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

Issue Date: 2012-05-15

Chapter Four: Multiple Case Analysis



Fig. 4.1.1 Tongxiao Shinto Shrine in August 2007. Photo was taken by the author.

4.1 LAYERED COLONIALISM: TONGXIAO SHINTO SHRINE 通霄神社

4.1.1 Historical Layers of Architecture

The Tongxiao Shrine has extremely ambiguous architectural form. The site is located in Tongxiao (通霄), Miaoli (苗栗) County, in central Taiwan. It was constructed as a Shinto shrine during the Japanese colonization and was covered with a Chinese-style roof and brick walls in the postwar era. The symbol of the ROC (Republic of China) was placed in the middle of the roof during the shrine's restoration, when its function was changed to that of a martyrs'

shrine intended for the worship of martyrs and Koxinga (1624-62), the Ming loyalists who had defeated the Dutch colonists and established Chinese rule in Taiwan in mid-17th century. In 2005, the site was renovated and nominated as a county historic building (*lishi jianzhu* 歷史建築). With these changes, the site now represents a visual hybrid comprising a Japanese gate (*torii* 鳥居) and shrine lanterns, the Chinese Min (閩) style roof and brick walls, the copper cover of the roof, and the ROC (Republic of China; Zhonghua Minguo 中華民國) symbol at the top center. This is a site of multilayered memories.

The shrine was originally built in 1937. It was one of the nationalist projects implemented in the Japanese

colonies after the Mukden Incident²⁰⁴ in 1931 (Huang Shi-juan 1998, 137). After the Incident, the Japanese imperial government worried that Japan's identity might be threatened in Taiwan. The State Shinto system, comprising the construction of shrines and associated social mobilization, was therefore, among other means, enforced to create and sustain Japanese national identity in regions that originally were non-Japanese. The State Shinto system was established during the Meiji rule. In 1868, the Meiji government announced the unification of the religious and political roles of the ruling authority (*saisei itchi*, 祭政一致). Hence, the emperor was both the leader of the nation and of the Shinto religion. Before the Mukden Incident, the institutionalization of the State Shinto system had already taken place, and the state religion was gradually transformed into a religion of imperialism, represented by the increased construction of Shinto shrines in the Japanese colonies during the 1930s (Chen Luan-feng 2004, 35). Among the colonies, Taiwan saw the greatest increase in the number of shrines (Chen Luan-feng 2004, 36).

Like many shrines in Taiwan, the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine was used to worship the Shinto deity Amaterasu-ōmikami (天照大神), the sun goddess, and Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa (北白川宮能久親王).²⁰⁵ It was built in the style of *shinmeitsukuli* (神明造): the major praying hall (*haiden* 拜殿) is rectangular and characterized by its linear style. The angle of the two sides of the roof is approximately forty-five degrees. The main structure of the Tongxiao Shrine is wood.

Japanese colonization in Taiwan ended in 1945; subsequently, Taiwan came under KMT rule. After the Second World War, the KMT government announced that martyrs' shrines should be established nation-

wide in China. In Taiwan, the central administrative office announced in 1946 that each county/city government should select one Shinto shrine and transform it into a martyrs' shrine (Huang Ying-sheng 2006, 34). In the case of the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine, the mayor of Tongxiao, Tang Chang-cheng (湯長城), spontaneously initiated the renovation of the shrine, renaming it the Tongxiao Martyrs' Shrine in 1947. Yet interestingly, there were no tablets containing the names of national martyrs in the shrine. The subjects that those who went to the shrine worshipped were Koxinga (Zheng Cheng-gong 鄭成功) and his generals. They replaced the former Japanese deities. Since the official martyrs' shrine of Miaoli County was established separately at another place in Miaoli, the Tongxiao Shrine did not obtain legal status and was unable to qualify for a budget that would have enabled it to be maintained as a martyrs' shrine. Huang Ying-sheng (2006) suggested that this was a major reason why the shrine was later abandoned.

In 1947, the Japanese-style praying hall was changed into a Chinese Min style (閩; Fukkien, or Fujian 福建) building following the plan of Tang Chang-cheng. The original roof with vertical and horizontal lines was rebuilt as a rising ridge with curved lines. Furthermore, the original structure of *shinmeitsukuli* was surrounded by brick walls in order to create an enclosed ritual space, which is representative of Chinese tradition. Yet interestingly, the Japanese copper roof was kept during the postwar reconstruction despite the fact that roofs in Chinese architecture are normally covered with tiles.

The KMT government moved to Taiwan after being defeated in the civil war of China in 1949. Large numbers of political and military immigrants moved to Taiwan, along with the apparatus of the KMT. Many shrines and Japanese sites were used as residences by the military and their families—the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine being one of them. It was first occupied by the air force and later by the army in 1966 (Guo 2003, 96). This situation continued until 1990 when the township office proposed a new development project for this area.

Within Chinese Nationalist propaganda, the Shinto shrines, as well as other Japanese material remains, were regarded as 'poisonous residue' that ought to

204. The Mukden Incident, happened in 18 September 1931 in Mukden (currently Shenyang), China, was a pretext event of Japan's imperial ambition in northern part of China, known as Manchuria.

205. The Prince Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa was a member of Japan's royal family and was assigned to expropriate Taiwan in 1895. He died during this assignment in Taiwan. Under the State Shinto system, he was elevated to a god, and worshipped in most shrines established in Taiwan.

be removed or altered. In this context, the Japanese inscriptions were scratched from the *torii* of the Tongxiao Shrine (see fig. 2.3.1); additionally, many associated buildings and facilities were destroyed or altered by the military or by illegal occupants. The shrine was abandoned and was nearly destroyed by the devastating 9-21 earthquake in 1999.

4.1.2 Social Mobilization and Collective Memory

The Japanese colonial government adopted a comprehensive programme in accordance with the extensive construction of buildings. The rituals performed during the construction process, routinely scheduled events at shrines, and nationally designated occasions were supported by ideological promotion—for instance, the distribution of Japanese calendars and altar settings and the addition of shrine-relevant contents to textbooks used in elementary schools. Moreover, school children were required to attend scheduled gatherings at shrines; shrine visitation and wedding ceremonies at shrines were encouraged by those in authority (Cai Rong-ren 2002, 85–100). Through this delicate scheme of social mobilization, the colonized people were bound to the shrines and, hence, were expected to assimilate into Japanese cultural identity. As Huang Shi-juan stated,

“the strategy aimed to assimilate the colonized people through the construction of architectural bodies and most importantly, the programme of Shinto shrines. Through the daily routines and religious rituals and festivals, the colonized were assimilated unconsciously.” (Huang Shi-juan 1998, 96; my translation)

This describes the collective memory of the generation who received primary education in the colonial era. This version of memory will be elaborated on in a later section of this chapter.

Compared to the comprehensive mobilization of the Shinto system, the martyrs’ shrines established by the postwar KMT authorities did not result in the same strength of sense of place. This has to do with the different features and functions of the Shinto and martyrs’ shrines: the Shinto shrines function as religious spaces that relate to all aspects of daily life (e.g., weddings, weekly school meetings, places of

prayer for success and health, and even funerals), whereas the martyrs’ shrines are mainly part of the state ritual sphere (Huang Ying-sheng 2006, 74–75). Two routine rituals were legislated in 1969: the annual spring ceremony, which involves the worship of the Chinese ancestor, the Yellow Emperor (Huangdi 黃帝), and the autumn ceremony, which commemorates the martyrs. Students and civil servants are required to attend these ceremonies, yet these rituals do not closely connect with the daily lives of ordinary people. Moreover, local people in Tongxiao felt detached from the martyrs’ shrine while it was guarded and resided by the military.²⁰⁶ With a history of feelings of alienation toward the martyrs’ shrines, local residents have relatively weak emotional bond to such places. These factors all played a part in the relatively uncaring attitudes toward the martyrs’ shrines when the political context changed decades later.

This observation holds true even if one considers the historical significance of Koxinga. He is a distinct historical and religious figure in the history of Taiwan, despite the fact that he stayed on the island for merely fourteen months. Considering his relationship with the Chinese Ming dynasty, his Japanese mother and childhood stay in Japan, and his battles with the Dutch VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie in Dutch; literally the Dutch East India Company), he is a figure of great ‘political correctness,’²⁰⁷ regardless of changing powers. At the beginning of the Japanese colonization, the temples of Koxinga were selected as mediating sites for leading the Taiwanese gradually toward the Japanese belief system. The reconstruction of the Yanpingjunwang Temple (延平郡王廟) into *kaizanjinja* (開山神社) was a key moment in the reinterpretation of Koxinga for a different nationalist narrative (Huang Shi-juan 1998; Fu Chao-qing 2000; Jiang Ren-jie 2000; Matten 2006). Contrary to the colonizer-oriented actions of shrine/temple building, the change from a Shinto shrine to a Koxinga temple at Tongxiao was a privately initiated event. Yet it is worth inquiring further into the histor-

206. Huang Ming-zheng 黃明政, personal communication 2009.

207. ‘Political correctness’ means that the subject represents and fits in with the contemporary dominant political propaganda.

ical consciousness of Mayor Tang and his contemporaries. Mayor Tang had been a member of the Taiwan Cultural Association during the Japanese colonization, which suggests his political stance and motivation in reconstructing the Tongxiao Shrine into a Han-style building and adding a symbol of the ROC (Republic of China, currently the formal name of Taiwan) on it (Huang Ying-sheng 2006, 35). In 1925, the Tongxiao Youth Association was funded and Tang was a leader of its academic department (Lin Bo-wei 1993). The establishment of this association was under the impact of the Taiwan Culture Association (臺灣文化協會), the most influential organization in the 1920s, aiming at 'advancing cultural development of Taiwan.' Through all sorts of study workshops, speeches, newspaper-reading, theatre and film activities, the association evoked enthusiastic responses all over Taiwan. The Culture Association advocated modern knowledge, cultural enlightenment, and became a core agent in generating Taiwanese subjectivity in the Japanese colonial period. Under the colonial rule, the association advocated political participation. The Tongxiao Youth Association was one of these anti-colonialism organizations. This suggests that the renovation of the Tongxiao shrine into a Chinese-Min style building, setting the Koxinga altar and placing the label of the ROC on the roof, may represent this attitude.

4.1.3 Representing the Ambiguous Japanese Heritage

The Tongxiao Shinto Shrine was in a shabby condition when the Tongxiao township office initiated in 1990 a plan to include the shrine and the area surrounding it as part of the Park of Hutou Hill (*Hutoushan gongyuan* 虎頭山公園) in an effort to develop local tourism. The Miaoli County government designated the shrine as a municipal 'historic building' (*lishi jianzhu* 歷史建築) in 2002 and renovated the site with financial aid from the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA). This occurred during the time the state community-building programme was at its climax. The renovation project – completed in June 2005 – faced some significant debates caused by the heterogeneities of the multiple memories related to this site.

In order to retrieve the original status, Guo Jun-pei (郭俊沛), the architect in charge of the renovation project, researched the Japanese form of Shinto shrines and collected local memories by means of interviews. The interviewees he consulted were mainly born in the 1920s during the Japanese colonial period; two were military officers who resided at the shrine during the postwar era. All interviewees were male.²⁰⁸ The topics of the interviews comprised the general memories toward the Shrine; its architectural fabric and spatial allocation; and rituals performed at the shrine. Aside from the interviews done by the architect, the following discussion is based on the interviews done by me between 2008 and 2011, and by other researches.

Japanese or Postwar Style?—Contesting Memories

The issue of removing the KMT logo on Taipei Jingfu Gate (Taibei Jingfu Men 台北景福門) has raised fierce conflicts. The same issue was encountered in the case of the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine in Miaoli County four years ago. At that time some local residents argued the KMT logo²⁰⁹ on top of the Shrine was inadequate, seemingly meaning that "the KMT is greater than god". They claimed that the logo should be removed yet this opinion was not accepted (by the local government during the process of renovation). The local cultural worker Chen Shui-mu (陳水木) said yesterday, "many young students called the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine the "KMT Temple (*Guomindang de miao* 國民黨的廟)". The logo should have been removed a long time ago". (*The Liberty Times*, 9 June 2009)²¹⁰

208. The architect Guo Jun-pei mentioned that, "the informants were mainly aged over seventy. There were fewer local residents (familiar with the shrine) after 1949 because it was in use by the military. The local people could not easily get close to the site. Only the military personnel and their families were able to access. Hence oral records of the latter group were much fewer than records of the group born in the colonial era. It implies that the architecture was valued differently by different age groups". See Guo Jun-pei 2003, 98; my translation.

209. The logo of ROC (Republic of China) and of KMT (Kuomintang; Chinese Nationalist Party) were originated from the same design, hence the logo on top of the Tongxiao Shinto Shrine was often regarded as the logo of KMT.

210. The original text is: "國定古蹟台北景福門的國民黨徽存廢引

When plans for renovating the Shrine were made, it was at the beginning uncertain to what original form it should be restored. A lively debate on this issue evolved, resulting in conflicts that not only indicated the diverse frameworks of memory formulated and intensified by the shifting political powers; but also represented the dynamic network of actors in the process of heritage interpretation, including the postcolonial locals whose sense of place is permeable by and interactive with the “predominant thoughts” (Halbwachs 1992) of the nation.

During an interview in 2006, the architect Guo Junpei recalled the challenges on deciding the form of renovating Tongxiao Shinto Shrine. He mentioned two different opinions toward which period the renovation should refer: some local residents, mainly the war-time generation,²¹¹ wanted to renovate it to the original Japanese style; yet the architect himself regarded the shrine of current form reconstructed in the postwar era more suitable to record the historical transitions, and represented the “chronicle juxtaposition” of architectural forms (Huang Ying-sheng 2006, 94-99). The latter opinion was also shared by Qiu Shao-jun (邱紹俊, born in 1943), a local politician of the postwar generation. He believed that the change made by the post-1945 regime should be maintained in order to avoid historical discontinuity (Guo Junpei 2003, 100). Hence the renovation should allude to the period of the postwar era. A local cultural worker, Chen Shui-mu (陳水木) also mentioned that “if the shrine was to be renovated to its original state of Showa year 12 (1937), to that of

the original Japanese Shrine, then it would be emotionally detached from the current local residents: because they do not have the impression (of Japanese style), their feeling is not the same. There would be a gap between the shrine and the memory of the residents” (Huang Ying-sheng 2006, 107-108; my translation). Considering the issue of keeping or removing the KMT logo from the top of the Shrine, it becomes obvious how memory is defined here by social frameworks, which again exert influence on the actual heritage practice of the site.

Diverse Social Frameworks

As shown by the oral records above,²¹² memories associated with the shrine differed between generations, particularly in regard to the colonial and the postwar era. The elder generation, who had received its primary education under the Japanese colonization, showed a strong emotional bond to the shrine. In the renovation report (Guo 2003, 100), Yu Rong-jue (余榮爵, born in 1923), who was a civil servant of township office during Japanese period, stressed that his Japanese wedding ceremony (*shinzenshiki* 神前式) had taken place at the shrine, and that he therefore had strong emotional ties to this place. Other informants remembered the passes, lanterns, associated buildings, and environmental aura of the area, and their personal contacts with the high priest. They mentioned the weekly gathering of the local students in front of the shrine, and the national events, parades, and festivals during the colonial era.

Qiu Yun-yan (邱雲炎) and his wife Li Su-lian (李素蓮) recalled their memories of the shrine during my interview (August 2009). They gave detailed descriptions of their attendance at the performance of the ceremonies. “Only students who performed well in the school were able to join”, they mentioned with pride. Li was one of the female dancers wearing a Japanese traditional dress, dancing in slow and elegant motions in front of the shrine, while Qiu was one of the trumpet players. They recalled the parade in the streets and the dancing performance at the current market space during the festivals. During the in-

爆爭議，被列為歷史建築的苗栗縣通霄鎮神社四年前整修時也發生同樣的爭議，當時部分地方人士質疑神社頂端的國民黨徽不倫不類，好像「國民黨比神還要大」，應該拆除，但未獲採納；地方文史工作者陳水木昨天說，許多年輕學生看到通霄神社黨徽就直說是「國民黨的廟」，早就應該拆除。” (accessed 29 November 2009)

211. As historian Chou Wan-yao states, the ‘war-time generation’ (*zhanzhengqi shidai*; 戰爭期世代) refers to those who were around age 15 to 25 when Japan declared its loss in the Second World War in 1945 (Zhou 2009, 236). She divided Taiwanese generations during Japanese colonization into three: the first generation were those in their adulthood around 1895; the second generation were born around 1895, educated within the new colonial educational system yet maintained influences from tradition; the third was the ‘war-time generation’ who experienced the war in their adolescent period and mostly received elementary education within the colonial modern educational system (2009, 149).

212. Guo Junpei 2003; Huang Ying-sheng 2006; and interviews conducted by the author in 2009.

interview conducted at their home in August 2009, it was quite telling that the television was broadcasting Japanese programmes. They told me that they “only watch Japanese channels and the NHK news”. After the interview I attended Li Su-lian’s lunch gathering with her female friends whose ages ranged from 70s to 80s. They mainly talked in Taiwanese, but after the meal started to sing Japanese songs learnt from the elderly among them. This is a tradition of their monthly lunch dates. Many of them were teachers or office workers retired from the local elementary school. This indicates their similar social frameworks of memory despite the fact that some of them belong to different generations—with the same gender, similar vocational status, growing up in the same town, they confirmed and reformulated memories among the group and generated a version of collective memory, a version of the past. Their seemingly pro-colonial attitude is shaped by the mutual selection and reconfirmation of memorial events within the social framework, for instance singing Japanese songs and sharing memories of the school where they worked at during their monthly gatherings. The attitude is also generated in responding to the social context where the Japanese cultural remains fit well into the new multicultural model of identity narrative. Li and her friends are able to express freely their connections to the Japanese past when Japanese cultural associations are no longer taboos in public anymore as they were during the postwar authoritarian period.



Fig. 4.1.2 Photo after lunch with Ms. Li’s female friends in August 2009. The first right in the front row is Ms. Li Su-lian. Photo was taken by the author.

There was an exceptional member among the group, a lady called Zhou (周) who accompanied her elder sister to attend this gathering. She had relatively tough memories of the Shinto shrine. When others were thinking about weddings of friends at the locale, she could hardly remember anything with pleasure, only that she had to collect wood in the surrounding area because of the poor economic situation of her family. She moved to another area in Taiwan during her adulthood and returned after retirement. Her social framework of memory seemed different, as it was the case with a male called Huang who was born in the postwar age and used to live at the bottom of Hutou Hill (虎頭山) where the shrine is located. He showed relatively few emotional feelings toward the shrine. He played with friends in the open space of the shrine, although local people after the arrival of KMT military could hardly approach the place. Local informants remembered that they went up the hill to worship Koxinga, yet after years his tablets and that of former generals were forgotten and the shrine was nearly deserted.

The different ways of defining and creating memories of the past related to the shrine can be explained by the concept of “communicative memory” as proposed by Jan Assmann. He explains the formation of collective memory by arguing that as “[t]his memory belongs in the intermediary realm between individuals; it grows out of intercourse between people, and the emotions play the crucial role in its process” (Jan Assmann 2006, 3). In our case, the strong emotional bonds of the elder generation that developed in their communal experiences of fateful events during the social mobilization in the colonial period were strengthened in their daily intercourse. The collective sense of belonging can cross generations, for example in the female circle of Li Su-lian. In the ensuing chapter, I analyze the social network related to the renovation of the heritage.

4.1.4 The Actor Network of Heritage Renovation

Ultimately, the architect and professionals were the core actors in the process of renovation, and hence they were the decision maker of representing the past. There are two figures mentioned in the renovation report and in later research: Guo Jun-peí, the architect in charge of the renovation project, and Xu

Hui-min (徐慧民), an architectural researcher in a university of the neighbor county. The former had a clear position in retaining the current fabric constructed during the KMT regime (Huang Ying-sheng 2006); the latter expressed a relatively neutral opinion recorded in the renovation report (Guo Jun-pei 2003). Yet it is suggested in the dissertation supervised by Xu (Huang Ying-sheng 2006) that retaining the postwar fabric in order to juxtapose historical periods was agreed by Xu as well. This opinion was interestingly countered by two civil servants at Township Office.²¹³ They showed a rather regretful attitude toward the current shrine for lacking a genuine Japanese style. When I pointed out the opinion of Xu, one said sarcastically, “that he is a professional, not a local resident. You professionals always say it is better to remain like this”. Moreover, the civil servants at Township Office were anxious about the mixture fabric having no authentic value to show to the Japanese visitors because it cannot be qualified as genuine Japanese architecture. It suggests that the local tourism particularly the potential economic reward which may be brought by the Japanese tourists is an influential factor to the development of heritage industry in Taiwan. The image of Japan perceived by the civil servants is different from that by the group of war-time generation.

The legal managing body of the shrine is the Department of Civil Affairs (*Minzheng ke* 民政課) of the Township Office. The praying hall of the Shrine has been closed since the renovation, and is only opened temporarily for special occasions. The plan of Hutou Hill Leisure Park (虎頭山公園) was not completed either. Compared to the debates that raged a few years ago on the style of renovation, it seems very quiet in Tongxiao on the issue of reopening and managing the shrine. The Township Office is responsible for the security and environment of the shrine, yet has no budget and positive management plan considering the representation of architectural uniqueness and historical layers. The lack of professional support and difficult financial status of Tong-

xiao Town are important factors explaining the rather absent management.

Four years after the renovation, the residents showed rather neutral attitude to the current condition of the shrine. Although Qiu expressed his preference to a Japanese shrine in the renovation report, he mentioned in our talk in 2009 that he could accept the shrine as it is, i.e. in postwar style. It seems that the contesting memories of groups with diverse social frameworks have developed into some agreeable version of collective past after the open process of interacting, reformulating and debating. The memory recollection before the renovation offered a platform for this dialogue. During numerous interviews by architects, researchers, civil servants, the informants reformulated their memories in the repetitive narratives. However, this agreement is not able to form the base for transforming the shrine into a site of locality production. This owes to the discontinued memory activities after renovation.

4.2 INDUSTRIALIZING MEMORIES: CIAOTOU SUGAR FACTORY 橋頭糖廠

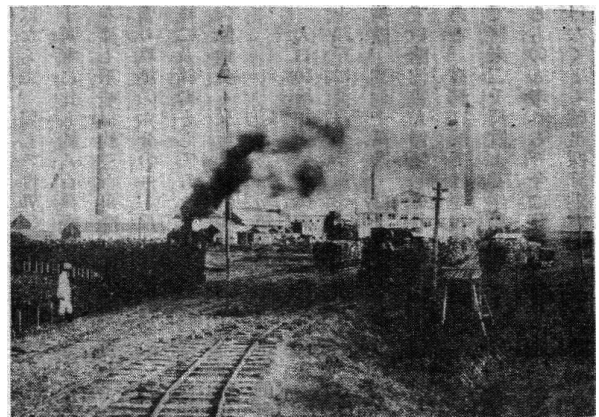


Fig. 4.2.1 Ciaotou sugar factory in 1930. Original title: 製糖會社と甘蔗搬運列車(新式製糖の發祥地橋仔頭). Photo is courtesy of the National Taiwan University Library.

4.2.1 A Town of Sweetness

I pass through the shady Nanzi Road of coconut trees while sugar cane fields along the road are shining with a relaxing aura under the sunshine of south Taiwan. I head to the north; the road is

213. Personal communication: March 2009.

gradually narrower and leads to the market of Ciaotou. This is a narrow path yet full of memories. I turn right and reach the sugar factory. Time seems to freeze here: chimney afar, sugar plant, light rail train; the sidings of the old residences, fire bell, air-raid shelters, stone lion in front of Zhongshan Hall; the memories—soaked by the slightly sweet aroma of cane sugar—learning from the residents, and the red bean yogurt ice accompanying chirping crickets in the summer afternoon. These floating memories and relaxing feelings sculpted in time are the attractions of Ciaotou.²¹⁴

Ciaotou 橋頭, generally known by local residents as Kio-A-Thou 橋仔頭 in Taiwanese, is a town in south Taiwan. The town was formed in the 18th century owing to its position on major transportation routes. Currently, Ciaotou is part of Kaohsiung County, close to Kaohsiung, the largest city in south Taiwan. During the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), Ciaotou was chosen as the site of the first modern sugar factory in Taiwan. A railway was constructed for industry and thus the urban development of Ciaotou was determined. During the 1960s, the Provincial Highway (shengdao省道) was built and replaced the railway as the major transportation route. The urban centre of Ciaotou has gradually moved from the Old Street (laojie老街) next to the railway, to an area along the Provincial Highway. The sugar factory, which covers one hundredth of the land of Ciaotou, has played a crucial role in the process of urban development. When Ciaotou is discussed, the sugar factory is always mentioned. It is a representative site of memory for Ciaotou people.

Urban Development of Ciaotou Town

In 1901 Ciaotou was chosen by the Japanese colonial apparatus as the first base in Taiwan for developing a sugar industry. This decision entirely changed both the landscape and the social-economic structure of Ciaotou. In the 18th century, the area of 'Small Stores Street' (Xiao-dian-zi Jie 小店仔街), the present Old Street, was the commercial and transportation centre of Ciaotou. The landscape of Ciaotou before the colonial period was characterised by wide, open plains with a few streets of small businesses, and fields for agricultural production.

As the Japanese colonizer brutally acquired land and constructed industrial infrastructures, Ciaotou started to be recognized as a landscape of modern industry: high chimneys, quasi-Western style architecture, sugar cane fields and the long winding cane rails. Because the industrial area was planned as a self-sufficient society, it was set apart from Old Street. The separation of these two areas by the railway line implicates the spatial and also social division that persists even to the present day (Wu Xu-feng 1995, 247-268). (Please refer to locations number 1 and number 2 in figure 4.2.2 below.) Moreover, in order to transport sugar products, Ciaotou was directly connected by railway to Kaohsiung port. In the 1980s, Ciaotou was officially declared a satellite town of Kaohsiung City because of the urban expansion of Kaohsiung and the establishment of the Nanzi Industrial Zone in the surrounding neighbourhood (Wu Xu-feng 1995, 259-60).

Three periods of modernization which altered the landscape of Ciaotou are presented in this section in order to examine the dynamics of conservation, development and community. During the first period, the landscape of Ciaotou was reconstructed by the colonizers and became the core of local uniqueness. In the second period, community engagement played the major role in conserving the historic landscape and achieving the integrity of development and conservation. During the third period, a crisis emerged under expectations of economic revival. This section highlights the dilemma between heritage conservation and regional revival while pursuing the integrity of a historic urban landscape.

214. Zang Hui-lan 張惠蘭 in Jiang Yao-xian, *Peitu Jihua*, 60; my translation. The original text is: 「穿過椰林成蔭的楠梓路，兩旁的甘蔗田在南台灣的陽光下泛著悠閒，往北走，路逐漸縮小一下就夾到橋頭的市場，一條狹小卻充滿記憶的路徑，此時往右便到了糖廠，時間似乎在這裡凝住了，遠處的煙囪、廠房、五分車，宿舍區的雨淋板、消防鐘、防空洞、中山堂前的石洗獅子，或者夾自居民口中薰染了微微的蔗糖香氣的回憶、與入夏午後伴隨蟬鳴的紅豆酵母冰滋味，這些流動的記憶空間與雕刻時光的悠閒感受，便是橋頭吸引人的地方。」

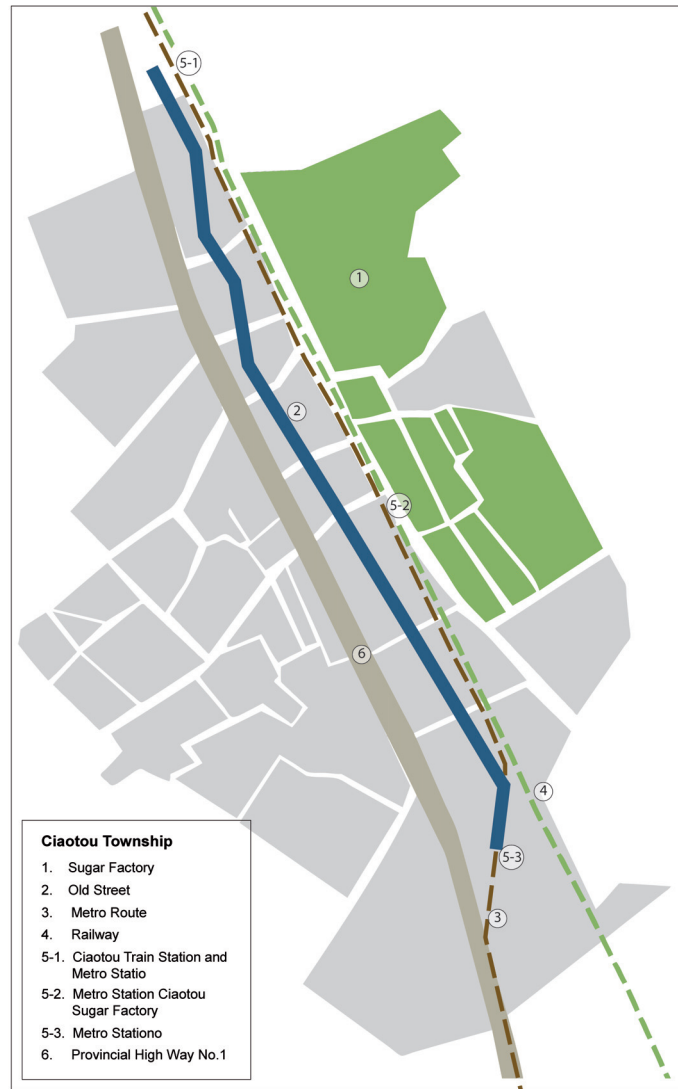


Fig. 4.2.2 Ciaotou town and sugar factory. The graph was created by Hsu Wei-jung 許維蓉.

The Role of Kaisha

In order to exploit its colony in Taiwan, the Japanese government-affiliated Taiwan Sugar Manufacture Company (台灣製糖株式會社), called *kaisha* 会社 (company) in Japanese by local residents, forcibly obtained the ownership of private land with assistance of police power.²¹⁵ In order to ensure raw ma-

terials, 97.7% of the company's land was 'bought' from private owners (Lin Si-jia 2008, 37). The company grabbed land not only for factory construction, but also for growing sugar cane. Yet only around 20% of raw materials could be produced by these

company (Kaohsiung County Government 1997 and Kio-A-Thou Culture Society 2001). Moreover, the sugar company grabbed land before the establishment of a legal system of private land ownership which is based on precise land measurement and investigation. This situation allowed the company to 'buy' the private land at a low price (Lin Si-jia 2008, 24).

215. According to the oral records of local residents, some elders recalled how their former generation(s) were forced by the police into agreeing to transfer land ownership to the

company-owned or rented fields; others needed to be acquired from private farmers (Lin Si-jia 2008, 25). The local farmers either became tenant farmers or hired workers of the sugar company. Any farmers that remained independent were also forced to rely on the company, as they had to sell their sugar cane to the company, backed up by the protection of the Taiwan Governor-General Office (臺灣總督府). Furthermore, the land of independent farmers shrank and it became impossible to provide a sufficient crop to sustain a whole family; hence, more and more the farmers came to rely on the temporary labour jobs provided by the company. The local farmers gradually moved away from agriculture and towards working as labourers. Eventually, the sugar company had come to dominate the local society. This preordained that the future development of Ciaotou would always be tightly interwoven with the policies of the sugar company.

Under colonial management, characterised by a scientific rationality, the spatial scheme of Ciaotou was rearranged to fit industrial requirements. The sugar factory area was the centre of Ciaotou, separated from the local residential area by the railway. Inside the factory area, a self-contained 'living society' as well as manufacture facilities was set up by the company. The facilities inside the area included the residences of employees, a school, grocery supplies, medical service, entertainment facilities, and religious settings. Within the walls of the factory area, where mainly the Japanese employees lived, it seemed to be a different and isolated world to local Taiwanese residents whose living areas were mainly located on the other side of the railway. This area was known as Old Street, an organic sprawl of streets lined with Chinese-style red brick architecture which was in stark contrast to linear spatial arrangement of the Japanese and semi-Western style buildings inside the factory area. Thus, the railway also represented social segregation, divided the world of the colonizers and the colonized (Wu Xu-feng 1995). This discriminatory social structure was continued by the postwar Taiwan Sugar Corporation under the rule of the KMT (Kuomintang 國民黨; Chinese Nationalist Party) government.

Behind the White Iron Gate: Taiwan Sugar Corporation in the postwar period

"The gate was heavily guarded during the period of sugar production. Only the residences area was open."...Jiang Yao-xian (蔣耀賢) recalled in Taiwanese that the first excursion during his primary school was a trip to the residences area of the sugar factory. "At that time, outsiders were not able to enter the sugar factory. We had a look at that Yudou tree, ate ice at the Zhongshan Hall (中山堂), watched train after train pass by, and felt satisfied to go home."²¹⁶

I recall that during one of my visits to Ciaotou in 2007, our car stopped briefly in front of the office area of the sugar factory while looking for directions. We were acrimoniously expelled by the factory guard. When I realized that the one-year-old sugar museum was actually located behind the gate, the tough situation that the administrative department of museum faced was quite understandable. Even though the sugar factory was officially claimed by the Taiwan Sugar Corporation as a cultural park in 2006 after years of conservation movements raised by local residents, the bureaucratic features of a state enterprise remain and indicate the difficulty of its organization to deal with unfamiliar cultural affairs. Moreover, the securely guarded gate shows the continuance of the enclosed role of the Sugar Corporation, self-defined as detached from the local community since the postwar KMT period. However, as a manager of a cultural site in the postcolonial present, the Sugar Corporation has to build up new networks in face of the dynamic leisure market and local society. This is a truly challenging situation for an old governmental organization.

The sugar factory was ceded to the Taiwan Sugar Corporation after Japan's retreat from Taiwan at the end of the Second World War. Taiwan Sugar Cooperation is a state enterprise established by the KMT, and it became the manager of the Ciaotou sugar in-

216. Quoted from "Tangchang kaimen—Jiang Yao-xian de shezao zhilü" 糖廠開門—蔣耀賢的社造之旅 (Opening the gate of the sugar factory: the community-building journey of Jiang Yao-xian) in *Taiwan Panorama*, May 2007, 37; my translation.

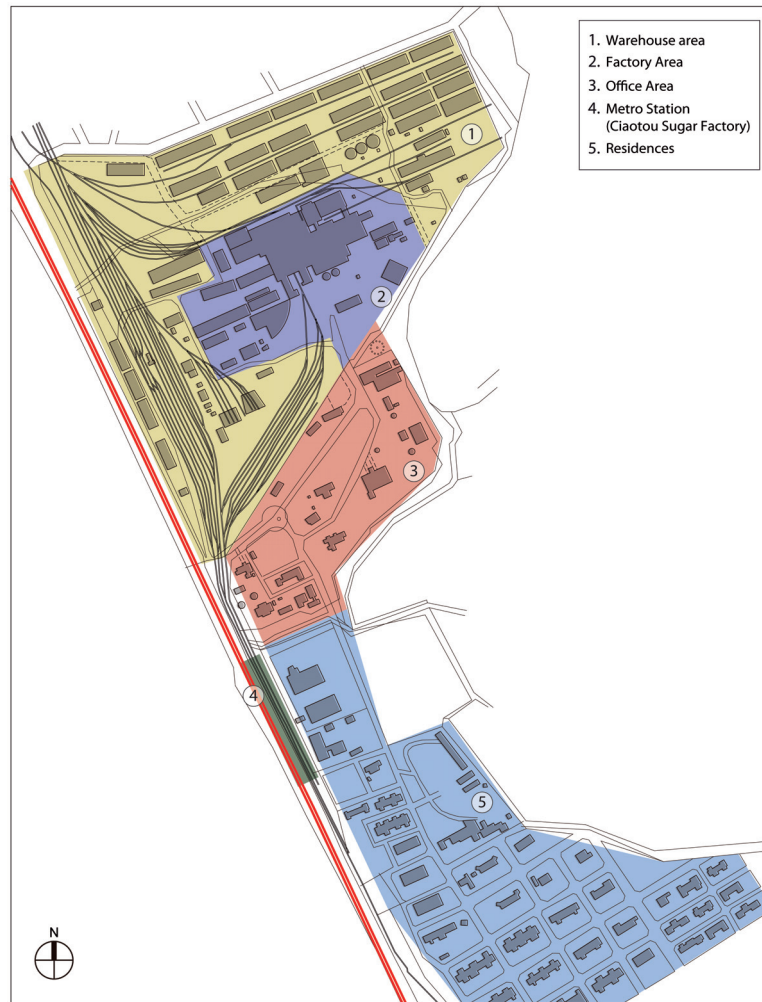


Fig. 4.2.3 The sugar factory comprises two areas divided by the gate at the main entrance: in the north area there are offices, factories, and warehouses; the south area mainly consists of residences. The graph was created by Hsu Wei-jung 許維蓉.

dustry after the war. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Japanese economic and social profits in Taiwan were whole-sale received by the postwar KMT government. The sugar industry is one representative example. Along with the transfer of material properties, the discriminatory social structure was replaced by the Taiwan Sugar Corporation. The dominant role of *kaisha*, previously played by the Japanese Taiwan Sugar Manufacture Company in the local society, was taken by the postwar Taiwan Sugar Corporation. The Japanese who had enjoyed the superior living quality inside the factory area were substituted for mainlanders. Living within the sugar factory area is a symbol of superiority, whether in the

Japanese period or under the postwar KMT rule (Kio-A-Thou Culture Society 2001, 24).

Taiwan's sugar industry was at its peak in the 1950s, when sugar exports occupied 73.6 % of foreign exchange income.²¹⁷ However, from this time onwards the profits of the sugar industry gradually declined. In the 1970s, a large number of Ciaotou youths left their hometown for work opportunities in newly emerging industrial areas in the neighbourhood, such

217. Taiwan Sugar Museum: <http://www.tscleisure.com.tw/museum/story.htm> (accessed 23 May 2011)

as the Nanzi Industrial District. The tight relation between the sugar industry and the local community was challenged by new economic conditions. Taiwan Sugar Corporation formally announced the closure of the Ciaotou sugar factory in 1999, and pleaded for a new development plan for the site which would help the financial deficit of the company. After years of struggle and conflict, in 2006 the Taiwan Sugar Museum was funded by the company at the old site of the Ciaotou sugar factory as a cultural and leisure park.

During my field visit in January 2008, I spoke with the site manager of the Taiwan Sugar Corporation in the office building, also a 'historic monument'. Within this Dutch tropical colonial-style building, time seemed to freeze. Only the manager among the relaxed staff seemed anxious about the day's work, which included him giving a guided tour for visitors through the museum exhibition. The museum was only open on weekends, he mentioned, as the unfamiliar cultural work associated with a museum was difficult for the staff. As an old state enterprise, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation is part of the huge bureaucratic machine of the government. According to the manager, even the gardener was paid a high salary because of his seniority, and he could refuse assigned jobs. Under the bureaucratic system, the manager was prevented from replacing this employee with other eligible personnel with a more reasonable salary. Hence, all the jobs that came with the new cultural identity of the sugar factory fell on a few members of staff. The bureaucratic rigidity shown by the old Sugar Corporation indicates its difficulties in facing and cooperating with the local communities who have been empowered by the community-building movements in the 1990s and 2000s.

4.2.2 The First Period of Modernization: locality based on modernity

Most local history books start their descriptions of Ciaotou with the establishment of its sugar factory, the first modern sugar factory in Taiwan (Kio-A-Thou Culture Society 2001; 2002; Kaohsiung County Government 1997). This experience of colonial modernity has formed the base of the local identity of Ciaotou. The majority of Ciaotou's residents have built their self-esteem and local memory on the

idea of Ciaotou being the 'first site' of the modern sugar industry in Taiwan.

As Nead's (2000, 8) analysis of modernity in Victorian London explains, "space is understood as an active agent of modernity ... [it] is never a passive backdrop for the formation of historical identities and experiences, but is an active constituent of historical consciousness." The new spatial fabric constructed by the colonizers in Ciaotou simultaneously resulted in different bodily experiences within the local community, and this formed the context for a social framework of collective memory (Halbwachs 1992), and constituted the core part of historical consciousness. Thus the landscape of the sugar factory with its high chimneys, cane tracks etc., has served as the major material actor in a sense of local pride and local identity.

Colonial Modernity

"Building a bridge in the middle of the sky; scaling the length underground; black cows leave their tails; turtles wandering on the roads."²¹⁸ A man, Lu Yi (陸儀), had been repetitively murmuring the poem. He was believed insane by the local people in Wuliling area, part of Ciaotou Township. People realized the real meaning of this enigma-like poetry only after the Japanese constructed electricity wires, measured the lands, prohibited Chinese long-braids and introduced modern cars (Kio-A-Thau Culture Society 2004, 22; my translation).

Many Ciaotou people recall their hometown memories of a landscape with grand chimneys, interlaced rail tracks, and the rising sweet smoke of burning sugar cane. The material remains of sugar manufacturing have become "figures of memory" (Assman 1995, 129) which cannot be separated from the bodily experiences of colonial modernity.

As soon as the Taiwan Sugar Manufacture Company decided to choose Ciaotou as the site for a modern sugar industry, the company applied for the construc-

218. The original text is: 半天造鋼橋，地下量尺寸，黑牛會落尾，烏龜滿路爬。

tion of a railway station in Ciaotou. Furthermore, it also applied for a “Ciaotou Post and Telegraph Bureau” (橋仔頭郵便電信局) and an electricity generating station inside the sugar factory, the first private generating station in Taiwan (Lin Si-jia 2008, 22-23). All these new constructions were new experiences for the local people, and greatly changed their sense of place.

The local historian Zheng Shui-ping 鄭水萍 describes the dramatic change of the local spatial texture from features of a Chinese immigrant settlement—red-bricked houses, winding paths for cow-driven carts, the interlaced spatial arrangement of residence, temples located at intersections and religious squares—into features of a modern industrial environment—iron factories, high chimneys, and a mixture of Western-Eastern style architecture. The process of industrialisation went hand in hand with the introduction of a modern contracts system, the legislation of land ownership, scientific investigation and measurement of land etc. Moreover, the scientific production process, transportation and irrigation systems, as well as modern public infrastructures such as telephone lines, electricity wires and public lighting all represented new experiences of modernisation for local residents during the Japanese colonial time, despite the fact that these modern constructions were aimed at meeting colonial desires. Other than the new experiences of space, the conceptualisation of time was altered in accord with the new industrial living style (Lü Shao-li 1998).

4.2.3 The Second Period of Modernization: A Withered Tree, a Revival Dream

The material embodiment of local pride, the sugar factory, was threatened by the state project ‘New Town’ (Xinshizhen 新市鎮) launched in 1994. ‘New Town’ is an urban planning model developed in Britain during the late 19th and early 20th century. It aimed to reconstruct urban suburbs to solve overcrowding issues in city centres. Ciaotou was included in the Kaohsiung New Town project (Gaoxiong xinshizhen 高雄新市鎮), and was planned to be developed into a new urban area with a population of 300,000. The 27 acres of the sugar factory area were divided into areas for transportation, parks, and commercial areas; however, an understanding of the cul-

tural and historical fabric of Ciaotou was not taken into consideration.

The state announcement of this plan caused a sense of crisis among the local elites. The Ciaotou-born politician Lin Jing-yao (林敬堯) initiated a community building movement to try to resist the ill thought-out development policy. He mentioned:

There was an old tree withered in my home town. With grief, I suddenly realized how long I had been away from my hometown; meanwhile, the national plan of “Kaohsiung New Town” was being launched. I was aware of the fracture of memory in the local area. This discontinuity, owing to the general historical context, had caused an absence of concern about cultural depth since the beginning of this urban scheme. I believed that every city should have its own memory...and the “New Town” project should include the local subjects in its plan as fundamental components [...] Therefore I decided to return to Ciaotou, as a Secretary of the Township Office, and to initiate the community building.²¹⁹

Lin began the plan with a series of cultural activities and educational programmes: a grieving ritual for the dead tree;²²⁰ a commemoration event for the polluted river which included poetry; the founding of study groups and the establishment of the Kio-A-Thou Culture Workshop (later the Kio-A-Thou Culture Society). Not merely concerned with memory recollection, Lin also aimed to “remake civil servants, professionals and citizens” (zaoguan, zaojiang, zaoren

219. Lin Jing-yao, personal communication in January 2008; my translation.

220. This hundred-year old banyan tree grew in the Shihlong (仕隆) Elementary School, the oldest school in Ciaotou. The tree was hence a symbol of memory for numerous local graduates. Unfortunately, it was struck by lightning in April 1994. Lin Jing-yao, a graduate of Shihlong Elementary School, decided to initiate a commemorative event aiming to reconnect the people and land of Ciaotou and to raise community awareness and environmental concerns. This commemorative ritual, Shulingji (樹靈祭) became the symbolic start of Ciaotou’s community-building movement. It is also a well-known example with historical significance among Taiwan’s community-building workers since the ritual was held at the very beginning of Taiwan’s community-building trend, earlier than community-building events in other places.

造官, 造匠, 造人) in Ciaotou (Lin Jing-yao 1996). The study and research groups invited professionals to teach and discuss topics on local history, the New Town project, sustainable environment and civil society. These series of programmes successfully drew attention to an awareness of the local identity. Moreover, it fuelled a communal awareness of conserving the historic landscape of the sugar factory.

Sugar Factory: site of the past, actor of the future

As mentioned earlier, the sugar factory has been the symbolic landscape of local pride and local identity. The idea of conserving the sugar factory and developing it as a historic park became an important aim of the local elites, who gathered and trained through workshops in the initial stages of the community building. The newly founded Kio-A-Thou Culture Society took over the leading role from the Township Office in community building, and continuously hosted cultural festivals and educational activities at the site of the sugar factory. However, the property owner, Taiwan Sugar Corporation, was concerned that its property rights might be threatened by the conservation actions. In 1998, a fierce conflict was fuelled by the designation of the entire area of the sugar factory as a Historic Monument of Kaohsiung County. After few years' negotiation and following a legal lawsuit, in 2002 the sites of Historic Monument within the sugar factory area were redefined to include only 19 sites within the sugar factory. It seemed that the area of historic monument had shrunk. Nevertheless the Taiwan Sugar Corporation agreed with the latter designation in 2002 and confirmed it through legal procedures, unlike the attitude of denial it showed to the former designation in 1998. This change in attitude owes a lot to the local conservation movements raised by the Culture Society.

Despite some ongoing controversy and debate, the Kio-A-Thou Culture Society rented an office and started a government financed 'artist-in-residence' project in the factory area. This was an annual cultural event, set up in cooperation with the Kaohsiung County Bureau of Cultural Affairs. Both international and local artists participated, and this event defined the spatial tone of the sugar factory as an artistic cultural park. Meanwhile, the property owner, Taiwan Sugar Corporation gradually adjusted its

plan for the sugar factory, and renovated a part of the buildings as a Sugar Industry and added recreational facilities. The collective awareness of maintaining the memory landscape successfully resisted the potential amnesia caused by the New Town project. However, the tangled relationship between the factory, the society and the company also implied an unstable future of conservation.

4.2.4 The Third Period of Modernization: diverse dreams

In late March 2008, Ciaotou suddenly came into the spotlight of the press because of its dramatic transformation from a quiet, nostalgic historic site to the hottest tourist spot. During the opening period of the first metropolitan-rapid-transportation system (KMRT) in southern Taiwan, there were more than ten thousand visitors daily from urban neighbourhoods. However, even as numerous vendors ambitiously bid for stands with ever rising prices in the factory surroundings, crowd numbers instantly withered after the last day of the free trial period for the new metro system. The local inhabitants had experienced annoyance at the disorder and damage brought by the tourists. They have since been bitterly expecting the arrival of future prosperity.

Trees again

Part of the New Town project, the metro construction was the only item to be completed after the plan for the Kaohsiung New Town was declared under revision. The metro route in Ciaotou follows the railway track, and has three stops within the administrative area of the township. One stop is located right in the heart of the sugar factory (please refer to location number 5-2 on fig.4.2.2). The purchasing of land for the construction of the metro started in 2002, at the time when the Kio-A-Thou Culture Society was situated in the factory and the projects of performing arts and artist-in-residence were running. The KMRT was severely criticized by the Culture Society for its scheduled destruction to some parts of the historic buildings and sites. The conflict intensified after the slogan 'Where are those old trees going to?' appeared in a nation-wide newspaper (Jiang Yao-xian 2006). The Society argued that the KMRT plan would to remove hundred-year-old trees for the me-

tro construction, and motivated the press, pressure groups and cultural workers to resist this ignorance of the historic monuments and local community. They especially emphasized the fact that the huge concrete metro construction showed a neglect of the visual integrity of the historic area. However, this time, the Society did not receive the same support as a decade ago from the locals. In 1994, a dead tree raised the collective sentiments toward place and memory; nearly ten years later, the reply from a local representative was a call to not oppose the metro simply for the sake of a couple of trees (Jiang Yao-xian 2006, 126). This discordance between local residents was actually a result of the development of community building.

The Sugar Factory and the Old Street

Since the colonial period, the areas of the factory and Old Street developed separately according to a social and economic hierarchy set by the colonizers. The two areas, divided by the railway, represented two different memory versions: the sugar factory was a self-sufficient district in which mainly employees who were of the colonizers' ethnic group resided; the Old Street was the major commercial and living area for local communities. Living in the district of the factory was a symbol of being a member of the higher class.

This separation remained unchanged after the colonial rule of the Japanese and the KMT authoritarian period. It was even strengthened by the urban planning and development schemes. For instance, the different metro stops further determined this disjunction (Xu Zheng-wang 2004, 10). In addition to the social and physical division, the different statuses of ownership caused numerous controversies. The conservative state enterprise, the Taiwan Sugar Corporation, continues to distance the factory from the local residents. The transformation of the factory into a cultural park was planned by the company, and the local businesses and cultural specialties hardly benefited monetarily from the BOT plan initiated by this old bureaucratic company. Owing to the discriminatory social structure that had resulted from the dual colonialism and because of the postcolonial urban development, most local residents feel remote from the factory space, despite the fact that the sugar factory

is the symbolic landscape of Ciaotou. This feeling was deepened by the modern arts events which were not familiar to the local residents. Moreover, in 1995 the Society decided to focus simply on cultural affairs rather than community building. This decision determined the character of the society, illustrated by the lack of motivation amongst local residents to resist the destruction of heritage sites through metro construction.

Moreover, Old Street has also endured conflict between conservation and development. With a great deal of local approval, many old houses were demolished in order to widen the road. The Culture Society again urged the media and Ciaotou-born people in Taipei to pursue an alternative plan of conservation and visual integrity, yet this was regarded as a betrayal to the collective will. It is also noteworthy that the use of the power of press has a two-sided effect in heritage conservation. On the one hand, the press may successfully raise the public attention on conservation issues; on the other, it may cause a separation between communities, shown for instance in the conflicting opinions of the Society and the residents on the issue of Old Street, and the feelings of distrust between potential cooperative groups. During my interview in January 2008, one member of staff from the Taiwan Sugar Corporation mentioned that the manipulation of the media by the Culture Society obstructed possibilities of cooperation from the higher administrative levels of the company.

Historic Urban Landscape: for heritage conservation or for regional revival?

As the community-building initiator Lin Jing-yao asserted in January 2008 during our interview:

The factory cannot be conserved only in terms of cultural heritage...; its conservation has to be an asset to regional development...Not merely the perspective of culture, [the conservation] should offer leisure and job opportunities. Thus, the conservation should be considered in regards to regional scale, not only insist on conserving trivial details. If the large scale of spatial elements, ecological environment, spatial culture, architectural fabric remain visible, we should

conserve them; others can be compromised when new needs and values emerge.

Lin also expressed his disagreement with the art-in-residence project in the factory. He thought that the Society was not able to transform the factory as a base of co-existence and co-development with the local community. "It has become an artists' laboratory, a temporary private-rented space. This is different from the community building aims".

In the initial period of community-building in 1996, the Culture Society declared a focus on cultural affairs instead of community-building (Jiang Yao-xian 1998, 70-72). This character was further cemented as the conservation issues of the sugar factory became the major concern of the Society. This focus on the sugar factory was partly strengthened by the financial needs of the Society, which continually receives government subsidies. The Society was obsessed with the factory, and gradually distanced itself from the issues concerning the local residents. Moreover, its role as the cultural elite and media moderator caused further separation from the community and from other potential partners such as the Taiwan Sugar Corporation and the Township Office. Thus the consciousness of conservation was not able to be extended and deepened within the local community and other potential allies.

If the definition of 'heritage' cannot be separated from the concepts of 'inheritance', 'volition', 'identification' and 'ownership' (Howard 2003), the urban heritage in Ciaotou is an embodiment of the collective will of the local community to recognize it as their valuable inheritance for the next generations. However, within the urban context, the essence of heritage is often challenged by the demand of development. The interview with Lin on the case of Ciaotou in January 2008 offers further thinking on a fundamental dilemma: does the incentive of conserving the local heritage depend on its heritage value, or on its economic benefits to the local residents? In Ciaotou and in many other examples in Taiwan, in the initial stages of conservation these two purposes are usually mixed and provide accountability for conservation reasons to the local residents and media. The regional revival brought by tourism and the cultural industry is expected among cultural elites and local

residents while the conservation is launched. The co-operation of diverse stakeholders and institutions is easily formed among the expectation of regional revival. However, the integrity of a heritage site may be sacrificed for larger economic benefits. Furthermore, if the value of local heritage is based on recognition from the local community, can the collective will justify the physical changes to the heritage site, for instance the decision to demolish parts of Old Street?

4.2.5 Historic Landscape, Economic Revival and Local Community

Within the popular globalization discourse, Taiwanese policy-makers and community workers often regard locality reproduction as a key method of survival in the global economy. This has also been strengthened by Taiwan's postcolonial pursuit of 'indigenization'²²¹ and by the need for industrial transformation. Numerous regions have proposed conservation and reutilization projects in order to shape an image of local uniqueness and pursue economic revival (Lü Xin-yi 2002). However, when development demands conflict with historic conservation, the latter always cedes to the former; a much more rapid process than considering an alternative strategy for integrity.

This section has presented the nexus of conservation, development and community within the urban context. The issue of conservation and development long has been discussed. Within this dynamic field, the 'community' may be a remedy in terms of developing a strong sense of place and consciousness of civil society, for instance in the case of Ciaotou during the second period of modernization. The sense of place was rooted by establishing an extensive network comprising the local societies, schools, professionals and government institutions. However, this bond to historic sites (the sugar factory) and living spaces (Old Street) was dissolved by the prospect of the potential economic benefits brought by metro construction. In the case of the factory, this was mainly because of a sense of colonial remoteness

221. "Indigenization": *bentuhua* 本土化 (John Makeham and A-chin Hsiao 2005) also known as the Taiwanese localization movement.

sustained by the aged bureaucratic institution the Taiwan Sugar Corporation. It was also due to the narrowed role of the Culture Society in community building. In the case of Old Street, memory recollection and civil concern have not been deepened by community building, while the cultural elites have been preoccupied with the issues and government cases concerning the sugar factory. In both cases, the ongoing community building that reconnects the community to their places is missing.

As in many other cases of urban heritage conservation, economic benefit is the crucial incentive for the support from either public or private interest groups. For example, the popular cultural festival in 1995 at the factory area was actually the key event that caused the Taiwan Sugar Corporation to change its future direction of the factory. The focus was gradually shifted from selling real estate and property to developing a museum and cultural park. The section has suggested that although economic incentives are unavoidable during heritage practices, sustainable conservation can be stabilized by strengthening local bonds to places in terms of continuous and extensive community building and public education. The education should particularly emphasize a sense of ‘accountability’ for communicating with diverse groups of the local community and other potential partners. Moreover, despite the fact that regional revival motivates a large number of supporters, the priority of education should be to focus on ‘heritage value’ and not economic benefits.

The strategies of ‘co-management’ and ‘cross-scale institutional linkages’ (Berkes 2000; 2004; Carlsson and Berkes 2003) developed within the field of natural resource management may be a stimulus for configuring the dynamics of community, development and conservation. If a relationship of trust can be established between the ‘local resource users’ (Berkes 2004, 625)—in this case, the Sugar Corporation, Culture Society, local residents and County Culture Bureau—a potential alliance may be formed after long-term cooperation and sharing of knowledge and authority. This would sustain the integrity of the spatial fabric and culture while facing the challenges of development.

As a nexus of historic conservation, economic revival and local community, the urban environment is a contesting field for numerous interest groups and for the continuous encounter between the past and modernization moments. As Orbasli (2000, 18) stressed, “conservation has to be proactive and to permit growth and change in the urban structure, responding to the functionality of historic quarters and their spatial organization in relation to contemporary urban problems.” Sustainable integrity does not mean merely to ‘freeze the past’; instead, it is based on a full understanding of the cultural depth, historical layers and spatial fabric of the urban environment. This understanding offers the local community a fundamental base from which to navigate the possible future changes and integrity of their place.

4.3 AMBIGUOUS JAPANESENESS: QINGXIU YUAN 慶修院

4.3.1 The Special Social Context of Hualien

Separated by mountains from the west, the east of Taiwan is a different world from the west metropolises. Comprising today’s Hualien County, Taidong County and Yilan County, eastern Taiwan is called *houshan* (後山; back of mountain) in historical accounts (Kang Pei-de 1999) and daily conversation. As Shi Tian-fu noted, *houshan* is an isolated society of small groups of various indigenous communities and other settler groups. Owing to it being enclosed by mountains, the development of east Taiwan has been characterised by the feature of ‘isolation’. Hence, various political authorities have worked to ‘solve’ this isolation or use this isolation for other purposes, and this has been the most important force of historical process in east Taiwan. This process has formed the cultural and social uniqueness of the area (Shi Tian-fu 1998, 1-10).

During the period of the Dutch VOC rule (1624-1642),²²² explorations were conducted, motivated by prospects of gold mines, and some areas in the east were subject to military invasion and direct control by the VOC (Kang Pei-de 1999 and Lin Yu-ru

222. *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* in Dutch; the Dutch East India Company.

2007). The power and territorial balance between indigenous groups was rearranged during their contact with the VOC; yet the long term political and social influence of the VOC in the east was limited. Under the Chinese Qing rule (1683-1895), the east of Taiwan was closed by state order for one and a half centuries in order to prevent political revolt by a union of Han Taiwanese and indigenous groups. Only after 1874 was the policy changed to positively control the *houshan* area. This change was due to the ambition of foreign forces to obtain east Taiwan as a base for overseas trading.

Although entries to *houshan* were banned by state order in the closing period, some Chinese Han farmers immigrated to today's Hualien area and established agricultural villages (Zhang Jia-qing 1996, 23-26). Originally, the Austronesian indigenous groups were the major population in east Taiwan. Han immigrants obtained their farming land by trading with indigenous communities. After the lifting of the immigration ban in 1874, Qing state power directly entered *houshan* through military force. Roads and Han settlements were built as well as administrative organisations. In 1895, Taiwan was ceded to Japan by the Qing rulers. The Japanese colonial government adopted ambitious policies and actions to gain full control over the indigenous societies and the rich natural resources of east Taiwan. The establishment of infrastructure and urban planning during this Japanese period formed the contours of present day Hualien City (Zhang Jia-qing 1996, 23-26).

Lin Yu-ru suggests that the 'state' has always played a crucial role in the development of east Taiwan in comparison with the west Taiwan.

From the history of east Taiwan we can see that for the development of east Taiwan, on the one hand, the indigenous groups of the east area had to be pacified or settled; on the other, the development relied on good coordination of capital, labour and infrastructures. Hence the policies and actions of the state are very dominant (Lin Yu-ru 2007, 85; my translation).

This point is of particular importance in explaining the unique social structure of Hualien under Japanese colonial dominance and postwar KMT rule.

When the Japanese colonizers entered east Taiwan in 1896, the ethnic composition of the population in east Taiwan was ninety percent indigenous groups and ten percent Han Chinese (Zhang Su-bing 2007, 62). The Japanese governors and scholars believed that, compared to west Taiwan, it would be easier to assimilate the local communities in the east to Japanese identity since the cultures of the indigenous groups was thought to be less rooted than the culture of the Han people. Thus the immigration of Japanese to east Taiwan was thought crucial in order to stabilize Japanese rule and develop the land. The government-operated immigrant policy was initiated in Hualien-gang Ting (花蓮港廳; Administrative District of Hualien Port) in 1910 after the annihilation of the indigenous Chikasowan group and the capture of their traditional territory for building up Japanese immigrant villages. This immigrant project and the development of transportation and public infrastructures led to Hualien having the largest Japanese population in Taiwan during the Japanese colonization. This explains why there are a large number of Japanese architectural remains in present day Hualien. Furthermore, it also indicates the unique yet conflicting historical and cultural context of Hualien when interpreting the past of local sites.

4.3.2 Historical Context of Qingxiu Yuan 慶修院

Qingxiu Yuan 慶修院, a Buddhist religious hall funded by Yoshinomura villagers in 1917, represents the memory of the immigrant village. The building was rediscovered in an indistinct residential area of Ji'an 吉安 town on the fringes of Hualien City. Surrounded by concrete buildings, trees and large but empty roads, Qingxiu Yuan was inconspicuous even for the residents of the neighbourhood (Zhongguo Gongshang Kejizhuanxiao 1999). During the era of localism, the semi-deserted building was renovated and listed as a historic monument of Hualien County, a site of multiple memories in postcolonial Taiwan.

Qingxiu Yuan (慶修院) is unique in Taiwan. It is a Buddhist temple that originally belonged to a branch of Buddhism specific to one area of Japan. Neither its architectural fabric nor its religious significance is familiar to most people in Taiwan. Regarding the architectural form, it was constructed in 1917, in a period characterized by Japan's widespread construction of



Fig. 4.3.1 Qingxiu Yuan in April 2011. Photo was taken by the author.

Shinto shrines in its overseas colonies. The form of architecture during this period was usually a mixture of both Japanese Buddhist temple and Shinto shrine styles, and Qingxiu Yuan also features this mixture of forms (Zhongguo Gongshang Kejizhuanxiao 1999, 54-65). Qingxiu Yuan was called *Shingensō Fukyōsho* 真言宗布教所 (religious hall of *Shingensō*) during the colonial period, and was a gathering place for the *Shingensō* (真言宗) branch of Buddhism, funded by believers from the Yoshinomura immigrant village.²²³

223. Regarding the initiation of this religious hall, there are different records. Zhongguo Gongshang Kejizhuanxiao (1999, 47) and Chen Rui-feng (2005, 118) state that the establishment of the *Shingensō Fukyōsho* (religious hall of *Shingensō*) was initiated by a Yoshimura villager Kawabata Mitsuji 川端満二, who raised money from other villagers and funded the Hall in 1917. However, this record differs from the interview data of the Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club. According to an interview with Huang Rong-dun 黄荣墩 (Weng Chun-min 2006, 120, 242-3), the Hall was established by Shi Zhi-meng 釋智猛. He was a priest of *Shingensō* and visited Yoshinomura during a religious trip. He decided to take up residence in the village and started to raise money to fund the Hall.

This unique architectural fabric and cultural significance defined Qingxiu Yuan as a 'historic monument' (*guji* 古蹟); yet at the same time, they were also the reason why the building gradually became deserted when the congregation of this religious cult—a relatively small group—left the area. Qingxiu Yuan was officially designated a *guji* in 1997, yet the process of transforming it into a heritage site was not initiated until it was opened to the public in 2003.

Qingxiu Yuan is the property of Hualien County Government and is legally managed by the Cultural Bureau of Hualien County (Hualian xian Wenhua ju 花蓮縣文化局). In 2003, the Cultural Bureau announced a three-year operative-transfer (OT) project,²²⁴ during which time it transferred the management of Qingxiu Yuan to the Hualien County Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club (Hualian Xian Qingshaonian

224. Operative-Transfer means the transferring of management duties to other public or private sectors within an agreed period through contract, thus soon gained popularity among state and local governments in Taiwan when dealing with heritage management.

Gongyi Zuzhi 花蓮縣青少年公益組織), a nongovernmental organization aimed at helping teenagers with the issues they face as adolescents. This organization has long been concerned with issues of historical conservation and has actively been working toward successful memory recollection and the initiation of activities that appropriately interpret these memories.

4.3.3 Contesting Memories at Qingxiu Yuan



Fig. 4.3.2 The Harvest Festival of the Chikasowan Community in 2009. Photo was taken by the author.

Memory of the Indigenous Chikasowan Community

A century ago, the land on which today's Qingxiu Yuan is located belonged to an indigenous group, the Chikasowan (Qijiaochuan 七腳川) community.²²⁵ Between 1908 and 1914, the Chikasowan community was annihilated by the Japanese. This massacre began after a Chikasowan group guarding the indigenous border (*aiyu-sen* 隘勇線) resisted the unfair labour and low salaries they were subjected to. In response, the colonial government annihilated the community through military force and demanded that other indigenous communities burn the Chikasowan residences and take the livestock that had belonged to them. The few surviving Chikasowans were forced to leave their community, losing large amounts of agricultural and hunting territory. According to Lin Su-

225. The Roman spelling of Chikasowan is according to Lin Su-zhen and Chen Yao-fang 2009.

zhen and Chen Yao-fang (2009), this traumatic event was a result of the wider political context, including a shift from an indigenous administrative strategy, the development plan of east Taiwan, and the new international political atmosphere. In order to receive the most profit from Taiwan's mountainous areas, and in order to construct railways and establish Japanese immigrant villages, the colonial government believed it was necessary to acquire this indigenous land. The dispersion of the Chikasowans was actually an embodiment of colonial ambitions.

A hundred years later, this incident is barely remembered by the generation of Chikasowans under the age of thirty (Lin Su-zhen and Chen Yao-fang 2009, 110). Even for the older generation in their 80s today, the recollection of the event is largely heterogeneous. They have mainly heard the stories through personal contact with their parents and grandparents as the latter imparted the experiences of the diaspora. Discussions in the public realm and on public occasions have been rare (Lin Su-zhen and Chen Yao-fang 2009, 111). Although the identity of the Chikasowan remains and is still recognizable through language and customs, their distinctiveness has faded. In 2008, the management of Qingxiu Yuan—the Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club—cooperated with the Chikasowan community to launch the hundredth anniversary memorial events, showing their great concern for this silenced past.

Memories/The Memory of a Japanese Immigrant Village: Yoshinomura 吉野村

After a survey and assessment of the appropriate area and approaches for immigration policy, the Taiwan Governor-General Office 臺灣總督府 established the first government-operated immigrant villages (guanying yimincun 官營移民村)²²⁶ on the island. Three government-operated immigrant villages were

226. Prior to the launch of the government-operated immigrant policy in Taiwan, the Taiwanese Governor-General Office encouraged enterprises to recruit Japanese immigrants, a system known as the private-operated immigrant policy. The unsuccessful result of private-operated immigrant policy led to the later establishment of government-operated immigrant villages (Zhong Shu-min 1986, 74; and Zhang Su-bing 2001, 43-45).

established in Hualien-gang Ting: Yoshinomura (吉野村), Toyotamura (豊田村) and Hayashidamura (林田村). Among these, Yoshinomura²²⁷ was located on the former land of the Chikasowan people, where today's Qingxiu Yuan is located.

In order to build up model villages for Japan's imperial ambitions of colonial assimilation and southern expansion in Asia, and to solve the issue of insufficient agricultural land in domestic Japan (Zhang Su-bing 2001, 45-46), an ideal spatial plan was proposed for the immigrant village construction in Taiwan after detailed land and geological investigation. This model plan begins with a central village area with an immigrant instruction centre and public facilities such as a school, hospital, religious halls, Shinto shrine etc. The buildings and facilities of immigrant village were arranged in a grid. These villages were connected to neighbouring places and other villages through roads and light railways. Water provision, an irrigation system and animal-preventive fencing was constructed along with the gradual development of the villages. Each family was allotted a residence and some land as soon as they arrived in the village.²²⁸

The background and experiences of would-be immigrants were of particular concern to the colonial government, as building up a model for immigrant villages was among the strategies of their imperial ambition. Hence, learning from experiences in reclaiming Hokkaido, in 1910 the Japanese government recruited farmers from Tokushima徳島 on Shikoku island四国, Japan, as the priority group because of their relatively good performance in Hokkaido. Yoshinomura indeed became a model village among Japanese immigrant villages in Taiwan, even though the process of reclaiming the former Chikasowan land had been extremely tough for the immigrants.

Most Japanese families who came to immigrant villages in Taiwan were tenant farmers longing for their own land in the new world. These utopian dreams were severely challenged by the weather, diseases, typhoons, earthquakes, wild animals and indigenous people.²²⁹ Kusama Tsunekichi草間常吉, one of the first group of immigrants, remembered the beginning years at the village:

25 March in Meiji 43 we disembarked in Hualien [...]. We lived in a long hut supported with bamboo and roofed with straw. Nine people crowded in a bed...We lost weight dramatically because of the poor food, different living style and exhausting life [...] We nine people started to work every day at 6 o'clock, and worked until the evening. When we heard the barking of dogs from the indigenous residences, we immediately drew our knives and swords and ran to the immigrant instructive office with caution (Zhang Su-bing 2001, 119; my translation).

Through the gradual completion of public infrastructures and the founding of various mutual-aid societies, life in Yoshinomura improved even after the termination of government support in 1917. The villagers now had roots in Hualien and longed to stay in Taiwan even after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War in 1945. Yet, at the end of 1946, the villagers were ordered by the KMT government to leave Taiwan with a payment of only 1,000 Japanese Yen per person. They gave up their whole life savings when returning to Japan, and many of the second generation became the inferior 'Taiwan-born' (*wansei*湾生 in Japanese) within Japan's social hierarchy.

Memories of Postwar Society

After the Japanese had left Taiwan in 1945, the fate of the *Shingensō Fukyōsho* (religious hall of *Shingensō*) remained unclear. A local resident Shen沈 (born in 1951) recalled that the building was known as the "house of Japanese monks" or "the haunted

227. The village was formally named Yoshinomura in 1912. Yoshino is the name of a river in Tokushima, the hometown of most of the villagers.

228. Half of the construction cost of each residence was subsidised by the colonial government (Zhang Su-bing 2001, 74).

229. In 1912 the death rate in Yoshinomura reached 58.9‰, mostly due to malnutrition and poor sanitary conditions after natural disasters (Zhang Su-bing 2001, 96, note 42).

house of Japanese ghosts” during his childhood. When children did not behave well, parents threatened them with imprisonment in the temple. Shen recalled that even though many people occupied the houses and land left by the Japanese, the Shingensō Fukyōsho building was left intact due to the rumour that it was haunted (Weng Chun-min 2007, 130-131).

Shingensō Fukyōsho was later transferred to the care of a faithful Taiwanese Buddhist called Wu Tian-mei 吳添妹. She renamed it Qingxiu Yuan 慶修院, and worshipped Avalokiteshvara (Mercy Buddha; *Guan-shiying Pusa* 觀世音菩薩) instead of *Fudōmyōō* (不動明王; the Wisdom King). The site and its objects were therefore well preserved during the postwar period. The transformation into a Taiwanese Buddhist temple was a major factor in maintaining the operation of the building even under the forceful Chinese nationalist policy regarding the clearing of Japanese remains. Most local residents called Qingxiu Yuan ‘the Japanese temple’ (Riben miao 日本廟); some people who did not have specific knowledge of it, called it ‘jinja’ in Japanese (神社; shrine). Due to the continuously good management of Ms Wu, some people began to call it ‘the Buddhist temple’ (Fozu miao 佛祖廟; hut coo bio, in Taiwanese) (Weng Chun-min 2007, 130-131).

In 1983, the family of Ms Wu handed over the temple to the Taiwanese Buddhist priest Shi Xing-liang (釋性良). Yet considering the condition of the building and the regulations on its use, in 1988 the priest established another temple instead of attempting to continue the religious function of Qingxiu Yuan. The original site was then not attended to until it was designated as a historic monument in 1997.

When the Hand-in-Hand Teen’s Club began their management of Qingxiu Yuan in 2003, the intensive memorialization of this site began. The first memory that came to light was the past of the immigrant village tightly connected to the material remains of the building in terms of its cultural and religious context. The organization by coincidence came into contact with the Japanese priest Saeki Norihide 佐伯憲秀 who grew up at Qingxiu Yuan. The strong sense of connection to the place greatly influenced the later memorial activities that were initiated by the organization at Qingxiu Yuan. Japanese Shingensō rituals

and research projects on the Japanese immigrant village were launched. The Teen’s Club intended to evoke a sense of the Japanese Buddhist religion, fitting with the original context of the temple, as has been argued by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs.²³⁰

4.3.4 Creating the Nexus of Memories

Qingxiu Yuan was designated as a historic monument in 1997, and thus the Hualien County Bureau of Cultural Affairs became its official administrative institution. In line with the policy applied to many heritage cases in Taiwan, the Bureau signed a contract with the Hand-in-Hand Teen’s Club (*Qingshaonian Gongyi Zuzhi*; 青少年公益組織), and handed over management duties to the organization in 2003. The contract comprises the organization’s duties of arranging events and activities, conserving heritage, training guides, doing daily maintenance, training volunteers and developing cultural products (The Hand-in-Hand Teen’s Club 2007, 14-15). The Hand-in-Hand Teen’s Club is an enthusiastic Hualien-based non-government organization. It has long harboured a concern for the welfare of youths and for the cultural issues of the area. However, their strong image of social activism has caused discord in their relationship with the bureaucratic system. Their position as the manager of Qingxiu Yuan has been challenged by the termination of the contract every three years.²³¹

It is important to point out here that Qingxiu Yuan was transformed into a site of memory only after the engagement of the Teen’s Club. The Club started to collect the memories of Japanese immigrants who seemed to have the most direct link to this site. Due to the contact with the family of the original residential abbot, the former religious character of Qingxiu

230. According to my interview with Ms Huang, staff of the Hualien County Bureau of Cultural Affairs, in September 2009, the Bureau has not agreed with bringing back the religious function of Qingxiu Yuan which is no longer a temple but a cultural heritage site in the present context.

231. In 2010 the contract was terminated. There were intense conflicts between the Hand-in Hand Teen’s Club and Bureau of Cultural Affairs. The management duty of Qingxiu Yuan was returned to the Bureau in December 2010.

Yuan was reinstalled.²³² The Club consciously reconnected Qingxiu Yuan to the *Shingensō* context through performing the according daily rituals, re-decorating the altar with *Shingensō* settings and inviting religious practitioners to perform annual *goma* rituals at Qingxiu Yuan. Since the memory of *Shingensō* and the immigrant village no longer exists at the original location, a *site of memory* has been constructed ambiguously through these memory activities. This construction process seems to resonate with Nora's assertion that "*lieux de mémoire* originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally" (Nora 1989, 12). However, the subject in Nora's description, who fears the loss of one's past and eagers to graze one's past through the sites of memory, is different from the role of the Teen's Club in the case of Qingxiu Yuan. Neither the original memory owner of *Shingensō*, nor the later residents of Qingxiu Yuan's neighbourhoods initiated the actions of reconstructing the site of memory. Thus, we need to ask whose site of memory the building actually is.

The Teen's Club intended to include the past of the Chikasowan community in their representation of Qingxiu Yuan. If Qingxiu Yuan was to become a site of memory, the Club believed, it should be a site of the collective memory of residents with different ethnic and social backgrounds, and this was to include the Chikasowans. This site of memory, therefore, aimed to represent local identity, and be component of the identity of Hualien and of Taiwan, in resonance with the narrative of community-building. However, colonial ambiguity is a challenge for the transformation to a site of memory in this regard. Colonial places cannot be sites of *memory*, but rather sites of *memories* in the preliminary stage. This can

be further investigated through Halbwachs's concept of "social frameworks of memory":

...in reality memories occur in the form of systems. This is so because they become associated within the mind that calls them up, and because some memories allow the reconstruction of others. We can understand each memory as it occurs in individual thought only if we locate each within the thought of the corresponding group. We cannot properly understand their relative strength and the ways in which they combine within individual thought unless we connect the individual to the various groups of which he is simultaneously a member (Halbwachs 1992, 53).

The past of Qingxiu Yuan, as a colonial site, is 'remembered' differently by each group when each is situated in a different context of the 'present'. This is especially clear when the relations of these groups have endured changes in the process of political transition. The Chikasowan people, Japanese immigrants, postwar managers and residents of the neighbourhood, and interest groups in postcolonial Hualien each have their own social framework of memory. The group members reformulate their memory through the process of mutually selecting, strengthening and even modifying past events. Moreover, their social framework of memory responds to the contemporary situation within its larger social context. In postcolonial Taiwan society, multiculturalism has been stressed as part of the national identity of Taiwan, and in resistance to the dominant Chinese-centred narrative forcefully implemented by the postwar KMT government. The Integrated Community-Making Programme (shequ zongti yingzao 社區總體營造) was heavily promoted by the state and applied to local places all over Taiwan. Under this new cultural and political agenda, in Halbwachs' words the "predominant thoughts", the pasts of groups who were once seen as inferior were able to appear. These groups, for instance, the newly established Chikasowan Society, could participate in the process of shaping a collective past of a place. However, the emergence of multiple memories associated with colonial sites unavoidably brought conflict and ambiguity to the reinterpretation of the colonial past, within which some groups had been seen as inferior

232. In my personal communication with Ms. Weng Chun-min 翁純敏, one of the two leaders of the Teen's Club, in April 2011, she mentioned that the religious context should be brought back to Qingxiu Yuan. She said that this could be sufficient support for the independent, sustainable operation of Qingxiu Yuan. This was why the Club aimed to reconnect the Buddhist context while managing Qingxiu Yuan.

to others, and had even endured traumatic experiences. In response to the recomposed social structure which had been formulated within the national narratives of mosaic multiculturalism, these once-inferior groups 'recall' and stress particular past events in a way that meets their present needs, such as identity building and political participation etc. Their collective memory is reshaped during this process. The case of the Chikasowan community offers clues to elaborate this point.

The Japanese immigrants shared experiences of traumatic and fateful events during their stay in Taiwan and of their marginalization when they returned to Japan. They are within the same social framework to each other. In regard to the concept of "social frameworks", the present Chikasowan Culture Society attempts to build up and strengthen the Chikasowan identity by commemorating the annihilation of the Chikasowan community by the Japanese between 1908 and 1914. This traumatic past is a core element of their collective social framework. Through the interpretations of the Teen's Club at Qingxiu Yuan, these two groups with diverse, even formerly antagonistic, social frameworks are encountered at this site. These are interwoven with the present demands for locality and identity construction within the context of community-building in Taiwan. The memories of the Chikasowan community and Japanese immigrants also interact with the social frameworks of actors within the present political and economic context. A version of past is formulated in the process of contesting encounters and interpretations. One example is the 2008 Consoling Ritual for the hundredth anniversary of the Chikasowan Incident.

An ambiguous ritual

The Consoling Ritual for the hundredth Anniversary of the Chikasowan Incident (*Qijiaochuan shijian yibai zhounian weilingji* 七腳川事件一百週年慰靈祭) was a highly controversial ritual conducted in November 2008 at Qingxiu Yuan. This ritual is called *goma* (護摩) in Japanese, a representative ritual of the *Shingensō* religious group.²³³

233. *Goma* means 'firing' in Sanskrit language. The meaning of 'fire' in this context is the burning away of all things on earth,

The ceremony in 2008 was actually not the first occasion of this ritual at Qingxiu Yuan. In 2006, during the celebration of Qingxiu Yuan's 90-year anniversary, the *goma* ritual was held by the priests of *Shingensō* from the Kōyasan (高野山) region of Japan who had been invited by the Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club. Huang Rong-dun 黃榮墩, head of the Club, recalled the difficult preparations for this ritual. His and his colleagues' unfamiliarity towards the exact religious context is apparent:

Since we had never attended any *goma* rituals, the preparation was like solving a puzzle. We had to prepare bamboos, [...] 90 branches of pine trees, 400 branches with leaves of juniper trees, a 30-meter straw rope, short bamboo sticks, tea and rice. [...] The priest [...] and his pupils set the altar with the materials we had prepared. Then we realized that [...] the 90 pine branches were the wood of *goma*, covered by branches with leaves of juniper trees. This setting was enclosed by bamboos and straw rope to define the boundary of the altar. The leading priest processed the rituals to defining boundaries [...]. When the ritual started, the monks blew the ritual spiral shells and proceeded into the courtyard of Qingxiu Yuan. After purifying the place, the leading priest read the prayer and set fire to the *goma* wood. As the wet and fresh juniper branches caught fire, there was suddenly a five-story-tall smoke column, and immediately an immense fire exploded. It was truly a stunning scene (Weng Chun-min 2007, 249; my translation).

The adoption of the Japanese *goma* ritual to console the deceased indigenous people during the hundredth anniversary event was ambiguous, particularly because the priests and the deceased were situated in different religious contexts, and they were even situated in previously opposing factions as the colonizer

and simultaneously, of clearing the inner spirit and generating new life. The *goma* ritual consists of two parts: the inner and outer *goma*. The inner *goma* 'burns' the inner worries and spiritual obstacles through meditation; the outer *goma* is achieved by setting up an altar for the worship of the God Fudōmyōō (不動明王). The outer *goma* prays for diminishing disasters and increasing benefits, peace, harmony etc. by setting fire to wooden *goma* panels.

and colonized. The ritual also represents the fundamental discordance between the material remains of the erstwhile colonizer and the heritage practice of the postcolonial society. This is a particularly sensitive issue when the past owner and the current user are antagonistic; and is also related to competition over the right to interpret. A message left on the website of the Chikasowan youth group argued that the managing body of Qingxiu Yuan had no right to dominate and give a voice for the Chikasowan Incident.²³⁴ Fortunately, this ambiguity was reduced when the Chikasowan community participated in the production of interpretation. Their traditional consoling rituals were also held by the Chikasowan community at their old site. Nevertheless, the message also reflects internal conflicts over who can represent the real Chikasowan among Chikasowan descendants who now separated in different *buluo* (部落; sites of tribes).

In 2001, the middle generation of the Chikasowan community at the current community base²³⁵ began to collect memories of their traditional culture and of the Chikasowan Incident. Cai Xin-yi 蔡信一, the executive chief of the Chikasowan Culture Society, recalled their efforts over the years.⁷⁸ In the diaspora after the Chikasowan Incident, the Chikasowans escaped to other indigenous communities. Due to decades of cultural mixing and trans-tribe marriage, the cultural distinctiveness of the Chikasowans faded. Cai's generation initiated the recollection work at the time of the annual Harvest Festival in 2001. He regarded the Harvest Festival as the most crucial occasion of cultural transmission: the tradition of the Chi-

kasowan was re-established through recollecting the details and process of distinctive Chikasowan rituals and through educating the younger generations during the rite of passage prior to the formal ceremony of the Harvest Festival.

This attempt was met with enthusiasm by the Teen's Club due to its concern with the culture and history of Hualien and the need for heritage interpretation in Qingxiu Yuan. In the year of the hundredth anniversary of the Chikasowan Incident, the community and the Youth Club cooperated in organizing the commemorating activities, including the *goma* ritual, at Qingxiu Yuan. The series of activities comprised bicycle tours through the old Chikasowan space; a Harvest Festival focusing on the subject of commemoration; a conference discussing the event and commemorating rituals in both the current community base and the old location of the Chikasowan territory. The last commemorating event gathered the members of the Chikasowan people who had dispersed to other areas, and guided them back to the old places of their Chikasowan ancestors. A traditional ritual was held and led by a shaman at the old site. This was followed by praying, grieving and dancing activities at the current public space of the community where the historical pictures of the Chikasowan Incident were displayed.²³⁶

The Postcolonial Actor Network

Cai Xin-yi had positive feelings toward the memory activities at Qingxiu Yuan regarding the Chikasowan Incident. Rather than arguing about who should take the leading role in the interpretation, he stressed the importance of partnership between the Culture Society and the Teen's Club. He described the cooperation during the series of events commemorating the incident, and mentioned the division of labour – for instance the Teen's Club is good at arranging conferences and guided tours, while the Society held the Harvest Festival and a photo display at the community public space. This cooperation was beneficial to both parties: the Teen's Club could combine the Chikasowan commemoration to Qingxiu Yuan's annual

234. <http://miyamay.idv.tw/seral/> (Accessed 15 December 2009) 七腳川部落新聞:「為Cikasoan事件正名!!」:「慶修院主導了我們Cikasoan人的事情,為什麼主事者要讓這樣的事發生?人家日本神道教的週年慶關我們Cikasoan什麼屁事啊!!還給我不動明王開眼與安座勒!!是怎樣?!一百年前還殺不夠就對了啦!!整個Cikasoan事件的活動主軸完全失焦!!我們Cikasoan只是慶修院一系列活動的一角而已。我們看不到這整個歷史事件帶給我們阿美族,日本人,歷代殖民者,甚至現在仍在隱性壓迫著我們的漢人政府任何的反省及思考。只能說非常地遺憾!![...]」。

235. This community refers to the one whose name was originally Miamai Community. The community members came from former Chikasowan community, and is the one who moved to the nearest site to the former Chikasowan base among many other Chikasowan descendants lived now in different *buluo* (部落; sites of tribes).

236. According to Cai Xin-yi, personal communication: September 2009.

event, get media attention and government budget through hosting the commemorative events; at the same time, the current Chikasowan Society could extend the media attention from the Teen's Club which is always good at motivating the media. This cooperation allowed the current Chikasowan Community (七脚川部落 Qijiaochuan buluo) to receive wider attention than other Chikasowan descendant communities. Within the community-building framework, this helps the Chikasowan Culture Society to compete for government community-building subsidies.

Moreover, this section suggests that the aforementioned colonial ambiguity has been dissolved gradually through continuous cooperation, particularly the dual consideration of both the Japanese Buddhist and indigenous religious rituals. As to heritage practitioners such as the Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club, it is inevitable that Japanese rituals be performed at Qingxiu Yuan for the sake of coherence with the architectural fabric, memory framework and cultural context. In addition, it is a powerful interpretative action which can attract media and tourist attention. Aside from these points, the Teen's Club considered that, despite the fact that the inclusion of this traumatic event may cause feelings of unease among leisure visitors and Japanese tourists, the intention to reflect the history of the region and to include the voice of the Chikasowan community should be prioritised. The continuous memory activities of the Teen's Club at Qingxiu Yuan allow the occurrence of an autonomous subject who can provide an alternative voice to the dominant authority on deciding the future of the local residents. If wider participation persists, it may be possible to transform the site of memory to a site of locality production, aiding to the formation and demonstration of a collective future with inclusive and humanistic significance.

As the neighbourhood of Qingxiu Yuan in Ji'an Town (吉安鄉) is mainly a quiet residential area, the growing activities in and around Qingxiu Yuan met with resistance from the local population. They were rather detached and felt annoyed with the crowdedness and the garbage left by tourists.²³⁷ The residents

are mainly agricultural and office workers; hence they do not benefit from the rewards brought by local tourism.²³⁸ Compared to the close ties to the Buddhist Temple of Qingxiu Yuan during the postwar era, the current residents are only loosely linked to the place. They may know there is a Japanese temple in the neighbourhood, yet they do not have a strong intention to understand and participate. The Township Office also showed a rather passive attitude toward the operation and effects of Qingxiu Yuan.²³⁹

In contrast to the local residents, external visitors have expressed interest and excitement about the site. Most bloggers have admired the peaceful atmosphere and were surprised by its "very Japanese" character. Some bloggers recorded the scenes they saw at the site, including the wooden panel commemorating the Chikasowan Incident.²⁴⁰ Many bloggers expressed nostalgic feelings toward the Japanese immigrant village, yet few mentioned specific feelings about the Chikasowan Incident.

4.3.5 Representing Japaneseness

After fierce conflict between the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club in 2010, the management of Qingxiu Yuan was transferred to the Bureau of Cultural Affairs. In April 2011, I visited Qingxiu Yuan again. A celebrative event for Mother's Day was being held at the site. The event began with a Buddhist ritual, continued with a choir performance, Japanese tea ceremony, family bicycle activity and craft studio. During the process of the various activities, young students wearing Japanese

238. Qingxiu Yuan is in Ji'an village of Ji'an town. The village is an administrative centre for Ji'an town, in which many government institutions are located, for instance the town hall, Hualien District Agricultural Research and Extension Centre etc. Many residents of the village are civil officers (Zhongguo Gongshang Kejizhuanxiao 1999).

239. According to my interviews at the Township Office in September 2009.

240. It had been removed when I visited the site in April 2011, under the management of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs. The staff told me that some tour guides complained about it when they brought Japanese visitors here. The guides were afraid that it may cause negative feelings for the Japanese visitors despite the fact that the visitors did not actually complain themselves. However, according to the staff, the panel was removed not because of these complaints but due to spatial simplicity.

237. According to an interview with an officer of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs in 2009.

yukata (浴衣)²⁴¹ walked around the site. They were students of the Japanese department of the local university, and had been arranged as assistants for the tea ceremony.



Fig. 4.3.3 Students wearing *yukata* in serving tea ceremony at Qingxiu Yuan. Photo was taken by the author in April 2011.

As *yukata* is normally worn on casual occasions in Japan, such as festivals, it seemed odd when these young girls, in their *yukata* and *geta*²⁴², presented tea cups and bowed politely to the participants in the tea ceremony. This ambiguity is as well represented by the Buddhist statues and *ema*²⁴³ present at a Valentine's Day celebration at the site. During our interview, Xie 謝, a member of staff of cultural bureau in charge of Qingxiu Yuan, explained future activities to me with excitement, for instance decorating the site with Japanese fish flags (Koinobori) on the day of the Duanwu Festival.²⁴⁴

This unsophisticated use of cultural tags is not uncommon when reutilising Japanese historical sites in Taiwan, no matter whether the manager is from the private or public sector. The popular image of Japan, composed of hot springs, Japanese food, tourist sites,

popular culture etc., is mainly based on information largely circulated by the mass media. This image has become a strategy for attracting domestic tourists, as Japan has long been the hottest destination for Taiwanese tourists.²⁴⁵ It is noteworthy that the pro-Japan mentality is not separable from the context of colonialism and the cold war structure (Leo Ching 2000, 765-788); nevertheless, the phenomenon of Japanese tags in current Taiwanese society is more to do with late-capitalist mass circulation in Asia rather than colonial nostalgia.²⁴⁶ These cultural tags are concerned with the 'foreignness' of Japan, resulting in 'exotic' tourist experiences, rather than with possibilities to be 'local' as desired by community-building heritage practices.

Furthermore, this touristic image is reinforced by the cultural departments of local governments, who are supposed to lead a deeper concern about cultural policies. This is due to the weak stance of cultural departments within local politics, greatly determined by the attitudes of local politicians, particularly the mayor and local councillors. In the case of Hualien County, for many years a periphery to the rich west cities such as Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs endures particularly limited resources compared to other departments in the county and compared to cultural departments of other counties. Among the internal departments of the bureau, the Department of Cultural Heritage is notorious for its long working hours, manpower shortage and dealing with sensitive issues, hence it is also known for having a high staff turnover. For instance, Xie, staff member in charge of Qingxiu Yuan,

241. *Yukata* is a casual summer garment in Japanese tradition, usually worn for summer events for instance firework displays or festivals.

242. 下駄, a kind of Japanese traditional sandal made with a wooden base and fabric thongs.

243. *Ema* (絵馬) are wooden plaques on which the believers of the Shinto religion write prayers or wishes.

244. 鯉幟 (Koinobori) are carp-shaped windsocks for celebrating Children's Day on 5 May, originally the day of the Tango (Duanwu in Chinese) festival on the Chinese and Japanese lunar calendar.

245. According to a survey conducted by the IAJ (Interchange Association, Japan) (2010, 13-14) on Taiwanese attitudes toward Japan, Japan was the most preferable tourist destination for Taiwanese in 2008 and 2009. In both years, 44% of the interviewees selected Japan as their preferred destination for travel; this percentage was more than 10% higher than the second most popular destination, Europe.

246. According to a survey conducted by the IAJ (Interchange Association, Japan) on Taiwanese attitudes toward Japan in 2008 and 2009, the age group under 40 showed a more favourable attitude towards Japan than age group above 60, who had had Japanese colonial experiences. The younger generation's information about Japan mostly came from television programmes and the internet (IAJ 2010, 3-4; 7-8; 19-20; 43).

mentioned the difficulties of his situation to me, in that staff at Qingxiu Yuan are all temporary employees and their contracts are terminated within two months. Even Xie himself is a contract worker, and has to renew his contract with the Bureau of Cultural Affairs every year. This instable personnel situation indicates the changeful future of Qingxiu Yuan, and the difficulties of deeper research and knowledge accumulation.

Weng Chun-min 翁純敏, the former manager at Qingxiu Yuan from the Hand-in-Hand Teen's Club, expressed disagreement about the way that the Bureau of Cultural Affairs had attached Japanese elements to Qingxiu Yuan and to other Japanese historical sites in Hualien. She was concerned that these Japanese elements used by the cultural bureau were simply a shallow application without deep understanding of Japanese culture. The elements such as *yukata*, as she noted, can be used only when the line between formal occasions and tourist activities is drawn clearly. During the interview with Weng, two issues of representing Japanese historical sites emerged: first, the joining of indigenous elements in making the site of memory for postcolonial communities; and second, differences between deep cultural contents and shallow cultural tags.

I asked Weng about how to include Taiwanese cultural elements in interpretation as creative activities rather than simple copies. In response, Weng recalled an event held by the Teen's Club on a New Year's Day at Qingxiu Yuan. Eating *Kagami mochi* (mirror rice cake) is a Japanese tradition at New Year, and so the Teen's Club combined this with the traditions of the Hakka and Amis (Hualien indigenous people), providing *mochi* soup at the site. In the mean time, they still followed requests from priests of *Shingensō* and offered white *Kagami mochi* to the god, despite the fact that white is less preferable than red at New Year by Taiwan. In contrast to this creative interpretation, placing *ema* at Qingxiu Yuan is an act of copying, since *ema* is irrelevant to Taiwanese culture. This refers to a second issue, what is the difference between creative cultural invention and shallow cultural tags while reinterpreting Japanese historical sites? For instance, is holding a *goma* ritual different from hanging *ema* in the postcolonial site of Qingxiu Yuan, since they both represent cultural elements ab-

sent in Taiwanese culture? These questions indicate the ambivalent line between recreating a site of Taiwaneseeness comprised of Japaneseness as one contingent; and reconstructing a site of Japaneseness based on Taiwanese image of Japan.

4.4 ENGAGING COMMUNITIES: JIANGJUNFU RESIDENCES 將軍府

Hualien entered the period of urbanisation during the Japanese period. The administrative office of Hualien-gang Ting was established in 1909. This is the first time that Hualien gained an independent and leading status in east Taiwan.²⁴⁷ In the same year, the project of building the Taidong Line railway was officially initiated. The project urged the urban planning of Hualien. Government buildings, a transportation system, public infrastructure as well as leisure facilities were built under the plan. Private shops, hotels, restaurants etc. appeared along with the development of public infrastructures. Within two years (1910-1912), the number of households of Hualien-gang Ting increased from 545 to 830; the population increased from around 1,600 to 2,400 (Zhang Jia-qing 1996, 60). This rapidly enlarging population required an extension of the urban area. This demand led to two new urban plans in 1916 and 1921. After an urban plan implemented in 1934, the urban area was extended to the south, west and east through road construction. The area of Lujun-gang 陸軍港, where the Jiangjunfu stands, was at the centre of this urban extension. The newly developed Meilun 美崙 area and the old Hualien-gang City Centre were connected by a bridge beside which the Japanese residences stand (Gao Jun-ming 2008, 63). Lunjun-gang was a core which connects the old and new urban areas yet also a mysterious military space in oversee-

247. The administrative area of today's Hualien County belonged to Taidong Branch Ting of Tainan-Xian (Tainan Xian Taidong Zhi Ting 台南縣台東支廳) in 1896. In 1897, east Taiwan was separated from Tainan Xian 台南縣, and instead placed under a newly established administrative institution Taidong Ting 台東廳. A local office in charge of the Hualien area under the Taidong Ting was set up for managing household and tax affairs. This office was upgraded to the Hualien-gang Branch Ting of Taidong Ting (台東廳花蓮港支廳) in 1901, and advanced to Hualien-gang Ting, an independent administrative institution outside of Taidong Ting, in 1909 (Zhang Jia-qing 1996, 54-55).

ing the urban development in the north and the port construction in the east.

The Japanese immigrants in Hualien returned to Japan after the defeat of Japan in the Second World War in 1945. Shortly after, the fifty percent of the population of Hualien that had been made up of Japanese immigrants was replaced by immigrants from China. As mentioned previously, the role of the state, no matter which ruling authority, has been crucial to the development of Hualien because of its relatively isolated location compared to cities in west Taiwan. Public infrastructure and the property of Japanese enterprises were given to the KMT government.

4.4.1 Jiangjunfu (將軍府; Residence of the General) in Hualien

Jiangjunfu was a nickname for a number of Japanese residences along the Meilun美崙 River in Hualien City. These residences were built between 1924 and 1931 (Gao Jun-ming 2008, 71).²⁴⁸ The map of Hualien-gang Ting in 1931 shows that the function of these Japanese buildings was as residences of the land force army.

Currently eight Japanese residence buildings are located in the triangle space beside the Meilun River and Zhongzheng中正 Bridge. Residence H in the illustration above is the only detached building (獨棟), and thus it was the highest classed residence among the eight residences. It was the residence of Takamura Mituo 中村三雄, the Japanese top commander of east Taiwan during the Second World War. His residence was designated as a *guji* (古蹟; historic monument) in 2005. Buildings A, F and G are classed as lower than the residence of the commander. Buildings B, C, D, E were residences of lower military officers. All residences (except H) are semi-detached structures (*shuangbing* 雙併)²⁴⁹, and were

designated as county 'historic buildings' (*lishi jianzhu* 歷史建築) in 2005. The name Jiangjunfu (Residence of the General) is actually taken from the later resident of building H, General Shan Zhi-cheng 單志成, in the postwar period.²⁵⁰ The name Jiangjunfu, owing to its accountability easy understood and remembered by local people, is often used to represent the eight Japanese residences along the Meilun River for local residents in current Hualien.

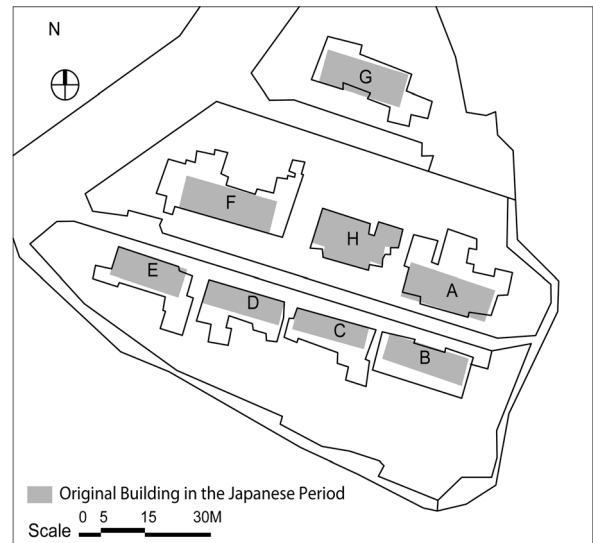


Fig. 4.4.1 Plan of Jiangjunfu Residential Area. The picture was created by Hsu Wei-jung 許維蓉.

After the Japanese colonial period, the ownership of these residences was transferred to the government of the ROC (Republic of China), and under the management of the Ministry of National Defence (Guofangbu國防部). Residences in Jiangjunfu area became the houses of ROC military officials, and the area remained rather isolated from most local residents despite the fact that Jiangjunfu is right next to the busy city centre. This location has determined the ambiguous status of the Jiangjunfu area in the process of urban development in postcolonial Hualien.

248. According to Gao Jun-ming 2008, 71. Guo was also a major participator of the project 'Investigation and Research Report on the Japanese Residences along the Meilun River'. In the final report it was stated that the construction dates back to early 1925 (See Guoli Donghua Daxue Huanjing Zhengce Yanjiusuo 2008, 2.3). The report was finished in January 2008, the dissertation of Gao completed in June 2008; this paper hence chooses to follow the later statement.

249. It is a semi-detached building divided into two households, each having its own individual entrance and living spaces.

250. During the Japanese colonial period, the resident of building H was a colonel (大佐), not a general within Japanese army system.



Fig. 4.4.2 Building F, a semi-detached residence, is the only renovated one among the Jiangjunfu residences. Photo was taken in April 2011 by the author.

During the 1990s, the Ministry of National Defence urged the policy Regulations on Renewal of Military Dependents' Villages (Guojun Laojiu Juancun Gaijian Tiaoli; 國軍老舊眷村改建條例). Many old military residences and land were released for real estate market. The Jiangjunfu area, next to the busy centre of Hualien City, was one of the targets. The Ministry decided to deconstruct the buildings in the early 2000s. This action was resisted by local residents and cultural workers. Eventually, the residences were designated as county historic monuments and historic buildings in 2005.

4.4.2 Grassroots Resistance and Community Building

The fact that the Jiangjunfu area was able to be designated as cultural heritage is due to an ambitious society in the neighbourhood, the Minsheng Community (Minsheng Shequ 民生社區). The Minsheng Community is based in the administrative district of Minsheng Li 里.²⁵¹ This *li* ranges over the busy commercial centre of Hualien City, has a population of 2,200, and 40% of its residents have an educational background of bachelor degree or above.²⁵² Within the area of Minsheng Li, traces of urban development are represented by a mixture of traditional markets, restaurants and hotels and public institutions. Hence the residents of Minsheng Li have greatly diverse occupational and language backgrounds in relation to

the social structure of Hualien within the dual colonialism: a group of residents, mainly Taiwanese spoken, work as shop/stand owners at the traditional market, such as the head of Minsheng community Wu Ming-chong; the other group of residents speak standard Mandarin, work at government institutions and many of them are from Mainlander families, such as the influential community member Wang Pei-wen. This district includes part of the old Hualien-gang city centre and the Huagangshan (花崗山; Huagang Hill) area where major government institutions were moved after the urban planning of 1934. The former is characterised by its lively crowded businesses; while the latter is far more spacious and quiet. The population of Minsheng Li, hence, consists of diverse occupational and ethnic backgrounds. To use Halbwachs phrase, these are groups with diverse "social frameworks of memory" (Halbwachs 1992).

In 1999 the head of Minsheng Li, Wu Ming-chong 吳明崇, started organising a volunteer group to help recycling and environmental maintenance. His enthusiastic personality in community work gradually engaged more and more Minsheng Li residents in community affairs. Other than recycling and cleaning, various projects have been arranged by the society of Minsheng Li²⁵³ since 1999: neighbourhood watch, community greening, elders care, music and art workshops etc. These activities brought together residents of Minsheng Li and helped to form a sense of community. Moreover, the ambition of Minsheng Li met with a burgeoning community-building phenomenon all over Taiwan, which was under sponsorship from the state particularly from 2000 to 2008.²⁵⁴ Minsheng Li's community activities gained great support from various governmental funding for community-building projects. However, this financial support could not have been received by Minsheng

253. Hualien City Minsheng Community Development Association (Hualienshi Minsheng Shequ Fazhan Xiehui; 花蓮市民生社區發展協會) was funded in 2005 in dealing with community affairs. The number of members was 277 according to its official website in 2006: <http://www.hl-minsheng.org.tw/> (accessed 9 May 2011).

254. The Democratic Progress Party was the governing party of Taiwan from 2000 to 2008. Community-building was among the core state policies at that time.

251. Li 里 is the basic administrative district unit in Taiwan.

252. <http://www.hl-minsheng.org.tw/> (accessed 9 May 2011)

Li without the participation of community member Wang Pei-wen 王佩雯. As a civil officer familiar with government bureaucratic processes, Wang was able to organise the funding, as state community projects were often criticised about their complicated paper work and bureaucratic inflexibility.²⁵⁵

Wang was a core figure in the process of conserving the Japanese residences in the Jiangjunfu area. She grew up in a Military Dependents' Village (juancun 眷村) in Hualien City, a similar living environment to Jiangjunfu. These residences where she grew up were demolished due to new plan of development in the early 1990s and the Wang family moved to a modern concrete house. In order to provide a better and safe environment for the children and elders of the family, Wang and her husband decided to buy the residence of General Shan (building H) and lived there until the early 2000s. In 2001, Wang coincidentally attended a course on community-building at Donghua University. During the course, she watched a documentary about a Japanese case of community-building,²⁵⁶ and wrote a group report about maintaining the cultural environment along the Meilun River. Jiangjunfu was a crucial part of the report. Stimulation from the course and affection toward the place of memory motivated Wang's enthusiastic participation in conserving Jiangjunfu. As a member of Minsheng Li, she also assisted the community's application for government projects.

As the policy of Regulations on Renewal of Military Dependents' Villages was accelerated in the 2000s, the Ministry of National Defence was eager to release the land of Jiangjunfu area and destroy the old residences. With assistance from local cultural work-

ers, the Bureau of Cultural Affairs and the press of Hualien, Minsheng Li eventually had Jiangjunfu designated as a historic monument in 2005, and had a temporary freeze put on further actions of the Ministry of National Defence in this area.

4.4.3 Making Sites of Memory

During the period from 2005 to early 2011, the question of how to reutilize the Jiangjunfu residences was discussed openly in Hualien. These discussions were actually part of the process in making a site of memory. During the first stage, Jiangjunfu was only a memory place for Wang, a former resident. A sense of place toward Jiangjunfu caused Wang's enthusiastic engagement in conservation and community activities. Within the context of Hualien City, Wang was from a mainlanders' family, the group with higher social hierarchy able to live in these residences. Hence the memory of these residences as military dependents' residences was seemingly the only direct memory version of the site available in postcolonial Hualien, and the site evoked strong feelings of affection and connection from the former residents. Moreover, it may be easier for the owner of Jiangjunfu, the Ministry of National Defence, to legitimate a project to represent the area as a site of memory of *juncun* (眷村; military dependents' village).

Through participation in community-building activities, Wang's affections toward her place of memory met with the feelings of other community members who did not have the chance to live in Jiangjunfu and yet had been using the space as a community office. A new collective memory of the site has been shaped through frequent contact between community members and through fighting side-by-side against the would-be destructors. Jiangjunfu became a heritage site in the mean time when the community began to think of the place as their valued possession which deserves to be preserve for generations. As Wang recalled, when the designation was confirmed in 2005, the community members held banquets at the site, celebrating the fact that the community had finally been able to 'own' a historic monument. In this regard, the memory of *juncun* (military dependents' village) had to be adjusted to include more subjects of locality. Further, the need of a much wider inclusive version in interpreting the past

255. Local communities were always required to present complicated proposals, reports, accounting details etc. These rigid bureaucratic requirements often obstructed spontaneous community projects, and hindered communities not familiar with bureaucratic writing from having state funding despite their commitment to community works. Many government resources fell to companies or other interest parties instead of community organisations because the former were better skilled bureaucratic writers.

256. According to the description of the documentary by Wang, this section suggests that the Japanese case is Furukawa-chō (古川町). This documentary was broadcasted everywhere during the community-building boom period.



Fig. 4.4.3 Quiet and green environment of Jiangjunfu residences. Photo was taken in April 2011 by the author.

emerged in the process of searching for utilizing directions. This emerging demand was inseparable from the “predominant thoughts” (Halbwachs 1992) in the period of localism during which the self-conscious local communities were constituents of a unique, multicultural ‘living community’ of Taiwan within the narrative of the state. An open platform for discourses was created while a scholarly team from Donghua University joined the project. The team suggested inviting NGOs to reside in these Japanese residences in order to establish a lobby for new issues and wider concern. This project attracted an indigenous organisation Palik Youth Hub (巴黎客) which moved its office to the site. The participation of the Palik Youth Hub indicates that a collective past of Jiangjunfu should not exclude the memories of the indigenous group who have lived in the area longer than any other groups and which has a tradition of fishing festivals at the bank of the Meilun River. Comprising also the memory of Japanese residents during the colonial period,²⁵⁷ a version of interpretation by juxtaposing multiple memories was formulated during the process of dialogue, and gained the agreement of the local community and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs in planning the display of local history at the site.

257. For instance, the letters from Takamura Akira (中村明), son of Takamura Mituo (中村三雄), represent the memory of Japanese residents at this site before the Second World War. See Guoli Donghua Daxue Huanjing Zhengce Yanjiusuo 2008, Appendix.

4.4.4 Representing Japanese Heritage

Years after the successful designation, the area of Jiangjunfu has remained a quiet and pleasant place. Minsheng Li continues environmental maintenance and autonomously cleans the open spaces of the residences and the river bank. Colourful flowers have been planted. When I stepped into the area in April 2011, I found elders coming to the area for a walk; restored residences were used for temporary classes²⁵⁸—for instance new-mom instruction, music learning, ecological educational activities; and there was a display of local history and community craft works. The head of Minsheng Li (lizhang 里長), Wu invited me to see the historical model of Hualien displayed in a restored Japanese residence. The model was made by the community after numerous consultations with elders about memories of Hualien seventy years ago. Interestingly, when Wu guided me through the historical landscape of Hualien via the model, Japanese Enka 演歌 music²⁵⁹ was played loudly which seemed to clash with the quiet atmosphere of the Jiangjunfu area.

The Japanese singing represents the dream of Wu and many of his community colleagues about the future of their heritage, Jiangjunfu. Although further development of Jiangjunfu is still restricted by the Ministry of National Defence,²⁶⁰ Wu enthusiastically described his dream about the area to me. He imagined a small Japan comprised of a Japanese drinking house, a Japanese barbecue restaurant and staffs wearing Japanese traditional dress. Through this exotic atmosphere, Wu hopes that many visitors will be

258. Two households of Building F had been restored by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs with subsidies from the Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior (CPAMI in short; Neizhengbu Yingjianshu 內政部營建署).

259. Enka 演歌 is a genre of Japanese ballad music popular in late 1960s and early 70s. It adopts a relatively more traditional musical style in its vocalism than modern popular music.

260. The buildings and land of Jiangjunfu area still belong to the Ministry of National Defence. The Ministry signs a contract of management with the Hualien County Bureau of Cultural Affairs every half year, and the Bureau signs another annual contract with Minsheng Li for transferring management duties legally to Minsheng Li. However, this cooperation is insecure because the attitude of the Ministry may change any time, especially under the policy of Renewal of Military Dependents' Villages.

attracted and this may bring a prosperous future to the neighbourhood while many community members of Minsheng Li are running their businesses in the market and city centre. This dream, at the same time, echoes to the image of the area from a member of staff of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Qiu. Despite the fact that the Bureau's is less concerned with business profits, Qiu's description of a better reutilizing model represents a similar Japanese image.²⁶¹ It is unsurprising that both the community and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs have similar ideas about utilization, since the management proposal of Minsheng Li for Jiangjunfu has to be approved by the Bureau. It is actually not uncommon for Taiwanese public and private sectors to apply this selective image of Japan to reutilizing plans of Japanese historic sites. For instance, during my field visit to Qingxiu Yuan 慶修院, a former Japanese Buddhist Religious Hall in Hualien, activities for celebrating Mothers' Day were being held by the Bureau of Cultural Affairs at the site. A Japanese tea ceremony was among the activities. Young students wearing *yukata* 浴衣 were assisting the ceremony. This scene may seem questionable to people familiar with Japanese culture since *yukata* is worn mostly in casual occasions. Notwithstanding *yukata* is one of the easy seized tags of Japan and is often seen in events associated with Japan in Taiwan.

4.4.5 Making Japanese Heritage in the Era of Localism

Without strong affection towards a site, normally evoked by personal memories, participants of heritage activities often demand consistent reminders about the meaning of heritage to their personal lives. Since the natural connection between heritage place and people is lacking in the case of colonial heritage, peculiarly salient within the context of dual colonialism in Taiwan, rebuilding links between sites and postcolonial communities determines the strength of support in conservation. The grassroots actions of the Minsheng Community in conserving Jiangjunfu residences became memorial events. These have helped to shape a collective memory for the Minsheng Com-

munity, comprised of diversified social frameworks of memory within the context of the layered colonialism and urban development of Hualien. The process of making heritage incorporates multiple voices and versions of memory, and a collective version of the past is shaped through wider engagement. Nevertheless, in the process of transforming the colonial to the local, ambiguities are inevitable. The adoption of Japanese cultural labels indicates a structural deficiency underneath heritage and community-building practices in Taiwan.

As mentioned previously, the Japanese sites gradually entered the legal category of cultural heritage in Taiwan. This transition was in accordance with the emerging era of localism, including the rising role of local governments. In the early 2000s, many of the Japanese sites, which, after the 9-21 Earthquake were placed under the heritage category of 'historic building', became targets of 'rehabilitation' (zai-liyong 再利用). [This incorporated multiple ambitions, for instance enhancing tourism and cultural infrastructures, catalyzing a sense of community and citizenship etc. Among these multiple incentives, the Japanese sites were expected by many local governments to be reconstructed as sites of local distinctiveness, bearing local pride and tourist attractiveness. Within this trend of rehabilitation, a large amount of funding was provided by the state government to renovate local heritage sites under projects of 'Local Museums' or 'Reutilising Unused Spaces' within the policy framework of the community-building programme.

Meanwhile, following modifications to the heritage legislation, heritage affairs have become more and more restricted to cultural departments: the Council for Cultural Affairs at state level, and the Bureau of Cultural Affairs within local governments. In other words, the rapidly increasing number of heritage sites bearing complicated community-building expectations have been managed by cultural departments with limited personnel and a relatively low budget. Two issues arise from this. First, heritage sites are more and more often required to represent 'cultural matters' only. As a member of staff at the Bureau of Cultural Affairs stressed when I asked about the plan proposed by Minsheng Community for the management of the site of Jiangjunfu, "their

261. According to my personal communication with Mr. Qiu in April 2011.

plans always focus too much on environmental care (*huanbao* 環保). It is a historic site! The plan has to be a cultural programme".²⁶² This statement shows a narrower stance compared to the original community-building targets for reutilizing heritage sites. Second, Operative-Transfer (OT), that is, the transferring of management duties to other public or private sectors within an agreed period through contract, thus soon gained popularity among state and local governments when dealing with heritage management. The difficult financial status and large number of Japanese sites in Hualien County has made OT preferable to direct management by the Cultural Bureau. This suggests a possible divergence of management at Jiangjunfu from Minsheng Community to other interest groups in the future. This discordance is particularly salient within the eco-political context of global capitalism, and allows the cultural tags of Japan to be widespread and be welcomed in locales in postcolonial Taiwan.

During the community-building boom in the 1990s and 2000s, heritage sites were expected by leading narrators and local practitioners to function as sites of locality. In this regard, local heritage sites represent local uniqueness, which is irreplaceable. This logic has been strengthened by the popular rhetoric of globalization discourses. For local governments and many community workers, creating a site of local uniqueness means being irreplaceable in the global mar-

ket. This idea of local uniqueness seems to be in conflict with the use of Japanese cultural labels in Taiwan, since Japan is supposed to represent 'foreignness'. However, the image of Japan is grafted to a sense of local place in Taiwan not only through structural multiculturalism, but through the "Japanese commodity-image-sound in the circulation of mass culture" (Leo Ching 2000, 764). The latter is suggested by this research as the major factor in the burgeoning use of Japanese cultural labels in heritage projects. The image of Japan represented by Japanese drinking houses, the tea ceremony and *yukata* is conveyed via mass media, and creates a sense of intimacy with Japan among the younger generations.²⁶³ The underlying tone of global capitalism may obstruct the development of grassroots locality intended by community-building promoters. As for the case of Jiangjunfu, notwithstanding the fact that the spontaneous connections between place and community have been lost in the layered structure of colonialism, persistent heritage activities and wide engagement of multiple groups have helped to create a site of memory. All memory activities, for instance art classes and ecological activities, that take place here aim to bond the site and the postcolonial communities. However, the desire for quick consumer effects by hasty cultural attachments indicates that the development of the Jiangjunfu area may be veer off course from being community dominant to being capital dominant.

262. Mr. Qiu, personal communication: April 2011.

263. It is surprising that, a survey on Taiwanese attitude toward Japan by the IAJ (Interchange Association, Japan) in 2008 and 2009 shows higher percent of group under age 40 think Japan is their favourite country and feeling close to Japan. The information about Japan mainly came from TV programmes for all age groups, and partly from internet for the group under 40. IAJ (generally known as Riben Jiaoliu Xiehui 日本交流協會 in Taiwan) is a semi-government organisation of Japan in dealing with cultural and scholarly exchange affairs between Taiwan and Japan.