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Author: Chiang, Min-Chin

Title: Memory contested, locality transformed : representing Japanese colonial 'heritage' in Taiwan

Issue Date: 2012-05-15

Chapter Three: Single Case Study: Jinguashi Mining Remains (金瓜石)



Fig. 3.1.1 Jinguashi in 2005. Photo was taken by the author.

3.1 WHEN PAST MEETS PAST AT A LOCAL MUSEUM

3.1.1 The Historical Background of Jinguashi

In 1896, the second year of the Japanese colonization in Taiwan, wide-ranging mining activities were offi-

cially initiated in Jinguashi金瓜石.¹³⁸ (*Kinkaseki* in

138. The name Jinguashi金瓜石 means 'Pumpkin Stone' in Taiwanese. According to local elders, the name came from the pumpkin shape of the Benshan本山 outcrop. In 1933 the Taiwan Governor-General Office formally affirmed the name Jinguashi with an official document.

Japanese) Jinguashi is located in the north-east of Taiwan and was discovered as a prosperous gold mining area in the 1890s.¹³⁹ Prior to the discovery of gold, five farmer families had moved to this area and had initiated a settlers' society.¹⁴⁰ The number of residents reached its peak when the Japanese initiated industrial mining businesses in Jinguashi and its neighbour Shuinandong 水湳洞.¹⁴¹

The Japanese colonial authorities allowed applications for mining rights in 1896, and the enterpriser Tanaka Tyoubei 田中長兵衛 first obtained the right to mine in Jinguashi in 1897. This mining business in Jinguashi was later transferred to the enterpriser Ushiroku Shintaro 後宮信太郎 in 1924. However, the large scale and investment demand of the Jinguashi mine determined the insufficiency of individual enterprisers in the management of the Jinguashi mine. Nevertheless, a modern industrial system and machinery were brought into Jinguashi during this period. This industrial system differed greatly from the traditional gold panning and refining approaches. In addition, the rich copper mine was discovered alongside the gold. A large copper refinery plant was built in Shuinandong, a neighbourhood close to Jinguashi, and it became the only place in Taiwan which produced and exported copper at the time.

The wide range of Jinguashi mining resources and the huge capital demand of the mining business mean that success was only possible through the *zai-batsu* (conglomerate)¹⁴² *Nihon kangyomushi kaisha*

日本鉱業株式会社 (Japan Mining Company) who obtained the mining right to Jinguashi in 1933. The company immediately updated the mining equipment and techniques and built a new processing factory in 1935. This processing plant was built in Shuinandong with the most advanced equipment, and was the largest processing site in Asia at the time (China University of Technology 2010, 25). Jinguashi, under the management of the company, gained status as the "first place among the mines of precious metal in Asia" (亞洲第一貴金屬礦山).

The mining business of the Japanese empire, including the mining industry in Jinguashi, was greatly challenged by economic recession during the Second World War. In 1946 the KMT (Kuomintang 國民黨; the Chinese Nationalist Party) government, who obtained Taiwan from Japan after the war, set up a Bureau for Mining Affairs of Gold and Copper (Jintong Kuangwuju 金銅礦務局) to govern the colonial mining business. The bureau was replaced by a newly established state enterprise, the Taiwan Metal and Mining Company (Taiwan Jinshu Kuangye Gongsi 臺灣金屬礦業公司), in 1955.

Dynamic Landscape and Living Spaces

When the Japanese colonizer came to the Jinguashi area, it was observed that there were several dozen Taiwanese residences in Jinguashi (China University of Technology 2010, 68). According to the official documents of land and building ownership, in Year 38 and 39 of the Meiji Period (1906 and 1907), 15 items of land were registered in total, 12 of which were for agricultural use, 3 of which were for building use. Moreover, all belonged to two private owners. Yet in the Year 13 of the Taisho Period (1924) when Ushiroku Shintaro obtained the right to mine in Jinguashi, 30 among 36 items were registered for building use, and 13 belonged to the Tanaka Mining Company along with 3 which belonged to Kamaisi

139. During the construction of a rail bridge in the Badu 八堵 area, the railway workers found gold in the Jilong River when they washed their lunch boxes, and decided to trace the origin of the gold upstream. Jinguashi was found to be a prosperous gold mining area and attracted thousands of gold prospectors. The Qing government issued licenses and collected fees for managing these gold panning activities.

140. This is in accordant with the oral records of residents. For instance, Mrs. Li recalled her mother saying that "when she first moved to Jinguashi, she found people were from various places, such as the south Taiwan, mid Taiwan and Yilan 宜蘭. Neighbours were always unfamiliar." See Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005a, 33.

141. There were initially five households which moved to the area in 1888 living on agricultural activities. In 1893, when the gold mine was found in this area, a large number of immigrants arrived China University of Technology 2010, 21).

142. *Zaibatsu* 財閥 is a Japanese term referring to the indus-

trial and financial business congregates that emerged in the Meiji period and ended after the Second World War. *Zaibatsu* often involved various types of industries, and some had great influence over the economy, politics and colonial policies of imperial Japan.

Kouzan釜石鉱山株式会社.¹⁴³ In Showa Year 5 (1930), 21 among 29 were for building use, and 19 of the 29 belonged to the Jinguashi Mining Company.¹⁴⁴ This archival information shows that during the Japanese colonial period, Jinguashi transformed from an agricultural society to an industrial society. The mining companies gradually purchased most of the land from private owners. In the postwar KMT period the data shows that all the registered land in Jinguashi and Shuinandong was owned either by state enterprises or the state.¹⁴⁵



Fig. 3.1.2 Jinguashi in 1916. The mountain in the back is Benshan本山. Courtesy of National Taiwan University Library.

The profit from mining in Jinguashi was important to the Japanese colonial economy, and the *zaibatsu* (conglomerate) brought techniques and managing experience from other mining sites in Japan to Jinguashi. For instance, the Tanaka conglomerate had learned from its experiences in Kamaisi Kouzan釜石鉱山, and the Japan Mining Company also had a long involvement in the mining business. Thus the features of the Jinguashi mining site match mining sites in Japan in terms of both spatial allocation and industrial techniques. Along with the transfer of

mining rights, the landscape of Jinguashi showed of the results of different mining schemes brought by different companies from their corresponding sites (China University of Technology 2010, 126-131). The spatial elements of Jinguashi, for instance the transportation system of cable carts connecting the tunnels, processing and refinery factories, supporting public facilities of the residences, a police station, a hospital, a school and so on, all represent similarities to affiliate Japanese mining sites. The points by which Jinguashi differs from other sites are land issue¹⁴⁶ and discriminate organization under colonial rule. In Jinguashi, the Japanese colonizer forcibly obtained the agricultural land for mining use, and established an ethnically hierarchical society.

In 1897 when the mining industry was initiated in Jinguashi, only a few office and residential facilities were built next to the tunnels in the Benshan outcrop area. Local Taiwanese were living in thatched huts beside the river. In the early 1900s, large factories and refinery facilities were constructed in the area by the Tanaka Company. Various living facilities were constructed in accordant with the expanding industrial facilities and increasing employee numbers. Buildings of this period such as administrators' and miners' residences, a Buddhist Hall, a hospital, a post office, a police station, a school and a retail shop give the picture of an industrial city in formation. Besides Jinguashi, an electricity plant and a processing factory were built in the Shuinandong area. When the Japanese mining Company obtained mining rights in the 1930s, the company constructed a new factory in Shuinandong and expanded affiliating facilities in the area, for instance the residences for administrators and workers. During the postwar era, the production and processing of copper played a more important role than gold. A large copper refinery plant was built in 1977 in the Lile哩佬 area outside of Jinguashi and Shuinandong.

143. Kamaisi Kouzan釜石鉱山, owned by Tanaka Tyoubel, was one of the two largest iron mines in modern Japan.

144. Ushiroku Shintaro obtained the mining right to Jinguashi from the Tanaka family in 1924, and established the Kinkaseki Mining Company金瓜石鉱山株式会社 in 1925.

145. The data refers to China University of Technology 2010, 58-60.

146. In the colonies, the agricultural land was forcefully acquired by the colonizer for mining development. This caused the issue of land as historical background in colonies, yet not at the sites in the colonizer's inner land (China University of Technology 2010, 141).



Fig. 3.1.3 The long residences of miners in 1914.
Courtesy of National Taiwan University Library.

During the process of industrial city development, the major living spaces of the Taiwanese were moved from the upper Benshan area to the neighbourhood of the major company living facilities for the Japanese in the lower part of Jinguashi. The transference of living spaces was linked to the changing location of the Quanjitang Temple 勸濟堂,¹⁴⁷ the religious centre for local residents in Jinguashi. In the 1930s, the Japanese Mining Company imported a large number of labourers from China, mostly from the Wenzhou 溫州 area in the Zhejiang 浙江 province. Twelve lines of long houses were built by the company especially to accommodate them. Living spaces for different people were formed hierarchically based on the development scheme of the company. In the central area where the offices and major facilities were located, high-ranked residences of Japanese administrators, labourer supervisors and employees were aligned in accordance with occupational levels. This residential area, including the *syuho* 酒保 (company retail store)¹⁴⁸, schools, barber's shop, martial art halls and entertainment hall, was close to the living spaces of the Japanese (Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005c, 21). The entire Jinguashi area was under the Shinto shrine on a high point of the Benshan 本山 mountain. The most important living spaces of the Taiwanese residents were in the Qitang 祈堂 area, named after the Qitang Temple (Quanjitang), outside

of the central area of Japanese residences. Local grocery shops, restaurants, a billiard shop and a clubhouse for Chinese immigrants were clustered along the hilly winding Qitang Street. These buildings were organically built, adjusting to the hilly local environment, and mostly roofed with asphalt for protection against the extremely wet local weather.

The Forever Kaisha 会社

As the only profit-earning business in Jinguashi, the 'kaisha'- the state enterprise constructed during the Japanese colonial period- inevitably bore the responsibility of feeding the people of Jinguashi. The 'kaisha' and the local people therefore form an umbilical cord-like relationship. No matter how the organisation changed, from 'Mining Affairs Bureau of Gold and Copper' to 'Taiwan Metal and Mining Company', we local people, generation after generation, as if referring to 'mother', still call the organisation "kaisha" as we did in the Japanese colonial period.¹⁴⁹

Along with the development of the mining industry, the hierarchical social structure and spatial fabric in Jinguashi was accordingly rooted during the colonial period and onwards. The Japanese enterprises not only brought modern industrial equipment and systems, but also the fashionable 'industrial village' (Chang Ya-chuan 2002) which set out the area for efficient production. The higher-ranked residences and major office buildings were located in the central area of Jinguashi. These residences were built with better material and spatial planning, for instance with private gardens, and were assigned to the Japanese administrative workers or labourer supervisors. Outside of the central area, the employees were assigned ranked residences in accordance with their occupational positions which were closely related to their ethnic backgrounds. Local people used nicknames to recognise these different rank residence blocks, for

147. Local residents usually called it the Qitang miao (temple) 祈堂廟. See Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005b, 12.

148. *Gongyingshe* 供應社 in Mandarin.

149. The original text is 「身為金瓜石的唯一營利事業體，「會社」—這個日據時代掘起的國營機構，無可逃避的扛著餵哺所有金瓜石子民的重擔，也就是這種類似母與子的臍帶關係，所以不管它改制成「金銅礦務局」或是「臺灣金屬礦業股份有限公司」，我們在地人一代口喻傳一代的，就像是在呼喚母親的名字似的，仍沿襲著它日據時代的名稱—「會社」來稱呼它。」 See Xia Ye-qin 2010, 2.

instance, the Residence of Blue Books (青簿寮)¹⁵⁰, Wenzhou Residences (溫州寮)¹⁵¹, and the Residences of High Noses (督鼻仔寮).¹⁵² Generally, the higher ranked residences were allocated closer to the central area. Most local Taiwanese families, mainly employed by the company for labourer work, rented land from the company and built their own residences. The style and spatial scheme of the Taiwanese neighbourhood was greatly different from the Japanese residences in the central area. The area of Japanese residences was identified by its linear spatial allocation and wooden structures with tiles. In contrast, the area of the Taiwanese residences was characterised by its organic arrangement, for instance on the winding hilly roads, and the red-brick buildings with black asphalt roofs.

Most living needs could be served within this isolated mountain town. The Japan Mining Company built up a hospital, schools, entertainment facilities, bathing houses and a living goods station. Nearly every resident of Jinguashi was an employee or future employee¹⁵³ of the company, and lived on the salary and welfare provided by the company. The people in general were like civil servants, and this distinguished them from, say, people from the neighbouring area of Jiufen which was also famous for gold mining. The mining business in Jiufen was run in a different way: everyone could conduct mining activities by contract with the owner of the mine, whereas the people in Jinguashi were divided into specific professional categories and only received fixed salaries from the company. Stealing gold from the mine was a serious criminal behaviour and strictly monitored by police in Jinguashi. Therefore,

while Jiufen became famous for its ostentatiously prosperous street life, Jinguashi remained a relatively moderate place, regulated by a strict company system aided by police surveillance. The *Kaisha*, 'the company' in Japanese, was the king of this isolated local society. It defined the social hierarchy and operational rules, controlled resources and was supported by colonial police power. Local employees who had emigrated from various neighbouring areas were localised within the framework constructed by the company. This framework remains closely related to the collective memory in the area.

After the Second World War, the Japanese Mining Company had to leave Taiwan, and its mining business and properties in Jinguashi and Shuinandong were later transferred to the state enterprise of the KMT government, the Taiwan Metal and Mining Company (Taiwan Jinshu Kuangye Gongsi 臺灣金屬礦業公司), in 1955. The company inherited an industrial and structural legacy in Jinguashi from its Japanese predecessor. The higher ranked positions that had been occupied by the Japanese now belonged to a new group, the mainlanders.¹⁵⁴ The company, no matter whether Japanese or Chinese, was king in this isolated mining town, and the local residents, again, were situated at the lower level of the social hierarchy.

When recalling the situation during the reign of the KMT, the local Taiwanese residents showed a lukewarm attitude towards their company bosses in the postwar era. They appreciated the better welfare provided by the company, especially as the company funded a local junior high school which had not existed under Japanese rule. And yet, at the same time, they criticised the inequality of the promotion system. Taiwanese employees rarely promoted to manager's positions as mainlanders and their relatives or affiliates largely occupied these positions.¹⁵⁵ This is

150. Qingbuliao 青簿寮 refers to residences of Taiwanese employees. Qingbu 青簿 is the salary account book which was kept by the employees. These books were taken to the company retail store and were used instead of money to buy daily commodities.

151. Wenzhouliao 溫州寮 refers to the residences of immigrant workers from Wenzhou, an area in the Zhejiang 浙江 Province, China.

152. Dopingaliao 督鼻仔寮 in Taiwanese referred to the residents of the POW camp. 'Dopinga' refers to the white foreigners who were characterised as having high and straight noses.

153. Elders recalled that when they graduated from the local primary school, the company selected graduates with good performance in the school as their employees.

154. The civil war of China in 1949 resulted in large political immigration from China to Taiwan. These immigrants were called 'waishengren' (外省人, 'the Mainlanders'), and occupied around 13% of the population (according to Xuan-Fan Huang, 1993, *Language, Society and Ethnic Identity*, Taipei: Crane Publishing Co.).

155. One of the examples, see Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008, 2-58.

a major emotional gap between two ethnic groups that has not yet been addressed. Comparisons between the Japanese and KMT companies were made in order to voice feelings of inequality. For instance, it was claimed that the former was more professional and efficient in managing, while the latter used a lot of redundant and unprofessional personnel (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008).

In 1987 the Taiwan Metal and Mining Company declared its bankruptcy and transferred property and debts to the Taiwan Sugar Corporation and the Taiwan Power Company. The mining business was officially terminated and the town became silent again as it had been a hundred years before. However, the phrase *kaisha* remains in use in the everyday conversation of local elders, as part of their memory of the mining years. As suggested by Laurajane Smith in her discussion of the issue of indigenous heritage in the white settlers' society, "colonial structural racism was inherent in postcolonial bureaucracies" (Smith 2006, 288). This colonial genealogy¹⁵⁶ remained in Jinguashi by means of the state enterprises, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation and the Taiwan Power Company. A newly established museum, the Gold Ecological Park, is also part of these postcolonial bureaucracies.

3.1.2 The Gold Ecological Park in Jinguashi

In 2002, the plan for the Gold Ecological Park in Jinguashi was initiated by the Taipei County Government under the mayoralty of Su Jen-chang (蘇貞昌), a powerful figure of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP ; Minzhu jinbu dang 民主進步黨), the ruling party from 2000 to 2008. Su decided to adopt positive acts in Jinguashi which had long been restricted by land ownership and legislation on reuse of mining land. The museum park was formally opened on November 4th in 2004.

The Gold Ecological Park was one of numerous museum plans on a regional scale during the first decade

of this century in Taiwan. It was planned as an 'ecomuseum', a new museum model which has been widely proposed by regional governments for fueling local redevelopment. Many of these plans have been financially supported by state departments. The ideas of conserving the living environment of the local 'community' and of accentuating community participation are vital elements within this museum model. Hence, the model echoes the vogue of 'indigenization'¹⁵⁷ which has dominated all levels and phases of localization movements in the recent decades. A postcolonial awareness of reconnecting people to the land, in this case Taiwan, has been prominent in all fields within Taiwan, including literature, language, and political claims. In terms of heritage and memory work, the ecomuseum incorporates diverse interests in community building, although its original pursuit and context has yet to be fully understood by policy makers and practitioners.

Following the concept of an ecomuseum, the Gold Ecological Park aims to preserve the mining remains and local memory in Jinguashi and search for means of the sustainable development of Jinguashi. The town of Jinguashi and its neighbourhood Shuindong 水湳洞 are regarded as the planning 'territory'¹⁵⁸ of this ecomuseum. Same as the catalogue-like model of ecomuseums,¹⁵⁹ a number of historic buildings and mining facilities were opened to the public as satellite museums of the Gold Ecological Park. First, the Information Centre, renovated from the old bus station at the main entrance of the museum park serves as the information hub and guides visitors to satellite sites. Next, an Environmental Education Centre (Huanjing Guan 環境館) provides information on the unique environmental features of Jinguashi including geographical, geological, botanical and architectural characteristics. The Museum of

157. 'Bentuhua' 本土化 (Makeham and Hsiao 2005: introduction)

158. 'Territory' is one important element of an ecomuseum, in contrast to a traditional museum which limits its activities within a museum building.

159. An ecomuseum is often designed like a catalogue. It is comprised of a major site and several satellite sites. The major site often provides general information about the area, and therefore functions as the 'contents page' of a book. Satellite sites focus on various categories introduced by the major site.

156. Because of the dual colonialism in Taiwan, the colonial profits of Japanese colonizer were wholesale replacements for the postwar KMT ruler. This was regarded as "colonial genealogy" in this thesis.

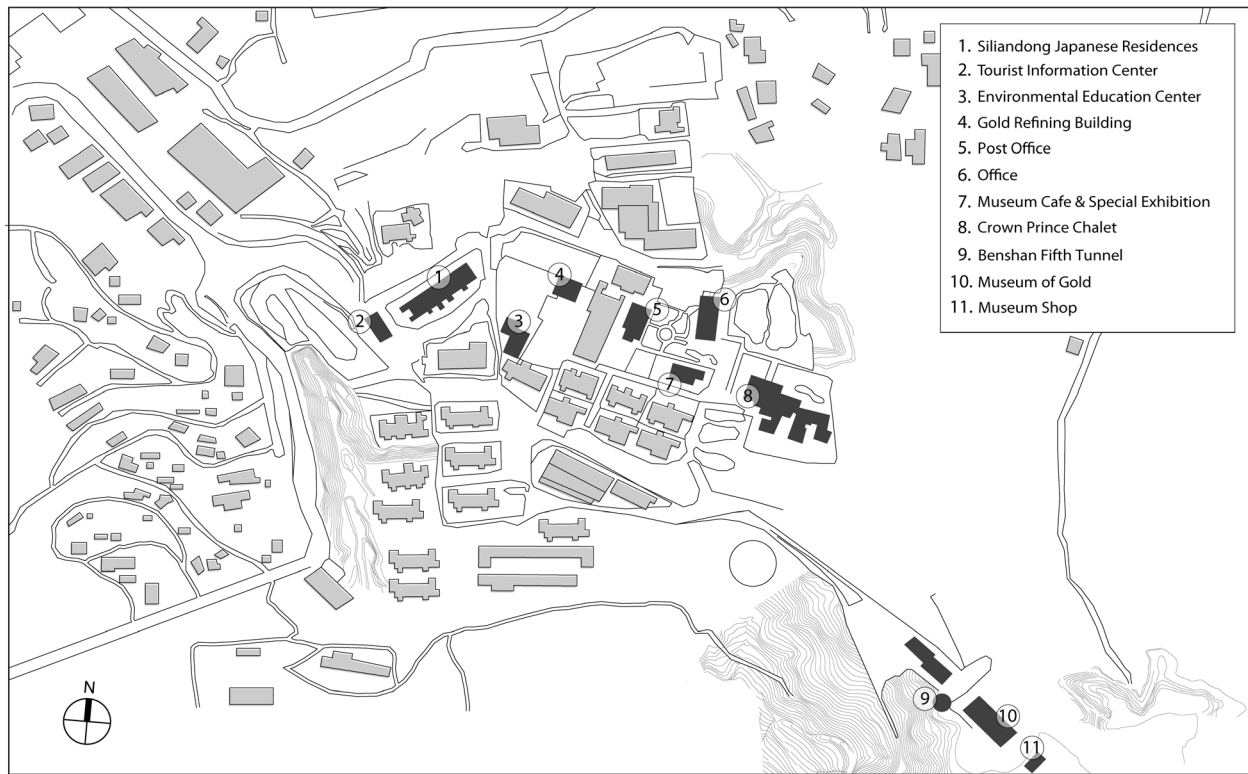


Fig. 3.1.4 Plan of the Gold Ecological Park. The plan was re-drawn by Hsu Wei-jung 許維蓉.

Gold (Huangjin Bowuguan 黃金博物館), renovated from an office building from the mining era, represents the mining history of Jinguashi and topics relating to gold. Then there is the Benshan Fifth Tunnel (Benshan Wukeng 本山五坑), which was originally a mining tunnel and has been partly renovated and opened for public visits, and the Japanese Residences of Prince Chalet (Taizi Binguan 太子賓館) and Siliandong (四連棟), an extensive building separated into four households, which show the spatial features of Japanese architecture and highlight residential memories associated with the buildings. Finally, the Gold Refinery Building (Lianjin Lou 煉金樓) represents local mining memories through digital devices and archive display. Other than the major facilities, the entire environment of Jinguashi, for instance plants, rail tracks and mining remains spread in the area are considered as exhibits of the Gold Ecological Park. Engaging the local residents is central to the museum's mission. All of these are in accordance with the holistic features of an ideal ecomuseum model.



Fig. 3.1.5 Japanese Residences—the memory of the administrators. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.1.6 The houses with asphalt-painted roofs—the memory of the labourers. Photo was taken by the author.

3.1.3 When Past Meets Past at the Gold Ecological Park

Owning the majority of land in Jinguashi, the postcolonial institutions, the Taiwan Power Company and the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, maintained the spatial and social fabric constructed by the colonizers. The Japanese companies had started to alter the entire landscape of Jinguashi for manufacturing and administrative purposes. The companies concomitantly established the social hierarchy of Jinguashi on the basis of ethnic division. This social hierarchy was given shape through spatial division, salary levels, work type, housing quality et cetera, and was inherited by the later KMT government. These divisions designate the diversified frameworks of memory and represent the ambiguity of heritage-work, as the postcolonial dislocation of a colonial privileged community emptied the memories, emotional bonds and bodily experiences associated with the material remains of the colonizers, especially when these remains were ambiguously designated as 'local heritage' of the former colonized communities. The following part of this section considers the complexity and ambiguity of postcolonial memory recollection within the aforementioned context in terms of the heritage practices of the Gold Ecological Park.

Tunnels—the past of the miners

At the first point of contact with the team of the Gold Ecological Park most informants recognised

that the priority for visitors was the introduction to and recollection of that the mining and industrial history of the area. Thus the affiliated material remains



Fig. 3.1.7 The Benshan Fifth Tunnel. Photo was taken by the author.

such as tunnels, mining carts and trails, factories, tools were added to the priority list of the museum collection. Benshan Fifth Tunnel 本山五坑 was selected from among numerous tunnels to represent the local speciality and renovated because of safety and location concerns. The interior display was based on oral records of labour experiences recounted by elders residing in Jinguashi or others recommended by them. This was the same for the display scheme of the Museum of Gold in its premier stage. The selection of subjects was carried out with the help of the memories of male miners, who were current residents and past subalterns with no financial or social capability to move out after the industry's closure (Su Yu-ling 1996). However, this single voice was the only one taken into account while other memories of the affiliated material remains were exiled.

Japanese Residences—the past of the administrators

Fig. 3.1.8 Siliandong in 2011. Photo was taken by the author.

Prior to the renovation scheme of Siliandong 四連棟, the excessive visits at the museum park had not much influenced the silent existence of the Japanese residences. The missing pieces of the memory puzzle eventually emerged when the museum realized the insufficiency of existing oral records and written documents of Siliandong. For the interior display, the Gold Ecological Park consulted Guo-Jia Lee (Georgia Lee 李國嘉), a Jinguashi-born artist, for her living experiences and memories of the Japanese residence during the postwar KMT period, and asked her to lead the projects of oral records, objects collection and interior design. This version of memory, alternative to the previous perception, shook the museum's existing image of the local past.

Other than the spatial texture of tunnels, machinery, and bodily experiences of industrial modernity, Lee's stories showed strong emotional bonds to the Japanese residences and revealed a very different memory dimension which belonged to the administrative group. Upon the closure of the industry, this group of residents were relatively more financial able to move out of this economically declining town (Su Yu-ling 1996).

Prisoner of War (POW) Camp Memorial Park—the past of the war prisoners

In a close neighborhood of the Gold Ecological Park, a memorial park for POWs was constructed in 2005 on the site where the prisoner of war camp was located in World War Two. The memories about POW in Jinguashi were documented in a few oral descriptions from local residents who had only observed those foreign prisoners from some distance. From 1942 onwards, thousands of war prisoners, mainly from the British Commonwealth (Britain, Canada, Australia etc.), were sent to Jinguashi in a constant stream and were charged with heavy labour in the tunnels. Some local elders recalled their restricted contact with prisoners under strict surveillance of the Japanese. This contact was eliminated later, as the Japanese dug a tunnel to conceal the passage of prisoners. At the site in the present, there are scarce remains of the walls and a cenotaph. The Taiwan POW Camp Memorial Society invites camp survivors from all over the world to attend the annual memorial ceremonies at the site.

This site receives relatively less attention from the locals and the public despite its significance for humanity. After enthusiastic contact from Michael Hurst, director of the Taiwan POW Camp Memorial Society, the museum managed to include the memory in the display. Years after the opening of museum, the issue concerning the POW camp received better attention, and this can be observed from oral records by the museum in a later period.¹⁶⁰

Upon the closure of the mining industry, most employees at the administrative level moved away. The memory version of mining labours became the only phase that researchers and curators could contact at the locale. This memory version was framed by its colonial structure—the social hierarchy, spatial fabric and tenant-landlord relationship. A sense of community based on inclusive memory versions and participants remains fragmentary in the present local society, owing to the residue of the colonial structure.

160. For instance, the oral records of Guashan elementary school alumni in 2008. See Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008.

Furthermore, the extension of community awareness still struggles within postcolonial political dynamics.

Becoming Heritage?

Heritage-making in Jinguashi was triggered by incentives from the county government on local tourism and political performance. Without the political influence of the mayor, it would hardly have been possible for a museum to initiate this heritage-work within the fierce political dynamics under social separation and residue from the colonial structure. Yet this political support also had the downside of an extremely compressed time frame for completion.¹⁶¹ A sense of community within local residents had not been formulated and this was soon hindered by competition when financial resources became available locally in the form of government projects and tourism revenue. Notwithstanding the emerging awareness for claiming the Japanese remains as local heritage, the residents have not expressed a strong desire to engage in the heritage-work. Furthermore, the Gold Ecological Park received the right to lead the development of central Jinguashi by contracting with the Taiwan Power Company and the Taiwan Sugar Corporation. However, the museum has only limited influence on motivating the local communities to participate in heritage affairs. This owes much to the political complexity of the area and local sentiments about land issues.

It has been difficult for the museum to enact heritage interpretations with multi-faceted memory versions. A section of this chapter will elaborate on how colonial ambiguity emerges in the process of heritage interpretation by investigating a ritual practice at the Gold Ecological Park, and will describe how the ambiguity of representing a Japanese site was generated and had interacted with the collective acts of making heritage in Taiwan during the 1990s and 2000s.

3.2 THE LOST AND FOUND OF *COMMUNITY* AT A LOCAL MUSEUM

The fever of the *ecomuseum* has spread into diverse fields in Taiwan during the last two decades. The term was widely seen in regional planning projects, master's theses, and academic reports. Many of these adopted the *ecomuseum* as a major solution to regional development, particularly at economic peripheries. The emergence of *Ecomuseum* fever was inseparable from Taiwan's "era of localism" (Lü Hsin-yi 2002, 24) and from the ensuing implemented national Integrated Community-Making Programme (*shequ zongti yingzao* 社區總體營造). Although the latter was mainly referred to in terms of its Japanese counterpart 'machizukuri',¹⁶² the similarities of targets and techniques between the community-building projects and the French-oriented *ecomuseum* propositions can also be observed from the contemporary discourses in Taiwan. It is these similarities that allowed the concepts of *ecomuseum* to be more acceptable and more easily appropriated in contemporary Taiwan.

Firstly, both 'models' operate on a microscopic level. A 'community' and its associated 'territory' are pre-supposed. Secondly, the idea of 'collective memory' is central to both community-building and the model of the *ecomuseum*. Hence memory recollection and heritage conservation serve as important focal points in their practices. Thirdly, the 'integrated perspective' is adopted in both models. People and the environment they inhabit form a single whole. They reformulate each other, and their interaction is the base for sustainable development. Most importantly, the autonomous awareness and actions of communities are regarded as the core of both proposals. Finally, both are visions of the future proposed for groups of people. Owing to these similarities, plans for *ecomuseums* are often perceived to be overlapping with community-building programmes particularly in regional development plans, and compounded with the

161. The tenure of a county mayor in Taiwan is four years. Hence most mayors want to display their cultural constructions to voters before the next election.

162. *Machizukuri* refers to the Japanese movement concerning civil participation, community building and place making initiated since the postwar era. Its meaning is vague and evolutive. The analysis of its development and cases refers to Watanabe 2007.

economic incentives which characterised Taiwan's community-building model. Nearly four decades after the first French initiatives, many ecomuseums have evolved into varieties and some have even disappeared or been left "asleep" (Joubert 2005); concomitantly the ideal has been appropriated in Taiwan. This section presents a case in Taiwan—the Gold Ecological Park, a local museum which intends to achieve the ideal of the ecomuseum within the social-political framework of Taiwan.

In France of the 1970s, the *ecomuseum* concept emerged to offer solutions to French contemporary social circumstances. The ideal model has endured variations through geographical and cultural differences; hence its definition is hardly settled. Since the model of the ecomuseum was originally used for its social ideal, the stability of definition is actually not the core concern. The question is whether the museum model indeed offers an approach to reach the ideal of a society. Therefore, as "heritage is a cultural process" (Smith 2004), *ecomuseum* is also an "evolutive" concept. Its feature of "integrated complex" is being consistently adjusted in accord with the dynamic actor-network at each locale within its own "predominant thoughts" (Halbwachs 1992). This is the reason for this section not reviewing the conceptual development, but concentrating on the analysis of a specific case. If the ecomuseum has been regarded as a solution to Taiwan's circumstances, it is necessary to carefully examine its appropriation, targets and problems of actual application in Taiwan. Hence this reflection can possibly contribute to the global spectrum of ecomuseum practices.

Moreover, the significance of the ecomuseum is that it does not offer a definite framework and fixed model to follow; its challenge to traditional authorities and stimulation of autonomy draws a collective future of a society with a better 'quality of life'. Hence it is not my intention to ask how museums or heritage projects fit the 'model' of ecomuseum, but to figure out how the concepts of ecomuseum stimulate a picture of the future in response to present issues; and how ecomuseums can generate discourses and critically supervise the stakeholders to ensure that they stick to their social missions and public responsibilities. The ecomuseum can never be a manual providing detailed information on ways to deal with all kinds of issues, particularly

those related to the economic improvement of a locale. It is, rather, a complex of ideas. These ideas and the approaches to them are always under construction, and need to remain unfixed, as Rivière stated in his "evolutive definition": "[t]his laboratory, conservation centre and school are based on common principles. [...] Its diversity is limitless, so greatly do its elements vary from one specimen to another. This triad, then, is not self-enclosed: it receives and it gives" (Rivière 1985, 182-183).

3.2.1 Making an Ecomuseum: The Gold Ecological Park



Fig. 3.1.2 Official icon of the Gold Ecological Park. Photo was taken by the author.

The choice of the word 'ecological' implies significance similar to that of the 'eco' prefix of ecomuseum, associated with environmental concern and sustainable development (Davis 2008, 401). The Gold Ecological Park consists of a tourist information centre serving as museum base and several satellites sites, including a historical mining museum, a tunnel, a nature centre, and various Japanese residences. All the facilities were renovated from the old mining remains. There are no physical boundaries defining the museum territory. Local police and post office are located at the centre of the park, and the living spaces of residents are in close proximity to the museum facilities. Considering this close relationship with local communities and the conservation of cultural landscape and local memory, the planning team defined the mission and features of this museum park as those of an ecomuseum. However, the internal and external network of actors in the process of museum-making has challenged the ecomuseum's mission.

3.2.1.1 Institutionalizing the Ecomuseum

In 1987 when the mining industry in Jinguashi 金瓜石 was ended, Jinguashi reverted back to being a silent town in the mountains. The difference between

Jinguashi and neighbouring Jiufen九份, only a 10 minute drive away, was amazing. Both were famous for gold production in the Japanese colonial and post-war eras, but Jiufen subsequently became a hot



Fig. 3.2.2 A scene of Jiufen in August 2011. Photo was taken by the author.

tourist spot. In contrast, the economy of Jinguashi went into a dramatic recession around the time of the closure of the mining industry, leading the younger generation to find work elsewhere, leaving an aged population behind. Compared to Jiufen packed by tourists, tea houses and hotels, Jinguashi was silent, with gorgeous natural scenery, old buildings and mysterious mining remains spread out over the mountains. It seemed frozen in time, and stimulated feelings of nostalgia in urban visitors. The silence of Jinguashi is closely related to the complicated legal status of its land and to the bureaucratic structure determining the local affairs.

Jinguashi belongs to the Ruifang瑞芳 Township in the north eastern district of Taipei County. Owing to its isolated location surrounded by mountains and re-

mote from urban areas, Jinguashi had rarely been noticed by the county government. In Jinguashi, five major government apparatus are related to local lives. The first is the local administrative office of the Taiwan Power Company, under the administration of the Shenao深澳 Power Plant. The local office manages a number of old buildings, factories, industrial facilities and tunnels inherited from the bankrupted Taiwan Metal and Mining Company. The second government apparatus is the Jinguashi Management Team of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation. The office is under the Land Development Department and is in charge of managing most tunnels, land and residences in Jinguashi. The staff of the team had to inspect any danger and illegal entries to the tunnels, and is in charge of the rental affairs of land and buildings. Most inhabitants of Jinguashi have to regularly pay land rental fees to the company. The third is the Ruifang Scenic Special Area Administrative Office 瑞芳風景特定區管理所 which belonged to the Bureau of Development建設局, Taipei County Government. The office was temporarily located at Jinguashi before the plan for the Gold Ecological Museum was initiated. The fourth and fifth organisations have close relationships to the lives of Jinguashi residents, yet do not have local offices at Jinguashi. The Fourth is the Bureau of Mines, part of the Ministry of Economic Affairs (MOEA). It is a department of the state government in charge of mining affairs. The legal status of land in Jinguashi remains classified for 'mining use' after the closure of the mining industry. Hence the Bureau of Mines is the top managing organisation of land use and tunnels in Jinguashi. Any use of land has to get permission from the bureau in advance, and has to follow the Law for Mining Affairs (Kuangye fa礦業法). Finally, the Ruifang Township Office is the legal administrative organization of the Jinguashi area. The aforementioned bureaucratic organisations had operated individually in this remote town without much interaction or conflict until the plan for the museum was finally actualized.

Recomposing the Bureaucratic Balance

Each of the five above-mentioned government organizations had its plan for the redevelopment of Jinguashi, mainly concerning exploiting its tourism potential, like Jiufen. However, none could actualize a plan without disturbing the balance of bureaucratic

territory. This balance was formally reformulated by the signing the Cooperation Agreement (三方共同發展合作意願書) between Taipei County Government, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation and the Taiwan Power Company in October 2002. From then on, the planning team of Taipei County Government was officially legitimated by the agreement and able to communicate with the local institutions, which had previously hesitated to help in order to trouble and extra work load.

The new museum plan seemed promising amid this atmosphere of cooperation between the three most influential parties. However, the Cooperation Agreement also allowed a new power structure to emerge in Jinguashi. In the past, the local institutions had achieved a balance of power in this remote town, without frequent notice from their headquarters. This silent balance was challenged when the museum preparatory team of the county government was recognized by three parties as the leading institution in dealing with local affairs in Jinguashi. Other than the changing balance between local institutions, the power of deciding Jinguashi's affairs was also transferred between departments of the Taipei County Government during the development of the museum.

In early 2002, the plan of establishing a mining museum in Jinguashi was proposed by the Development Affairs Bureau (建設局) of the Taipei County Government. The bureau organised a provisional team for a Gold-Copper Museum (金銅博物館籌備處) and demanded its subsidiary organization, the Ruifang Scenic Special Area Administrative Office, to be in charge of the collection for and planning of the new museum. When the renovation of museum building was nearly complete, the bureau asked for professional assistance in managing the museum from the Cultural Affairs Bureau (文化局) of the county government. This resulted in the transfer of power in the museum plan from the Development Affairs Bureau to the Cultural Affairs Bureau. This transfer, on the one hand, broadened the content and scale of the museum plan, while on the other hand, it brought about competition and discord between the two bureaus. As a result, the affiliated institution of the Cultural Affairs Bureau, the Yingge Ceramics Museum,¹⁶³ was assigned by the county government to be in charge of the planning work, replacing the position of the Rui-

fang Scenic Special Area Administrative Office in Jinguashi.

A preparatory team which consisted of members of Ceramics Museum staff was officially joined by architectural and planning professionals in May 2002. Together, they proposed a new development scheme which would extend the scale of the museum from simply a building to the entire area of Jinguashi. This plan inevitably involved an extremely complicated network of legal and political actors.

The leading status of the Ceramics Museum in creating a new museum is rather ambiguous. As a secondary institution within the structure of the Taipei County Government, the museum was able to motivate the cooperation of its superior departments depending on the support from the county mayor. Hence, the relationship between the mayor and the museum director was crucial in determining the smooth process of museum construction.

Creating a New Institution

In the initial stages, the planning team of the Gold Ecological Park was within the organization structure of the Yingge Ceramics Museum. The director of the Yingge Ceramics Museum, Mr. Wu Jin-feng 吳進風, was also the head of the preparatory team of the Gold Ecological Park. Members of the team were also employees and followed regulations of the Ceramics Museum, although they mainly dealt with the preparatory work of the Gold Ecological Park.

However, in the later stage of preparatory process, an independent organization of the Gold Ecological Park had to be established (Wu Pei-fen 2009). This dealt with the need for the future museum operation, and the territorial features of the museum park. The Gold Ecological Park consists of 5.2 acres of direct managing area within around 9 acres of the total planned objective area. Most importantly, the museum was planned as an ecomuseum, and hence was expected to involve the environment and commu-

163. Yingge Ceramics Museum was the first municipal museum created by the Taipei County Government. The official website is: <http://www.ceramics.tpc.gov.tw/Index.ycm>

nities of Jinguashi. At the same time, the museum is a branch of a government institution, and therefore has to serve the bureaucratic framework of the government, whose major principal is preventing abuses and corruption. As an ecomuseum, the Gold Ecological Park should be responsive to the needs of the community and to environmental changes. It relies on immediate, humanistic, interactive and flexible action. On the other hand, as a government apparatus the value of clean-handedness and security is priority. The smooth operation of a government apparatus relies on a strict hierarchical system of document proof, and legal and literary refinement. The problems between an ecomuseum and bureaucratic institutions will be discussed in more detail later in this section.



Fig. 3.2.3 The Museum of Gold. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.2.4 The Benshan Fifth Tunnel. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.2.5 The Environmental Education Centre in 2004, and used as an office building currently. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.2.6 The Environmental Education Centre since 2010. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.2.7 The Prince Chalet. Photo was taken by the author.



Fig. 3.2.8 The Gold Refinery Building. Photo was taken by the author.

Transition of the Organisation Structure

In November 2004, the Gold Ecological Park was officially opened to the public. On 1 January 2005, the Taipei County Gold Museum was inaugurated as a new independent organisation (duli jiguan獨立機關) of the Taipei County Government. 13 members of staff were taken from the Yingge Ceramics Museum and legally allotted to the Gold Ecological Park.¹⁶⁴ Two departments, the Education and Plan-

ning Department (教育規劃組) and the Operation and Marketing Department (營運推廣組), were allotted under the director (see Figure 1).

The direct managing area of the Gold Ecological Park covers over 6 acres of land and 6 major facilities in 2004.¹⁶⁵ Since the museum area has no boundary, the areas of museum activities overlap with the living areas of the local residents. Hence the administrative work of the museum is far more complicated than for normal museums confined within buildings or walls. For instance, the post office and police station are located in the central area of the museum park, and the post office provides the only banking service in Jinguashi. The bus service connecting Jinguashi to neighboring towns and urban areas is located in front of the major entrance of the museum park. Hence the museum area contains some major walking routes for the local residents. Despite covering such a large space the Gold Ecological Park had only 13 staff as part of its organisation in 2005.¹⁶⁶ The museum had to use flexible, and so often temporary personnel in order to operate smoothly.

In 2007, in accordance with the elevation in status the Taipei County¹⁶⁷, the municipal museums had to adjust their organisational structures. This time, the Gold Ecological Park had three departments and 26 personnel positions. The department of Administration was added to the original structure (Figure 2). This shows the emerging importance of bureaucratic affairs and the changing role of the Gold Ecological Park as a government institution. Moreover, it is noteworthy that the museum from then on was no

of the Taipei County Government at that time. The Yingge Ceramics Museum was built in 2000 when the Taipei County Government had a better financial status (Lin Ming-mei 2008, 65).

165. The Museum of Gold, Environment Education Centre, Prince Chalet, Benshan Fifth Tunnel, Tourist Information Centre, and the Siliandong Japanese Residence (under renovation).

166. This was due to the financial difficulties of the Taipei County Government, and the because of the central government (銓敘部).

167. The Taipei County Government was transformed from a municipal county to a Zhixia City直轄市, which means that the city became directly managed by the state government and belonged to the Executive Yuan (xingzheng yuan行政院).

164. Prior to the establishment of the Gold Museum, the Yingge Ceramics Museum had 51 personnel. In 2005, this number was cut to 38. This was linked to the financial difficulties

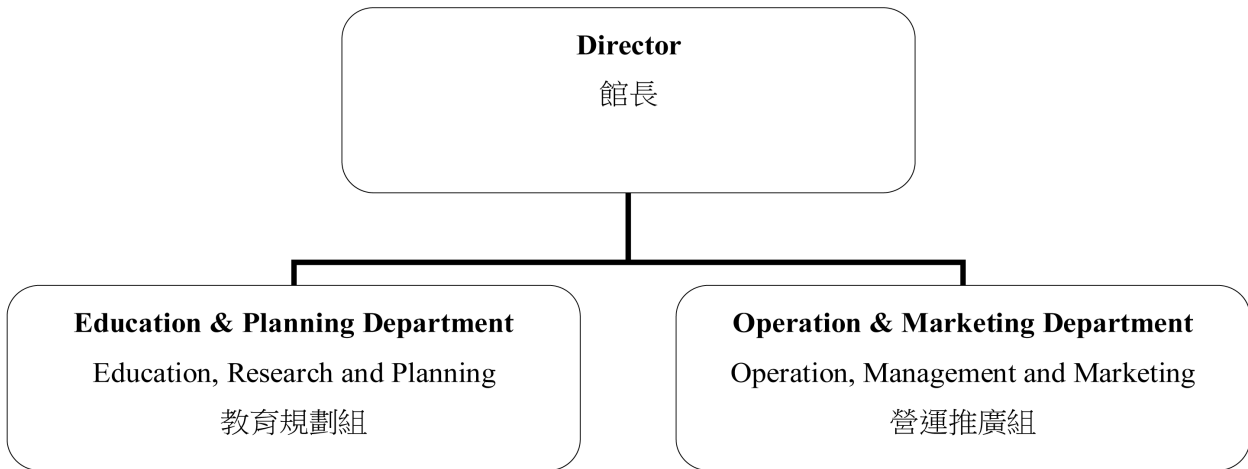


Fig. 3.2.9 Organisation Structure of the Gold Ecological Park in 2005 (Figure 1)

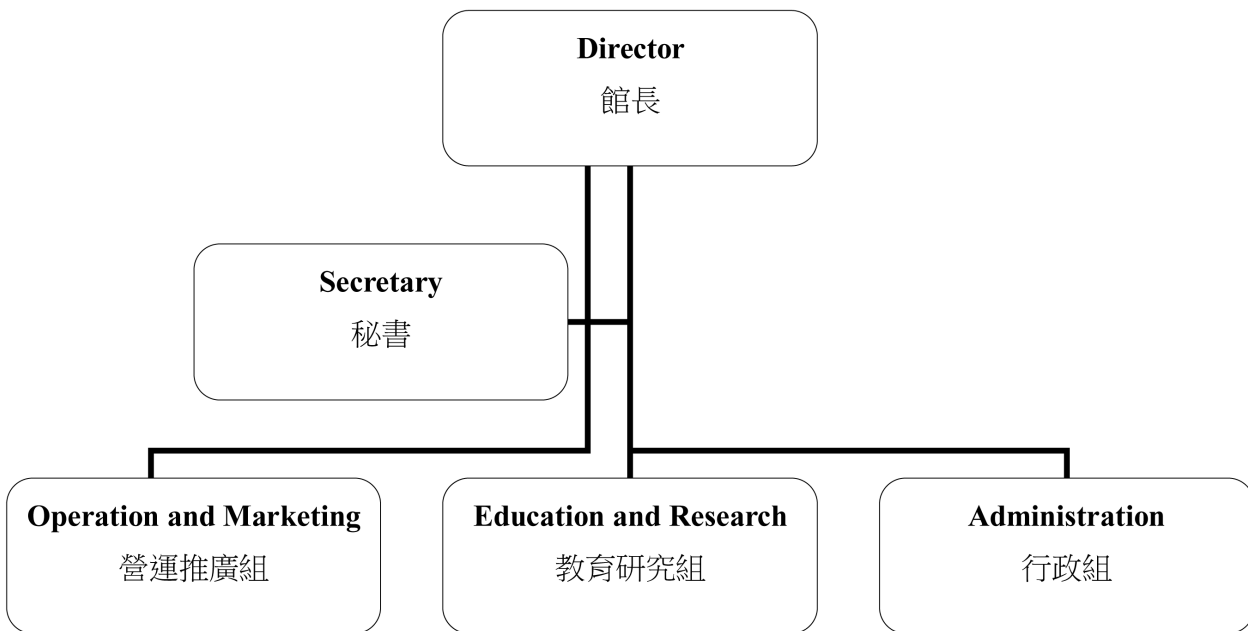


Fig. 3.2.10 Organisation Structure of the Gold Ecological Park in 2007 (Figure 2)

longer an independent institution. It became part of the organisation of the Cultural Affairs Bureau. The revised constitution of the organisation structure states “[...] the director is under the orders of the chief of the Cultural Bureau [...]”.¹⁶⁸ Museum staff voiced concerns that the policies of the chief of the

Cultural Affairs Bureau had a great impact on the development of the museum. When the chief of the Bureau does not respect the autonomy of museums, even printed marketing resources have to get agreement from the chief of Cultural Affairs Bureau (Wu Pei-fen 2009, 98). This status change challenged the museum’s mission as an ecomuseum, which demands immediate response and sensitivity to the feelings of local communities.

168. Constitution of Taipei County Gold Museum (zuzhi zhangcheng組織章程), revised edition 2007.

As a government apparatus, this unconventional museum has also been constrained by personnel legislation. The staff of the Taipei county museums are from two sources: the civil service officials (*gongwu ren-yuan* 公務人員) and educational personnel (*jiaoyu ren-yuan* 教育人員). The latter is especially important for museum services. The educational personnel system was a relatively new system for Taipei County. It was created for the establishment of the first county museum, the Yingge Ceramics Museum, after struggles with the state government. According to this system, the educational personnel are able to enjoy the benefits of normal civil service officials, such as pension and preferential interest rates. In contrast to the state examination procedure for employing civil servants, they are employed according to their professional performance and educational background in the form of interviews and internal examinations within the employing institutions. However, the permitted number of educational personnel is usually very limited, since employing educational personnel is expensive and involves a complicated legal procedure. As a result, the civil service officials and flexible personnel make up the majority of museum workers. This greatly influences the professional function of the museum.

The personnel instability is the same for staff employed throughout the civil service system. Within the system, the Gold Ecological Park represents a local institution with a low hierarchical position. Staff at the Park receive lower salaries with lower classification titles than some staff in the cultural bureau and county government. Hence, civil servants frequently transfer to other positions higher than the museum can provide when their period of obligation has been fulfilled. Even the director is changeable. The museum has been running for 7 years, within which period five directors have been in position. Low hierarchical position and complicated local politics and museum matters are the major factors resulting in the instability of personnel.

3.2.1.2 'Community' in Question

The core idea of *ecomuseum* lies in 'community participation'. Yet the term 'community' has been widely agreed to be "one of the most elusive and vague in sociology and by now largely without specific meaning".¹⁶⁹ Community, as well as identity, is dy-

namic and intangible in response to societal changes. This core feature of community leads to extreme difficulties when the 'integrated model' of a museum is put into practice at an actual locale, especially at places of colonial legacy.

As is the case with many other colonial heritage sites, the mining buildings and material remains of Jinguashi actually represented greatly diversified memories. Different groups of people owned various social frameworks in accord with social hierarchy constructed in the colonial era. Regarding representations of the local past, the museum team had to explore different memory versions and help to build up a more inclusive sense of place. This is particularly difficult since local knowledge has been acknowledged only when the new development plan was already being launched. The connection between people and the land was actually a new accentuation, having emerged when different identity narratives of Taiwan were allowed to appear publicly and, later, began to be encouraged by the government from the 1990s onwards. In this regard, the sense of community is actually fragmented.

This fragmentation was reinforced by the economic decline of the town. After the closure of the mining industry, the only industry of Jinguashi was/is now tourism. Apart from some small grocery stores and local restaurants, the Bed-and-Breakfast is the only major business, the benefit of which is limited to a small number of people. Most of the young generation left Jinguashi for better job and educational opportunities. The demographic is characterised by a high percentage of grandparent-headed families. The people running the B&B, many of them having come from Taipei and other metropolitan areas, are the major part of the younger generation in Jinguashi and have the most potential as partners of the museum. However, the issues of admission fee, renovation of houses and land ownership formed obstacles against the building of a relationship of mutual trust. There is great difference between groups of people. And similar to many locales, opinions are always expressed by a limited number of persons. Most residents, especially elder females, are silent about public affairs.

169. Abercrombie *et al.* 2000, 64; cited from Sheila Watson 2007, 3.

Among the small number of opinion leaders, there is actually fierce competition between specific individuals and groups. Subsidies from the government supporting local affairs, especially those under the grand scheme of the Integrated Community-Making Programme, did not result in a collective sense of community but in competition and hostility toward 'others'. All the mentioned situations reflect the extreme complexity of defining 'a community' to work with.

Moreover, the museum team in a way succeeded to the social position built up by the colonial genealogy and was regarded by the local residents as representative of the league comprised by county government and national enterprises. Issues of land ownership and housing renovation had a negative influence on the relationship between the museum and local residents.

Memory and Community Work

In spite of this difficult situation, engaging communities is a must for the Gold Ecological Park. This is not only due to its mission as an ecomuseum, but also the intertwined fate of the museum and Jingua-shi. Apart from regular conservation and interpretation works, several actions were initiated by the museum team in the period from 2003 to 2005 to fuel the consensus of community and generate a collective vista of the future:

1. Recollecting memories and local knowledge: recording oral histories, researching and obtaining relevant archival and material data.
2. Approaching silent groups and exploring ignored memories: some courses and events were arranged such as language learning, Yoga practices, singing concerts etc. Despite being seemingly irrelevant to museum works, these events were an important medium to approach females and the elderly, the marginal groups of the local population. Through contacts in these informal occasions, museum staff could gradually develop a trust relationship with the local residents and listen to their voices.
3. Holding training courses for interior and exterior volunteers: the local knowledge and research results collected by the museum could be transmitted to and receive responses from local communities.
4. Cooperating with local schools and the owners of the B&B: for example cooperating with schools

to cultivate the local unique flowers threatened by urbanisation.

5. Developing potential cultural industries: if the mission of an ecomuseum is to be an asset to the life of local residents, development of the town in the long term ought to be considered. The mining industry of the past produced only raw materials and hence did not help develop local cultural products and crafts. If cultural tourism is the best choice to revitalise this economically declined area, then the production of potential products with local distinctiveness should be initiated and developed to help the locals get by. Therefore, two projects were designed and put into practice: providing free training courses on goldsmith craft; and introducing resources and training guides for developing ecotourism. The former aims to boost the potential cultural industry and entice the younger generation to stay and develop the locale. The latter is based on the great potential of this place with its rich natural resources to develop a sustainable way of attracting ecotourism. The Silver Grass Festival and hiking activities were held for this incentive. This is in the hope that the trained local volunteers can earn their living as guides introducing their place with pride to visitors in the future.

3.2.2 "Do ecomuseums have a future?"

The question was asked by François Hubert. After a decade of development in France, the ideal model of ecomuseum proposed by the initiators was appropriated at various locations and challenged by contradictions and distortions. His observation is still of great innovative value to our reflections on the ecomuseum fever today. Departing from his points commenting on contradictions represented by some of the French ecomuseums, particularly those which took the participatory approach and community dominance to extremes, the section examined the Gold Ecological Park as summarised below:

3.2.1.1 Issue of Institutionalisation

Contrary to the extreme "community-ecomuseums" just mentioned (Hubert 1985, 188), the Gold Ecological Park was established and financed by the municipal government. The notion of revitalising the local

economy through museum construction had existed within the circle of local opinion leaders for years. The Taiwan Power Company, one of the national enterprises who own the mining properties and land of Jinguashi, drew up its development plan a decade ago. However none of these came into reality until the interference of the county government. This owes to the complicated ownership structure of the land and the legal regulations on the former mining area. Due to its status as a representative of a government body, the museum team was able to receive agreements from different government bodies including the relevant national enterprises and the bureau of mining affairs. Moreover, the annual budget from the county government guarantees the existence of the museum park despite economic and political fluctuations, which otherwise might cause severe crises in the existence of a community-ecomuseum. Within the normal conditions of Taiwan's dynamic local politics, this top-down model can also be an effective approach to initiate and maintain the cultural works for the longer term at a local level, if cultural practitioners are able to technically resist political influences and stick to their social missions.

Yet in a time of institutionalisation, the nature of an organisation may change along with the process. The issue of naming well represented this ambiguity. Establishing a museum of this unusual form brought great challenges to the bureaucratic system of both the county and central governments. In order to adopt a standard museum's administrative structure following precedent models used for conventional museums, the unique features of the ecomuseum had to be excluded in the process of institutionalisation. This is related to the structure of organisation and employment of professional personnel within the legal system. The name which would identify the ecomuseum as a museum 'park' or 'area' (yuanqu 園區) could not be applied, despite the fact that it represents the primary feature of an ecomuseum—territory. This is because the adoption of 'yuanqu' would result in an organisational structure like that of a zoo or a local administrative district. Eventually the park was named the "Taipei County Gold Museum" (Taibeixianli Huangjin Bowuguan 台北縣立黃金博物館)¹⁷⁰, which is the name used in all official and legal documents. The title "Gold Ecological Park" (Huangjin Bowu Yuanqu 黃金博物園區), however, is still in use as part of the

logo shown to visitors, and this collateral usage has led to numerous confusions. Even staff of the museum gradually forgot the essences of the Gold Ecological Park, and followed the track of the bureaucratic administrative body and framework of a conventional museum, the Taipei County Gold Museum.

3.2.1.2 Issue of Conflicts and Scientific Interpretation

The memories and community groups of the local population are greatly diversified at this locale of colonial legacy. Hubert warned against only mystifying the past as utopian for future imagination, as many rural ecomuseums did; "[i]t is [...] difficult to be part of the present as can be seen from the experiences of the ecomuseums in new towns, where social differences are compounded with differences in culture and civilization. What can the ecomuseum do in such places except offer a totally artificial identity to people who have been displaced and who, in addition, come into violent conflict with the ways of the original inhabitants?" (Hubert 1985, 188). In Jinguashi, the current residents are mainly lower-rank employees who worked in the colonial industry. The group of administrators moved out, as they were of higher economic status. In the process of memory recollection, some mentioned the discrimination during the Japanese and postwar KMT (Kuomintang 國民黨) regimes (Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005). As conservation is critical to the ecomuseum, it has been difficult to interpret the residences of the administrative class as local heritage. The museum team actually encountered difficulties trying to cooperate with a member of said class to collect oral history at the locale. Recognising the diversity and discordant nature of memories and communities was the first task of the museum; fuelling an inclusive version of the past without excluding "others", including different local groups, external professionals etcetera, is the second and toughest mission of the Gold Ecological Park in approaching the ideal of ecomuseum—to be "a mirror in which the local population views itself to discover its own image, in which it seeks an explanation of the territory to which it is attached and of the

170. After December 2010, the formal name of the museum was changed to the New Taipei City Gold Museum.

populations that have preceded it, seen either as circumscribed in time or in terms of the continuity of generations" (Rivière 1985, 182).

The forming of an inclusive version of local past and future requires great efforts from a neutral body, who can work between groups lacking in mutual trust, and build up a platform for potential cooperation. The museum is actually the best candidate, considering its professional resources and its neutrality among local groups. Moreover, the museum is more careful to notice marginal groups, and hence to include previously ignored voices. The oral records of the female and mainlander population¹⁷¹ were part of this concern. This also echoes the discussion of institution—an official body can be a greater asset within the dynamic circumstances often seen in Taiwan.

3.2.1.3 *Issue of Economic Incentive*

Economic incentive plays an important role in many ecomuseum projects, and the case of Jinguashi is no exception. The potential benefits of heritage tourism were most effective and accountable in persuading local inhabitants and opinion leaders to agree with the plans for the museum and its conservation activities. However, a community project led by economic incentives inevitably results in controversy.

The aspects concerning better quality of life, empowerment of the community, accumulation of culture etcetera are often veiled by the pursuit of economic benefits, although the economic benefits are not necessarily apparent in every regeneration strategy of heritage, as Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge argued (2000, 169). And "[e]very difficult period sees a proliferation of historical and ethnographical museums whose purpose is to smooth away worries about the future by extolling the values of the past" (Hubert 1985, 187). Hence even if the heritage strategy is adopted as a major instrument in the case of regional

regeneration, wider integrated evaluation and strategies should be considered concomitantly. This structural issue has been rather naively ignored in promoting community participation by accentuating economic benefits from heritage tourism. The condition of the Gold Ecological Park after opening clearly demonstrated this problem. Local shop runners started to argue that they did not benefit from the visitors. It is difficult to communicate about any cultural and operational affairs if the museum cannot guarantee the short-term and foreseeable economic rewards.

3.2.3 A Top-Down Ecomuseum?

The vogue of Ecomuseum in Taiwan was a response to economic-political circumstances, and the concept was applied in various forms within the framework. As the critical element of both ecomuseum and community building, 'community' was particularly accentuated by numerous planning agents and research projects, and expected to be a cure-all to regional economic recession. Within this social circumstance, the term 'bottom-up' has been presented as the criteria of evaluation and legitimation. However, 'community' is a very vague concept, and its relevant practices are still in the experimental stage. In the case of Jinguashi, a collective sense of community has not formed, owing to structural deficiencies. Hence an official body may be helpful in taking a more neutral position, exploring diversities and including voices. The Gold Ecological Park can be an asset in generating a humanistic version of community and sustainable development at the locale with professional and financial resources, if it can stick to the mission of an ecomuseum and craftily resist the interference of the bureaucratic system. This is echoed in Hsia Chu-Joe's advice to urban planners of Taiwan. The planners should play the role of grassroots activists, and break through the existing power relationship at the local level by exploring the space for "maneuver" and constructing "enclaves of transformation" (Chu-joe Hsia 2003). This advice is also of great importance to cultivators of museums and heritage.

Furthermore, the museum can help to form a mirror for local communities by providing scientific interpretations. As Hubert stated, "[o]nly by comparing a scientific interpretation with the way the inhabitants

171. In the postwar KMT era, the mainlander group, succeeded the social structure built up by Japanese mining company, was of the higher hierarchy with better vocational and social status in Jinguashi. They worked as administrators and had better remuneration and fringe benefits. See Georgia Lee [Li, Guo-Jia], "Jinguashi koushu lishi ji yingxiang jilu (er) qimo baogao".

see themselves can a dialogue be engendered that might lead beyond this situation” (Hubert 1985, 189). He suggested that ecomuseums should not exclude other possibilities by concentrating only on conservation and community activities, but to find a neutral approach by developing the scientific dimensions of their field. In this regard, the ecomuseum can have a future, because of “the astonishing capacity it has shown for catching up with its own day, for confronting the present in order to offer it a new humanism over and above the image it reflects” (Hubert 1985, 190). If ecomuseums neither restrict themselves to the past, nor detach themselves from the present, then they do have a future, and will provide the societies they serve for with a vista of humanism.

3.3 THE HALLWAY OF MEMORY: THE DIVERSIFIED INTERPRETATION OF COLONIAL HERITAGE



Fig. 3.3.1 Siliandong in 2011. Siliandong is located in the entrance of the central area of Jinguashi. It is like the ‘hallway of hometown’ for local residents. Photo was taken by the author.

Beginning in the 1990s, “Museumification” or “heritagization” experienced enormous growth in Taiwan in both the public and private sectors. According to statistics from the Chinese Association of Museums, in 1989/90 the total number of museums in Taiwan was 99. By 2007, the number had exploded to 580.¹⁷² This section explores the reconstruction of the past by examining the interpretations of collective ceremony and heritage renovation conducted by the Gold Ecological Park, a local museum. The se-

lected case for discussion is Siliandong (四連棟), “A long extensive building divided into four households, each having its own individual entrance and living spaces.” Siliandong is an historic site built in the Japanese colonial period. The significance of this selection is the way in which it reflects on the wider context of Taiwan’s heritage construction.

This section will discuss the process of ritualizing memories as an integral part of heritage construction in postcolonial Taiwan. Through an explanation of the public ceremony used to conclude the structural renovation of the Siliandong Japanese residence in Jinguashi (金瓜石), I will demonstrate the highly complex nature of the ceremony. Understanding the process of ritualizing memories reveals the antagonistic and religiously sensitive issues at stake in the combination of the architectural structure within shifting cultural contexts. The three-layered make up of the ceremony shows how cultural and political interests interact and dominate, affecting the recollection and representation of memory. I argue that intentions to reconstruct the authentic sense of place involve a structural ‘lack of memory’. The section shows the role that local museums play in this heritage making and in the interpretation that comprises multiple voices and conflicting political interests.

3.3.1 Ritualizing Memories

Central to this section is the ceremony used to reshape the collective local memory and its role in museum politics. This ceremony is a microscopic site of memory which provides us with the depth to look into the postcolonial complexity. It serves as a reflective point to examine the difficulties underlying the heritage practice and postcolonial situation of contemporary Taiwan.

172. Please refer to the website of the Chinese Association of Museums (CAM 2007). The number of museums in 1989/90 is based on “The Number of Museums in Taiwan 1989/90-1997” (CAM 2007a). In 1985, the official number of *guji* (古蹟) was 221 (Lin Yi-hong 2005, 23-24). According to the statistics of The Council of Cultural Affairs, ROC, at the end of 2000, the number of *guji* was 460 (CAM 2007b). By 2004, it had increased to 592 (CAM 2007c).

The Gold Ecological Park was formally opened to the public in November 2004. Based on the concepts of conservation and reutilization, this museum attracted more than one million tourists in the first year. The Siliandong Japanese Residence was renovated that year and opened as one of the major facilities in the museum park after completion of the interior display.

When the structural renovation of Siliandong was completed, the leading architect, Horigome Kenji 堀达憲二 proposed to perform a *shangdongshi* (上棟式) ceremony at the construction site.¹⁷³ This idea was accepted by the Gold Ecological Park and held on 3 October 2005.

The purpose of the ceremony was to interpret colonial remains as local 'heritage'. As mentioned by the museum in the ceremony brochure, the renovation of the Japanese residence, and the celebration aimed to conserve the local memory. Interestingly, a first issue in the ceremony concerned the name change to *shangdong* (上棟) or *shangliang* (上樑). As part of the renovation project, it was decided by the museum team that the ceremony would follow the name translated from Japanese as *shangdongshi*, and would be performed mainly in Japanese rituals in order to represent the cultural context of the architectural form. This decision was based on three considerations. First, for a museum, this could be a special educational programme to introduce a Japanese custom closely associated with the current renovation. Second, the entire building was repaired according to its original Japanese form, thus a Japanese *shangdong* ceremony would preserve this key message. Third, a Japanese ceremony is rarely seen by most Taiwanese these days, and thus would attract media attention.

The *shangdong* ritual is commonly seen in the Japanese construction process, and has a similar form in Chinese culture known as the *shangliang* ritual. Both are similar in performance and serve the same purpose. They are held when the main structure of the house is completed. The owner of the house invites guests to participate in the ritual in order to pray for

continued safe construction, to celebrate the completion of the most difficult and crucial part of the house, and also to announce that the final completion is not far away. In Taiwan, the ritual is usually called *shangliangli* (上樑禮) or *jiuliangli* (就樑禮). The Japanese counter part is commonly known as *shangdongshi* (Li Qian-lang 2003, 224).

Conducted in this way, the ceremony ultimately resulted in ambivalence among participants. The performers and audience situated in the different cultural context of contemporary Taiwan, felt alien to the ritual forms closely associated with the Japanese culture. The *shangdongshi* actually displayed the interpretational fracture while transforming a colonial site to a local 'heritage' within the postcolonial context. The decision making in the name of this ceremony implies discordance between the material form and the cultural context during the conservation practices of a colonial site. Since the architectural form of the Siliandong represents the culture and lived experiences of the colonizers, the fracture between the form and its cultural context emerged when the colonizers, who had lived in this cultural context and therefore owned the direct memory, had left the locale. This discordance is represented by the ambivalent emotions toward the Japanese past, and subsequently the ambiguous meaning of local 'heritage', when dealing with the material remains of former colonizers.

Performing the Ceremony

Shangdongshi was organized and financed by the Gold Ecological Park and was held on 3 October 2005. The museum invited officers from the Taipei County government, the property owner Taiwan Sugar Cooperation (Taiwan Tangye Gongsi 台灣糖業公司), governors and ministers of Rueifang 瑞芳 Township,¹⁷⁴ the media, local elders, the local elementary school, as well as other influential figures. The ceremony was held in front of the Siliandong Japanese residence, close to the entrance of the museum park; so other visitors could attend without admission.

173. The Japanese pronunciation is "zyōtōshiki" (上棟式). The ceremony at Siliandong was held in Mandarin Chinese.

174. The official English translation was obtained from the website of Rueifang Township: www.rueifang.tpc.gov.tw



Fig. 3.3.2 Altar of the Shangdongshi. Photo is courtesy of Mr. Wu Si-xian 吳思賢.

The ceremony had three parts: the prayer rite, *sanbing* (散餅)/ *sanqian* (散錢) and *shangdong*. Originally, the Japanese ceremony for the *shangdongshi* had strong religious implications. The museum consciously attempted to transform the religious ritual into a cultural event by maintaining the form while preserving only major ritual elements. In tune with the cultural aspect, before the main ceremonies, speeches were presented. It concluded by serving guests sweet rice ball soup (*tangyuan* 湯圓). The rite of prayer was initiated after the speeches of the county governor, the head of Rueifang Township and the local representative of the Taipei County Council (*taibeixian yihui* 台北縣議會).

The ceremony was not only a performance announcing the political contribution and investment of the elected mayor and party on the local region, but also a representation of the political fabric entangled with heritage practice at the locale. The museum needed to prepare a political stage for the most influential powers in the region in order to stabilize their support. For a postcolonial heritage practitioner, it is extremely important to recognise the influential actors, to sense the political network and adapt to changeable political situations in order to achieve the ultimate educational and cultural targets.

Prior to the ceremony, the Japanese architect set the altar with ritual utensils, offerings and paper decorations. Those settings consisted of Japanese liquor, food and two important offerings: the wooden panel



Fig. 3.3.3 Altar of the Shangdongshi. Photo is courtesy of Mr. Wu Si-xian 吳思賢.

dongzha (棟札)¹⁷⁵ and a large rice cake. Because the museum staff was unfamiliar with these settings, most of the offerings were prepared by the architect. The rice cake was ordered by the museum from a local sweet shop with detailed explanation, since its shape and function are unknown to Taiwanese people. Paper decoration and table cloth of the altar were white. The background cloth was originally white, but was changed into a red and white striped pattern as a compromise of Taiwanese and Japanese custom. This change was proposed by the museum because white is traditionally considered an unlucky colour by Taiwanese.

After the speeches, the *Zhujiguan* (主祭官 or the chief person conducting the ritual procession) officiated the prayer rite. He followed the instructions of the Master of Ceremonies (MC), assigned by the museum. This MC guided the ceremony according to the procession arrangements and detailed information given by the museum. The *Zhujiguan* of this ritual was the Chief Secretary of Taipei County Government (*Taibeixian zhengfu zhuren mishu* 台北縣政府主任秘書), who was acting as a substitute for the Mayor. Following the orders of the MC, he held the offering with both hands in turn while bowing to the altar. After offering the food and wine to the deity,

175. The Japanese pronunciation is "munafuda".



Fig. 3.3.4 Dongzha (棟札) of the Shangdongshi on 3 October 2005. Photo is courtesy of Ms. Luo Shu-rong 駱淑蓉.

the *Zhujiguan* read out a prayer, and led all the attendants to bow together to the deity.

The definition of sacred or secular in this ceremony was rather vague. Regardless of the details of the rite procession or who the performers were identified as, the *Zhujiguan* was a political leader of the county government, not a religious figure. Moreover, the name of the god/goddess prayed for was replaced by the term “all god/goddess” (*zhushenfo* 諸神佛), in order to include diverse beliefs, and to avoid the strong religious implications associated with Japanese identity.

The second part of the ceremony was *sanbing/ sanqian*: the offering of sweets and coins to guests by the owner of the house. The ceremony continued with a ritual of *sanbing/ sanqian* (delivering sweets and coins). The form and selection of these delivering stuff was also localized depending on what local



Fig. 3.3.5 The Rite of Prayer. Photo is courtesy of Mr. Wu Si-xian 吳思賢.



Fig. 3.3.6 Sanbing and Sanqian. Photo is courtesy of Mr. Wu Si-xian 吳思賢.

product would be analogous to their Japanese counterparts: the sweets were packaged *mochi* (rice cakes 餅, Ch.麻糬), ordered from the same shop in the neighbourhood area. The rice cakes and NT dollar coins were wrapped individually in coloured papers. These were then placed in several bamboo baskets. Important guests were invited on stage to throw these sweets and coins to the audience. Guests included the Chief Secretary, the Assistant Chief of Taipei County Government Culture Bureau (Taibeixian wenhuaju fujuzhang 臺北縣文化局副局長), the Chief of Rueifang Township (Ruifang zhen zhenzhang 瑞芳鎮鎮長), a Taipei County councillor, the director of the Gold Ecological Park, representatives

from the property owners Taiwan Sugar Corporation and Taiwan Power Company. Those figures represented the most essential network of the operation of the museum park.

Although the performance of this rite was unknown to most local people, they were able to participate actively, perhaps due to its more interactive and understandable form. One local elder recalled his experience of *sanbing* during the Japanese colonial period yet he had forgotten about its purpose and how it was performed. The participating children at the event were too young to have memories of the colonial period and had been educated within an entirely different cultural and political context. *Sanbing/san-qian* was thus a point of connection between generations, yet the interpretation of participants would be completely different since each individual has his or her own “social framework of memory,” a phrase proposed by Halbwachs (1992).



Fig. 3.3.7 Back side of Dongzha (棟札). Photo is courtesy of Ms. Luo Shu-rong 駱淑蓉.



Fig. 3.3.8 Dongzha hanging by the carpentry master. Photo is courtesy of Mr. Wu Si-xian 吳思賢.

The final part of *shangdongshi* was to locate the *dongzha*. During the traditional Japanese ceremony, the names of the god/goddess who protect the house, the carpentry master, and the Japanese date are written in advance on a wooden *dongzha* panel. This is most significant rite of the ceremony. According to its Japanese orientation, locating the *dongzha* was performed by the chief carpenter. As for the *dongzha* of Siliandong, the name of the god/goddess was replaced by the names of the county governors, the head of the museum, the architect and the constructor. Moreover, the installation of the *dongzha* on the central beam was designed as a main attraction for the media. This implicates the powerful influence of media to many local cultural institutions, comprising their strategies on education and marketing.

Colonial Ambiguity

Initially, the ritual procession and altar setting of *shangdongshi* was designed according to Japanese religious customs, coinciding with the living styles

of the original residents, the tradition of artisan craft and the material form of the building. The residents left the building, and its cultural context was changed by the ending of the Japanese colonial era. Only the material form of the building remained at the locale. The sense of place altered with its changing inhabitants. In order to regard the Japanese remains as 'heritage', and for reasons of conservation, some ambivalence during the mapping of the material form and the cultural context surfaced. A clear example of this ambivalence was shown in the particular secularization involved in the prayer rite. Not only was it more a secular ceremony, its participants reproduced a postcolonial metropolitan network of power so that the "sacred" significance was transformed into a secular complex. Said otherwise, it was turned into a collective ritual that reinterpreted the past for the present. The different cultural framework was interpreted through a local adaptation of the sacred.

Although the secular performance was the major form of the *shangdongshi*, its sacred meaning was inevitably bonded with the overlapping Taiwanese custom which originated from the same Chinese tradition as the Japanese one. Hence the sacred ritual based on Taiwanese custom has to be concerned with and practiced simultaneously at the same locale. In order to secure a safe and smooth construction, the constructors adopted the Taiwanese form of the prayer prior to the formal *shangdongshi*: setting a Taiwanese style altar and praying with burning incense. The museum staff joined as well.

Another local adaptation was the use of a red cloth on the central beam according to Taiwanese custom. Initially, the purpose of *shangliangli* was based on its religious function as a prayer for smooth construction. However, the presentation of a white Japanese altar revealed the incompatibility with the Taiwanese cultural context. The colour white in Taiwanese culture is often associated with bad luck and not used for most celebrations. The sacred function still needed to be fulfilled yet this was done by having participants adhere to the contemporary cultural context.

As Moore and Myerhoff (1977, 9) have pointed out, in this type of secular ritual the ceremony itself may be an attempt to mask this substantiation of key ele-

ments, "and to exaggerate the collective effort, the common cooperation and the collective benefit" in such a way that, "strangers may contribute to the same enterprise. It provided a formal theatrical medium in which the people could be together without interacting very much, but in which their symbols could be juxtaposed in time and space to give apparent unity". The performance of *shangdongshi* was a "theatre of memory" (Samuel 1994). A version of collective past was constructed by the gathering of participants. Having diversified "frameworks of memory", different groups and individuals attended the ceremony and cooperated to "perform a version of the past" and contribute to generating a distinct form of local memory. However, the *shangdongshi* ceremony represented an effort to formulate a collective memory in one way, and to raise the inconsistency between cultural forms and local memory on the other. The essential issue of 'whose memory' emerged from this fracture is what we turn to next.

3.3.2 Absent Memory, Conflicting Interpretation



Fig. 3.3.9 Renovating the memorial Red Road (hong malu紅馬路) next to the Siliandong. Photo was taken by the author in 2004.

The mission of the above mentioned renovation was to 'conserve the local memory', yet the direct memory of this 'colonial place' called Siliandong was absent. During the renovation of this building and the preparation of the *shangdongshi* ceremony, the original residents of Siliandong did not participate. The renovations were conducted according to the general forms of Japanese architecture and to the memory of

most present local people who had never been permitted to live in the Japanese residences in the colonial era because they were preserved for higher level employees. Previous residents provided no input, thus the representation of architecture reflected the distanced observation from outside, mainly from the architecture profession and neighbourhood memory. This sense of distance was felt in the ceremony. Compared to other similar ceremonies held in the museum park, the participants of the *shangdongshi* ceremony were rather curious observers, not story providers. This alienated feeling was closely related to the fracture between the material remains and a sense of place which had resulted from the colonial structure of the previous period.

This sense of absent memory is the result of a colonial residue which disconnects the sense of place from the material remains. When the 'heritage' awareness is considered for postcolonial political and economic intentions, a fracture appears with ambivalence among the local community who are generally common people who lived outside of this privileged area during colonial rule. The alien feelings during the *shangdongshi* ceremony reveal not only the fracture between the material remains and cultural context, but also the distance between the previously colonized and the colonizers.

The participants of this ceremony were mainly the guests invited by the museum, including local influential figures, museum curators, local students and their teachers. Because it was an outdoor event, the local people and tourists were welcomed to participate without prior invitation. Although some of the current inhabitants of Jinguashi attended this occasion, the original residents of Siliandong, who owned the direct memory and lived experiences in the house, were absent during the ceremony. Owing to the colonial context, these memory holders had left the place, and the current residents of the neighbourhood hold relatively foreign feelings toward this building even though they may pass by it everyday. During the ceremony, the emotional bond to the building, and the sense of place were not familiar to the attending guests. Rather than being constructive informants, the local participants were like passive information receivers, understanding the knowledge and stories of this historic building from the mu-

seum's brochures and guides. How can we explain the absent memory of Siliandong? In order to decipher this, we need to have a look at its history.

Siliandong was built during the 1930s while Japan Mining Company (*Nihon kangyomushi kaisha* 日本鑛業株式會社) monopolized the entire mining business of Jinguashi (Guo 1984). In order to extract more profit, the Company built new factories and installed modern machinery. They also completely changed the landscape and social structure of Jinguashi according to the contemporary model of an "industrial village" in Japan (Chang 2002, 59-70). Most residents were employees of the Company, living on the salary and facilities offered by it. They were categorized as different occupational levels according to their jobs but more so according to their ethnicity. Office workers were mainly Japanese, receiving a better salary, housing, and company welfare. The social structure was inherited by the later Taiwan Metal Mining Company (*Taiwan jinshu kuangye gongsi* 台灣金屬礦業公司) when the Japanese colonial power left. However, the higher level of the Japanese managers was replaced by the mainlanders' community. Siliandong, a residence of Japanese and mainlander managers, was unavoidably a symbol of colonial social order. Its building materials, constructed forms and location demonstrate the higher social class of its residents.

A former postwar inhabitant of a Japanese residence recalled this social hierarchy was even represented in the name of the administrative districts. The central district which now contains the Gold Ecological Park and Siliandong, was allotted administrative offices, Japanese residences, and the Prince Chalet which was built for the temporary visit of the Japanese prince. The region was named "Gold Mountain District" (Jinshan Li 金山里). The surrounding areas were named in sequence from the centre as "Copper Mountain District" (Tongshan Li 銅山里) and "Rock Mountain District" (Shishan Li 石山里). She recalled her school experiences that children who came from similar districts were her schoolmates and had similar family status. Children of the Gold Mountain District, who mainly came from Chinese mainlander families, were able to wear shoes and dress well, unlike children from farther districts such as the Rock Mountain District, who were mainly na-

tive Taiwanese or other settler families and might not have had shoes to wear. This division designates diversified frameworks of memory and stimulates the ambiguity of heritage work.

After the closure of the mining business, most residents with better financial circumstances moved out (Su 1996, 187). According to the oral data collected in Jinguashi by the museum,¹⁷⁶ the living experiences of the central area, where the higher rank managers mainly resided, were rarely mentioned. Many informants remembered racial and professional discrimination by the Japanese and mainland administrative bodies (Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005a, 9, 32-33; Lee 2005, 101). The miners who were unable to move stayed in the village, and theirs became the only memory version of the past.

The representation of the past was not only determined by diversified memories of local groups whose social frameworks were formulated by colonial structure, but also impacted by the network of the postcolonial actors. These factors interacted and reconstructed a version of past which was expected to be the core of locality in the present Taiwan. The postcolonial actors will be illustrated in the following section.

Negotiating the Memory of Siliandong

During recollection of local memories by the museum team, two memory versions were competing for the representation of 'a local past': the memory of former managers and of lower workers. Their social frameworks were diversified during the previous period of colonization and their memories reformulated within the contesting network of postcolonial actors, interacting with the grand framework of locality pursuit since the 1990s. We shall see how Japanese interests also came into play.

As a materialized symbol of superior social rank during the Japanese colonial period and KMT nationalist

governance, Siliandong has little emotional association with the present-day local people who are relatively alienated from this space. Following the heritage construction instruments community building and tourism development, many local residents became aware of the necessity to claim their ownership of the site as their 'heritage'. The emotional association with 'heritage', therefore, needs to be recreated with the representation of the past. However, when it is reconstructed by a top-down force, and not a self-oriented sense of identity which was obstructed by the discordance of collective memories, those interpretative attempts such as collective ceremonies and representation of historic sites, are possibly turned into empty material forms with little cultural significance.

The renovation of Siliandong was financed by the local government and its budget was examined by the county council. The renovation, therefore, was controlled by the official budget act and the political influence deeply related to the struggling balance of power between the county government and the assembly. Focused on the financial and political rewards from the expecting income of heritage tourism and the political propaganda on local development, the county governor, the township head and the local members of the county council were gathered together at the ceremony of *shangdongshi*. The ceremony was inevitably the demonstration and reclamation of the political will. Through this collective gathering, the relations and social orders in local society were reconfirmed and even reinforced following the present political order. Those present local communities were reorganized by the political resources which were provided by the government and politicians, and the sense of community disappeared when competing for resources from the public sector. For instance, different local societies were formed under the names of tourist development or community development. These societies were led by different people, many of whom fought each other over concern that subsidies from the government might be obtained by competitors from the same area. The interpretation of memory was unified by political pursuit and was spontaneously attached to the political will in order to strive for more support.

176. See Taiwan Nature Trail Society (2005a, 2005b, 2005c) and Kaohsiung County Government (1997). This research is also based on the participant observation of the author at Jinguashi from 2003 to 2005.

The genealogy of state enterprises, which is also a colonial residue, determined the development of Jinguashi. In the past, the Japan Mining Company and Taiwan Metal Mining Company played the chief roles in Jinguashi. They were both landlord and employer for most local residents. This structure has not been completely changed since the closure of mining industry. Taiwan Power Company (Taiwan dianli gongsi 台灣電力公司) and Taiwan Sugar Corporation remain the landlords of local residents, especially the latter which owns most of the land and the Japanese residences. Despite the regional government's successfully inclusion of them as participants in the museum plan with a BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) project,¹⁷⁷ the county government needs to pay the rent of the buildings and the land and to arrange the management and approval of large events. Siliandong is one of these cases. The property owner, Taiwan Sugar Corporation, has been willing to rent it to the museum only if the building is not officially designated as *guji* or 'historic building', as they were afraid of the 'troubles' caused by the legal restrictions on use and management of historic monument (*guji*). The Siliandong should be included in the calculation of the BOT plan for final share of revenue earned from museum admission and area development project, for instance the potential earning from remodelling the Japanese residences into hotels and shops. With regard to the representation of Siliandong, the company remained in a passive position. The Taiwan Sugar Company was pleased that the county government replaced it in managing and maintaining the house. However, regarding the legal role and intrinsic change of the company, it continues to maintain an influential role in the future of Siliandong.

As the core actors in the renovation plan, the museum and architect actually played the decisive roles in the representation of memory. However, they held diverse interpretations of this according to their professional intentions. This is particularly true for the Japanese architect, whose personal memory and professional training toward the general forms of Japanese architecture were challenged by the practical

situation: the later residents of the postwar era had changed the spaces for their living needs.¹⁷⁸ This situation indicates the ambiguity while dealing with the colonial remains—if the 'authentic' form is the first priority to maintain, what kind of ideological pursuit will be materialized by it? Should it be renovated into the original Japanese style if the cultural context is supposed to be in co-existence with the material form? If so, the living traces of later residents may be wiped out by pursuing 'authenticity'. On the other hand, if the interpretation is chosen to represent the traces of later communities in order to strengthen the sense of sympathy and identity, does the form only demonstrate shallow materiality without deep cultural correspondence? What is the meaning of conserving the colonial remains?

For the case of Siliandong, the different intentions were represented as multiple interior displays. The four separate interior spaces were designed according to the memory of diverse epochs and groups. Concerning the contemporary users, the first one was assigned an administrative function, and the second household was designed as a multifunctional space for art and the viewing of documentaries. The third was a representation of the Japanese period. Finally, the fourth household was designed to retrieve a postwar family life. All these four houses were renovated according to Japanese architectural forms and crafts, and some spatial modifications were made to the traces of postwar residents such as changes to the hallways and corridors. Following the recollection of living memories, the interior of the fourth household was decorated with furniture popular among richer families during the postwar period. Household objects of the same era were also arranged into the space such as an old radio, clock, kitchen ware, and a lunchbox etcetera. In the third household, the space was decorated with traditional Japanese settings, for instance the paper doors with Japanese painting, a tea set on the low table and a wooden tool horse for the children. All of these formed the framework of the collective memory associated with Siliandong.

177. See note 35 above.

178. According to the investigation of Guo (1984), some of the interior settings of the Japanese residences in Jinguashi had been altered by the later Chinese residents for their personal use and because of different customs.



Fig. 3.3.10 Renovated interior of Siliandong in 2008.
Photo is courtesy of Ms. Yang Shu-ya 楊舒雅.

Any individual who considers him/herself as the ideological owner of Siliandong, is interacting with memories that contrast the social frameworks of local residents, the architect, governors from both central and local governments, curators and the owner of this historic site. The representation of Siliandong and the performance of Shangdongshi are the node of collective memories. A version of the collective past is formulated at this site in terms of its continuous inclusive interpretation.

Furthermore, as Halbwachs (1992, 40) asserted in his *On Collective Memory*, individual memory is located in the social frameworks, and “collective frameworks are ... precisely the instruments used by the collective memory to reconstruct an image of the past which is in accord, in each epoch, with the predominant thoughts of the society”. The representation of local past, in terms of the renovation of Siliandong and the ritual of *shangdongshi*, was in accord with the reconstruction of a collective past of Taiwan since the 1990s. This may not have been intentionally made but it was yet delicately connected by interactive actors, such as national subsidies and political networks. Eventually the local past represented by heritage interpretation is always a contesting field of present intentions, as Lowenthal (1985, 210) claimed, “the prime function of memory ... is not to preserve the past but to adapt it so as to enrich and manipulate the present”.

3.3.3 Making 'Heritage'

This section has illustrated a dynamic process of heritage building by examining the way in which a local museum conducts interpretation. The Gold Ecological Park is constructed within the context of the Taiwan memory boom since the 1990s, and interpretations found in compromises during the renovation of the Siliandong Japanese residence and the performance of the *shangdongshi* ceremony. These revealed the extreme complexity of heritage construction in postcolonial Taiwan resulting from the intertwining social frameworks of diversified memories formulated from colonial residues or postcolonial structure. Embedded in the conservation of colonial material remains were intentions of postcolonial locality building. However, the essential ambiguity between ‘locality’ and ‘coloniality’ unavoidably emerged in the process of heritage building.

The renovation of Siliandong was completed in the spring of 2007, and part of the interior was represented as living scenes of a family during the operation of the managing period of Taiwan Metal Mining Company. The interior scenes were designed and displayed by a female artist who grew up in the family of a Jinguashi mining company manager. She was also the project researcher responsible for collecting the oral records of previous residents in the Japanese dormitories. The complicated, time-consuming bureaucratic work for the “Measures Governing Engineering and Procurement” (*Caigoufa* 採購法)¹⁷⁹ and the accounting system of the government often resulted in the discord during the project. Even so, the museum insisted on sharing the power of interpretation and including multiple voices after realizing the structural absence of the living memory of the previous privileged group.

Partly sponsored by the national “Museum of Local Culture” (*difang wenhua guan* 地方文化館) project, the renovation of Siliandong was included in the larger Integrated Community-Making (*shequ zongti*

179. The titles of policies and legislation were translated according to the bilingual data of The Council of Cultural Affairs: <http://www.cca.gov.tw/bilingual.do> (accessed 26 May 2009).

yingzao 社區總體營造) Programme.¹⁸⁰ Officially the Siliandong project was expected to represent the will of national identity through the pursuit of locality. However, on a more pragmatic level, financial assistance was considered by the local government as an aid for capital expenditure and was to be rewarded with tourist revenue and political approval. Representation of the past was therefore framed by complicated interactions with political powers, interwoven with local residents through official subsidies.

The reconstruction of the image of a local past by means of heritage preservation and collective ceremony is based on the recollection and interpretation of multiple memories. Despite diverse intentions to single out and 'fix' the memory on site, forces within the grand framework for triggering the version of memory presented to citizens and tourists are crucial strengths in a local area. They influence the formation of collective memory through numerous subsidised projects in the name of 'community building' that occurs or are approved during the short visits of governors. This is done because they possess the power to promise financial support for local development and because commissioned agencies that act as intermediaries who are skilled in solving trivial bureaucratic requirements when local residents request, fight for and finally have the opportunity to execute plans but have difficulties in meeting the bureaucratic 'standard'.

The image of the past is additionally framed by different collective memories which formed within the social structure related to the colonial context. The meaning of cultural patrimony associated with local 'heritage' is suspicious. Due to political change, the direct memory of Siliandong was a 'lack of memory'. The feeling of nostalgia and emotional sympathy usually bonded to 'heritage' was distanced from the local site. Recollecting and representing the memory is a contested process alienating between the intentions to reconstruct the authentic sense of place, the structural 'lack of memory', the emerging sense of heritage and the expectation towards local development through heritage tourism.

The attempt to engage bottom-up participation in conserving the historic buildings is only a noble dream. At many locales in Taiwan, inclusive heritage-practice is constantly struggling within the drastically changing environment of domestic and global economy and politics. Moreover, top-down community-building projects need follow-up through the government mechanism; however the follow-up is often obstructed under a rigid bureaucratic system. As an intermediary institution, a resourceful local museum can be a positive force to stand for the interpretation that comprises multiple voices. It needs to operate flexibly between the public and private sectors and to insist on educational and responsible representation. This section has shown that a local museum, equipped with financial support and professional resource, can sense the seams of diversified intentions and mend them with inclusive and cooperative interpretation. At least a version of communal locality can be based on educational intention and sincere recollection.

Siliandong was opened to the public in 2007 and chosen as a film set for a TV miniseries drama popular among younger generations, and famous for its cast of young stars. Influenced by the mass consumption and media power, the image of Siliandong is being recreated in the mind of new generations. Instead of a heritage site, the image of Siliandong has been recalled and distributed as a place for 'romantic encounter of TV idols'. A new collective memory is being shaped through electronic media and tourist visits, and the meaning of 'heritage' in Taiwan is being transformed through this interconnectedness regardless of deliberate initiatives or historical causality.

3.4 PRODUCING LOCALITY

In section 2.2 I have explored three contextual frameworks which have shaped the locality of Taiwan and of places in Taiwan during the period since the 1990s: globalization, *machizukuri* and *shequ* development. All three provide the contours of locality illustrated by the authorized discourses¹⁸¹, and a cer-

180. The translation is according to Lü Hsin-Yi 2002.

181. For the "authorized discourses" please refer to Section 2.3.

tain image of the future. Since the 1990s, 'culture' has been taken as the core element that distinguishes locality. "Material effects" (Appadurai 1996, 182) are created in order to sustain the physicality of locality, for instance the huge archival projects of the early 2000s which aimed to build up a knowledge base of Taiwan¹⁸², the increasing number of museums and heritage sites, and the boom in projects of 'rehabilitating old buildings' (jiujianwu zailiyong 舊建物再利用). However, do the claims of the authorized discourses reflect the real situations at local places? In this section, Jinguashi provides an actual place-making example in Taiwan during the era of localism.

The territorial definition of Jinguashi was formally established during the Japanese colonial period. Simultaneously, the neighbourhood and locality of Jinguashi underwent enormous changes, which would later deeply influence the postcolonial local society. As Arjun Appadurai argued, locality is a "structure of feelings". It is produced by the local subjects, and these local subjects are influenced and transformed by acts of custom and rituals—namely, the bodily interactions with concrete spaces—the production of local spaces, and the interaction between the local subject and localized conceptualization of time and space (Appadurai 1996). Appadurai used the term 'neighbourhood' to refer to a relatively physical form of context within which locality is produced. In the case of Jinguashi, neighbourhood refers to the physical territory of Jinguashi, as well as its cultural and historical attributes. According to existing historical records, Jinguashi started to develop when several farmers settled down in today's Jinguashi area during the 19th century. It developed into an 'industrial city' in the Japanese colonial period. The 'structure of feelings' and spatial attributes of the agricultural society were forcibly changed by the Japanese

colonizers' enterprises. In other words, the 'structure of feelings' of local inhabitants was reformulated in accordance with the migration of multiple groups, changes to the landscape, construction of modern factories and infrastructure, new type of labour, and the introduction of modern ideology.

The conceptualisation of locality in the Japanese period is closely related to the import of modern ideas about time and space. For instance, the Baoshisha 報時山 ('Hill of Time-Telling')¹⁸³, a hill located in Jinguashi, represents the import of standard time during the colonial period. As an elder recalled (Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005b, 114-5), the life of local residents was regulated by the sound broadcasting device on Baoshishan at designed times which signified, for instance, the times to start work, break and return home. This broadcasting system was used to ensure industrial efficiency, and at the same time it influenced the residents' perception of time and lifestyle pace. The locality of Jinguashi was inseparable from the perception of space. The Japanese construction of an industrial landscape, with linear spatial plots and Japanese architectural attributes altogether created a different structure of feelings. This time-space framework represents the experiences of colonial modernity which have been crucial to locality formation in Jinguashi. In addition, Jinguashi is often distinguishable by its Japaneseness from other local places in Taiwan, since most local spatial features have their roots in the period of Japanese rule.

The experiences of colonial modernity in Jinguashi were based upon a hierarchical structure of society. This hierarchy was not only represented by layered spatial features,¹⁸⁴ but also by differences in religion

182. "Local knowledge is substantially about producing reliably local subjects as well as about producing reliably local neighbourhoods within which such subjects can be recognized and organized" (Appadurai 1996, 181). In Taiwan, a series projects to build up a knowledge database of Taiwanese history and culture was funded by the state in the 2000s, for instance the establishment of Encyclopaedia of Taiwan (Taiwan da baikequanshu 臺灣大百科全書), the National Repository of Cultural Heritage (guojia wenhua ziliaoku 國家文化資料庫), Taiwan e-learning and Digital Archives Program and so on.

183. It has also been called Shuiluoshan 水螺山 in Taiwanese. For more information in the introduction of standard time to Taiwan in the Japanese period, please refer to Lü Shao-li 呂紹理 1998.

184. The higher class lived in the more central area, and at higher altitudes within this hilly town. For instance, the Shinto shrine was located on the highest point of the town, and the prince chalet, offices and administrators' residences were in the centre. Beyond the centre were the residences of the Japanese supervisors and workers, while beyond this lay the residential area of the Taiwanese workers. This area was even separated from the Japanese area by a large road (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008, 2-84).

and custom. As mentioned by elders (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008, 2-92), the Japanese rulers did not like Taiwanese workers celebrating the Lunar New Year or holding Taiwanese rituals and festivals. Taiwanese residents had to hold rituals privately. In contrast, Japanese rituals and cultural activities were performed in public. The religious centre of the Japanese residents was the Shinto Shrine on top of the Benshan 本山 hill, whereas the religious centre of most Taiwanese residents was the Quanjintang 勸濟堂 Temple. For the latter group, the most important event was the religious parade of the goddess Mazu 媽祖. This hierarchical structure was copied by the mainlanders in the postwar KMT era. The mainlanders' group lived in relative isolation in the central area, and many later became Christians when the Jinguashi Church was established. Most mainland inhabitants attended the religious events of the Taiwanese residents, yet played relatively passive role in them. The diversity in religions and customs represents the complexity of defining Jinguashi as a homogeneous neighbourhood.

In 2004, the Gold Ecological Park project reconstructed the neighbourhood of Jinguashi by changing the spatial attributes and intervening in existing social networks. New bodily experiences were stimulated by the museum's representation of Jinguashi, such as the renovation of the road paving and historical buildings, and the introduction of a new institution to lead local affairs. Furthermore, this version of locality was strengthened by constant 'secular rituals' conducted by the museum, for instance educational events, exhibitions, and guided tours. The locality has been reshaped by the museum's plans of redeveloping the local and neighbouring areas. The image of locality has been frequently modified and re-modified, while the neighbourhood has been reconstructed, and a new relationship between the neighbourhood and local actors is developing. It is not clear yet whether local subjects, in other words an autonomous community, would be generated through this process and eventually become the agent for future production of locality. Thus, the question of this section is have the practices of the Gold Ecological Park possibly aided the development of a community autonomy as the local subject, and hence helped to produce a unique Jinguashi? This section will also explore how the 'structure of

feelings' of Jinguashi, which may be diversified between social groups as mentioned in this chapter, has been reshaped through subtle interactions within the museum and local and state actors, especially with the authorized discourses discussed in Chapter Two.

3.4.1 Imaging Modernity: creating a legend of gold

When we arrived in Jinguashi, it was late at night. We used to have no lights in the mountains [of our hometown]. This was our first time of feeling it was so 'bright' at night. I saw the office buildings close to the Fifth Tunnel. These buildings were constructed so well. I thought that Jinguashi was such a prosperous place! I heard the 'shu-shu' sound of the windmill (Air Compressor). When I passed by office building next to the Prince Chalet, I saw the western building which was so bright with light, accompanied by dogs barking. I realize now it must be from the dogs kept by the Japanese.¹⁸⁵

When the mining industry in Jinguashi was terminated in 1987, the town became deserted, separated from urban Taipei, and even from the famous Jiufen. The public image of Jinguashi is mostly as a place of nostalgia, a place of mysterious and sad mining stories. Famous films such as *A City of Sadness*¹⁸⁶ and *Hill of No Return*¹⁸⁷ were shot in Jinguashi, and strengthened this image of Jinguashi. This outsiders' image is far from the 'modern' Jinguashi which exists in the memory of elder residents. Many of the elders explained that Jinguashi was once the sixth prosperous area in Taiwan, behind five provincial level cities (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008).

A proverb prevailed in old Jinguashi: 'the superior goods are sent to Jin Jiu (金九; Jinguashi and Jiufen); the inferior products are sent to Taipei.'¹⁸⁸ Elder residents described how rich, modern and populous Jinguashi was during the Japanese colonial

185. Described by Mr. Zhang Gao-yong 張高用 in Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005b, 45.

186. Beiqing chengshi 悲情城市

187. Wuyan de shanqiu 無言的山丘

188. 「上品送金九，下品送台北」. See Zhang Yi-xi 2007, 34.

period. It was often mentioned that Jinguashi was lit by electric lights when many other places in Taiwan remained in the dark. It used to be one of the most modernized areas in Taiwan. The pride of Jinguashi has been entangled with image of modernity. For most local residents who once were mining workers, the distinctiveness of Jinguashi is inseparable from its golden past: the image of a modern mining town.

Interestingly, this strong image of modernity was not mentioned in the oral records of by mainlander residents in their memories of living in Jinguashi. The self esteem of residents, mainly the male mining workers, lies in the experience of modernity during the Japanese colonial period. The Japanese company is remembered as efficient, strict and technically advanced. These memories are often stated in comparison to the 'backward' KMT management, which is remembered as having a lack of professional knowledge and being full of redundant personnel. Such a negative comparison is also drawn between the past and present: Jinguashi was such a modern and populous place, yet now it is a marginal area with economic recession, with less than half the population of the Japanese period. This is different from the common understanding of the relationship between heritage and modernity in today's heritage studies. It usually believed that heritage is product of modernity. The feeling of loss amidst the shift, transient modern world results in the desire to preserve heritage; the nostalgia felt towards a seemingly frozen past reflects the longing for a fixed position of self in a changing world. However, playing a marginal role in the modern commercial network, Jinguashi and its people are in a reversed position. Conserving the past means representing the glory of an advanced Jinguashi which is lost in the present. This is simultaneously converse to the ideas held by the 'nostalgia tourists' from urban neighbourhoods who come in search of the 'good old past', paradoxically frozen in economically recessed Jinguashi.

3.4.2 The Competing Gold and Green

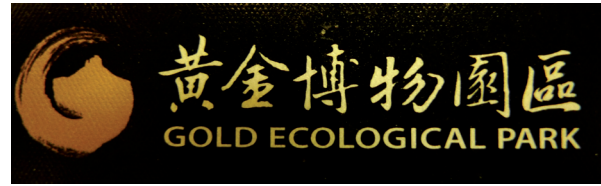


Fig. 3.4.1 Logo of the Gold Ecological Park. Photo was taken by the author.

This is the logo of the Gold Ecological Park: the shape "G" symbolizing both 'Gold' and 'Green' at the same time, referring to the two core concepts of the Gold Ecological Park. The middle part of this logo represents a distinctive feature in the landscape of Jinguashi, the Teapot Mountain. 'Gold' is the major image of the Gold Ecological Park: the museum conserves the mining history of Jinguashi. 'Green' symbolizes the mission of the museum to sustainably conserve the natural and humanistic environment of Jinguashi through the method of ecomuseum.¹⁸⁹ These two concepts reflect two versions of the future. The first concept of 'gold' shows a version of memory singled out by authorized institutions based on strong media associations with 'gold'. 'Gold' traditionally represents richness, luckiness and financial security, and is closely related to important events throughout the whole life course of Taiwanese people (Yang Shu-ya 2005). This positive image of gold replaces the commonly perceived dark and traumatic associations of the mining sites in Jinguashi. Considering the marketing effects, the cross-departmental preparatory team of Taipei County Government¹⁹⁰ decided to strengthen the element of gold as a major marketing strategy, for instance by holding gold-related activities in the opening programmes, moulding gold bricks for exhibits and using the word 'gold' in the title of the museum. The marketing strategy included moulding a 220 kg gold brick for display in the museum. This successfully attracted more than a

189. Please refer to the official website of the Gold Ecological Park: www.gep.tpc.gov.tw (accessed 10 January 2011)

190. This cross-departmental team was joined by various bureaus and offices of the Taipei County Government. It was arranged especially for the establishment of the Gold Ecological Park.

million visitors within a year. However, this actually challenged the original tourist market of Jinguashi which had been based mainly on the uniqueness of Jinguashi's natural resources and quiet atmosphere.

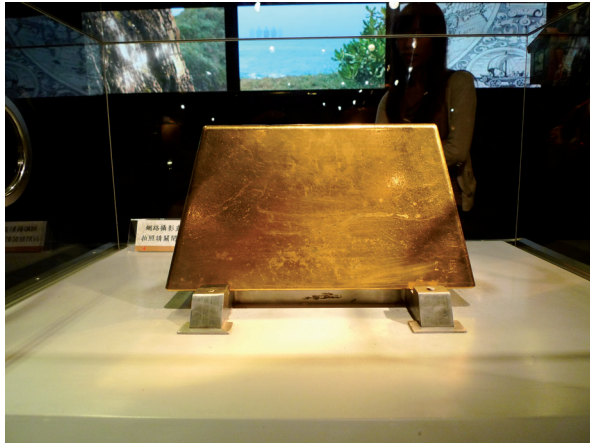


Fig. 3.4.2 The 220 kg gold brick in the Museum of Gold. Photo was taken by the author.

Moreover, as mentioned in section 3.1, the past of the miners was regarded by the museum staff as the only version of local memory in the early stages of museum planning. Their memories of their working experiences and technology were collected with objects, especially mining tools, by the museum staff. The procedure of gold production and distribution serve as focal points in the museum display. 'Gold' functions as the medium through which to revitalize the local area. It is now the representative feature of Jinguashi, and represents its local distinctiveness, and the image of a prosperous and populous future. Local political figures, for instance the local representative of the county council and the Mayor of the town, as well as the media are accountable for this image.

As the element of gold remains in the name and public impression of the museum park, the staff of the Gold Ecological Park seek to extend the connections of museum subjects to gold. During the Japanese colonial period, the gold mined from Jinguashi was roughly refined and transported to Japan. Therefore, there were actually no gold products or goldsmith craft in Jinguashi. In order to extend the museum networks¹⁹¹ and future development of Jinguashi, the Gold Ecological Park designed gold-relevant educa-

tional events and topics in the museum display. Two are worthy of attention: the annual Gold Carnival (Jincai jie 金采節) and the Community Goldsmith Workshop. These are regular activities which enhance the element of gold as part of the locality of Jinguashi.

3.4.3 Migrants and Inhabitants

Before beginning oral records of the mainlanders residents in 2005, the leader of this oral record project Georgia Lee and I, as the director of the Gold Ecological Park, attended an alumni meeting of Guashan 瓜山 Elementary School, expecting to meet potential storytellers. This was suggested by Georgia Lee, as both she and her mother, who was in her 70s, were graduates of the school. Based on this romantic initiative, we did not predict any hostile attitudes before entering the meeting place. However, when Lee was introduced by the organizer and gave her speech about the project, I became aware of the cold and even hostile responses from the audience. This negative reaction may be a result of our appearance as outsiders, as we are representatives of an 'outsider' government institution. Only Lee's mother was naturally accepted as a member of the alumni. This situation fitted the social structure as described in the previous sections, and highlights the differences in conceptualizing products of locality.

Lee was born in a mainlanders' family. Her father was a high-ranking manager of the Taiwan Metal and Mining Company during the postwar KMT reign. Lee barely spoke Taiwanese, despite the fact that her mother was actually born into a Taiwanese family and moved to Jinguashi when she was a first year primary school student, during Japanese colonial period. The language and accent of Lee apparently marked her as different from most of the local audience, who mainly spoke Taiwanese. This image of foreignness was strengthened by her cooperation with the museum, the other 'outsider'. Eventually, although Lee was a renowned artist who created a famous book portraying nostalgic Jinguashi, she was

191. For instance, to build up cooperation with international mining and gold museums, and with relevant goldsmith artists for producing future subjects in the long run.

not recognized by the audience as a local and failed to collect any stories from the occasion. The absence of the mainlanders' memory version happened again in a later oral record of the Guashan Elementary School alumni (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008).

As mentioned previously, colonial modernity forms the base of locality for elderly inhabitants in terms of comparison. Yet this topic of modernity is absent in oral records of the mainlander former-residents. The distinctiveness of Jinguashi in these records lies mainly in the tight connections of the mainlander group. In these oral records, people from Jinguashi usually have great performance in various professional fields, and this is all because of their common living experiences in Jinguashi and having a similar educational philosophy among families (Taiwan Nature Trail Society 2005b). Despite working and living in a close neighbourhood with Taiwanese worker families, the mainlander group mostly stuck together, and developed strong emotional community ties. Moreover, they felt strong bonds to the spaces of the core area in Jinguashi in which they worked, resided and developed bodily experiences. As a later immigrant group, some members of the mainlander group often recalled their past in Jinguashi with romantic nostalgia.¹⁹²

Having better financial and social status, the members of mainlander group moved away from the grounds of the Taiwan Metal and Mining Company. Only part of the material remains they used to have in the past are conserved within today's Gold Ecological Park, such as empty Japanese residences where the mainlanders lived, and old photos recording their memories. Paul Connerton distinguishes "place of memorial" from "place of locus" (Connerton 2009, 10). The former can be considered by examples of place-name and pilgrimage; the latter is understandable through examples of physical spaces. Within this framework, the conceptualization of Jinguashi by the mainlander group may be considered as the idea of memorial place. It seems abstract, with no concrete rooted site, yet cannot be divorced from

bodily actions. As Connerton asserts, "the body is a spatial field, and the pilgrim is, at every stage, located: where locatedness refers mainly to mobile actors rather than to things" (Connerton 2009, 18). It also explains how Jinguashi appears as an emotional binder of community in mainlanders' records, rather than a physical site of detailed spatial features as described in the oral records of the working Taiwanese group. In the minds of mainlander residents, scenes in Jinguashi should be in accordance with images of old Jinguashi, hence changes often bring negative emotional reactions. Enjoying high social status in cities and even abroad, the mainlander group urges the conservation of old and romantic Jinguashi as place of memorial. However, since they have lost the concrete context of 'neighbourhood', to quote Appadurai, "without such a known, named, and negotiable terrain already available, the ritual techniques for creating local subjects would be abstract, thus sterile" (Appadurai 1996, 181). It is worth asking here how this romanticized locality interacts with the conceptualization of Jinguashi within the fields of the media and the tourist market, how it interacts with the locality produced by the Gold Ecological Park, and who the local subjects are.

3.4.4 Jinguashi and Community Building

The initiation of the Gold Ecological Park was focussed mainly on regional redevelopment by the county government and state enterprises. It seems that the museum project is not related to the community-building movement that has been active since the 1990s. It also seems that, even if they are related, they are only connected by government documents within the subsidy framework of the state community-building programme. However, the concepts of ecomuseum and community participation were developed in Jinguashi before the initiation of the Gold Ecological Park project. This conceptual thread was closely associated with the heritage preservation and localism movement in Taiwan, mentioned in section 2.2.

During an interview in 2008, a local resident of Jinguashi, Zhang Ying-jie 張英傑 recalled his participation in the planning project for regional regeneration

192. See Xia Ye-qin 2010 and Lee Guo-jia 2005. This tone may also be relevant to the artist role of the interviewer Ms. Lee.

conducted by the Qinghuan清寰 Company.¹⁹³ Zhang stated that the development of Jinguashi should be distinguished from the commercial Jiufen, and should be based on cultural conservation (Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008, 2-126). During my early contact with him in 2003, he conveyed the ideological impact of his contact with the Qinghuan Company and the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, Taiwan University.¹⁹⁴ Through these contacts, a preliminary version of cultural conservation and community engagement was brought to Jinguashi long before the establishment of the Gold Ecological Park. It is noteworthy that the Graduate Institute has a close relationship with the architectural conservation movement in Taiwan. The representative figures of the Institute were influential participants in the conservation movement which emerged in Taiwan in the 1970s, and also in generating discourses of community-building movements.¹⁹⁵ The activities of the Qinghuan Company in the area of Jinguashi and Jiufen brought new ideas about the future of Jinguashi to local leaders and state enterprises.¹⁹⁶ A community-based sustainable model of development has long been the concern of this Institute, and this model appeared in the accounts of some local opinion leaders in Jinguashi during the early 2000s. This ideological stance was continued by the team of the Gold Ecological Park. The museum preparatory team engaged Qinghuan Company in the planning of Jinguashi in the preliminary stage. Furthermore, a core initiative member of the museum team was also a graduate of the Institute and had conducted a relevant project in the Jiufen area for a considerable period prior to the museum park. Under

the influence of these actors, the ideas of community engagement and heritage conservation became central to the development of the Gold Ecological Park.

The connection between the project in Jinguashi and the community-building movement was also revealed by the participation of the major planner, the Zhongye中冶 Company, in the Gold Ecological Park project. This thread is elaborated in the latter part of this section.

3.4.5 Appropriating Japaneseness

Japan, has always played an important role in shaping the future of Jinguashi. During contact between the Qinghuan Company and local residents, learning visits abroad were arranged to stimulate communal awareness. The examples of mining site redevelopment in Japan particularly impressed local participants and provided visual examples for understanding the abstract ideas of community engagement and cultural preservation.¹⁹⁷ Although in fact the model presented by the Ruhrgebiet in Germany was actually more frequently introduced in local public occasions than Japanese examples, the enormous scale, investment amount and time-scale, and the geographical remoteness of Ruhrgebiet gave an impression of foreignness. The Japanese examples were more appreciated and mentioned more often by local residents.

Similar visits were also arranged for the museum preparatory team of the Taipei County Government in 2002, during which the Qinghuan Company was hired by the preparatory team for premier planning. In order to seek innovative ideas for the promotion of the new museum in Jinguashi, members of the County Government and the Yingge Ceramics Museum, as well as Mayor Su Zhen-chang蘇貞昌 visited several sites in Japan. Among these sites, the gold mining tourist site Toi Gold Mine土肥金山 gained particular attention. Combining a tunnel visit, historical gallery, gold panning activities and a souvenir shop, this municipal heritage site became a de-

193. Qinghuan Company was run by alumni of the National Taiwan University Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, and still has close relationship with the institute.

194. The company was founded and led by graduates of the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University. The institute has been playing an avant-garde role in the professional field of urban planning and heritage conservation in Taiwan. It is distinguished by its strong image of social concern, and critical and idealist features.

195. The most well-known figure is Hsia Choe-jiu (Xia Zhu-jiu 夏鑄九).

196. For instance planning reports produced by the company for the Ruifang Township Office, Taiwan Power Company and Taipei County Government on the local redevelopment of the neighbourhood areas.

197. For instance, the Sado Gold Mine (佐渡金山) and Ashio Copper Mine (足尾銅山). See Jilong Cultural and Historical Society 2008, 2-126.

velopment model and potential competitor for the new museum in Jinguashi.¹⁹⁸ The idea of a record-breaking gold brick gained cross-departmental agreement as a major media and market strategy for the new Jinguashi museum. The tourism model of the Toi gold mine became the image of the future of the new museum in Jinguashi among the county governors. Yet this image was subtly transformed by the cultural departments in pursuing a better redevelopment model for Jinguashi with sense of local uniqueness.

In 2003, the Zhongye Company 中冶公司 (Laboratory For Environment & Form; LEF in short) was formally selected for the regional planning and architectural design of the new museum in Jinguashi. The company is led by Guo Zhong-duan 郭中端 who underwent her professional training in Japan and played important role in the early research of modern architecture in Taiwan.¹⁹⁹ As mentioned in section 2.3, Guo was one initiator of the Society of Modern Architectural History Studies, ROC (中華民國近代建築史研究會), in 1990. The society cooperated with their Japanese colleague, the Society of Asian Modern Architectural History, Japan (日本亞細亞近代建築史研究會), and published the first general investigation into Japanese buildings in Taiwan. Guo was also a joint-designer of the Dongshan 冬山 River Park, a paradigmatic project of county-led cultural tourist development in Taiwan's localization movement (Lü Hsin-yi 2002). Dongshan River Park became a landmark of Yilan 宜蘭, and was the result of cooperation between Guo, her husband Horigome Kenji 堀込憲二 and the Japanese Elephant Group 象集團.

The Zhongye Company proposed the idea of a 'living environment museum' (shenghuo huanjing bowu

yuanqu 生活環境博物園區), the Japanese version of an ecomuseum, to the preparatory team. Other than landscape and architectural plans, Guo urged the museum team to draft a residents' convention for ensuring sustainable conservation. This refers to the Japanese case of *machizukuri* and the Japanese interpretation of ecomuseum. The proposal of the Zhongye Company also reflected their previous project of preserving Beitou 北投 hot spring in Taipei City. The local residents of the Beitou area autonomously resisted the municipal government's decision to destruct the hot spring site built during the Japanese period. They formed an agreement to shape the neighbourhood of Beitou into a living environment museum: the hot spring site is a core museum which directs visitors to satellite sites spread throughout Beitou. This ecomuseum aims to "thread more than ten historical monuments and other historical architectures and landscape with the site of the hot spring—the most distinguished local element. [Those sites] are closely related to land development of the hot spring and social culture. [...] this is a cultural blueprint of Beitou's redevelopment, a community-centred "living environment museum park" (Zhang Yu-teng 2004, 180-181). When the government finally agreed to the conservation proposal by the Beitou community in late 1990s, Guo Zhong-duan and Horigome Kenji were assigned by the Taipei City Government to plan the "Beitou Hot Spring Water-Affinity Park" (北投溫泉親水公園) using ecomuseum concepts. The experiences and concepts developed in the case of Beitou became references for the planning of the Gold Ecological Park. However, these two cases differ greatly in terms of local context, initiators and stakeholders. The spatial planning of the Gold Ecological Park is set out as a 'catalogue' and in terms of ideas about heritage conservation and autonomous community agreements toward a collective future, the Park has not been generated according to ideal *machizukuri* and ecomuseum models.²⁰⁰

198. For instance, the two competed for a Guinness World Record for having the heaviest gold brick in the world. In 2004, the Gold Ecological Park obtained a 220 kg gold brick, heavier than the 200 kg brick at the Toi Gold Mine. The record was later returned to Toi Gold Mine when it produced a 250 kg gold brick.

199. Guo Zhong-duan was a PhD researcher in Japan, and was in charge of investigating Japanese modern architecture in Taiwan during the 1970s when the architectural circle in Japan started researching Japanese modern architecture including those in Japanese colonies such as Korea and Taiwan. Please refer to Huang Jun-ming 2000, 231-232.

200. An ecomuseum is often designed like a catalogue. It is comprised of a major site and several satellite sites. The major site often provides general information about the area, and therefore functions as the 'contents page' of a book. Satellite sites focus on various categories introduced by the major site.

Over a few years of operation, the Gold Ecological Park has been extending its connections with world-wide cultural institutions. Similar sites in Japan gained particular attention. The ‘Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine (石見銀山) and its Cultural Landscape’ and the *machizukuri* model of Ikuno Ginzan (生野銀山) are the two institutions most closely connected to the Gold Ecological Park. The frequent mutual visits were also related to the activities of a non-government heritage society in the neighbourhood area of Jiufen. Qiu Ru-hua 丘如華²⁰¹ is an energetic heritage practitioner, and has long cooperation with Japanese *machizukuri* and heritage organizations. She has mediated numerous experience exchange visits between Japanese and Taiwanese local practitioners. Furukawa-chō, the famous *machizukuri* example as mentioned in section 2.2, has been her close cooperative partner. In 2004, Qiu’s arranged a workshop in Jiufen, in which ideas about *machizukuri* were explained to residents and participants, and the representative from Ikuno Ginzan was introduced to the staff of the Gold Ecological Park.

The world heritage site ‘Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine (石見銀山) and its Cultural Landscape’ gained particular attention from the Gold Ecological Park and Taipei County Government. Jinguashi was selected by the Council for Cultural Affairs as a Potential World Heritage Site in 2002.²⁰² Registering the cultural landscape of Jinguashi and the neighbouring Shuinandong 水滴洞 area on the World Heritage List is regarded as a mission of the museum. The registration of Iwami Ginzan as World Heritage has been investigated by museum research reports and mutual visits.

Although Japanese examples are regarded as models in redeveloping Jinguashi, and Japanese spatial ele-

ments have been located at the central area by museum facilities and followed by local public construction, the Japaneseness in Jinguashi is rather more a ‘spectacle’ than internalized as part of the locality. The model of the tourist-centred Toi gold mine contrasts with the building of a community-concerned ecomuseum in the process of museum and local development. This process also involves the desire to relocate Jinguashi on the global terrain by world heritage nomination. These routes can be integrated and become resources for producing Jinguashi’s locality, yet the process can also be driven by market and media forces with no roots in Jinguashi.

As Appadurai states, local subjects and neighbourhood are mutually generated, through which process locality is produced. During the Japanese colonial period, the local context of Jinguashi was forcibly alternated and reshaped by new spatial elements, ritual activities, labour experiences, social hierarchy and so forth. A zigzag relationship was formed between groups with different social frameworks. Along with the construction of new spaces, bodily experiences and time-space conceptualization, new local subjects were generated and the neighbourhood was created in accordance. Fundamentally different from its Japanese equivalent mining sites, Jinguashi is characterized by a land issue due to colonial structures.²⁰³ This issue has remained with the colonial genealogy in the postwar era, and has formed the structural deficiency of *machizukuri* that Japanese mining sites can avoid. Community-building, as a focal point of these Japan related orientations as promoted by professionals and academics, is obstructed by bureaucratic mentality and fast, overwhelming consumerism as mentioned in previous sections. At this moment, there is still a gap between the museum and local residents in imaging a shared local future.

In creating the local place, ‘outside’ actors—the county government, planning and architectural professionals—brought their own appropriated image of Japan to Jinguashi. This is inevitable, due to the Japaneseness of Jinguashi as represented by its Japanese spatial features. The county government, as ac-

201. A famous leader of a heritage NGO in Taiwan.

202. Due to its historical background, in 1971 the United Nations withdrew its recognition of Taiwan. This has meant that the sites in Taiwan are ineligible for inclusion in the World Heritage List of UNESCO. In 2002 the government of Taiwan started to promote the Potential World Heritage Sites in Taiwan (Taiwan shijieyichan qianlidian 台灣世界遺產潛力點) in order to improve the interior understanding of heritage, and at the same time, to explore diplomatic possibilities of rejoining the United Nations and international society.

203. As explained in Section 3.1, note 12.

tor, selected the image of a commercially advanced Japan, utilized simultaneously as a learning model and as a monetary competitor in the global tourist market. The planning and architectural professionals who brought their own image of Japan, mainly consisted of academic, professional and social concerned practitioners, and are connected to the community-building stream. Within this, the Japanese *machizukuri* is regarded as an advanced model for revitalizing an economically recessed area, improving spatial aesthetics, as in Chen Qi-nan's discourses about community-building mentioned in section 2.2, and cultivating the formation of community and citizenship. These acts and actors remain foreign to the local residents, despite memories of a past affinity to Japan. Moreover, these practitioners were rather individual actors than a public sector with persistent resources in supporting their community-building actions. Their influences were actually limited by time schedule and budget scale of government projects. Therefore, their community-building ideas were rather difficult to root in Jinguashi.

The Japanese spatial remnants in Jinguashi have been renovated and reinterpreted in terms of 'heritage', in expectation of the spatial devices becoming part of locality. Although spaces and material effects are crucial to the generation and maintenance of locality and neighbourhood, they have to interact with local sub-

jects and hence produce local knowledge and become the structure of feelings. For general examples of 'heritage', this relationship between community and material is natural; yet for a site of 'colonial heritage', as in the case of Jinguashi, interactions and bonds need to be made. The current residents of Jinguashi are mostly elderly people who used to be employees of the Japanese and KMT mining companies. The locality of Jinguashi has long been comprised by a hybrid and hierarchical system of culture and society. Owing to the marginal location of Jinguashi, the current residents have formed a rather enclosed society with its own spatial features, religious system, folk rituals, similar labourer experiences and educational backgrounds. This neighbourhood and locality has not been included in the image of locality produced by the government, museum and planners. Constrained by colonial hierarchy and land ownership, the local residents are still rather passive in their interaction with the spaces previously occupied by a 'higher authority' and now by outsiders. If a collective version of locality is not produced by allowing extensive engagement, with the elapsing of the elder generation, local knowledge would be soon lost. At the same time, the spatial elements conserved by the museum such as the tunnel and gold-panning activities, and most importantly, the locality of Jinguashi would become simply a spectacle.