitants to live in their homes to maintain the spatial and social contexts. However, the idea was not be practiced due to legal restrictions and serious conflicts between removing ugly poor buildings and protecting historic traces. The result of the compromise between diverse opinions was that all habitants had to move out, and the Bo-Pi Liao district was listed as a historical district and adjusted to the Heritage and the Culture Education Center of Taipei (Figure 73).

The last, the Treasure Hill conservation, was a rare successful conservation case although there were many who criticised the result as not good enough. The Treasure Hill settlement, like the No. 14 and 15 Parklands, was an illegal migrant settlement which many mainlander veterans and migrants from rural area lived in. Treasure Hill was designated as a park by the Taipei City Government in 1980. According to the plan, residents had to move out and their homes would be bulldozed. Some social activists and culturati noticed that the Treasure Hill settlement was a precious cultural property which recorded the history of the development of Taipei City and was a typical type of urban-rural migrant settlement. However, due to the fact that the site was owned by the Taipei City Government and the buildings were illegal, allowing residents to

continue living in the settlement to avoiding decontextualisation was one of the main arguments of the conservation project. After conflicts, negotiations between residents, activists and culturati, and the government of Taipei City took place, and the concept of 'artist village' was raised to increase public accessibility to the site and to solve the legal problem of original residents' staying. Then, the

Figure 74. Visitors enjoyed artist's, Nick Gan (wearing yellow raincoat), performance in the THAV Winter Open Day (by author).

Treasure Hill settlement was transformed into an artist village, in which original residents, artists, and sojourners would live; and it was renamed as the Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV). It was opened to the public in 2010 under the management of the Taipei Culture Foundation. Nowadays, the THAV is a famous leisure place and tour spot with artistic and historical milieu (Figure 74).

In addition to the concept of settlement conservation, the discourse of comprehensive community building and bottom-up conservation mode inspired the concept of setting up community museum to protect and present local culture (Chen, 2004, Lu, 2002). The concept of community museum was affected by the concept of ecomuseum which was advocated by Georges Henri Rivière and Hugues de Varine in 1970s and emphasised the relationship between museum and local place (Davis, 2010).

Community museum offers a place for protection and presentation of community cultural properties and is also an organisation which enhances residents' relationship and local identity

by involving residents in museum management and activities arrangement (Chen, 2004). Thus, the concept of community museum is not a kind of museum which is isolated from local people and just a building for collecting, researching, and demonstrating valuable properties, but a museum which involves entire community including people, physical setting, and events of a place. Furthermore, community museum expands the space of museum to whole community which refers to the concept of ecomuseum, i.e. whole community is a museum. The Baimi community and Clogs Museum is a critical case which applied the concepts of comprehensive community building and community museum as conservation strategy.

In the preface of the chapter Introduction, Baimi community and Colgs Museum had been briefly introduced as a case of sustainably keeping authentic status of a historical site and its sense of a place. Here, more details of the case would be explored.

Baimi community, which is located in Suao Township, Yilan County, beside Manufactory of Taiwan Cement, the biggest cement manufactory in Eastern Asia, was a small town with around 1000 population. Residents had been suffered by the air pollution from the manufactory and noise and risk caused by heavy traffic of trollies for cement transportation. The Baimi Community Association was built for leading the protest against the pollutions and traffic risk in 1990s. When Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) raised the project of Comprehensive Community Building in 1990s, this community was encouraged by CCA to rebuild local identity by promoting their culture and living place. Thus, residents and the Baimi Community Association decided to recover their local industry, clogs making, although the industry had disappeared for a long time. They hired masters of clogs to teach traditional skill of making clog and transform clogs from an instrument for walking to an artwork with sense of place by

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adding local culture to clogs design (Figure 75, 76). Afterwards, residents found that they needed a place to store and present their clog creations; and then a clogs museum was set up.

The museum was set up for the community and by the community. The museum is not managed by experts or museologists and is not set up just for collecting, researching, education, and presenting properties of this community. It is hosted by residents and the Baimi Community Association. Residents are managers, guides, interpreters, and volunteers of the museum. The museum has strong linkage with locals and the linkage is reflected on the function of the museum. For example, setting up the Clogs Museum was not only creating a space for storing

Figure 75. Clog pads were transformed into adornments and commodities of Clog Museum (retrieved from http://blog.xuite.net/xalekd).

Figure 76. Course of clogs making in Clogs Museum (retrieved from http://superspace.moc.gov.tw).

and presenting clogs, but also a strategy to improve the environment of community and to build residents' identity to community. There were some abandoned accommodations owned by Taiwan Cement Company which were occupied with waste in the community. Residents rented one unit of those accommodations and reformed the space to the Clogs Museum. The conservation activity involved residents to participate in recovering local industrial culture, improving living quality of community, and setting up a community museum. Furthermore, it enhanced their relationship and identity to community.

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The concept of community museum and ecomuseum was adopted by the Lanyang Museum Preparatory Committee[94], in late 1990s. The Committee expanded the concept of community museum and suggested an idea that takes whole Yilan County as a community and links every community and local museum in 12 townships as a museum family to create an ecomuseum to promote preservation, maintenance, exhibition, education, and tourism for natural and cultural resources of Yilan County. Afterwards, the Yilan Museum Association, a non-profit organisation, was established by local people in 2001. It took the concept of museum family and practiced it for promoting developments of museum business in Yilan and also for enhancing the linkage between members of museum family and improving museums on the function of community building, improving cultural business, and preserving natural properties in Yilan. Nowadays, the association has 55 museum family members including small local museums whose characteristics comprehensively covers nature and ecology, culture, education, art and crafts, sustainability, creative industry, agriculture, fishery, leisure, and experiencing. The concept of community museum, museum family, and the development of Yilan Museum Association are significant results of bottom-up conservation mode in Yilan. They built a grass-root organisation for protecting local culture and environment, i.e. conserving tangible and intangible cultural properties and sense of place of Yilan.

Recalling the multi-layered framework for analysing text of historical landscape in three aspects, including history, settings, and narratives, in section 1.4, community museum and museum family can play an interface for learning local culture and sense of a place between residents and visitors. The exhibitions and interpretation of those museums belong to the aspect of local

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[94] The Lanyang Museum Preparatory Committee was a department of Yilan County Government. It was transformed to the management team of Lanyang Museum after the museum was opened in 2010.

people's narratives. From the perspective of Lefebvre's theory, those narratives in museums belongs to social body, e.g. local people who are interested in managing museum or hosting exhibition. For those who do not participate in the organisation, their narratives which should be considered as a piece of puzzle of sense of a place may be ignored and cannot be introduced to visitors.

The last feature of heritage conservation in this period was cultural diversity. Starting from the 1970s, more and more culturati and architectural and conservational experts argued for the official recognition of heritage designation and conservation. Reflecting on the situation of cultural diversity in Taiwan and the complexity of Taiwan's history, heritage conservation became more diversified. Not only would cultural properties related with Chinese, Ho-Lo people, or Hakka people be inscribed as heritage. The indigenous culture and the historical traces of Japanese ruling were also seen as cultural properties of Taiwan. For example, the Kochapongan tribe of Rukai people was designated as the national second-grade monument in 1991. The tribe was the first

Figure 77. One house of the Kochapongan tribe. (Retrieved from the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Taiwan)

Figure 78. The Middle Gate of the Taoyuan Shrine (Retrieved from the Administration Committee of Taoyuan County Government Confucius Temple and Martyrs' Shrine)

designated indigenous heritage (Figure 77). However, it is a pity that, to date, this case is the only one of indigenous heritage. The Taoyuan Shrine conservation was the first case which evoked the debate about whether Japanese colonial traces could be heritages of Taiwan. In 1985, when most of the Japanese shrines in Taiwan had been demolished or transformed into National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrines, the Taoyuan Shrine was the last complete Japanese shrine (Figure 78). It was also encountering the fate of being transformed into a National Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine in the Chinese palace style as other Japanese shrines were. After debate, the shrine was kept and was rehabilitated as an important heritage and the Taoyuan Revolutionary Martyrs' Shrine after debates. Although the shrine was a very elegant and gorgeous Japanese shrine architecture in the style of Edo era and good enough to be designated as a heritage, in order to oppose the argument that thought only Chinese culture could be inscribed as heritage, one of the reasons for keeping the shrine was that it was not a national shame, but captured the defeat of Japan and was evidence to prove the facts of history (Ye, 1989, Lin, 2011). This kind of debate was going on when the buildings of the Kangyo Bank Taipei Branch and the Tainan District Court were confronted with suggestions for demolition in the late 1980s. After Shui-Bian Chen won the seat of the Taipei City mayor in 1994 and after the second amendment of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act transferred part of the right of heritage designation to local government, the Taipei City government inscribed a lot of Japanese ruling period architecture (Chen, 2006).

To summarise, the notion of heritage conservation developed quickly in the period from 1982 to 2004. The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act had been amended four times to respond to the demands of various groups. (Lin, 2005) The conflict between heritage conservation and economic development struck a compromise in some cases although there still were many conflicts in other cases. Affected by the discourse of settlement conservation and the discourse

of comprehensive community building, a concept of integrant and sustainable conservation appeared, and already had been practiced on several cases. Following the native cultural movement in the 1970s and development of democracy in Taiwan, designated heritage was not limited in the Chinese culture - indigenous culture and historical traces left by the Japanese had also been revalued and promoted as heritage. More important was that not only would high art or elegant architecture be designated as heritage, but those tangible and intangible properties which were related with people's lives, memories, and identity could also be designated as such. People gradually participated in heritage conservation activities after this period, e.g. MDVs conservation.

3.5 HERITAGE CONSERVATION AFTER 2005

The Cultural Heritage Preservation Act that was announced in 1982 could not efficiently fulfil the needs of heritage conservation activities even though it was amended four times up to 2002. In the consulting meeting hosted by the CCA in 2001, some of the attending scholars, culturati, and conservation experts thought that it was necessary to completely revise the Act. In 2005, the second edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act was announced followed by the announcement of the second of the Enforcement Rules of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 2006 (Lin, 2011).

The main features of the new edition Act were integrated conservation, adjusting heritage, and bottom-up conservation mode. Integrated conservation included two aspects - tangible and intangible cultural properties. The settlement and cultural landscape had been raised as conservational items which included conserving the physical settings and inhabitants' culture. The ideal mode was promoting living heritage conservation. In addition, to release financial pressure on heritage conservation, it was combined with commercial activities. This would

become a trend. However, heritage can lose its authenticity if it installed too many commercial activities. Last, following the democratising trend in Taiwan, more people were concerned about their life memories in their community and even participated in conservation activities. For example, the movement of Comprehensive Community Building inspired residents of MDVs to raise MDVs conservation, like Air Force Sanchong First Village (AFSFV) conservation, to create their identity and keep their experiences and memories of their communities. In the second edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, part of the designation right was distributed to local government who could designate local culture as heritage.

The bottom-up mode benefited inhabitants to love their living environment and to create and cherish their local identity. However, the mode also provoked conflicts between people, especially, when the cultural value of the property was controversial and the property owner did not cherish the valuable cultural property. Heritage designation proposals would possibly fail. The Novel Hall conservation proposal was such a case. The hall, located beside the headquarters of the bank, was opened in 1997 and sponsored by the Chinatrust Commercial Bank. Because the headquarters moved, the Novel Hall and the office of the bank would be sold off. Some culturati and people who enjoyed the performances in the hall and had many memories in the place raised the activity of saving the Novel Hall. The Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government listed the hall as a cultural heritage, but the designation was not totally uncontroversial. Pao-teh Han argued that heritage designation needed objective criteria. He also argued that everywhere could be cultural landscape. If we inscribed a cultural landscape only because people had collective memory contained within it, everything could be listed as heritage (Han, 2003).

MDVs' conservation also was helped by the new edition conservation Act and bottom-up conservation mode which was inspired by the movement of Comprehensive Community Building. For instance, the Air Force Sanchong First Village (AFSFV) conservation activity which started from 2004 was promoted by Chun-jen Tung, a local inhabitant in Sanchong. After numerous community building events, discussion meetings, and negotiating with official departments, the village was designated as a heritage of historical buildings in 2004. Similar to the AFSFV, the Sianguang Second Village in Taoyuan County was also designated as a heritage of historical buildings in 2014, and the Jhongsin New Village in Beitou was designated as a heritage of settlement in 2011. The details of the history of MDVs' conservation are discussed in the chapter six.

Not enough time has passed to assess the success of the second edition of the Act. However, one thing is sure that people will raise more conservation activities to protect their memory and identity.

SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed the development of the concept of heritage and the history of heritage conservation activities in Taiwan. The concept and value of heritage conservation were changed several times and finally people found that heritage conservation was built on the subjectivity of history. In the Cing Dynasty rule period before 1895, people and government did not have the concept of heritage conservation. Although some cultural properties were recorded in local journals or gazettes, those were selected basing on some scholars' or literati's point of view. Moreover, there was no conservation activity in that period.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

In the Japanese rule period, the first heritage conservation law was practiced in Taiwan in 1922. However, Taiwanese cultural properties were not considered appropriate from the Japanese perspective. According to the way they displayed Taiwanese customs, products, and architecture, and, moreover, living Taiwan people, those were used to contrast with progressive Japan in Taiwan, to enjoy the exotic culture in Japan, and to demonstrate the Japanese Empire's power, and promote trading interests for other countries. The selection and maintaining of Taiwanese cultural properties were under the gaze of Japan.

In the period from 1945 to 1982, there was a legal window on cultural heritage conservational affairs. Heritage conservation was a political tool for ensuring the legality of the CNP's ruling and culturally linking Taiwan with mainland China. Thus, the historical traces of Japanese colony had to be removed and Taiwanese local architecture could be transformed into the Chinese palace style, not to mention that indigenous culture was not considered as a remarkable heritage.

Affected by the native movement in the 1970s, Taiwanese local culture became more highly valued, and the Japanese rule was seen as part of Taiwan's history, and more colonial historical traces were designated as protected heritage. In addition, following the development of democracy, people gradually become more concerned with their living environment and tried to build up their cultural and national identity. Affected by the discourse of settlement conservation and the discourse of comprehensive community building, the bottom-up conservation mode became a popular practice in conservation. Heritage designation was no longer led by authorities or elites; instead, people built their identity through participating in protecting their living place and showing the meaning of their heritage. The MDVs' conservation activity was hatched in the history of heritage conservation.

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CHAPTER 4: THE HISTORY AND THE SPATIAL FEATURES OF MILITARY DEPENDANTS' VILLAGES

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter the long-term scale of the history of heritage conservation was reviewed to help us understanding the social context involved with MDVs' conservation and the meaning of conserved MDVs for Taiwanese. This chapter reviews the history of MDVs on a macro scale in terms of the spatial aspect and the general conceptions held by the public about MDVs from social, cultural, and political perspectives.

There are several definitions and descriptions of MDVs. The official definition of MDVs indicates that the settlements were built or set up by the military or related departments to improve troops' morale and settling the military dependents (Guo, 2005). The prototype of the building and management system of MDVs of the ROC Force was built in 1932 as a part of the military dependants' food provision and welfare system by the logistics division when the troops were battling with the troops of the CPC in mainland China. After the government of the ROC was defeated by the CPC and escaped to Taiwan in 1949, the official system of MDVs was built by the Southeast Military Government Office in Taiwan[91], and the affairs of the system were handled by the Division of Military Dependants' Management. From the spatial viewpoint, the original MDVs in Taiwan were the barracks of the Japanese forces, built in the

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[91] The Southeast Military Government Office was erected in August of 1945 in Taiwan and was merged into the Executive Yuan of the ROC in March of 1950. It was responsible for commanding military affairs of the territory of the ROC during that period.

Japanese rule period [92], after Japan was compelled to withdraw from Taiwan and the government of the ROC took over it under the command of Allied Powers at the end of World War II in 1946. In addition, the first MDV which was built by the ROC troops themselves is the Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) as a part of the accommodation facilities of the Shi-Shi military factory in 1948 while the ROC government was planning to move from mainland China to Taiwan. (Guo, 2005, Chen et al., 2007)

There were 886[93] listed MDVs in 2005. After the *Act of The Essentials of Rebuilding the Old Military Dependant's Villages of National Force* was announced in 1980, the process of renewal or reforming of MDVs began. Most of them have been bulldozed, and the rests are going to suffer the same fate in the next of couple years. The process means that: 1) The privatisation of MDVs, 2) The modernisation of MDVs, 3) The integration with local people, 4) The localisation of MDV residents (Guo, 2005, Chen et al., 2007).

MDVs were not dispersed evenly over Taiwan, and gradually gathered in three major urban areas, especially in the northern part, when new MDVs were set up (Figure 1) (Chen et al., 2007). Most scholars and researchers agree that the positions were located around the barracks which they are were associated with, or in the suburbs near the barracks because of military

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[92] Japan colonised Taiwan from 1895 to 1945.

[93] These are not an exact numbers because some data of MDVs were classified as secret. According to Guan-Lin Guo's (2005) statistics, there were 886 listed MDVs. In addition, there were still some unofficial MDVs.
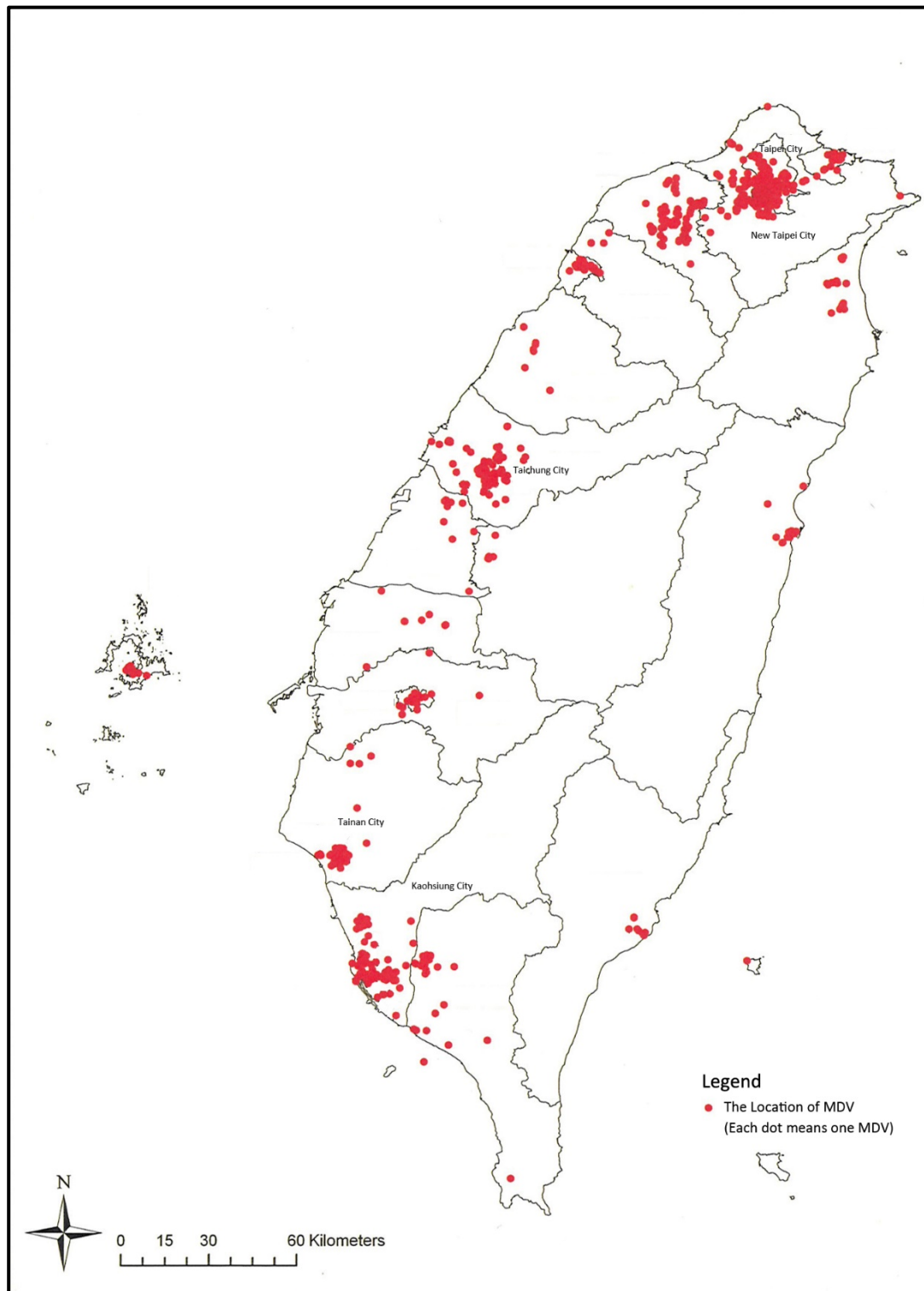
Figure 1. The Locations of MDVs in Taiwan (Chen et al., 2007).

need and commuting convenience (He, 2001). But Shuanfan Huang (1994) argued against this;

he thought that the locating of MDVs was not only considered for the above reason, but also

for the convenience of political mobilisation. This trend of MDVs setting up next to each other, gathering up in certain areas, marked them as a kind of planned massive immigrant community. Moreover, the trend also changed the population proportion of locals and mainlanders in those major urban areas (Chen et al., 2007).

4.1 THE DEVELOPMENT OF MDVS

The development of MDVs can be separated generally into three periods, from 1945 to 1956, from 1957 to 1980, and after 1980[94], based on political situations, policy changes, and military dependants' demands for improving their living environment (Chen, 1998). Each development period had different building types and village shapes. Most of the MDVs were built in the first two periods - 37 per cent in the first period, and 51 per cent in the second. Only 12 per cent of MDVs were built after 1980. The MDVs of the first two periods were located in the main cities, and most of the MDVs of the third period were located in Taipei City, New Taipei City, Taoyuan County, Taichung City, Tainan City, and Kaohsiung City (Figures 2 – 4) (Chen et al., 2007).

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[94] In both of the reports edited by Guan Lin Guo (2005) and Chaosing Chen et al. (2007), the years after 1997 when the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was practiced was isolated as the fourth period of the development of MDVs. In this research, the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was viewed as the extension of the development from 1980 because the new Act was announced for solving the problems of rebuilding under the precede Act.
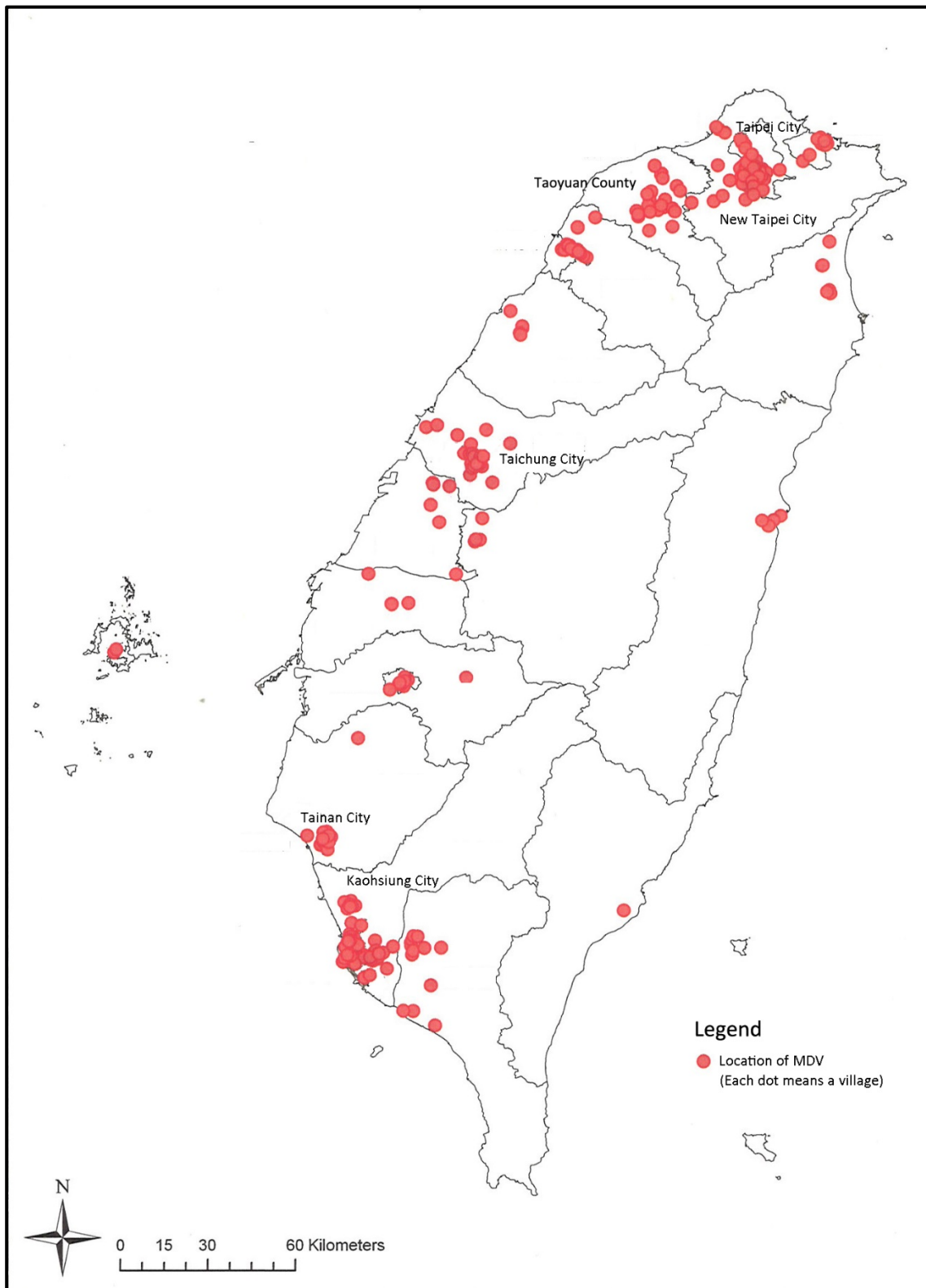
Figure 2. The Locations of MDVs of the First Period (Chen et al., 2007).
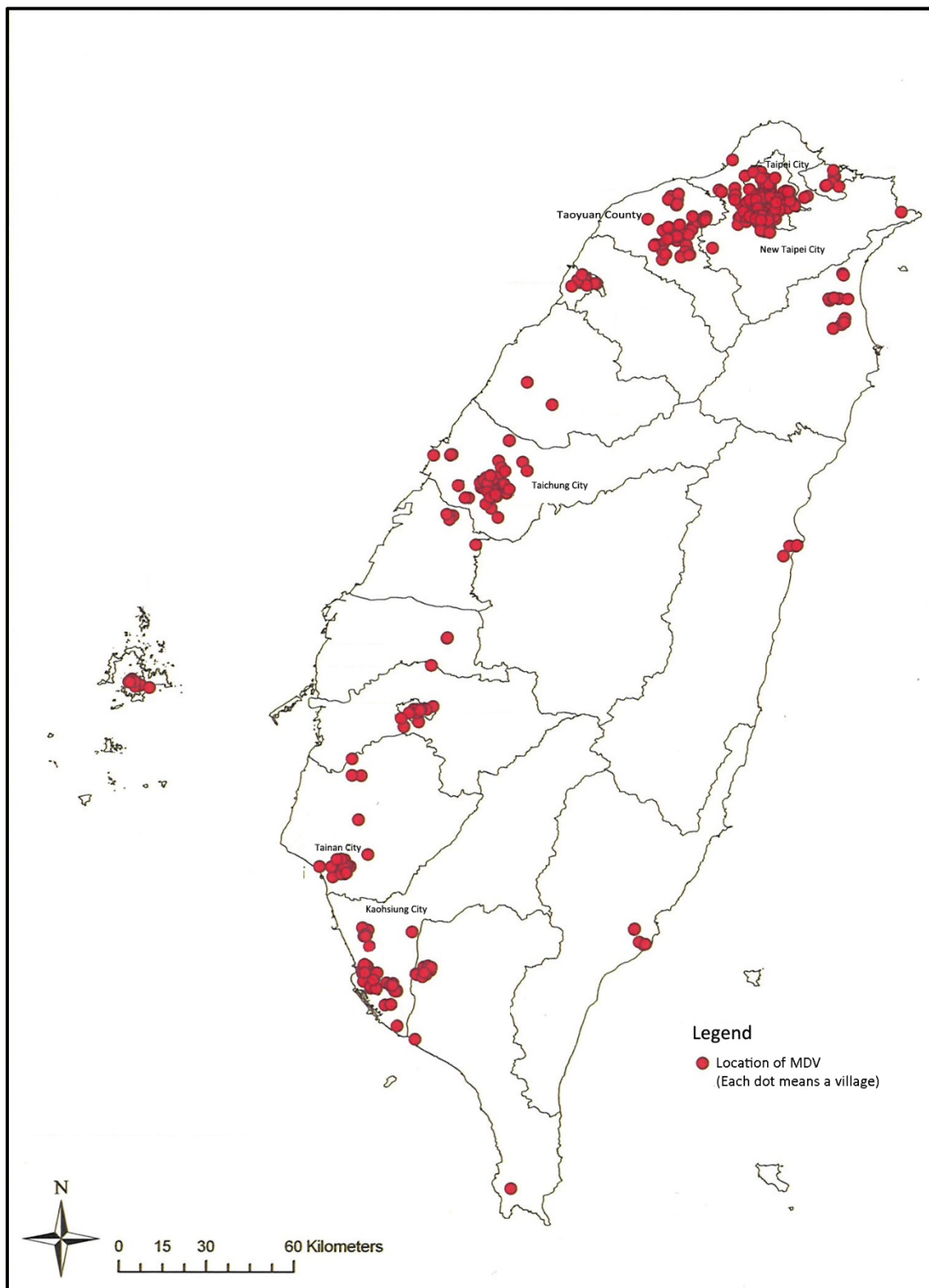
Figure 3. The Locations of MDVs of the Second Period (Chen et al., 2007).
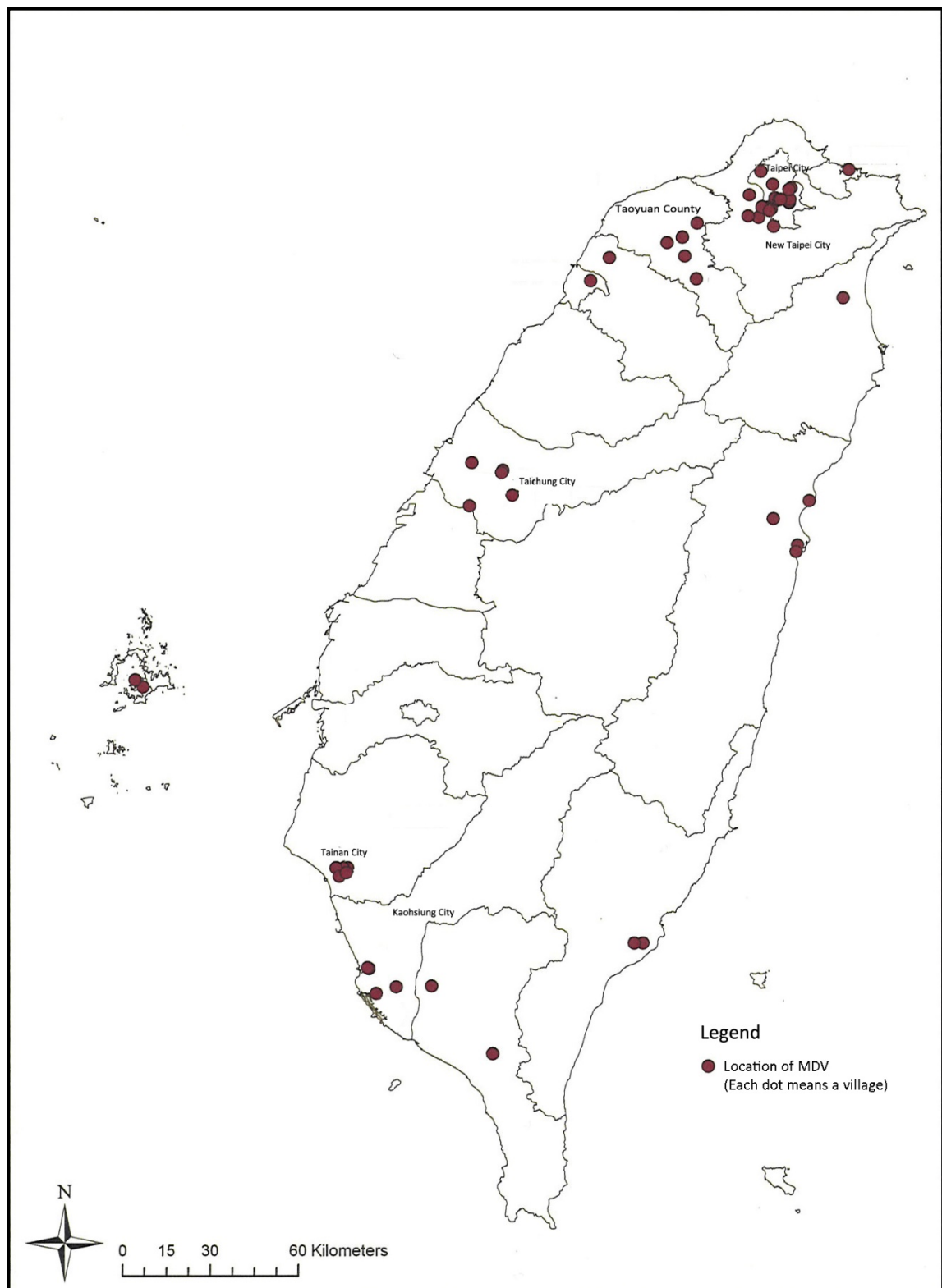
Figure 4. The Locations of MDVs of the Third Period (Chen et al., 2007).

4.1.1 PERIOD 1 — FROM 1945 TO 1956

This period started from the end of WWII and was ended before the first planned MDVs constructions in 1956. There were two types of MDVs. The first one type was those military residences or reformed facilities of barracks which were built by the Japanese forces before 1945. After Japan was defeated by the Allied Powers and relinquished its sovereignty over Taiwan, the armies of the ROC took over those residences and facilities, and then transformed them into MDVs. Most of the MDVs of this period were built in the style of Japanese wooden single houses or semi-detached houses which usually had a front garden and a back yard. For instance, the Gonghe New Village in Donggang Township was built around the 1940s as the residences for Petty Officers or higher

Figure 5. A typical type of Japanese residence in Gonghe New Village (by author).

Figure 6. Straight and wide road with a lot of trees and very low-density housing were the first impress about Gonghe New Village (by author).

and their dependants of the Japan Toko[95] Naval Air Group which was set up in 1938 and quartered in Dapeng Bay Seaplane Airport (Figures 5 and 6). It became a MDV for the air force

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[95] Toko is Japanese kanji pronunciation of Donggang (東港).

of the ROC after 1945. Another case is the Zuoying MDVs group which was the biggest group of residences for staff of the Japanese Navy based in the Zuoying Military Harbour. The same as the Gonghe New Village, those houses became MDVs after World War II. The whole area was well planned by the Japanese Navy with a rectilinear street grid design and low-density housing rate. (Figure 7) Housing type and building density were ranked, e.g. higher-ranked staff would be offered with bigger houses and lower housing density sites. For example, the Mingde New Village, one of Zuoying MDVs, was the accommodation for Navy Generals and was called General Village. Its building type was single houses surrounded by gardens (Figures 8 and 9). Due to the military historical value and remarkable landscape, Mingde New Village and four other villages were promoted for the MDVs Cultural and Creative Quarter.

Figure 7. The Model of the MDVs Cultural Park to be. The red hatched area is Mingde New Village (by author).
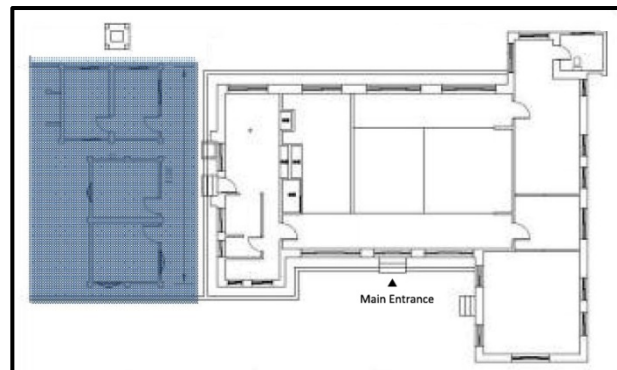
Figure 8. A Ground Floor Plan of Japanese Residence of Mingde New Village (The area with hatched blue dots was extended by later inhabitants) (Kaohsiung City Government, 2010).

The other type of MDVs was temporary houses which bloomed after 1949 when the CNP government was defeated by the CPC. More than 1.2 million mainlanders followed the CNP to Taiwan - around 600 thousand were soldiers. The huge amount of people caused a serious problem of accommodation (Hu, 1990, Chen et al., 2007). Because the CNP planned to return to mainland China in five years, this type of building was constructed with bamboo, clay, and roof tiles (a more temporary style). Most of them were located around or near the barracks and built by the troops themselves. The layout of the houses is very crowded. It is common that one's front door is less than one metre from someone else's back door. The space is very narrow; most of the interior floor space ranged from between 18 to 30 square

Figure 9. The Model of Japanese Residence of Mingde New Village (by author).

Figure 10. The Shi-Shi South Village was the first MDV built by the army of ROC in 1948 (Retrieved from http://trip.writers.idv.tw/2006/10/blog-post_25.html. Photographed by Neng-You Wang).

metres. Some of them have only one room which has to function as the living room, bedroom, and dining room. The area outside the front door is used as the kitchen. Because there was not private toilet in each house, the public toilet became an important public facility and a symbol of MDVs. For example, the SSV was reformed from the warehouses of the Japanese Army (Figure 10). The main structure of the buildings was wooden and their walls were woven

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bamboos as supports and were plastered outside. (Figure 11) Some of the MDVs were adjusted from Japanese military factories. The Air Force Jhongjhen New Village in Hsinchu was a famous case. In 1949, the Air Force Construction Team settled down in a food factory and the Japanese Navy Sixth Fuel Factory temporarily when they quartered in Hsinchi while being in charge of maintaining the Hsinchu Airport. The head of the team, General He Yuan, empathised that his staff did not have fair living condition, and personally – without permission - hired workers to build the Village (Lin et al., 1997, Li, 2006). Some houses were installed in the fuel factory and today are a strange, historical landscape (Figures 12 and 13).

Most of the MDVs from 1949 to 1956 were temporary housing without standard master plans and construction figures. Some sites were acquired without legal processes and this

Figure 11. The wall supported by woven bamboo and plastered outside (Collection of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

Figure 12. The Jhongjhen New Village. The Four stories brick building and the high chimney was the power station of the Japanese Navy Sixth Fuel Factory (by author).

caused arguments when those MDVs would be rebuilt later. Building materials were not selected intensively, but conveniently. Living space was very narrow, e.g. the kitchen of the

Jhongjhen New Village was only around three square metres (Lin et al., 1997). Those poor temporary shelters formed a group of segregated immigrant spaces (Chen et al., 2007).

4.1.2 PERIOD 2 — FROM 1957 TO 1980

After the Korean War from 1950 to 1953, Taiwan adopted part of the anti-communist strategy of the USA. Most of the military budget was spent on the plan of returning

Fight 13. The power station of the Japanese Navy Sixth Fuel Factory was adjusted as part of the Jhongjhen New Village. The three cement funnels were part of the producing equipment, and the space of the factory was used to install several bungalows (by author).

to mainland China. The works of caring for military dependants were important for keeping soldiers' morale stable and cheering them up. Building more military accommodation and renewing the poor and old MDVs were two of those activities. A semi-official organisation, the National Anti-communism and Resistance Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Women's League of the ROC[96] hosted an activity which encouraged many business organisations or institutions to donate to the building of new MDVs. In the meantime, some extra tax, although named as a kind of donation, was attached to the entrance fees of cinema or theatres and the processing fees of currency exchange. To acknowledge such donations, some of the MDVs were named with titles of the donating organisations or institutions. For example, the name

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[96] The National Anti-communism and Resist Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Women's League of the ROC was built by Soong May-ling, who was Chiang Kai-shek's wife, in 1950, renamed as The National Anti-communism Women's League of the ROC in 1964, and renamed again as The National Women's League of the ROC in 1966. It was a private institution, but had an official relationship with the government of the ROC

of Guomao Third Village in Kaohsiung literally meant that it was the third village sponsored by Fruit Trade Association Taiwan. Even though the Women's League only ran a donation campaign and hosted a construction project, many inhabitants of the MDVs appreciated Soong May-ling, the head of the League, who built the houses for them (Association of Mainlander Taiwanese, 2009).

The MDVs built in the period were the start of modernisation. They might be rebuilt early-period MDVs or be new-built villages which was located around barracks or in the suburb near barracks, similar to the situation of the MDVs in early period. The material had changed from bamboo, clay, and plaster to bricks or concrete. The types were varied from one-storey or two-storey brick terraced

Figure 14. One storey terraced house (Fusing New Village) (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2006).

houses to four-storey concrete flats. The interior space was enlarged to around 30 or 39 square metres and the functions were improved by equipping the houses with living room, bedroom, kitchen, dining room, and toilet. For example, the Fusing New Village in Jhonghe District was built in 1963 sponsored by the Civil Affairs Military Government in Kinmen. The accommodation units were offered as a welfare for those veterans and their dependants from Kinmen. The buildings were one-storey terraced houses which were built by bricks walls, wooden beams, and roof tiles (Figure 14). The interior areas and partitions were ranked in three sizes - 65, 49, and 32 square metres - for field grade, company grade, and non-commissioned

officers, respectively. (He, 2001) Another case is Cihren First Village. It was Fulian Second Village [97] and was renamed as Cihren New Village after being renewed as six rows of four-storey flats in 1977 and 1980 (Figure 15). The village was named as Cihren, which literally meant 'kindness and charity', to express gratitude for Soong May-ling's efforts in raising donations and

Figure 15. Four storeys flat type (Cihren First Village) (by author).

hosting construction. There were three sizes of floor space - 96, 84, and 77 square metres - for general grade or head of department, field grade, and non-commissioned officers, respectively (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2006).

There was another group of MDVs that emerged during this period. Although these were not considerable in range, they heralded the start of the privatisation of MDVs. In 1970, the Ministry of National Defence promoted a loan, Huasia Loan Project, to support MDV inhabitants to renew their old houses. The building types of the project were usually one- or two-storey brick terraced houses (Chen et al., 2007, Association of Mainlander Taiwanese, 2009). This loan policy revealed the trend that the official department would not take the responsibility of offering residences to soldiers and their dependants. It reflected that the domestic political tendency was going forward to more a democratic one, and that government would gradually release its hand from entirely controlling the national army. Moreover, the

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[97] Fulian Second Village literally meant that the village was the second village built by the National Women's League of the ROC

private house signified that those immigrants have gradually transformed to become local by really owning their houses.

To sum up, the building materials and structures were obviously better than those of the last period. Those village projects hosted by the Women's League usually were well planned and offered better living conditions and public space. From one-storey bungalow or terraced house to multi-storey flat was another feature of the MDVs in this period. Privatisation meant that MDVs could trade with people without a military background, i.e. they would be no longer a kind of closed community.

4.1.3 PERIOD 3 — AFTER 1980

The Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was officially drawn up to accelerate the renewing and privatising of MDVs in 1980. Most of the MDVs which were built in the two earlier periods and located in suburbs or far from urban areas had become part of cities or city centres, as cities had expanded. Those old buildings of MDVs without proper maintenances began to take on the appearance of slums in the developed cities (Figure 16). In addition, the government had to renew those old MDVs to settle down the residents again when the CNP realised that it was impossible to return

Figure 16. Dusing Third Village was built in 1957. It was a low-density housing and friendly street scale made the community a pleasant living place and close neighbourhoods although the condition of houses is very pool. However, it would be demolished and inhabitants would move to new community due to its poor condition (by author).

to mainland China (Chen et al., 2007). Privatisation of MDVs by offering low interest rate loans and compensation, and combining renewal plans with social housing, were the key methods to solve the problem. The process also announced the disappearance of MDVs because the new communities would no longer only accommodate soldiers and their dependants, but also other people. It was a process of social assimilation through restructured spatiality of community. (Chen et al., 2007)

Buildings of high-rise flats were the most notable feature of the MDVs' reconstruction in this period. For economic reasons that involved building more accommodation on a site for military and common people, it was unavoidable that the new communities would have to comprise high-rise flats. They were varied from three to five floors in the early part of the period, increasing to flats of six to 12 floors; and then more recently to blocks of flats over 20 floors. The other feature was that the scale of reconstructed MDVs became bigger than earlier projects. After 1997, reconstruction projects which followed the new edition of the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents combined more than two

Figure 17. The poor condition one storey brick bungulow of Gonglun New Village before renewed to Gonglun Gorgeous Community (He, 2001).

Figure 18. High-rise Building Type (Gonglun Gorgeous Community) (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2006).

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villages into a new community. For instance, Gonglun New Village which was built in 1964 was a community with 104 families. All of the buildings were one-storey brick terraced houses. Due to poor maintenances and dilapidation, the village was reconstructed as 14-storey flats in 2000 (Figures 17 and 18). Jianhua New Community in New Taipei City which was finished in 2006 was a reconstruction

Figure 19. The Jianhua New Community (The Committee of Air Force Sanchong First Village and The Team of Cultural Workshop of Military Dependants' Village, 2007).

project with 550 families for accommodating 11 MDVs including AFSFV (Figure 19).

The turning point for the acceleration of the disappearance of MDVs was 1980, when the Act of reconstruction was issued. High-rise flat housing changed the spatiality of MDVs from horizontal to vertical. Privatisation and mixing with social housing meant that the inhabitants of new communities would no longer only be military relatives. In other words, the closed spatiality of MDVs and the process of social assimilation had been opened. Thus, the typical impression of MDVs which was linked with poor living circumstances but with close and friendly neighbourhoods gradually began to disappear.

4.2 THE TYPICAL TYPE OF MDVS

The last section illustrated the development of MDVs and found that the spatiality had been changed due to modernisation and privatisation caused by the policy of rebuilding MDVs after 1980. The change caused the disappearance of the sense of MDVs from spatial and social aspects. Nowadays, the conservation projects only focused on those villages built in the first

and second periods (Chen et al., 2007). Therefore, in this section, three typical types of MDVs, including those adapted from Japanese military accommodation, listed and built during 1945 to 1980, and unofficial MDVs which were built by self-support, are analysed to investigate the spatiality of MDVs.

4.2.1 TYPE 1 — ADAPTED FROM JAPANESE MILITARY ACCOMMODATION
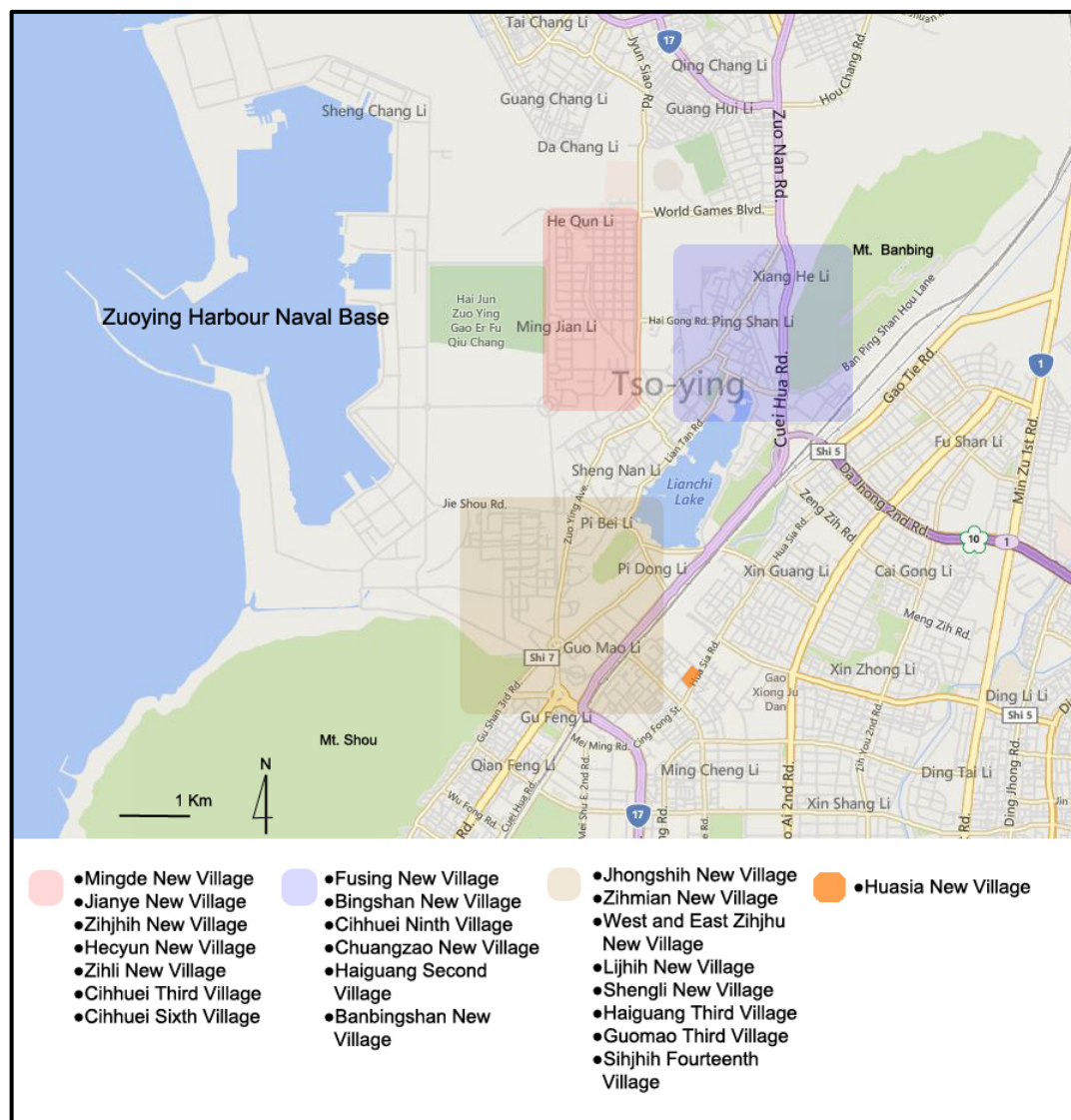
Figure 20. The Distribution of MDVs in Zuoying District. (Retrieved from Bing Maps and hatched by author).

The MDVs which were adapted from Japanese military accommodation accounted for less than three per cent of the MDVs built before 1980 (Chang, 2008). There were five villages of this type in Zuoying district in Kaohsiung, in which the Zuoying Harbour Naval Base located. The MDVs' group in Zuoying district was the biggest group which was for the use of a single military service – the Navy. There were 22 MDVs located in three subgroups. One was on the edge of the eastern region of Zuoying Harbour Naval Base, another was near the west foot of the Banbing Mountain, and the last one was at the southeast corner of the Naval Base near Shou mountain. Only the Huasia New Village was set up on its own at the southeast corner of Zuoying (Figure 20). Most of the villages were built after 1945 except for Jhongshih and Lijhih
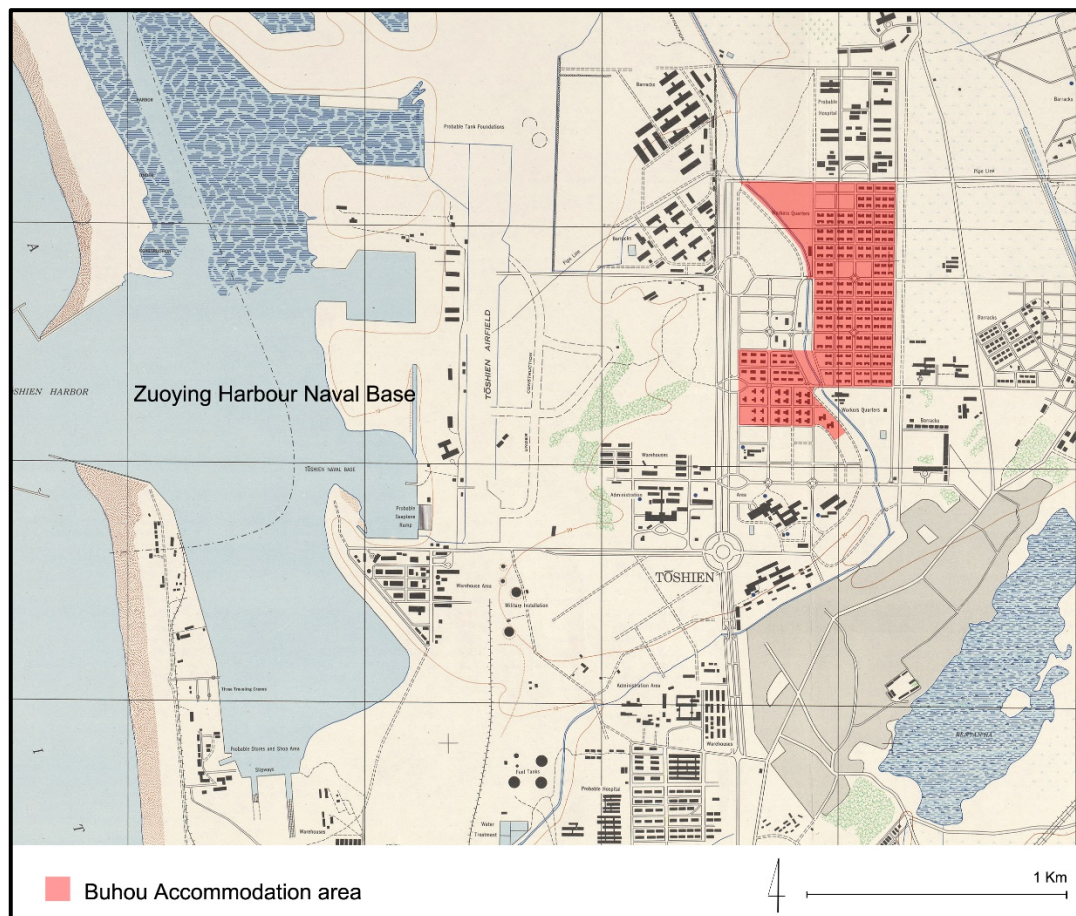
Figure 21. The Buhou Accommodation Area in 1945. (Retrieved from U.S. Army Map Service, and colour hatched by author).

New Villages of the second group, while and Mingde, Jianye, and Hecyun New Villages of the third group were adapted from the Japanese military accommodation. The last three villages were remarkable with well-maintained mostly Japanese period buildings and overall layout; as a consequence they were involved in the Conservation Project of Naval MDVs Culture in Zuoying in 2010.

Figure 22. The Layout of Buhou Accommodation before 1945. (Retrieved from U.S. Army Map Service, and colour hatched by author).

Figure 23. The present situation of Mingde, Jianye, and Hecyun New Villages. Comparing the figure ground of buildings between the one before 1945 (Figure 22) and the other in the present day, the houses for lower-level officers were extended more spaces than those for general officers.

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The Zuoying Harbour Naval Base was set up in 1937. The accommodation area, located outside of the east of Naval Base, was called the Buhou Accommodation, and it was divided into Mingde, Jianye, and Hecyun New Villages after the Navy of the ROC took over (Figures 21 and 22). Around the three villages, four other villages were set up after 1945. The building types in the Buhou area were ranked into two type - single and semi-detached houses. The houses on the western bank of the stream which were offered for general officers or captains were single houses. Nowadays, those houses formed the Mingde New Village which was offered for general officers. The buildings on the eastern bank of the stream which were offered to lower-level officers were semi-detached houses. The southern part was Jianye New Village which was mainly offered to field grade officers, and the northern part was Hecyun New Village which was offered to company grade officers (Figure 22).

Being built as part of the Zuoying Harbour Naval Base, the Buhou accommodation was well planned in a grid street system, with roundabouts, which were fire pools in the period of Japanese rule on main junctions. Every block was circled with greenbelt and shaded by trees. The infrastructure was well equipped, which included independent water and electric power supply systems and sewer system. To protect against attack from enemies, there were several air-raid shelters and emergent wells spread in this area. In addition, there was a naval club located south of Hobou area as a leisure centre for sailors.

Houses in Mingde and the southern half of Jianye New Villages were built with brick walls and roof tiles, and those in the northern half of Jianye and Hecyun New Villages were wooden houses with roof tiles. Every house had front and back gardens, the size of which depended on the rank of unit.

After the accommodation was taken over by the ROC Navy, some residents extended extra spaces or renewed whole buildings to satisfy their living requirements. Because lower-level officers were offered smaller units and sometimes two families had to shared one unit, they usually built extra rooms, even sometimes building an extra house in the garden to solve the need for more accommodation space. Comparing the pictures of figure ground of buildings between the one of before 1945 and the other of the present day, the houses in Hecyun New Village had the most extension spaces, and Mingde New Village had the least (Figure 23). Although extension and renewing were very common phenomena in MDVs, most of the houses in Mingde, Jianye, and Hecyun New Villages were still

Figure 24. Still well maintained house in Mingde New Village was surrounded by garden and public greenbelt and shade trees (by author).

Figure 25. Residents are proud of the comfortable environment with tall shade trees, broad street, and low-volume traffics in Mingde New Village (by author).

well maintained. The comfortable environment impressed many visitors, and residents were proud of this. Compared with the new MDVs in the style of flats, some residents who lived in Mingde, Jianye, and Hecyun New Villages and other villages in the same type preferred to live in the original houses (Jhang, 2011, The Team of Glory of St. Pauls, 2001) (Figures 24 and 25).

4.2.2 TYPE 2 — LISTED AND BUILT DURING 1945 TO 1980

Around 95 per cent of MDVs owned by the government were built during 1945 to 1980, either by the residents themselves or the army, or with donations from the Women's League (Chang, 2008). Although villages might be different from each other in terms of scale, their overall layout, and buildings can be combined into a typical type through analysing the spatial features of Yuefei New Village and AFSFV.

Figure 26. A bird's eye view of Yuefei New Village taken from the main entrance (Retrieved from http://picasaweb.google.com.tw; photographed by Pepper Huang).

Yuefei New Village[98] in Yilan County was built separately in two stages. The first half was built on the southern part of the site in 1949. The northern half of the site was set up as space for parking, assembling, or other social activities and get-togethers at that time, and became accommodation in the second stage in 1965. There were 134 units in total. The layout of the street system was composed of a main street, some subsidiary lanes which entrances of houses

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[98] In Jui-Sheng Chang's dissertation, he used the address of Yuefei New Village, Taishan road, to replace the village name as Taishan Village to maintain interviewees' privacy.

faced on to, and rear alleys which worked as fire alleys between the rears of the houses. The

whole layout looked like a fish skeleton, and gave one of the main impressions about MDVs of

1 Village Gate
2 Main Street
3 Subsidiary Lane
4 Basketball Court
5 Grocery
6 Village's Self-governing Association
7 Village's Kindergarten
8 Hostel (Best or first grade unit)
9 Toilet
10 House Unit (Second grade unit)
11 Illegal House
12 Rear Land
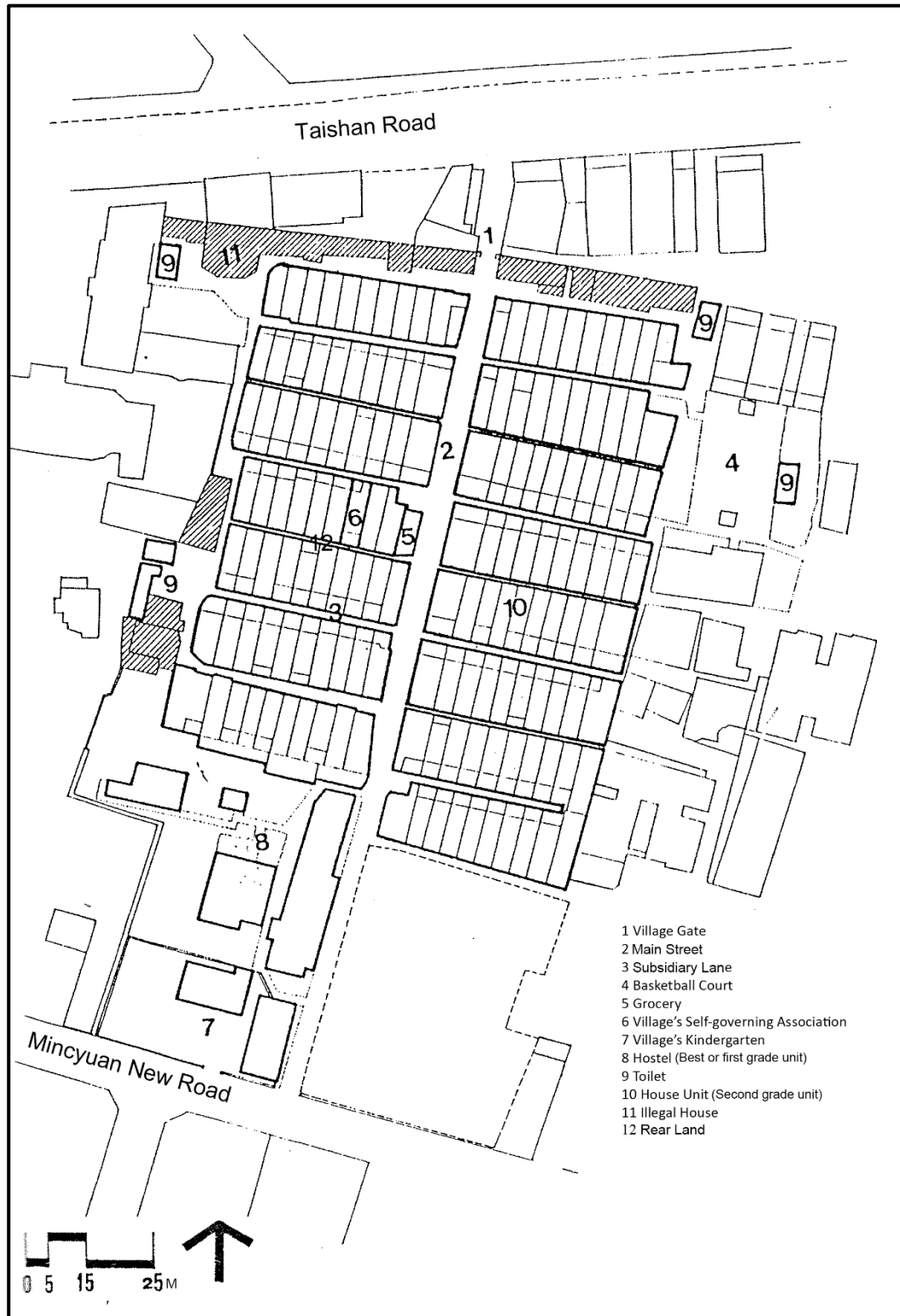
Figure 27. The Layout of Yuefei New Village (Chang, 1995).

the second period (Figures 26 and 27). The main street was six metres wide, and the 12 branches were each approximately one metre wide (Figure 28). The main structural material was bamboo, e.g. bamboo fence, bamboo wall pasted with clay, bamboo beam. The roofs were covered by asphalt felt or thatch. The buildings were renewed by bricks and cements walls, wooden beams, and roof tiles in 1975 (Chang, 1995). The village was rebuilt with high-rise flats housings in 1997 and was renamed as Syueshan Village (Figure 29).

The main entrance of the village was set up at the north side of the village near Taishan road which the main street directly connected to. According to Jui-Sheng Chang's research (1995), other MDVs nearby, like Jinaguo New Village, Fuguo Lane [99], Lingyun New Village, and

Figure 28. The Main Street of Yuefei New Village. According to the brick wall, the picture would have been taken after 1975. The stone paving and chickens walking on the street showed the living circumstances were still similar to conditions in rural areas (Retrieved from http://4.bp.blogspot.com/; photographed by Pepper Huang).

Figure 29. Yuefei New Village, renamed as Syueshan Village, was rebuilt as 15 storeys flat housings (Retrieved from http://www.geolocation.ws/v/P/18421820/).

[99] Fuguo Lane was not an officially registered MDV, but a group of illegal houses along Fuguo lane. Thus, people named the village by the lane name.

Singguo New Village, had the same type of collection between the main street of the village and Taishan road. There was another entrance connecting to Mincyuan New Road. Although the main street was quite straight, the traffic was not busy. Only a few bikes or motorbikes occasionally went through (Chang, 1995). Except for the grocery which faced onto the main street, both sides of the street were the side walls of buildings. Those walls were quite plain without being decorated, but were painted with some white patriotism slogans with blue background, like *Oppose Communism and Recover the Nation*. The painted slogan was a significant feature of MDVs. Two rows of national flags would be hung on those walls along the main street during national celebrations every October to celebrate the birth of the ROC. Moreover, when it came to the time of the elective campaigns, those walls became bulletin boards on which candidates' posters or flyers were stuck: But, only the candidates supported by the CNP could do that because almost all the inhabitants of the MDVs strongly supported the CNP and its candidates. At some MDVs, a banner which declared the support of the entire village for a particular candidate was hung upon the main gate of the villages to show inhabitants' loyalty to Nation and the CNP. No doubt the candidate must have belonged to the CNP (Tu, 1994, Luo, 1991, Shang, 1995).

The subsidiary lanes and rear alleys around were vertically connected to the main street. The main street and subsidiary lanes area was quite narrow - only six and 1.2 metres wide. With light traffic, they became social and leisure spaces for residents. On side of street, residences might get together for chatting, playing chess, or resting. Those street spaces were also children's playground (Figure 28). In addition, streets were important spaces for maintaining close neighbourhoods. Due to the narrow width of streets and lanes, greeting or chatting were things that had to be done when people met each other (Chang, 1995). The close housing

Figure 30. The ground of the Air Force Sanchong First Village was located at centre of village (by author).

distances also meant that it was hard for the residents to keep their privacy because their conversations indoor might be heard outside or in houses nearby.

The public facilities of the Yuefei New Village included basketball court, Village Committee Office, grocery, nursery, and public toilets. The basketball court, which was around 17 metres wide and 28 metres long, was not only used for playing basketball. In morning, it could be an excising ground. It also could be a space for parties or open air cinema. Many MDVs had this sort of ground. The scale of the ground depended on the sizes of villages. Its location might be at the edge of village or at the centre like a courtyard. For example, the ground of the Air Force Sanchong Second Village was surrounded by buildings (Figure 30).

Another important public space was the Village Committee Office. Every MDV had a committee, and most of the villages set up an office for it. Usually there was a sign board outside the office entrance to indicate the office (Figure 31). The Committee Office was a space for commissioners to have activities or meeting to discuss public

Figure 31. The golden sign board of the Village Committee Office of the Air Force Sanchong First Village (by author).

affairs, and also functioned as a social space. The residents of Yuefei New Village liked to read the newspaper, and chat in their Committee Office (Chang, 1995).

The grocery and nursery of Yuefei New Village were quite special public facilities, as not many MDVs had these. The grocery offering daily commodities, located at the centre of the main street, was a place where female residents chatted and communicated. It was also a children's favourite place where they came to buy sweets and snacks (Figure 32).

Figure 32. The grocery of Yuefei New Village (Retrieved from http://pepperhuang.blogspot.co.uk/; Photographed by Pepper Huang).

Figure 33. The public toilet of Dusing Third Village was located on the edge of village (by author).

The public toilet was not popular in Taiwanese residential areas; it was almost always set up in or near public buildings. Nevertheless, there were four in Yuefei New Village. It was a popular facility in MDVs built in the early period because toilet and bathroom were not installed in the accommodation; and these facilities became an impressive space in some narratives about MDVs (Figure 33). The famous comedic crosstalk, *The Toilet in Warring States Period,* performed by the Comedians' Workshop used a public toilet as the main scene of the performance offering the story of MDVs (Song et al., 2009). The crosstalk imprinted the impression of the public toilet on those who did not know the life of MDVs. The public toilet was a significant collective memory for people

who had lived in MDVs. For children of MDVs, the public toilet was a terrible place with gloomy light, disgusting smell, and extremely poor hygienic conditions. It was a nightmare for children to go to the public toilet. The bad impressions of public toilet meant that they were happy to have their own private flush toilet when they moved into their new home (Fudi, 2013, Jhu, 2014), but, the terrible experience became a unique story of their life memories.

The accommodation was also ranked in the same way as those MDVs were that had been built by the Japanese. Yuefei New Village had two accommodation types. One type, which was best or first grade accommodation, also called military hostel by locals, was for general officers, and the other, which was second grade, was for field or company grade officers. There were seven best or first grade types of accommodation whose sizes were 39, 78, or 84 square metres, and all of them were single houses. They were located on the southwest corner of the site and surrounded it to form a courtyard which made this grade of accommodation obviously isolated from other groups of houses (No. 8 in Figure 27). The other grade was terraced houses. There were 15 rows and each row had 10 houses (No. 10 in Figure 27). This type was very cramped, and originally only had around 29 square metres with two rooms. Each room had multiple functions. The front room was generally used as living room, dining room and working space, and the rear room was bedroom, bath room, and kitchen. Without incorporated private toilet and water supply system, residents shared public toilets and wells (Figures 34 a. and 35 a.). Although the basic type was cramped and uncomfortable, it was sufficient for temporarily accommodating a family. The living conditions became worse when staying just temporarily staying became long-term settling when it was not possible to return to mainland China and families grew up through getting married and giving birth. The building extension was a popular methods to improve their houses. Extending the rear part of the house to the fire alley was the

most usual mode. Almost all residents did that, and the fire alley became a narrow rear lane (Figures 34 b. and 35 d.). For incorporating private toilet, bathroom, kitchen, and extra
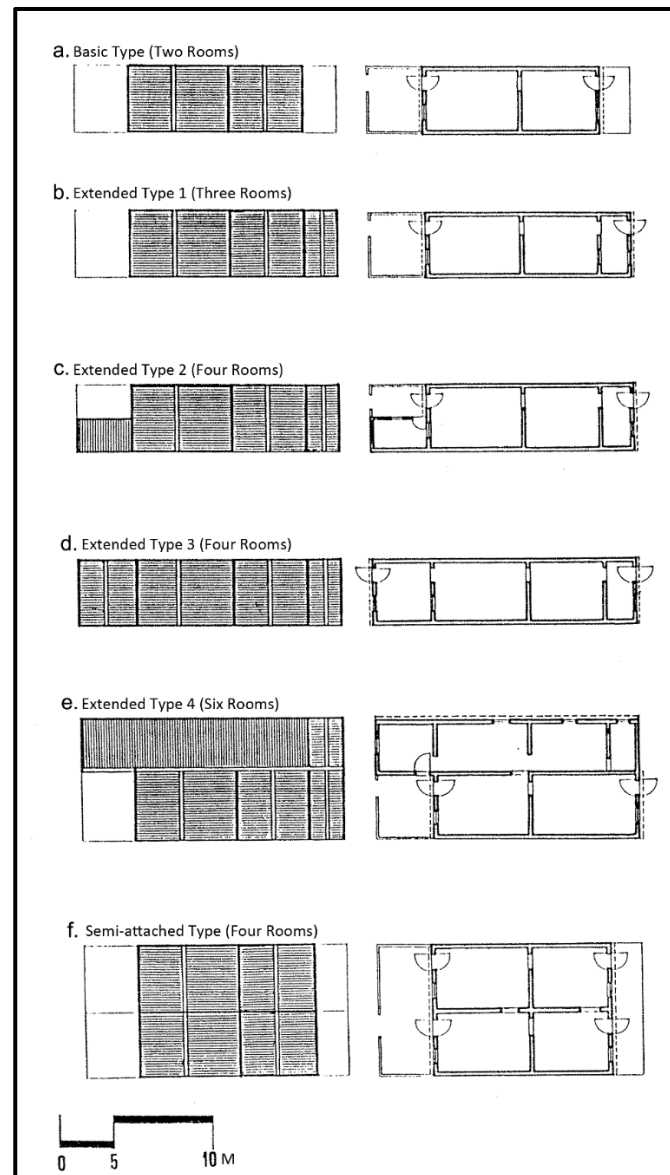
Figure34. The plan of developments of Second Grade House (Chang, 1995).

bedrooms, the extension part stretched to the front yard, sideways onto empty land[100], or even combining two units (Figures 34 c. to f. and 35 b., c.).
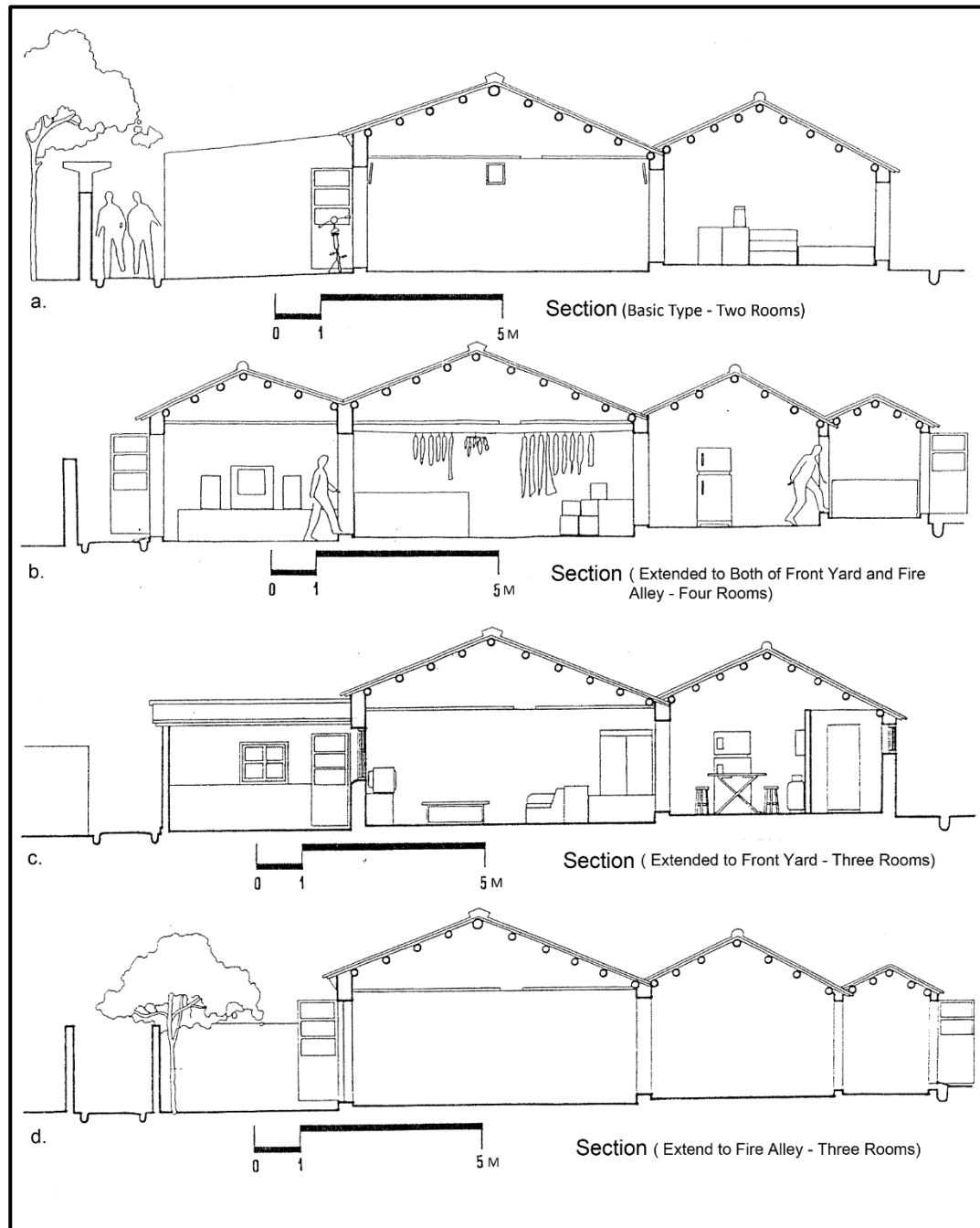
Figure 35. The section of developments of Second Grade House (Chang, 1995).

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[100] Only those units besides the main street had sideway empty land to extend extra rooms up to the edge of street.

The extension did not only expanded horizontally. In the case of family Wang in the AFSFV it was a typical type of three-dimensional extension. In 1956, the family was distributed to first grade accommodation which had living room and two bedrooms in the main building, and the kitchen was set in an extended corner, but there was no bathroom or toilet. The backyard was encircled with a bamboo fence. Inhabitants usually had to cook

Figure 36. The development of the family Wang (Mii, 2009).

outdoors behind in the backyard (Figure 36 a.). In the first extension phase, they built an extra room structured by bamboos in 1961 (Figure 36 b.). Two years later, the bamboos structure was replaced by bricks and roof tiles, and the kitchen became bigger. In addition, a simple toilet was set up in the furthest corner of the backyard (Figure 36 c.). Several serious typhoons struck northern Taiwan in 1963 and 1964, and caused catastrophic floods in the village. Therefore, the military department funded the inhabitants to build attics as flood shelters (Shen, 2008) (Figure 36 d.). From 1966 to 1971, the attic was combined to the extended first floor and a balcony was added (Figure 36 e.). In 1975, the whole village applied for the approval for rebuilding and expanding houses by residents' self-support to the Air Force Command Headquarters. After getting approval, the first floor of the family Wang's house was extended to the same floor space as the ground floor (Figure 36 f.). In addition, because every family extended their house right up to the street and make it become a very narrow lane, both sides of inhabitants changed

their main entrances back to the original rear entrances (Figure 37). In 1990, the whole building was renewed to a three-storey house with a skylight room in the roof (Figure 36 g.).

People found it hard to picture the original MDV houses when they had been extended or renewed. Like the family Wang's house above, the structure, material, layout, and functions were different from the very first period. However, people cannot conclude that the village had lost its sense of MDV according to its final appearance. The invisible part, the process of spatial improvement, is also a noticeable environmental feature of the village, memory of residents, and significant ICH for locals and residents.

Figure 37. The street became a cramped lane after every families extended their houses to the edge of street, even the space above the street (by author).

4.2.3 TYPE 3 — UNOFFICIAL MDVS

The MDVs which had been discussed above were in the range of official villages, i.e. they were registered in the list of MDVs under the charge of the Ministry of Defense. However, not all of the soldiers and their dependants could be distributed to a house in an official MDV. Only around a sixth of the 600 thousand of soldiers, who came from the mainland China in 1949 or 1950, could get an accommodation in a MDV. Others, who might retire from military service

earlier than regulars, not get married, or get married late[101], had to solve their need for a dwelling themselves. Those veterans built their villages which were also classified as MDVs by Taiwanese who distinguished MDVs by residents' accents, language, foods, occupations, and life styles (Li, 2013). This type of MDVs was ignored in most of the research, and people were not familiar with them as much as they were with the official villages.

The unofficial MDVs appeared in the 1950s when the army started to reduce the number of soldiers. In the early of 1950s, the USA agreed to support Chiang Kai-shek with finance, consumer goods, and strategic goods to help him to resist the threat from China. The USA was worried their strategy for the West Pacific area would be broken if Chiang returned to China. Thus, the assistance was given under a condition that Chiang had to reduce the armed force of Taiwan. For this reason, there were around 80 thousand to 100 thousand soldiers retired from military services. Those veterans could not apply for an accommodation in MDVs, even though they got married later, because they were no longer military personnel (Li, 2013, Hu, 1989). Instead, they became the main inhabitants of unofficial MDVs.

The social relationship was the main concern which affected the locations of unofficial MDVs. The relationship might be built on the relations of military colleagues or coming from the same hometown. For maintaining the relationship after retirement, they chose to live nearby one another. Those veterans had poor financial conditions and could not afford the land fees. When they left military services, the only sites for them to build their houses were those that had no

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[101] The Ministry of National Defense announced the Act of Marriage for Military Personnel in 1952. The Act restricted enlisted soldiers could not get married and male ranking officers, non-commissioned officers, and military students could not get married until they were over 38 years old. The restriction was slightly loosed in 1957, but could not satisfied military personnel's needs. In 1959, the limited ages were lowered to 25-year-old for male and 20-year-old for female and had serviced for 3 years.

owners, or that were owned by the government, often beside existing MDVs or barracks. For example, the Treasure Hill houses were rapidly developed in the 1950s by the soldiers or veterans who served in the barracks around Treasure Hill. Some unofficial MDVs attached to official MDVs were seen as part of the villages. The illegal houses besides Gonghe and Yuefei New Villages were two such cases.
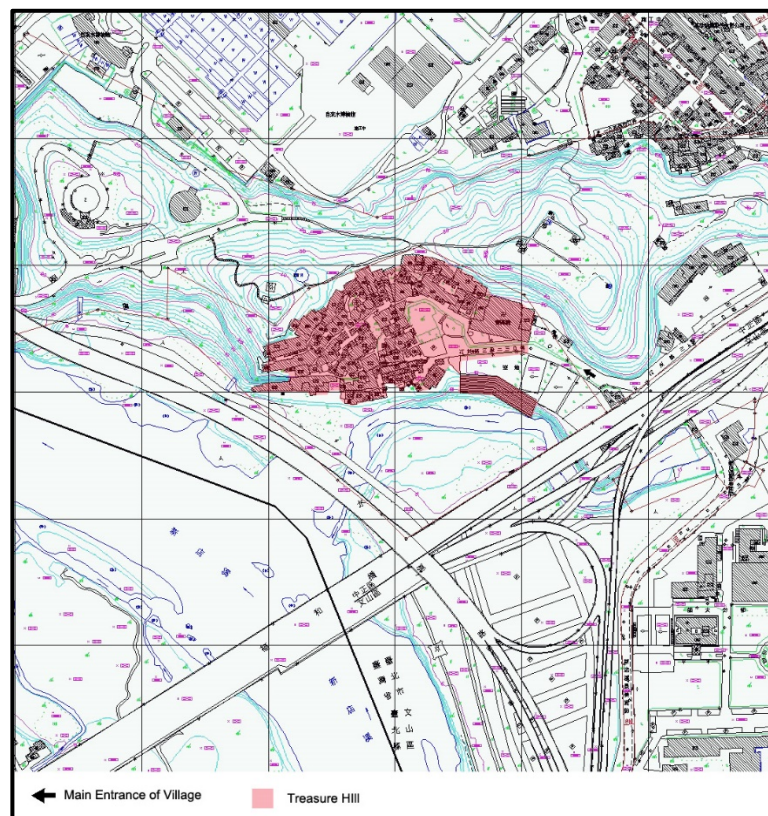

Figure 38. The layout of Treasure Hill (rendered by author).

The other kind of unofficial MDVs were developed on vacant lands by gathering a group of veterans. For example, the No. 14 and 15 parklands in Taipei City became a huge unofficial MDV after a group of soldiers who withdrew from the Zhoushan archipelago and Hainan Island in 1949 settled there. The squatter settlement built along the riverbank of the Tamsui River in Sanchong District was also recognised as MDV because several hundred mainlander veterans families gathered there (Li, 2013). Another case was the Dan Chiya Pong in Tamsui which was

built along the high riverbank of Tamsui River (Figure 39). At first, in 1970, Jing-Ke Deng chose the place that was similar to his hometown, Qinzhou City, Guangxi province, China, and built his own house in the stilt-house style according to his memory about the houses in his hometown. Afterwards, his friends or those who came from his hometown moved into the place and built their houses after they had retired from military services. Gradually, the Dan Chiya Pong was formed as an unofficial MDV (Lai, 2006) .

Figure 39. The Dan Chiya Pong (Retrieved from http://www.hakka-cuisine.ntpc.gov.tw).
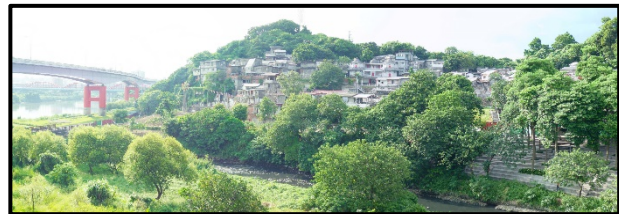
Figure 40. The Treasure Hill Settlement was built following the contours of the hill and the stream (by author).

From the perspective of spatial development, the layout of unofficial MDVs was not constructed with a specific plan and was not built entirely like the type-1 and type-2 MDVs; instead it grew organically, following the layout and the conditions of the site as time went on. For instance, the Treasure Hill settlement was developed following the shape and elevation of

a.

b.
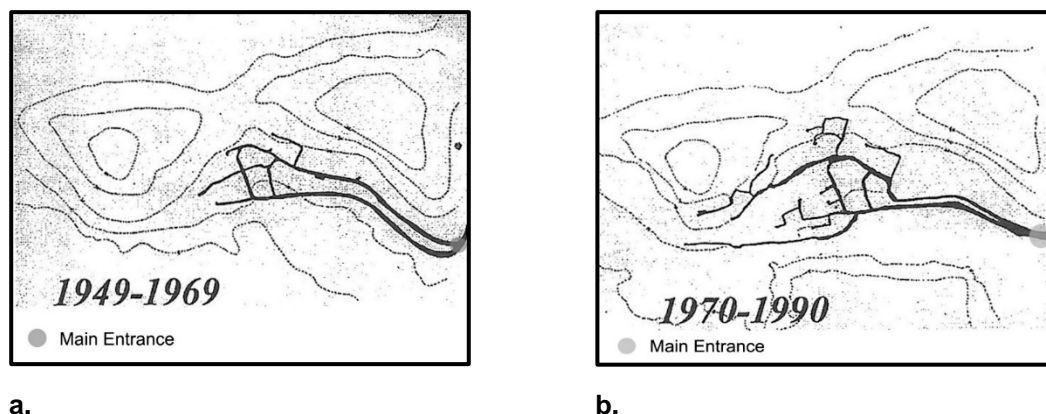
Figure 41. The paths of Treasure Hill. **a.** in 1949 – 1969 **b.** in 1970 – 1990 (Chen, 2000).

the hill (Figure 40). The expansion of the paths of Treasure Hill shows how the village grew. The village has only one main entrance at the east corner which connected to the urban area, Gongguan. At first, most of the buildings were set up nearby. When more inhabitants moved in and built up their houses, the village expanded along the levels and shape of the hill and the riverbank (Figure 41). The paths, not like those in types 1 and 2 which were almost all straight and regular, might have diverse width and shape. The paths in Treasure Hill were curved as they followed the topography of the hill, and steps were used for climbing up steep slope (Figure 42).

Figure 42. The winding paths with stair in Treasure Hill (by author).

Because of the inhabitants' poor financial conditions, the houses of the unofficial MDVs were usually built by the inhabitants themselves. Therefore, those houses were not ranked, and did not have regular sizes, layout, and style. They were constructed according to inhabitants' needs, status of moods, and capabilities, the conditions of sites, and the available materials. Like the development of Dan Chiya Pong and Treasure Hill, each unit was different from the others (Figure 43). The structural materials were diverse. Inhabitants might buy some materials from retailers when they could afford it. Sometimes they collected abandoned steel, logs, or other materials from construction sites nearby. For example, the replacing of the railways, Tamsui Line, to Mass Rapid Transit offered a lots of abandoned rails, tiles, train wheels, etc. for the inhabitants of the Dan Chiya Pong to build their houses (Lai, 2006). Some of the inhabitants of

Treasure Hill collected cobbles from Wanshen Stream near the foot of the hill to build their houses. (Wong, 2011)
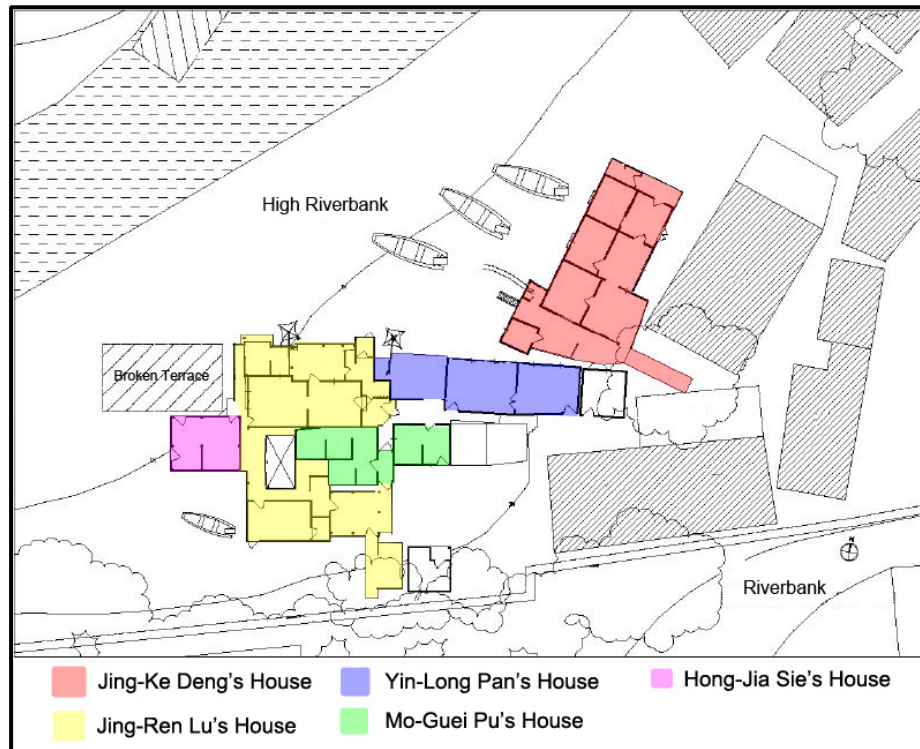
Figure 43. The Plan of Dan Chiya Pong (Lai, 2006) (rendered by author).

Similar to the development of type 2, buildings of unofficial MDVs extended when inhabitants needed more space. For instance, the No. 33 house in Treasure Hill was one storey with an attic which was self-built by the owner in the 1950s. Extension parts were built separately in the 1970s when the next generation came along and more living equipment was installed (Chen, 2000) (Figure 44).
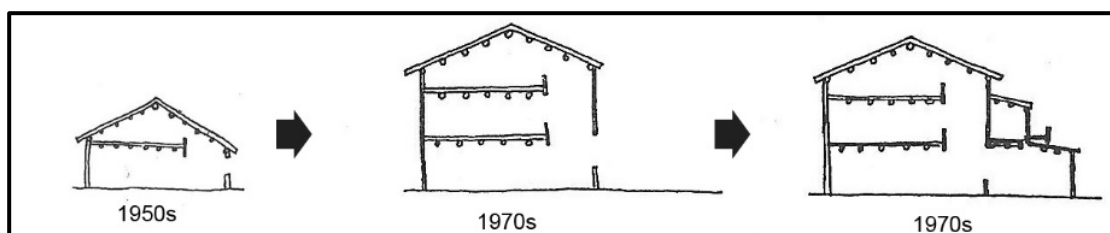
Figure 44. The Extension Process of No. 33 House in Treasure Hill (Chen, 2000).

Compared with the type-1 and type-2 MDVs, unofficial villages were classified as slums because the circumstances were not properly managed, and houses were not well built. Many of this kind of village were demolished with intention of improving the urban environment, like the case of transforming the villages on No. 14 and 15 Parklands, Taipei into parks (referred to section 3.4). However, it was the other side of MDVs which was mostly ignored. Fortunately, after the event of saving No. 14 and 15 Parklands and the conservation project of Treasure Hill, the value of unofficial MDVs was promoted by government and people as historical landscape which might be worth protecting.

4.3 THE GENERAL SPATIAL FEATURES OF MDVS

The selected elements in a space reflected the personal recognition to the space, and those elements might indicate different meanings to different people (Marcus, 1995). However, a cultural landscape can be read through analysing the particular artefacts which reflected the collective life of the place (Rapoport, 1990). Those chosen artefacts formed a group of features which expressed the general image of the place in most people's minds. Positively, the general features helped people to easily understand and recognise the place. From a more negative stance, they could also be a kind of stereotype which obstructed in-depth learning and finding out about the authenticity of the place. In Taiwan, research papers, project reports, and exhibitions had built up an image of MDVs. Besides the differences of social relationships, inhabitants' hometown, accented speaking, exotic foods, occupations, and living habits between the outsiders and insiders of villages, some other features could be used to recognise MDVs. This section lists those features which have frequently appeared in narratives or research papers about MDVs so far.

4.3.1 GENERAL SPATIAL FEATURES OF MDVS IN RESEARCH PAPERS

Yu-Ling Luo (1991), Jui-Sheng Chang (1995), and Hua-Hsin Lee's (2011) dissertations were the three main studies on MDVs which described the spatial feature. Luo's (1991) research showed that a space was given meaning by the activities happening in it. The entrance of the village, square, Village Committee Office, lane, and market were noticeable spatial elements of MDVs and were a group of symbols that formed the atmosphere of community life and signified the relationships between residents (Luo, 1991).

Chang (1995) followed Rapoport's method of analysing the meaning of space and listed the spatial features of Yuefei New Village in three categories, fixed, semi-fixed, and non-fixed feature elements (Table 1) (Chang, 1995). Fixed feature elements are permanent in their location, size, and arrangement. They communicate something specific meaning with people. Semi-fixed feature elements are movable and changeable, e.g. position and colour of objects. They express users' intention on arrangement and selection of objects in a space. The two kind of feature elements are related to tangible heritage. Non-fixed feature elements are space users themselves. Their non-verbal and verbal behaviours, appearance, and speaking which are related to ICH this category. In the table 1, some features were not made by residents on a

Table 1. The Fixed, Semi-fixed, and Non-fixed Feature Elements of Yuefei New Village (Chang, 1995).

Category of Feature Element	Feature Element
Fixed Feature Element	• Entrance of village • Narrow lane • Terraced houses arranged in rows • Specific building materials – red bricks, black roof tiles, grey cement pavement, and green screens on windows or doors • Row of buildings of the same type • Public toilet • Nursing school hosted by the National Women's League of the ROC • Grocery • Square of community and basketball court • Village Committee Office
Semi-fixed Feature Element	• National flag of the ROC • Disordered electric cables above narrow lanes and dim light • Election posts and banners of CNP • National Leader's picture, slogans of anti-communism, blue tablecloth, and national flag in Village Committee Office • Hung clothes as multi-national flags banners in narrow lanes • Chinese chess tables, and chairs • Community noticeboard which had the function of political propaganda
Non-fixed Feature Element	• Male veterans playing Chinese chess and female residents chatting on street • Accented Mandarin • Male veterans with tattoos of national emblem or slogans of anti-communism and anti-Russia • Residents' greeting gesture in salute as soldiers • Residents' attitude of obeying government and speaking in imperative mood • Indigenous or Taiwanese language

regular basis, like the blue tablecloth in the Village Committee Office and green screens on

windows and doors. But they still were noticeable elements which represented the atmosphere

of MDVs.

Although Chang's list picked many features of Yuefei New Village which belong to the aspect of setting in the multi-layered framework (Figure 5, p.52), the reasons and residents' stories which support those features appeared in the village are ignored. The users' voices of the village were not showed on the list. An observer just explains those features of settings according to personal experiences and cognition about MDVs. Furthermore, ICH of MDVs, including residents' experiences and memories, cannot be explored by Rapoport's method. However, Rapoport's method offers a start point for analysing settings of MDVs, if supported by the multi-layered framework.

Another research, Hua-Hsin Lee (2011), observed several MDVs and concluded the spatial features into 11 elements - public toilet, house number plates, national flag of the ROC, slogans on walls, narrow lanes, red entrance doors, utility poles, big trees, black roof tiles, and one-storey terraced houses (Lee, 2011). Although these features were selected without enough rational support[102], they could be seen as her personal narrative about MDVs when she used them as the exhibition subjects of MDVs' illustration in the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV in 2011.

4.3.2 GENERAL SPATIAL FEATURES OF MDVS IN EXHIBITIONS

The general features of MDVs can be found in exhibitions. On the brochure of the MDVs Cultural Exhibition Hall of SSV, there were five spatial features listed - the fish-bone-like

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[102] For example, Hua-Hsin Lee said the house number plate was a symbol of home for residents after only watching two MDVs drama which mentioned the item.

layout of the village, cramped house, street light, narrow lane, and blockhouse. The fish-bone-like layout was the most spatial structure of MDVs. The narrow house recalled the poor life conditions of the past. In addition, the street light, narrow lane, and blockhouse were some of the spatial elements related with residents' lives in the village.

Figure 45. National flag and bamboo fence were decorated in exhibition room of Military Community Story House (by author).

In the Military Community Story House, a national flag and a recreated bamboo fence were set as decoration in the room on the ground floor (Figure 45). On the first floor, there was a collage setting which assembled several feature elements together to simulate the atmosphere of MDVs (Figure 46). The setting looked like a little bit disordered, but some feature elements still could be recognised. They

Figure 46. The recreated red entrance door, green frame window, national flag, CNP flag, and house number plate were notable elements of the recreated setting (exhibition of recreated common MDV environment in Military Community Story House) (by author).

included red entrance door, green frame window, national flag, the CNP's flag, house number plate, and Chiang Kai-shek's picture. Some items collected from residents of the villages, like old-style television, radio and audio, residents' pictures, and so on, were assembled in the recreated setting. The curator tried to offer the setting to evoke visitors' memories of the MDVs (Figure 47).

In the MDVs' Museum of Hsinchu City, the items collected from different villages were exhibited in six categories - foods, clothing, housing, transportation, education, and entertainment. There was a notable display which described some spatial features elements of MDVs. It was a set combining a mural and a recreated physical setting to simulate a piece of narrow lane in a MDV. Those most obvious feature elements in the simulative lane were one- or two-storey house with roof tiles, brick wall with cement plaster, bamboo fence, awning, red entrance door, utility pole, and a Shandong steamed buns shop[103] (Figures 48-50). Both the bamboo fence and red door were used to enhance the image of MDVs outside of the museum (Figure 51). Furthermore, the bun shop hinted that usually there were some food

Figure 47. A recreated setting to represent the atmosphere of MDVs (exhibition of recreated common MDV environment in Military Community Story House) (by author).

Figure 48. The simulative setting of the narrow lane of the MDVs. A mural was set at the end to extend the simulated lane (exhibition of recreated common MDV environment in MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City) (by author).

shops or restaurants in or near MDVs. For example, the SSV had a famous restaurant, South

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[103] Steamed bun is a traditional food in Mainland China. It was a popular main food in MDVs and many residents can made it at home. Some soldiers ran a steamed bun shop after retiring from military service. Most people preferred steamed buns made by Shandong people because they had better taste. Shandong steamed bun became a representative name of steamed bun.

Village Restaurant. The Zihjhu New Village had a Haicing Wang Family Sesame Cake Shop. There were many food shops or restaurants near MDVs without names but which were very popular. The bun shop setting also indicated that food was an important cultural feature of MDVs. Shandong bun was one of the representative foods and gave a common impression about the food culture of MDVs.

In the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, regular exhibitions introduced the buildings, interior setting, and residents' stories. Besides the building type and structural materials, which had been described in the last two sections, some spatial feature elements could be found in

Figure 49. The mural of the narrow lane (exhibition of recreated common MDV environment in MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City) (by author).

Figure 50. The simulative setting of steamed buns shop (exhibition of recreated common MDV environment in MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City) (by author)

those exhibitions. First of all, the curators collected some window frames from demolished MDV buildings and put pictures of residents' life and interpretations in them to display MDV stories. As mentioned in the Military Community Story House, this kind of window frame was often seen in the village (Figure 52). Beneath the frames, there was recreated slogan written in white and navy blue shading which was common in the village (Figure 53). Even though not

Figure 51. The main entrance and fence of MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City were designed with the feature elements of MDVs, red entrance door and bamboo fence (by author).

Figure 53. Wall-slogans, a common feature element in MDVs, were used in exhibition of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV to recreate atmosphere of MDVs (by author).

Figure 52. The windows frames collected from demolished MDV buildings were used as display frames to recall the atmosphere of MDVs (exhibition in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

Figure 54. The event host was introducing his concept of the cultural event – the Mailroom of Memory about MDVs - in the symposium of Homeland Became Park at AFSFV, 2010. The title of the event was written as the wall-slogan which was written in white and blue shading to evoke the impression of MDVs (by author).

every wall-slogan was written in the white and navy blue, the style had become a typical impression about MDVs. In some cultural events about MDVs, the slogan in the style was used to evoke residents' memories and to offer the image of villages (Figure 54). For representing the common resident's life, there were three recreated interior spaces - study room, living room,

Figure 55. The recreating setting of study room (exhibition of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

Figure 57. A majhong table was set in the setting of the kitchen and dining room (exhibition of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

Figure 56. The bust of Chiang and the record of his achievements were set on the centre of the desk (exhibition of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

Figure 58. Bamboo fence was also set as a feature of MDVs (exhibition of Kaohsiung Museum of MDV) (by author).

and kitchen and dining room. All of them were set up by the historical items collected from villages. In the setting of the study room, curators hung a banner with national and the CNP's flags and some patriotic slogans which were rare in common study rooms to enhance the atmosphere of MDVs. The most notable was that a bust of Chiang Kai-shek and a record of Chiang's achievement which were put on the centre of a desk which indicated Chiang's weight in the residents' minds (Figure 56). Furthermore, a mahjong was set out in the recreated setting

of kitchen and dining room. Curators hinted the game was popular among female residents because the kitchen and dining area were their main living space in their daily lives (Figure 57). Of course, the most typical feature elements - bamboo fence - was not absent from here. It was set as a decoration in the exhibition of literature of MDVs (Figure 58).

According to this research and exhibitions about MDVs, the general spatial feature elements of MDVs were various depending on researchers' or observers' perspectives. Some of the elements were counted as general features just because they often could be found in many villages; however, their meanings were blurred. It was quite usual that residents could not give clear reasons why they were set in their living circumstances. According to the observation of this research, nine feature elements which included explicit meanings were selected and described as below.

Figure 59. Gate of Sanchong Second Village (by author).

4.3.3 GATE

Most of the MDVs had gates. They formed an obvious boundary between MDVs and local spaces (Figures 59 and 60). Some big villages had sentries watching the gate, e.g. the naval MDVs in Zuoying. Visitors had to register before going into the villages. The gates sometimes worked as a noticeboard

Figure 60. Gate of Gonghe New Village. There was a couplet of slogan on the piles of gate which said practicing the Three Principles of the People and restoring mainland China (by author).

which announced the collective decisions of the whole village. For example, in Tian-Shing Chu's essay (2002) , during the period of the elective campaign, a banner made of red clothes with a slogan which said all residents support a particular candidate was hung on the gate. No doubt, the candidate must have belonged to the CNP which built and maintained the Patron-Client Theory between the party and the inhabitants of MDVs (Luo, 1991, Lin et al., 1997).

Figure 61. A slogan on the wall said that to unite China with *Three Principles of the People* written by Sun Yat-sen in Jhihkai New Village, Tainan (by author).

4.3.4 SLOGANS ON WALLS

The slogan on a wall was a medium used by the CNP government to propagate a political programme or policy. It gradually disappeared after Taiwanese democratising started but, in the period of autocratically

Figure 62. In AFSFV, a slogan written in a poem on a board was hung on the wall beside the place where residents usually get together to remind residents not to park in the leisure place (by author).

ruled by the CNP, political slogan on the wall was a common political element on street.

The kind of slogan was painted or scribed on a proper wall in the community or village. It informed those inhabitants of what their responsibilities were when they passed by the wall. The exhibition of *From House to Home*, 2013 explained there were anti-communism slogans in every MDVs due to the fact that those villages were the symbol of the force of anti-

communism. The residents' were very familiar with those political slogans and the children of

the MDVs often memorised and recited them (Jhao and Kao, 2013) (Figure 61).

Slogans were not only political; some were about daily life (Figure 62). Those slogans might

be a kind of notice in good faith. They hint of an authority which owned the power of managing

the community because the slogans were

arranged by the organisations.

4.3.5 BAMBOO FENCE

Bamboo was a popular structural materials

in MDVs in the early period. It was used on

clay-bamboo walls and bamboo fences. In

some houses built by the Japanese army,

bamboo was used to decorate the interior

ventilation windows. As per the discussion

in the section 4.2, the bamboo fence was a

popular style which residents used to

enclose their yards and to privatise their

territory. Thus, the bamboo fence became a

notable element in village and a kind of

typical impression about MDVs (Figure 63).

Moreover, bamboo fence was transformed

into a symbol and another denotation of

MDVs. For instance, Guan-Lin Guo (2005),

Figure 63. Bamboo fence was notable feature element in MDVs in past (Retrieved from http://www.nhclac.gov.tw).

Figure 64. Participators practiced to make bamboo wall and fence in the working holiday workshop in Air Force Sanchong First Village (Retrieved from http://e-info.org.tw/node/31788).

Shu Lin et al. (1997), and the brochure of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV used bamboo fences to indicate early-period MDVs.

In most of the narratives about MDVs, bamboo fence was used as a symbol of segregation which separated outside and inside of MDVs - and the Taiwanese from the mainlander. However, the bamboo fence might have alternative meaning when the observing perspective was turned towards inhabitants' real lives in the village. From Mau-Kuei Chang's point of view, the bamboo fence meant that those soldiers from China transformed military barracks into a living place and settled down, i.e. dwelling in a home (Chang, 2010). Thus, bamboo fence including physical object and building skill should be listed as ICH of MDVs.

Nowadays, bamboo is no longer a popular building material. It was hard to experience the space enclosed by the bamboo wall and fence. To recall the image of early-period MDVs, making bamboo wall or fence has become a popular course in some MDV conservation events (Figure 64).

4.3.6 NARROW LANE

As mentioned in sections 4.1 and 4.2, only in the type-2 MDVs had narrow lanes. But, as the brochure of MDVs Cultural Exhibition Hall of SSV said, the narrow lane was the most attractive living and social space in MDVs. Due to the fact that houses were too small to accommodate all daily activities, residents usually moved those activities to lanes in front of their houses. Neighbours communicating, weaving, washing,

Figure 65. Guide introducing the history and story of the narrow lane for visitors in the tour of the conference of Civil Vision on MDVs in AFSFV, 2009 (by author).

cooking, and chatting could happened on lanes. For a long period, the space was full with residents' memories and became a typical impression about MDVs for the public.

In conserved MDVs sites, e.g. SSV and AFSFV, narrow lanes were attractive spots for visitors (Figure 65). Not only was the thin and long space full with residents' stories. It was also a spatial practice which reflected how residents' negotiated extending their private area to public space without being controlled by law (Lai, 2007).

4.3.7 PUBLIC TOILET

The public toilet was rare in communities and villages outside MDVs and was only equipped in public spaces, but, it was a common public facility in MDVs. In the period that most of the accommodation of MDVs was without private toilets, the public toilet played an important role in residents' daily lives. As per the discussion in the type-2 of MDVs above, the public facility had an important place in inhabitants' memories and became a notable element to recognise the space of MDVs.

4.3.8 VILLAGE COMMITTEE OFFICE

The Village Committee Office was another main public space for MDV inhabitants. The Village Committee was the main administrative department which was organised by elected members from among the inhabitants. It worked as an interface between upper administrative department and inhabitants. Environmental maintenance and cleanliness, public facilities maintenance, and conciliating for conflicts between neighbours etc. were some of the responsibilities of the Committee (Taoziyun Cultural Association, 2006). The Committee Office was not a space for administrative services. According to Luo's research, the office could

be a small factory where women worked as part-time assemblers. It was a leisure room in sometime for playing card games or mahjong or chatting. It also could be transformed into a voting station on polling day (Luo, 1991). For some inhabitants, the Committee Office was a place they must went every day. Those activities made the place having meaning, and it was full of memories. In addition, the Committee Office was a notable feature element for recognising MDVs.

4.3.9 SQUARE

The square which was usually enclosed by buildings of the village was an important public space for inhabitants' daily lives and was one of the main feature elements of

Figure 66. The square of AFSFV. It was composed of several underground passages of Japanese barrack of air defence artillery. Because its level was higher than the peripheral streets, inhabitants called it Little Hill (by author).

Figure 67. In AFSFV, a steel framed kiosk with tables, chairs, sofas, and simple kitchen was a place in which inhabitants often got together for chatting or leisure (by author).

MDVs (Figure 66). Activities happening in the place included monthly dispensing of provisions for military dependants[104], chatting, and play ball games or children's games. Sometimes, it became an open-air cinema or open-air theatre which brought inhabitants huge pleasure. In

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[104] Supplying provisions for military dependants was a welfare policy for soldiers. They could gain flour, rice, oil, and salt monthly as pensions.

some villages, e.g. AFSFV, people simply set up a kiosk and put tables and chairs in to make a place for chatting or leisure (Figure 67).

The memory evoked by the square was used as a subject in MDVs' conservational activities. Open-air cinema was the most common activity for recalling the memories about the squares (Figure 68).

4.3.10 NATIONAL FLAG

For the political reasons and showing their loyalties to the ROC, the national flag become a symbol of MDVs. National flag usually was hung at the gate of village, in the office of the Village Committee. Particularly every family must hang the

Figure 68. The Public Television Service Taiwan hosted an open-air cinema in AFSFV to play the documentary film about MDVs which was based on the story of the village (photographed by Jyunren Dong).

Figure 69. When a celebration was coming, the national flag was usually hung at the gate of the village (the gate of AFSFV) (by author).

national flag at the entrance to their home. The respect shown to the national flag was a reflection of the respect held for the national leaders (Lee, 2011) (Figure 69).

According to Yi-Chen Liu's research, hanging the national flag was a repayment for the national welfare policy about looking after those soldiers and their dependants. Those veterans who did not live in listed MDVs showed different attitudes to hanging the national flag compared to the attitudes of the residents of listed villages. Because they were not covered

under the welfare policy, they did not have the very strong identification with and loyalty to the

ROC Thus, hanging the national flag was not popular in unofficial MDVs (Liu, 1997).

4.3.11 NEW YEAR CELEBRATIONS

The Lunar New Year was one of the important traditional holidays in Chinese cultural society, and was also a big holiday for MDVs. As Heng-Hua Jhang recalled, the New Year celebration was an event with characteristic features (The Committee of Air Force Sanchong First Village and The Team of Cultural Workshop of Military Dependants' Village, 2007). From the preparation works starting around the winter solstice, like making preserved pork and

Figure 70. Making a New Year Couplet and the decorating entrance with it has become a notable feature element of MDVs and a main activity at conservation events (MDV New Year Celebration at AFSFV, 2009) (by author).

sausage, buying new clothes, and whole house cleaning, to the celebration activities in New

Year holidays, like mass New Year greeting, decorating the entrance of every house with the

New Year couplet and door-god pictures and setting off fireworks - all of them were part of the

culture of MDVs and were impressive memories for the inhabitants (The Committee of Air

Force Sanchong First Village and The Team of Cultural Workshop of Military Dependants'

Village, 2007). Nowadays, those New Year activities were represented in conservation events

to recall the interesting memory of MDVs (Figure 70).

In summary, the feature elements of MDVs were various. It was hard to clearly limit the range

of the feature elements of MDVs after comparing the research and exhibitions described above.

Different people had different perspectives on picking up notable or meaningful elements to describe MDVs. In addition, those feature elements had been listed above did not only existing in MDVs; they were also quite common in outside communities or villages. However, not all MDVs had all of those elements. Thus, those feature elements were not a necessity and sufficiency relationship with MDVs, but they really existed in inhabitants' lives and memories. For the reasons above, those 11 feature elements should be designated as tangible and intangible heritage of MDVs

4.4 THE GENERAL IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE CULTURE OF MDVS

Besides the spatial developing history and building types of MDVs, the culture of MDVs was another important issue in conservation activities. However, as per the discussion in section 1.3, culture was hard to give an accurate definition to, and there were many different perspectives under the term. In other words, in MDVs' studies, each approach offers a kind of interpretation about a culture and is helpful in constructing the image of MDVs. Although there were 886 MDVs, each village had from under 50 families to over 300 families and most of the residents came from every provinces of China, most of the researchers who studied on the general impressions about culture of MDVs usually took a bird's eye view and treated MDVs as a whole group which had homogeneous cultural features. For the public, those macro views offered an easy way to understand MDVs. Particularly, information or interpretations which were given by the media, research papers, and exhibitions and MDV cultural festivals were main resources building general impressions about culture of MDVs. This section describes those impressions in the three aspects.

4.4.1 THE GENERAL IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE CULTURE OF MDVS IN RESEARCH PAPERS

When the culture of MDVs was raised as an issue of cultural studies in Taiwan, there were two positions were taken. One saw MDVs as an outsider of Taiwan, and the other thought that they were part of Taiwan. In the two perspectives, differences between locals and residents of villages usually were the main issue, but in the case of the former perspective, the differences were negative and constituted evidences to prove that those residents were still outsiders of Taiwan and did not integrate and identify with local culture. On the opposite side of the other perspective, the differences were positive for enriching the diversity of local culture.

Residents' nation or ethnic identity and political inclination were two popular impressions about MDVs. Due to the fact that MDVs were built by the army which retreated from China following the CNP regime, the residents were seen as having strong links with the CNP and China politically and the ROC was their steady national identity. From 1980 to 2013 in Taiwan, there were 11 remarkable dissertations and four journal papers which were related with the two impressions were published.

Ethnic identity of MDVs is a controversial issue because when the definition of ethnic group of MDVs is not given according to that a person is a resident of MDVs, or not. In other word, not every resident of MDVs holds the ethnic identity of MDVs, especially for those who moved into MDVs for marriages, e.g. Mei-Ling Liou's and Awu Ligelale's mother (refer to section 5.3.6). Yu-Hua Yang (2004) proposed four factors which influences residents to build their ethnic identity of MDVs: 1) same experience on historical event, 2) facing same dilemma, 3) having similar living environment or occupation, and 4) sharing group's common interests or benefits. First, for residents who holds the ethnic identity of MDVs, the critical historical events are the battle between CCP and CNP and the escaping from China after CNP lost the battle around 1949. Not only the first generation of residents have the same experience, the next

generations may learnt the history from their parents. Second, besides the sharing experiences of battle and escaping, the dilemmas of living MDVs also enhanced residents' ethnic identity. The dilemmas include endless homesick caused by escaping from China and political conflicts between residents and locals. Third, although spaces of MDVs can be classified into 3 types as the analyses in section 4.2, most villages have general spatial features mentioned in section 4.3. The sharing experiences on living environment brought residents collective memories. In addition, every family of MDVs must has one or more members are or had been serving in military department that is the condition of getting living right in MDVs. Therefore, the experience of self or family members serving in military departments is also residents' collective memory. Last, the group interests and benefits shared by residents of MDVs include benefits of water and electricity bills, medical, educational, and funeral expenditure, and birth allowance, beside the interest of accommodation of MDVs. When other groups who did not have those interests and benefits protested the special welfare against residents of MDVs, the ethnic identity was enhanced (Tang, 2004). However, identity development is personal affair. Thus, it does not mean that residents who have the four features must have ethnic identity of MDVs.

Daow-Ming Shang's research (1995) explained what resident's national identity was, how it was formed, and how the identity continued through analysing the structure of management organisation in MDVs, the culture of MDVs, and resident's war experience. Obviously, because China was their birth place, they had strong emotional linkage with it. However, the civil war between the CNP and the CPC split the geographical linkage. The China in their mind was the ROC, not the PRC (People's Republic of China). The national identity was formed and enhanced by the control and surveillance of the management organisations in MDVs. Those organisations included military services related with MDVs, Village Committee, Women's

Team [105], and Huang Fusing Affiliate [106]. Joining those organisations and attending their activities had become part of residents' lives. The structure of those organisations, from the CNP, the government, military services, Village Committee, Women's Team, to every family unit, built a hierarchy similar to a traditional Chinese family, whose family hierarchy was built on generational sequence and patriarchy. In the structure, Chiang Kai-shek and Soong May-ling were like their parents. Celebrating Chiang's birthday was a very important annual activity in MDVs. The family-like structure also appeared in the relationship of neighbours. The relationship between residents sometimes was closer to a kinship. It was a common story that the main female residents helped look after each other's children. Having baths, or dining with neighbours was also a collective memory of childhood for many second- and third- generation residents. Under this atmosphere, residents' national and ethnic identity was strongly linked with the ROC and MDVs.

Shang's (1995) research mainly focused on the first-generation residents of MDVs. From a macro view, most of the residents had the political inclination and very deep emotional linkage with the ROC which was expressed in the aspect of their national identity. However, under closer observation, residents' identity was not homogeneous and gradually changed into bi-identities according to the research of Stéphane Corcuff (2004) and Shiau-Chi Shen (2010)[107]. Shen followed her personal experience of being a second-generation mainlander and was

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[105] Women's Team was set in many main MDVs. The organisation was a branch belonging to the National Women's League of the ROC which was led by Soong May-ling. After Soong lost political power and faded from the political stage, the organisation was gradually dissolved.

[106] Huang Fusing Branch was a special branch which was set for managing the members of veterans and their dependants.

[107] Corcuff and Shen's interviewees were mainlanders who included the residents of MDVs and those living outside MDVs.

motivated to undertake the research. She argued that many political analyses and academic research had ignored the inhomogeneity between each mainlander and thought that they shared the same political inclination and that their national identity and loyalty was with the ROC. The political characteristic was a stereotype and did not represent the true situation. Both of the two researchers indicated that the only national identity to the ROC gradually transferred into a bi-identity situation which identifies both Taiwan and the ROC under the political trend of localisation in Taiwan. It was a situation of 'in-between' which twisted the nostalgia for fatherland, China, and love for homeland, Taiwan. As what Ji-Sin Wang, a second-generation resident and the last village head of AFSFV, said:

> **"Besides my parents, brothers, and sisters' names, Sanchong is the name which is inscribed most deeply in my heart. It is my hometown forever" (Wang, 2006, p. 220).**

The place in which residents of MDVs lived was no longer a temporary lodging and had become their home.

4.4.2 THE GENERAL IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE CULTURE OF MDVS IN THE MEDIA

The research studies referred to above show that residents' political inclination and national identity had changed to the situation of swinging between Taiwan and the ROC. The general impression described in the media also showed this trend, in which residents of the MDVs tried to find a cultural and social place in Taiwan. Hsueh-Ping Chung's research (2011) classified the reports about MDVs in the media from 1988 to 1998 into four aspects - politics, economics, sociality, and culture. The first three perspectives accounted for 97.5 per cent of all. Specifically more than half of the reports were related with politics. In those political reports, MDVs were

described as a kind of community which had very strong linkage with the ROC and pan-blue coalition[108], which included the CNP, the New Party, and the People First Party[109]. On the economic perspective, most of the reports discussed the issue about policy or practice of the renewal of MDVs. However, the point hidden behind the discussion was that the renewal of MDVs was a policy offered by the CNP to bribe the residents of MDVs on who to vote for. On the social perspective, the image of the MDVs was presented as a kind of community with messy environment and poor living conditions which had to be demolished and renewed. In addition, the conflict between MDVs and locals on national and ethnic identity was an important issue. The conflict made MDVs more isolated as the trend of native culture revived. The aspect of culture of MDVs was the most minor issue in reports. There were only 24 reports on this topic in the decade under consideration. In those reports, the culture of MDVs was just introduced superficially. The general impressions were that MDVs had special culture and history; most of their residents could not speak the local language; or their staple food was made from flour.

4.4.3 THE GENERAL IMPRESSIONS ABOUT THE CULTURE OF MDVS IN EXHIBITIONS AND MDV CULTURAL FESTIVALS

The reports about the MDVs political inclination and national identity of the residents' were still often issued in newspapers after 1998. Nonetheless, after the activity raised by Curtis Smith and Linda Gail Arrigo for SSV integrated conservation in 1998, the first MDVs cultural festival

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[108] The party flag of CNP is blue with a white sun in middle. Due to the blue flag, CNP and other parties which support uniting with China are called *pan-blue group*.

[109] The New Party and the People First Party were funded by the members who split from the CNP. Both of them had some supporters in MDVs, but still far less than the CNP.

in Taoyuan in 2002, and the Comprehensive Community Building Project hosted by Jyunren

Dong[110] in AFSFV in 2004, cultural aspects of MDVs gradually became a popular issue and

the relative reports were increased. In addition, the culture of MDVs was introduced in more

detail than before. For instance, in 2010, from September to October, Yi-Lin Li, a journalist of

Lihpao Daily, wrote a series including 19 columns titled *Keeping MDVs* to introduce the history,

residents' personal experiences, the dilemma of renewing, and the culture conservation of

MDVs. The series avoided the stereotypical impressions on political perspective; nevertheless,

the writer tried to offer another image which was closer to the experience of the common life

of the public. Besides the special column, some reports which were issued to introduce cultural

activities of MDVs also help people to understand MDVs. Those reports had changed the

impression that residents of MDVs were a group into that they were individual persons with

different characteristics and experiences. The culture of MDVs was formed from their personal

responses to real lives. Furthermore, when the culture of MDVs became known and understood

more and more by the public, the claim about conserving the sites and the culture of MDVs was

often reported in newspapers.

To break the stereotypical impressions about the culture of MDVs which was represented from

the macro perspective, the perspective of little narrative was used on descriptions and

exhibitions about MDVs. Up to now, in the two main museums of culture of MDVs, the MDVs

Cultural Exhibition Hall of SSV and the MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City, the culture of MDVs

was demonstrated in six aspects - foods, clothes, housing, transportation, education, and

entertainment (Figures 71 and 72). For example, the introduction about the education in SSV

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[110] Jyunren Dong, a citizen of Sanchong, persuaded residents of AFSFV to raise conservation activities in 2004 and participated in managing every conservation activity of AFSFV.

described the system and facilities of the primary school and kindergarten and students' common activities out of school, but, visitors were not able to find personal narratives about the students' lives in school. Even though both of two exhibitions still assumed a broad description in every aspects, they tended to offer richer details about life in the villages. Comparing the representations in the two MDVs museums above, the introductions on the website of the North Territory MDVs Story, which was organised by the Association of Mainlander Taiwanese, gave an image of MDVs in history, foods, life, and culture narrated from individual perspectives. The introduction of MDVs was built in seven

Figure 71. The exhibition of food of MDVs in the MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City (by author).

Figure 72. The exhibition of Education of MDVs in the MDVs Cultural Exhibition Hall of SSV (by author).

categories - i.e. history of development, life and culture, foods, oral history, historical items, pictures, and narratives. Each category had several sub-items. The descriptions on the culture and life of MDVs listed seven memorable events – these were activities in the market of the village, interesting interaction with mainlander son-in-law, education, welfare of supplying provisions, the role of elder sister, poor housing, and family-like neighbourhood. All of the stories were collected from different interviewees' memories. Different from the harsh criticisms about MDVs, the descriptions on the website displayed a positive image which seemed that every thing could be transformed into a touching and interesting story. Referring

to the multi-layered framework in chapter 1 (Figure 5, p.52), every landscape reader has their own interpretation to what they perceived and conceived. Experts, conservationists, residents of MDVs, and locals may interpret MDVs in various perspectives. Interpretation could focus on bright side or just enhance dark side of lives in MDVs. For instance, the market of the village was a very interesting and memorable place for residents. It was a daily routine for female residents to do their shopping, socialise, and exchange information in the market. The market was also a place for soothing nostalgia because some residents sold their home-made foods there which were not popular in the markets outside of MDVs. From the contemporary value of living conditions, the poor and narrow housing could be described as a slum. But the experiences which were bad or sad, like a whole family sleeping on one self-constructed wooden wide bed or bunk bed, without toilet and enclosed bathroom, and annual flooding in typhoon season, had become unforgotten sweet memories for residents. There were very few dark sides of MDVs. If there were some things that were not good, in the articles, they were described as a sort of interesting events. For example, the description in the item about the market of the village said that the female residents were ranked according their husbands' ranks, and the woman whose husband held a higher rank was usually arrogant. Moreover, intrigue against other neighbours and gossip about someone else often happened in the market. In the aspect of education, the authors mentioned that the children of the village could have educational subsidy and provisions supplement. Therefore, their learning condition was better than that of the local children who help with the financial support for the family and to do housework. For the authors of the articles, those events and activities were not disgraces, but were part of the unforgettable life and culture of MDVs which were worth conserving. Nevertheless, the website still, as the authors claimed, offered the uniqueness of MDVs for the public and promoted the culture of MDVs.

Nowadays, there are 11 MDV sites[111] that have been listed as MDV cultural parks and all of them have been inscribed as monument, cultural landscape, or historical buildings by governments. From the North to the South of Taiwan, there are seven annual MDV cultural festivals, held in Taipei, New Taipei City, Taoyuan, Hsin-chu, Tainan, Kaohsiung, and Pingtung. Moreover, there are four museums for exhibiting the history, culture, and historical items about MDVs and several conferences have taken place to discuss how to conserve and promote the culture of MDVs. People who did not have an idea with what the MDVs were have gradually recognised that those residents' lives are worth keeping. For example, the civil representatives at the civil meeting in AFSFV in 2009 did not agree with the proposed project of keeping the village and transforming it into a MDV cultural park before attending the meeting, but, they all ultimately supported the project and accepted that the village was part of the history of Sanchong after having a guided tour around the village and a comprehensive discussion. Even though, most of the people and reports in the media still thought that MDVs had political inclination with pan-blue parties and national identity with the ROC, the general image of MDVs from a cultural aspect had changed. "MDVs were important historical sites which presented the contemporary development history of Taiwan, and they also were one kind of the sites which supported the multi-culture", is the description in the Kaohsiung Pictorial. (Information Bureau Kaohsiung City Government, 2012)

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[111] The 11 sites were 1) AFSFV, 2) Mazu New Village, 3) Armour New Village, 4) Jhongjhen New Village, 5) Sinya New Village, 6) Jhongsing New Village, 7) Jhikai New Village, 8) Mingde New Village and Jiangye New Village, 9) Fongshan New Village, Mingde Navy Jail, and Huangpu New Village, 10) Shengli New Village and Chongren New Village, and 11) Dusing Tenth Village.

SUMMARY

Once there were 886 MDVs and every village had its own spatial features and stories. A macro-view image of MDVs in the aspects of development history, architectural feature, and cultural impression was constructed in this chapter. The image did not try to fix the content of MDVs, but proved that they had spatial and cultural diversity.

The not very long history of MDVs development can be separated into three periods. The MDVs in each period was functioned according to its social background and had its building types, including Japanese built military accommodation, temporary housing, and modernised housing. The process of change was accompanied with property privatisation and modernisation. The process alarmed some culturati who cherished the aura of MDVs. Not every type of MDV was valued as cultural heritage. Only three types which were Japanese military accommodation, MDVs built during 1945 to 1980, and unofficial MDVs were considered worth keeping because they still had the sense of MDVs in spatial and social aspects.

Nevertheless, for different persons, the sense of MDVs might be different. There were some features which could be used to identify whether a place was a MDV, or not. In spatial term, most people thought that general features of MDVs included gate, slogan on wall, bamboo fence, narrow lane, public toilet, Village Committee Office, square, national flag, and New Year celebration. In social and cultural aspects, the general impressions of MDVs included residents' strong national identity to the ROC and political inclination to pan-blue parties. After the culture of MDVs became a treasured cultural heritage and MDVs' culture museums were opened, more cultural details were exhibited in food, clothing, housing, transportation, education, and entertainment. They offered a broad view on residents' daily lives. However,

the contents of those displays were arguably still incomplete because they ignored the variation in different villages.

For local people, the analysis of this chapter about development history, types, spatial features, and general impressions of MDVs are critical background knowledge for deeply learning meanings of MDVs. People who visit MDVs without this knowledge are undertaking leisure tour, not a kind of deeply cultural tour. In the four aspects of knowledge of MDVs, the general impressions about the culture of MDVs is the most important for local people. First, the general impressions given by researchers, journalists, and curators of MDV museums express conservation actors' narratives of MDVs according to the multi-layered framework. It is an appropriate start point for learning meaning of MDVs. Furthermore, the development history, building types, and spatial features of MDVs are usually described in those general impressions. Local people may get interested in knowing more information about MDVs in history and spatial features when they study those general impressions. However, it does not mean that the four aspects of knowledge of MDVs are sufficient to explain the authentic MDVs. A micro approach to analyse tangible and intangible cultural properties and sense of place of MDVs is necessary. Therefore, to read another perspective of the landscape text of MDVs, in the next chapter, some personal experiences are introduced.

CHAPTER 5: MILITARY DEPENDANTS' VILLAGES IN NARRATIVES

INTRODUCTION

In the last chapter the history and spatial features of MDVs were introduced to assess the general recognition and impression about those communities. The research described what MDVs were from a macro perspective. The general recognition and impression about MDVs indicated that the filtered-out history and the interpretation of the public about those villages. They also constructed the meanings of the landscape of MDVs with selected viewpoints which were based on objectively research.

To analyse the text of the landscape of MDVs, the narratives which included memories, experiences, stories, or discourses provided by people and departments of the government related with MDVs were significant pieces. The chapter describes the perspectives of government, culturati, residents, and observers which were collected from publications, interview, and MDVs literatures.

When localisation and democratisation were brought to Taiwanese society, the meaning of MDVs shifted from a kind of welfare for soldiers and their dependants, to the base of ruling power for the CNP; and then, becoming a cultural property for settling the ethnic conflict between mainlanders and locals. The first section describes the policies which were used to form the role of MDVs to serve the political aims.

Most of the culturati agreed that MDVs were cultural heritages of Taiwan and conservation should be applied to them. However, different people might have their own opinions on how to protect the heritage. The meaning of MDVs was expressed in their narratives which were applied to the conservation projects. In the second section of this chapter, the narratives of

Curtis Smith[110], Bo-Yuan Syu[111], Jyunren Dong[112], and Fung-Ching Lin[113], and the practices in Shi-Shi South Village (SSV), Air Force Sanchong First Village (AFSFV), and the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV are explored.

Residents might be the closest observers of MDVs. Their narratives which were described according to their experience offer direct interpretation about MDVs. Because it was difficult to spend a lot of time to contact with the original residents who had moved out MDVs and to communicate with the residents who still staying in villages during the very limited research period, the original residents' narrative were referred from the MDVs literatures which were written by some original residents and some residents' memoirs. There were many novels and articles which were written by residents and various stories and interpretations in those books. The meaning of MDVs taken by readers might be diverse. In the third section, the researcher tries to encode MDVs into some interpretations which are based on residents' narratives.

5.1 MDVS FROM THE GOVERNMENT'S PERSPECTIVE

MDVs had different meanings for government in different periods. Even different governmental departments had different interpretations. Although the history of MDVs development was not very long, its role for the government had been changed from

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[110] Curtis Smith was the first person who advocated preserving the SSV and he held the main role in the conservational project.

[111] Bo-Yuan Syu, head of Bo-Yuan Syu Architecture Firm, was charged with building rehabilitation of SSV.

[112] Jyunren Dong, a citizen of Sanchong, persuaded residents of AFSFV to raise conservation activities in 2004 and participated in managing every conservation activity of AFSFV.

[113] Fung-Ching Lin, was born to a MDVs family and had lived in MDVs, was the manager and curator of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV.

accommodation of a welfare system, then to a site of offering military human resources and national loyalty, and to cultural heritage nowadays.

At the very first, MDVs were a part of welfare system which was set up for taking care of military dependants who were following troops. The first MDV was set up by General Zong-Nan Hu in 1932 in China. Besides offering accommodation, General Hu also supported dependants' educational finance and encouraged dependants to produce handiworks as sidelines to improve their financial situation. From 1933 to 1945, when Da-Wei Yu held the office of the Minister of Armaments Bureau, he helped to set up MDVs and primary schools for dependants in many armaments factories. Both of these cases focused on looking after and improving dependants' lives. Under the welfare system, MDVs were only a space for those people to settle, and to raise the morale of the troop from the point of view of the government; particularly for the military departments.

After 1945, when the CNP government was defeated by the CPC and escaped to Taiwan, the essence of MDVs was no longer a place for accommodating military dependants, but was a strong foundation which maintained the legal power of the CNP government. From the side of the CNP government, its ruling legitimacy was threatened by the CPC opposite the Taiwan Strait and was challenged by inner opposing political forces. The people of MDVs represented a basic political resource which the CNP must hold on to. From the side of residents of MDVs, the CNP was the one which brought them to the strange island, gave them the hope of returning to China, and took care of their lives with special welfares that common local citizens did not have. In the consequence, the relationship between the CNP regime and the people of MDVs were like that of a patron and a client. The CNP was the patron who gave benefits to the client - those soldiers and veterans from China. For example, those soldiers from mainland China were gradually discharged from military services, but many of them still lived in MDVs and

were given a glorious and respectful title, Rongmin[114], which attracted some welfare support,

like medical fee exemptions and cash gifts for main traditional festivals. Due to their vocation,

the soldiers still in service and veterans were strongly dependent on military welfare policies

of state which offered them financial and life supports. In addition, accommodation, provision

supply, electricity and water bills reduction, and educational subsidy were the main welfare

areas given by the government for military families. To the residents of MDVs, supporting the

political party which can maintained those interests and offered them more benefits was the

strategy for keeping those welfare benefits. To the CNP, attracting those residents with some

benefits to gain their support in politics was the method for consolidating its regime legitimacy.

Consequently, MDVs had become a place with the image of supporting the political interests

of the CNP (Shang, 1995).

To keep the political resource in hand and ensure residents' political tendency, the Ministry of

National Defence built a management system including several divisions from belonging to

central government to the committee installed in villages (Table 1). Most of the duties of every

division involved taking care of residents, house management and maintenance. However, the

system was also a comprehensive administration which could survey and mobilise residents

through completely holding the right of managing and distributing material, financial, and

social resources. According to the table, the daily life of MDVs was overseen by several

divisions including allocating accommodation, house maintenance, educational exemption,

career assistance, and medical care. Except for the affairs which had to cooperate with the local

official division, the MDVs was a kind of enclosed villages isolated from local communities.

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[114] Rongmin (榮民) means honorary citizen. According to the Veteran Affairs Council Operation
Directions of Honorary Citizens Certification, a soldier who attends voluntary military service and is
discharged after serving a legal period can be certificated as Rongmin. However, the term is only used
to describe those veterans who came from mainland China.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

The division which was closest to every resident was the Village Committee. The main duties of the Village Committee were helping high-level divisions on distributing provisions and relief supplies, managing, maintaining, and checking usage of buildings, and assisting at the local elections. The Committee worked like an interface between residents and high-level management departments. Due to the fact that the Committee held the right of management and the right of arranging and distributing material and financial resources, it had become an administration division with authority. In addition, the Team of Women's League also had the same administration power as that Village Committee held. The team received donations from common people or organisations and distributed them to residents. It was also in charge of improving public facilities, running nursing schools, and training residents about home sidelines in earning. Both of the Village Committee and the Team of Women's League had the ability to influence the political tendency. The CNP intensively influenced the residents' situation, national loyalty, and political inclination, and built the tight patron-client relationship through the up-down administrative system. To the CNP government, MDVs meant a place where a group of loyal supporters lived.

Building MDVs in a sort of enclosed community was a better type of layout for the government to practice its administration system. It was a general spatial feature that most of villages were gated and had obvious boundary which separated MDVs out of the other local communities as mentioned in the last chapter. The enclosed and collective communities was not only the sort of site which reproduced military forces and loyalty to the ROC and the CNP, but also a kind of places where residents produced, used, and exchanged social, financial, and material resources. Both of the management system and spatial practice formed the unique life style and community culture of MDVs (Luo, 1991). The unique nature of the sites promoted the changing of the meaning of MDVs later.

Table 1. The System of MDVs Management (Lin et al., 1997, p. 184).

Manage Division	Duty
General Political Warfare Bureau	Accommodation distribution, management, maintenance, repair, building reforming, resident moving, and framing the management policy of MDVs.
The Office of Minister of National Defense, General Affairs Bureau, Military Intelligence Bureau, Army, Navy, Air Force, Combined Logistics, Garrison, and Military Police Command	1. Accommodation distribution, management, maintenance, repair, building reforming, resident moving, and framing the management policy of MDVs. of Ministry of National Defense. 2. Administration and repair damaged buildings. 3. Installing, repair, and maintenance of public facilities in MDVs. 4. Administration and support general affairs of MDVs. 5. Organising and management of Village Committee. 6. Preventing and banning construction without permit. 7. Administration and planning of safety of MDVs. 8. Conciliating conflict in village. 9. Assisting welfare of MDVs. 10. Administrating and checking environmental hygiene of village. 11. Cleaning and tidying up accommodation. 12. Others.
Reserve Division of Combined Logistics Command	1. Accommodation repairing, maintenance, distributing, and management, issuing rental support, and conciliating conflict in village. 2. Managing the data of residents of MDVs in every unit. 3. Administrating and managing clinic in village.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

Manage Division	Duty
MDVs Committee	1. Practicing the decisions made at Committee meetings. 2. Practicing the order given by higher authorities and assisting the relevant missions hosted by local government. 3. Checking up resident's moving. 4. In charge of security, preventing espionage, and keeping safety in village. 5. Assisting military dependant's career guidance and welfare affairs. 6. Assisting child dependant's educational affairs and adult resident's vocational education. 7. Maintenance and checking up of public facilities of village. 8. Improving and maintaining environment. 9. Advising, banning, and reporting resident's illegal behaviour. 10. Conciliating conflict between residents. 11. Managing community funding. 12. In charge of great disaster investigation and assisting resident's emergent needs. 13. Investigating and banning illegal occupation, transferring ownership, renting to others, and construction without permit. 14. Assisting affairs of local government.
Member of MDVs Committee	1. Planning, verifying, and administrating community funding. 2. Administrating practice of the decision of committee. 3. Voicing resident's opinions. 4. Assisting Head of Committee in practicing community affairs.

Manage Division	Duty
Head of Neighbourhood	1. Assisting resident's security, medical, educational, and vocational affairs. 2. Voicing resident's opinions, and assisting practice of mission of higher authority. 3. Administrating and practicing self-governing affairs.
Resident of MDVs	1. Maintaining accommodation and keeping cleaning. 2. Assisting improving and keeping clean neighbouring environment. 3. Monthly making the payment of community funding. And obeying rules made by higher authority. Residents of unlisted MDVs can exempt from community funding.

The meaning of MDVs to government had not been changed until the requirement about conserving historical villages. When the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was issued in 1996 and the Ministry of National Defense set a deadline for completing renewal of all of the old MDVs by 2009, both announced the sad fact that historical landscape of MDVs would be rapidly demolished and replaced by new buildings. Additionally, the social context of the group of residents would hardly be maintained after all of them moved into modernised and privatised housings. Since the first culture of MDVs conservation activity started running in the Beiyuan community[115] in Tainan in 1995 and the SSV project in Taipei, the first MDVs site conservation activity, started in 2000, gradually the image of MDVs was

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[115] There were Lecyun New Village, Guanffu New Village, and Shihjian New Village in the community. Beiyuan community hosted the first cultural festival of MDVs in Taiwan in 1995.

changed from being seen as a ghetto which could not integrate into local culture to being

protected as cultural heritage and accepted as part of the history of Taiwan in some people's

minds.

Not every level of cultural department was involved in the issue of conservation about the

culture and physical settings of MDVs. At first, only some local governments supported

protecting the culture of MDVs. The first governmental department which supported

conserving the culture of MDVs was the Municipal Cultural Centre of Hsinchu City. In 1997,

it held the first official cultural festival of MDVs, Spring of Bamboo Fence – stories of MDVs

in Hsinchu, as a programme of the National Arts Festival (Kao, 2011). After that, activities

with similar properties were hosted in Taoyuan County from 2001, Tainan City from 2003,

Taipei City from 2006, Pingdong County and Kaohsiung County from 2007, Kaohsiung City,

Tainan County, and New Taipei City from 2010. Gradually, the calls from culturati and local

governments for conserving the sites and culture of MDVs pushed central government to

respond to the trend.

In the central governmental aspect, following the policy of the Comprehensive Community

Building, the Council of Cultural Affairs[116] issued the policy of assisting minor culture which

included the plans of helping to set up museums of MDVs to promote the conservation activity

in 2001. It was contradictory that the duty of renewing old MDVs taken by the Ministry of

Defense was to demolish historical villages and build new; nevertheless, the conservation

activities hosted by the Council of Cultural Affairs were to protect and promote the culture and

physical settings of the old landscapes. For solving the conflict, the Cultural Conservation

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[116] The Council of Cultural Affairs was upgraded to ministerial level and was named as the Ministry of Culture in 2012.

Affairs of Military Dependants' Villages Promotion Team was founded as a platform for handling the negotiation between cultural departments of local government, the Ministry of Defense, and culturati about conservation affairs of MDVs[117]. In the same year, the Council hosted a survey to understanding the current situation of main MDVs. In 2007, after pressure by many relative culturati and organisations, the policy of conservation of MDVs was listed in the amended Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents and became the official policy[118]. Following the Act, the Ministry of Defense cooperated with local governments on listing significant MDVs as conservation sites in 2009, and chose 13 sites[119] in 2012. For negotiating the opinions of culturati, relative departments, residents, and local about the directions and strategies of conservation of MDVs, the Department of Cultural Resources ran several symposiums and workshops from 2012. Nowadays, even though the renewing of old MDVs still goes on, the conservation of and adjustments to physical settings and promotion about the culture of MDVs has been the main concern of the government in relation to MDVs.

Besides the fact that central and local governments promoted conservational policies and activities in response to culturati's and residents' demand, the policy of protecting physical settings and maintaining the culture of MDVs had another meaning to government; that was, building a multi-cultural society and encouraging harmony between ethnic groups which had

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[117] The duty was transferred to the Department of Cultural Resources after the council was upgraded to the Ministry of Culture in 2012.

[118] Before the amendment, the Ministry of Defense only concerned renewing old villages and moving residents into new villages. Conserving the historical landscape of MDVs was not an option to it.

[119] They were Jhongsin New Village in Taipei, AFSFV in New Taipei City, Mazu New Village in Taoyuan County, Jhongjhen New Village in Hsinchu City, Hukou Armoured Troop New Village in Hsinchu County, Sinyi New Village in Taichung, Jhongsing New Village in Changhua County, Jiunguo Second Village in Yunlin County, Jhihkai New Village in Tainan, Mingde New Village and Jianye New Village in Zuoying District Kaohsiung, Haiguang Forth Village in Fongshan District Kaohsiung, Victory New Village in Pingdon County, and Dusing Tenth Village in Penghu County.

political conflicts between each other. As that mentioned in chapter 3, the conservation of MDVs was inspired by the movement of the Comprehensive Community Building beginning from 1994 that encouraged locals to regain their identity and features of their living environment and culture. In the social atmosphere, the movement made residents of MDVs feel threatened and segregated when it promoted the communities' identities and culture in Holo[120], Hakka[121], and indigenous groups. The threat was from two aspects. One side was from outsiders of MDVs. Locals thought that the people from China after 1949 were not Taiwanese people because they were immigrants and did not integrate with the land. The other was from MDVs residents themselves. They found that their love of and identification with the land where they had lived for around 50 years were not understood or accepted by locals. The segregation made mainlanders felt they were rootless in Taiwan when the request about reviving local culture and subjectivity was gradually growing with the democratisation and localisation on political aspects. Thus, some residents of MDVs and culturati thought that MDVs, which were a very special community in Taiwan, should promote their cultural and community identity. In addition, because the group of residents of MDVs was the basic supporters of the CNP and most of them intensively identified with the ROC, MDVs were tabbed as an group who did not identify with and love Taiwan, even though they had lived there for more than half century. The label also expressed that the group of people from China after 1949 were alienated from local ethnic groups. The conflict between the people from China and locals raised and became an issue that needed to be solved when the society gradually became democratised and tried to rebuild locals' subjectivity. However, the conflict was not easy to be solved. In particular,

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[120] Holo means those who speaks Taiwanese as their mother tongue and is the largest ethnic group in Taiwan.

[121] Hakka means those who speaks Taiwan Hakka as their mother tongue and is the second main ethnic group in Taiwan.

mainlanders were roughly tabbed as the group who repressed Taiwanese locals. After the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) had taken the place of the CNP and became the ruling party of Taiwan in 2000, it found that conserving MDVs sites and promoting the culture of MDVs might help to dispel the residents' political prejudice. The DPP issued the Resolution on Ethnic Diversity and National Unity, calling for a new-born nation which was built according to the decisions of the people of Taiwan and figured out the plan of diverse ethnic culture awakening and harmony between every ethnic group in 2004. The Resolution also tried to set up a Taiwan-centric identity through shifting the perspective of historiography from China to Taiwan and respecting the subjectivity of every ethnic group in culture and mother tongue. To solve the conflict between local ethnics and mainlanders, the Resolution tried to clarify that the oppression from the CNP to Taiwanese was only caused by the privileged authority of the CNP, but was not a condemnation of all mainlanders including the residents of MDVs (Democratic Progressive Party, 2004). Because MDVs were the specific places where mainlanders lived, they became a group of representative landscapes to mark the history of mainlanders settling down in Taiwan and their collective memory about the lives they lived afterwards. Following the direction of diverse ethnic policy, the Department of Ethnic Affairs of DPP planned a series of projects, named as a listening series, which included introducing remarkable villages in main counties and cities and producing a documentary, *Looking for the Taiping Steamer* [122]. Additionally, the DPP published two books, *Loving Our Military Dependant Quarters of Taiwan* and *Military Dependants' Villages in Taiwan, 1949 – 2006*, to introduce the history, people, and culture of MDVs in 2006. All of the projects were to help Taiwanese locals get to know mainlanders, and to solve the ethnic conflict and to bring harmony

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[122] The Taiping steamer sank en route to Taiwan after colliding with another vessel in January 1949. The documentary described the history of people escaping from mainland China to Taiwan through the wreck.

between them. Moreover, the DPP hoped those projects could be seen as a friendly intention which would like to correct the mis-tabbing and to treat mainlanders as Taiwanese. As Shyi-kun Yu, the ex-chairperson of DPP, said "MDVs were the specific sort of communities of Taiwan society. Their lives had been a part of collective memory of Taiwan. … The history of MDVs has been highlighted as an important chapter of the history of Taiwan" (Yu, 2006, p. 3). It could be said that the policy of improving the relationship between mainlanders and local ethnics was a political consideration for shifting mainlanders' inclination from the CNP to the DPP; nonetheless, promoting and conserving MDVs had been a trend which directed the cultural policy of central and local governments.

It was a clear trend that MDVs was no longer a group of communities as enclaved only for residents; instead they were opened to the public through the policies of conservation of MDVs and respecting to ethnic diversity. The trend could be identified in some conservational practices supported or hosted by local governments. Several conservation proposals or projects were developed after the Council for Cultural Affairs followed the ethnic policy and assisted local governments in the conservation of MDVs from 2007. Even though the DPP lost the presidential election and became the opposition party in central government again in 2008, the policy of conservation of MDVs in central and local governments continued. To governments, MDVs were places full of historical and cultural materials and each MDV was an object for demonstrating the idea of ethnic integration and harmony and cultural diversity. For instance, The Government of Taoyuan County hosted the Cultural Festival of MDVs annually from 2001. It also listed Mazu New Village as historical buildings in 2004 to demonstrate the real circumstances of MDVs and to be a site as a place of cultural communication. In the conservational plan, the village was a typical community with historical value to present the culture and space of MDVs. The adjusted site could be a place which maintained the memories of lives in MDVs and could also be offered to neighbours as a cultural diversity park. To

practice the idea, part of the village was adjusted as an artist studio from November 2013 to January 2014. Some artists were invited to stay in the village and run studios to present their works mixed with inspiration from MDVs. Afterwards, the studio was extended as a cultural and creative quarter which combined the

Figure 1. The Creative Market in Mazu New Village (retrieved from www.facebook.com/ArtMatsuVillage).

functions of museum and art studio. More programmes, like a creative market, were added in (Figure 1). In addition, the Government of Kaohsiung City introduced MDVs to the public through setting up the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, running an annual cultural festival of MDVs, and adjusting conserved sites as cultural and creative quarters of MDVs. One of the main purposes of conserving sites, stories, and culture of MDVs was to dispel the prejudices between mainlanders and locals. To understand each other was the only way to dissipate the existing negative stereotype. Thus, maintaining and protecting the disappearing villages, stories, and culture were the things that had to be done immediately, Kiku Chen, the mayor of Kaohsiung City, said (Chen, 2011).

In sum, for governments, the meaning of MDVs changed over time. They were a kind of community where a group of people from China gathered after 1949 who had strong loyalty to the CNP and its authority as its client. Offering welfare in exchange for residents' support was the main policy in the treatment of MDVs at that time. Following the trend of localisation and democratisation and the movement of comprehensive community building, the meaning of those villages became places which had rich historical materials, stories about life in the past, and significant cultural differences from the locals. The policy shifted from offering materials

and financial supports to maintaining some remarkable historical villages, recording residents' stories, and promoting the culture of MDVs.

5.2 MDVS IN CULTURATI'S NARRATIVES FOR CONSERVATION

When government accelerated the practicing of the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, and more and more MDVs were demolished under the policy or unofficial MDVs were seen as urban tumours to be replaced by novel parks, residents and people who had experienced the space of MDVs felt sadly nostalgic for past lives and living environment. A group of culturati was disappointed that the memories about MDVs would disperse and attempted to leave some traces and even real physical settings to those who had not understood the spaces very well. With those culturati's enthusiastic participation and efforts on saving and transforming MDVs, people can recall and learn about MDVs from real settings and historical collections through their senses.

People could conceive and perceive culturati's thoughts from the physical settings of conserved sites if they developed enough cognitive awareness of MDVs and observed carefully. Those culturati did not only leave historical traces and records; they also provided their personal perspectives and narrated other sides of MDVs which people might not have been aware of. More important was that the spaces of MDVs had been changed through practicing their thoughts on reforming sites into conserved heritage sites, or running museums to demonstrate the culture and environment of the MDVs. Culturati's thoughts and practices had become part of the history of spaces of MDVs when they started to devote them to the conservational projects.

5.2.1 CONSERVATION FOR CULTURAL COMMUNICATION
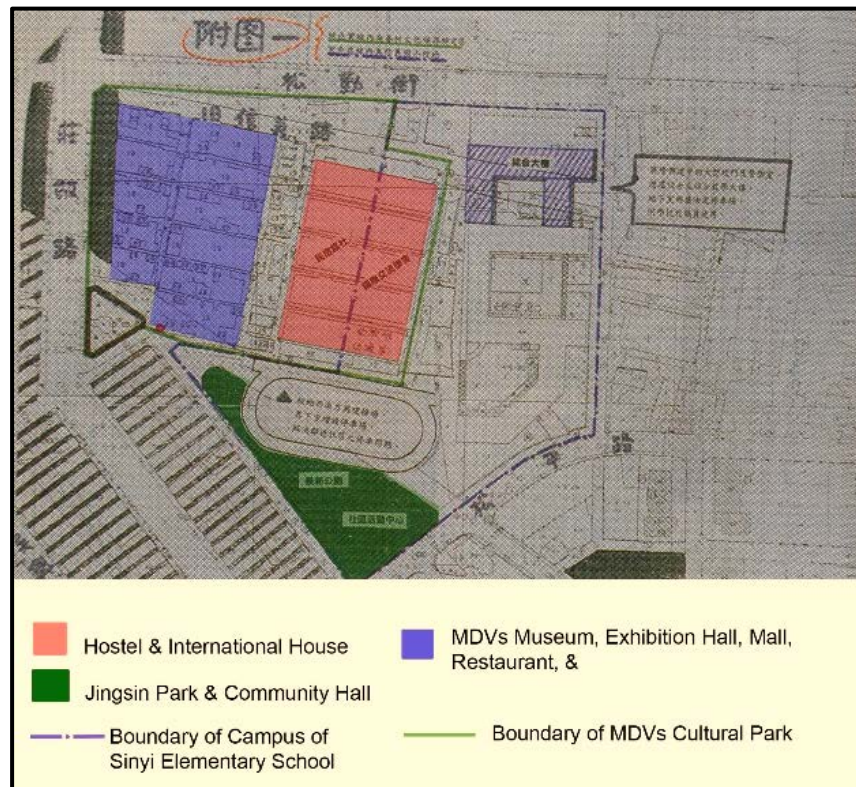
Figure 2. The master plan of Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) MDVs Cultural Park suggested by Curtis Smith and Jheng-Cih Jhang (Editorial Division of Chinese Architect, 1999).

Curtis Smith was the first person who advocated preserving the SSV and he held the main role in the conservational project. Ironically, Smith, the first person who supported the conserving of MDVs was a Canadian, not a local person or any resident of the village. He studied the History of the Far East and was interested in the Orient (Kao, 2011). From early 1998, he raised the issue of conserving SSV and helped on running several activities to retain the village. At that time, his office was situated in the Taipei World Trade Center opposite the old village, and he usually passed by the old village when he went to the office. "Every day, looking at the poor and dilapidated buildings, he feels that it is a special duty for him" (Su and Syu, 2002). The Department of Civil Affairs of Taipei City hosted a competition for conserving SSV which was

opened to every group, organisation, and citizen in 1999. The three best proposals were presented to the public[123]. Curtis Smith and Jheng-Cih Jhang came second (Figure 2).

Smith and Jhang's proposal was based on a main presupposition which was to protect the whole existing settings of the village as cultural property, instead of bulldozing them. Under the presupposition, the old village was adjusted into two main functions. One was satisfying citizens' needs and interests, which meant that the proposal had to plan enough spaces for Sinyi Elementary School and Jingsin Park. The other was to offer enough public space for neighbours. The proposal also suggested a list of programmes or settings which might be installed into adjusted sites in the future. The main content of the list included shopping mall, restaurants, MDVs museum, square and open air theatre, representing original life in SSV, and a Hostel. The last four were the most important programmes which indicated Smith's plans about the revived village. That would be a place where people would like to stay and to communicate. He said, "See, the people from middle or southern of Taiwan can stay for couple days in the hostel to experience mainlanders' culture. They can communicate or interact with each other in culture. How wonderful it is" (Kao, 2011, p. 295).

Smith's greatest contribution was to promote MDVs as conserved cultural property. They were not poor, dirty, or in need of being renewed, but were the cultural heritage of Taiwan. He bemoaned the fact that historical buildings were disappearing in Taiwan, but most people still thought that protecting historical properties was not their responsibility (Su and Syu, 2002). Although, Smith and Jhang's proposed to install various programmes which were not related with the history and culture of MDVs, their suggestion showed a direction that historical

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[123] The best suggestion was not practiced because residents of neighbourhood nearby preferred to demolish some buildings and to adjust part of the village to become the extended campus of Sinyi Elementary School.

heritage could be adjusted to match present needs, not just be frozen in the status of the past. This proposal was an innovation compared with the mainstream of heritage conservation strategy, the intent of which was to take away social context and activities of cultural properties as antiques in museum at that time.

5.2.2 SPACE OF MDVS — THE ACCUMULATION OF TIME[124]

In 2001, SSV was inscribed as historical buildings, but only the remaining four rows of housings were listed; the rest had been demolished earlier. The Department of Civil Affairs of Taipei City planned to adjust the site as Culture of MDVs and Community Park and one of the four buildings would be used as the Sinyi Assembly Hall. In 2001, the project was assigned to Bo-Yuan Syu Architect which

Figure 3. The roof tiles, wooden windows, and wooden doors were the most obvious architectural language which expressed the aura of Shi-Shi South Village.

was charged with building rehabilitation; Chengtai Planning Company took responsibility for park planning.

The rehabilitation project imposed many restrictions on Syu due to the fact that the master plan and running programmes had already been decided. Four buildings were retained; nonetheless, all of the interior partitions would be removed for the installation of new functions which included exhibition hall, MDVs' museum, restaurant, and community hall. In addition, the

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[124] This section is based on interview with Bo-Yuan Syu referring to Appendix 1.

village would be transformed from relative private spaces to a space opened to the public. All he could do was to maintain part of the authenticity of MDVs limited architectural elements, like the styles of roof tiles, wooden doors, and wooden windows, which were the residues of the architectural language of the village (Figure 3). Although the village had been changed a great deal and most of the landscape elements had gone, from Syu's personal point of view, the village was space as a container; a concept that he learnt from Aldo Rossi (1982). SSV should be the space which was filled with residents' past lives. It would contain citizens' everyday lives in the future (Syu, 2013).

Transforming the village into a public space erased the historical traces inscribed in the space. According to Syu's observation, the conservation case of SSV was weird and ironical. From the perspective of protecting the history of Taiwan, the village should be maintained as physical evidence of the life in MDVs. However, the official departments, both of the Taipei City government and the Ministry of Defence who should have supported the conservation plan, agreed to demolish the entire village. Even the residents also supported transforming the village into a campus of Sinyi Elementary School and park, instead of setting up a MDVs museum. To the residents, living in a poor and dilapidated village reflected a disgraceful past. Modernised houses were their ideal living places, and they believed that moving to a new community would be better than staying at SSV. Obviously, they would not be happy with the shameful mark that they perceived if they still stay in SSV. The people who raised and bolstered up the conservational activity were from cultural circles. The conservation battle between governmental department, residents, and culturati produced the present Sinyi Assembly Hall. Thus, the space did not only bear the history of MDVs, but was also overlapped by the history of the conservational activity (Syu, 2013).

5.2.3 A GREAT CITY MUST PROTECT IMMIGRANTS' CULTURE

The Air Force Sanchong First Village was situated in Sanchong City where many local migrants from middle and southern Taiwan had settled, and where an atmosphere of disliking mainlanders prevailed. The city was near the west of Taipei across the Tamsui River as a satellite town of the great Taipei metropolis. Due to a lack of public facilities, inadequate public security, and residents' attitude as rootless strangers, Sanchong was disreputable and had been labelled as Gangster Town or Dirty Town. Even though local government had started to improve the urban environment, offer more social services, and enhance security from the 1990s, residents still did not strongly identify with the city. It was the key point that the city was not good enough to let its residents announce proudly that they live in Sanchong, they are from Sanchong, as Jyunren Dong (2008a) said. Comprehensive community building basing on introducing the history and culture of different immigrant groups might be a proper method for strengthening residents' love for Sanchong. With this concept, Dong dedicated himself to the conservation of the AFSFV from 2004.

One of the difficulties of conservation was the conflict between locals and mainlanders since Sanchong was called the Oasis of Tangwai[125] and the Sacred Place of Democracy. When a local Taiwanese from the family supporting local parties, Dong, offered his support to the activity which mainly protected the physical setting and culture of MDVs, most of the people were incredulous. He bore the pressure from residents of the AFSFV and they believed that he might actually be a member of the DPP who was undertaking undercover activities (Kao, 2011). However, the background was an advantage to Dong to observe MVDs from an outsider's perspective and to make his words carrying more conviction to the locals on conserving MDVs.

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[125] When organising opposition parties was forbidden, the group of politicians who opposite to the CNP was called as Tangwai (黨外) which meant not belonging to any party. Many Tangwai politicians gathered in Sanchong City and most of residents supported them, in the consequence, the city gained the title.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

From Dong's point of view, conserving MDVs meant protecting important property for enriching the cultural contents of Taiwan. MDVs were a group of special spaces built in the process of civil war between the CPC and the CNP. The spaces contained the collective memory shared by the residents of MDVs. Moreover, the physical settings of MDVs and residents' stories were the evidence that recorded the history of civil war and immigration from China to Taiwan. MDVs also were the spaces which recorded the history on aspects of national identity, military culture, Japanese military facilities, and the culture of MDVs. The history and spaces had a significant effect on society and urban space of Taiwan. The continued existence of the special places reflected their importance as precious cultural property.

Additionally, Dong thought that leaving the AFSFV as it was gave an opportunity to citizens of Sanchong to prove that Sanchong was a great city for respecting different cultures and accepting immigrants.; after all. Sanchong was composed of immigrants. However, residents of Sanchong ignored MDVs and mainlanders because of the prejudice against residents of MDVs. Dong said that the conservation of the AFSFV was providing an opportunity of communication for locals and residents of MDVs to understand each other and to break the stereotype about both sides, and then, citizens learnt that MDVs were part of the city (Dong, 2008b). He was putting a great deal of effort into breaking the estrangement through many activities, like cultural activities in festivals, which tried to bring positive communication between both sides. Moreover, the conservation activity was a good chance for citizens to think about whether the city was their hometown or not, and what they could do to improve their living environment. Dong hoped that the village would become a cultural park, recording and exhibiting the immigrant history and telling their stories to the public in the future. In addition,

the park would also show that cultural diversity is strongly supported in the city, and all Sanchong citizens would be proud of this.[126]

5.2.4 CONSERVATION AND CONTINUING THE STORIES OF MDVS[127]

From the perspective of urban design, protecting past traces and installing new activities was the way to continue the memories of a city and keep in an active space. According to the analyses in last three sections, how to maintain and adjust MDVs as a cultural communication site was one of the main concerns in the thoughts of Curtis Smith, Bo-Yuan Syu, and Jyunren Dong. The physical settings of MDVs were a crucial platform which worked as an interface and a container. The sites communicated with visitors about MDVs by offering really experience of historical buildings and goods. The spaces were also adjusted as new places for present citizens' needs where the SSV and AFSFV were conserved. However, from the perspective of making culture of MDVs sustainable, the physical settings might not be more important than interpreting the essence of the culture of MDVs, said Fung-Ching Lin (Lin, 2010).

Lin, the manager and curator of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, was born to a MDVs family and had lived in MDVs. Her parents were second-generation residents of MDVs in different military services. This background gave her the opportunity to closely observe MDVs. The experience affected her thoughts which were applied to the strategies of promoting the culture of MDVs in the Museum. According to her, the residents' lives in each MDVs were not very different on the aspect of interpersonal relationships. The main difference was the utensils used

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[126] The conservation strategy applied on Air Force Sanchong First Village refers to section 6.1.3 of chapter 6.

[127] This section is based on interview with Fung-Ching Lin referring to Appendix 2.

in daily life which were made of discarded military equipment by residents themselves, e.g. aeroplane fuel tank could be transformed into water tank (Figure 6, chapter 6). Different military services have their own unique utensils. The obvious feature of MDVs was that every family did not have kinships in Taiwan because all of them were in China, whereas the neighbourhood was like families (Li, 2011).

The other feature of MDVs to Lin was diversity; the first being that of residents. From her point of view, the residents of MDVs should not be considered as a race or ethnic group, although the stereotype in the public usually distinguished them from locals. There were various people, who included those from different provinces or areas of China. Even many of the residents of MDVs were Taiwanese aboriginals and other locals. Some of them became residents of MDVs after marrying mainlanders of MDVs. The diversity also related to the number of MDVs. There were more than 800 MDVs which are different from each other. Each village revealed its unique features from others on the aspects of residents' mother tongues, customs, life style, householders' official ranks or military services, and the locations and environmental conditions which are unique and valuable ICH of MDVs. All of these differences made it hard to give a specific definition for the culture of MDVs and created the diversity of those villages.

The wide-ranging differences of life in MDVs inspired Lin to think about how to preserve and demonstrate the unique culture. She decided not to directly offer a clear definition of the culture of MDVs when she was managing the exhibitions in the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV. Instead, the exhibitions focused on recording and showing the history of MDVs in Kaohsiung district. For example, most of the items were collected from Haiguang Third Village and Shengli New Village, which were located near the Museum. 'We collected historic artefacts, including pictures, clothes related with MDVs, daily items, even a piece of wall from a bulldozed MDV house', she said (Lin, 2010).

Telling the stories behind those historical collections was another important work for the Museum, Lin thought. Historic artefacts usually recalled people's memories and there were hidden stories behind them. They could be a family letter or a picture; for example, a family letter which was sent from a daughter in China to her father in Taiwan after the period when mail was forbidden between China and Taiwan came to an end. The story behind the letter was that the father did not know he still had a daughter left in China for 50 years and indicated the sadness of the people living during the war period. Subsequently, two tourists who were sister and brother from China were touched and cried when they found a picture of their childhood exhibited in the Museum. The picture was brought to Taiwan by their uncle and was donated to the Museum (Jhou, 2012). Those objects might be just historic items for most of the visitors if they did not know the hidden stories. Contrarily, if the hidden stories were properly told to visitors, the culture of MDVs could become a tangible and sustainable thing.

The concept of storytelling was applied in the exhibition of the Museum. First was living storytelling. The Museum recruited around 70 volunteers, some of them are residents of MDVs, to take charge of introducing and interpreting the history and historic interests of MDVs. Those volunteers from MDVs are cultural heritages because visitors can hear many interesting stories from them, and everyone has his or her own story, Lin said. (Lin, 2010) The Museum also presented arranged exhibitions of historical artefacts and the living storytelling and interpretation to make an atmosphere of common family space in MDVs. There are simulated living room, kitchen, dining room, and study

Figure 4. The Wooly Coat in the Period of Displaced (left corner) (by author).

The wooly coat, exhibited in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, had been Mrs Shao's trousers. She re-knitted and changed it to a coat on the fleeing journey. She was wearing the coat when she followed Chinese Nationalist Party withdrawing to Taiwan.

room on the ground floor. To impress visitors, exhibitions do not only introduce the name of a

historic item and where it came from, but also tell visitors the story of the owner and the story

between the item and the owner (Figure 4). Lin explained that this arrangement would help

people to visualize the history related with the MDV. For those visitors who lived in MDVs,

the Museum and the historic items really touched their hearts, according to her observation.

Some of them were in tears or sobbed and stayed in front of some items for a long while when

they look at certain items which evoked nostalgia. For those visitors who like to learn the culture

and history of MDVs, Kaohsiung Museum of MDV hopes the exhibition can stimulate their

interest and prompt them to gain more in-depth knowledge about MDVs and the people who

came from mainland China around 1949. Moreover, Kaohsiung Museum of MDV also expects

visitors could learn and empathise the fact that the history and residents of MDVs are part of

the history of Taiwan (Lin, 2010).

The other of Lin's concepts, that MDVs are part of Taiwan society and the residents should not

be considered as a race or ethnic group, was applied to the special exhibition – *The Memory

Stored in the Box* (Figure 5). The exhibition demonstrated the boxes and suitcases in different

Figure 5. The Special Exhibition – The Memory Stored in the Box (exhibition in Kaohsiung Museum of
MDV) (by author)
The list on the wall introduced the specific events in Taiwan from 1945 to 2009. The boxes demonstrated
under the list showed the box style in different periods.

eras which were collected from residents of MDVs and linked them with the special events that happened in the same period. This was the second special exhibition of boxes stories. In the first one, only a few boxes were demonstrated, but more detailed stories of the boxes and their owners were shown. An interpretation board was put beside each of the boxes. The difference between the two exhibitions was that one focused on personal stories, and the second one tried to link the history of MDVs with specific issues of the era. Lin said that both special exhibitions evoked many echoes and discussions. Some visitors who did not live in and did not know much about MDVs thought that the boxes were not so different from those owned by local people: But, that is the key point which the exhibition wanted to show - i.e. that the life in MDVs was not so different from locals' lives. Those lives happened in local communities and MDVs in Taiwan at the same time and all of the people shared the same social and physical

Figure 6. The Recreation Centre of the Haiguang Third Village (Before adjusted to museum. Retrieved from http://village.khcc.gov.tw/internet/introduction/introduction.htm).

Figure 7. The Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (after adjusted and reformed) (by author).

Figure 8. The Classrooms of the Kindergarten of the Haiguang Third Village (after awarded protected status) (by author).

situations (Lin, 2010). The stories of MDVs were part of the stories of Taiwanese communities.

The conserving and managing experience of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDVs and other conservation cases persuaded Lin to use storytelling as the main method for conserving the culture of MDVs. The building of the Museum was formerly the clinic of the Haiguang Third Village and became the recreation centre of Haiguang

Figure 9. The Protected Accommodation of the Haiguang Third Village (before demolished) (by author).
The steel frames and corrugated steel roofing sheets were added to highlight the narrow land.

Third Village and Shengli New Village later. The recreation centre, part of the accommodation, and the kindergarten of the Haiguang Third Village were protected because of a Kaohsiung City councillor's suggestion, and the Museum was opened in 2006 (Figures 6, 7, 8, and 9). After reforming, the area became a beautiful park with a rich bio-environment. A few protected species of birds were attracted to stay in the area. However, without sufficient budgets and proper management, some squatters and gangsters intruded into or even occupied the protected accommodation. Moreover, the rare protected birds attracted some illegal hunting. Many visitors and neighbours complained about those inappropriate behaviours to the office of the Museum. This was a problem for the Museum because it was not the official security department taking charge of the area. As a consequence of the serious security problem and lack of sufficient budgets for managing and refurnishing those old buildings, the Kaohsiung City government demolished them in 2009. In Lin's opinion, if there was not any feasible plan or enough money to conserve and manage a historic heritage, it would be better to just develop the site as a new project which would be really good for the people and the city. Taiwan is a

small island and lacks land resources which can be developed. Thus, it was hard to preserve every place that had been developed and was historically meaningful, she said. Accordingly, she added that it was not necessary to set up a museum of MDVs in original buildings of MDVs; rather, a *sense* of original MDV was a very important factor

Figure 10. Visitors' Creations in the Activity of Drawing the MDVs in Your Memory (retrieved from Kaohsiung Museum of MDV).

for narrating the MDV culture. Just for the reason mentioned above, feasible plans and budgets were key points. If there was no good plan to conserve the historic heritage, she preferred to use the site for a totally new development. Hence, from her point of view, the original inhabitants were more important than the sense of place. For her, they could tell the story and the life they have had in past for those who do not understand what the MDV and its culture were (Lin, 2010).

Under Lin's leadership, telling the stories of MDVs was one of main features of the Museum. In addition, Lin thought that the museum of MDVs was not only a place where old stories were narrated through demonstrating static exhibitions; it was also a place where new memories were created for people through experiencing activities. The Museum hosted many activities, related to tangible and intangible cultural heritage of MDVs, to introduce the culture of MDVs, including indoor courses and tours around the city and MDVs nearby, like weaving bamboo wall structure, historical bike tour, and art creating including calligraphy practicing, Chinese paper cutting, and New Year couplets creating, among others. Lin's concept was that every activity was an event which left some memories to those who participated in them. In each event, culture or knowledge would be passed down and might create new culture or knowledge in the future. The Museum designed the free city tour around some historic spots and MDVs to

attract people to learn the history of the city and to understand that MDVs are part of the city. To make the tour interesting and full of historical knowledge, the Museum hired and trained guides to interpret the city's history from before the Chin Dynasty through the Japanese rule period to after 1945. The arrangement of visiting tried to link the local history and the history of MDVs to break down the barriers between the locals and the mainlanders. Furthermore, some activities followed special exhibitions to attract visitors' attendance and to heighten their impression through fun activities. For instance, after having a look at the special exhibition of the *Illustration of MDVs*, the Museum invited visitors to paint the atmosphere of an MDV based on their experiences at the museum (Figure 10). Lin indicated that what the exhibitions and activities offered by the Museum were a kind of memory preservation and conservation through historic linkage and activities (Lin, 2010).

Not every cultural feature of MDVs and details of life should be protected and demonstrated. Additionally, protecting did not mean being unchangeable. Conservation had to capture the needs and tastes of present-day people. If the conserved culture could not be accepted by people, it had no chance to be continuous. What the Museum tried to do was to embody what the culture of MDVs was through selecting and improving the appropriate cultural issues which interpreted the spirit of MDVs (Li, 2011).

To sum up, Lin recognised that there were too many villages and that it was impossible to protect all of them. Additionally, she thought that the experience from the original physical settings was important but that, without appropriate contents and management, the culture of MDVs was hard to promote. To Lin, MDVs meant places which contained various residents' stories and memories. Those stories and memories were part of the history of Taiwan and its cultural heritage. Conserving the sites and culture of MDVs was not only for mainlanders, and stories of those villages could not be just known and kept in the very limited groups. Inviting

more people to host some related activities or, at least, to participate in running them not just attending them was also needed. In Lin's opinion, promoting the culture of MDVs could not only rely on the Museum because the organisations and volunteers could not manage and plan everything. Stories and memories should be kept in people's minds, not just in a museum. Then, the culture of MDVs could be continuous.

5.3 MDVS IN RESIDENTS' NARRATIVES

Because it was hard to spend a lot of time to contact with original residents who had moved out MDVs and to communicated with the residents who was still staying in villages during the very limited research period, most of the residents' narratives about MDVs, this thesis collected, were in the form of literature, particularly, in those famous writers who were born or had been lived in villages. Some documentaries'[128] issues were related with MDVs, but most of them were a kind of record about the history of the village or of personal life. A few touched on the issue of meaning of MDVs. However, their narratives did not deeply discuss or explore the director's personal perspective on MDVs. Thus, this section relates the features of MDVs from selected essays and novels.

That the people who were involved in the history narrated the stories directly by themselves was a method for heritage conservationists to know what happened in the past on the places and on the people. It was also a very attractive activity for the history enthusiasts to gain historical materials first hand. In a conserved site, living-interpretation from the exact users of the spaces was one of the best ways - through conversation - to offer the appropriate information which the tourists were eager to learn. The space user's narrative expressed the objective

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[128] The Association of Mainlander Taiwanese hosted the course of filming documentary about MDVs in three sessions from 2008 to 2010 and produced 34 films.

historical events and subjective personal interpretation. Additionally, it offered rich details for reader or visitors to empathise what the situation was that the space users had experienced.

In the case of MDVs conservation, residents were one of the main subjects who formed the culture of MDVs, and their thoughts and lives participated in constructing the body of the culture. Their narratives directly expressed residents' experiences and perspectives about the places they lived in. Residents' narratives were not only a sort of record of experiences which reflected the real world in residents' lives; the narratives also represented authors' imaginings and interpretation about what residents had observed.

Unlike the communication on conserved sites in which the living interpreters' narratives were passively responded to visitors' questions and site managers' arrangements, literature and documentaries about residents' lives per se could be seen as a creators' self-reflection. Both of them created a free space for narrators to actively inquire themselves and respond in ways of their choosing. Through the way of questioning and answering by oneself, some personal emotions, attitudes, and interpretations about life experiences hidden in mind found a gap through which they could be expressed to the public.

From the perspective of conservation, residents' narratives offered the details of the life in MDVs which could only be experienced through immersing oneself in the circumstances for a long period of time. For those who did not know MDVs, the narratives could help them to understand what the culture of the MDVs was and how it was formed. For MDVs' conservators, the stories told by residents were the materials which constructed the core of the culture of MDVs. However, the analysis below was not to offer a panoramic observation about MDVs and to form a fixed meaning; it might show one of the possible interpretations about the core spirit of MDVs.

5.3.1 MDVS CONNOTED ENDLESS HOMESICKNESS

It was mentioned in the last chapter that MDVs were set up for temporarily accommodating the soldiers and their dependants withdrawing from China. Those people still believed that they could return to China soon because Chiang Kai-shek told them that the CNP would fight back against the CPC and achieve success in five years. When the returning plan became impossible, their disappointment gradually transformed into homesickness.

The first generation of residents of MDVs generally experienced most homesickness. The sad emotion frequently appeared in those residents' daily chats. It was also a popular issue in the literature of MDVs. Ligelale Awu's father was one this group of residents. She said:

> **Father had a pile of endless stories about his tragic experiences the same as other veterans who came here through difficult and dangerous journeys. He liked to have a little drink at night and pleasingly tell his experience and homesickness like an auto-reversing tape which played repetitively. I, as the first daughter of the family, was asked to be his loyal audience after I was old enough to understand what he was saying. In consequence, as long as I saw that he went to prepare some peanuts and a liquor glass after he was off daily works, I knew that it was time to take out the V.S.O. Kaoliang Liquor hidden under his bed from his bedroom. We often sat in the front garden, eating peanuts and scratching itches, and heard his very old stories which had been told hundreds of times (Ligelale, 1996, pp. 163 - 164).**

Through the repetitively narrating the sad and frustrating stories which was like a ritual, her father could catch and prove that those memories in his mind actually did exist and his homesickness could be temporarily soothed.

The story-telling was not only an activity of recalling. Following with that, as the first generation residents became aged, sometimes it became an activity of passing down memories with heartfelt expectation. As Siou-Li Ruan said:

> **Once, in a narrow room, father very seriously told me that you must remember the way home, in case I cannot go. The way was that departing from Taiwan. … Father drew the route while he was talking. … crossing the sea, transferring again and again, then walking from this village to that one, and passing through the path in the field, passing by a temple, turning into a place, then found the house in some sequence, that was our home. The map which was simple and familiar in father's mind was a curvy line which was hard for me to understand (Ruan, 2006, p. 187).**

Through those story-telling activities, the spaces of MDVs were linked with mainland China by uncountable invisible threads. The threads gave residents a base on which to set down their experiences and ensure the continuation of their existence and identities. The phenomenon indicated that some residents could not get sense of belongingness in MDVs although they might have had built families there. In their mind, mainland China is their homeland that cannot be replaced by MDVs and Taiwan. Thus, they identify with China, not Taiwan.

5.3.2 MDVS AS THE VILLAGES OF NOMADS

Wei-Chen Su described the resident and the life in MDVs as below:

> **A group of people had no relatives, but had many neighbours. Their recognition about kinship dawned when they had contact with neighbours. Every family offered sacrifices to ancestors in every traditional festival and holiday, but had**

no ancestral grave to visit to show their honour[129]. Their parents' speech had the heavy accent of hometown. At home, they used the dialect which matched to the place of their family register; out of home, they communicated with other children in every dialects they had learned. … Out of the village, they spoke in Mandarin, Hakka, or Taiwanese. It seemed that they lived abroad from their very early of childhood (Su, 2004).

There is no doubt that the first-generation of residents of MDVs were nomads. Their shared feature was the fact that there was no ancestral grave in Taiwan. The offering of sacrifices to ancestors indicated that there was a strong emotion in their mind which was eager to return to their hometown. For the second or later generations, the nomadicity was expressed by the fluent use of several dialects. Their multi-lingual abilities reflected that they were living in the circumstances with several groups of neighbours with diverse dialects and ethnicity.

The other feature of nomadicity was uncertainty. The uncertainty could affect people's decisions and might disturb regular schedules. In Wei-Chen Su's novel, *Coming Together*, Jing-Jhuang asked her neighbour, Li-Wei Cheng, about whether her child should go to register in elementary school today. Cheng said that she decided to postpone the register because they might return to China soon (Su, 1984, pp. 11 - 12). Most of the immigrants from China in 1949 did believe that they would not stay in Taiwan too long and some things which were not very urgent could be postponed until returning to China.

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[129] Cingmin Festival was also known as the traditional Chinese Sweeping Tomb Festival. People visited their ancestral grave to show their honour to their ancestors. No ancestral grave hinted that the first generation of residents of MDVs migrated from China and had not yet settled down in Taiwan.

The uncertainty also appeared in residents' marriages to local women. The marriage of a couple in the same village in Su's novel, Shih-An Cin and Bao-Jhu, indicated the ongoing uncertainty. Cin left his wife in China and went to Taiwan alone. He fell in love with Bao-Jhu and married later. Cin cherished the marriage to Bao-Jhu and treated her very gently. Bao-Jhu appreciated his love, and even willingly scrounged some daily items from her parents. However, there was a shadow in her mind. She felt anxious when she recognised that Cin might return in one day (Su, 1984, p. 21).

Nevertheless, the uncertainty played the role of catalyst which pushed nomads to pay more loyalty and to more cherish what they held in their hands. In Wen-Chen Su's *Adopted Child* (Su, 2010, pp. 147 - 156), the feature was a unique property which could only be found in MDVs. There were two adopted children in the essay, Siao-Hua and Siao-Dou-Zih. Siao-Hua died in an accident when she was only 30 years old. Her foster mother very much missed her and was crying as she was recalling Siao-Hua. Foster parents loved those children like their own.

> **You asked mother, did they treated adopted children well? Your mother directly responded, definitely well, they have none of their own (Su, 2010, p. 150).**

In the other case, Siao-Dou-Zih was adopted by the family Tang when she was five years old. She was adopted for the reason to maintain her foster parents' marriage. However, her foster parents got divorced a couple of years after she came to them. She stayed at the foster family and looked after Mrs Tang, despite the fact that she had been married and then divorced.

The relationship between foster parents and adopted child was not only like the one between family members; it also contained a sort of dependence on each other which bound them together more tightly. The adopted child usually stayed with the foster parents and loved the

village they lived in more than those residents' children did (Su, 2010, p. 72). Chia-Hsien Yang interpreted the foster parents' love for their adopted child like that occurs when nomads meet another nomads, and the adopted children's dependence on the village which they lived in was like the orphans' dreams had come true. When they had built their home, they would ery much cherish it (Yang, 2013, p. 125).

The last feature of nomadicity was expressed in the way that residents were at ease with their current situation and tried to change the place according to their needs. Su introduced the feature through buildings of the Movie and Drama Third Village and the residents' foods in the essay, *The Route of (not) Running away*. She said that all of the buildings were set out in the layout as dominos or connected tents, and each building accommodated eight families under the spinal-like main beam. This was a village for nomadic residents; the domino-like or tent-like accommodation was built in the concept of easy disassembling and moving. When the village was just set up, there was no market near the village. Just outside of the village, there was an empty place. It became a market to satisfy residents' needs to shop for daily goods. Residents who lived near by the main lane dismantled their fences and transformed their houses to shops. At the time there were no rules to regularise the development of the village. Everyone thought that it was a village located in the countryside, where the rules were very easily broken. Moreover, the village was just a temporary place for the nomads to stay in. It was a normal phenomenon that various people got together here and developed a fair for exchanging goods and information (Su, 2010, pp. 486 - 495). According to Su's description, the village was very similar to the Yuefei New Village in the type-2 MDVs discussed in the last chapter. The development of this type of village was not built up under elaborate plans, but started from a sort of temporary accommodation and then gradually grew when the residents found that returning to China might be impossible in their lifetime, and were thus compelled to settle down in Taiwan.

The market was one of the main places where residents' got their foods and ingredients and was also a place which expressed the residents' nomadicity. The shops in the market were usually run by residents; thus the foods and ingredients on sale indicated the diversity of residents' homelands. The various foods and ingredients did not offered a romantically exotic atmosphere; however, they did hint at one of nomadicity where residents found it easy to get used to various foods. As Su said, residents were migrants and nomads, and easily adapted to the current situation they found themselves in – and this included foreign foods. The food in the market, like Canton steamed rice with preserved meat, Shandong millet porridge, Sichuan dumpling with chilli oil, Guizhou cooked glutinous rice pounded into paste, Yunnan dairy fan, and Shanxi trickled pastry, were exotically romantic to some, but just daily foods of the residents (Su, 2010). Residents did not notice that those foods and cooking are kind of ICH. They just enjoyed diverse food styles in their neighbour markets as part of their daily lives. After culture of MDVs conservation had been raised and some restaurants used MDVs foods as significant feature, those foods related to MDVs had been promoted as ICH and were represented in many conservation activities.

5.3.3 MDVS AS TEMPORARY SHELTER BECOMING HOME

MDVs were not only a kind of space filled with homesickness and nomadicity; it was also a space which many residents tried to escape from. That was one of the main arguments which the Taiwanese used to criticise the mainlanders; i.e. mainlanders never thought Taiwan was the very place they would like to settle down and stay in. As Tian-Sin Jhu, a second-generation resident of MDVs, said, many of the residents who she knew tried to escape from Taiwan to foreign shores, by going to study abroad, becoming a sailor, or marrying an American soldier who was fighting in the Vietnam War. She considered with the phenomena and found the answer; to her, the answer was obvious - they did not have ancestral graves here (Jhu, 2002, p.

66). The answer was as same as Wei-Chen Su's, who stated that the land without dead family members cannot be a homeland. Moreover, according to Su's observation, MDVs were built to solve the accommodation needs of a huge amount of soldiers and their dependants; however, they had become a kind of label of failure which indicated that those resident who still stayed in the villages lacked the ability to move out (Su, 2004). Residents who moved out did so to prove they were still in charge of their own destinies.

For the second or later generations of MDVs, however, the spaces had become the origin of their nostalgia due to the fact that more and more memories about the places accumulated in their mind. Jhu described the MDVs' girls, who had left, but still very much missed the village which they had lived in, and who felt nostalgia when they heard the accented mainlander slang. The experiences that the girls had of MDVs meant they could easily recognise which boy was from MDVs through their accent, behaviour, and personality; even through the food smell emanating from a belch, girls could distinguish which province the boy's family came from (Jhu, 2002). Every detail about their village was built through the sense of body. It was so real and more familiar than the hometown in China which only existed in parents' stories. Residents experiences related to MDVs had been internalised as their memories, taste, behaviours, accent, and personality which should be counted as ICH of MDVs if take broad definition of ICH.

The shared memories were a very important property cherished by people from MDVs, and the memories were the root of their identification. Tian-Wen Jhu, Tain-Shing Jhu's sister, described the feeling in her essay, *The City in High Summer*. Su-Lan Jhen, who was the main character, and Ji Mi were born in MDVs and played the same games, and saw the same movies in the same sort of open cinema. The mutual experiences gave them many talking points and their minds are so in sync. Jhen very much treasured the shared experiences and believed that, even if everything changed, they would continue to protect their property and by implication their

lives. After leaving their villages, they still missed the life in MDVs and were happy to meet friends who they could share the stories with (Jhu, 2008). The phenomenon was very like the case of the first generation of MDVs told their stories to children, but the 'place' in the stories had shifted from China to MDVs, which were the places they really perceived through their bodies and senses. Residents had identified villages as their hometown and roots of nostalgia, not temporary shelters.

Nostalgia was one of the motivations for MDVs conservation. Ji-Sin Wang (2006), the second generation and the last village head of the AFSFV, described his love for the village and the city. He said that residents had lived in the village for more than 50 years; the first generation came to the village when they were around their 20s or 30s; the second generation was born in the village and was in their 40s or 50s, and some had even had been retired; the third generation was in middle age; and the fourth generation was nursery-school age. Time brought happiness and fun – but it also brought sadness and desolation. Most of these feelings transformed into lovely memories and everything and every event related to the village had formed a special culture. The unique place and culture pushed culturati and residents to promote conservational activity. Conservation kept alive the urban development history of Sanchong for its people and later generations of Sanchong. It also kept the village for the residents as a place for them to experience nostalgia and get comfort. For residents, the village and the city had become the land they had a deep relationship with. As Wang said, Sanchong was his permanent hometown (Wang, 2006).

Throughout the discussion above, it was a trend that the residents' origin of nostalgia had transferred from China for the first generation to MDVs for second and later generations when they had set up their local social relationship with neighbours and had built up memories in the villages.

5.3.4 MDVS AS IRREMOVABLE SCAR

Even though many residents had turned their eyes from China to Taiwan, they still maintained some features and personalities which were mixed and could only be found among the people from MDVs. Those mixed features and personalities which were passed down from parents or were shaped by the culture of their living circumstances were gradually becoming obscure over the generations, but so far those features and personalities were still tagged on the residents of MDVs as a kind of invisible scars. According to the scars, it was easy for them to recognise whether the person came from MDVs, or not.

The most obvious feature was first names. Many first-generation residents gave first names to their children with the word, Tai, like Tai-Sheng and Tai-Hua[130], to mark the history of withdrawing from China to Taiwan. In addition, the names were a kind of nostalgia and also a commemoration for settling down. Because the kind of name was so popular, The Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City hosted an activity of calling essays entitled *The Story of Tai-Shen*, for the 2009 Cultural Festival of MDVs, and the names were used in literature of MDVs, like Tai-Hua Huo.

Tai-Hua Huo was the main character of *Carmen in Taiwan* written by Wei-Mang Sun. He was born in MDV in Gangshan, Kaohsiung, and his parents were mainlanders who had withdrawn with the CNP from China. His father, three brothers, and he worked in military services. Due to his family background and living circumstances, he owned the invisible sear of MDVs. One day he met Carmen, who also was born in a MDV, in a hall of the stock exchange. Carmen recognised that Huo also was from a MDV through a very quick glance on him.

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[130] Tai (台) was the abbreviation of Taiwan. Tai-Sheng (台生) indicated that the child was born in Taiwan, and Tai-Hua (台華) meant Taiwan and China.

> **Carmen pointed on me (Huo) and asked with a smile, you are from a MDV, aren't you? You, too, Huo said. Yes. The MDVs' boys have a sort of unique scent. I can recognise the smell quickly. What was the scent? Carmen gazed on my face with crossed arms and said, straightforward, impetuous, sentimental, and being eager to do well in everything (Sun, 1995, pp. 44 - 45).**

The personalities also appeared among the MDVs' boys in Ci-Jiang Jhang's novel. Here, they were bellicose and never surrendered to fate. On the bright side, the personalities could support the boys on taking seriously the things they were doing - e.g. playing ball games, studying, or working - like the main character, 'I', in Ci-Jiang Jhang's *Lost Ball*. (Jhang, 1997) However, on the other side, the same personalities could be interpreted as wild, rude, and violent which could trigger a fight between opposite groups of boys and sometime even push them to become gangsters, like Tai-Sheng Jhang in Jhang's *Lost 520* (Jhang, 1997).

Speaking with the heavy accent of hometown and some special swearwords, like Tamade[131] were the obvious features owned by residents of MDVs. They triggered residents' nostalgia, like Wei-Chen Su said (Su, 2004). Additionally, they were useful to distinguish who was from MDVs, as Tian-Sin Jhu used. Moreover, if a man was a middle-aged taxi driver, speaking with a heavy accent, and seriously criticising both the CNP and the DPP, he must be from a MDV. Or, an official who always took national prosperity or degeneracy as his own responsibility must be from a MDV as well (Jhu, 2002). The features and personalities usually only could be applied to male residents, not to females, according to Su's and Jhu's narratives.

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[131] Tamade (他媽的) similar to fucking was a swearword popular among mainlanders.

The features and personalities of MDVs among female were various and could not be simply induced and recognised like those of a male. Additionally, females from MDVs shared similar features and personalities with local females because many local females became residents of MDVs after getting married to the original male residents (Chen, 2005). Even though some MDVs literature writers depicted some MDVs female's features and personalities in their novels, it was hard to say that those features and personalities uniquely belonged to female residents. For instance, Tian-Sin Jhu described how the mothers who were first-generation residents in her village were busy earning a livelihood and looking after family members as local mothers did outside the village. They usually stay in except to go shopping in the market, listening to the radio, watching television, and playing mahjong (Jhu, 2002). The image of MDVs' mothers as hardworking also matched to those mothers in Ying-Han New Village, according to Ming-Yue Chen's description. Female dependants, both from China and locally, had the same features and personalities (Chen, 2006). Romantics was the main issue which Wei-Chen Su used to figure out the image of the MDV female. In *Leaving Tong-Fang*, there were four attitudes toward love. Yi-Fang Si and Jing-Sin Fang were well educated and were highly controlled by their family. The former totally obeyed traditional rules for woman. In contrast to Si, Fang was very independent and was brave in pursuing her dream. She was not restricted by traditional rules imposed on women, which told a woman that she should be obedient to parents and husband. A-Shou was the representative of the girl who had to spend almost all her time to look after her family because her father worked in military service far away, her mother had mental health problems, and her brother was still too young to take care of himself. She became the only one who had to take on the responsibility of looking after them. Family was her love. The last type of attitude was held by the women who can dedicate everything to whom they love. Madam Li, who was A-Shou's mother, and Ciao Li were the two representatives. Both of them fell in love with the same man, Ren-Jhong Yuan and went mad after they were betrayed by him. Their romantic stories were tragedies, in which the

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woman gave all of her love to a man, and even though he betrayed her, she did not give up until she lost her grip on her sanity (Su, 1990). Although the MDVs' female image in Jhu's and Su's novels might be exaggerated for giving high tension in stories, all of them offered some clues to imagining the female's life in MDVs. However, the female image was not that different to the female outside village as Jhu said. There always were local female with similar features and experiences. Therefore, it was hard to distinguish who was a MDV female, and who was not, except for some females who were masculine. For example, Luo-Yi Hou described herself with the appearance as someone who looked tall and strong, walked vigorously and energetically, spoke clearly and articulately, and behaved decisively and resolutely. Due to those features and personalities, many people told her that she must come from one of the MDVs (Hou, 2012).

Besides the special name, in a common sense, people from MDVs usually had the features and personalities as mentioned above. They were masculine and could be applied to most of the MDVs' males and some females. These special feature are also ICH of MDVs.

5.3.5 FAMILY-LIKE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The fact that residents were very close, or that the neighbourhood was family-like, was a very impressive aspect of MDVs' culture in many narratives about MDVs. The boundaries and distinctions between families were not very clear on both spatial and psychological aspects (Ceng, 2006).

On the spatial aspect, except for the type-1 MDVs classified in chapter 4, which had bigger houses that were equipped with front or rear gardens, most of the houses were narrow and very close to other houses in types 2 and 3. Additionally, the distance between public and private spaces was too short to retain good privacy. There was a paragraph in Tian-Wen Jhu's *The City in High Summer* mentioned the spatial feature. Su-Lan Jhen, who was the heroine and had a

crush on her neighbour Tong-Ci Jia, passed through the lane in front of family Jia's house. Due to the fact that there was almost no space between the lane and Jia's house, Jhen can very easily glimpsed that the whole of Jia's family was sitting around the dining table and was eating watermelon. Tong-Ci Jia just sat there and was playing with his younger sister and laughing cheerfully. That all of them were laughing made Jhen feel sweet and joyful (Jhu, 2008). The paragraph indicated that it was hard for families to keep their activities private in MDVs. Even the houses which were separated by wall had the same situation because the walls were built of clay and bamboo and could not stop sounds coming from either side.

There was almost no obstacle to restrict the sight of the public from the private space, and vice versa. Even the boundary between families was blurred sometimes. In Huei-Rong Ceng's noval, *House becoming Old, People Leaving*, she mentioned her neighbour, uncle Li, living next to her, was very interested in gardening. He planted a lot of bonsais laid out in front of his front door to Ceng's house which linked their front gardens into to one. Ceng's family did not worry about that, and did not feel that their garden had been taken over by uncle Li. She also mentioned that in her village no one needed to lock their door due to the enclosed nature of the village and family-like residents. Residents could go to others' homes to visit or for a gossiping. Moreover, Ceng said, her parents were busy and were not often stayed at home and she was very eager to have her parents around. The desire was soothed when she went to Li's house and was accompanied by uncle and aunt Li who were like her parents (Ceng, 2006). In addition, sharing foods and clothes, helping each other at every main holidays, like Chinese New Year, and even taking care of new-born babies and sharing breast feeding were very popular in MDVs because they were family-like (Jheng, 2008). The family-like neighbourhood was the very key point in most of the residents' memories and the very key factor which evokes their identity to MDVs. Thus, family-like neighbour relationship should be viewed as an important element for

creating sense of a place and building residents' network of their living environment (Massey, 1995). Moreover, the relationship also a significant ICH for residents.

5.3.6 DISCRIMINATION IN MDVS

Because of the family-like neighbourhood, most of the residents' narratives about the neighbourhood in MDVs were bright and positive. However, the real MDVs were not a utopia as the one described in those narratives. The dark side of life in MDVs, like differences, conflicts, arguments, or discrimination, was just hidden to give the impression of a peaceful community. For instance, Mei-Ling Liou's mother was a Hakka[132] and her language, food, and culture were much different from those of her father, a mainlander from Zhejiang Province, China. But, after a long period of marriage life, her mother hid her culture and changed to using her father's language[133] and getting used to his favourite foods. Even when her father was complaining that he was discriminated against by locals, her mother always took his side as if she was also a mainlander (Jheng, 2008). It was obvious that females were inferior in MDVs, especially the local females. However, most of the local females in MDVs did not argue over the cultural depression. Instead of standing against the discrimination, they chose to follow the main stream culture in the family and the village.

Awu Ligelale described much of the racial and female discrimination in MDVs according to her personal experience. Her father was compelled to become a soldier by the CNP in China when the CNP was defeated by the CPC in the 1940s. Her mother was an aboriginal of Payuan.

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[132] The Hakka people form the second major local group of Taiwan.

[133] Choosing Mandarin, not Hakka language which was Liou's mother's mother tongue, as the main language in communication might be caused by the official language policy issued by the CNP government which forced every Taiwanese had to use Mandarin as the official language.

Her father did not plan to get married in Taiwan and had the dream of returning to China soon. However, he gave up the dream and got married after he found that his friends and neighbours had given up the dream, then got married with aboriginal girls and already had lovely children. Their marriage was not like a romantic story, but was similar to a kind of business. He bought her mother from a tribe through a marriage agent. That was very popular among those veterans at that time. Aboriginals were the minority in Taiwan society and in MDVs as well. In Ligelale's village, her mother was one of the only two aboriginal wives; others were from China and local Holo people[134]. Thus, her mother and the other aboriginal woman, Siou-Lan, who was her mother's good friend and also was a Payuan, were the smallest minority in the village and were discriminated against by others.

Firstly, the female aboriginal was discriminated against by female of mainlander. Ligelale's mother recalled that, expect for those veterans who really wanted to settle down in Taiwan and bring up a family up, there were a few veterans who married with aboriginal girls as concubines because of their beauty. Therefore, female mainlander residents saw aboriginal girls as evil people who like to rob male veterans (Ligelale, 1996).

The second discrimination they faced was from their husbands. Siou-Lan got married to a mainlander resident in Ligelale's village from Shandong Province, China who was rude and had a bad temper. She experienced a serious domestic violence problem in that her husband frequently beat her up. Every time when she was beaten up, she would leave home and go to Ligelale's home where she would stay for around three to five days although both houses only had one block between, and still in the same village. Although she left home periodically, she still went back to her home and cooked for her husband (Ligelale, 1996). She had no capacity

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[134] The Holo people is the first major local group of Taiwan.

to leave her husband due to being without financial support and proper occupational training. She was a minority in aspects of gender, finance, family structure, and society.

From a cultural aspect, aboriginal residents were discriminated against as well. Ligelale's mother had got used to the prejudiced names she was called, such as fanpo[135] and shandiren[136] after being a resident of MDVs for a long time. Sometimes, she was bullied or beaten by other residents. Ligelale once could not find her mother around the village and finally found her beaten up and left in a deep ditch near the village. For her little daughter, she did her best to bear the other residents' laughing and prejudice and had to endure the inconvenience of the unknown mainlander language and very spicy food. She gradually overcame all the problems and tried to become the same as the others; nonetheless, residents' biased views were still due to her aboriginal roots. The discrimination against aboriginals was also passed down to their children. Ligelale said that, in her childhood, her life circle was only limited to school and home and she had no friends in the village merely because her mother was an aboriginal. All other children of the village refused to make friends with her and her sister, and enjoyed bullying them, e.g. calling them shandiren's children or spreading the rumour that shandiren's children liked to eat people. Thus they only stayed at home when they were not at school (Ligelale, 1996).

In Ligelale's narrative, MDVs were not wonderful places; they were not utopia, but spaces with pressure, prejudice, and bullying. They were also the spaces with the memories which she hated to recall and tried to omit as she burned all her father's diaries after his death. The case of

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[135] Fanpo (番婆) was a prejudiced nickname which meant aboriginal woman.

[136] Shanderen (山地人) was a prejudice nickname which meant aboriginal who lived in the mountain area.

Ligelale's narrative also ironically refuted the existence of a peaceful, multi-cultural integration in MDVS, which is mentioned in most of the MDV narratives and conservational projects and used as valuable cultural property. Although MDVs are kind of negative place for Ligelale, the dark side of MDVs is authentic sense of place of the village where she lived.

5.3.7 HOMOGENEOUS VOTING TENDENCY

Residents' political inclination was discussed in the previous chapter and further on, in section 5.1 on the aspects of physical settings and the social structure. The inclination was a very popular impression added to MDVs for public consumption, and had become a stereotype. But the residents' voice had not yet been heard. There were two paragraphs in Ling Ku's (1985) and Tian-Sin Jhu's (2002) essays which expressed residents' thoughts on the political issue.

Ku said that the election campaign was the other thing which was like a battle besides the boys' fighting games. The campaign was usually accompanied with hung red clothes banners everywhere, frequent visits from the candidates and their assistants, and advertising vans slowly wandering on every street. However, all of those activities were related to events that were going on outside the village. No residents cared about who those candidates were, which positions they were competing for, and what their politics were. The option had been set. All residents had to do was go to the voting station and polling for the candidate who had been designated. Residents were not really blind over the voting, but just very strongly believed that the CNP would do the best choice for them and highly valued the loyalty to the party. Any poll for other candidates was a galling shame and humiliation of the whole village (Ku, 1985).

Not all of the residents were obedient to the voting order of the CNP. They gradually reflected on their attitude to the totalitarian political control of and blind support for the CNP following the development of democratisation and more contacting with locals. However, the awareness

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and reflection were not accepted by locals immediately and this brought them into an in-between situation like the narrator's[137] in Jhu's essay. The narrator, who was born in the village and had become used to the given vote option, recognised that the political inclination might be wrong and voted for another party some 10 years after she got the right to vote. In everyday life, she always stood on the opposite side and fought with the people, including her husband, a Taiwanese, who seriously criticised the CNP and its politicians. To Jhu, their criticism seemed that she was attacking herself, but, at that moment, in her mind, she much envied that they had no scruples about attacking the party and its policies. The time when she was free to criticise the CNP was when she was with her family, e.g. her father, because they would support the CNP as standing on her opposite side. Ironically, those elder families and neighbours usually blamed the CNP for cheating them and moving them to the island (Jhu, 2002).

Although, glimpsing at the phenomenon of the homogeneous voting tendency that residents of MDVs had been bound to with the CNP, the causes which pushed residents to vote for the CNP candidate were various. From the residents' perspectives, they might be a hidden forces of social structures which were from the government and the CNP, an unconscious habit of blindly following to others, or a pressure from the neighbourhood to maintain the honour of the village. More, the cause might be just simple opposing of those who criticised the CNP. No matter how much residents complained about the party, they still voted for it.[138]

5.3.8 'THE OTHER' AND MORE

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[137] Jhu's essay, *The Remembrance of My MDVs Buddies*, was a story based on Jhu's experience. The narrator could be seen as Jhu herself.

[138] The tendency of homogeneous voting is gradually changing. It needs long-term observation and research.

There were more features which could be found in residents' narratives beside the seven listed above and some of them expressed the complexity and conflict between different residents. For example, Wei-Chen Su (2004) observed MDVs' meaning in the aspect of MDVs renewal and analogised them as a kind of tumour in a city when they were no longer a place for accommodating after the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was issued. The old and poor terraced houses became tumours which obstructed urban modernisation. The residents moved into villages in order to find a place to settle down. MDVs meant a home for residents even though it was temporary. No one could anticipate that MDVs would become a symbol of failure. The residents who still lived in them meant that they were loser in their lives and had no ability to escape from villages.

The above listed eight features state of MDVs are focused in residents' narratives. Those features were not a group of inflexible description. It was possible that each feature above might have subtle difference for readers who had other experience in MDVs. Furthermore, more features might be found when other residents' narratives were collected in the future.

SUMMARY

MDVs had various interpretations from the perspectives of different interpreters. To the government, they were a part of the welfare system for taking care of military dependants in the first instance. The meaning changed into a strong base to support the power of the totalitarian autocratic CNP government after the party was defeated by the CCP and escaped to Taiwan. The meaning changed again when some culturati and scholars asked for the protection of MDVs as cultural heritage. Conserving the villages was a passive reaction of government for responding to culturati's and scholars' requirement, and also was a part of the policy to build a multi-cultural society. The MDVs was a cultural resource for government so far.

Unlike the meaning to the government, to culturati, MDVs were a place of residents. They were filled with residents' cultures, memories, and lives. They should be preserved to be a place for cultural communication. They were also places which accumulated residents' living traces and memories and a kind of display which demonstrated the development history of the cities which they were located in. They were also the forms of evidences which proved that the cities were great for integrating different cultures.

To residents, MDVs were the places in which they lived in. Depending on personal experiences, there were different interpretations of what the meaning of MDVs was. The villages could be a kind of place with endless homesickness because often there were some residents who were talking their hometown in China or telling the stories of escaping from China to Taiwan. The village could be a place where residents were like nomads. Additionally, the villages could also be a hometown for some residents who had really settled there. The interpretation of MDVs was various. Different residents might offer different points of view. Moreover, different readers of residents' narratives might have different interpretations of MDVs.

All of those interpretations were authentic, but could not represent the MDV in its entirety because each aspect only presented a partial meaning of the village. Other interpretations might be found when someone acquires a new perspective on the discourse.

CHAPTER 6: THE LANDSCAPE NARRATIVES OF CONSERVED MDV SITES BASED ON VISITORS' EXPERIENCES

INTRODUCTION

It had been mentioned in chapter *Introduction* that this thesis aimed to analyse the mobile senses of place of historical landscape and to examine the conservation strategies applied on conserved sites according to the result of the analysis for next conservational strategies in the future. A multi-layered framework which includes analysis in aspects of history, settings, and narratives was developed for analysing the historical or cultural landscapes and MDVs are studied cases of this thesis.

The meaning of the spaces of MDVs was analysed in the last three chapters from the aspects of the history of conservation of Taiwan, the history of development of MDVs, and the narratives about the communities. The cultural value of MDVs was not based on how many years they had existed, but on the awareness about searching for the cultural subjectivity and the identity of Taiwan which followed the development of the concept of heritage conservation. Diversity was another cultural value of MDVs. There were 886 villages and every one had its own spatial features and stories. All could be classified into three development periods and three types, and some common features were shared by most of the villages. Additionally, the accumulation of residents' lives, thoughts, and memories formed the unique culture which differed slightly from village to village. All these factors made MDVs a diverse kind of place. People's and government's narratives offered the evidences which supported such cultural diversity.

When it came to the presentation of conserved MDVs, the crucial issues would be the criteria of selection and presentation of historical materials and appropriate representation for visitors.

To make decisions for both issues was not easy due to the fact that each conservation project had its conditions and limits. There was no clear vision of or standard answer to how to conserve and present the cultural property of MDVs. So far, each case was a trial which attempted to do as much as they could under various limitations such as laws, labours, property ownership, or budgets. Every praxis might be the result of many compromises. Nevertheless, every decision was the force which caused the transformation of those spaces from an accommodational community to a conserved site.

Another issue was what kind of place visitors learnt about the conserved MDVs' sites and how much they could conceive and perceive conservationists' or managers' intentions. In other words, what experience would visitors really gain? Would they understand what the position of the conserved MDVs was in the history of conservation of Taiwan? Would they know why some culturati, scholars, and residents were eager to protect the culture, historic items, and spaces of MDVs? Or, was there a gap between the past and visitors who had ever been experienced any life in MDVs? Every visitor's experience might reflect to the strategy of conserving in the future.

To answer those questions, this chapter would analyse the strategies so far which were applied to the practices of MDVs' conservation at the first. Next, two cases which had better management, Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) and Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV), are comprehensively analysed based on their programmes and visitors' experiences.

6.1 CATEGORIES OF PRACTISES OF MDVS CONSERVATION

According to the analysis in the chapter 3, the development of community conservation in Taiwan is not a long history, and the practice of MDV conservation did not begin until 1997. The concept of community conservation was just a seed in the minds of professionals and

culturati before 1975, and was not really present in civilians or governors. After that, governors were aware of the importance of community conservation and practiced several projects, most of which were only directed and planned by governors and professionals. From the mid-1980s, some civilians and local organisations participated in conservation practices and tried to lead those projects. Because of the participation of members of each community, residents gradually built up their community identity.

There were different attitudes toward conservational activities of MDVs, and the public sphere of discussing conservation issues was still a blur. For example, the residents of AFSFV and Gonghe New Village (GNV) had different attitudes to the conservation strategy. Although the residents of AFSFV and GNV had identified the communities where they had lived over decades as their homes, not temporary accommodations, they still thought that the mainland China and the ROC were their real hometown and national identification, as discussed in chapter 5. Moreover, most of them agreed that the space and culture of MDVs should be kept as evidence of Taiwanese history, but there were two attitudes of spatial and cultural conservation between of them. The residents of AFSFV chose to move to the new community, returning the site of the community to the public in effect, and trying to persuade the government to keep the site as a MDVs' 'Cultural Park'. Opposing this, the residents of GNV thought that the reforming rule of old MDVs was the murderer of the culture and space of MDVs, and contended that the best way to conserve MDVs' culture was to keep the whole military communities including the original residents and space because when they had left, the unique culture would be impossible to retain and the meaning of the space would be changed. From the perspective of the government, the old MDVs must be bulldozed and the sites should be returned to the public department or be sold out to fund the building of new military communities. Conservation was never the option of the policy of the Ministry of National Defence until the new rule of conservation of MDVs had been passed in 2007. After the

government of Taoyuan County held a cultural festival of MDVs in 2002, there have been more and more activities relating to MDVs in the current time, and more citizens were aware that MDVs and their culture were a part of the history of Taiwan. Through the above events, a public appreciation of MDVs would be enhanced.

The issue of renewing old MDVs emerged and was discussed during the 1970s, and the process of renewing and privatising started after the Direction of Rebuilding Old MDVs[135] was formulated in 1980. To accelerate the schedule of renewing old MDVs, the Direction was amended to the Statute of Renewing Old MDVs in 1996. The main difference between the Direction and the Statute was that the latter changed the renewing process from one village at a time, to several villages at the same time. The more MDVs that were bulldozed, that then fewer and less original MDVs existed. According to the statistics of the Ministry of National Defence Taiwan in 2007, there were only 178 MDVs on the list not being renewed[136].

To confront the crisis of that all MDVs and their unique living style would disappear in the future and the affecting of the policy of community empowering of the CCA that encouraged residents of every community to cherish their own living environment, Beiyuan community[137], Tainan City, began to collect historical and cultural materials of local MDVs from 1996. Afterward, some residents of MDVs, the people who noted the problem, and some local governments began to record and collect historic materials of MDVs or to hold activities which tried to demonstrate the culture of MDVs and to attract more people to become concerned with

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[135] The Direction is an Administrative Fiat.

[136] According to the schedule of the Ministry of National Defence Taiwan, all MDVs should be bulldozed or rebuilt before 2009. Because of the efforts of some cultural organisations and culturati, and residents of MDVs, some MDVs continue to exist.

[137] Beiyuan community (北垣社區) was composed of several MDVs.

this issue. After the first MDVs adjusted case, the SSV Conservation Plan, was suggested in 1997, there were 33 conservation sites which were designated to heritages by government under people and culturati's suggestion. In addition, depending on government's attitude and budgets, some of them were adjusted to become MDVs' museums, artist villages, and creative or cultural parks. In those designated sites, the Treasure Hill, which was a heritage of illegal and unofficial MDV, and the Sinyi Assembly Hall, which was adjusted from SSV, were the most remarkable projects which played the important practical models in MDVs' conservational events (Figure 1 and List 1).

The conservation strategies which were applied on the 33 sites can be classified into seven categories according to main functions of conserved sites:

• Category 1: static conservation – moving out all of the residents and only preserving and exhibiting the buildings.

• Category 2: museum[138] – setting up a museum to order the history, collecting, and storing of, and demonstrate the historical objects of MDVs.

• Category 3: cultural and creative quarter – installing activities of cultural and creative industries[139] in an adjusted MDV site.

• Category 4: integrated conservation – maintaining spatial type of village as private house by reserving part or whole village for original residents to live in.

• Category 5: graffiti decoration – decorating village with graffiti to arouse people's concern and to promote conservation activities.

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[138] Some of the museum of MDVs were not named as such. For example, the museums of SSV and Erkong New Village were 'exhibition house' and 'gallery', but they collected and exhibited the historical materials of MDVs as what a museum did. Thus, both were classified under the division of museum.

[139] According to the definitions given by the UNESCO, cultural industries included the creation, production and commercialisation of creative contents. Creative industries included the activities and added all cultural and artistic production (Global Alliance Team UNESCO, 2006).

- Category 6: café or restaurant – installing café or restaurant within old building.

- Category 7: community hall - adjusting to become a community hall.

Most of the conservation projects only used one strategy, a few of the cases adopted more than one, and the AFSFV was the site that employed most categories, which includes category 2, 3, 6, and 7.
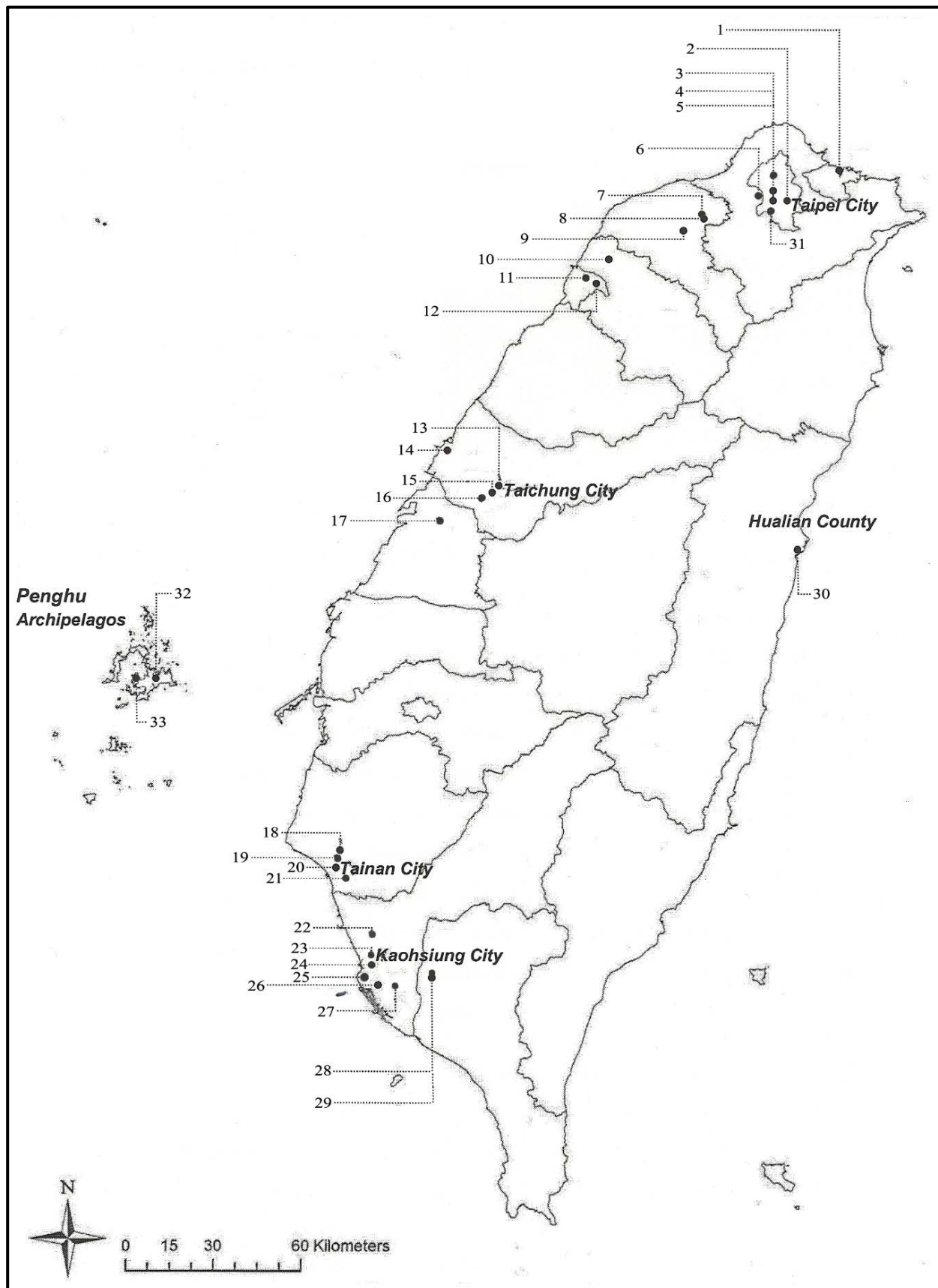
Figure 1. The Locations of MDVs Conservation Sites (by author).

List 1. The Certification and Adjusting Strategy of Sites of Conserved MDVs (by author).

Number	Name of Conservational Site	Certification	Category of Adjusting Strategy
1	Siandong New Village	Historic building	1
2	SSV	Historic building	2, 6, 7
3	Jhongsin New Village	Historic Settlement	4
4	Wei-Ren Deng House	Historic building	1
5	Navy General Accommodation	Historic building	1
6	AFSFV	Historic building	2, 3, 6, 7
7	Military Community Story House	Historic building	2
8	Sianguang Second Village	Historic building	1
9	Mazu New Village	Historic building	3
10	Armour New Village	Historic building	3
11	MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City		2
12	Jhongjhen New Village	Historic building	3
13	Yide Western House	Historic building	1
14	Sinyi New Village	Municipal ruin	3
15	Li-Ren Sun House	Historic building	2
16	Rainbow Village		5
17	Jhongsing New Village	Historic building	3
18	Feiyan New Village	Historic building	1
19	Ex-armament Accessory Factory	Municipal heritage	3
20	Jhihkai New Village	Municipal heritage	3
21	Erkong New Village	Historic building and cultural landsacpe	2
22	Lecyun Village	Municipal heritage and Historic building	1
23	Mingde New Village and Jianye New Village	Cultural landscape	3
24	Kaohsiung Museum of MDVs		2
25	Zihciang New Village		4
26	Siaoyao Yuan	Historic building	1
27	Fongshan New Village, Mingde Navy jail, and Huangpu New Village	The former two were national heritage and the last was cultural landscape.	3, 4
28	Shengli New Village	Historic building	2, 3
29	Chongren New Village	Historic building	3
30	Fusing New Village	Historic building	7
31	Treasure Hill	Historic building	3, 4, 5, 6
32	Gate New Village	Historic building	1
33	Dusing Tenth Village	Historic building	3

6.1.1 CATEGORY 1: STATIC CONSERVATION

The concept of *static conservation* was keeping the site of MDVs as an antique or as an exhibition hall for historic collections of MDVs or others without comprehensive interpretation and promotion for the history and culture of MDVs after the residents had moved out. Its main conservational practice was preserving the sites in their authentically original condition. However, the original condition of the sites were not rehabilitated with careful studies, and in most cases they were not deliberately recovered. Additionally, in the conservational mode, the exhibition of MDVs was a subordinate function which was not well managed to attract people. Therefore, only very few historic materials were demonstrated in those buildings. Most of the cases just had an interpretive signage to introduce the brief history of the MDV (Shen, 2008, Gao and Guo, 2009). The cases, dealt with in the strategy, became a kind of specimen which had lost social and urban contexts and was more a location for tourism.

Static conservation was applied to nine cases. Most of them were temporarily kept in their current status and were waiting for maintenance budgets to undergo rehabilitation. Sianguang Second Village was the most notable case which demonstrated how the conservation mode might work.

6.1.1.1 Case of Category 1: Sianguang Second Village

The village, which was located at Gueishan District of Taoyuan City had two types of building, one-storey terraced houses built in 1968 and four-storeys flats built in 1973 as an accommodation for military police troops and their dependants (Figures 2 and 3). According to the schedule of rebuilding old MDVs, all the residents planned to move out before 2005 and the village became an abandoned space. Some culturati who thought the village was an important site which was a representative type of MDVs and a memorable site of Gueishan

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suggested that the village should be listed as cultural property. As a result, it was inscribed as historic buildings in 2014. However, the managing body, the government of Taoyuan City, did not work out any adjusting and management plan, except a static demonstration of the whole site. So far, the site was opened for the public to have a short wander and look during the weekdays with confirmed booking before visiting. Sometimes it was used as a scene for film or television dramas (Figure 4). Except for some houses used for filming, most of them were not well maintained and were destroyed by thieves or squatters, making the community like a ruin (Figure 5). People came to experience the past circumstances of the physical environment with very few residents' living traces. If they were interested in the further history of the village, they had to go to the Military Community Story House, 1 kilometre from this village, where many historic materials of the village were collected and exhibited.

Figure 2. The terraced house type of Sianguang Second Village (by author).

Figure 3. The flat type of Sianguang Second Village (by author).

Figure 4. Crews of TV drama were filming in Sianguang Second Village (by author).

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However, not all historical materials and scenes were in their original situations, but just represented or simulated (referring to case 2 of category 2).

Figure 5. Messed-up interior of house. Most of original living traces had been erased; only some pictures used in the campaign for protecting the village were left (by author).

Protecting the original setting of MDVs was the most obvious advantage of static conservation mode, particularly applying it to retaining a complete community. A situation preserved in its authenticity would offer the visitors a direct and perceptive experience. That experience was hard to replace by learning from a demonstration of historical objects or great interpretations and narratives. However, the mode had several problems when it came to the conservation of MDVs if only the buildings remained. The Ministry of Defence and the Cultural Affairs departments did not noticed that MDVs were cultural properties and were worth preserving, as a consequence many historic materials and physical settings could not be saved in time and residents' living traces disappeared. Even though the nine sites had been inscribed as historical buildings, most of the sites were lacking good maintenance due to financial shortage, not to mention the problems of collecting and recording history of village and residents' stories, collecting historic objects, and planning an elaborate interpretation and demonstration brought with them. Thus, visitors learnt little about the history of the site and the culture of the village if they did not have broad knowledge about MDVs. The most serious problem was that those sites were no longer providing an atmosphere of living, but were only exhibition spaces without residents, who were the most important subject of MDVs.

6.1.2 CATEGORY 2: MUSEUM

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

Adjusting MDVs to *museums* was a strategy to avoid the main disadvantage of static conservation, which dismissed the meaningful historic objects, history, and living traces, by adding the functions of collecting, storing, and displaying. The added functions were to protect and present the past lives and culture of MDVs through offering comprehensive displays and interpretation which could help enhance the visitors' experiences and promote the value of conservation of MDVs.

From the perspective of ordering the history, protecting historical objects, and recording residents' memories, the strategy of setting up museums of MDVs could satisfy the requirement. The main task of the museums was to educate visitors about, and promote the culture of MDVs via collections and exhibitions for the original residents of villages, outsiders who were interested in MDVs, and those who were against MDVs based on cultural or political inclinations. Furthermore, setting up a museum was helpful to the practice of promoting the issue of MDVs' conservation and helping academic studies about those villages. However, from the viewpoint of protecting the social and urban contexts, the adjusting mode still could be improved in offering a comprehensive conservation project because it eliminated residents, particularly the original residents, and only demonstrated objects, although some museums usually invited them to be volunteers or interpreters in activities. Moreover, the exhibitions in museums were restricted by limited space and could not completely present the activity of the simulative life of MDVs. The only method for visitors to learn the past life and culture of MDVs was through written, photographic, and graphic interpretations. These displays, however, were not interesting or comprehensive enough, like most regular displays, and they were hard to attract people to revisit them over and over again. An analysis of current management of museums of MDVs supported the opinions relating to and suggested the mode of eco-museum which involved the original physical settings and revived past activities of MDVs to overcome the disadvantage (Chen et al., 2007).

Although adjusting the sites of MDVs to become museums was not effective at retaining the original physical settings and intangible cultural properties, the strategy was prevalent conservational mode which compromised with limited budget and space. At the time of writing in 2015, there were seven museums[140] which included three official museum, MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City, Kaohsiung Museum of MDV, and MDVs Cultural Exhibition Hall of SSV[141], and a private museum, the Military Community Story House. They were the famous four cases of villages that were adjusted to function as museums.

6.1.2.1 Case 1 of Category 2: MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City

The MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City which opened in 2002 was the first one which was related to the culture and history of MDVs and was the only one which was set up in a building not belonging to any village (Figure 6). The Hsinchu City Government planned to negotiate with the Ministry of National Defence Taiwan to adjust the eighth district of the Air Force Hsinchu First Village to become a cultural park of MDVs including a MDVs' museum. Since

Figure 6. The MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City and a water tank made of aeroplane fuel tank by residents of MDV (by author).

the Ministry of National Defence did not agree with the suggestion, Hsinchu City Government

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[140] There were eight sites in total which applied the category 2 in conservation projects. The museum of AFSFV is still only as suggested conservation plan and might be set up in the future.

[141] The case of SSV is analysed in later in the chapter because the case was the first case of the conservation of MDVs and had been run for several years.

transformed the fore-office of the Department of Environmental Protection and adjusted it as the MDVs' museum. Government cooperated with the Cingtian Association Hsinchu branch which was founded by residents of MDVs on management, but, the Cingtian was only charged with collecting historical objects; the plan of exhibition was developed by the Cultural Affairs Bureau, Hsinchu City.

The museum had outdoor and indoor exhibitions which demonstrated collections of historic materials and the simulative scenes of MDVs' lives (Figures 7 and 8). It displayed those physical historic collections and digital records in the MDVs' scenes to inherit and disseminate the experience and spirit of MDVs to the visitors.

The most remarkable settings at the outdoor exhibition were the red door with bamboo fence and a water tower made by an auxiliary oil tank from a fighter plane F-100 (Figures 8 and 9). As per the analysis in the chapter 4, the red door and bamboo fence were the very

Figure 7. Indoors exhibition of MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City (by author).

Figure 8. A water tank made of aeroplane fuel tank by residents of MDV was demonstrated in outdoors exhibition of MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City (by author).

Figure 9. The Red Door and Bamboo Fence of MDVs Museum of Hsinchu City was created to Simulate the Image of MDVs (by author).

significant spatial elements of MDVs. The water tower was collected from Hsinchu Third Factory Village. It was used as a water tower when a resident took the tank from the factory to the village. Taking discarded military equipment home was a common activity for military service personnel and residents. According to the interpretation of the museum, the tower represented the virtues of hard work and thrift as well as the core value of the museum.

There were three storeys in the interior exhibition, separated into three themes. On the ground floor, the theme was the histories of MDVs in Taiwan and in Hsinchu City and the residents' stories during military services. Histories were explained via posters with written introductions or pictures (Figure 10). It was a pity that most of collections just were not displayed with comprehensive interpretations; they were just organised and arranged in the exhibition (Figure 11). On the first floor, the residents' lives were

Figure 10. The Exhibition on the Ground Floor (by author).

Figure 11. Collections Were not Well Introduced (by author).

Figure 12. The simulative Setting of Dining Room and Kitchen in MDVs with Collections from Residents (by author).

told in six perspectives - food, clothing, housing, transportation, education, and entertainment. The curator used simulative settings with real objects collected from residents to demonstrate the atmosphere of MDVs. There was even a simulative street of MDVs to bring the outdoor image in a common village to visitors (Figures 12 and 13). The exhibition room on the last floor was the space for special exhibitions. The creations made by the students of Zaisi Elementary School about the image of MDVs in their mind were presented on this floor (Figure 14).
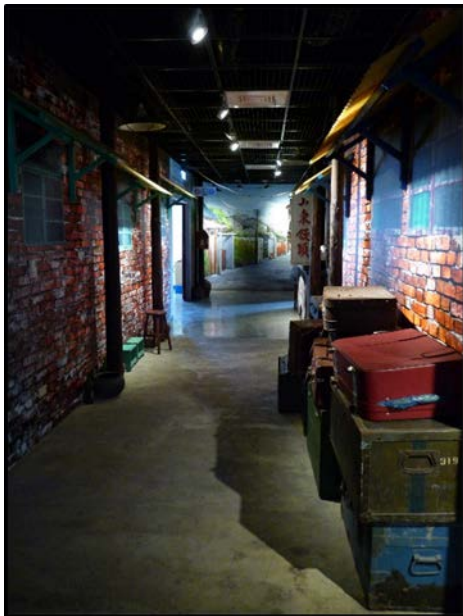
Figure 13. The Simulative Street of MDVs (by author).

Figure 14. The Paintings of the Exhibition of the Image of MDVs (by author).

6.1.2.2 Case 2 of Category 2: Military Community Story House

The building of the Military Community Story House was built in the 1980s to be the office of Luguang Third Village Committee and the entertainment centre. In 2003, even though the rest of buildings of the village had been bulldozed, Taozihyuan Cultural Association and some residents of the village suggested to the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taoyuan County Government that the building should be certified as a cultural heritage, and that it could be a

good place to run a MDVs' museum (Figure 15). It was opened in 2003 and was the first MDVs' museum located in a lived-in community, although the community comprised brand new rebuilt housing, not the original buildings. The museum collected many historic materials and conducted a lot of fieldwork. Being conducted through films, audio display, the introduction of inhabitants of MDVs, and visiting the MDVs' conservational sites nearby, visitors could easily immerse in the historical atmosphere of MDVs.

The exhibitions of the museum had two sections which were set separately on different floors. On the ground floor, half of the space was used for reception, souvenir shop, and a multi-function room; the rest was the exhibition room for displaying collections from Luguang Third Village and others (Figure 16). Although the museum was an office and entertainment centre of Luguang Third Village, the curator seemed worried that the plain original interior space could not match the image of MDVs in the

Figure 15. Taoyuan MDVs' Story Museum (by author).

Figure 16. Exhibition in Taoyuan MDVs' Story Museum (by author).

Figure 17. Simulative bamboo fence was used to giving the atmosphere of MDVs. Introductions were offered via posters and introduction cards (by author).

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visitors' mind and tried to introduce some popular elements of MDVs into the exhibition, e.g. bamboo fence and national flag. The rich and diverse collections expressed manager's efforts on protecting the history and culture of MDVs. There were some posters which described what the conservational team did in protecting MDVs and their vision for the future. Some of the displays had introduction cards to tell their stories to visitors. However, it was a pity that those objects were not arranged well, or displayed with the clear theme of the narrative (Figure 17). Upstairs, the exhibition was a recreated setting which simulated the image of the common accommodation of MDVs by combining the outwards look and interior space (Figures 18 and 19). With the guidance offered by volunteers who were residents of some villages, visitors learnt the narrative of the simulative space and real residents' stories. On the other hand, visitors who had no knowledge of the story of MDVs might barely understand the meaning of the recreated settings - only through their

Figure 18. The outwards look simulation mixed with the common elements, e.g. entrance with red door with white strips and wooden window frames (by author).

Figure 19. The interior simulation demonstrated the common settings of living room in MDVs (by author).

Figure 20. Sunny Weekends Flea Fair on the Square in front of the Museum (by author).

personal perceptions. To attracting more visitors and to maintain the place as a community centre, curators often held activities on the square in front of the museum, e.g. flea fair (Figure 20). Although not every activity was related with MDVs, it offered an opportunity for visitors and residents to communicate.

Figure 21. Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (before adjusted) (Retrieved from http://village.khcc.gov.tw/)

6.1.2.3 Case 3 of Category 2: Kaohsiung Museum of MDV

The Kaohsiung Museum of MDV was located on the site which was the Haiguang Third Village at Zuoyin District, Kaohsiung City. All of the village had been bulldozed expect for the office of the Village Committee and its kindergarten before 2010. The former remaining building was adjusted to be the museum, and the latter became the office of the Kaohsiung Old Town Cultural Association (Figure 21 - 23). Comparing the two pictures of the 'before' and 'after' adjusted as the Museum, it was easy to find that most of traces of what the building originally was had been removed. From the

Figure 22. Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (after adjusted) (by author).

Figure 23. The Office of the Kaohsiung Old Town Cultural Association (the Ex-kindergarten of the Haiguang Third Village) (by author).

viewpoint of conservation, the adjusting project was a completely mistake in that it did not protect the authenticity of the heritage in its original situation. However, from the perspective of offering a place to demonstrate and communicate cultural properties of MDVs, the strategy of transforming the space to suit the needs of a museum was the proper approach.

The museum was opened in 2006 to address the tasks of retracing the mainlanders' history of fleeing from China to Taiwan and promoting the integrating of the culture of MDVs as one of the local cultures. The curators approached these challenges through demonstrating historic materials of MDVs with written or living interpretation and frequently holding activities related with the culture of MDVs, like tours of MDVs around Zuoyin District, playing movies related to MDVs, story-telling by residents of MDVs, and bamboo fence workshops to recreate one of the remarkable symbols of MDVs,.

Figure 24. The display of broad introduction of MDVs in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author).

Figure 25. The simulative study room in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author).

Figure 26. The simulative living room in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author).

The exhibitions were organised into two sections; the regular exhibition on the ground floor and a special exhibition on the first floor beside the education area. The themes of regular exhibition, where the curators attempted to figure out the meaning of MDVs, included their broad history and status quo in Kaohsiung City, the common life in villages, the foods, and the letters from home. On the displays of the first theme, curators arranged several models of the main villages, pictures collected from residents, signs of slogans, and remaining elements of MDV buildings, e.g. bamboo clay wall, window frame, and house number plate (Figure 24). The second theme, the life in MDVs, was arranged in simulative settings of living room and study room, both of which were decorated with the historic objects collected from residents around Zouyin (Figures 25 and 26). The same exhibiting method was also applied to the theme of food with the re-created settings of a kitchen

Figure 27. The simulative kitchen in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author).

Figure 28. The collections of personal belongings with short stories in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author). This General Chang-Hao Li's alarm, who was spokesperson of the Ministry of Defence and a resident of MDV in Kaohsiung, was an evidence of the military cooperation between China and the USA in Myanmar during World War II. He used the alarm during the military cooperation and brought it with him retreating to Taiwan.

where a dining table and a mahjong table were put at the centre with many utensils commonly used in MDVs (Figure 27). With limited information given by a very broad and brief introduction written on a plate and booklet, or through a living interpretation; however, visitors

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could only roughly experience the atmosphere of the interior space of a house in a MDV. In the displays of the life in MDVs beside the two simulative settings, there were some collections of residents' personal belongings. Curators used personal short stories related with those objects as the interpretations (Figure 28). As per Fung-Ching Lin said, the stories really helped in imagining the history and life of MDVs (Lin, 2010). The theme of the letters from home offered the more invisible part of life in MDVs through the very touchable emotions recorded in words; but, it was a pity that there were not enough displayed letters and that they were not organised in a series of stories due to the restriction on exhibition space (Figure 29).

Figure 29. The displays of the letters from home in Kaohsiung Museum of MDV (by author).

Figure 30. Kaohsiung Museum of MDV sets a photo booth and offers several suits of navy uniform as costume for visitors and invite them to share their pictures of wearing in those uniforms with others (by author).

Compared with regular exhibitions, the special exhibitions and activities were the two programmes which very much evoked visitors' curiosity about the MDVs, according to Lin's viewpoint. For example, the first- and second-round exhibitions of the *Memory Stored in the Box* brought many echoes and further discussions about the life in village (Figure 5, section 5.2.4). For visitors, those boxes or cases were not very different from those used by locals; however, the curators wanted to highlight the point that the residents of MDVs were living in the same place as others; they were part of the society. Moreover, from her opinion, every

activity was an event and an opportunity to attract more people to know about and like MDVs (Figure 30). It also left some memories with the participants. Additionally, the culture or knowledge would be passed down in each event.

In brief, the conservational strategy of setting up a museum was better on the perspective of presenting history, space, culture, and life of MDVs than just statically demonstrating a building. On the bright side, it presented the authentic historical objects, real or re-created physical settings, and interpretations, all of which aided the visitors to learn about MDVs. Nevertheless, MDVs were a group of communities with special history and culture; according to the analyses in chapters 4 and 5, it was difficult to comprehensively represent the diversity of building type, sense of sites, and narratives about MDVs from different people in a single building of a museum, let alone experience neighbourhood through interactivity. Therefore, adjusting the MDV site to become a cultural and creative quarter was suggested following the raising of the concept of protecting the whole site.

6.1.3 CATEGORY 3: CULTURAL AND CREATIVE QUARTER FOR TANGIBLE AND INTANGIBLE HERITAGE OF MDVS

Apparently, the distinction between museum and quarter was not very clear except for the difference on site scale when both of them were adopted on conservational projects of MDVs in different cases. The underpinning principal concept was adjusting whole or part of villages to become places for collecting, storing, and exhibiting historical objects about MDVs. The main difference between the two strategies was that the former focused on collecting, storing, and exhibiting, and the latter added more entertaining and educational activities and tried to involve original residents in conservational activities. Moreover, so far, all of MDV museums were set up in one building, in which most of space was used for exhibitions, and the building itself was not an object of exhibition. In contrast with the museum, the cultural and creative

quarter would be set up in the whole or most of the village, and the whole site was used as an important display for providing an authentic atmosphere of the past for visitors.

After reflecting on several precedent cases of conserving MDVs in museums, many conservationists agreed that the goals of conservation should not only focus on collecting, storing, and demonstrating historical objects and ordering the history of villages. Residents were another crucial element which should be involved with conservational activity because they were the cultural subjects of MDVs. Moreover, communication between people was a better representation of the intangible culture rather than written words and objects. Therefore, the concept of a cultural and creative quarter was promoted with the imagination of setting up quarters of MDVs in original villages with collected historical objects to protect and promote the atmosphere of the special communities. Additionally, those sites would become a base of cultural communication for different cultural groups and might be one of strategy for solving the conflicts between locals and mainlanders (Chen et al., 2007). In other words, people, most of who were from residents of MDVs, would play the main characters of the cultural park by running exhibition programmes running. In those sites, the culture of MDVs would not only have represented by tangible objects demonstrated in the exhibition, but might have a revived life with both tangible and intangible cultural properties when residents and the public participated in conservation activities.

MDVs conservation was facing three principal problems - original resident being removed, the sites which was an enclosed communities would be opened to the public, and self-support finance after the adjustment. As mentioned above, the resident was a crucial cultural property in the issue of MDVs conservation. However, it was also the greatest problem because all the residents had to move out of the villages. That would make the village become a static display after it was preserved. In addition, the sites were held by government departments. Those

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villages which were as private and enclosed communities had to be opened to the public if they were conserved. When they were transformed to heritage sites, finance would be a problem. No matter whether the sites belonged to the Ministry of Defence or to local government, every official department hoped that the conserved heritage site would be self-supporting with no need for sponsoring from official budgets. To solve these three problems, adjusting heritage to a quarter became a very popular conservational strategy recently in Taiwan, particularly, when the cultural property was a settlement or community, like a MDVs. In different cases of MDVs' conservation, the projects were named as 'artist village', 'cultural park' or 'creative park', or just combined together as a 'cultural and creative park', which reflected the installed programmes. However, there were no specific definitions to distinguish them from each other. One of the main concepts was focusing on how to adjust the cultural property to match the current people's needs and to be a part of their daily life, not just demonstrating it as an antique. Moreover, to prevent the conserved site from becoming an idle facility, most of the quarter projects of MDVs' conservation installed several programmes which might not be related with MDVs. For example, only one of four preserved buildings in SSV was transformed into a MDVs museum; the rest were exhibition room, restaurant, and community hall. [142] Additionally, in the discussion of the adjustment planning of MDVs Cultural Park of the AFSFV, transforming some buildings into offices of the nonprofit organisation (NPO) or local organisations and artist studios had been suggested. Furthermore, this conservation mode attempted to retain the whole or most part of the original settlement, not only a single building or a few buildings, and to create new spatial linkage between MDVs and urban space, i.e. opening the enclosed community to the public and integrating the local on spatial and cultural aspects. To link the sites of MDVs with local communities, recently it has been suggested that

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[142] Refer to section 6.2.

the concept of eco-museum would be applied to the MDVs' conservation;[143] this approach treated the historical site as an eco-system of people (Chen et al., 2007). Under this concept, the static exhibition of historical objects was not the main part of the park - but this did not mean that the mode would be abandoned. The principal goal was to empower local communities and culture through the conservation projects and to avoid MDVs becoming a commercialised place for tourism. However, the discussions about how to approach the vision and what should be done are ongoing in each case, and no final solution has been reached.

Treasure Hill[144], AFSFV, and Mazu New Village were three remarkable cases which were adjusted to cultural and creative quarters. The three cases presented three strategies under the concept of cultural quarter. The first was transformed to an artist village where artists, original residents, and sojourners would live. The discussion about the conservation plan of the second project is still ongoing; the last proposal presented in 2012 suggested that a restaurant of MDV food, offices for the NPO and local organisations, artists' studios, and a MDV museum would be installed on the site. Last, the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taoyuan County made attempts to commit Mazu New Village to artists to run studios in 2015. Since the project was a trial, the running period is still too short to estimate the result. Here, the project of AFSFV is analysed below, and that of Treasure Hill later.

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[143] SSV had been transformed to a multi-usages park. It was a public assembly hall, a MDVs' cultural exhibition hall, and a park. AFSFV, Sianguang Second Village, Mazu New Village, Dusing Tenth Village, Jhongjhen New Village, Jhihkai New Village, Fongshan New Village and Mingde Navy jail, and Victory New Village and Chongren New Village might have the potential to become official MDVs Cultural Parks or open-air museums in the future.

[144] The conservation project of Treasure Hill is analysed in section 6.2.2.

6.1.3.1 Case of Category 3: AFSFV

In section 4.3, some of spatial features of AFSFV, including bamboo fence, narrow lane, village committee office, square, national flag, and New Year celebration had been introduced. Furthermore, in section 5.2.3, Jyunren Dong's narrative, who is the advocator of conservation activity of AFSFV, had been analysed. This section analyses the strategy would be applied on conservation project of the village.

The AFSFV was a conservational case which local culturati and residents of the village suggested should be inscribed as a historical heritage (Figures 31 and 32). The site had been a Japanese aerogun battlefield before 1945 and became a MDV after the Air Force of the ROC took over the site and built four sizes of accommodations for different ranks[145]. Because the location of the village would be a park on the urban plan of

Figure 31. The houses of level C beside the main entrance of AFSFV (by author).

Figure 32. The houses of level D at the southern edge of AFSFV (by author).

Figure 33. Celebration for Chinese New Year in AFSFV (by author).

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[145] Houses were ranked from A to D. The rule of distribution was based on the householder's military rank and the amount of household.

Sanchong City, the village should be bulldozed and reformed to be a park. The conservation idea started in 2004, and the whole site of the village was inscribed as cultural heritage by Ministry of Culture in 2006. Afterwards, the whole village was nominated and supported by the Ministry of National Defence as a cultural park of MDVs with the other 11 sites[146], but, the final conservation and management plan was not decided.

From 2004, the local culturati and residents of the village held many conservational activities to denote that the site was an important historic scene by collecting residents' stories, and every kind of historic material of the village. They also tried to create a new relationship with the city
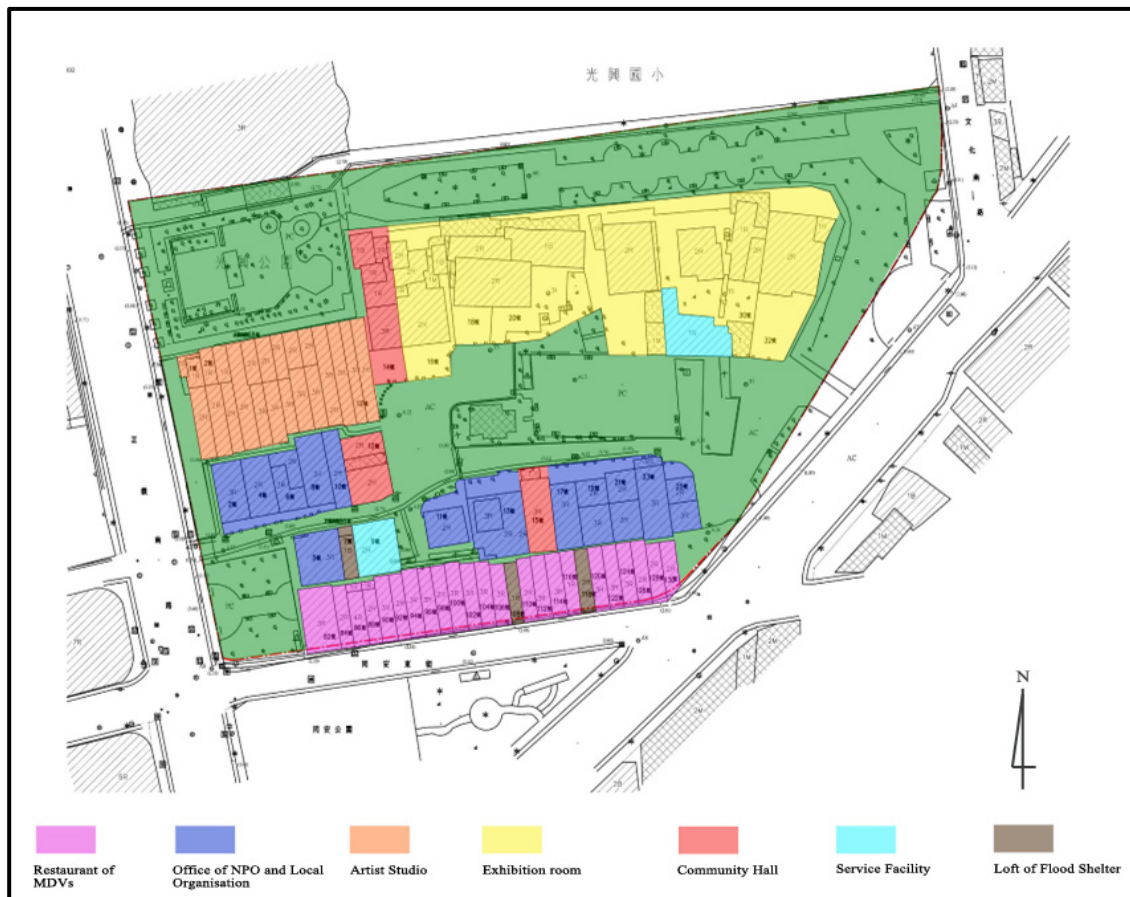
Figure 34. Conservational project of AFSFV (Retrieved from the Department of Cultural Affairs, New Taipei City).

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[146] The final nomination list included 13 villages. Jhongsin New Village and Jianguo Second Village gave up after getting the certification.

through hosting many festivals to introduce the culture of MDVs to the public. Furthermore, they held several forums and symposiums to gain innovative conversational strategies and to form a common consensus between residents and local people (Figure 33). The opinions had been adopted in the conservational project of AFSFV in 2012[147]. In the project, most of the buildings would be preserved and the site would be a cultural and creative park which included artists' studios, a community hall, a museum, and restaurants of MDV. The design tried to maintain the sense of place and leaned towards creating new relationships with other urban spaces near the village by transforming the site as a place for locals' to continue their day-to-day lives (Figure 34).

Comparing the case with those sites adjusted to become museums, the practice of cultural and creative parks was more interesting and vivid than the exhibitions in museums on the aspect of living interpretation and interactivity. However, it was hard to say that the strategy of cultural and creative parks was better than setting up a museum on the aspect of protection of sense of place and authenticity of tangible and intangible heritage. In practice, neither strategy could be replaced by the other. Due to the fact that the original buildings were accommodations, it would be difficult to strike a balance on adjusting houses to exhibition halls and maintaining the authentic original circumstances. For instance, some culturati criticised the adjusting project of SSV when it removed all of partition walls between every house – this made it hard for visitors to learn and understand the real space of the village[148]. MDVs which were transformed to museums found it hard to retain the original physical settings and atmosphere. Additionally, restricted by limited space and without original settings, it was difficult to arrange the life and

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[147] This was a proposal, not the final plan.

[148] Refer to the section 6.2.1.

remarkable activities which happened commonly in MDVs in the past. However, the mode of a museum was better than that of a cultural park in offering comprehensively introduction to and demonstration about the history and objects of MDVs if the interpretations were properly designed.

6.1.4 CATEGORY 4: INTEGRATED CONSERVATION

The conservation strategy of transforming a MDV to a cultural and creative quarter could not satisfy the visions held by some culturati and some original residents of perfectly conserving MDVs because it would install too many activities which were not related with the essence of MDVs and transform the places from residential areas to parks. The effect of commercial and tourism activities were the two most popular controversial aspects because the meaning of MDVs would be misrepresented by those who put making money at a higher level than protecting the originality of the MDVs. Additionally, the strongest argument was that the cultural development and historical continuity of MDVs were based on the original residents and social context of the village. The core of MDVs was people; those buildings were just empty shells when no people lived there, Ci-Ren Chen said (Syu, 2015). The best result for those who insisted on integrated conservation was that the original residents could still stay in their village.

Following the concept above, the ideal conservational activities could be referred to as integrated conservation which would ensure that all or some of the original residents stayed, although the buildings might be adjusted for newly installed functions. However, because the ownership of MDVs belonged to the Ministry of National Defence, according to the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, residents had to move out their villages when they got their new public housing and had to return the old houses to the owner (i.e. the Ministry of National Defence). That was the reason why to carry out integrated conservation was very

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difficult, despite the fact that many cultural NGOs, NPOs and some of the residents preferred this conservational mode.

Zihciang New Village, Jhongsin New Village, Huangpu New Village, and Treasure Hill[149] were the only four cases which adopted the strategy and were preserved in or was suggested the integrated mode. Each case had little difference in practice – any differences depended on the situation of each village.

6.1.4.1 Case 1 of Category 4: Zihciang New Village

Zihciang New Village was preserved in its existing environment with the original residents. The village was an official Navy community which was originally a Japanese Navy Petty Officer Accommodation, and the Ministry of National Defence had approved residents' request for conserving the whole village in 2010 (Figure 35) (Wang, 2009, Wang and Meng, 2010). It was the first case of MDV conservation that kept all the original residents. However, the village still was a

Figure 35. Zihciang New Village (by author).

Figure 36. Jhongsin New Village (by author).

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[149] Refer to section 6.2.2.

private community as before, not opened to the public and had no activities for promoting cultural of MDVs.

6.1.4.2 Case 2 of Category 4: Jhongsin New Village

Unlike the Zihciang New Village which retained its original residents, the plan for Jhongsin New Village was maintaining the place as a residential area and installing new residents after the originals had moved out.

The village was located at Beitou District, Taipei City and was inscribed as historic buildings in 2011 (Figure 36). In 2012, the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City invited scholars, conservational experts, local community organisations, citizens, and residents to attend eight symposiums and three working holidays to experience the village in person and discuss about the future of the place. The attendees achieved the consensus that the place should adopt integrated conservation, keeping the historical, social, and cultural contexts intact. Additionally, most of them agreed that the site should be maintained as a residential area as before, but that it would not only offered just to the original residents - others who were interested in the culture of MDVs and enjoyed living in the environment would be welcome. The original function, context, and atmosphere of the village could be kept and learnt by more people via the way of integrated conservation. However, the conclusion remains at the proposal stage, and may not be achieved if the problems of land ownership transfer and urban zoning changes are not solved.

6.1.4.3 Case 3 of Category 4: Huangpu New Village

The village, in Fongshan District, Kaohsiung City, which was a Japanese military accommodations built around 1943, became a MDV four years later by General Sun Li-Jen.

The whole village was inscribed as cultural landscape in 2013 and all of the residents gradually moved out.

The approach of Huangpu New Village to integrated conservation was similar to the one taken for Jhongsin New Village. The difference between both was that the role of new residents was not only to maintain the village as a residential area, but they were also given the task of running activities for the public. In 2015, Kaohsiung City government let out 11 units in Huangpu New Village to artists and creators to replace the residents who had moved out, and hoped those new residents could change the village to a cultural and creative base via offering activities to the public. The plan is still in the trial stage, and it is difficult at this point in time to estimate its effect on cultural conservation.

Summing up the three cases above, all attempted to keep the original sense of MDVs by conserving whole communities and the type of usage as a residential area. This concept called on new residents to be cultural ambassadors and promoters to the public. In the first case, Zihciang New Village, the authentic atmosphere was well preserved, but only offered limited accessibility to people to learn the culture of MDVs. Cases 2 and 3 are areas for future research, as the proposal for the former has not yet been confirmed, and the second case is still in the trial stages. The case of Treasure Hill which already had obvious effect is analysed in section 6.2.1.

6.1.5 CATEGORY 5: GRAFFITI DECORATION

Applying the strategy of graffiti decoration on conservation of MDVs was a controversial fad; nevertheless it attracted many visitors and promoted the conservational issue. It was obvious that those graffiti turned over the image of MDVs from shabby communities to colourful and interesting tourism spots which matched with the tourists' trend of hunting novelty. Crowds of visitors brought vitality to those aged and worn villages, and thus society rediscovered them.

However, as more walls and grounds of MDVs gradually became canvases, more and more

people began to believe that the fad was not helping conserve MDVs, but destroying them.

6.1.5.1 Case 1 of Category 5: Rainbow Village

The fad was started by the case of Rainbow
Village, which was a little unnamed unofficial
village with only seven houses, beside three
listed villages, Gancheng Sixth Village,
Taimao Fifth Village, and Mazu Second
Village in Taichung City. A resident of
Rainbow Village, Yong-Fu Huang, started to
paint on walls and the ground in his
neighbourhood from 2008. He liked using
strong hues in his paintings and made the

Figure 37. Yong-Fu Huang's works and crowds of weekends tourists in Rainbow Village (Retrieved from http://www.ttvs.cy.edu.tw/kcc/990925hon/k1.htm).

community very colourful, as a consequence of which, the village was conferred the title,

Rainbow Village (Figure 37). A student who found Huang's works and knew that the village

would be demolished for urban renewal raised a campaign on the internet in 2010 to rescue the

graffiti. The campaign grew and the aim was supported by many people, including the

candidates of the mayor election that year. After that, the village became a hot spot of tourism

about MDVs and was transformed as a park for preserving Huang's works in 2014.

Huang did not paint to present any culture or events about the village which he lived in. He just

painted whatever popped into his mind or popular things in the media at that time. The only

connection between the graffiti and MDVs was that Huang was a resident of a MDV who still

lived in the village and the paintings were in a MDV. However, just these two relatively small

reasons saved the village from being bulldozed.

6.1.5.2 Case 2 of Category 5: Gonghe New Village (GNV) and Zihjuh New Village[150]

Over time, more villages copied the case of Rainbow Village and added graffiti to their walls or grounds, e.g. Zihjhu New Village and Treasure Hill[151] in 2010 and GNV in 2015. Every village attempted to save itself through the campaigns. Painters did not care whether their works had any connection with the places - they just painted the things which might attract people. Thus, cartoon characters could appear on walls, like Hayao Miyazaki's *Totoro* and *Cat Bus* in GNV, just because they were famous animation characters in Taiwan known by people of all ages, and also quite popular; and themes about rock'n'roll, and sexual preference could be mixed in one painting without any

Figure 38. Painters and Totoro and Cat Bus in GNV (Retrieved from The social group – When MDVs Become Museum https://www.facebook.com/groups/ 1708320065975942/).

Figure 39. The graffiti mixed up the themes about rock'n'roll and sexual preference in Zihjhu New Village (Retrieved from http:// http://blog.xuite.net/jerome1103/ blog/61527328).

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[150] Zihjuh New Village is not included in List 1 because it will be bulldozed after the event of graffiti painting.

[151] Refer to section 6.2.2.

reason in Zihjhu New Village (Figures 38 and 39).

The arguments about graffiti in MDVs were based on three perspectives. First, most of graffiti was not created by the residents of MDVs and not accumulated for a long period, except the one in Rainbow Village. Creators suddenly appeared and daubed their ideas on walls and ground, and left afterwards. Their activities could not be integrated as the culture of the places which had no any residents; instead they only turn the villages into canvases and pointed out the existence of the places. Furthermore, visitors could not understand the meaning of much of the graffiti. Without any interpretation on sites, it was hard for the visitors to learn the creators' intentions were hard to learn for visitors. For example, the resident of GNV, Li-Hao Wang, began the activity of painting on walls to promote the issue of saving GNV and hoped the activity could inspire more locals to love the village (Wang, 2015): But, he did not notice that visitors could not understand the intention behind the cartoon characters copied from famous Japanese animation if they did not know the history. Last, those paintings were not suited for MDVs because their themes were not related to MDVs. As mentioned above, creators were not inspired by the circumstances of MDVs and did not daub to represent or criticise the history and culture of MDVs. From a conservational perspective, they actually destroyed the historical authenticity of places.

On the bright side, those interesting graffiti walls really attracted many tourists, revived those villages, and got them were noticed. However, from the perspective of heritage conservation, the strategy might not have help promote and spread the culture and history of MDVs. Tourists usually had a

Figure 40. Tourist shot photograph in front of the graffiti of love bench in Zihjhu New Village (Retrieved from http://blog.xuite.net/jerome1103).

look around, took some pictures, and left (Figure 40). They were not interested in understanding the story of the place and the issue of conservation of MDVs. For them, those villages are just an option for leisure at the weekends and satisfying their curiosity about uncommon places.

6.1.6 CATEGORY 6: CAFÉ OR RESTAURANT

Adjusting a heritage building to a café or restaurant was a major management strategy which could make money because governments had no budgets for conservation and managers had to support themselves. Some of the conservation projects of MDVs also adopted the strategy, like SSV[152], AFSFV, THAV[153], and Shengli New Village.

6.1.6.1 Case 1 of Category 6: THAV

The aims of installing a café or restaurant in MDVs were various. Because foods was a special feature of the culture of MDVs, some projects used restaurants as a platform for conserving and promoting MDV foods. For instance, there was a famous restaurant, Siaokaiyue[154], in SSV. After all residents had moved out and the place was adjusted to the Sinyi Assembly Hall, Siaokaiyue also had to

Figure 41. The shelf for displaying artists' and residents' works in Treasure Trading Café in THAV (by author).

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[152] Refer to sections 6.2.1

[153] Refer to sections 6.2.2

[154] Siaokaiyue (小凱悅) was run by the residents of SSV.

leave the village. Later, the government of Sinyi District rented out one of the preserved buildings to the Forte Hotel Group to run a MDV restaurant, called *North and South*, to offering the atmosphere of MDVs[155]. Due to the diversity of MDV foods, one restaurant would struggle to present all of them, so a zone of MDV restaurants was necessary if the site could support it, like the suggestion in the project of AFSFV which planned a row of terraced housing for restaurants to offer more options of MDV foods (Figure 34).

The restaurant and café in THAV were not set to conserve MDV foods, which are important ICH of MDVs, but to maintain the most important sense of the place, i.e. the neighbourhood. They offered a communication space for original residents, artists-in-residence, and visitors. In the spaces, people could have communication, enjoy foods or drinks, display their works, or just meditate alone (Figure 41). All were welcome to go into any restaurant and café. People could easily access to those spaces; they did not need to order any things.

6.1.6.2 Case 2 of Category 6: Shengli New Village

Shengli New Village was a military accommodation of the Japanese Air Force in Bingdong City. In 2007, the village was inscribed as historic buildings. To avoid the village becoming blighted after residents moved out, Bingdong City government adjusted part of the village along Cingdao Street as a restaurant zone by inviting business persons to run cafés or restaurants.

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[155] North and South was closed because the Rule of Park Management restricted to the use of open flames.

The cafés and restaurants in Shengli New Village were not set up for conserving the culture of MDVs, nor to maintain the close neighbourhood in the past. They were installed to transform the place with a leisure atmosphere to appeal to citizens' needs and avoid the conserved heritage becoming a site of static conservation. Every manager could decorate their café or restaurant according their ideas, e.g. exotic style, country style, and military theme restaurants (Figure 42). Nowadays, the village is a popular tourism spot.

Figure 42. One of buildings is transformed to a military restaurant, Lee Chen Restaurant, that demonstrates the military collections of owner (Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/hhch2013/photos/).

6.1.7 CATEGORY 7: COMMUNITY HALL

Adjusting buildings of MDVs to community halls did not focus on presenting the history and culture of MDVs. It was a method to avoid them becoming empty and blighted communities after the original residents had moved out. It also was a strategy to relink the enclosed communities with the nearby unban context by opening them up to the locals.

6.1.7.1 Case 1 of Category 7: Fusing New Village

To date, only SSV[156], AFSFV, and Fusing New Village have adopted the strategy. Community hall seemed to be a subordinate facility only for assembling people in the former two cases. For example, the hall of SSV was simply equipped and mainly opened to the residents of Sinyi District for meeting and watching movies, and for group's performance practicing, showing, enjoying karaoke, and studying (Figure 43). The hall of Fusing New Village was a space for assembling and also was an educational centre of the environment which introduced local history and ecological information. Unlike the one in SSV which was managed by the government, local residents near Fusing New Village[157] had stronger link with the community hall by participating in

Figure 43. A Chinese Orchestra was practicing in the Community Hall of SSV (by author).

Figure 44. Students of Jian Elementary School visits the community hall of Fusing New Village (Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/132201486862912/photos).

setting up its running programmes (Figure 44). The residents of Minsheng community organised a group of volunteers over 200 members from among the residents to improve and

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[156] Refer to section 6.2.1.

[157] The original residents of Fusing New Village had moved out. The residents of Minsheng community near the village took it over and turned it into a community hall.

maintain the village. After a discussion, they decided on four directions of management for the hall: a) caring for aged residents, b) offering learning opportunity for all residents, c) balancing between protecting the historical landscape and developing it, and d) protecting the eco-system of the community. Afterwards, they added the programme of educational centre of the environment in the hall and all residents could participate in every activity (Kuang, 2012). Nowadays, the community hall has become an important public space for residents and also a famous eco-tourism information centre in Haulien.

From the perspective of promoting the culture and history of MDVs, the strategy of adjusting the building to a community hall did not have a great effect, apart from protecting the original buildings and reviving them by installing a new function. Visitors could not experience anything about MDVs from them, except the old buildings. However, the strategy contributed to rebuild the relationship between place and residents even though they were not original, but nearby. Residents gradually identified the place as part of their community through participating in the management of the community hall.

6.2 CASE STUDIES

This section analyses two conservation projects, SSV and THAV in their history of conservational practice, status quo after being adjusted and the meanings of the two sites from visitors' perspectives.

6.2.1 CASE STUDY 1: SHI-SHI SOUTH VILLAGE (SSV)

In section 5.2.1, conservation activities of SSV and conservation advocator's, Curtis Smith, narrative about conservation MDVs had been analysed. This section analysed status quo after being adjusted and the meanings of conserved SSV from visitors' perspectives.

The case of SSV is the first - and a remarkable - conservation project of MDVs. The process of discussing about whether the village is worth conserving and mapping out proper conservation strategy evoked violent arguments between the Taipei City Government, culturati, original residents, and residents nearby. Other MDVs conservation projects usually refer to the result of process practice and status quo, but there is no systemic research about visitors' experiences about the site and what the meaning of the site is for them.

6.2.1.1 The conservation Practice of Shi-Shi South Village[158]

In 1948, the personnel and dependants of the Shi-Shi Arsenal urgently escaped from Qingdao, Xandong to Taiwan when the CNP was defeated by the CPC. The Shi-Shi Arsenal temporarily returned to production after moving into a former Japanese depot in Taipei and started to build
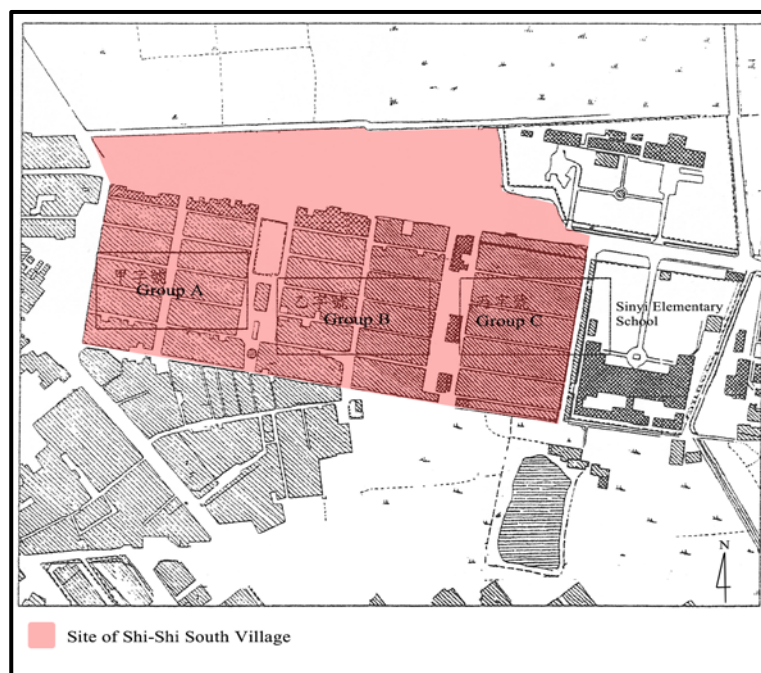
Figure 45. The figure ground of whole SSV and periphery in 1980s (rendered by author).

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[158] This section was based on the paper, *Cultural Bridge of Linking Past and Future*, which was presented and published in the Heritage Conference 2012 in Porto.

employee accommodations to the south of factory, which was later to become the SSV. There were 31 rows of houses separated into three groups (Figure 45). Besides the village, other two accommodation communities, Shi-Shi East Village and Shi-Shi West Village, were built to supply more rooms for growing numbers of personnel and their families.

On the urban master plan of Sinyi District, the site of the group A of the village was assigned to a commercial and residential zone for developing high-rise offices and apartments, and, part of the west line of the group B was designated to become a new road, Jhuang Jing Road. The rest part was planned to become a park and the campus extension of Sinyi Elementary School in the two urban plan reviews of 1988 and 1996. The urban plan meant that the whole village would be demolished. In 1997, after the group A and part of the group B had been transformed, Mr. Curtis Smith's proposal which suggested that the remaining part of SSV should be conserved as a heritage site was the first case of spatial conservation of MDVs. After a long

Figure 46. SSV before rehabilitated (By Bo-Yuan Syu's courtesy)

Figure 47. SSV after rehabilitated. The left of the picture was the foot prints of location of original buildings in roof shape (by author).
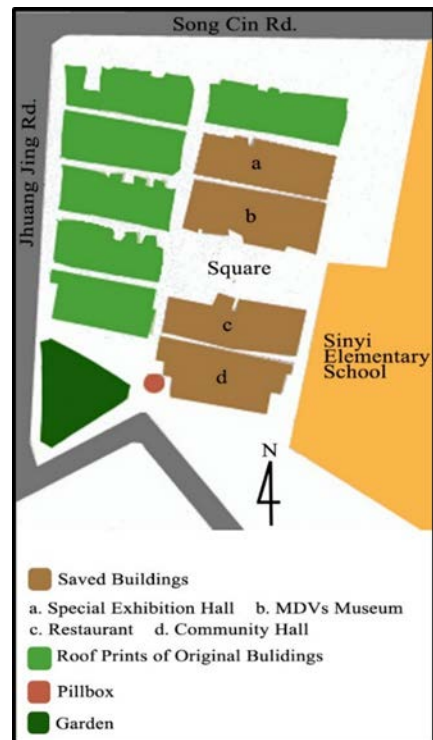
Figure 48. The layout of Sinyi Assembly Hall (rendered by author)

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period of arguing and negotiating with Taipei City Government, four buildings of the group B

of SSV were inscribed to historic heritage in 2001, and they were turned into the Sinyi

Assembly Hall with four new functions installed - the special exhibition hall, MDVs Museum,

a restaurant, and a community hall. The rest of the spaces would be turned into a park with roof

prints of the locations of buildings in the past and a square which represented a crucial spatial

feature of MDVs (Figures 46 - 48).

The conservation practice of SSV was mainly shaped by Curtis Smith, Bo-Yuan Syu, and the

Sinyi District Office, the manager of the site. In section 5.2, the meaning of MDVs and SSV,

for Curtis Smith and Bo-Yuan Syu was analysed. The site of conserved SSV was a place for

cultural communication and the conservational practice had to be concerned about the balance

between protecting the past and matching present needs for Smith. For Syu, it was a place which

was overlapped by the accumulation of time which included original residents' past lives and

citizens' living traces in the future. Both of them recognised that freezing a heritage in its past

was not the aim of conservation of MDVs, and that keeping the sites as living with the traces

of the past made MDVs sustainable. For the Sinyi District Office, the village was saved as an

evidence for presenting the history and culture of MDVs. Additionally, the historic buildings

in the site offered a strong contrast to the contemporary high-rise buildings and showed the

development history of the district. The park around the old buildings was a relaxing open space

for citizens and tourists. As a result, the project of SSV was not only practiced to present the

culture and history of MDVs, but also offered most of the space for the public to enjoy activities

in their leisure time. As per the analysis in the last section, the conservation strategies applied

to the project included setting up a museum, café or restaurant, and community hall. The

effectiveness of this conservational mode was doubted by some people who argued that the

saved spaces with new functions were like a kind of empty shell of MDVs which had lost the

Figure 49. The square of SSV which was created by removing one original building like the two in the picture (by author).

Figure 50. The display of a recreated interior scene of a House (by author).

Figure 51. The display of a recreated dining room (by author).

sense of real villages and could not disseminate the real culture of MDVs (Figures 49 - 51). Also, it was still called as a MDV even when the users were no longer the original residents.

The controversial conservational mode was a compromise which involved protecting heritage, deciding on the urban plan, and taking into account the opinions and needs of the culturati, locals, and citizens. Before the conservational project was decided, it faced a challenge between two main issues when the village became a historical site. One was how to protect the cultural properties of the village in the past after all of the original residents left. The other was what the place would have to be to satisfy with citizens' current needs, particularly the needs of the residents near the site. No precedence could be a reference on conserving culture of MDVs on a site without original residents. Additionally, when the users of the site were replaced, it was

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difficult to continue those important intangible heritages features, like life style and neighbourhood, which were important features of MDVs. Taipei City Government hosted a competition is search of a solution. Afterwards, the suggestion for this conservation activity was collecting as many historical materials of this village as possible and exhibiting them in a MDVs museum on the site. In addition, opening up the site to the public and transforming it into a park and community hall were the methods which assembled new users of the place.

As a result, four rows of houses were saved. It was a great shame that only the exterior walls and roofs were preserved, but the original partitions between the houses and inner space of each house were removed to make the space suit the new functions. Only in the MDVs museum, the footprints of the original partition walls were painted on the floor to mark their locations. Even though the museum manager tried to rebuild the original interior scene by recreating some simulative scenes of family spaces of MDVs, it was still very far from the original one. The most serious problem was lacking collections. Most of the displays were supported by written interpretation panels, but without sufficient collections as

Figure 52. The collections of literature of MDVs and residents' leisure activities only had wooden coach, table, desk, and few little items. The interpretations on walls and panels became the main contents of the display (by author).

Figure 53. Visitor needed help of volunteer and interpretation panel to image the real life in MDVs due to simplified display (by author).

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evidences (Figure 52). To perceive and conceive the real atmosphere and life of MDVs in the past was difficult for visitors if they had no relative experience or enough information. Beside every represented interior scene, there was an interpretation panel which offered a further linkage between visitors and the village's past for those who had not experienced any MDVs history. After all the original residents had moved out, the lived culture of MDVs on the site had also gone and a new culture was installed to replace the former. That was the reason why some people argued that the saved spaces were like a kind of specimen which had lost the sense of real MDVs and could not offer the real cultural experience about MDVs. Moreover, the exhibition of culture and history of MDVs was too simplified and uncreative and not attractive enough to inspire people to visit again (Figure 53).

Figure 54. Goodcho's offered nostalgic atmosphere by furnishing with old style furniture and decoration (by author).

Besides the exhibition of MDVs' culture and history, the project also offered up most of the space for public activities which included those about MDVs, like conferences or festivals of MDVs. Nowadays, the popular and attractive activities people could enjoy were home-cooked foods and nostalgic circumstances in the restaurant, Goodcho's, and visiting the Simple Market to enjoying music, or look around every stand to find some interesting items in the square every weekends (Figures 54 and 55). Despite the argument on the

Figure 55. The Simple Market in weekends on the square (by author).

conservational mode which postulated that the two programmes were not related with MDVs' culture or the history of SSV, many citizens still enjoyed them. Comparing the crowded square and the restaurant with the MDVs museum which had relatively few visitors, the former was much more popular among citizens and created more new stories than the latter.

The other popular space was the community hall which was opened up to district residents. As per the analysis in the category 7 of the last section, the hall was a subordinate facility under the management of the Office of Sinyi District. Transforming it into a community hall was a successful method for saving and reviving an abandoned building. It brought new users and activities for the space. Additionally, the hall also became a space which integrated with local residents' daily lives. However, the newly installed programmes offered no help in promoting the culture of MDVs and representing the past atmosphere of the site.

The annual Cultural Festival of MDVs was the other activity of presenting MDVs besides the displays in the MDV museums. The discussion in section 5.1 had mentioned that the sort of cultural festival had become an important event of presenting MDVs' culture ever since the first one was held in 1997 in Hsinchu. The SSV was the first conserved MDV in Taiwan; therefore it was selected for the site of the MDVs' Festival Taipei in 2006. Afterwards, six festivals still arranged some programmes on the site up to the present time[159]. The programmes demonstrated MDVs via tasting foods, watching drama, playing children's games, looking at pictures, and enjoying living guided tours around SSV which represented and interpreted the past life of MDVs in various aspects. Although the festival was held annually, it really boosted

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[159] The six festivals were hosted in 2006, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2012, and 2013. SSV was one of the sites for the festivals.

people's experience about MDVs and affected the climate of opinion about conserving the sites and culture of MDVs.

Nowadays, from the view of government, site manager, and culturati, the place, which was a village for accommodating the personnel and their dependants of Shi-Shi Arsenal, has been transformed into a site for conserving the culture of MDVs and offering leisure activities to citizens. However, the fact that what visitors can perceive and learn from the conserved site was organised by the government and the culturati. The other meanings of the site which were analysed in chapters 3, 4, and 5 were neglected or very simplified. Under the circumstances, next section analyses the meaning of the conserved SSV from the visitors' viewpoint.

6.2.1.2 The Visitors' Experience of Conserved Shi-Shi South Village

● *Introduction of Questionnaire of SSV*

The last section analysed the landscape narrative of conserved SSV which had been transformed into a leisure park with a museum for promoting the culture of MDVs under the advice of the culturati and the management of government. To understanding visitors' experiences about the conserved SSV, the researcher randomly interviewed 64 visitors with a questionnaire which had 29 questions in January 2013 (Appendix 3-1, 3-2). According to the responses, the ratio of female to male was around 1 to 1. More than half of visitors were in the 20s age range, while teenagers and those in their 30s accounted for around 15 per cent. Most of the respondents had achieved higher education qualification of Bachelor or Master Degrees.

Except for the questions about personal information, the rest were separated into five parts: a) experiences of participation in a conservational event, b) impression about MDVs, c)

knowledge about SSV and purpose of visiting, d) thoughts about conserved SSV, and e) media of sharing and gaining stories.

- *Experiences of Participation in a Conservational Event*

On the aspect of *participation in conservational event of MDVs*, attending activities or conferences about MDVs' conservation and festival of MDVs were not very popular among people who visited SSV. Only around three per cent of visitors participated in conservational activity or conference, and around one per cent of visitors went to festivals of MDVs. In addition, the MDVs' exhibitions only attracted 23 per cent of visitors to have a look at them.

- *Impression about MDVs*

To the visitors, the main impressions on MDVs included:

Impression of MDVs	Percentage (%)
1) Closed neighbourhood.	79.7
2) There are many delicious foods and amazing home cooking.	67.2
3) The community in which mainlanders live in.	64.1
4) Having a strong atmosphere of main traditional holiday.	60.0
5) Poor and narrow houses.	46.9
6) Having endless stories about wars, escaping, and settling down in Taiwan.	40.6
7) There usually are free movies or performances in the square of the MDVs.	37.5
8) A sort of community which has many bamboo fences and residents are diverse, not only mainlanders.	12.5

Only one respondent thought that there usually were some gangsters in MDVs. The impression was very consistent with the common introduction about MDVs in museums. The results also expressed that the other features which only could be found in residents' and writer's narratives, e.g. having strong political inclination to the CNP, indicating to the group conflict between Taiwanese and mainlanders, and solidifying against outside pressures, were not well known. The phenomenon indicates that residents' and writers' narratives are crucial ways to learn other meaning of MDVs that cannot be conceived in a conserved site and usually ignored by managers of MDV museum.

● *Knowledge about SSV and Purpose of Visiting*

On the aspect of gaining knowledge of MDVs and purpose of visiting, for most of visitors to the conserved SSV, learning culture of MDVs and the meaning of conservational activity was not the main purpose of their visit. None of the respondents knew the village through attending conferences of MDVs' conservation or MDVs' festival. Moreover, less than five per cent got information on the site through the official website. Relatives or friends were the most common information source about the spot, followed by introductions in blogs, newspapers, and magazines. Most of the respondents did not know the history of the village and the conservation activity very well before they first went to there, and around 80 per cent of visitors did not know much about the content of exhibitions and new function of the village. With that sort of attitude, the activities which most attracted visitors were looking around the Simple Market and shopping or enjoying foods in Goodcho's restaurant. Only 7.8 per cent of visitors had attended conferences and the same rate of visitors had attended festivals about MDVs held in SSV. That phenomenon expressed that, for most of the citizens, the site had become a place for leisure.

That people preferred to enjoy their leisure in SSV, however, did not mean they neglected or disliked the historical aspects of the site. When they were asked which unions or exhibitions

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helped them to learn the history of the village and the situation of the conserved site, more than half of them selected the exhibition in the MDVs Museum and the performances and exhibitions of the MDVs' festival. Furthermore, most of them thought that the activities related with MDVs quite matched the sense of place of SSV in the past and the impression of the culture of MDVs. Ranked in first place to third place were the exhibition of MDVs Museum, the exhibitions of MDVs festival, and the performances of MDVs festival respectively. Only around quarter of respondents thought the conferences about culture or conservation of MDVs matched the sense of place of SSV in the past and the impression of the culture of MDVs. This indicated that most of people recognised that those discussions about protecting the culture and physical setting of MDVs were raised by outsiders, although many participants of conservation activities were residents of MDVs. Therefore, they did not consider that protecting physical settings and promoting culture were related to the case of MDVs. The recognition affected people in how they valued the conservation of SSV. The first two selected reasons of why SSV should be conserved were that it was a place of developing the culture of MDVs, and that it had a special history. The following two reasons were having special landscape and building style. Contrasting with only around 20 per cent of respondents who thought that the special life style and good neighbourhood of SSV supported the conservational activity, most of respondents placed importance on history and physical settings, but not intangible cultural properties.

As per the analysis above, most of the visitors expected that the conserved site could offer them leisure facilities and a historical atmosphere. Going further to learn more about MDVs, e.g. neighbourhood and life style, was not their purpose. They did not feel that the site had to be kept the same as the situation in the past in order for them to gain knowledge about it, but, some of the visitors did accept that leisure activities could also promote the culture of MDVs, if they were combined with some features about MDVs. Thus, even though the two activities of Simple Market and Goodcho's apparently were not promoting the culture and history of MDVs, a

significant amount of visitors still agreed that those activities could help them in learning about the past and the conserved situation of SSV. Besides, one third of respondents agreed that Simple Market and Goodcho's matched the sense of place of SSV in the past, and around 20 per cent of them thought that the two activities match their impressions of the culture of MDVs. Thus, the two activities must have some intangible elements that helped visitors to link them with properties of MDVs.

● *Thoughts about Conserved SSV*

According to visitors' perceptions and conceptions, there were seven main features of the conserved SSV which more than half the respondents thought could be triggered in their minds when they thought about MDVs. Ranked from high to low, they were:

Element, Decoration, Exhibition or Activity	Percentage (%)
1) The original door and window	84.4
2) Roof tile	64.1
3) The retained buildings of Sinyi Assembly Hall	62.5
4) The displays of the MDVs Museum	56.3
5) New Year couplet	51.6
6) The space and landscape of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall	50.0
7) The uncrowded, quiet, and leisure atmosphere in weekdays (had same rating as the sixth item.)	50.0

Obviously, except for the atmosphere in weekdays, the rest were tangible objects related with physical setting. It showed that the original or recreated old tangible object was most easily

moving visitors and creating the atmosphere which linked with the past. Furthermore, there were six things gaining support by over or around 30 per cent of visitors. They included:

Element, Decoration, Exhibition or Activity	Percentage (%)
1) The description about the history of MDVs in the MDVs Museum	
2) The serial number of military property on every building	
3) The square of Sinyi Assembly Hall	
4) The exhibition of Treasure Cases which were made by the original residents of SSV	
5) The simulated spaces of MDVs in the MDVs Museum (had same rating as the fourth item.)	
6) The roof-like grass slopes which marked the location of original houses	

Except for the serial numbers of building, grass slopes, and square, the rest were exhibitions of MDVs Museum. This proves that the discussion in the last section which described most of the exhibitions were too simplified and lacking in historical objects to attract visitors to return. It was noticeable that around a quarter of the visitors agreed that the activity of Simple Market and the interior decorations of Goodcho's restaurant were also helpful for recalling MDVs.

It was obvious that original physical settings or historical objects could make visitors recall the past. But, why could the newly installed activities which apparently were not related with MDVs recall MDVs for visitors? Analysing the aspect of visitors' impression about SSV before it was conserved might answer the question.

It was mentioned above that most of the visitors did not agree that having a good neighbourhood, which is an important ICH of MDVs, was the reason to support the conservation project of SSV.

However, under the visitors' impressions, having a closed neighbourhood[160] was the first image about SSV. It indicated that a good relationship with people was the most important feature of SSV. Over 60 per cent of respondents agreed with this, while less than 10 per cent of respondents thought that SSV was an enclosed and unfriendly ghetto to outsiders. More than half of them had accepted that the development of the village was part of the history of Taipei. In addition, slightly less than half of the visitors agreed that SSV was a community only for mainlanders. It was noticeable that around 40 per cent of people thought SSV was an old and poor community, but only around 15 per cent of them agreed that the village was a community with messy and narrow space and was a space which needed to be improved. This showed that people quite enjoyed the historical atmosphere in the site, even if it was a shabby place. Under the impression on MDVs, the environment and atmosphere in the Simple Market and Goodcho's restaurant properly offered a hint for visitors to link with MDVs.

- *Media of Sharing and Gaining Stories of MDVs*

According to visitors' response to the question 24 of the questionnaire of SSV, most visitors would like to share their experiences of SSV to other, only 4.7 per cent would not share. The most popular tool is social network on the Internet which includes Facebook, Twitter, and Plurk. It was used by 78.1 per cent of visitors as medium for sharing. Another tool, following social network and chosen by 60.9 per cent of respondents, is chatting or communicating. The third and fourth tools were also related to the Internet. The former, blog, was chosen by 34.4 per cent respondents, and the latter, internet forum, had 10.9 per cent. Accounting media of the Internet together, including social network, blog, and internet forum, most respondents used the Internet to share their experiences of SSV. In addition, the response of the question 8 of the

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[160] Refer to section 5.3.5.

questionnaire, only 28.1 per cent of visitors, including 23.4 per cent from someone's blog and

4.7 per cent from official website, got information or knowledge of SSV from the Internet,

except social network. Knowing SSV from relatives or friends was the most popular way.

Summarising the results of the two questions, the social network, especial relatives' or friends'

network, was the main source of knowing and sharing knowledge and personal experience of

SSV, followed by chatting or communicating with relatives or friends.

● *Summary*

To summarise, most of the visitors positively valued the conservation project. Around 70 per

cent of respondents agreed that the conserved SSV had become a leisure place for the city and

a space which helped visitors to recall and learn about the life in MDVs, and more than half of

the visitors thought that the conserved SSV was a place which had interesting fair at the

weekends and displayed how old buildings could be transformed. The heritage site also was a

good place for learning the culture and history of MDVs and the development history of Taipei

for around one third of the visitors. However, it could not be ignored that around one fifth of

people were not satisfied with the result of the conservation project and argued that the site was

a space only retaining the shells of old buildings without the culture of MDVs. The problem

was caused by moving out all of original residents who were the subjects and creators of the

culture of MDVs. This was also the problem which the conservation project of Treasure Hill

tried to solve.

6.2.2 CASE STUDY 2: TREASURE HILL ARTIST VILLAGE (THAV)

The case of THAV is the first and a remarkable conservation project of unofficial MDVs and

also the first case that applied the strategy of integrated conservation. All of the buildings of

the village are not built with elaborate spatial layout, outstanding aesthetics of architectural

design or unique building technique, and the poor living condition made the village look like a slum. Thus, the process of discussing on whether the village was worth conserving and mapping out a proper conservation strategy evoked violent arguments between Taipei City Government, culturati, and original residents[161]. Other MDVs' conservation projects usually referred to the result of process practice and status quo of the conserved THAV, but there is no systemic research about visitors' experiences about the site and what the meaning of the site is for them.

6.2.2.1 The conservation Practice of Treasure Hill Artist Village[162]

The Treasure Hill settlement, located at the southwest edge of Taipei City, Taiwan, was originally an illegal squatter settlement. The place was named after the Treasure Hill Temple which was built in 1702. There were only six families living here before the 1960s. Some veterans who served in the barracks near Treasure Hill illegally built their homes there in the 1960s. Treasure Hill grew bigger after migrants from rural areas and students who studied in the universities nearby moved into this area in the 1970s. More than 200 families lived in the small hill area after the 1980s. The buildings in the settlement were narrow and poor due to the fact that most of the house owners had difficult financial situations, and they had to build their houses by themselves with poor or free materials, e.g. cobblestones collected from the stream nearby. Treasure Hill was designated as a park by the Taipei City Government in 1980. According to the urban plan, residents had to move out and their homes would be bulldozed. Some social activists and culturati noticed that the settlement was a precious cultural property

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[161] Located near a river and having a Treasure Hill between the village and local communities make the THAV is an isolated community. Thus, not like the case of SSV, most of the local residents do not disagree with the conservation project of THAV and some of them even welcome the results of the transformation of the village.

[162] The section was based on the paper, *Artworks in Heritage Conservation and Cultural Tourism*, which was presented and published in the Conference Heritage 2014 in Guimaraes.

which recorded the history of the development of Taipei City and also was a typical type of urban-rural migrant settlement. However, due to that the site was owned by the Taipei City Government and the buildings were illegal, allowing residents living in the settlement to avoiding decontextualisation was one of the main arguments of the conservation project. After several conflicts and negotiations between residents, activists, culturati, and the government of Taipei City, the concept of an artist village was raised to increase public accessibility to the site and to solve the legal problem of original residents' staying on. Then, the Treasure Hill settlement was transformed into an artists' village, where original residents, artists, and sojourners would live in and was named as the Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV) (Figure 56). It was opened to the public in 2010 under the management of the Taipei Culture Foundation.

Figure 56. The map of the Treasure Hill Artist Village (Retrieved from the brochure of THAV).

The idea of transforming Treasure Hill settlement into an artists' village was not simply to adjust the declining village by installing artists and their artworks, but was a concept of symbiosis of residents and artists which tried to keep existing social context with the new one and to inspire artists in their creations. During 2003 and 2004, before the idea was officially practiced, the Organization of Urban Re-s (OURs) and the Taipei City Government, who were the managers of the conservation project, hosted a trial activity - Global Artivists [163] Participation Project (GAPP) - to assess the effects of an artists' village. They hoped that the GAPP could trigger communication and negotiation between residents, culturati, artists, and the public about the future of THAV.

The GAPP included nine activities which were presented by local and international artists. The main issue was trying to link residents and artivists to pass down the culture and the sense of the place and to figure out the future of the settlement. Moreover, the organisers hoped that GAPP could attract more citizens to
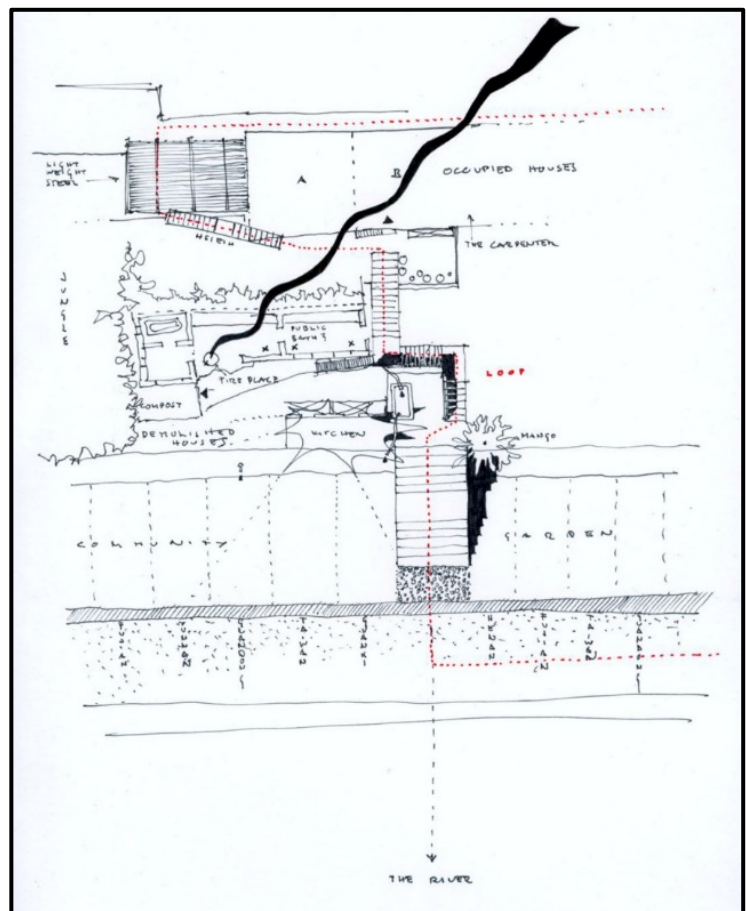
Figure 57. The sketch described the Casagrande's idea which created a path for linking the different levels of the settlement and the organic garden to form a circulation of organic waste recycling (Retrieved from the website of the Casagrande Laboratory. http://organiclayer.blogspot.co.uk/).

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[163] Artivist was combined by 'artist' and 'activist'. The activity used the term to indicate that the artist perform their artworks in activities. (Kang, 2005)

visit the place and to re-think about the relationship between people, region, and arts (Kang, 2005, pp. 120 - 122, Wong, 2011, pp. 4 - 7). For example, the *Organic Layer_Taipei*, presented by Marco Casagrande, proposed an idea of self-sufficient urban life. The idea came from Casagrande's perceptions and conceptions of the site. He thought that the village was like a kind of attic where many of memories, dreams, and subconscious aspects were stored in. There were also many items which were connected with residents' stories (Casagrande, 2005). Casagrande planned a new path which linked different levels of the settlement and the shore of Wansheng Stream. A compost heap of organic trash collected around the village, a bonfire, which meant an assembling place and the birth of the village, a recycling water storage facility, and an organic citizens' vegetable garden were located along the path. The sequence of those art settings indicated a sustainable way of life, i.e. the organic trash of daily life could be recycled and composted to fertilise the organic garden, and then the vegetables from the garden could feed the residents (Figure 57). How to involve residents and citizens in the neighbourhood was considered in the concept of the project. Being a cleaner was the first step. Casagrande and co-operators classified trash which was swept and collected from the settlement at the foot of the hill. Afterwards, as per Casagrande's expectations, some residents came and reclaimed those objects which still were useful for them. The process was seen as a communication between artist and residents about the definition of trash and useful objects. He also invited residents who were interested in organic farming to plant some vegetables in the organic garden. For residents, growing vegetables for food or sale was used to be a part of their daily life, but they lost the right after the urban plan transformed their vegetable garden into a flower and plant bed of the park. Casagrande's project recreated and returned the garden to the residents and invited them to participate in the concept of sustainable urban life. The project was completed by a ritual parade around the neighbourhood of THAV with a mobile book-shop which was made by materials from the site. Artivists pushed for the book-stop and visited several remarkable bookshops or cafés in the district near Treasure Hill. Some owners of

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bookshops read part of the recommended books of their stores and donated while the book-stop was visiting. The parade rank left several pots of perilla in cafés which grew up in Treasure Hill along the route of the parade. In the windows of those cafes, pictures of Treasure Hill shot by artists or residents were displayed. For Casagrande and participants, the parade was an announcement of the conservation project of Treasure Hill to those who had not heard about or noticed the settlement, and it also was an invitation to the public which hoped all citizens could accept and identify the illegal settlement as a positive part of Taipei.

The organic vegetable garden was not only a mutual community garden, but also became a popular topic of conservation, and a part of residents' collective memory later when it was used in another project - The Treasure Hill Garden Portrait Studio - presented by Jeremy Liu[164] and Hiroko Kikuchi. At first, they invited every residents to put on their favourite clothes, bring their cherished items, or invite their relatives or friends to have a photograph with the vegetable garden as a background. In the second phase, Liu and Kikuchi visited every photographed person with their pictures and took a photograph of the people with their portraits. Afterwards, Liu and Kikuchi discussed the title of their pictures with those concerned, their thoughts about the activity, and where to hang the pictures.

In the two projects above, the roles of artists were various in community conservation. In Casagrande's project, the artist played the role of a leader who figured out the whole concept of the artwork and a local who was writing down his perceptions and conceptions about the place. Residents helped to complete the work. Comparatively, in Liu and Kikuchi's project, artists were outsiders and only constructed a frame which was waiting for residents to fill it

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[164] Jeremy Liu (劉繼明) is a community development advocate, urban planner, and artist. In 2009, he became the executive director of the East Bay Asian Local Development Corporation in Oakland. Hiroko Kikuchi is a curator in visual arts and director of department of public education of MIT List Visual Arts Centre. They cooperated to conduct *The Treasure Hill Garden Portrait Studio* in GAPP.

with their stories and thoughts. There were various levels of interactivity between artists and

residents in other projects and the relationships between them were dynamic. The role of artist

shifted between being a resident and only being an outside assistant, and vice versa.

Artists also could be guests who came and communicated their emotions, conceptions, and

perceptions to others through their artworks. City Yeast, an art group installed in THAV, hosted

a Yellow Chair Project in 2010 which invited six designers and six poets to create six street

chair sets (Figures 56, 58, and 59). According to the concept of the project, those chairs offer

an opportunity for people to get together and to observe the urban circumstances. Many street

Figure 58. The Yellow Chair Project (Retrieved from City Yeast, http://www.cityyeast.com/index.php).
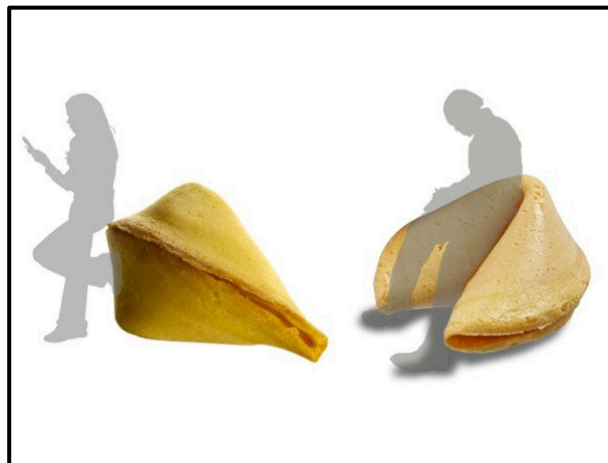
Figure 59. The concept of the Fortune CooKiss – Sitter's position and posture indicated the relationship between them, and them and the place which were related with pleasure, adaptation, and perception. Shu-Chang Kung named the relationship as *Sitting, Siting & Setting* (The picture was retrieved from Kung's Facebook page, https://www.facebook.com/note.php?note_id=46151548 8632&id=1356865551).

activities became possible because there were chairs (City Yeast, 2010). Those art works invited visitors to sit down and to experience the relationships between them and others, them and the place, and them and art works. Because of those chairs, visitors got a small site to create their individual corners in the place. Those places were belonging to persons, and also were shared with others, like the village which was the villagers' and also visitors'. For children who might not understanding the concepts of the project, the yellow chairs were their targets for treasure-hunting games in the village (Chiao's Diary, 2011).

From the perspectives of the Taipei City Government and the manager of the conservation project, most of the artists were not short-term visitors, but were like residents of the settlement, who might not be dwellers, but at least sojourners. To make sure that the adjusted space could suit the artist's needs, the managers of the conservation project consulted with the management of THAV and installed artists during the period of renovation. Nowadays, there are two types of studios for artists. One was offered to the Micro Loft project which supported artists to run a studio for 16 months in the 2011 proposal or 24 months in the 2013 proposal. There were 12 units in total offered to the Micro Loft. The other type was studios for the Artists-in-Residence programme which offered working spaces for artists free of charge for eight to 12 weeks, along with a grant. From 2014, THAV offered 14 hostel rooms for people who would run activities conducive to cultural or creative development or who would attend activities in THAV. Long-term stays might have weakened the attribute that the artist was a stranger to the settlement. Within the vision of the conservation project, residents were the subject of THAV and artists stood on the same level as the residents. Both of them might cooperate to figure out the future of the symbiotic village and make it come true. It meant that residents were not materials or observees for artists' creations. Artists had to serve for the community and to interact with residents with respect. Artists could teach residents, and vice versa. The initiative relationship between neighbours was the essence of the conservation project (Wong, 2011). In addition,

THAV was no longer an enclosed community. Opening to the public was another purpose of the conservation project. Citizens not only came to wander in the place and to have a look at the artworks, but also had opportunities to become co-operators in some projects if they wanted to.

The idea behind the theory was that resident and artist cooperated to create artwork for the art village. It meant that every project required enthusiastic residents to take part in. However, only a few residents were interested in those art-creating activities. Most of the participants or audiences were outsiders (Tseng, 2008, Lin, 2013). In some artists' thoughts, that was not a serious problem. Shuen-Long Lin, creator of the artwork, *Heart*, in 2010 and Ciao Jhong, founder of the Assignment Theatre Group, said that residents felt pressured when they were requested to interact with the artists. The relationship between artists and residents was like a sort of friendship which needed time to develop (Wong, 2011). Sometimes residents might be not interested in or could not attend an artist's project; then artists might adjust their plans (Lin, 2013). Residents might not have helped with artist's creation, but could be positive for the artist in offering a mind-space. That meant that going to have a look around with residents, drinking with them, and chatting with them just was like fresh air for the artist, said Alan Eglinton, creator of *The Treasure Times* in 2011 (Wong, 2011). In Ciao Jhong's thought, to set up a symbiotic village was not just assembling a frame within which the village would grow up under the expectations. When the values existing in the place could grow, extend, and really live in the place, a symbiotic village could be possible. The cultural worker seemed like a goal keeper who guarded the place and ensured that the place would not be commercialised. The goal of artists and artworks was to help the place to attract visitors and to creatively spread the positive image and meaning to the public (Wong, 2011, Yun, 2012).

Unlike the artists-in-residence who came to the settlement with purpose of creating artwork, residents were passively involved in art projects. Art activities and artworks might not match the residents' needs (Tseng, 2008). There were gaps of thoughts and cultural background between artists and residents. A resident, Mr. Ding, said: "An artist is a liar. Anyone who has a good relationship and a camera can be an artist" (Chen, 2006). In other words, residents might not actually understand artists' creations. Resident could also present their project as what the artist-in-residence did, not just that they followed the artist's idea. Like Mr. Ding said: "We can dance our step". From residents' perspectives, art was the beauty in life. Flowers, the sky, and beautiful living areas were art (Sam, 2006). Nowadays, residents much appreciate that the whole environment has become clean and safe, but they felt, at the same time, that all of the artworks were not created for them and not for the village. Artworks should be made to improve the environmental quality or to benefit residents. In addition, artworks should not be abandoned as a kind of trash after exhibitions, but should be accumulated as good factors of the village (Lin, 2013).

In brief, the conservation project of THAV was trying to build up a sustainable conservational mode for settlement which involved the original residents, newly installed residents, and citizens under the management of the government. That was not like the case of SSV, in which all of the original residents had to move out and it became a place only with buildings, but no culture. The case of THAV released the argument by maintaining the subjects of culture, i.e. the original residents, to kept the sense of the place and installed new members to write new stories of the village. Theoretically, it seemed a good conservational method whereby existing culture could be passed down and new culture could be created. In other words, the managers of the project believed that the culture would not be extinct as long as it was 'lived'. However, in practice, it was hard to find the meanings of the site which were analysed in chapters 3, 4, and 5 in most of the art works, except for the close and friendly neighbourhood. Under the

circumstances, next section analyses the meaning of the conserved THAV from the visitors' viewpoint.

6.2.2.2 The Visitors' Experience on Conserved Treasure Hill Artist Village

● *Introduction of Questionnaire of THAV*

The research carried out an investigation in the event of the Winter Open Studio of THAV in December of 2012 to figure out the visitors' experiences about the conserved site. The main activities arranged on the event included four exhibitions and performances [165] and four activities held in nine Micro Lofts; these included:

1) Treasure Trading Café

2) Tadpole Point Restaurant

3) Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio

4) Petite Livre

5) Demo Studio

6) In Heart, Sharing Space

7) OpenLab. Taipei

8) Nick Gan*

9) City Yeast

10) Meng's Handmade Paper

11) Ruins X City X Legend*

12) Stepping in. Happening*

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[165] Exhibitions and performances are marked with "*".

13) Make an Indie Tree*

In the questionnaire visitors were also asked about their experiences about four permanent displays; these included:

a) City Yeast/ Yellow Chair Project

b) Yao-Chun Liu/ Hi! You, little dolls

c) Graffiti

d) The filming scenery of Four Hands/ Words Are in Ferment

To understanding visitors' experiences about the conserved THAV, the researcher randomly interviewed 64 visitors with a questionnaire which had 22 questions (Appendix 4-1, 4-2). Except for the questions about personal information, the rest of the questions were separated into four parts: a) visitor's knowledge about THAV, b) visitor's image about THAV, c) visitor's assessment of activities, and d) media of sharing and gaining stories. According to the responses, the ratio of females to males was around 2 to 1. Most of the visitors were teenagers, or in the age range of 20 to 40. Half of the visitors were in their 20s, and both teenagers and those in their 30s accounted for around 18 per cent, respectively. Most of them had undergone higher education with Bachelor or Master Degrees.

● *Visitor's Knowledge about THAV*

Visitors came to THAV with various backgrounds and purposes, and their perceptions and conceptions about THAV were various according to the survey. First, on the aspect of visitors' knowledge about the THAV, more than 60 per cent of them had less or very little knowledge about the history of Treasure Hill and the history of the THAV conservation project. In addition, more than 75 per cent of visitors did not understand the status of conserved and adjusted THAV

well or very well. Their vague image about Treasure Hill was mainly given by relatives or friends, followed by information from the public media, the Information Centre of THAV, and other visitors' blogs. Most of the visitors just came and read the landscape with their very limited, even erroneous, knowledge. It was highly possible to misread the settlement as a blogger, Angela, wrote on her blog that people came and built the settlement because the Treasure Temple was located here (Angela, 2013).

● *Visitor's Image about THAV*

On the aspect of visitors' images of Treasure Hill, the main reasons which gained more than half of respondents' support included 1) having a special settlement landscape, 2) having a special life style, and 3) having a special history. The other two selected by around 40 per cent of visitors were having special building style and having a closely relationship between people and nature. It was very different from culturati's and officers' opinions that only around 12 per cent of visitors agreed that the settlement should be protected because residents had a good neighbourhood. The statistical data indicated that visitors were easily getting the information about the history of Treasure Hill and directly learning the advantages of the site from physical settings and residents' behaviours. But learning about the invisible property, e.g. the development of a good neighbourhood or ICH of Treasure Hill, needed long-term observation or a lot more knowledge.

● *Visitor's Assessment of Activities*

Unlike the culturati and officers, most of the visitors were not interested in doing any research or observation to go further to

Figure 60. The Ground Floor of Tadpole Point (by author).

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understand the place. Enjoying their leisure time in an environment with a nostalgic and arty atmosphere was their main aim, according to this survey. More than 80 per cent of visitors did not have any contact with original residents. Only half of the rest recognised that residents helped them to understand the settlement. Most of the visitors came here to attend art activities, visiting artists' studios, or to enjoy the exotic atmosphere of THAV. Tasting foods or beverages and enjoying good times in THAV was popular. In the investigation, the Treasure Trading Café and the Tadpole Point - both of them were not just a café or restaurant, but also a social place for visitors and artists - were the most popular studios among the visitors (Figure 60). The phenomenon reflected that artists and their works attracted more public attention and were more effective than the residents on communicating with visitors. From the perspective of positive effect, residents could retain more privacy and avoid disturbance by visitors. Oppositely, on perspective of negative effect, artists hold the authority of expressing the essence of THAV. In addition, artists' efforts and their works had obviously changed people's impressions about the settlement. It was interesting that less people thought Treasure Hill was an illegal settlement which should be demolished and improved after the place had been adjusted. Most of people's impressions about the place were positive. Treasure Hill was not shabby and dirty, but was an organically developed settlement with a friendly neighbourhood, and was a place where people could find peaceful and retreated away from the turmoil of the world. Around 60 per cent of people surveyed had accepted that the settlement was part of the development history of Taipei. Nowadays, most of the visitors agreed that THAV was a settlement with an arty atmosphere, artists who had interesting ideas, and many interesting corners. It also was a friendly place, and was a place which inspired people to re-think the relationship between people and between nature and human. None of the visitors felt bored when they visited THAV. Almost half of the visitors agreed that artworks and performances in THAV evoked their ability of using their imagination and thinking.

According to the investigation, *Graffiti* were most favourite artworks in visitors' opinions, and the *Hi! You, Little Dolls* was the second one. The graffiti works in THAV were not like most of the cases mentioned in section 6.1which were not related with MDVs; instead they were created to criticise the conservation strategy applied to Treasure Hill or to inspire visitors about the property of the place. One of the graffiti projects was the *A Live City Model* created by Yu-You Pan in 2012. Its concept, analysing the local elements of daily life of Treasure Hill and then arranging them as sets of model components, indicated that the settlement was a place with diverse collaged and assembled elements. The artist hoped that visitors could re-think what

Figure 61. Part of painting of the A Live City Model (Retrieved from the website of the Fortune House. http://fortunehousestudio.blogspot.co.uk/p/blog-page_01.html).

Figure 62. Visitor took picture of interacting with artwork (Retrieved from the blog of JS+1. http://blog.xuite.net/sandy043019 75/life).

Figure 63. Some of little dolls were allocated at a corner of the Information Centre of THAV (by author).

components an ideal city should have (Figure 61). However, visitors might not care about the meaning behind the artworks. Sometimes they just liked its colourful and interesting pattern which could be a good background for their tour pictures (Figure 62). The *Hi! You, Little Dolls* was presented by Yao-Guang Liou in 2011. Liou suggested that humans were busy in their daily life in a city which seemed like a huge organism and every person was too small to distinguish the difference between each other. He spread many one-to-twenty proportion dolls in THAV to display the analogy between city and human (Figure 63). However, although visitors might not understand the creator's thoughts, the artwork left vacancies for visitors to fill with their own narratives. Those 'cute' little dolls and the settings really attracted visitors' attention and helped them to find the scenes of THAV that they ignored before, Chiu, a blogger, said (Chiu, 2012). From the children's perspectives, those little dolls were transformed into guides who invited the visitor to have an adventure in the settlement (Yun and Wang, 2012). The meanings of the artworks were various and changeable.

Transforming the Treasure Hill into the THAV by installing the project of Art-in-Residence was a strategy for solving the legal dilemma of the Treasure Hill conservation argument when the project tried to retain the original residents to continue living there. Nowadays, the landscape narratives of THAV are presented by original residents, artists, and visitors. Artists have been assigned to the main part of creating artwork or activity under the management of THAV. Original residents can also create their own artworks if they so desire. The role of artworks and art activities is similar to media and catalysts which translate artists' intentions to visitors and also inspire visitors' imagination about the place. The meaning of each artwork might be changeable for different people at different times. All the varied interpretations about the artworks would be accumulated to form the authentic narrative of the cultural landscape after a long period. However, the narrative would not be fixed because there is always a new

interpretation given by someone who has a new experience with the place and the artworks. The various narratives made the sense of the Treasure Hill sustainable.

- *Media of Sharing and Gaining Stories*

According to visitors' response to the question 17 of the questionnaire of THAV, most visitors would like to share their experiences of SSV to other, only 1.6 per cent would not share. The most popular tool is social network on the Internet which includes Facebook, Twitter, and Plurk. It was used by 75.0 per cent of visitors as medium for sharing. Another tool, following social network and chosen by 71.9 per cent of respondents, is chatting or communicating. The third and fourth tools were also related to the Internet. The former, blog, was chosen by 29.7 per cent respondents, and the latter, internet forum, had 12.8 per cent. Accounting media of the Internet together, including social network, blog, and internet forum, most respondents used the Internet to share their experiences of MDVs. In addition, the response of the question 1 of the questionnaire, only 25 per cent of visitors, including 12.5 per cent from someone's blog and 12.5 per cent from official website, used the sources get from the Internet, expecting social network. Knowing THAV from relatives or friends was the most popular way. Summarising the results of the two questions, the social network, especial relatives' or friends' network, was the main source of knowing and sharing knowledge and personal experience of THAV, followed by chatting or communicating with relatives or friends.

SUMMARY

This chapter has investigated the strategies which were applied to conservation projects of MDVs, and has analysed visitors' experiences of those cases. The strategies can be classified into seven categories, 1) static conservation, 2) museum, 3) cultural and creative quarter, 4) integrated conservation, 5) graffiti decoration, 6) café or restaurant, and 7) community hall.

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Because MDVs were a sort of historic settlement whose cultural properties included tangible and intangible aspects, the main directions of these strategies were coping with protecting and transforming tangible property, which included physical setting and historic objects, and presenting and interpreting intangible property, which included history and culture.

From the perspective of the government who was the owner and manager of MDVs, strategy selecting depended on restrictions of laws, budget, and opinion of the public. It did not prefer any strategy. From culturati's perspective, the integrated conservation was the most ideal conservation mode which kept the original physical settings and cultural subjects. Even though, in most of the villages which adopted the mode, original residents had to move out, at least the type of the settlement, a residential community, could be kept by installing new members. Culturati believed that this method could save the authentic MDVs, avoid the culture of MDVs becoming extinct, and keep the culture as a lived experience. The strategies for transforming MDVs into museums or cultural and creative quarters were also promoted by most of the culturati when the integrated conservation mode could not be applied. Ideally, the museum was a good facility in which to collect, store, and explicitly present historical objects, but not all of the MDVs museums play the role perfectly. The strategy of transforming MDVs into cultural and creative quarters was a mode which mixed with the strategies of museum and integrated conservation. Theoretically, the mode played the role as a museum which collected, stored, and presented historical objects, offered opportunity for original residents to participate in programme management, and arranged more entertaining and educating programmes than the strategy of museum and integrated conservation to attract visitors. It sounded like an ideal method which coped with all that was required. But, could it really pass the authentic history and culture of MDVs on to visitors?

From the visitors' perspectives, the answer to the question above was not so clear. Most of them treated the conserved MDVs as a place for enjoying a historical atmosphere in leisure time. Learning about the history and culture which existed in those places was not their initial aim when visiting them, but visitors reported that they quite enjoyed the historical circumstances and nostalgic atmosphere in the conserved SSV and THAV, and also were triggered to think about the past life in those place. It could be said that both of the sites satisfied current people's needs and passed down to them traces of life from the past.

CONCLUSION

REVIEW OF THE THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

After conducting an in-depth analysis of Lefebvre's theory of the production of a space and Merleau-Ponty's theory about the meaning of a place achieved through perception and conception, this research next builds up a multi-layered framework which to analyse the narratives of a landscape and to construct a sustainable spatial practice method that can be used on a historical landscape conservation. The framework has been applied on analysing the immigrant communities, MDVs, in Taiwan.

The multi-layered framework adopts Lefebvre's triad concept of the production of space as a structural approach to analyse the narratives of a historical landscape in history, its physical setting, and people's narratives about the site. The research argues that the people's narratives, according to Lefebvre, are mainly given by a collective social body. To classify every individual into groups helps structurally recognise the situation of a whole society, but the tiny differences between each personal perspective are neglected. Furthermore, the situation of a whole society based on structural methodology might not be an authentic representation of the society when those lost tiny pieces of individual perspective are collected together as a contrastive reflection.

To overcome the shortcomings in Lefebvre's theory, Merleau-Ponty's phenomenological theory that mainly derives the meaning of things from personal perception and conception is adopted. However, the narratives of historical landscape will be formed by an uncountable amount of fuzzy fragments of individual perspectives if only Merleau-Ponty's idea is followed. Thus, a structural approach is still necessary.

Furthermore, this research does not suggest that every visitor has to collect all of the individual viewpoints, all of the history and all of the historical traces about MDVs before having their personal viewpoint. It also does not aim to give a constant narrative for the immigrant communities after analysing all of the data which are collected and analysed based on the suggested framework. The results from the analysed data just offers a temporary interpretation of the narratives of the landscape of MDVs at this point in time. Because every interpretation about a site is temporary and might be changed in the future, the framework suggests a sustainable circulation that can feed back individual experiences to the text of historical landscape. That is one of the important aspects that affect others' experiences about the site.

Before analysing the narratives of MDVs, this research critically reviews the visions of current cultural heritage conservation on three aspects of heritage conservation, 1) criteria for selecting world heritage, 2) the debate on the distinction of tangible and intangible heritage and 3) the authenticity of contemporary conserved heritage.

On the aspect of the criteria for selecting world heritage, this research argues that all of the values of heritage are recognised, not given. Their values are affected by the forces of politics, the economy, society and culture. Moreover, the criteria of valuing heritage are not a group of fixed standards; rather they are changeable following the changes in political, economic, social or cultural conditions over time.

Because the criteria for selecting heritage are changeable, the concept of maintaining the authenticity of heritage is not a fixed doctrine. Retaining the authentic situation of a heritage that aims to protect as many of its parts as possible and which can offer more authentic historical evidence and experience to visitors is still an accepted thought by most of people. However, in some practices of conservation projects, the concept of as far as possible keeping the original situation of a site has been replaced by the concept of sustainably maintaining circumstances

where the needs of present people, particularly the locals, must be considered in the conservation project. This means that both the authenticity of the original circumstances and the authenticity of the present society related with the historical site have to strike a balance; and the situation which combines the two authenticities is the true situation of the conserved historical site.

On the aspect of the distinction between tangible heritage and intangible heritage, this research suggests that tangible heritage cannot be isolated from the intangible part because the former is interlinked with intangible significance. In particular, the attitude of a society that affects the act of selecting its own heritage should be considered as an intangible part of the cultural property, no matter whether the property is inscribed as tangible or intangible heritage, since the cultural property is recognised subjectively as an important cultural property of the society based on the criteria of selecting heritage. Moreover, the forces of politics, economics, society and culture that affects the forming of the tangible heritage also represent the intangible significance that cannot be neglected. The feature of combining tangible and intangible aspects of significance in one cultural property should be considered when practicing a conservation project.

On the aspect of the authenticity of contemporary conserved heritage, this research suggests that both of the authenticity of presentation of the heritage and the experience from visiting the heritage are not objective, but subjective. From the side of the presenter, since the presentation is composed and offered based on curatorial intention, interpreter's profession and visitors' demand, the contents of presentation is selected to match those requirements. From the side of the receiver, their authentic experience about a heritage may vary; a fact that is caused by the diversity of visitors' aims, cultural backgrounds, and intellectual capacity. On a site of conserved heritage, the curator presents the authentic message about the heritage to visitors;

and visitors learn the message that they think it is authentic. The message communication is the real authenticity of the conserved heritage. Thus, the authenticity of a conserved heritage cannot be objective, but subjective, and it exists in the communication between people who are related with the site via their perceptions and conceptions.

Based on the theoretical analysis above and the multi-layered framework, the research set out to find the answers to the questions that are mentioned in the very first introduction of the thesis via the study on the conservation of MDVs. Those questions are: 1) What are the narratives the conserved sites presenting? 2) Would the meaning be the same to every one? 3) Do the conserved sites represent the authentic aura of the places? 4) What is the meaning of historical sites of MDVs?

NARRATIVES OF CONSERVED MDV SITES

First, following the structure of the multi-layered framework, the research studies on the history of conservation in Taiwan to analyse the meanings of the conservations in different periods and the conserved heritage for Taiwanese. The meanings are not absolutely fixed all the time, but change over time.

Before 1895, in the Cing Dynasty rule period, most of people did not have the concept of heritage conservation. Additionally, there was no law in place to protect heritage, and no institution or organisation that took responsibility for the maintenance and protection of heritage. The information about heritage at that time could only be found in local journals and gazettes. The remarkable cultural and natural properties in those journals and gazetteers were selected by the scholars or literati of the Cing Dynasty. Taiwanese aboriginals' and common people's perspectives were not expressed in those documents. Thus, in this period, heritages

were just those remarkable natural and cultural properties that are selected by scholars or literati and were not a significant issue for most of people.

Heritage inscribing and conservation works as a political tool for enhancing the colonial authority of Japan over the Taiwanese. The concept of heritage conservation in Taiwan emerged in the Japanese rule period and continued to be affected by Japanese government. The sense of heritage conservation of Japan arose in the late of nineteenth century and spread to Taiwan after 1896 when the first conservation law was issued. The Taiwan Governor-General Office sets up the law and organisation of heritage conservation and holds the authority of heritage selection and inscribing in this period.

This research points out that the heritage conservation of Taiwan in the period was mostly for the purpose of serving colonial politics according to the analysis of listed heritages and the displays about Taiwan in main expositions. There are three times of heritage designation - 1933, 1935 and 1941. In total, more than 60 per cent of listed heritage sites are designated to remember the persons who contributed to or events that are related with that Taiwan becoming a Japanese colony.

Furthermore, this research gives three main expositions as examples that are hosted in Japan, the United Kingdom and Taiwan to analyse the role of Taiwan under Japan's gaze. The first exposition, the Fifth National Industrial Exposition, hosted in Osaka, Japan in 1903 exposes the attitude of the Japanese government about Taiwan when facing Japanese domestic citizens. The exposition shows that Japan treats Taiwan as a trophy to mark her first colonisation of a country, and is proud of the successful colonial management in Taiwan. The people, architecture, customs and productions of Taiwan are demonstrated to prove to the domestic citizens the achievements of the Japanese government. The displays of Taiwan are also a

contrast to promote the civilization of Japan, and offer an exotic experience for the domestic Japanese.

The second exposition, the Japan-British Exhibition, hosted in London in 1910 exposes the attitude of Japanese government about Taiwan when dealing with other countries, particularly the great powers. Contrasted with the image of civilised Japan that includes rich traditions and successful modernisation, Taiwan is demonstrated as a place that has uncivilised aboriginal tribes and abundant resources and products. The display of an aboriginal tribe is a living exhibition that gives a vivid experience that enhances the legitimacy of colonisation of Japan due to the fact that the aborigines are uncivilised barbarians. Additionally, the Japanese government uses the displays of productions as evidence to prove that the industrial ability of Japan that can transfer the resources of Taiwan to commodities.

The third exposition, the Taiwan Exhibition of the Fortieth Anniversary of Governance, hosted in Taipei in 1935, exposes the attitude of Japanese government about Taiwan when dealing with Taiwanese. Even though Japan had governed Taiwan for 40 years at that time, the discrimination between Japanese and Taiwanese still can be found in the exposition. The most apparent intention behind the Taiwan Governor-General's Office to stage the exhibition is to propagate the message that the Japanese brings the civilisation and modernisation to Taiwan to establish her colonial authority. The message is enhanced by modern exhibition facilities, architecture in the style of Art Deco or modernism, every achievements of industrial innovation, and exhibitions about industrial innovations and modern life. Further, the most important message is that those progresses of civilisation and modernisation are achieved by the Japanese. In the atmosphere of praise of the successful governance of Japan, the displays about Taiwan that includes Taiwanese culture, arts, productions and Taiwanese aboriginal are used as a group of contrasts to promote Japan's contributions. In other words, Taiwanese cultural properties are

a sort of political tool that supports Japan's colonisation, and a commodity that improves commerce.

The intention of using cultural properties of Taiwan as a political tool continued after World War II. Following Japan's defeat, she abandoned her sovereignty over Taiwan, and the ROC took over the governing in Taiwan. The ROC government did not pay attention to building up a legal and practical system for protecting cultural properties until 1982. In the period from 1945 to 1982, the practice of heritage conservation was a form of political tool for forming people's national identity and proving the ruling legality of the ROC government in Taiwan. The cultural properties of Taiwan were ignored by the government when selecting and inscribing heritage. From the perspectives of government and culturati, only those cultural properties that are related with mainstream Chinese culture or linked to China can be put on the conservational list. Furthermore, for the political reason that Japan had a severe battle with China and was a coloniser of Taiwan, many historical traces that are related to Japan are not considered as heritages and were erased or demolished. The culture of the Taiwanese aboriginals' culture was also neglected in conserving heritage because they only constitute a minor group in Taiwan. At this period, heritage is treated as a kind of antique. The intangible cultural properties and social and spatial contexts are not considered as important issues. Besides forming national identity and proving ruling legality, how to preserve and display heritage to the public and tourists is another topic of great concern. Although the main thoughts of this period about heritage, criteria for selecting heritage and top-to-bottom conservation policies have several disadvantages, the concept of heritage conservation emerged in the non-governmental circles late in this period and promoted the heritage conservation law that came into existence later.

The issues of the first edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1982 and the Enforcement Rules of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act two years later offer a legal basis and structural institution for the practice of heritage conservation for the first time since 1945. During the period 1982 to 2005, people's notion of conservation of heritage rapidly flourished, and pushed the announcement of the second edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 2005. Four sets of amendments were made to the first edition of the Preservation Act, to satisfy people's requirements. The requirement of economic development, which is one of the main reasons to supporting demolishing heritage, gradually gave way to the growing up sense of heritage conservation, and a compromise had to be reached to protect historical properties. The diversification of heritage conservation also grows in this period. Beyond just protecting a single historical object or building, affected by the discourse of settlement conservation and the discourse of comprehensive community building, a concept of integrant and sustainable conservation method appeared. In addition, the native cultural movement in the 1970s and the development of democracy in Taiwan changed the thought that the right of designating heritage is held by the government. People recognise that they also have the right to protect their valued cultural properties. The indigenous culture and historical traces left by the Japanese have been revalued and promoted as part of the heritage of Taiwan. As a consequence, that people can designate their valued properties as heritage; not only high art or elegant architecture can be inscribed as heritage, but those tangible and intangible properties that are related with people's common lives, memories and identity can also be designated as heritage. Heritage gradually gets dispenses with its role as a political tool and becomes a representation of people's culture, memory and history.

Even though the first edition of the Preservation Act has been amended four times, the results cannot efficiently fulfil the needs of heritage conservation activities. In the consulting meeting hosted by the CCA in 2001, many scholars, culturati and conservation experts agreed that it

was time to revise the Preservation Act. Afterwards, the second Act was announced in 2005 and the development of conservation heritage in Taiwan moved into its next period.

The main features of the second edition of the Act include integrated conservation, adjusting heritage and bottom-up conservation mode. Besides, intangible heritage gained more weight, the same as tangible heritage, in the new act and both of two kinds of heritage are included in integrated conservation that is applied to protecting settlements and cultural landscapes. The underpinning intention is sustainably maintaining a valuable settlement or landscape in living situation with its physical setting, inhabitants and life style. However, in practice, for balancing the expense of conservation and releasing financial press of government on heritage conservation, conservation projects were usually required to install some commercial activities. Moreover, the installing of too many business activities into conserved heritage may affect the authenticity of the heritage. In addition, following the trend of democratisation of Taiwan, the bottom-up mode of heritage conservation becomes common sense to people. This mode encourages inhabitants to love their living environment and gradually reforms their local identity that was destroyed by the Japanese government and the CNP. Under the affection of promoting integrated conservation, adjusting heritage and bottom-up mode, the activities of MDVs conservation were going to grow up.

From the analysis of reviewing the history of heritage conservation in Taiwan, one narrative of conserved MDVs is revealed although, apparently, it is not very directly linked to conservation activities relating to MDVs. The analysis presents that MDVs conservation activities are caused by the growing sense people have to protect heritage. The activities and conserved sites are no longer political tools that serve for the government to enhance its authority and legitimacy. Although most of residents of MDVs are from China after 1945, the conservation activities and conserved sites are protected to strengthen the linkage between China and Taiwan. They reveal

the trend that people gradually turned their sights from China to the island where they now live, and to the history of the place. The transformation of attitude to heritage should be viewed as ICH of Taiwan which explores how the whole society values cultural properties and should be included in the meaning of conserved MDV sites.

Secondly, after analysing the long-term conservation history of Taiwan, the research set out to observe MDVs from a macro perspective relating to the development history of MDVs and their spatial and general image amount the public from social, cultural and political perspectives.

The development of MDVs can be generally separated into three periods: 1) from 1945 to 1956, 2) from 1957 to 1980 and, 3) after 1980. The separation is based on political situations, policy changes and military dependants' demands to have their living environment improved. The development of MDVs means 1) the privatisation of MDVs, 2) the modernisation of MDVs, 3) the integration with local people and 4) the localisation of MDVs residents.

Most of the buildings of the first period were reformed from Japanese military accommodations or military facilities, like warehouses or factories. The other buildings which bloomed after 1949 were temporary houses with very poor living conditions. They are very narrow and are built of bamboo, clay and roof tiles with poor techniques. Most of them are situated around or near the barracks and built by the troops themselves.

The buildings of the MDVs of the second period (from 1957 to 1980) denote the start of modernisation. This was driven by the changes in the international political system after the Korean War in the early of 1950s. Taiwan embraced a part of the anti-communist strategy of the United States and in turn received military, economic and resources supports. In addition, CNP recognised that it was impossible to return to China in short period of time. Thus, improving the situation of MDVs and offering more accommodations for soldiers and their

dependants became an important activity in order to keep up morale. The most obvious improvement is the change of building materials from bamboo, clay and plaster to bricks or concrete. The building type is replaced by one- or two-storey brick terraced houses or four-storey concrete flats. Towards the end of this period, the Ministry of National Defence promoted a loan project to help residents of MDVs to renew their accommodation and sale the house and land ownership to residents. Those private flats announced the start of the privatisation of MDVs and signified that the residents of MDVs who were immigrants from China have gradually transformed to become locals by really owning their houses.

The Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents was officially issued in 1980 to accelerate the renewing and privatising of MDVs, and announced that the third period of MDVs (after 1980) was coming. High-rise became the main feature of the buildings of this period for accommodating more residents and common people in a site. The buildings vary from three to five floors in the early part of this period, to six- to 12-floors flats later on, and then over 20-floors-flats most recently. The other feature of the building of this period is that the scale of reconstructed MDVs became bigger than early periods.

The high-rise flats of MDVs that were built in the third period improved residents' living condition and sealed the gap between residents and locals: but, at the same time, the new type of housing also caused the sense of MDVs disappear. Nowadays, the conservation projects only focus on those villages built in the first and the second periods. The buildings of the two periods can be separated into three types: 1) adapted from Japanese military accommodations, 2) listed and built during 1945 to 1980 and, 3) unofficial MDVs.

Most of the MDVs adapted from Japanese military accommodation are well designed in the overall layout of a village, and the building materials and construction are better than other types. The comfortable environment impresses many visitors, and almost all of the residents

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are very proud of this. The second type of MDVs formed people's most general impression about MDVs. Those villages usually have a main entrance with a gate. The layout of the whole village looks like a fish bone, with a main street and several branch lanes. The living conditions are poor. Residents do not have private toilets in their houses and have to use public facilities. Most of the houses are narrow and built temporarily of bamboo, clay and plaster. Reforming houses with bricks and concrete and extending houses to public spaces are the usual ways to improve living conditions. The process of spatial improvement is the noticeable environmental feature of the villages and the memories of residents. Most of people do not think the third type of MDV is a real MDV. They are much closer to a sort of slum or squatter communities because they are illegally built, not well planned and have a shabby environment. Organic development of the village and house extensions are the two main features of this type of MDV. Many of this kind of villages have been demolished for the reason of improving the urban environment. This kind of slum-like villages becomes a sort of valuable cultural property after the sense of heritage conservation and bottom-up conservation mode are disseminated to the public's awareness.

The general spatial features of MDVs are various and it is difficult to list the full range of features of MDVs. This research can only lists some of them after comparing the findings with some significant studies and exhibitions. The general spatial features include 1) gate, 2) slogan on wall, 3) bamboo fence, 4) narrow lane, 5) public toilet, 6) village committee office, 7) square, 8) national flag and, 9) New Year celebrations. The features do not only exist in MDVs. It is hard to say that a space with those features is a real MDV. However, those features are important elements that accompany residents in their lives and memories.

This research also analyses the general impressions about the culture of MDVs that are given by the media, research papers, exhibitions and cultural festivals. To the public, there are two

perspectives about MDVs within the cultural studies in Taiwan. One perspective sees MDVs as not a part of Taiwan, while the other school of thought considers them part of Taiwan. The two opposite viewpoints lead to two attitudes on treating the differences between locals and the residents of MDVs. The former viewpoint, seeing MDVs as communities of outsiders, considers that the differences are negative and form evidences to prove that the residents are still outsiders and have not integrated and identified with local culture. Comparatively, the differences are to some extent positive factors as well, that enrich the diversity of local culture. Furthermore, the two perspectives should be viewed as ICH of MDVs which explores the conflict of meaning of MDVs in Taiwan and enhances residents' identity to MDVs.

Besides people's different perspectives on the culture of MDVs, the residents' political inclination and national identity are the most significant general impression of people concerning the culture of MDVs. In many dissertations and journal papers, the residents are seen as having strong political links with the CNP and solid national identity with the ROC. However, on closer observation, the residents' political inclination and national identity are not homogeneous in every generations of residents. The first-generation residents of MDVs obviously have strong political inclination to CNP and a sense of strong national identity with the ROC. However, the two features change to an in-between situation that twists the nostalgia for the fatherland, the ROC, and the love for homeland, Taiwan, in the second and later generations.

Besides the political issue, the other two popular issues about MDVs in the media are economics and sociality before 1998. The cultural issue does not attract much concern; however, after the increasing in the conservation activity of the SSV in 1998, the first MDVs cultural festival in 2002 and the Comprehensive Community Building Project in AFSFV in 2004, cultural aspects of MDVs gradually became a popular issue and relative reports are increasing.

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To break the stereotypical impression about MDVs that is limited to national identity, political inclination and the representations from the macro perspective, more and more reports, exhibitions, festivals and conferences about the culture of MDVs adopt little narrative to describe and represent the other side of MDVs which is ignored in the history of MDVs in grand narrative. The little narrative can be systematically representation in museum in six aspects of MDVs life that include food, clothes, housing, transportation, education and entertainment. It can also be the representation of individual experiences or memories in development history of MDVs, life and culture, food, personal or family history, historical items, pictures, and narratives of outsiders. Those revealed personal stories and experiences enrich the culture of MDVs and also help people to recognise the cultural value of the special immigrant communities. Nowadays, most Taiwanese people agree that MDVs are significant cultural properties and are worthy protecting.

Thirdly, after analysing the development history and spatial features of MDVs that are based on objective analysis, the research analysed the meanings of MVDs in narratives that are dependent on subjective experiences. The analysis of narratives comprises memories, experiences, stories or discourses that are provided by people, who include culturati, residents and observers, and government departments related with MDVs.

To the government, the meaning of MDVs is that it is part of a welfare system for taking care of military dependants since the accommodations were first set up. It changed into a political solid base to support the CNP government after the party was defeated by Communist Party in China and escaped to Taiwan. While some culturati, scholars and people preferred to keep MDVs as heritage, the meaning of MDVs to government changed again, and became a form of cultural resource so far.

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To the culturati, the meaning of MDVs is the residents' place. Those villages are vessels in which residents' culture, memories and lives are put into and stored. They should be conserved as a place for the public to communicate with diverse cultures. They are also places where residents' living traces and memories are accumulated and places which can comfort residents' nostalgia. Those villages can be a kind of display which exhibits the history of the development of the cities which they are situated in. In addition, they are the evidences to prove that the cities are great for integrating different cultures as part of themselves.

To the residents, MDVs are the places in which they live, but there are differences between each person and it is almost impossible to list the meaning of MDVs in every one's mind. This research lists seven categories of experiences according to the collected data - 1) the space stores endless homesickness, 2) MDVs as the villages of nomads, 3) MDVs as temporary shelter becoming a home, 4) MDVs as irremovable sear, 5) MDVs have family-like neighbourhood, 6) discrimination in MDVs, and 7) homogeneous voting tendency.

All of the meanings of MDVs are authentic from someone's perspective and experience. They cannot represent all meaning of MDVs, but only part of those villages and residents. One might find another perspective to interpret the meaning of MDVs after experiencing some of the MDV sites. According to the framework suggested by this research, everyone's interpretation and experience can respond to change in the text of a landscape that is conserving MDVs in this research.

The analysis from macro and micro perspectives should be viewed as ICH of MDVs which explores the meaning of MDVs before conserved. Especially, residents' narratives which give another side of sense of place of MDVs that was not explored in exhibitions of MDV museums. Those individual experiences about MDVs also offer an appropriate point to break the stereotype of MDVs which caused the conflict between local Taiwanese and residents.

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The last analysis of this research focused on the result of spatial practice of MDVs conservation through studying the landscape narratives of conserved MDVs sites in visitors' experience of two selected cases - the SSV and the THAV.

To date, there are 33 conserved MDVs sites and the conservation strategies can be classified into seven categories: 1) static conservation, 2) museum, 3) cultural and creative quarter, 4) integrated conservation, 5) graffiti decoration, 6) café or restaurant, and 7) community hall. Most of the conservation projects only adopt one strategy; only a few of cases use more than one category.

To the government, which is the owner and manager of MDVs, restrictions on laws, budgets, and the opinions of the public are the most considered factors when selecting which conservation strategy to adopt. Unlike the attitude of the government, culturati prefer to attach importance to the result of strategy. In the case of MDVs conservation, the integrated conservation mode is the most ideal strategy for retaining the original physical setting and cultural subjects.

To those culturati, the integrated conservation mode can save the authenticity of MDVs and their culture and keep the culture in lived condition, not just as displays in an exhibition. This method is also a better way than others to maintain the real sense of the site. Except for the strategy of integrated conservation, the strategy of transforming MDVs into museums or cultural and creative quarters is the next best method. However, so far, the existing MDVs museums cannot satisfy the requirements of the culturati because these museums do not function well in their role of collecting, storing and comprehensively presenting historical objects. The strategy of transforming MDVs into cultural and creative quarters contains the function of MDVs museums and additionally arranges entertaining and education programmes to attract visitors to experience MDVs.

According to visitors' experiences, any strategy cannot promise that visitors can really learn the authentic history and culture of MDVs. To most visitors, entertainment and recreation are the aims of visiting conserved sites. The historical atmosphere that is given by the conserved historical circumstance, performances and exhibitions is really attractive to visitors and also triggers them to think about the past life of those places. However, most visitors are not interested in spending much times on studying information or knowledge of MDVs. The information that is offered by site managers or curators and other people's experiences that are gained from the media and the internet are are the main ways in which visitors learn about and understand the conserved sites.

The visitors' experiences should be viewed as an aspect of ICH of conserved MDVs. Although most people visit conserved MDVs just for entertainment and recreation, these personal experiences explore the new sense of place after conserved and added new functions. As black heritage demonstrates dark side of a society, that visitors treat conserved heritage as an entertainment and recreation ground also shows the negative attitude of Taiwan society today to cultural heritage.

RESPONSE TO RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The multi-layered framework suggested by this thesis is an useful tool for analysing meaning of a historical landscape in tangible and intangible perspectives by indicating three key aspects—history, settings, and narratives—as appropriate break points. After analysing the landscape narratives of conserved MDVs from the four perspectives from chapter 3 to 6, the meaning of MDVs can now be stated to respond to the first research question—how to comprehensively narrate the MDVs' sense of place.

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

From the perspective of the development of the history of conservation in Taiwan, the conserved MDVs sites mark the achievement of heritage conservation of Taiwan to date. They express that the value of inscribed heritage is no longer only given by political and cultural authority. After the announcement of the Preservation Act, citizens have been empowered to suggest their cultural properties. Every common person's life, memory, cherished place and object can be heritages of the society. The MDVs conservation activities also mean that even an immigrant community that is enclosed as a ghetto to locals can be accepted and protected as an important part of Taiwan.

The diversity of MDVs is another meaning of MDVs. The development history and spatial features of MDVs in research papers, media and exhibitions give another meaning of MDVs that exists in most of common people who do not have a great understanding of MDVs. Before the MDVs conservation activities were promoted, common people held a stereotype of MDVs and tended to think that all of villages and residents are the same. Nowadays, though, the diversity of MDVs, that includes different development periods, several building types and many significant spatial features in different villages, has been introduced through exhibitions of MDVs museums, MDVs cultural festivals, and the reports within the media and research papers. Furthermore, the diversity can be found in the narratives of MDVs from individuals to government departments.

For visitors, there is another meaning of conserved MDVs. Even though there are seven categories of conservation strategy, most of visitors think that the conserved sites are a kind of place for leisure activities with historical circumstance and nostalgic atmosphere. Also, most of visitors agree that MDVs are not ghettos, but are part of their cities, when they are well conserved and introduced to the public. Although tourism has changed MDVs into tourist spots, conservation activities could be a strategy for helping to sooth political conflict between locals

and immigrants, and comforting original residents' nostalgia caused by escaping from their hometown in China and losing their memorable shelters, the MDVs, in Taiwan later.

According to the analyses of narratives of MDVs in this thesis, the meaning of MDVs cannot limited to the perspective of residents of MDVs and the history of MDVs itself. In addition, the sense of place of MDVs should not just focus on the territory of MDVs. It should involve the perspectives of outsiders of MDVs, and the narratives from different people and organisation related to MDVs before and after those villages were conserved. These narratives should be viewed as ICH of MDVs.

Nevertheless, the analyses above do not give a specific meaning of MDVs, rather they just suggests a temporary answer that is based on the selected perspectives because meaning of MDVs as sense of place is dynamic and changeable over time. According to the multi-layered framework that this research just suggests, the meaning of the landscape of MDVs can be various and changeable if the readers of the landscape of MDVs can find other viewpoints from which to interpret them and to apply to spatial practice to change the sense of place of MDVs in future.

Return to the research question—whether the conservation strategies which had been applied on conserved MDV sites adequately represent and introduce MDVs' sense of place and sustainably reproduce the culture of MDVs. If taking the point of view that meaning and sense of place of MDVs are dynamic and changeable over time, the results of static conservation, museum, graffiti decoration, café or restaurant, and community hall fail to introduce and represent the history and culture of MDVs. They also fail to offer opportunity for residents and visitors to communicate their personal narrative about MDVs. Thus, there is no chance for creating new MDV culture in future. From this point of view, those strategies just re-use MDVs sites, not conserving them.

Comparatively, cultural and creative quarter for tangible and intangible heritage and integrated conservation are better approach to represent existing sense of a place and produce new meaning of the conserved sites. The former strategy replaces original residents by artists or makers and transforms houses to artists' and makers' studio and accommodation to keep balance on maintaining houses' using type as a private space but opened in sometime. The strategy also offer opportunity for artists and makers to interpret their personal experience about to visitors through their works. By this way, visitors learn the past culture and history of MDVs and artists and makers can produce new culture for the sites. The disadvantage of this strategy is absent of original residents. Visitors cannot recognise the artists and makers' performances are really linked to authentic culture and history of MDVs. This disadvantage is corrected by integrated conservation strategy. The strategy ensure all or some original residents stay and keeping their living style in sites. However, keeping balance between promoting culture and history of MDVs to the public and maintaining residents' privacy not be disrupted by visitors is one of key issues of integrated conservation.

According to the analysis of conserved SSV and THAV, visitors' attitude to historical sites has critical effect on reforming new meaning and sense of a place. If most visitors just use conserved sites for entertainment and recreation, not a heritage for promoting cultural identity and learning history and culture of those sites, the meaning and sense of place of the sites would be changed.

SUGGESTION FOR RESEARCH IN FUTURE

Here are some suggestions for the future research that is related with heritage conservation and interpretation. This research has analysed the meaning of MDVs from four perspectives and has also found that almost all of the interpretations offered in conserved sites cannot present all of the relevant information. Most of conserved sites only offer the information that is about the

general impression of MDVs. Although some artists may present more information through their artworks in THAV and other conserved sites, visitors have to spend a lot of time to dig deeper for more information about MDVs if they would like to learn more about MDVs. The effect of different interpretation methods can be an interesting research topic. In addition, future research can set to explore the dark side of MDVs which this research does not touch, like the gangster experiences of MDVs. The multi-layered framework suggests that the landscape text reader can respond to reforming the text of the landscape according to what they have learnt from the landscape. This research just touches on the fact that readers may share their experiences by chatting with friends, or posting comments in their personal websites or blogs, because most visitors are not like conservation activists and volunteers who can spend a great deal of time trying to reform a heritage space. Thus, a longitudinal study over an extended period of time may disclose what factors affect the spatial practice of conservation activists or volunteers on a conservation site in order to vary the narrative of a heritage.

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APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW WITH THE REHABILITATION ARCHITECT OF SHI-SHI SOUTH VILLAGE, BO-YUAN SYU

Interviewee: Mr Bo-Yuan Syu

Interviewer: Yin-Chao Lu

Interview date: 11 April 2013

Question (Q): When did you participate in the project of Shi-Shi South Village (SSV) rehabilitation?

Answer (A): I undertook the conservation project in 2001. The whole rehabilitation project was taken over by the Department of Civil Affairs, Taipei. The project that I participated in is the part of the rehabilitation of the four buildings that were listed as historic buildings. The master plan of the conservation project of SSV and the footprints of others buildings in the MDVs Park were commissioned to Jhang-An Shih who is the head of the Chengtai Planning Company.

Q: Do you know why the whole project of conservation that includes buildings rehabilitation and master plan has not adopted the winner's concept of the conservation competition?

A: I have no idea about why the Department of Civil Affairs did not use the winner's concept. The area of conservation and buildings had been decided before I took the project, and, at that time, except for the four listed buildings, the others had been demolished.

Q: What are the requirements of the rehabilitation project? For instance, which parts should be kept and which parts can be adjusted? Or, can you suggest some new functions or programmes for the conserved SSV?

A: Before staring the rehabilitation project, the Department of Civil Affairs had set out the programme of management for the conserved SSV. It will be a Sinyi Assembly Hall. The new functions of the four buildings have all been decided. They will used as special exhibition hall, MDVs Museum, Restaurant and Community Hall. My work is to repair and adjust the four buildings for the new functions.

Q: Since the Department of Civil Affairs had a plan of management for the conserved site, from your point of view, what is the attitude of the government to the conservation project?

A: It is interesting that the attitudes of different unites about conserving the site are different; and sometimes they are in complete opposition to one another. In my opinion, the site should be protected from the historical perspective of Taiwan. The history of SSV is part of the history of Taiwan and the development history of Taipei. But, it is strange that the Taipei City Government and the Ministry of Defence think that the site is not worth keeping. It should be demolished and turn into part of the campus of Sinyi Elementary School and a park. The official departments should stand on the side of protecting history and cultural properties. However, the two departments want to demolish SSV. The most interesting factor is what the original residents think. They think that the life in MDV is a disgraceful past and not an honour that should be shown off. It is a good thing to them that they have the opportunity to say goodbye to SSV and to move to new and modernised houses. Also, many original residents' children study in the Sinyi Elementary School. They prefer to demolish SSV and to extend the campus of the elementary school to SSV. Additionally, most of the residents hope that SSV can be turned into a park.

Q: How do you view the culture of MDVs?

A: In my viewpoint, I think that the space of MDVs is a place with accumulation of time. The idea, which I learnt from Aldo Rossi, is that space is a kind of container which keeps people's traces and lives. SSV should be a space that was filled with residents' past lives, and it should contain citizens' everyday lives in the future. For example, the roof tiles, doors, windows and other symbols represent the authentic culture of MDVs. The types of spaces, like narrow lanes, also represent the culture of space of MDVs.

Q: Do you know what the residents' behaviours were in the original space before conserved?

A: I do not know much about how the original residents used their homes. Most of the families have a husband who is a soldier or a military worker, his wife, and their children. All of them have moved to new houses and most of the SSV buildings have been demolished except for the listed four buildings. There are very few clues left about residents' behaviours in their homes in SSV.

Q: What is your main concept of the rehabilitation project?

A: Before I took on the project, the Department of Civil Affairs had already decided the functions of the four buildings. According to the introduction and requirements of the project, my work is to repair those buildings and adjust them for the new functions. The original buildings are for accommodation. Each unit is small and narrow and not suitable for the new installed functions. So, I had to remove almost all of the interior partition walls, and left the exterior walls. But, I tried to maintain as much of the original exterior features as possible. The most difficult part of this project is that there is no example of repairing this kind of buildings. Many parts of the buildings were added by residents themselves, like the windows

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and doors. There are no standard constructional types and techniques that can be followed. Thus, I tried to reduce the types of windows and doors to some typical types. Additionally, the Acts for public construction do not have clear guidelines for this kind of rehabilitation.

Q: What do you think about the result of the conservation project and the new installed programmes?

A: The MDVs museum is not a good museum in my viewpoint. I think that a good museum must have good programmes. The exhibition of MDVs can include interviews with residents and people who are related with MDVs, media reports, like films and documentaries. Also, a museum should have regular exhibitions and special exhibitions. However, I guess, the budget for running the MDVs museum is not much. There is only a regular exhibition and its quality is not very good.

The Good Cho's restaurant does not relate to MDVs. Its foods are not MDVs foods and its furnishings do not refer to any image of MDVs.

Some culturati do not think the case of SSV is a remarkable conservation project. But I think that being there is enough to prove the historical value of SSV. As I just mentioned Aldo Rossi's concept, SSV is a container that stores residents' past lives, traces and memories. Therefore the site is worth protecting.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW WITH THE CURATOR OF THE KAOHSIUNG MUSEUM OF MDV, FUNG-CHING LIN

Interviewee: The deputy director-general of Association of Cultural Development of Military Dependents Village in Kaohsiung City, Ms. Fung-Ching Lin

Interviewer: Yin-Chao Lu

Interview date: 14August 2010

Question (Q): What kind of communities do you think the Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs) are? What are the MDVs residents' common features?

Answer (A): I think that the residents of the MDVs cannot be considered as a race or an ethnic group. They include various people, who came from different provinces or areas, and even many of Taiwanese aboriginals and other Taiwanese also live in MDVs since they got married with the MDVs' residents. There were more than eight hundred MDVs which are built in various types. Their diversities are in the aspects of local mother tongues, customs, life style, the military official ranks or services of the householders, and the area or environmental conditions of MDVs. Because of so many differences between them, it is very hard to define what the culture of MDVs is. This is a key point when you run into the issue of how to preserve the culture of MDVs or how to demonstrate and narrate the *special* culture. So what we do is to show and record the history of MDVs in Kaohsiung district. Most of the items are collected from Haiguang Third Village and Shengli New Village, which are located around the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV. We

collect historic artefacts, including residents' pictures, clothes, daily items, and even a piece of wall from a bulldozed MDV house.

Q: Please briefly introduce the history of the Association of Cultural Development of Military Dependents Village in Kaohsiung City.

A: The Association was established in 2006. It is a not-for-profit organisation. The Association aims to preserve and develop the culture of MDVs and endeavours to maintain or achieve the rights for residents of MDVs. The main works are preserving the MDVs culture which is in danger of gradually disappearing due to rebuilding of MDVs, recording the history by interviewing original residents or relevant persons, collecting historic items of MDVs, and promoting preservation of tangible and intangible heritages of MDVs. Now, the members are more than one hundred.

Q: Please briefly introduce the history of the Kaohsiung Museum of MDV.

A: The building was the recreation centre belonged to Haiguang Third Village and Shengli New Village. It was adjusted as the (Kaohsiung) museum (of MDV) and the function of kindergarten of Haiguang Third Village was altered its function from classroom to the office of Old Town Culture Association. They were preserved because of a Kaohsiung City councillor's suggestion. Some house units were also retained as a result of the same suggestion. But without strong management, some squatters and criminal factions intruded into or even occupied those houses. Moreover, because the preservative event also retained the pretty bio-environment, a few protected birds species were attracted to stay in the area. This drew in some people to hunt illegally here. People always report those illegal behaviours to us (the manager of the museum), even though we are not the administrator; but we are the nearest official institution around here. As a consequence of the serious

security problem and lacking sufficient budgets for managing and refurnishing those old buildings, the Kaohsiung City government tore them down them in 2009. In my personal opinion, if there is not any feasible plan or enough money to conserve a historic heritage and to manage it, I prefer just to develop the site as a new project which is really good for the people and the city. Taiwan is a small island and is short of land resources which can be developed. We cannot preserve every place which has been developed and is meaningful from a historic aspect.

Q: Do you think that it is necessary for a MDV museum to be one or more of the original buildings of MDVs, and to demonstrate the MDV culture in a conserved MDV site?

A: I do not think it is necessary that a MDV museum has to be an original building of someone's MDV. In fact, I do not think an original MDV sense is a very important factor for narrating the MDV culture. But, from my point of view, the original habitants are more important than the sense of place. They can tell the story and the life they have had to those who do not understand what the MDVs and their culture are like. Referring back to the reason I mentioned, feasible plan and budgets are key points. If there is no good plan to conserve the historic heritage, I prefer to use the site for a totally new development.

Q: What kind of methods does the museum use to demonstrate MDV culture?

A: We have many volunteers who introduce and interpret historic features and artefacts of MDVs. Some of them are from MDVs; they are cultural heritages because people can hear many interesting stories from them, and everyone has his/her own story. The other way is narrating through the historic items. Like a common museum, we display the items collected from MDVs. We try to make people can experience the space and atmospheres of a usual MDV family, so we simulate the living room, kitchen, dining room, and study room on the

ground floor. It is a regular exhibition. Limited by the space of the building, we cannot represent those senses precisely, but we try to do our best. A special feature of our museum is that we do not only introducing the name of a historic item and where it comes from, but also tell the visitors the story of the owner, and the story between the item and the owner. This will help people to imagine the history related with MDV. For those visitors who lived in MDVs, the museum and the historic items really touched their heart. Some of them were in tears or sobbed and stayed in front of some items for a long while when they look at items which evoked their memories. For those visitors who like to learn the culture and history of MDVs, we hope the exhibition can stimulate their interest and promote a deeper knowledge about MDVs and the people who came from Mainland China around 1949. Moreover, it is hoped that they could empathise with the fact that the history and the mainlanders are part of history of Taiwan.

On the first floor, there is a space for indoor activities, like special courses, and a space for reading where many books about MDVs and military history or knowledge are listed on shelves. We are running a special exhibition, where the memories are stored in boxes. We try to demonstrate the boxes and suitcases, collected from residents of MDVs, belonging to different eras and link them with the special events that happened during the same time. This is the second Boxes Stories Special Exhibition. In the first one, we only collected a few boxes, but we have recorded many detailed stories of the boxes and their owner. We put an interpretation board beside each of boxes. The difference between the two exhibitions is that the former links the history of MDVs with big issues of the era, and the later focuses on personal stories. Both special exhibitions evoke many echoes and discussions. Some visitors who did not live in MDVs think that the boxes are not so different from those owned by local people. But that is the point we want to show - that the life in MDVs was not so different

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from local life. This kind of life happened in other communities in Taiwan at the same time and shared the same social and physical situations.

Q: The museum also hosts many activities to introduce the culture of MDVs, including indoors courses and tours around the city and MDVs nearby. What do you think of those activities? What is the effect of passing the culture on to people?

A: I prefer to host activities rather than just static exhibitions. Every activity is an event. It leaves some memories with those participants, and the culture or knowledge will be passed down in each event. We offer a free city tour around some historic spots and MDVs to attract people to learn the history of the city and to understand that MDVs are part of the city. So, we hired and trained guiders to interpret the city's history from before the Ching Dynasty through the Japanese colonial period to after 1949. We try to link the local history and MDVs' history to break the 'fence' between locals and mainlanders. What we do is a kind of memory preservation and conservation through historic linkage and activities.

Q: What will you do if the budget of the management is not a problem?

A: I hope that people can be encouraged to host some activities or at least participate in running them, not only attending. It should not be that the museum alone always manages and plans everything. I hold an issue in my mind that is *continuing*. The culture and history of MDVs can continue, and not just be known among and kept within the group of mainlanders.

APPENDIX 3-1: CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SHI-SHI SOUTH VILLAGE

Cultural Landscape Conservation Questionnaire (Shi-Shi South Village)

I am studying in Department of Architecture and Built Environment, University of Nottingham, and I am doing a research about interpretation and conservatin of cultural heritage. The questions below are used to analyse how heritage visiter learn from cultural heritage. Your answer will contribute to the cultural landscape, Treasure Hill, conservation and management in the future. Thanks. Researcher: Yin-Chao LU E-Mail: laxycl1@nottingham.ac.uk

*Required

1. **Have you ever attended any activity or conference about conservation of Military Dependants' Villages? ***
   Tick all that apply.

   ☐ Yes.

   ☐ No. (Skip to question 3)

2. **Which conservation activty or conference have you attended?**

   ----

3. **Have you ever attended any Cultural Festivals of MDVs hosted by Taipei City Government or others? ***
   Tick all that apply.

   ☐ Yes.

   ☐ No. (Skip to question 5)

4. **Which festival(s) did you go?**

   ----

5. **Did you visit any museum exhibition of MDVs? ***
   Tick all that apply.

   ☐ Yes.

   ☐ No. (Skip to question 7)

6. **Which museum or exhibition of MDVs did you go?**

   ----

7. **Which feature or features do you think that match to the imaginings of MDVs?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ The community in which mainlanders live in.
- ⬭ There are many delicious foods and amazing home cooking.
- ⬭ Closed neighbourhood.
- ⬭ A sort of enclosed community which is unfriendly to towards outsiders.
- ⬭ Poor and narrow houses
- ⬭ A sort of community which has many bamboo fences
- ⬭ Having a strong atmosphere of main traditional holiday, e.g. celebrations in Chinese New Year.
- ⬭ Having endless stories about wars, escaping, and settling down in Taiwan.
- ⬭ Residents usually have strong national identity to the R.O.C. and political inclination to Chinese Nationalist Party. Additionally, they usually held the dream of returning to China.
- ⬭ Residents are special immigrants who were forced to leave China and to live in Taiwan.
- ⬭ Residents are privileged and grab too much social benefit.
- ⬭ Unique reverence to national or military leader.
- ⬭ MDVs are the symbol of the conflict between Taiwanese and mainlander.
- ⬭ There usually are free movies or performances in the square of the MDV.
- ⬭ Mothers who usually are well dressed up and almost call at neighbours everyday.
- ⬭ MDVs are a family-like communities where are filled with warm and happy.
- ⬭ Residents are diverse, not only mainlanders.
- ⬭ Residents usually are solidified against outsiders who bully or humiliate residents.
- ⬭ There usually are some gangsters in villages.
- ⬭ Other: _____

8. **From where did you know Shi-Shi South Village (the Sinyi Assembly Hall)?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Your relative or friend
- ⬭ The official website of Sinyi Assembly Hall
- ⬭ Someone's blog
- ⬭ From article of newspaper or magazine
- ⬭ Activities or conference of MDVs conservation
- ⬭ Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ Other: _____

9. **Before your first visit to Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall), what degree do you know the history of it?** *

   Please, select one level from 1 (very well) to 5 (totally no idea).
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very Well.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Totally no idea.

10. **Before your first visit to Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall), what degree do you know the history of its conservation?** *

    Please, select one level from 1 (very well) to 5 (totally no idea).
    Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very Well.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Totally no idea.

11. **What degree do you understand the new function and exhibition in conserved Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall)?** *

    Please, select one level from 1 (very much) to 5 (none at all).
    Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	None at all.

12. **Which reason or reasons do you think why Shi-Shi South Village should be conserved?** *

    Multiple choice
    Mark only one oval.

    - ◯ Having special history.
    - ◯ Was a place in which culture of MDVs was developed.
    - ◯ Having special life style.
    - ◯ Having good neighbourhood.
    - ◯ Having special settlement landscape.
    - ◯ Having special building style.
    - ◯ Other: _____

13. **Which activity or activities raised at Sinyi Assembly Hall have you attended?** *

    Multiple choice
    Mark only one oval.

    - ◯ Conferences about MDVs conservation
    - ◯ Simple Market (Weekend fair)
    - ◯ Shopping or having food or drink in Goodcho's restaurant
    - ◯ Cultural festival of MDVs
    - ◯ Other: _____

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14. **Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content help you learn the history of Shi-Shi South Village?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ MDVs Museum
- ⬭ Simple Market (Weekend fair)
- ⬭ Goodcho's restaurant
- ⬭ Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs
- ⬭ Other: _____

15. **Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content help you learn the present situation of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ MDVs Museum
- ⬭ Simple Market (Weekend fair)
- ⬭ Goodcho's restaurant
- ⬭ Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs
- ⬭ Other: _____

16. **Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content match to the properties of humanity of Shi-Shi South Village in the past?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ⬭ Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ⬭ MDVs Museum
- ⬭ Simple Market (Weekend fair)
- ⬭ Goodcho's restaurant
- ⬭ Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs
- ⬭ Other: _____

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17. **Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content match to the impression of the culture of MDVs?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ( ) Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ( ) MDVs Museum
- ( ) Simple Market (Weekend fair)
- ( ) Goodcho's restaurant
- ( ) Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs
- ( ) Other: _____

18. **Which element, decoration, exhibition, or activity of Sinyi Assembly Hall can make you recall MDVs?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ( ) The space and landscape of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall
- ( ) The kept buildings of Sinyi Assembly Hall
- ( ) The serial number of military property on every building
- ( ) The original door and window
- ( ) New Year couplet
- ( ) Roof tile
- ( ) The roof-like grass slopes which marked the locations of original houses
- ( ) The square of Sinyi Assembly Hall
- ( ) The displays of the MDVs Museum
- ( ) The description about the history of MDVs in the MDVs Museum
- ( ) The exhibition of Treasure Cases which were made by original residents of Shi-Shi South Village
- ( ) The simulated spaces of MDVs in MDVs Museum
- ( ) Exhibition of MDVs food in Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ( ) Drama about MDVs in Cultural Festival of MDVs
- ( ) Simple Market (Weekend fair)
- ( ) The interior decorations of Goodcho's restaurant
- ( ) The food of Goodcho's restaurant
- ( ) The uncrowded, quiet, and leisure atmosphere in weekdays
- ( ) The hustle and bustle atmosphere in weekends or holiday
- ( ) Other: _____

19. **Which feature(s) do you think that match(es) the impression about the original Shi-Shi South Village?** *

Multiple Choice
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) A community with messy and narrow space
- ( ) An old and poor community
- ( ) A community with closed neighbourhood
- ( ) A community for mainlanders
- ( ) A enclosed communities which are unfriendly to outsiders
- ( ) It played a role in the development history of Taipei City
- ( ) A space which needs to be improved in the modernised Taipei City
- ( ) Other: _____

20. **Which feature(s) do you think that match(es) the present situation of Sinyi Assembly Hall?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) A space which help visitors to recall and learn the life in MDVs
- ( ) A leisure space of city
- ( ) A space with some conserved original buildings, but cannot learn any culture of MDVs
- ( ) A good place for learning culture and history of MDVs with rich collections.
- ( ) A boring place
- ( ) There is interesting fair in weekends
- ( ) A place which may stimulate people to re-think their social or interpersonal relationship
- ( ) A place which displaces how old building can be adjusted
- ( ) A place for learning the development history of Taipei City
- ( ) Other: _____

21. **Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about the Sinyi Assembly Hall?** *

Tick all that apply.

- [ ] Yes.
- [ ] No. (Skip to question 23)

22. **What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn the Sinyi Assembly Hall?**

Please, select one level from 1 (very much) to 5 (none at all).
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )	None at all

23. **What degree do you think that it will help you learn the history and culture of Shi-Shi South Village if the original residents still lived in here?** *

Please, select one level from 1 (very much) to 5 (none at all).
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	None at all

24. **In which way or ways would you like to share your experience about the Sinyi Assembly Hall?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Chatting or communicating.
- ◯ Blog.
- ◯ Internet forum.
- ◯ Newspaper or magazine.
- ◯ Facebook, Twitter or Plurk.
- ◯ Will not share.
- ◯ Other: _____

25. **Could you offer the title of your Blog, Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, or the internet forum you attending if you have shared or would share your experience about Sinyi Assembly Hall on anyone of them?** *

_____

26. **Which is the range of your age?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ 0 ~ 10
- ◯ 11 ~ 20
- ◯ 21 ~ 30
- ◯ 31 ~ 40
- ◯ 41 ~ 50
- ◯ 51 ~ 60
- ◯ over 60

27. **Your gender?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Female.
- ◯ Male.

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28. **Your educational level?** *

Mark only one oval.

- ⚪ Elementary school.
- ⚪ Junior high school.
- ⚪ Senior high school.
- ⚪ University or college.
- ⚪ Postgraduate.
- ⚪ Other.

29. **Your e-mail, phone, or mobile.**

_____

APPENDIX 3-2 QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES SUMMARY OF SHI-SHI SOUTH VILLAGE

1. **Have you ever attended any activity or conference about conservation of Military Dependants' Villages?**

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes	2	3.1%
No	62	96.9%

1. Have you ever attended any activity or conference about conservation of Military Dependants' Villages?
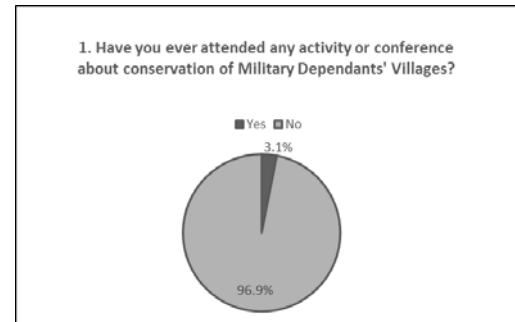
2. **Which conservation activity or conference have you attended?**

Activity
MDVs Cultural Festivals
Filming documentary of MDVs

3. **Have you ever attended any Cultural Festivals of MDVs hosted by Taipei City Government or others?**

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes	1	1.5%
No	63	98.5%

3. Have you ever attended any Cultural Festivals of MDVs hosted by Taipei City Government or others?
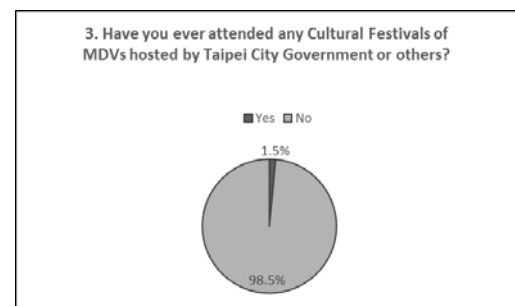
4. **Which festival(s) did you go?**

Activity
Taipei City MDVs Festival

5. Did you visit any museum exhibition of MDVs?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes	15	23.4%
No	49	76.6%

5. Did you visit any museum exhibition of MDVs?

■Yes ■No

23.4%

76.6%
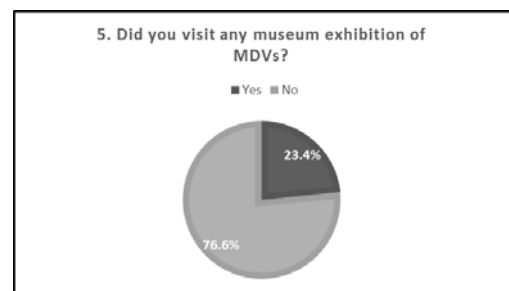
6. Which museum or exhibition of MDVs did you go?

Museum of Exhibition of MDVs
Sianguang Second Village
THAV
SSV
SSV
Taichung MDVs Cultural and Creative Park
THAV, SSV
SSV
Jhongjhen New Village
SSV
Zouying MDVs
Rainbow Village
SSV
Taoyuan Military Community Story House
Rainbow Village
Taoyuan Military Community Story House
SSV

7. Which feature or features do you think that match to the image of MDVs?

Option	Amount	Percentage
The community in which mainlanders live in.	41	64.1%
There are many delicious foods and amazing home cooking.	43	67.2%
Closed neighbourhood.	51	79.7%
A sort of enclosed community which is unfriendly to towards	8	12.5%
Poor and narrow houses	30	46.9%
A sort of community which has many bamboo fences	20	31.3%
Having a strong atmosphere of main traditional holiday, e.g. celebrations in Chinese New Year.	32	60.0%
Having endless stories about wars, escaping, and settling down in Taiwan.	26	40.6%
Residents usually have strong national identity to the R.O.C. and political inclination to Chinese Nationalist Party. Additionally, they usually held the dream of returning to China.	14	21.9%
Residents are special immigrants who were forced to leave China and to live in Taiwan.	14	21.9%
Residents are privileged and grab too much social benefit.	1	1.6%
Unique reverence to national or military leader.	12	18.8%
MDVs are the symbol of the conflict between Taiwanese and mainlander.	15	23.4%
There usually are free movies or performances in the square of the MDV.	24	37.5%
Mothers who usually are well dressed up and almost call at neighbours everyday.	7	10.9%
MDVs are a family-like communities where are filled with warm and happy.	15	23.4%
Residents are diverse, not only mainlanders.	20	31.3%
Residents usually are solidified against outsiders who bully or humiliate residents.	15	23.4%
There usually are some gangsters in villages.	1	1.6%
Other	0	0.0%

7. Which feature or features do you think that match to the image of MDVs?.

| | 0.0% | 20.0% | 40.0% | 60.0% | 80.0% | 100.0% |

- The community in which mainlanders live in.
- There are many delicious foods and amazing home cooking.
- Closed neighbourhood.
- A sort of enclosed community which is unfriendly to towards outsiders.
- Poor and narrow houses
- A sort of community which has many bamboo fences
- Having a strong atmosphere of main traditional holiday, e.g. celebrations in Chinese New Year.
- Having endless stories about wars, escaping, and settling down in Taiwan.
- Residents usually have strong national identity to the R.O.C. and political inclination to Chinese…
- Residents are special immigrants who were forced to leave China and to live in Taiwan.
- Residents are privileged and grab too much social benefit.
- Unique reverence to national or military leader.
- MDVs are the symbol of the conflict between Taiwanese and mainlander.
- There usually are free movies or performances in the square of the MDV.
- Mothers who usually are well dressed up and almost call at neighbours everyday.
- MDVs are a family-like communities where are filled with warm and happy.
- Residents are diverse, not only mainlanders.
- Residents usually are solidified against outsiders who bully or humiliate residents.
- There usually are some gangsters in villages.
- Other

8. **From where did you know Shi-Shi South Village (the Sinyi Assembly Hall)?**

Option	Amount	Percentage
Your relative or friend.	35	54.7%
The official website of Sinyi Assembly Hall.	3	4.7%
Someone's blog.	15	23.4%
From article of newspaper or magazine.	17	26.6%
Activities or conference of MDVs conservation.	0	0.0%
Cultural Festival of MDVs.	0	0.0%
Other.	8	12.5%

The eight responses in "other" option include one of each locals, TV drama, walking by SSV, concert journey, working nearby and three of no idea.
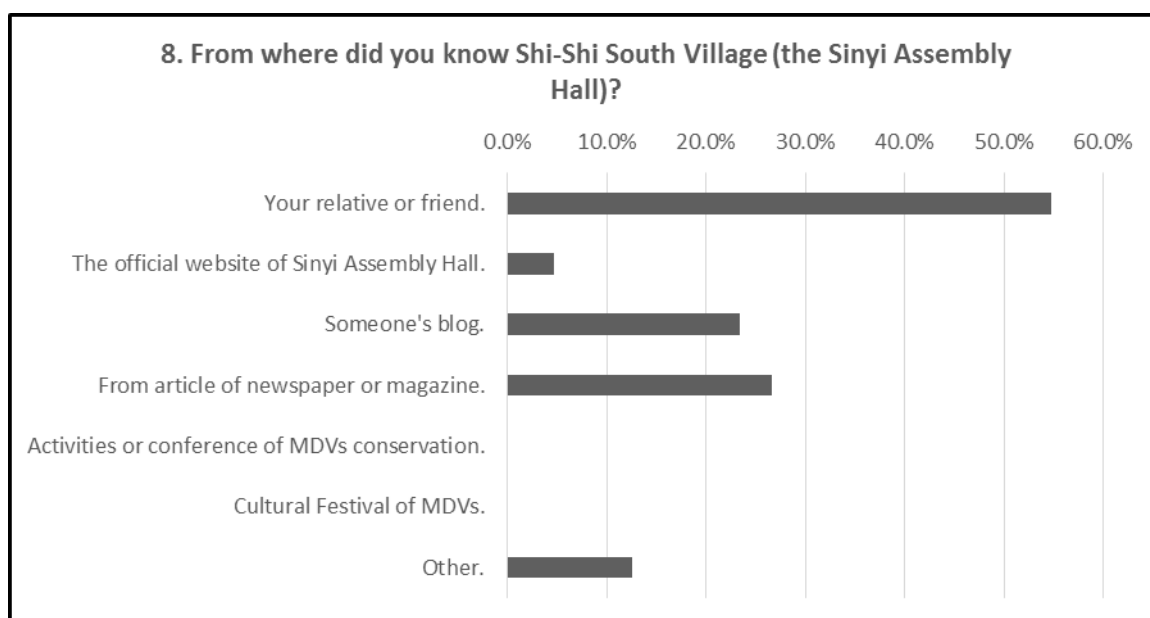
9. **Before your first visit to Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall), what degree do you know the history of it?**

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well.	0	0.0%
2	1	1.6%
3	15	23.4%
4	20	31.3%
5 Totally no idea.	28	43.8%
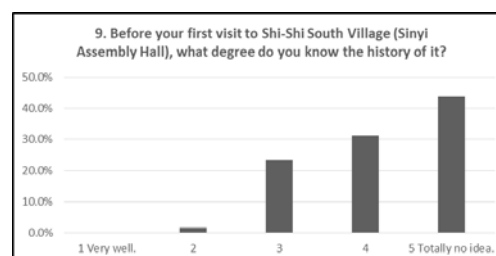
10.Before your first visit to Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall), what degree do you know the history of its conservation?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well.	1	1.6%
2	3	4.7%
3	9	14.1%
4	18	28.1%
5 Totally no idea.	33	51.6%

11.What degree do you understand the new function and exhibition in conserved Shi-Shi South Village (Sinyi Assembly Hall)?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very much.	2	3.1%
2	10	15.6%
3	15	23.4%
4	19	29.7%
5 None at all.	18	28.1%
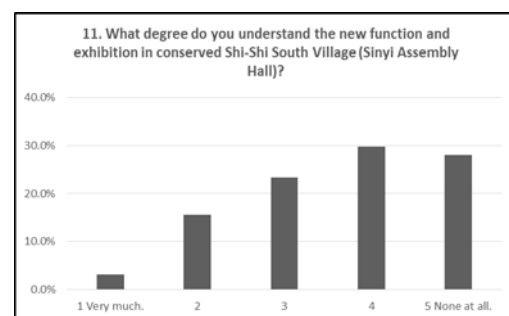
12.Which reason or reasons do you think why Shi-Shi South Village should be conserved?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Having special history.	36	56.3%
Was a place in which culture of MDVs was developed.	45	70.3%
Having special life style.	17	26.6%
Having good neighbourhood.	11	17.2%
Having special settlement landscape.	27	42.2%
Having special building style.	30	46.9%
Other	1	1.6%

The one response in "other" option added note of no idea.
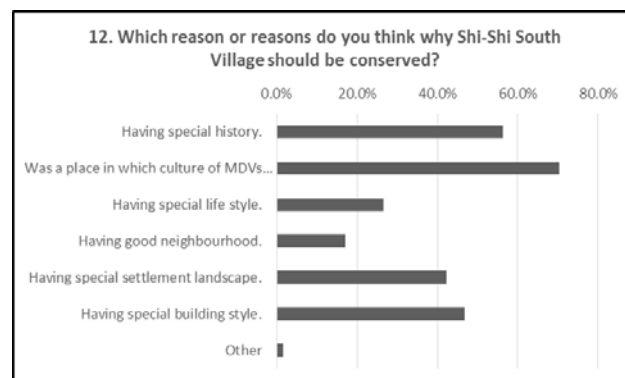
13.Which activity or activities raised at Sinyi Assembly Hall have you attended?

Activity	Amount	Percentage
Conferences about MDVs conservation.	5	7.8%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	38	59.4%
Shopping or having food or drink in Goodcho's restaurant.	43	67.2%
Cultural festival of MDVs.	5	7.8%
Other.	8	12.5%

The eight responses in "other" option added note of not any activity.
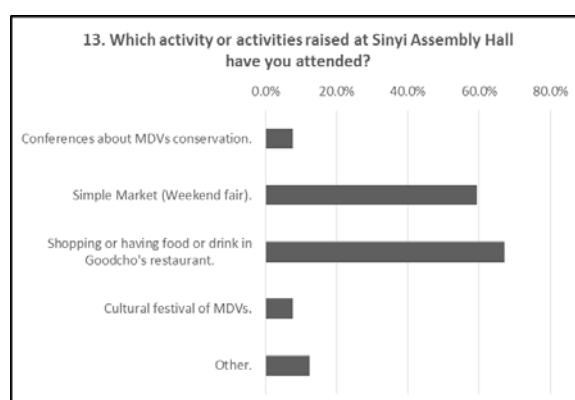
14. Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content help you learn the history of Shi-Shi South Village?

Union or Exhibition	Amount	Percentage
Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	33	51.6%
Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	33	51.6%
MDVs Museum.	39	60.9%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	31	48.4%
Goodcho's restaurant.	24	37.5%
Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs.	7	10.9%
Other.	2	3.1%

The two responses in "other" option added note of no idea.

15.Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content help you learn the present situation of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall?

Union or Exhibition	Amount	Percentage
Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	43	67.2%
Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	39	60.9%
MDVs Museum.	44	68.8%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	26	40.6%
Goodcho's restaurant.	16	25.0%
Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs.	14	21.9%
Other.	0	0.0%
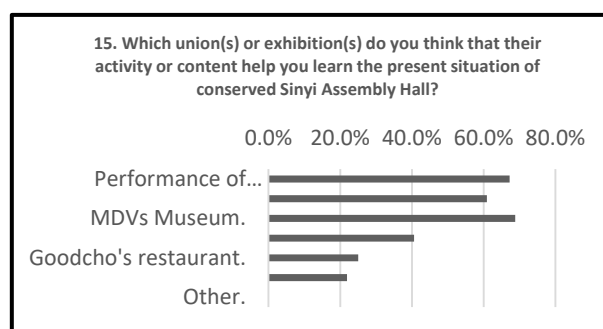
15. Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content help you learn the present situation of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall?

16.Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content match to the properties of humanity of Shi-Shi South Village in the past?

Union or Exhibition	Amount	Percentage
Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	25	39.1%
Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	35	54.7%
MDVs Museum.	44	68.8%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	22	34.4%
Goodcho's restaurant.	19	29.7%
Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs.	16	25.0%
Other.	3	4.7%

The three responses in "other" option included two of no idea and one of doggy fair.
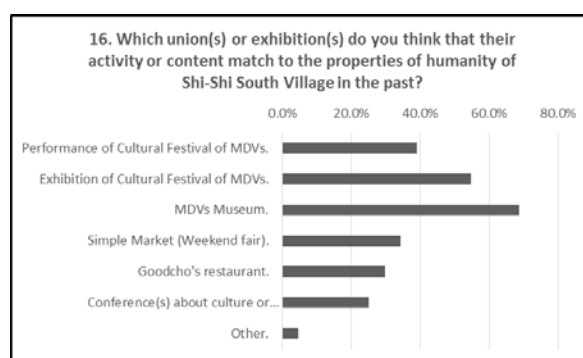
16. Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content match to the properties of humanity of Shi-Shi South Village in the past?

17.Which union(s) or exhibition(s) do you think that their activity or content match to the impression of the culture of MDVs?

Union or Exhibition	Amount	Percentage
Performance of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	27	42.2%
Exhibition of Cultural Festival of MDVs.	36	56.3%
MDVs Museum.	44	68.8%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	17	26.6%
Goodcho's restaurant.	10	15.6%
Conference(s) about culture or conservation of MDVs.	21	32.8%
Other.	3	4.7%

The three responses in "other" option added note of no idea.
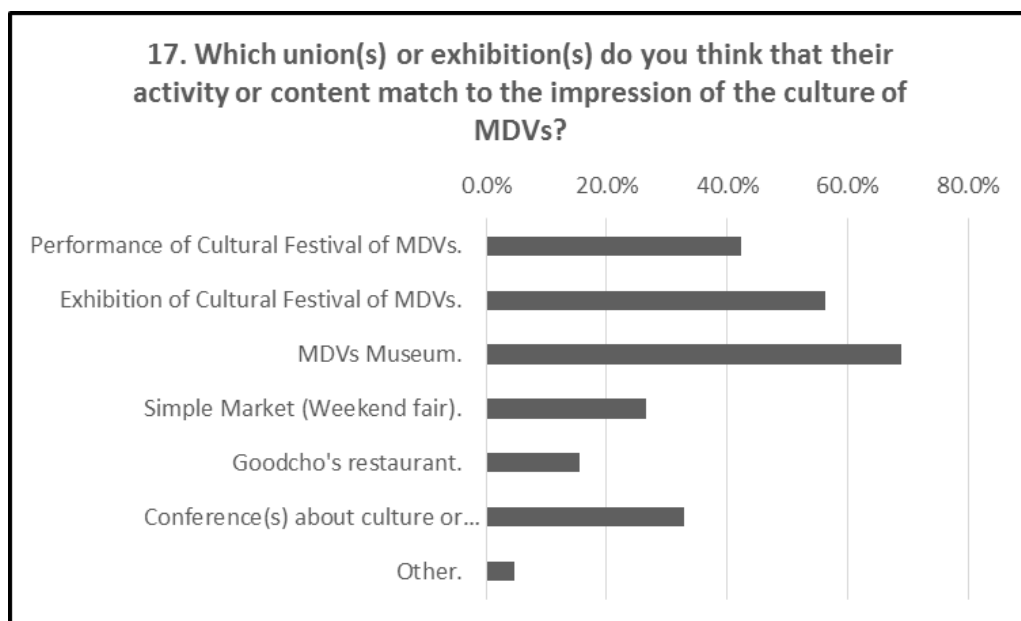
18. **Which element, decoration, exhibition, or activity of Sinyi Assembly Hall can make you recall MDVs?**

Element, Decoration, Exhibition or Activity	Amount	Percentage
The space and landscape of conserved Sinyi Assembly Hall.	32	50.0%
The kept buildings of Sinyi Assembly Hall.	40	62.5%
The serial number of military property on every building.	23	35.9%
The original door and window.	54	84.4%
New Year couplet.	33	51.6%
Roof tile.	41	64.1%
The roof-like grass slopes which marked the locations of original houses.	19	29.7%
The square of Sinyi Assembly Hall.	22	34.4%
The displays of the MDVs Museum.	36	56.3%
The description about the history of MDVs in the MDVs Museum.	25	39.1%
The exhibition of Treasure Cases which were made by original residents of Shi-Shi South Village.	21	32.8%
The simulated spaces of MDVs in MDVs Museum.	21	32.8%
Exhibition of MDVs food in Cultural Festival of MDVs.	7	10.9%
Drama about MDVs in Cultural Festival of MDVs.	10	15.6%
Simple Market (Weekend fair).	14	21.9%
The interior decorations of Goodcho's restaurant.	17	26.6%
The food of Goodcho's restaurant.	8	12.5%
The uncrowded, quiet, and leisure atmosphere in weekdays.	32	50.0%
The hustle and bustle atmosphere in weekends or holiday.	9	14.1%
Other.	1	1.6%

The one response in "other" option added note of no idea.
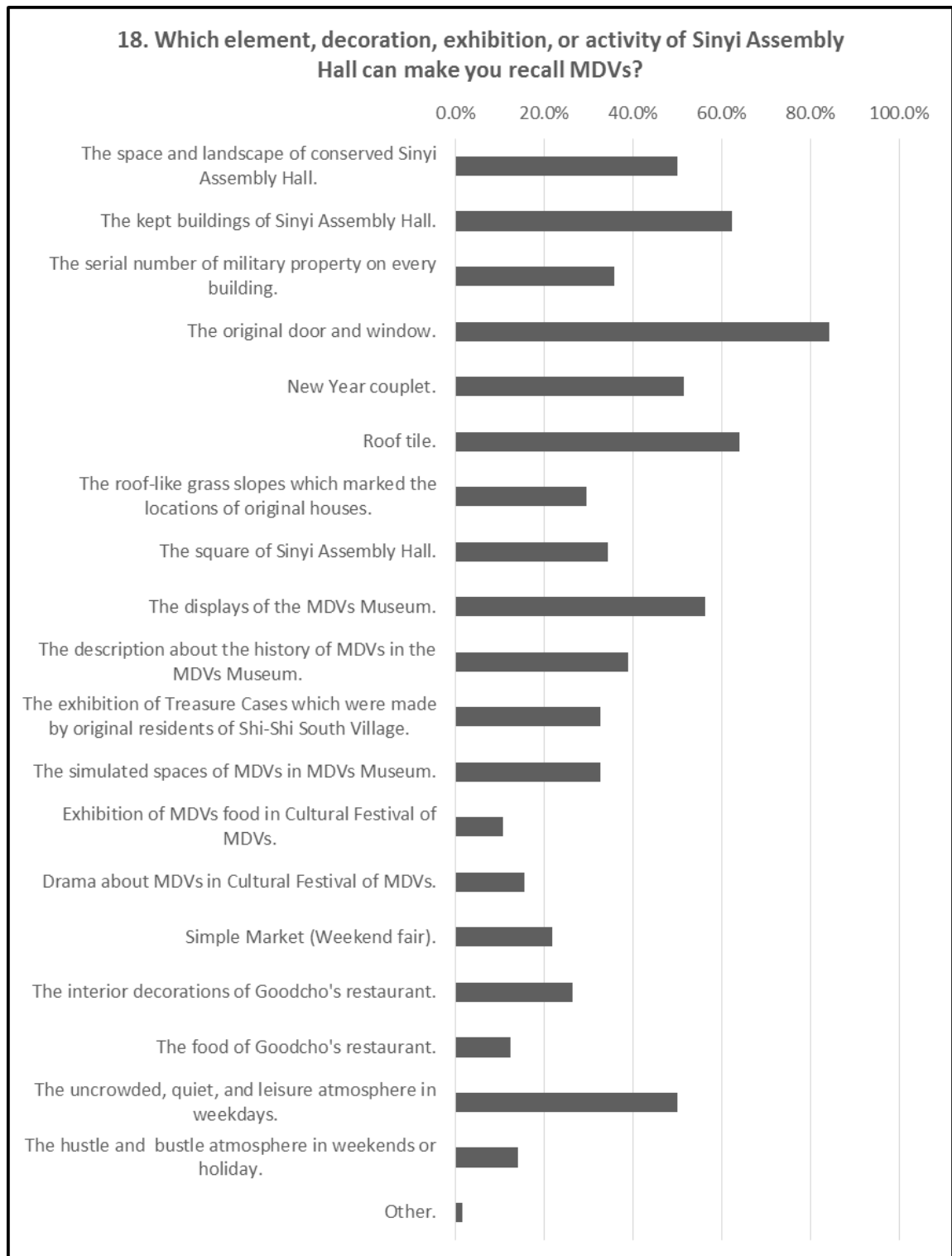
18. Which element, decoration, exhibition, or activity of Sinyi Assembly Hall can make you recall MDVs?

19. Which feature(s) do you think that match(es) the impression about the original Shi-Shi South Village?

Feature	Amount	Percentage
A community with messy and narrow space.	10	15.6%
An old and poor community.	24	37.5%
A community with closed neighbourhood.	40	62.5%
A community for mainlanders.	31	48.4%
A enclosed communities which are unfriendly to outsiders.	5	7.8%
It played a role in the development history of Taipei City.	35	54.7%
A space which needs to be improved in the modernised Taipei City.	11	17.2%
Other.	2	3.1%

The two responses in "other" option added note of no idea.
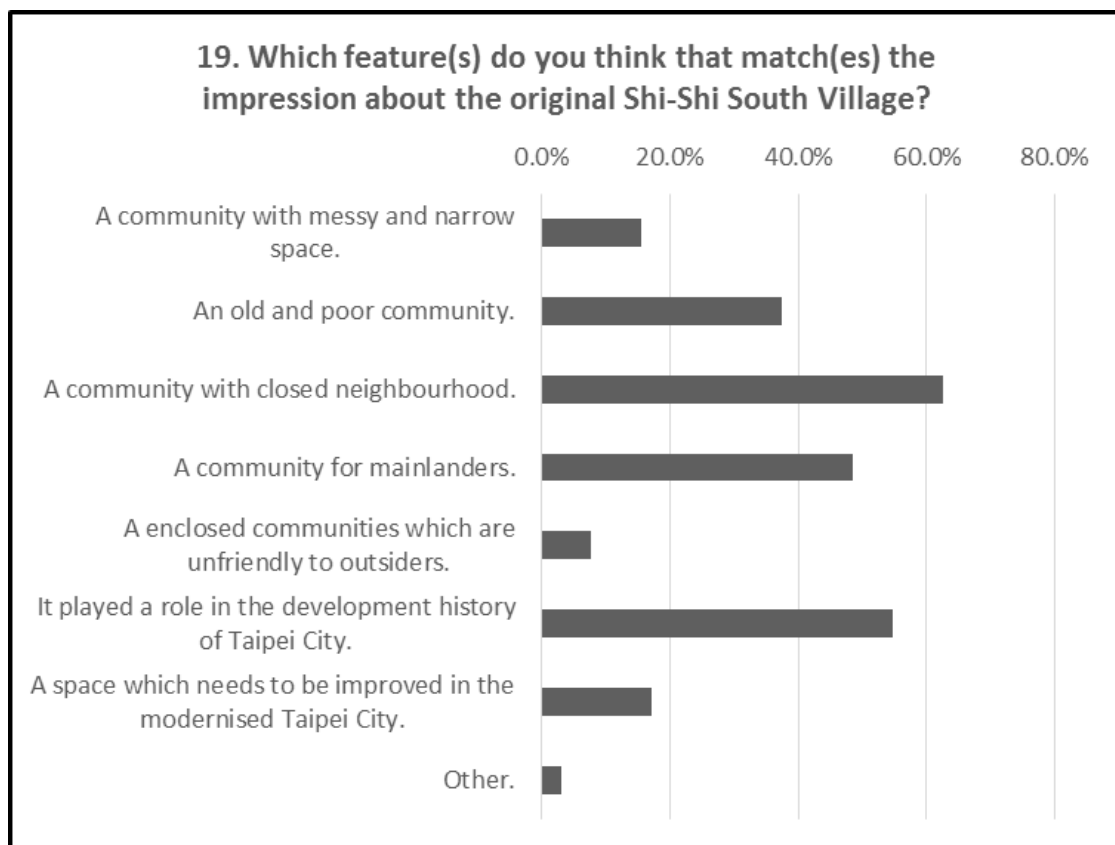
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20.Which feature(s) do you think that match(es) the present situation of Sinyi Assembly Hall?

Option	Amount	Percentage
A space which help visitors to recall and learn the life in MDVs.	43	67.2%
A leisure space of city.	47	73.4%
A space with some conserved original buildings, but cannot learn any culture of MDVs.	14	21.9%
A good place for learning culture and history of MDVs with rich collections.	25	39.1%
A boring place.	2	3.1%
There is interesting fair in weekends.	35	54.7%
A place which may stimulate people to re-think their social or interpersonal relationship.	19	29.7%
A place which displaces how old building can be adjusted.	33	51.6%
A place for learning the development history of Taipei City.	22	34.4%
Other.	0	0.0%
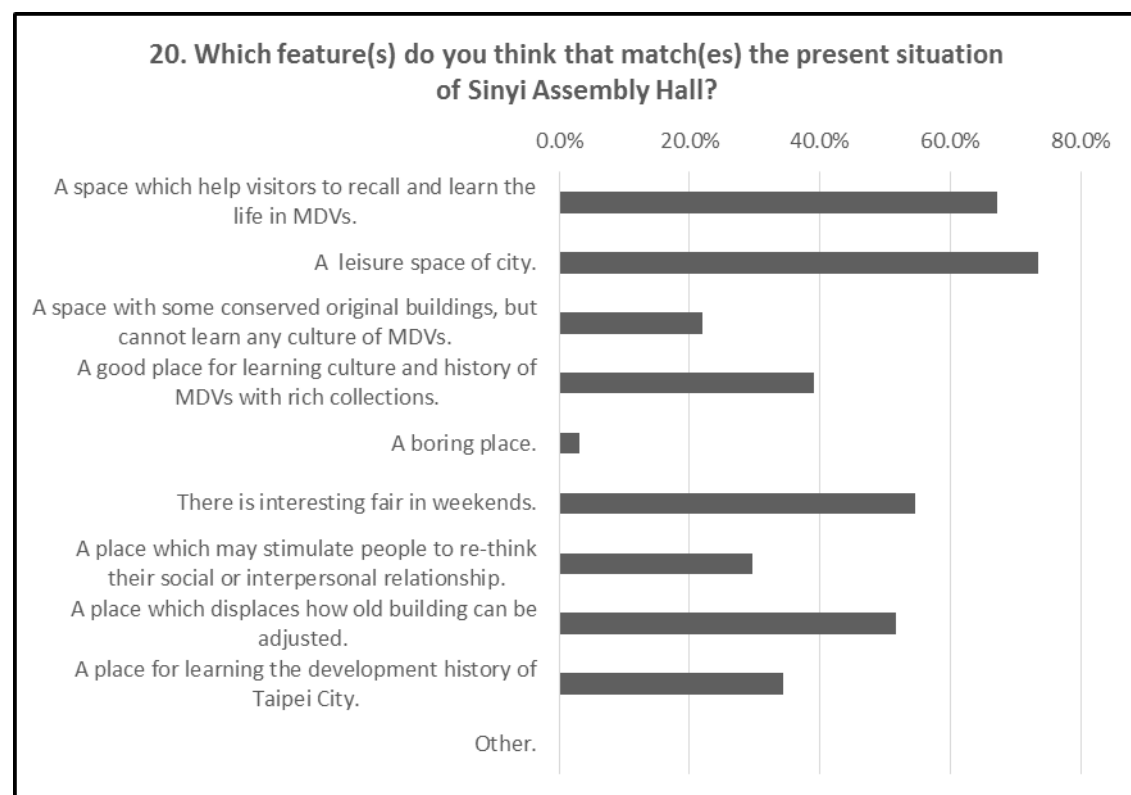
20. Which feature(s) do you think that match(es) the present situation of Sinyi Assembly Hall?

21.Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about the Sinyi Assembly Hall?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes.	19	29.7%
No.	45	70.3%
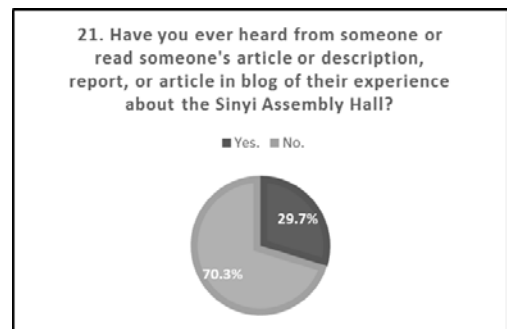
21. Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about the Sinyi Assembly Hall?

22.What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn the Sinyi Assembly Hall?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very much	1	1.6%
2	13	20.3%
3	8	12.5%
4	4	6.3%
5 None at all	1	1.6%
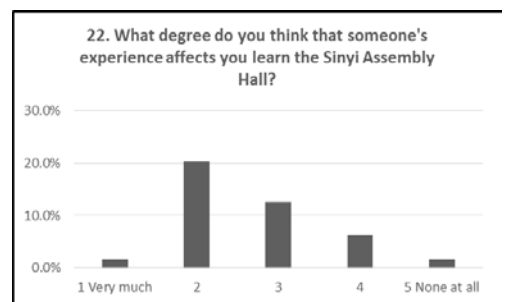
22. What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn the Sinyi Assembly Hall?

23.What degree do you think that it will help you learn the history and culture of Shi-Shi South Village if the original residents still lived in here?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very much	12	18.8%
2	27	42.2%
3	16	25.0%
4	5	7.8%
5 None at all	4	6.3%

23. What degree do you think that it will help you learn the history and culture of Shi-Shi South Village if the original residents still lived in here?

24. In which way or ways would you like to share your experience about the Sinyi Assembly Hall?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Chatting or communicating.	39	60.9%
Blog.	22	34.4%
Internet forum.	7	10.9%
Newspaper or magazine.	6	9.4%
Facebook, Twitter or Plurk.	50	78.1%
Will not share.	3	4.7%
Other.	1	1.6%

The one response in "other" option added note of no idea.
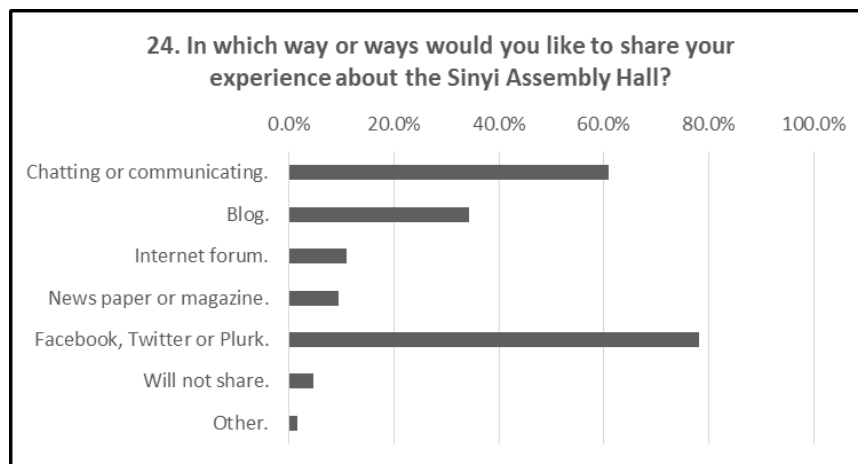
25. Could you offer the title of your Blog, Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, or the internet forum you attending if you have shared or would share your experience about Sinyi Assembly Hall on anyone of them?

Title
Facebook: tea8091@hotmail.com
Facebook: ak884513@yahoo.com.tw
Facebook: gifuwu

26. Which is the range of your age?

Range	Amount	Percentage
0 - 10	0	0.0%
11 - 20	9	14.1%
21 - 30	34	53.1%
31 - 40	11	17.2%
41 - 50	6	9.4%
51 - 60	3	4.7%
over 60	1	1.6%

26. Which is the range of your age?
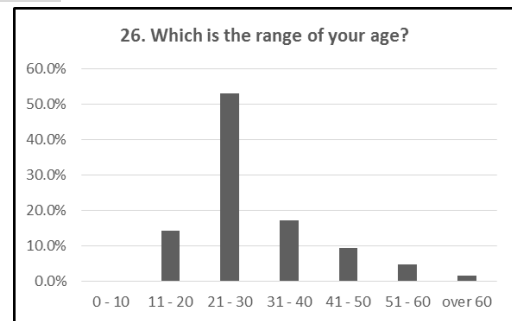
27.Your gender?

Gender	Amount	Percentage
Female	31	48.4%
Male	33	51.6%

27. Your gender?
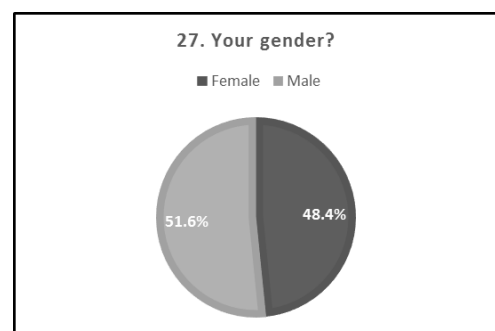
28.Your educational level?

Level	Amount	Percentage
Elementary school.	0	0.0%
Jounior high school.	1	1.6%
Senior high school.	4	6.3%
University or college.	51	79.7%
Postgraduate.	8	12.5%
Other.	0	0.0%

28. Your Educational level?
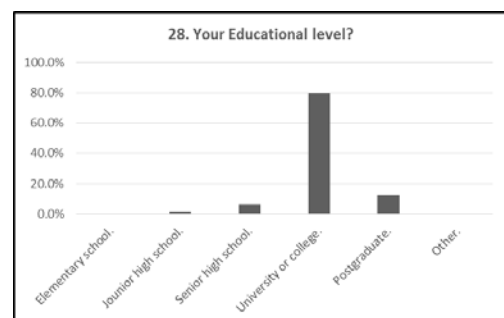
29.Your email address or number of phone or mobile.

0919326431, liupuyueh2002@yahoo.com.tw
tea8091@hotmail.com, 0922021081
aptx4869@yahoo.com.tw
sospp123@yahoo.com.tw
tomcop45@gmail.com
rigaku770126@hotmail.com, 0952973619
amekara@gmail.com
eightmeeight@gmail.com
doboxe57@gmail.com
0936049178
0981271579
a_jhong@yahoo.com.tw
hanna_su0506@gmail.com
hedy1007@hotmail.com
emmaemma5@hotmail.com
jchen0804@yahoo.com
yvet11@hotmail.com.tw
britneychui@gamil.com
irisisgod@gmail.com
slapbassman@gmail.com
minipotato@gmail.com
franwuu@hotmail.com
justin691013@yahoo.com.tw
winniewo@hotmail.com
kira55567778@hotmail.com
news1087@hotmail.com
mogu0219@gmail.com
ilsh_31404@hotmail.com, 0933986546
way318way@yahoo.com.tw

kof20100@yahoo.com.tw
s613home@gmail.com
collala@gmail.com
shenminshee@gmail.com
tzu-hsine@hotmail.com
karary_123@hotmail.com
t.b.c.lan@yahoo.com.tw
Parkson_li@burnabytech.com
gowla2002@yahoo.com.tw
ongtk@cacs.com.kh
stephy830@hotmail.com
loyenting@gmail.com
poting.cho@gmail.com
anpciam@gmail.com
shihjer2002@yahoo.com.tw, 0933303171
uinwo@hotmail.com
lien5991@adm.cgmh.org.tw
vivian.wu0812@hotmail.com.tw
kp6891@hotmail.com
cack530100@hotmail.com
a1180273@yahoo.com.tw
design235689@yahoo.com.tw, 0970427846
ak884513@yahoo.com.tw
shyuan864312@hotmail.com
bibobibobo@hotmail.com
0918167157
gifuwu@gmail.com

APPENDIX 4-1 CULTURAL LANDSCAPE CONSERVATION

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TREASURE HILL

Cultural Landscape Conservation Questionnaire (Treasure Hill)

I am studying in Department of Architecture and Built Environment, University of Nottingham, and I am doing a research about interpretation and conservation of cultural heritage. The questions below are used to analyse how heritage visiter learn from cultural heritage. Your answer will contribute to the cultural landscape, Treasure Hill, conservation and management in the future. Thanks.

Researcher: Yin-Chao LU
E-Mail: laxycl1@nottingham.ac.uk

*Required

1. **From where did you know the Treasure Hill Settlement?** *
   Multiple choice
   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Your relative or friend.
   ◯ From the official web site of Treasure Hill Artist Village.
   ◯ Someone's blog.
   ◯ From article of newspaper or magazine.
   ◯ Other: _____

2. **Before your first visiting to Treasure Hill, what degree did you know about the history of Treasure Hill?** *
   Please, select one level from 1 (very well) to 5 (totally no idea).
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very well.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Totally no idea.

3. **Before your first visiting to Treasure Hill, what degree did you know about the history of Treasure Hill Settlement conservation?** *
   Please, select one level from 1 (very well) to 5 (totally no idea).
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very well.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Totally no idea.

4. **What degree do you know about the conserved and adjusted Treasure Hill Artist Village?** *
   Please, select one level from 1 (very well) to 5 (totally no idea).
   Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very well.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	Totally no idea.

5. **Which reason or reasons do you think why Treasure Hill should be conserved?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Having a special history.
- ◯ Having a special life style.
- ◯ Having a good neighbourhood
- ◯ Having a losely relationship between people and nature.
- ◯ Having a special settlement landscape.
- ◯ Having a special building style.
- ◯ Other: _____

6. **What degree do you think the guide booklet and guiding tour, offered by information centre, help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?** *

Please, select one level from 1 (very much helpful) to 5 (none helpful).
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much helpful	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	None helpful

7. **Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?** *

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ Treasure Trading Cafe.
- ◯ Tadpole Point .
- ◯ 3) Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.
- ◯ Petite Livre.
- ◯ Demo studio.
- ◯ In Heart, Sharing Space.
- ◯ OpenLab. Taipei.
- ◯ Nick Gan.
- ◯ City Yeast.
- ◯ Meng's Handmade Paper.
- ◯ Ruins X City X Legend.
- ◯ Stepping in . Happening.
- ◯ Make an Indie Tree.
- ◯ Other: _____

8. **Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the present situation of Treasure Hill? ***

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

○ Treasure Trading Cafe.

○ Tadpole Point.

○ Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.

○ Petite Livre.

○ Demo Studio.

○ In Heart, Sharing Space.

○ OpenLab. Taipei.

○ Nick Gan.

○ City Yeast.

○ Meng's Handmade Paper.

○ Ruins X City X Legend.

○ Stepping in. Happening.

○ Make an Indie Tree.

○ Other: _____

9. **Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their display(s) or performance(s) match to the properties of humanity of Treasure Hill? ***

Multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

○ Treasure Trading Cafe.

○ Tadpole Point.

○ Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.

○ Petite Livre.

○ Demo Studio.

○ In Heart, Sharing Space.

○ OpenLab. Taipei.

○ Nick Gan.

○ City Yeast.

○ Meng's Handmade Paper.

○ Ruins X City X Legend.

○ Stepping in. Happening.

○ Make an Indie Tree.

○ Other: _____

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10. **Which project or projects do you think that can inspire you to observe or experience Treasure Hill in another point of view?** *

Multiple Choice
Mark only one oval.

- ◯ City Yeast/ Yellow Chair Project.
- ◯ Yao-Chun Liu/ Hi! you, little dolls.
- ◯ Graffiti
- ◯ The filming Scenery of Four Hands/ Words Are in Ferment.
- ◯ Other: _____

11. **Have you ever had a conversation with, made friend with, or greeted original residents of Treasure Hill Settlement?** *

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No. (Skip to Question 13.)

12. **What degree do you think that the original residents who still live in Treasure Hill Artist Village help you learn the history and humanity of Treasure Hill?**

Please, select one level from 1 (very much helpful) to 5 (none helpful).
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much helpful.	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	None helpful.

13. **Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about Treasure Hill?** *

Tick all that apply.

- ☐ Yes.
- ☐ No. (Skip to question 15)

14. **What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn Treasure Hill?**

Please, select one level from 1 (very much) to 5 (none at all).
Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very much	◯	◯	◯	◯	◯	None at all

15. **Which feature or features do you think that match to past Treasure Hill?** *

multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

◯ An organically developing settlement.

◯ A poor slum.

◯ A settlement with closed neighbourhood.

◯ A settlement with old mainlander and rural migrant

◯ A settlement with dirty, narrow buildings.

◯ A leisure place of Taipei City

◯ An unfriendly enclosed settlement.

◯ A part of developing history of Taipei City.

◯ A poor settlement which should be renewed.

◯ Other: _____

16. **Which feature or features do you think that match to the Treasure Hill Artist Village?** *

multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

◯ A genial and friendly settlement.

◯ A settlement with rich artistic aura.

◯ Having disordered street space.

◯ A group of disordered and unbeautiful building.

◯ There are many amazing and surprising spaces.

◯ There are many art works or performances which inspire people's thinking or imaginative ability.

◯ A recreational place where people can escape from crowed city.

◯ A place which may stimulate people to re-think their social or interpersonal relationship.

◯ A place which may stimulate people to re-think relationship between human and nature.

◯ An uninteresting place.

◯ Having friendly residents.

◯ Having artists who have some fascinating interesting thought.

◯ Other: _____

17. **In which way or ways would you like to share your experience about Treasure Hill Artist Village?** *

multiple choice
Mark only one oval.

- ( ) Chatting or communicating.
- ( ) Blog
- ( ) Internet forum.
- ( ) Newspaper or magazine.
- ( ) Facebook, Twitter, or Plurk.
- ( ) Will not share.
- ( ) Other: _____

18. **Could you offer the title of your Blog, Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, or the internet forum you attending if you have shared your experience about Treasure Hill Artist Village on anyone of them?** *

_____

19. **Which is the range of your age?** *
Tick all that apply.

- [ ] 0 - 10
- [ ] 11 - 20
- [ ] 21 - 30
- [ ] 31 - 40
- [ ] 41 - 50
- [ ] 51 - 60
- [ ] above 60

20. **Your gender?** *
Tick all that apply.

- [ ] Female.
- [ ] Male.

21. **Your educational level?** *
Tick all that apply.

- [ ] Elementary school.
- [ ] Junior high school.
- [ ] Senior high school.
- [ ] University or college.
- [ ] Postgradurate.
- [ ] Other: _____

22. **Your e-mail, phone, or mobile.**

_____

APPENDIX 4-2 QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSES SUMMARY OF TREASURE HILL ARTIST VILLAGE

1. From where did you know the Treasure Hill Settlement?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Your relative or friend.	42	65.6%
From the official web site of Treasure Hill Artist Village.	8	12.5%
Someone's blog.	8	12.5%
From article of newspaper or magazine.	10	15.6%
other	13	20.3%

The 13 responses in "other" option include living in neighbourhood, just know, introduction of study, hearing from someone and TV, from resident, two from teacher, from the FaceBook, from club in school, from artist-in-residence, and two no answers.
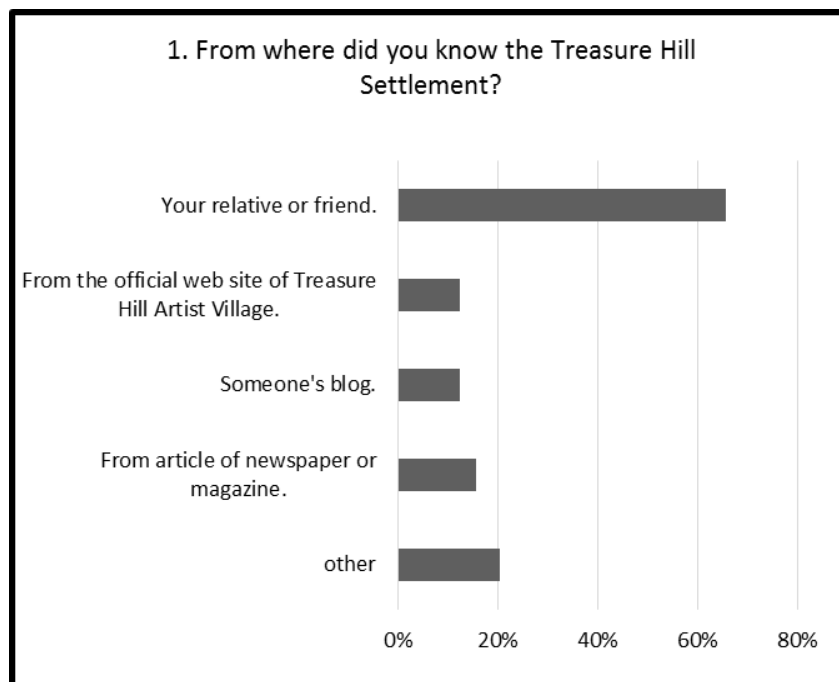
2. Before your first visiting to Treasure Hill, what degree did you know about the history of Treasure Hill Settlement conservation?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well	2	3.1%
2	5	7.8%
3	16	25.0%
4	10	15.6%
5 Totally no idea	31	48.4%
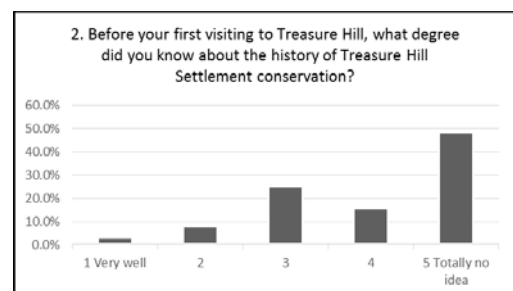
3. Before your first visiting to Treasure Hill, what degree did you know about the history of Treasure Hill Settlement conservation?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well	0	0%
2	11	17%
3	11	17%
4	9	14%
5 Totally no idea	33	52%

3. Before your first visiting to Treasure Hill, what degree did you know about the history of Treasure Hill Settlement conservation?
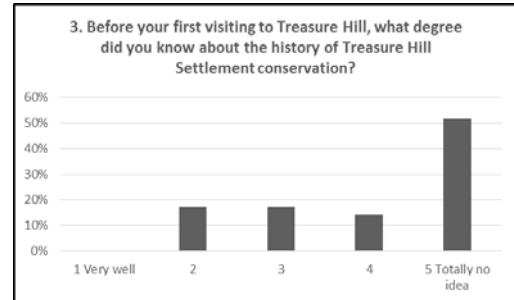
4. What degree do you know about the conserved and adjusted Treasure Hill Artist Village?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well	2	3.1%
2	13	20.3%
3	16	25.0%
4	13	20.3%
5 Totally no idea	20	31.3%
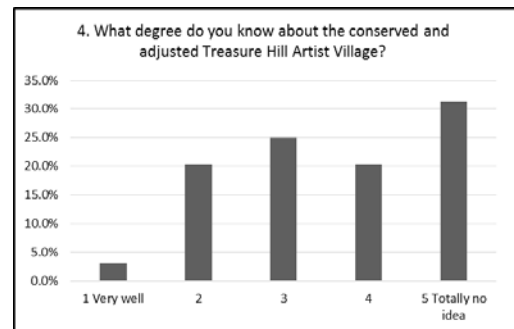
4. What degree do you know about the conserved and adjusted Treasure Hill Artist Village?

5. Which reason or reasons do you think why Treasure Hill should be conserved?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Having a special history.	39	60.9%
Having a special life style.	49	76.6%
Having a good neighbourhood	8	12.5%
Having a closely relationship between people and nature.	23	35.9%
Having a special settlement landscape.	55	85.9%
Having a special building style.	25	39.1%
Other	1	1.5%

The one response in "other" option is that the project was supported by scholars, culturati, and politicians.

5. Which reason or reasons do you think why Treasure Hill should be conserved?
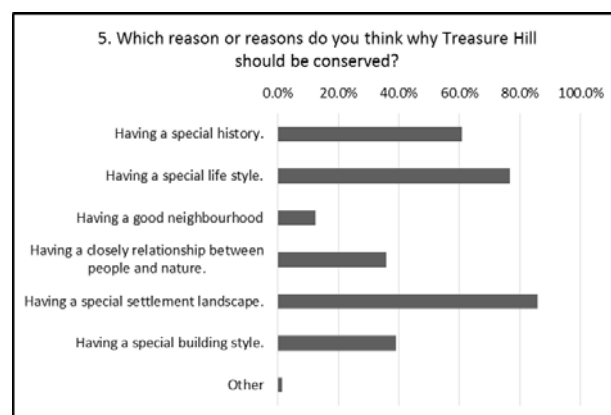
6. What degree do you think the guide booklet and guiding tour, offered by information centre, help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?

Option	Amount	Percentage
1 Very well	10	15.6%
2	14	21.9%
3	26	40.6%
4	8	12.5%
5 Totally no idea	6	9.4%
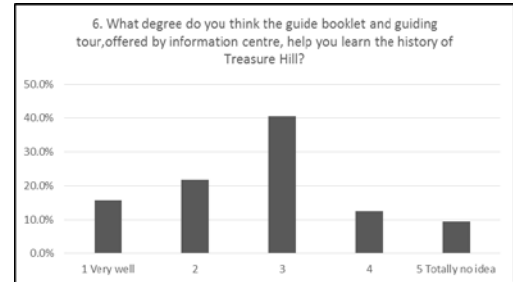
6. What degree do you think the guide booklet and guiding tour, offered by information centre, help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?

7. Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Treasure Trading Cafe.	26	40.6%
Tadpole Point .	19	29.7%
Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.	5	7.8%
Petite Livre.	8	12.5%
Demo studio.	12	18.8%
In Heart, Sharing Space.	6	9.4%
OpenLab. Taipei.	3	4.7%
Nick Gan.	2	3.1%
City Yeast.	17	26.6%
Meng's Handmade Paper.	2	3.1%
Ruins X City X Legend.	17	26.6%
Stepping in . Happening.	2	3.1%
Make an Indie Tree.	2	3.1%
Other	19	29.7%

The one response in "other" option is that the project was supported by scholars, culturati, and politicians.

7. Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the history of Treasure Hill?
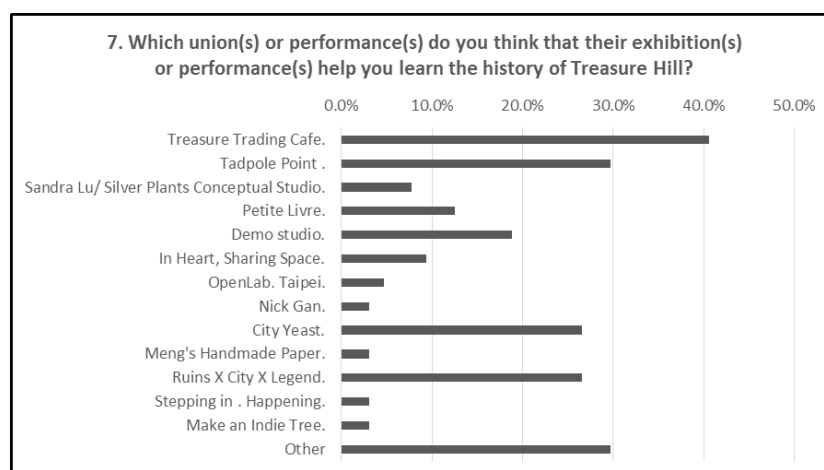
8. **Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the present situation of Treasure Hill?**

Option	Amount	Percentage
Treasure Trading Cafe.	22	34.4%
Tadpole Point .	22	34.4%
Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.	7	10.9%
Petite Livre.	7	10.9%
Demo studio.	12	18.8%
In Heart, Sharing Space.	3	4.7%
OpenLab. Taipei.	3	4.7%
Nick Gan.	1	1.6%
City Yeast.	12	18.8%
Meng's Handmade Paper.	2	3.1%
Ruins X City X Legend.	12	18.8%
Stepping in . Happening.	2	3.1%
Make an Indie Tree.	5	7.8%
Other	16	25.0%

All of the 16 responses in "other" option added note of no idea or not sure.
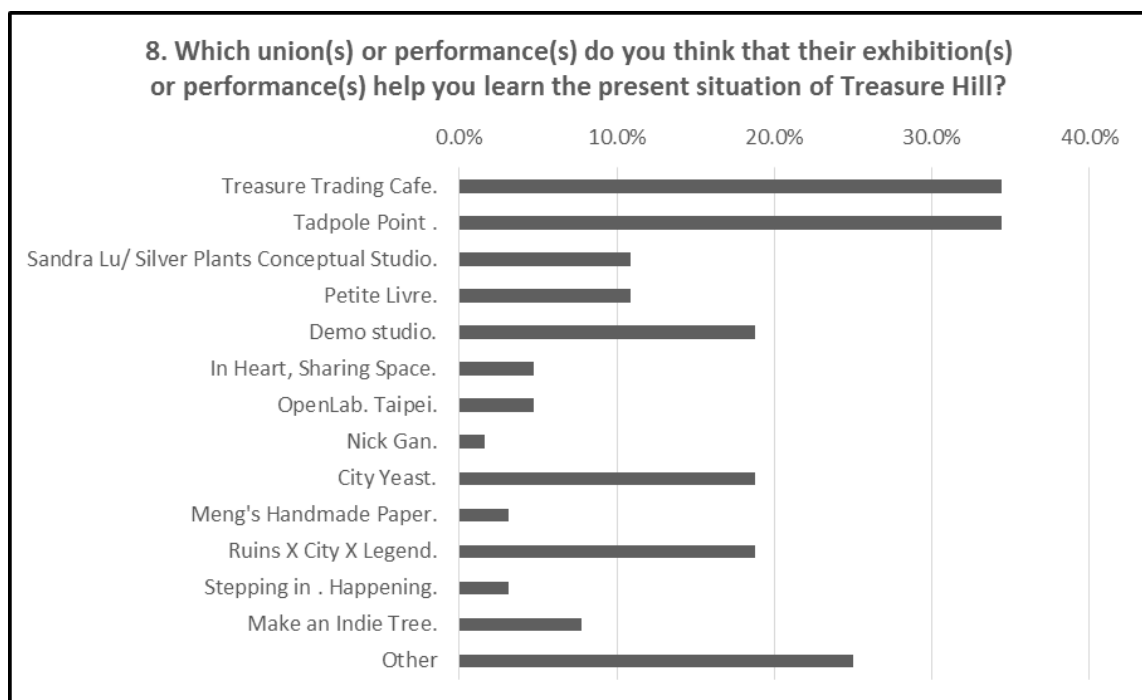

8. Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their exhibition(s) or performance(s) help you learn the present situation of Treasure Hill?

9. **Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their display(s) or performance(s) match to the properties of humanity of Treasure Hill?**

Option	Amount	Percentage
Treasure Trading Cafe.	20	31.3%
Tadpole Point.	23	35.9%
Sandra Lu/ Silver Plants Conceptual Studio.	10	15.6%
Petite Livre.	6	9.4%
Demo Studio.	10	15.6%
In Heart, Sharing Space.	8	12.5%
OpenLab. Taipei.	2	3.1%
Nick Gan.	5	7.8%
City Yeast.	8	12.5%
Meng's Handmade Paper.	4	6.3%
Ruins X City X Legend.	14	21.9%
Stepping in. Happening.	0	0.0%
Make an Indie Tree.	6	9.4%
Other	18	28.1%

All of the 18 responses in "other" option added note of no idea or not sure.
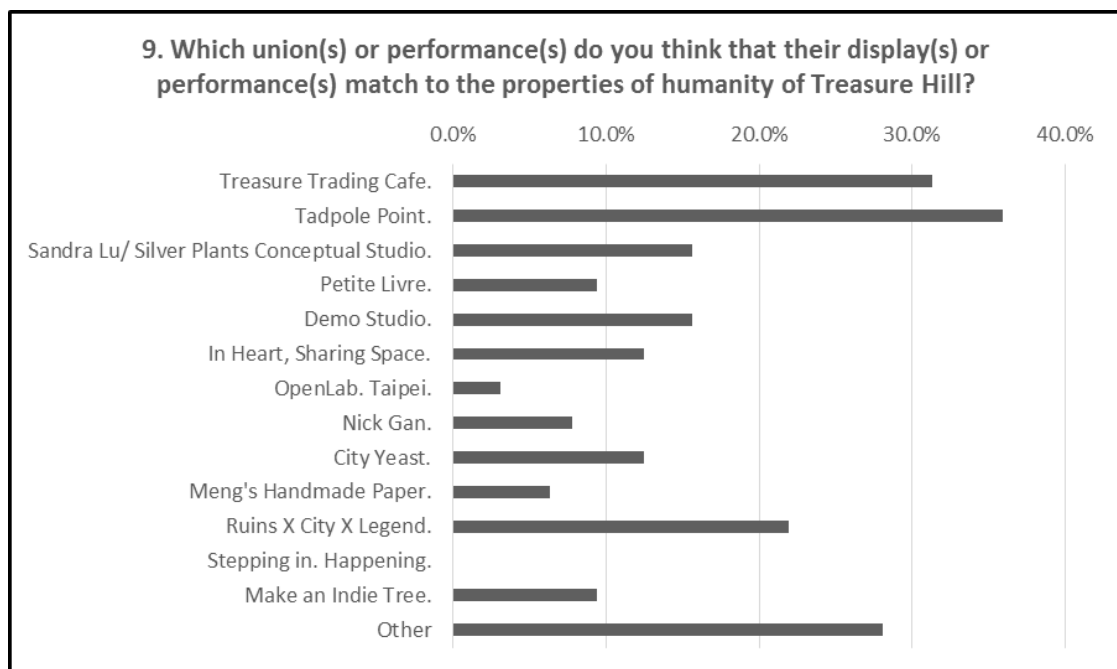
9. Which union(s) or performance(s) do you think that their display(s) or performance(s) match to the properties of humanity of Treasure Hill?

10.Which project or projects do you think that can inspire you to observe or experience Treasure Hill in another point of view?

Option	Amount	Percentage
City Yeast/ Yellow Chair Project.	19	29.7%
Yao-Chun Liu/ Hi! you, little dolls.	26	40.6%
Graffiti	33	51.6%
The filming Scenery of Four Hands/ Words Are in Ferment.	21	32.8%
Other	6	9.4%

All of the 6 responses in "other" option added note of no idea or not sure.
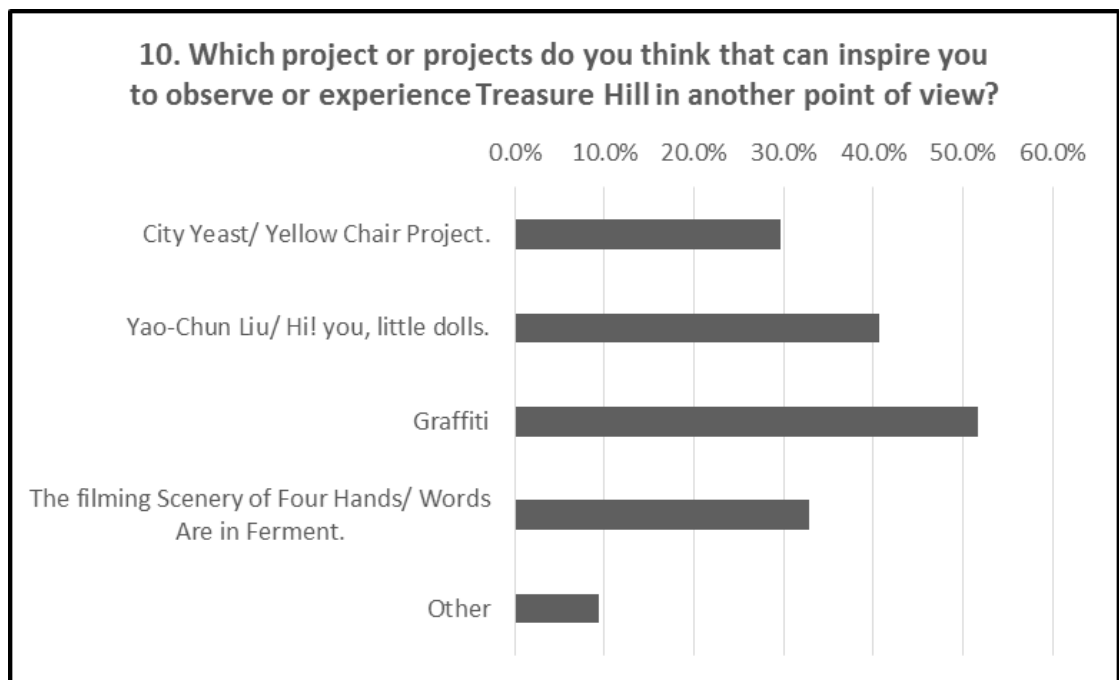
11. Have you ever had a conversation with, made friend with, or greeted original residents of Treasure Hill Settlement?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes	13	20.3%
No	51	79.7%
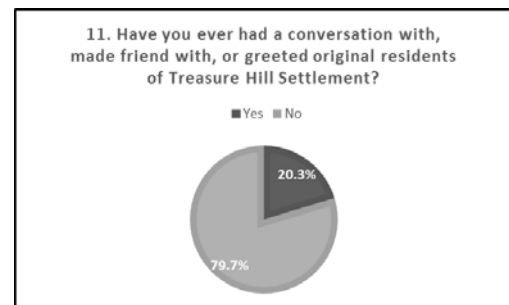
11. Have you ever had a conversation with, made friend with, or greeted original residents of Treasure Hill Settlement?

12. What degree do you think that the original residents who still live in Treasure Hill Artist Village help you learn the history and humanity of Treasure Hill?

Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very much helpful	1	7.7%
2	6	46.1%
3	1	7.7%
4	5	38.5%
5 None helpful	0	0.0%
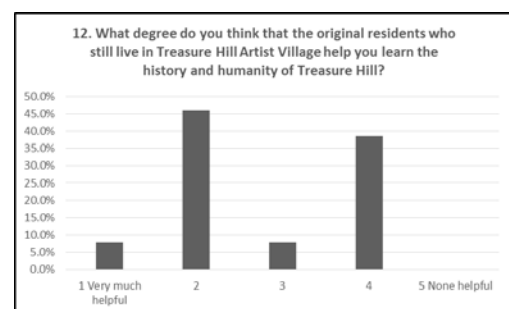
12. What degree do you think that the original residents who still live in Treasure Hill Artist Village help you learn the history and humanity of Treasure Hill?

13. Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about Treasure Hill?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Yes	43	67.2%
No	21	32.8%

13. Have you ever heard from someone or read someone's article or description, report, or article in blog of their experience about Treasure Hill?
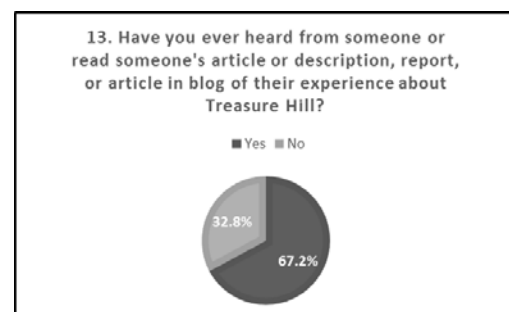
14. What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn Treasure Hill?

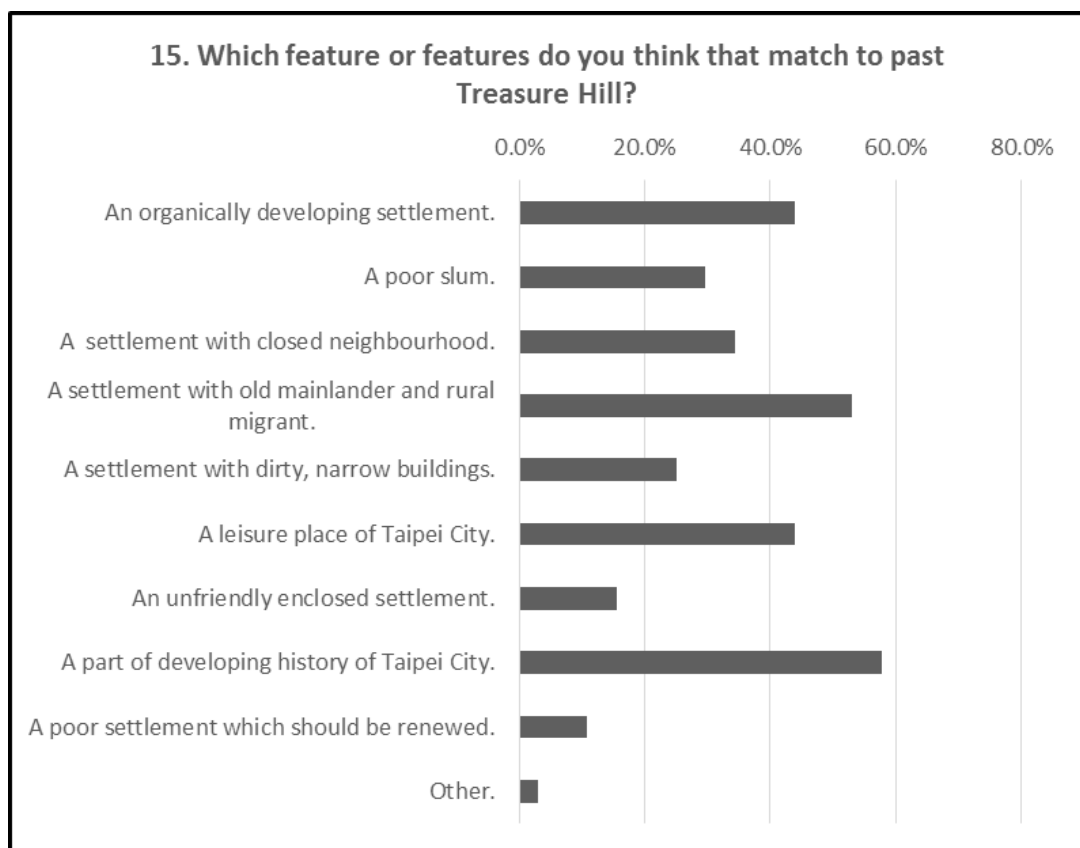| Degree	Amount	Percentage
1 Very much	4	9.3%
2	21	48.8%
3	13	30.2%
4	4	9.3%
5 None at all	1	2.3%
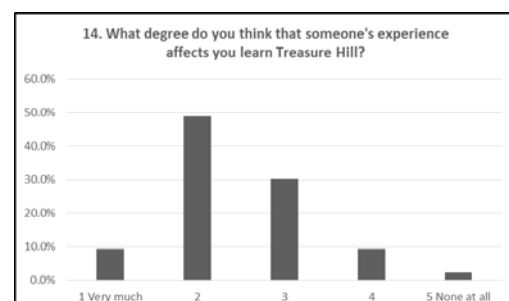
14. What degree do you think that someone's experience affects you learn Treasure Hill?

15.Which feature or features do you think that match to past Treasure Hill?

Option	Amount	Percentage
An organically developing settlement.	28	43.8%
A poor slum.	19	29.7%
A settlement with closed neighbourhood.	22	34.4%
A settlement with old mainlander and rural migrant.	34	53.1%
A settlement with dirty, narrow buildings.	16	25.0%
A leisure place of Taipei City.	28	43.8%
An unfriendly enclosed settlement.	10	15.6%
A part of developing history of Taipei City.	37	57.8%
A poor settlement which should be renewed.	7	10.9%
Other.	2	3.1%

The two responses in "other" option added note of no idea and a still living settlement.

15. Which feature or features do you think that match to past Treasure Hill?

16. Which feature or features do you think that match to the Treasure Hill Artist Village?

Option	Amount	Percentage
A genial and friendly settlement.	25	39.1%
A settlement with rich artistic aura.	51	79.7%
Having disordered street space.	9	14.1%
A group of disordered and unbeautiful building.	1	1.6%
There are many amazing and surprising spaces.	55	85.9%
There are many art works or performances which inspire people's thinking or imaginative ability.	30	46.9%
A recreational place where people can escape from crowed city.	28	43.8%
A place which may stimulate people to re-think their social or interpersonal relationship.	22	34.4%
A place which may stimulate people to re-think relationship between human and nature.	30	46.9%
An uninteresting place.	0	0.0%
Having friendly residents.	6	9.4%
Having artists who have some fascinating interesting thought.	40	62.5%
Other.	0	0.0%

16. Which feature or features do you think that match to the Treasure Hill Artist Village?

	0.0%	20.0%	40.0%	60.0%	80.0%	100.0%

A genial and friendly settlement.

A settlement fulled with artistic aura.

Having disordered street space.

A group of disordered and unbeautiful building.

There are many amazing and surprising spaces.

There are many art works or performances which inspire people's thinking or…

A recreational place where people can escape from crowed city.

A place which may stimulate people to re-think their social or interpersonal…

A place which may stimulate people to re-think relationship between human and…

An uninteresting place.

Having friendly residents.

Having artists who have some fascinating interesting thought.

Other.

17.In which way or ways would you like to share your experience about Treasure Hill Artist Village?

Option	Amount	Percentage
Chatting or communicating.	46	71.9%
Blog.	19	29.7%
Internet forum.	8	12.8%
Newspaper or magazine.	2	3.1%
Facebook, Twitter or Plurk.	48	75.0%
Will not share.	1	1.6%
Other.	1	1.6%

The response in "other" option added note of by photograph.
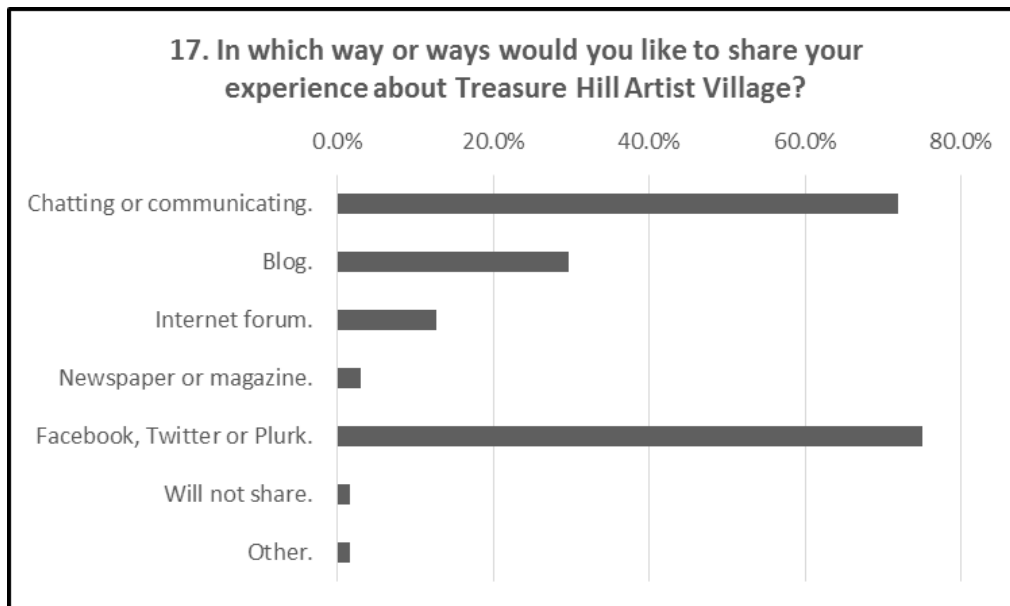
17. In which way or ways would you like to share your experience about Treasure Hill Artist Village?

18. Could you offer the title of your Blog, Facebook, Twitter, Plurk, or the internet forum you attending if you have shared your experience about Treasure Hill Artist Village on anyone of them?

| Linkage |
|---|
| http://blog.xuite.net/mhps22/blog |
| http://www.plurk.com/m/u/johnnymark543 |
| http://www.ipeen.com.tw/comment/398886 |
| http://blog.xuite.net/aec810909/blog/65096217 |
| http://angelchen0512.pixnet.net/blog/post/30384023 |
| Facebook: Zhf213@gmail.com |
| Facebook: Melissa Lin, celestelivira@hotmail.com |
| https://www.facebook.com/Demo.Studio.532?fref=ts |

19. Which is the range of your age?

Range	Amount	Percentage
0 - 10	0	0.0%
11 - 20	11	17.2%
21 - 30	32	50.0%
31 - 40	12	18.8%
41 - 50	6	9.4%
51 - 60	3	4.7%
Over 60	0	0.0%

19. Which is the range of your age?
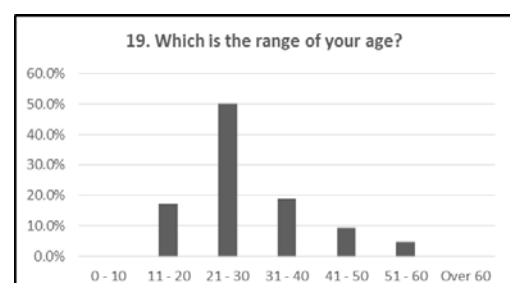
20. Your gender?

The Conservation and Integration of Immigrant Communities

Option	Amount	Percentage
Female	41	66.1%
Male	21	33.9%

20. Your Gender?
■ Female ■ Male
33.9%
66.1%
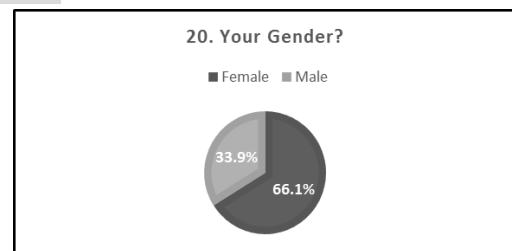
21.Your educational level?

Level	Amount	Percentage
Elementary school.	0	0.0%
Junior high school.	0	0.0%
Senior high school.	4	6.3%
University or collage.	44	68.7%
Postgraduate.	16	25.0%
Other.	0	0.0%

21. Your educational level?
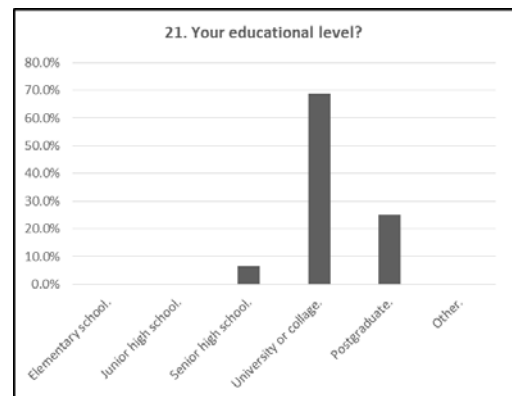
22.Your email address or number of phone or mobile.

clarelee@livemail.tw tel:0920422354
kiki6875@hotmail.com
pinkturtle83@gmail.com
edenlavie@gmail.com
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