

Museum Making in Taiwan:
Exploring the Production of Museum Architecture
from the Perspective of Design and Use

Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of Leicester

by

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August 2016

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This research looks at museum making practice and pays special attention to the ways in which museums are made through processes of design and use. By delving into a case study, the investigation concentrates on the production of museum architecture and its significant histories of making to elucidate the closely intertwined connection among society, architecture, designers, space users, and the social parties involved. It looks for meaningful findings for both the fields of museum making and architecture.

The research sets forward a detailed case study in the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei: Treasure Hill Artists Village (THAV), investigating the complex of processes through which the site has been produced since 1940s. THAV is an identified historic village, which was firstly built by retired veterans and migrants, in the high-urbanized Taipei City. Today, there are still some residents living at the site, although it has undergone a drastic alteration from a self-built village to an open art venue which accommodates international art-residential programs. The long history of the changes of the buildings in the village and their eventual transformation into a museumified venue, offers abundant content for analysis. As a detailed case study, the site provides an example of spatial change which can illuminate the shifting approaches and practices of museum making through both design and use.

Overall, the research attempts to comprehend more about the nature of the case study and to develop a fuller understanding that architecture is produced by both design and use as well as the making of public art museums/venues in Taiwan. By examining the correlations among the society, the architecture, and involved social parties, such as museum institutions, designers, and various space users, the thesis seeks to orient museum making towards more engaging and meaningful museum environments with more social concerns and critical practices.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express deepest gratitude to several individuals and organizations for their support at various stages of my PhD journey. I am also very grateful to the Ministry of Education in Taiwan and Chiang Ching-Kou Foundation (CCKF) for providing scholarships for this PhD project.

In addition, special thanks are due to my supervisor, Dr. Suzanne MacLeod, for her insightful guidance, understanding, and kindness, through out my study in the past years. Also, the examiners, Emeritus Professor Peter Davis and Dr. Lisanne Gibson's feedback are very much helpful, inspiring, and appreciated.

I am appreciative of the help I received from the staff of various organizations and for their courtesy and patience in replying to my requests for research. Thanks are also due to the administrative staff of the School of Museum Studies – especially Christine Cheesman, Barbara Lloyd, and Bob Ahluwalia, for their helps with numerous matters.

Thanks also go to my fellow students in the School of Museum Studies and friends who keep cheering me on through the process– Dr. Alex Woodall, Dr. Petrina Foti, Dr. Kirstina James, Dr. Da Kong, Dr. Ching-Yuan Hsieh, Dr. Jenny Walklate, Dr Stephanie Bowry, Jing-Fang Cai, Prasadham and Martina, and more friends who helped me throughout this explorative and self-reflective journey.

Finally, I would like to thank my dear family members for their continuous support, encouragement, and unconditional love. Particular thanks are due to my beloved wife, Priya Lin, for her all whole-hearted supports and love.

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Introduction

This research looks at the histories of the museum making at a case study site in Taiwan, and, informed by architectural theories, pays special attention to the ways in which museum architecture is made through processes of design and use. By conducting detailed architectural historic research, the investigation delves into how different forces and social parties intervene in the making of the architecture for museums and also contribute to museum making—creating a place which tells stories. In addition, aiming to find out the potential of making museum and architecture through various uses, the research examines the roles of use in the histories of making at the case study site, which is distinct from the mainstream design-centered discussion on museum design. Overall, the research sets out to elucidate the closely intertwined connection between societal context, architecture, and the varied social parties involved in a museum-making process. It looks for meaningful findings and generates discussion on the current practices in both the museum and architecture fields.

The motivation of conducting this research is mainly informed by three threads: reflections on current architectural practices, the absence of the concept of use in (museum) architecture in practice and theory, and shifts in museum practices in the Taiwanese context.

Reflections on current architectural practices

In recent decades, museum architecture has encountered a worldwide boom (especially in emerging economic regions) both in quality and quantity, and has played a central role in city branding and regeneration.¹ In the UK, Liverpool Museums are an example.² In East Asia, numerous examples, including ‘The Asian Culture Complex’ in Kwangju,

¹ Museum building is booming in major cities in Mandarin-speaking regions: a new museum of visual culture, M+ Museum, in the West Kowloon Cultural District of Hong Kong, the Taipei City Museum (cluster) and the Taipei Performing Art Center, designed by OMA for World Design Capital 2016, are recent examples.

² See Helen Searing, *Art Spaces: The Architecture of Four Tate* (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), pp. 69-73 and Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography* (Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2013), pp. 11-14.

South Korea, and The National Art Center and museum clusters in Roppongi, Tokyo, Japan, all show ambitions to reshape their cities' landscapes. In an environment of huge redevelopment, museum architecture often plays a core role in these mega projects and takes part in shaping spectacular urban landscapes. One assumption behind these beguiling phenomena is that through employing celebrated talent and building iconic mega objects, the renewal will effectively enhance economical/cultural success in city branding and the tourist industry. One of the key characteristics of this phenomenon is its high concentration on 'striking visual effects' caused by these grand museum creations.³

However, this splendid, massive, and visually-driven architecture making has been criticized by scholars and practitioners from different points of view. David Harvey, a prominent scholar devoted to cultural geography and the spatial implications of capitalism, emphasizes that 'capital accumulation' is the dominant force, which not only shapes the political, the economical, and the environmental in cities, but also characterizes 'uneven geographical development'.⁴ Therefore, it results in the severe alteration and remodeling of space/place, or even devastation of 'the production of geographical differences' by forces of *creative destruction*.⁵ Also, Finnish architect and architecture theorist, and critic of ocular-centrism, Juhani Pallasmaa points out that, in the pursuit of spectacular architecture 'The hegemonic eye seeks domination over all fields of cultural production, and it seems to weaken our capacity for empathy, compassion and participation with the world.'⁶ Similarly, Dutch architect and the curator of Venice Biennale 2014—*Fundamentals*, Rem Koolhaas, in one interview, points at the two-centimeter thickness of the interior surface of an exhibition structure to

³ In terms of the current financial side of museum, a report from the States points out that museum boom has been growing in the last two decades but not developing on a sustainable base. Plenty of the organizations faced financial difficulties after the museum building is made, and wealthy people are more inclined to pay for exciting spectacular brand-new architecture. The current money-driven stream seems to undermine the upkeep of traditional museums, especially the smaller ones. (See, Ben Davis, 'How Rich Are Hurting the Museums They Fund', *The New York Times*, 22 July, 2016, <<http://nyti.ms/2a30XkN>>, [accessed on 27 July, 2016].

⁴ David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope* (Edinburgh Berkeley: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), Chapter 5.

⁵ David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Mass, 1996), p.406.

⁶ Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses* (Chichester: West Sussex, 2005), p. 25.

exemplify his argument—‘architecture has become a total fiction’.⁷ He suggests that architects and designers should go beyond the two-centimeter *visual performance*, which usually takes designers enormous efforts to fulfill and has become what they care about the most in their practices: ‘an attractive form’ in the contemporary creative economy.

Given this background to architecture production, the reasons for making photogenic, eye-catching, and capital-driven museum architectures in cities seem to have gone far beyond pure motives of making only cultural infrastructures or iconic architectural masterpieces. Their interventions are complicated, problematic, and worthy of more examination. Treating architecture design as only a form of self-expression and an artistic matter detaches the design result from wider complexity of its context and society. Hence, more and more researchers remind us that ‘architecture is a social and cultural product’.⁸ To situate museum architecture in the context where it is born and to analyze its complicated production process seems imperative. However, its complex social/cultural relations to citizens, community, environment, and the city are easily covered by dazzling images and overlooked, before and after the rewriting of the scenes of a city, mainly because long-term evaluation and investigation into how architecture has been made socially and culturally demands years of time and effort. It often happens that current architecture and museum making projects are not able to deal with the social and the cultural detail due to time, budget, and the expectations of the commissioners who are paying.⁹

The absence of use in (museum) architecture design in practice and theory

⁷ Rem Koolhaas, ‘Architecture has become a total fiction’, *The Guardian*, 6 June 2014, <<http://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/video/2014/jun/06/rem-koolhaas-fundamentals-venice-architecture-biennale-video>> [accessed on 5 December 2015].

⁸ See Henri Lefebvre, trans. by Donald Nicholson-Smith, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publisher, 1991), p. 26. and Anthony D. King (ed.), *Buildings and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 1. Many recent architecture researchers such as Jeremy Till and Suzanne MacLeod elaborating these ideas. The above will be discussed in Chapter 1.

⁹ Kenny Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), p. 256.

Following the above, one of the most paradoxically overlooked factors in (museum) architecture seems to be ‘use’. In my past practices of planning and design projects, although ‘use’ always seems to be claimed as essential, most of the time, it is either put aside, or framed, conceived by designers. ‘Uses’ tend to be represented as the results of how the designed creation can be appropriated.¹⁰ In particular in the modernist approach to design, the comprehension of ‘users’ is frequently reduced and homogenized (or categorized into a few classes), there to be observed, programmed to act, or as passive recipients expected to follow suggestive behaviors.¹¹ Most architectural projects are still focused on design-centered thinking rather than being concerned about users. This raises a question that is continuously debated in the fields of architecture and the built environment—how or to what extent are ‘(diverse) users’ and the ‘user’ preconceived in the formation of the architecture brief and in the embodiment by design?¹²

The above current practices of architecture urge us to rethink the relationship between users and the built environment. It shows that current practices in studios and companies, which easily risk generalizing spatial use/users, assume their design is able to sense users and uses. One of the most influential factors in this tendency is the development of ‘modern’ design in the early 20th century. A prevailing reference book of that time was *Architect’s Data*, first published in 1936 and written by Ernst Neufert, who was trained in Bauhaus and tried to provide ‘perfect human measurement’ to guide the design of tools, appliances, furniture, and building details using standardized data.¹³ Ellen Lupton indicates that Neufert modified human measurements to match his octametric brick, a standardized unit he proposed in the book, and that he intended to make people fit into his standard rather than producing a standard based on people. The intention behind design and the understanding of use in architecture production became problematic, and now demands deeper re-assessment.

¹⁰ More discussion on how use has been conceptualized would be in Chapter 1.3.

¹¹ Ellen Lupton, *Beautiful Users: Designing for People*, (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2014), p. 25.

¹² See more in Cupers, Kenny, (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*.

¹³ Ernest Neufert, *Architects’ Data*, 4th edn (Wiley-Blackwell: Hoboken, 2012). Originally published in 1936.

Thomas Gieryn indicates that it is important to ‘to understand buildings as the object of human agency and as an agent of their own’.¹⁴ Architecture, on one hand, solidifies certain social/cultural values by design, with the intent of constructing a ‘common sense’ idea of how a certain building should look and function in a specific location and time. On the other hand, pieces of architecture/built environments, like museums, are always interacting with the public and are vehicles through which various space users’ behaviors and occupations are implicitly affected. However, disproportionately, the circumstances of their use and user have been relatively less pondered in architectural research and practice. Re-seeing and re-evaluating users in the production of architecture is essential yet uneasy.

We might gain more clues on the re-integration of use in terms of theoretical concerns. Increasing numbers of researchers from sociology, architecture and the built environment, and museum studies are placing more emphasis on the complex phenomenon of how architecture/the built environment is socially associated with its users. For example, French sociologist Henry Lefebvre places user’s ‘lived space’, or ‘representational space’, which contains users’ passion, actions, and daily lives, in a crucial opposition to the abstract space produced by professionalism and capital-driven forces.¹⁵ For Lefebvre, socialist attention on users and uses, is the basis of opening up a new approach to ‘the production of space’ and influentially affect the thinking and practices of participation in architecture and urban design fields. Furthermore, architect and architecture theorist Jonathan Hill refers to Lefebvre, pointing out that architecture is made by design and use, and acknowledging users’ creativity and updates to their agency in making architecture.¹⁶ Use and users are not merely passively involved in design processes or neutrally guided by design; instead, in the phase where architecture starts to be occupied by different space users, use plays a more active role.

Looking back at museum making practices, museum architecture historian Suzanne MacLeod’s research draws on the above threads and adds a significant empirical piece of architectural history research on the histories of the making of the Walker Art

¹⁴ Thomas F. Gieryn, ‘What Buildings Do’, in *Theory and Society*, Vol. 31, No.1, (2002), p. 35.

¹⁵ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 362.

¹⁶ Jonathan Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users* (London: Routledge, 2003), p. 3.

Gallery. The findings suggest every piecemeal alteration of architecture by professionals and also the following uses can reveal the change of socio-cultural conditions (the macroscopic perspective) and museum professionals' practices (the microscopic perspective).¹⁷ Therefore, by delving into the changes in architecture and the role of design and use in these making and changes, museum architecture, in time, is capable of expressing the interrelated histories among museum architecture per se, varied social agents, and the societal context in which architecture is born. However, unfortunately, in the museum making field, this kind of detailed research showing the changes of architecture/space according to museum practices is uncommon. Moreover, empirical research to explore how various user/uses implicate and (re)shape museum space is even more rare, and deserves more elaborate studies on varied types of museum making in different space-time contexts.

To sum up, viewing (museum) architecture from both the perspective of design and that of use makes architectural histories of production and alteration, showing them as series of actions in cultural production, and this is beneficial for understanding how museum making has been operating. The mutualities between architecture and varied people and actions in specific contexts, therefore, have the potential to reveal the ways museums are made.

Shifts in museum practices in the Taiwanese context

Looking back at museum making in Taiwan can briefly tell a story of **who** contributes to the production of museum architecture as well as **how**. The first museum in Taiwan, the National Taiwan Museum, was established in 1908 during the period of Japanese Colonization (See Figure i). The motives behind the historically-inspired architecture and the collections of the museum, which were created by the Japanese Government, reveal 'colonial modernity'.¹⁸ Although the modern architecture movement had begun and influenced the Japanese in the early 20th century, the Japanese-interpreted classically-styled architecture, with patterns, forms, and proportions which were not

¹⁷ Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 176.

¹⁸ Shao-Li Lu, *Exhibiting Taiwan: Power, Space, and Image Representation of Japanese Colonial Rule*. (Taipei: Rye Publications, 2005), p. 403.

totally identical with the European ones, implicitly conveyed a message of a sense of ‘progress and modernity’ to the Taiwanese people.¹⁹ It symbolized top-down national power. A state-driven approach to museum making was also followed by the next sovereignty, the Chinese Nationalist Party, (Kuomintang, hereafter KMT) which retreated from China in 1949. Since then, the form of public museum architecture seemed to represent the ideology of autocratic sovereignty, and performed its modernized structure with traditional Chinese imperial symbols and decoration, such as those in the National Palace Museum and the National History Museum (See Figures ii & iii). Museum architectures, and other public architectures in this period are considered by researchers to have been instruments which were used to build the cultural legitimacy of the state and reinforce national identity.²⁰



Figure i. The National Taiwan Museum during the Japanese Occupation. Photo from the website of the National Taiwan Museum.

¹⁹ Chu-Joe Hsia, *Theorizing Colonial Architecture and Urbanism: Building Colonial Modernity in Taiwan*, Inter-Asia Cultural Studies, Vol.3, No.1, pp. 7-23.

²⁰ See Yui-Tan Chang, The History and Identity of Taiwan's Museums: A Brief Review in *Building Identity: The Making of National Museums and Identity Politics* (Taipei: National Museum of History, 2012), p. 186.



Figure ii. National Palace Museum. Photo from National Palace Museum.



Figure iii. National Museum of History. Photo by Jing-Fang Cai.

In the 1970s, heritage conservation and Taiwanization folk movements began to turn attention to people's life and histories. The reflection on modern architecture and modernism raised questions and debates on the emphasis of local tradition and started a

few actions and movements in cultural conservation and heritage making.²¹ The significant milestone was the lifting of military law in 1987, the beginning of a democratic system which seemed to unleash the bottom up energy accumulated in the previous cultural movements as well as opening up diversity in museum practices and the making of museum architecture. Accompanying the rapid economic development which started in the 1970s, and social reformation policies, such as Community Development in 1993, public and private museums have looked to catch cutting-edge museum thoughts and practices as well as the western and the Japanese influences such as the approaches of the new museology. Different museum practices were gradually juxtaposed with the single angle of the state and demonstrated more relevance to contemporary social issues and the daily life of the citizens, ranging from community-centered eco-museums,²² environmental-driven science or disaster museums, human rights related museums with historical awareness and pluralist points of view, and contemporary art museums for developing global connections, as well as for vernacular craft and art.²³ Moving from official and conventional museum practices to wider, more diverse, and unconventional practices in public or private museums, and the drastic changes in social/economic/cultural contexts brought a corresponding variety in museum architecture. However, studies on museum making in Taiwan and its history of changes are again relatively scarce, generally focusing on certain periods of museum design and on socio-cultural-economic analysis regarding how powers are exercised. Also, the affairs of making museum architecture and even exhibition making are to a great extent regarded as works belonging to architects and designers. The potential of exploring the concepts of both design and use in museum making in Taiwan, as embroiled with its changing social context, has not yet been fully realized.

Research focus

²¹ Chien-Lang Li, *The Life Stories of Hundred-year-old Heritage: Architecture Conservation in Taiwan* (Taipei: Artco, 2014). p. 119.

²² Chapter 4, 5, and 6 will concisely mentioned more the development of community-centered approaches in Taiwan.

²³ A concise discussion on the development of the contemporary art museums in Taiwan will be seen in Chapter 5. Also see Chang, Yu-Tan, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement* (Nantou: Five Senses Art, 2004), p. 199.

Following the above reflections on architectural practices, theoretical consideration, and the diverse shifting trends on museum making in Taiwan, an in-depth architectural history of making of museum architecture appears to be required, as it is able to indicate how museum architecture has been made and remade constantly, by both design and use, which might generate lessons for museum makers. Hence, after preliminary study and filtering, the research sets forward a detailed case study in the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei City, at Treasure Hill Artists Village (hereafter THAV). There are three main reasons for choosing THAV as the case study of the research focus. More detail will be given in Chapter 2, but the brief reasons are as follows. First, in spatial terms, the buildings in THAV were initially built by its early users, mainly retired veterans and migrants. The village can be seen as an example of ‘architecture without architects’, and users and self-built buildings are tightly intertwined.²⁴ Secondly, in terms of museum making, the site was once considered an illegal slum area and eventually tuned into a mix-use and multi-purpose site, identified as a historic village²⁵ after conservation and renovation. It currently has three major uses: the artistic (international contemporary art-in-residency), the residential (eco-museum-like approaches), and the commercial (for travelers and visitors). These elements characterize the site as an unconventional museum venue, with unique cultural experiences resulting from it. It also offers abundant content/resources to re-examine its complicated making process, which by design and use turned it into a museumified venue. Third, by investigating the drastic alterations within the built environment, the site is able to enhance discussion and debates on the approaches and modalities of museum making practices— how various forms of making by design and use made the site a public venue that is made to disclose certain stories and meanings.

Overall, the research attempts to comprehend more about the nature of the case study and, specifically, to develop a fuller understanding of producing architecture by both design and use in museum making. How is museum architecture – particularly that of the art venue – made exactly? Finally, what broader understanding might we gain about museum design from such an analysis? Does architectural history research help us

²⁴ I borrowed the term coined by Bernard Rudofsky in 1964. See Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction of Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964).

²⁵ It is also the only identified historic village in the highly-urbanized/developed Taipei City.

rethink the relationship between museum architecture and its society, or the relationship between the changes in architecture and the social? If yes, how do the histories of making architecture through different forces, such as design and use, lead us to more meaningful museum making practices?

Research questions, aims and objectives

Placing special focus on how architecture has been made and remade, the research explores the evolution of the site/architecture, firstly by design, to unfold what varying forces and factors have affected architectural changes and museum practices. Second, informed by architectural theory, the focus moves to users and uses to investigate how users have made changes to the production of museum architecture in different phases of making. The thesis will tackle two core research questions, namely:

How, and to what extent, has Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV) been made by design and use? What could these various forms of making in the histories of museum architecture contribute to museum making practices?

The primary aim of this research project has been to survey the histories of architectural creation in Treasure Hill Village by both design and use, and to look at how this making has contributed to transforming the village into Treasure Hill Artist Village. Part of this aim is to contend that the making of (museum) architecture is made through use, in ways distinct from the mainstream interpretation that architecture is made only by designers. Moreover, this project aims to expand the scope of a wider range architectural actions²⁶ and suggest that actions for making museums consist of not only design but also use. In terms of the timescale, because museum making is the main focus of this project, most attention will be placed on the period in which the village became a museum venue, which began in about 1999.

In doing so, the research aims to deepen the understanding of what the roles of design and use are in architecture and museum making and to comprehend the museum making process as a place where intersecting forces and different agencies interplay. In

²⁶ The term is borrowed from Jonathan Hill.

addition, it seeks to explore how taking these perspectives of design and use in architectural history research could benefit the museum making practices, by aiming towards creating more engaging and meaningful museum environments with more critical practices.

These research aims have been pursued through a number of specific research objectives and sub-objectives:

1. To identify the significant events in the histories of making at THAV, and to investigate what varying forces, interests, and motivations lie behind these major events in different space-time contexts.
2. Tackling design: to explore how the above-mentioned interests and motivations influenced design practice and to illustrate how these ideas are embodied by design in these significant moments of making at THAV.
3. To delve into the real pictures of various uses of the site. This consists of several sub-objectives:
 - * To investigate what kinds of uses have been encouraged by the physicality of the site and if the site is open to creative use.
 - * To examine if and how varied users, such as museum personnel, invited parties, artists, and audiences in THAV, have contributed to the production of museum architecture through their occupation.
4. To evaluate how the above making by design and use contributes to making THAV a museum (in the broadest sense, ranging from eco-museum-like ideas to traditional art galleries) and to look for insights and lessons in museum making.

The research project starts from digging into the detail of architectural making by design and use and has arrived at a deeper understanding of how these pieces of making, with their own intentions embedded, have shaped the case study into a museum. Also, it intends to provoke other debates and learning on museum making, generated from this research through the perspectives of design and use.

Chapter One: Production of (Museum) Architecture: Amalgamation of Design, Use, and Society

Introduction

The chapter aims to elaborate the conceptual context for thinking, conducting, and constructing the research project. In order to guide the aims and later methodology, this chapter is a literature review which traces relevant theories in museum making, architecture making, and, to a lesser extent, connects with social and environment psychology theories. Its other key purpose is to address the active qualities of users in the production of museum architecture.

The chapter has four parts. First, it starts by focusing on theories and research regarding museum making, ranging from academic, practitioners in cultural sectors, and also designers in museum making sectors. The section intends to understand the characteristics of current museum making and, in particular, to clarify the inter-relationships between museum architecture and the diverse intentions and approaches adopted by museum makers. Secondly, it focuses on the production of architecture and learning from architectural theories to break down the false assumption that architecture is an autonomous object and to illustrate the multiple authorships which are embedded in the production of architecture. Thirdly, by reflecting on and evaluating users' differing positions in the histories of making architecture, it acknowledges potential users' creativity and agency and promotes this to a more prominent position. Fourth, inspired by social and environmental psychology, this section intends to demonstrate that a building is made by human agency and is itself an agency which impacts upon people's behaviors. Furthermore, from a microscopic perspective, the theories of environmental perception could further assist us to comprehend more about the responses of human beings in built environments. These threads of theory show the potential of explaining that users' behaviors and possible creative occupations are able to reshape architecture.

Pulling together the above threads of thinking leads to the conclusion that the making of architecture involves a close and interactive relationship between: museum makers and their approaches; varied social parties including designers and users through different forms of agency; and society. Besides, considering the production of museum architecture by both design and use indicates that architecture is a dynamic and organic creation, living in the passage of time, and the intention of the chapter is to bridge the above theories between architectural making and museum making in order to demonstrate the aspects of museum making which might advise the setting of the methodology. Also, it indicates the contribution of the research project, which lies in adding more empirical research and generating some key lessons on museum making through the detailed architectural research into the case study.

1.1 Current museum making

The first section of the chapter starts with current museum making research and practices. Museum researchers John Falk and Lynn Dierking indicated that ‘the physical context’ is highly crucial for visitors’ museum experiences.²⁷ The physical context, according to Falk and Dierking, may contain museum architecture, the museum’s built environment, spatial arrangement, exhibition setting, lighting, and all tangible designed layouts etc.²⁸ These materialized designs form a physical context which works as an interface that influences the perception and also accessibility of museums or their exhibition’s attempt to convey information. The question we might ask is emerging: How could we comprehend, and even theorize, current varied museum making in the ongoing development of museums, galleries, and cultural institutions in different circumstances?

First of all, the focus lies on practical approaches. Nowadays, museum making deals with highly integrated and multi-disciplinary professions that range from traditional creative disciplines such as architecture, interior design, experience design, communicative design, graphics, media design, light design, product design, stage setting, and directing, to museological areas, and many more other fields which have basic principles that might be transferable to museum making.²⁹ The overall synergy, interaction, and interrelation among objects, spaces, and people are meant to create ‘a narrative environment’ and will highly influence visitors’ experience on a deep level.³⁰ Many exhibition design practitioners propose similar ideas and methodologies focusing on making environments ‘talk’.³¹ For example, Jan Lorenc and his co-authors in *What is Exhibition Design?* propose a Venn diagram: that the built environment plus communication design creates a new area—communicative environments.³² Such narrative or communicative environments usually contain spatial settings made up of

²⁷ John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience*. (Washington: Whalesback Books, 1992), p. 2.

²⁸ John H. Falk and Lynn D. Dierking, *The Museum Experience Revisited*. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2013), pp. 103-145.

²⁹ Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, p. xxii.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

³¹ Atelier Brückner, *Scenography* (Ludwigsburg: Avedition, 2011), The Introduction.

³² Jan Lorenc and Lee Skolnick, *What Is Exhibition Design?* (Mies: Rotovision SA, 2008), p. 9.

four elements—a narrative, a narrator, a path, and a context.³³ Hence, starting by determining the messages that an exhibition seeks to convey, the production of an exhibition then focuses on what media to choose to move the story and how visitors get a sequence of experiences in the given pathways in an exhibition space integrated into museum architecture or landscape.³⁴

Another similar but actually distinct approach is *performative space*, ‘an approach to spatial organization and interactivity that emphasizes the dialogue between space, body, and time’.³⁵ Attention is paid to the fact that the ‘body plays a fundamental role in communication and learning’ and tends to go beyond the ‘semiotics of display’.³⁶ The emphasis on bodily experiences shows a different strategy to that of achieving ‘learning’ through merely intellectual means. To summarize, museum making, or making the physicality of a museum environment, is an attempt to achieve a delicate and highly elaborate unity through various means, such as the intellectual, the bodily, and the emotional and sensory, by integrating communicative storytelling and spatial settings in public and private museums, historic sites, and even commercial worlds.

Detecting the power behind the facade

An emerging method for understanding current compelling ways of making narrative environments, which combine traditional techniques of display and newly developed media, is to unveil the rationales of making. Suzanne MacLeod et al., in *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, and Exhibitions* imply three main areas in the subtitle as the major considerations elaborating the practices of museum making. Ranging from different examples of being aware of the rationales of the construction of narratives to the embodiment of the narratives into physical museum design, the making of narrative environments is considered the action of making narratives perceptible in a three dimensional space.³⁷ Furthermore, the authors quote Jerome Bruner’s idea of ‘a

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p.104.

³⁵ David Dernie, *Exhibition Design*. (London: Laurence King, 2006), p. 46.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁷ See Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, p. xxii. And also Atelier Brückner, *Scenography* (Ludwigsburg: Avedition, 2011).

self that is instinctively predisposed to perceive, create, and communicate narrative' as the foundation to pointing out that the nature of storytelling is innate in each human being. Human beings can make the messages in narratives that can be read and understood by people.³⁸ Precisely because narrative is basically a human construct, it necessitates an encounter with a series of omissions and edits, created with different intentions, and that might risk being biased and distorted.³⁹ Also, by quoting B. S. Johnson, 'Telling stories is really telling lies', the authors aim to stress the unavoidable politics behind the process of constructing narratives.⁴⁰ This book reminds us of being aware that a narrative is made with certain purposes and creative manners which have the ability to inspire, to fire the imagination, or to challenge assumptions and beliefs, by engaging readers. Therefore, the above illuminates an important question: whose values/intentions dictate the decision making in terms of narrative construction or the materialization and embodiment of narratives where multiple scales of politics may be exercised? Thus, museum making itself is associated with a much more complicated process of detailed decision making.

Beside, plenty of museum scholars' works, which also question and elaborate the powers exercised behind museum space in traditional museums, have also paved the way to deepening the understanding museum-making, especially in terms of museum architecture. For instance, in *The Birth of the Museum*, Tony Bennett refers to Michel Foucault and Eilean Hooper-Greenhill, and points out that 'the birth of the museum can serve to illuminate its political rationality--the development of a modern form of government which took architecture as technology to regulate behaviors of individuals and populations'.⁴¹ Conventional museums here, particularly in terms of knowledge production, are instruments of 'the State' to create docile bodies.⁴² The dominant values and meanings are implicitly embedded in the form of museum architecture.

Similarly, but focusing on public art museums, Carol Duncan criticizes European public art museums as ritual spaces which provide a distinct quality of experience that is

³⁸ Suzanne MacLeod et al. (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, p. xxii.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. xxii.

⁴¹ Tony Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory, Politics* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 90.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 89.

eradicated from the daily life of visitors⁴³. As a result, one of the purposes of ritual spaces implies the identification of the middle classes.⁴⁴ Museum practices and museum space solidify the existing social structures of power. Besides, Pierre Bourdieu, also focusing on museums as a form of cultural production, notes one major form of cultural capital that can be passed on to children is ‘the love of art’, which enables children to be familiar with cultural content and icons through the experiences of visiting museums.⁴⁵ Museums again are the places of inheritances, not only the collection they possess but also the values that belong to a certain social class. Therefore, by illuminating whom museum spaces are designed or by whom they are used might indicate the unvoiced intents of the power of museum practitioners, decision makers, or institutions. The why and how of museum establishment requires more questioning and examination.

Re-seeing occupations in museum making

Besides questioning the processes of decision making in museum making, some researchers have paid more attention to how a variety of uses in museums might enhance the making of museum architecture in a more engaging manner. In museums, the term ‘users’ is frequently associated with visitors. However, in terms of architecture occupation, user can refer to anyone who has occupied the architecture, and can even be associated with ‘appropriation’—for architectural theorists Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, ‘more positively as a means of harnessing underused resources or else unsettling the state quo’.⁴⁶ Hence, in this research project, ‘users’ of museum architecture could allude to wider social agents, such as the museum institution and its staff, the surrounding communities, and anyone who has physically occupied the museum environment.

Looking at visitors and museum institutions, Suzanne MacLeod, Jocelyn Dodd, and Tom Duncan, elaborated on how museum design can respond to visitor’s feedback by

⁴³ See Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995).

⁴⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 6.

⁴⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, Alain Darbel, and Dominique Schnapper, *The love of Art: European Art Museums and their Public* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), p. 109.

⁴⁶ Nishat Awan, Tatjana Schneider, and Jeremy Till, *Spatial Agency* (Oxon: Routledge, 2011), p. 73.

conducting a piece of design research.⁴⁷ Through this collaborative process, the research team, ranging from specialists in and outside of museums, proposed meaningful findings for re-shaping and improving the interaction between visitors and the highly interpretative museum architecture of the Imperial War Museum North, designed by famous star-architect Daniel Libeskind.⁴⁸ Such museum design research using cross-disciplinary expertise can improve/re-model museum architecture/space to enhance museum experiences and services. These user-centered, design-for-use, and problem-solving approaches are drawing more and more attention, and are proving necessary in museum design sectors to generate more engaging design solutions.

Talking about museum making, the above research, like many other visitor studies in the museum studies field or post occupation evaluations (POE) in the architectural field, can contribute to understanding how museum architecture can be improved by being designed to respond to users. However, only a very few pieces of research, precluding relatively descriptive museum architecture histories in museum brochures, have conducted a long-term investigation from a historical point of view on museum making. Suzanne MacLeod, in *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, looks at the significant architectural making histories of the Walker Art Gallery (hereafter WAG), and points out that museum practices significantly inform the museum architecture, and that, vice versa, every piecemeal change in museum architecture can reveal the intervention or the change of professional practices.⁴⁹ Architecture is not only the work of an architect from the moment of its completion: MacLeod proposes that museum architecture is made through processes of design, representation, and use.⁵⁰

Museum architecture and museum practices

Following the above discussion regarding the mutual relationship between museum practices and museum built environments, some museums, such as eco-museums,

⁴⁷ Suzanne MacLeod, Jocelyn Dodd, and Tom Duncan, 'New Museum Design Cultures: Harnessing the Potential of Design and 'Design Thinking' in Museums', *Museum Management and Curatorship*, Vol.30, No.4, pp. 314-341.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 183.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

prioritize community-driven approaches for sustainability, tremendously transforming the spatial and the conceptual state of a museum that is conventionally constructed (there will be more discussion on this in Chapter 5, according to the features of the case study).⁵¹ The different approaches to making museums seem to reveal different ideas of what museum is and what spatial forms museums can take. In addition, there are growing numbers of museums which, by manifesting different spatial forms, strive to offer different strategies of creating cultural experiences and social interactions through envisioning new relationships between people and museum space, such as decentralized museums and distributed museums, which even attempt to engage more audiences through outreach programs or making accessible places for people.⁵² In terms of accessibility and placemaking, the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art in Kanazawa in Japan is a renowned example in the East Asian context. It is a transparent building built in a circular form, aiming to mitigate the scale of the building and to allow accesses from multiple entries that are all open to the surrounding area, showing a low-profile and inviting attitude to the city and the community.⁵³ Overall, it is observed that museum ideas and practices seem to exist alongside the production of diverse spatial forms, which are concerned with engaging more people, citizens, and communities to become a significant public space in an urban setting.

The above discussion aims to raise debates tackling what current museum making might refer to, ranging from narrative environment, performative environment, to different spatial forms making museums as public space in the cities. These ways of making museum all share common characteristics of highly integrative cross-disciplinary collaboration, and therefore, the multiple levels of decision-making are inevitable. In order to delve into the making process of museum architecture, I intend to look at the

⁵¹ Peter Davis, 'Ecomuseums and sustainability in Italy, Japan, and China: concept adaptation through implementation', in Simon J. Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson (eds), *Museum Revolution: How Museums Change and are Changed* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 199.

⁵² In Taiwan, I-Lan Museum Family echoes with this concept that the whole county of I-Lan is considered a big museum which consists of 33 small or middle scaled public and private museums. See <<http://www.lanyangnet.com.tw/ilmuseums/>>(last accessed on 2 August 2016). Also the term is cited from museum and exhibition designer, Peter Higgins, 'The Changing Role of Museums in 21st Century', Old and New: Transcending the Museum Space" Master Lecture Series. Chinese Association of Museum, 12-13 Nov. 2012.

⁵³ Yuko Hasegawa, 'Lessons Learned from 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art, Kanazawa: Urban Incubator with People-Oriented', *Tainan Museum of Fine Arts*, No.1, March 2016.

production of architecture, in particular those relevant to design and use, with the help from architectural theories and research.

1.2 Architecture and Society

*‘As an architect, if you are lucky enough, good enough to find yourself in the right place at the right time, you witness by what you are doing a change and that is never easy, because people don’t like change. The architect is interpreting that change. The art of living, staying together, is in **constant change**. As an architect you cannot be so arrogant to believe you made that change. But if you spend your time observing society and community then you become the witness to the change, an interpreter of the change.’*⁵⁴ By Renzo Piano, Archidaily.

Reflectively, Piano points out a deep and invisible relationship between society and architecture and prioritizes the constant change of ‘the art of living’ rather than an architect’s arrogant ego. The section aims to break down similar accounts, as well as to bridge relevant existing architecture theories and thinking, especially regarding the relationship between architecture and the wider context which it is located in, the society, in order to reveal how different forces may influence the making of architecture.

The quest for architecture

The general discussion of architecture making in the public media is centered around the architects, in particular, ‘**st**architects’ who attract the most fame and awe, alongside their architectural performances. It demonstrates, nowadays, that many senior or early-career architects strive to reach their career peak by creating iconic landmark architecture.⁵⁵ Museum architecture is certainly one kind of career masterpiece of artwork. These architectures often stand at the core of city renewal plans, which highlight city branding and marketing with lots of public/private investment poured into

⁵⁴ Paul Clemence, ‘Renzo Piano Explains How To Design the Perfect Museum’, *ArchDaily*, 05 Aug 2014. <<http://www.archdaily.com/534172/renzo-piano-reveals-how-to-design-the-perfect-museum/>> [accessed 06 Dec 2014].

⁵⁵ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: A Critical History*, 4th edn. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2011), p. 344.

the building in order to create an urban spectacle.⁵⁶ Although it is obvious that almost all building projects are manifested by cooperating multi-disciplinary skilled groups of people, two assumptions are pointed out by several architectural theories. Firstly, it is recurrently assumed that architects, their charisma, talent, and their masterpieces, will lead to guarantee positive impacts on the city or the human landscape to a large extent.⁵⁷ The second assumption is more obvious: that the making of architecture belongs to architects.⁵⁸ Such assumptions lay particular stress on the individual level and seem to render the main mindset of the most of architects and architecture students.

The idea of the autonomy of architecture may be rooted in the education and development of the architect. Chu-Joe Hsia points out that Taiwanese architectural education after WWII is deeply informed by the Modernist architecture movement from the States, which is originated from the apprenticeship system in Western Europe.⁵⁹ This system of education, as architecture historian Manfredo Tafuri points out, may have its origins in the differentiation of architects that started with the separation of architects from constructors in the Renaissance in the fifteenth century.⁶⁰ In the history of the differentiation of the role of architects, this development not only marks a specialized position but also professionalizes ‘architecture’ as an established discipline.

Under the establishment of the discipline, the meaning of architecture has been dominated and defined by a certain professionalized ideology. In the words of the most prestigious, and at the same time conservative, architectural theorist and historian Nikolaus Pevsner, ‘A bicycle shed is a building; Lincoln Cathedral is a piece of architecture’⁶¹, is demonstrated the biased distinction, full of embedded value, favor, and taste, between ‘architecture’ and ‘building’. Architecture and its discourses reveal

⁵⁶ See Guy Debord, *The Society of the spectacle*, (New York: Zone Books, 1995) (Original published in France in 1967) and Anthony Vidler, Introduction, in Anthony Vidler (ed.), *Architecture Between Spectacle and Use* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 2008), pp. vii-xiii.

⁵⁷ MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 14.

⁵⁸ Jeremy Till, *Architecture Depends* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2009), p. 154.

⁵⁹ Chu-Joe Hsia, ‘Modern Architecture in Taiwan—Architectures in Taiwan from 1950s to 1970s’, *Architecture Forum: Architecture 101*, Elite Bookstore, 2013.

⁶⁰ Manfredo Tafuri, *Theories, and History of Architecture* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. 15.

⁶¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, *An Outline of European Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1943), p. 23.

the meanings and the intentions behind terms, which define the boundaries of architecture and are highly questionable.⁶²

Many ideas about architecture were re-evaluated and re-defined in the 1960s and 1970s, accompanying the social movements in Western Europe and North America. In 1964, Bernard Rudofsky organized an exhibition called 'Architecture without Architects' that focused on vernacular buildings cross-culturally to express different traditions of (hand-made) building and construction before modern architecture prevailed worldwide.⁶³ The term "architecture" was expanded beyond the Western European tradition towards looking at the formation of architecture in specific social and cultural contexts. Architecture theorist Adrian Forty reminds us that the words we utilize to talk about architecture play a significant role in understanding, perceiving, and even potentially (re-) making architectures.⁶⁴ In addition, Jeremy Till has investigated the meaning of RIBA and finds that 'A' in RIBA refers to 'architects' rather than 'architectures'.⁶⁵ He makes a point that architects build 'self-protectionism and self-satisfaction' by defining the characteristics and qualifications of their own profession.⁶⁶ He says, 'the implications are clear: architecture is defined by architects.'⁶⁷ Hegemonic habitual thinking seems to be overwhelmingly dominant in this profession. Therefore, the language we use and the perception of architecture is also informed by a specific space-time context informed by professionalism and needs more re-examination. It pushes architecture research to take the wider context into account and to unveil the intent and motivation of various forces behind the production of both architecture and architectural discourses in the context where the architecture is made.

The definition of architecture has gradually shifted in the post-modern context. In 1990, in the fifth edition of the *Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape*

⁶² Till, *Architecture Depends*, p. 153.

⁶³ Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short Introduction of Non-Pedigreed Architecture*. (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1964), pp. 1-5.

⁶⁴ Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2004), p. 12.

⁶⁵ Till, *Architecture Depends*, p. 153.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

Architecture, (one of the editors of which was Nikolaus Pevsner), for the first time the definition of the term ‘architecture’ was modified. It says,

The art and science of designing structures and their surrounding in keeping with aesthetic, functional, or other criteria. The distinction made between architecture and building, e.g. by RUSKIN, is no longer accepted. Architecture is now understood as encompassing the totality of the designed environment, including buildings, urban spaces and landscape. Architectural theory goes back to VITRUVIUS and the lost Ancient Greek writings on which he relied. It has continued ever since with a number of cultural, psychological and symbolic as well as spatial, structural and other interpretations... The aesthetics of architecture cannot be readily distinguished from those of the other arts (poetry, music, sculpture, painting), and many questions remain to preoccupy architects: what does architecture express? What does it represent? And with what means (symbolic or otherwise) can it do this?⁶⁸

The upgraded definition reveals two major changes. First, the meaning of architecture is no longer easily fixed and undergoes multiple interpretations and debates. Second, the scale of architecture is forcibly expanding, which may result from the fact that nowadays architectural practices face more complicated concerns within their surrounding (urban) contexts and cannot be only considered just a single task of making building or construction work itself.

Architecture is a social and cultural product

Through situating architecture in the post-modern complex with diverse perspectives, what does architecture express exactly, or what is it meant to express? Many theorists and researchers point out that architecture is significantly informed by its society. Anthony King has argued that, ‘buildings are informed by a society’s ideas, its forms of social organization, the beliefs and values that dominate at a particular moment and its

⁶⁸ John Fleming, Hugh Honour, and Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture and Landscape Architecture*. 5th edn. (London: Penguin Books, 1999), p. 21-22.

distribution of resources.’⁶⁹ Michel Foucault’s research on the modern prison demonstrates this point. He adopts Bentham’s Panopticon to demonstrate how the social control of the institution is embodied in the physical form of the prison by completely monitoring and repressing the freedom of human bodies.⁷⁰ The power and the knowledge implicitly but actively operate in physical forms. Besides, thinking of architecture in its surrounding society, King also points out that buildings change when society or a social need changes.⁷¹ Piano’s words quoted at the beginning of this section echo this, and illuminate the dynamic and mutual relationships between architecture and its society.

In a similar vein, architectural historian Manfredo Tafuri suggests that, to understand architecture, the most fundamental thing is to acquire knowledge of the mental structure of people **of a specific age**.⁷² In addition, as a historian, he points out that studying all the elements associated with an architectural work, as well as all facets of the work involved, is necessary. Only by doing so can the limits of architect’s and owner’s freedom and creativity exercised in an architectural project clearly emerge.⁷³

Influential concept: production of space

The nature of architectural research and the field per se is not isolated from other threads of analysis on architecture. French Sociologist Henri Lefebvre, in his groundbreaking book *The Production of Space*, elucidates the concept, that ‘(social) space is a (social) product’, which has significantly informed the analysis of the production of architecture and the built environment since the 1990s.⁷⁴ He first carefully builds up the conceptual triad of space production, which contains spatial practices: the perceived space ‘which embraces (all social relations of) production and reproduction,

⁶⁹ Anthony D. King (ed.), *Buildings and Society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 1.

⁷⁰ Michel Foucault, *Panopticism (extract)*, in Neil Lynch (ed.), *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, (Oxon: Routledge, 1997), p. 360.

⁷¹ King (ed.), *Buildings and Society*, p. 6.

⁷² Manfredo Tafuri, ‘There is no Criticism, Only History’, in *Design Book Review*, No.9, Spring (1986), pp. 8-11.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁷⁴ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 26.

and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation’;⁷⁵ representations of space: the conceptualized or conceived space or the space of scientists, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, ‘which are tied to the relations of production’⁷⁶; and representational spaces: the lived space or the space of inhabitants and users, which is ‘linked to the clandestine or underground site of social life, as also to art’.⁷⁷ One of the purposes of Lefebvre coining this concept is to criticize the fetishization of images and abstraction resulting from capitalism and professionalism, which imposes its ‘ideal’ values and therefore denies different qualities of people’s real life.⁷⁸ He notes, ‘this space has nothing innocent about it: it answers to particular tactics and strategies; it is, quite simply, the space of the dominant mode of production, and hence the space of capitalism, governed by the bourgeoisie.’⁷⁹ The space is never pure; rather, there is certain underlying power operating implicitly for the interest of certain social classes. However, the privileging image (of abstraction) ‘kills’ the features of various users’ everyday lives and is not capable of accounting for the richness of lived experience.⁸⁰

Many architecture researchers draw on Lefebvre’s idea to develop their argument. Jeremy Till refers to it and elaborates,

(space is) produced through a complex set of overlapping societal agencies: the representational, the economic, the phenomenological, the conceptual, the spatial practice of the individual, the collective practices of the political, and so on.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-39.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 33-39.

⁷⁸ The conceptual triad views buildings beyond only passively mirroring a society or a mindset in a specific space-time and emphasizes on its dynamic intersection of multiple forces and given social relationships. He carefully deals with dialectic relations and tensions among these three concepts. The dynamic and interconnected relationships between any two of the three concepts allow the interpretations of the production of built environment to go beyond singular or dualistic points.

⁷⁹ Neil Leach, ed. *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 144.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁸¹ Till, *Architecture Depends*, p. 134.

If we situate architecture in its society, where all relevant forces and social parties have intervened, the production of architecture might be more clearly unveiled, and the perception of architecture is no longer seen as an isolated autonomous creation.

For instance, in terms of the exercise of the power of the state, in *The Sociology of Architecture*, Jones claims several ways in which the state has long acted, such as constructing national (or local) identities, creating collective memories⁸², reinventing and regenerating cities through the intervention of iconic architecture (i.e. the eye-catching Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao),⁸³ and projecting future visions onto present political projects.⁸⁴ These social parties who hold the power, either political or professional, tend to shape the built environment with their large-scale visions which might be very distinct from the real experiences (and expectations) of users. The *lived space* is readily ignored or framed. Therefore, Till stresses, 'by introducing the social it banishes any notion that space could be treated as an abstract matter, devoid of any social content, or sundered from any social context.'⁸⁵ The illusion and hope that architectural education often transmits to students is that making architecture is potentially artistic performances manipulated by talented architects who can skillfully design/decide the form of architecture. It soon meets a challenge of simplification when architecture is actually highly entwined with the society where it is born.

Then, in terms of makers, who else is participating in the production of space? Edward Soja puts it straightforwardly, 'We all produce space'.⁸⁶ This approach not only sounds like a democratic cliché of civil society but requests more detailed attention and observation be paid towards more social agencies⁸⁷—who and how else produce space and even architecture. The next section will attempt to tackle this issue further.

⁸² Paul Jones, *The Sociology of Architecture* (Liverpool: University Press, 2011), p. 96.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 139.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁸⁵ Till, *Architecture Depends*. p. 134.

⁸⁶ Edward Soja's words in a lecture, quoted in Till, *Architecture Depends*, p. 127.

⁸⁷ Awan, Schneider, and Till, *Spatial Agency*.

1.3 Re-evaluation of users

Lefebvre's ultimate concern expects users to retrieve the power to appropriate space and make space for use instead of space for exchange which is dominated by capital.⁸⁸ Also, users appropriate, utilize, live, and interact with their bodies instead of only with the mind. The user's space is appropriated and created with his/her everyday life, a phenomenal place. He illustrates that 'Use is what would unify spatial practice against all the forces that dispersed it'.⁸⁹ The conceptual triad opens up a discussion that often appears in the practices of the making of the built environment and is still continuously debated—the absence of users during the making process. This section intends to illuminate aspects around user and use.

In *Use Matters*, Kenny Cupers gives a historic and analytic view of the user. He points out that the 'universal user' usually simply framed by designers does not exist, and suggests that we have to understand it through considering the user as 'a historically constructed category of twentieth-century modernity that continues to inform architectural practices and thinking in often unacknowledged ways'.⁹⁰ He indicates three major threads that have shaped our understanding of the current ideas of 'user'. First, the architectural modernism of the early decades of the twentieth century shaped the notion of use as interchangeable with 'function'. That meant buildings were to instruct users' behaviors and were primarily supported by *the application of scientific management principles of architecture*.⁹¹ In this period, the definition of the user was influenced by the main logic of late industrial capitalism, such as standardization, mass production, and rapid urbanization. For instance, Bauhaus designer Neufert Ernest's *Architect's Data*, still a dominant reference book in architecture firms, is an example that epitomized 'the best' suggested size and scale for architecture details including furniture.⁹² Nevertheless, Ellen Lupton criticizes the book, saying that according to its suggested scales, users are meant to fit into design forms rather than forms fitting

⁸⁸ Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 368.

⁸⁹ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, p. 312.

⁹⁰ Kenny Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 1-2.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

⁹² Ernest Neufert, *Architects' Data*, 4th edn. (Wiley-Blackwell: Hoboken, 2012). Originally published in 1936.

users.⁹³ The first thread of the perspective of user is the belief that users can share similar needs in occupying architecture.

The second forces he proposes are that ‘the notion of the user in architecture is contingent upon the ambiguity between citizenship and consumerism’ under the context of the postwar decades in Europe and North America.⁹⁴ The rise of the user was catalyzed by the large-scale programs of mass housing and public services, which was fundamentally driven by larger forces of political economy, colonialism, migration, consumerism, and the bureaucratic apparatus of the state.⁹⁵ Forty also points out and adds that, in the political system of the welfare states in Western Europe, architecture is utilized ‘to stabilize relations between capital and labour but without effecting any major redistribution of the ownership of wealth’.⁹⁶ The user here is still treated as a mass group that architecture aims to respond to serve. However, from the Pruitt-Igoe public housing project in St. Louis, we can see the failure of this conception (also seen as failure of modernism by some architecture researchers) as used in an architectural program. It was a project praised as ‘a truly enlightened scheme’ when it was built in the 1950s.⁹⁷ It ended up being demolished in the mid-1970s with dynamite because it got notorious for its crime, segregation, and unfriendly neighborhood. The main reasons for the decay of the building and the public space were the deficiencies in the form of the building, which was not able to support the congregation of the neighborhood without understanding the real needs of the lower income groups who lived there.⁹⁸ The vicious circle of crime eventually threatened the remaining residents and led to unpredictable results. The belief that architectural design (hardware) without proper strategies (software) could solve social problems was too simplified.

⁹³ Ellen Lupton, *Beautiful Users: Designing for People* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2014), p. 25.

⁹⁴ Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*, pp 7-9.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

⁹⁶ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, p. 314.

⁹⁷ Peter Blake, *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked* (Little, Brown & Company, 1983), p. 154.

⁹⁸ Also, the poor administrative management worsened the problem. See Peter Blake, *Form Follows Fiasco: Why Modern Architecture Hasn't Worked* (Little, Brown & Company, 1983), pp. 151-156.

In addition, in this phase, the ideas of function, standardization, and homogeneity were partially replaced by the emergence of new thinking such as flexibility, programming, and polyvalence, showing the evolution and willingness to deal with more diverse users.⁹⁹ However, the notion of users in this phase still shared some basic principles of the abovementioned interwar modernism.¹⁰⁰

The third force is the rise of user's participation in architectural experiments emerging in the 1960s and 1970s, which often appeared as 'part of the social and political project of empowering the disenfranchised'.¹⁰¹ Cupers elaborates that except for the notions of 'function' or 'program', use in this sense places architecture in an ethical realm of action, in direct relation to society at large'.¹⁰² In the 1970s, the ideas of participatory design, community architecture, self-help and self-build movements, all rose with increasing requirements of rebuilding community life and retrieving the close relationship between humanity and the environment against the impact of rapid urbanization.¹⁰³ Many guideline books passed on know-how about organizing participatory design workshops, obtaining information from the locals and transforming designers' tool kits to things with a more friendly and inviting attitude for space users.¹⁰⁴ One of the examples is Richard Hatch's idea. In *The Scope of Social Architecture*, he proposed three principles that reflect architecture as a *process*—new meaning for participation; *form*—to provide rational transparency; and *content*—discussed as the structure of experience. All of the notions aim to overcome the alienation in architectural production.¹⁰⁵ End users had been made more visible, heightened and empowered. However paradoxically, in the condition of the post-modern, varied unsolved issues emerged from these participatory design experiments. Tatjana Schneider argues that what such practices often lack is immersion and a real

⁹⁹ Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*, p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*. pp. 142-148.

¹⁰¹ Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*, p. 10.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰³ Nick Wates and Charles Knevitt, *Community Architecture: How People Are Creating Their Own Environment*, Reissue edn. (Oxon: Routledge, 2013). First published in 1987.

¹⁰⁴ For example, see Stanley King et al, *Co-Design: A Process of Design Participation*. (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1989).

¹⁰⁵ Richard Hatch, *The Scope of Social Architecture* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984), p. 7.

engagement with the complexities of use.¹⁰⁶ The complexity of the users and uses mean that it is very hard to target them all, especially in capital-driven projects due to cost considerations. Besides, Cupers points out a fundamental flaw of these experiments, which is ‘avoiding the murky politics that only appear when such practices are examined in a larger social and political context.’¹⁰⁷ In other words, the ideals and potentials of the empowerment of the user seem trapped and powerless as sometimes the participatory process become a formality without necessary radical social processes to catalyze the changes to larger social and political system.

Some architects took other ways to empower users connoting radical changes. Under the vivid energy of social reformation in the 1970s, Christopher Alexander’s architecture experiments for empowerment cannot be overlooked. He firstly proposes a nameless quality to address the ideal relationship between people and their environment, a timeless, powerful, and a fundamental state ‘with its help hundreds of people together can create a town, which is alive and vibrant, peaceful and relaxed, a town as beautiful as any town in history.’¹⁰⁸ His idea aims to liberate people from the illusion of all artificial images which distort the nature inside and learn a discipline which regains the true relationship between human and the environment.¹⁰⁹ His philosophy was embodied in 253 interconnected patterns, which range from the small scale to the large. All patterns share a clear format and interrelate to each other. It is said that the original publication was printed on the thin paper used in the Bible in order to be portable and accessible for the masses. He says, ‘you can use this solution a million times over, without ever doing it the same way twice’.¹¹⁰ He wants to empower ‘users’ and at the same time preaches an alternative construction system.¹¹¹ Criticisms of his works are often about his vagueness, mysticism, totalitarian tendencies and lack of

¹⁰⁶ Tatjana Schneider, ‘The Paradox of Social Architectures.’ in Kenny Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture* (Oxon: Routledge, 2014), pp. 249-263.

¹⁰⁷ Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁸ Alexander Christopher, *The Timeless Way of Architecture* (New York: Oxford University Press, USA, 1980), p. 8.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 15.

¹¹⁰ Alexander Christopher, Sara Ishikawa, and Murray Silverstein, *A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction* (New York: OUP, USA, 1977), p. xi.

¹¹¹ Alexander Christopher HansJoachim Neis, and Maggie Moore Alexander, *The Battle for the Life and Beauty of the Earth: A Struggle Between Two World-Systems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 1-12.

room for heterogeneity.¹¹² Although the patterns he illustrates are rooted in the social, cultural, and climatic context in North American and might not be applicable for other regions, his profound philosophy seems to be connected with ancient oriental philosophy and provokes fundamental inside-out changes which begin with the consciousness and the self-discovery of users' deep connection to the environment. His idea is to provoke action and not to solve unsolved issues by pondering.

Similarly, an intention that expects radical systematic changes, whether political, participatory, constructional, or phenomenological, or the redistribution of social resources, moves towards unleashing the complexity and also the potential of users. As Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett indicates in *Everyday Urbanism*,

Community participation in a planning process is not enough...the (urban) vernacular can help us discover what cannot—indeed, what should not—be planned. It can suggest what should be protected from design and should be left to its own devices, free to find its own spatial form.¹¹³

The above idea attempts to find a balance between design (the conceived) and use (the lived) and requests that design is for serving the use and leaving the space for users' creation beyond the dichotomy between design and use. The liberation of the users and uses seems again possible, but only under a certain cooperation with the design.

Acknowledging the agency of the users in architecture making

User wise, architecture theorist and architect Jonathan Hill proposes a straightforward idea that architecture is undergoing continuous remaking through use in order to raise the awareness of users' creativity in the production of architecture.¹¹⁴ He starts from Roland Barthes's idea, 'The death of the author', and rethinks and reconstructs the relationship between author and reader. He notes,

¹¹² See Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 22 and Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, pp. 114-115.

¹¹³ John Chase, Margaret Crawford, and John Kaliski (eds), *Everyday Urbanism* (New York: The Monacelli Press, 2008), p. 19.

¹¹⁴ Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users*, p. 6.

As architecture is experienced, it is made by the user as much as the architect. Neither are the two terms mutually exclusive. They exist within each other. Just as the architect is also a user, the user can be an illegal architect.¹¹⁵

The above statement connotes that architect and user might be are possible users when making architecture. He did not explain much on how the architect could be a user, but his main intention was to raise attention to the creativity of the user in architecture production. Viewing architecture in this way opens opportunities to explore users' interventions, and the making of architecture could be turned into a dynamic and long-term process instead of only one of completion by design. This research is much informed by his theory because it paves the way to widening the scopes of examining architecture making. In addition, Hill categorized how users react/respond to the architecture into three main kinds: passive, responsive, and creative (users). Among the three kinds, creative uses and users do not definitely follow the framed uses by design and therefore could create architecture alternatively.

It is almost certain that Hill's concept situates users in a more active role and acknowledges the agency of creative users in later making and remaking. His theory urges us to look at users' actions not only before/within the design process but also after, when the architecture is being used. However, Hill relies more on theoretical deduction and phenomenal observation of architectural changes in a few architectural projects. He looks relatively less towards what users' deep intentions are, what leads users to be creative, and lacks the analysis of the context and empirical research. In other words, his theory fails to explain why users react towards the built environment in passive or creative ways and does not question if the spatiality of the built environment induces its users to be creative. A deeper understanding of use remains uncovered. His theory needs and deserves more detailed empirical data and justification, which could make dialogues and give more color to the theory with different contexts and cases.

Iain Borden's research on skateboarders is a good example of users' reshaping. He demonstrates how skateboarders re-define the space with their minds, bodies, and

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

movements by skating in abandoned places and swimming pools in Los Angeles. They interact with built environments, discover the nuance of space in order to skate with all their senses, and remake the space into their playground. He describes space remaking by the bodies of skateboarders,

The skateboarder's traverse on the clear white wall creates a mono-tonal hum, so near silence yet so clearly audible that it creates a dramatic calm interlude to the shuddering, high-speed fire rasped out by hard wheels passing over blue ceramic tile and metal truck grinding along concrete coping... (H)earing mediates between the spatial body and the world outside it.... In particular, this involves thinking less about the pool wall as a concrete wave, and more as an element which, together with the skateboard and skater's own body, can be recombined into an excited body-centric space.¹¹⁶

User's intervention is deeply associated with bodies and a full experience involving all the senses. Through these dialogues, users and architecture can be re-connected, to some extent, with personal attachment and bodily performance. In addition, these new uses and meaning of the spaces made by skateboarders are distributed worldwide via websites on the Internet and might be duplicated by widespread followers in other city contexts. It echoes Forty's idea that talking about architecture could contribute towards shaping it¹¹⁷ and demonstrates the possibilities and potential that the users have to rewrite the built-environment by their occupation.

The above summarizes the various roles of use in different periods of time, experiments and arguments, and possible agency in architecture/space making. The generalization of diverse users, user participation in the design phase, design for use, user empowerment, or acknowledgment of the capacity and creativity of users to making architecture discloses different routes to intervention in architecture making. Users are crucial forces in the making and remaking of architecture but there is a lack of full investigation into them. Furthermore, in order to unleash the potential of use, other angles of theories and

¹¹⁶ Iain Borden, 'Body Architecture: Skateboarding and the Creation of Super-Architectural Space', in Jonathan Hill (ed.), *Occupying Architecture: Between the Architect and the User* (London: Routledge, 1998), p. 198.

¹¹⁷ Forty, *Words and Buildings A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, p. 12.

research seem necessary to assist us to understand more fully how agents of use could exercise their influence on architecture making. The next section will draw on sociological and environmental psychological accounts.

1.4 Situating human action in built environment

The arguments in previous sections replace the dominant authorship of making architecture with more possibilities, in particular the possible making by creative uses/users. Key questions we might ask are: What is the relationship between architecture and occupation or human behaviors? How could creative uses happen? This section examines two threads of theories through sociological points of view on ‘structure and agency’ and human perception of the built environment. By applying these lens to this architectural historic research, the actions of design and use could be more conceptualized, and furthermore, the origin of creative uses could be understood more deeply.

From inside to outside

First, one of the influential and helpful approaches to investigating the making of architecture is ‘structure and agency’, derived from the integral development of the agency-structure social theories in Europe. It helps clarify the complicated making process where various agents have acted or contributed to/within the social structure/system. Pierre Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens are the scholars who are most frequently referred to.

Pierre Bourdieu proposes the concepts of ‘*habitus*’ and ‘*field*’. Both are used for drawing the ‘practice’ that is not only decided by the structure or the consequence of free will. George Ritzer elaborates, ‘habitus are the mental or cognitive structures through which people deal with the social world.’¹¹⁸ Habitus can be seen as an ‘internalized, embodied social structure, as a result of long-term occupation of a position within the social world.’¹¹⁹ By ‘field’, Bourdieu means, ‘a network of relations among the objective positions within it...the occupants of positions might be either agents or institutions, and they are constrained by the structure of the field’.¹²⁰ Besides,

¹¹⁸ George Ritzer, *Sociological Theory*, 8th edn. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2011), p. 530.

¹¹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1984), p. 468.

¹²⁰ Pierre Bourdieu, ‘Social Space and Symbolic Power’. *Sociological Theory*, Vol.7, Issue 1 (Spring, 1989) p. 14-25.

the structure of the field both ‘undergirds and guides the strategies whereby the occupants of these positions seek, individually or collectively, to safeguard or improve their position, and to impose the principle of hierarchization most favorite to their own products.’¹²¹ So Bourdieu metaphorizes field as a competitive marketplace where various kinds of capital (the economic, the cultural, the social, and the symbolic) are deployed by individuals or institutions to strive for a better position for themselves. In particular, however, it is the field of politics that is of the utmost importance; the hierarchy of power relationships within the political field serves to structure all the other fields.¹²² In brief, Bourdieu's theory of practice gives ideas of how *the interplay* of habitus and various forms of capital are exercised in the fields to inform social agent's behaviours.¹²³

Bourdieu's idea is utilized and applied in few pieces of research on the intersection between sociology, space study, and architecture. In terms of Bourdieu's approaches in architectural research, John Archer points out,

Built environment and *habitus* mutually sustain each other, but neither has absolute control over the other. Changing circumstances such as evolving technology, or the intrusion of new political or economic forces may, for example, undermine the relations sustained by a given set of buildings, thus occasioning either alternation to the buildings to suit the new circumstances, or revision of the *habitus* to suit new conditions.¹²⁴

Archer's point implies that building and architecture work is the *medium* which is capable of actively engaging in reshaping the social practices, either through alteration to fit new situations or adaption of habitus. Thomas F. Gieryn calls this kind of agency of architecture ‘*restructuring forces*’, and he explains the different perspectives seen in Anthony Giddens and Pierre Bourdieu. He points out,

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p.14-25.

¹²² Ritzer, *Sociological Theory*, p. 522.

¹²³ Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, Part II.

¹²⁴ John Archer, ‘Social Theory of Space: Architecture and the Production of Self, Culture, and Society’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 64, No.4 (Dec., 2005), pp. 430-433.

Giddens veers towards assigning theoretical privilege to human agency, as buildings become what people actively do with them; Bourdieu veers the other way, seeing buildings merely as external and autonomous forces structuring social practices with no obvious or necessary involvement of knowledgeable agents.¹²⁵

For Giddens, the social practices of human agency are more essential. Then Gieryn articulates the values of both scholars and elaborates '(building is) *the product of human agency and a stable force for structuring social action*'.¹²⁶ Viewing production of architecture in this way, every design is a blueprint for human behavior and social structure, as well as a schematic for the thing itself.¹²⁷ Once the architecture is made, it acts as an agent to structure social practices. Hence, to inquire into the intention of design and what behaviors the architecture is made to induce or to accommodate is crucial—how does manifested architectural form guide users to certain kinds of social practices? In addition, if we look back at museum making associated with the debates on the symbols of power which museum architecture hints at, this mutual interrelation drives us to study more about what ideas, value, and intents situated in social structure are embodied in design forms and to examine how materialized forms exercise the agency to guide social practices (actions). It provides an analytical perspective to look at actions of design.

Furthermore, does the above help us look at actions of users? If we look back again at Renzo's words in the beginning of section 1.2, they reveal that architects and most space users might not share the same habitus and occupy heterogenetic positions in the field of the production of architecture due to their possession of different degrees of capital. The ways of perceiving, interpreting, and responding to the built environment and architecture might differ accordingly. This might lead to an assumption that one reason to determine or lead the remaking of architecture by creative users is because creative users have different practices (habitus + capitals) during their occupation. Hence, the users' intents and their actual actions towards architecture, resulting from their capacities, would be worthy of consideration.

¹²⁵ Thomas F. Gieryn, 'What buildings do', *Theory and Society*, Vol. 31, No.1, (Feb., 2002), p. 37.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

Looking more closely at human environmental perception

Aside from the sociological accounts of ‘structure and agency’ that help us look at the relationship between the agency of architecture and the actions of human agency, environmental psychologists gave another route to understanding the operation of how human beings respond to built environments. In 1956, Brunswik proposed the Lens Model. He argued that the human perception process is like a lens. An individual actively deals with stimuli from his or her senses and makes meaning out of them based on past personal experiences.¹²⁸ From his point of view, the perception of the ‘outside world’ is constructed by a series of inductions of uneven clues generated from the received sensory input.¹²⁹ However, James J. Gibson disagrees with the model and believes environments reveal messages to human beings, and perception is formed gradually. The human nervous system ‘extracts’ messages from sensory stimuli rather than constructs the meaning.¹³⁰ His point, to a large extent, is based on a faith that sensory experiences are the result of the course of evolution and provide information on the outside world to help an individual survive. This is how a human being can actively explore the outside world and constantly seeks information to make use of the environment rather than being a passive sensory receptor and processor.¹³¹

The most impressive concept of Gibson’s theory is *affordance*. He outlines ‘the affordances of the environment are what it offers the animal, what it provides or furnishes, either good or ill’ and ‘the affordances of the environment is able to trigger specific kinds of behavior’.¹³² Because a human being is keenly examining the environment from various angles, he or she can understand immutable characteristic features, or *affordances*, of the environment or objects. For instance, when an object is hard and durable with a flat surface, one of the affordances of it is ‘sittability’. Besides,

¹²⁸ Frank T. McAndrew. *Environmental Psychology* (California: Brooks/Cole, 1992), Chinese translation, p. 5.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹³¹ As Gibson’s idea is deeply related to evolution, the theory is called the ‘Ecological Theory of Perception’. See James J. Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), p. 303.

¹³² Gibson, *The Ecological Approach to Visual Perception*, p. 127.

affordances vary due to people and species. A high object that an adult can sit on may not be suitable for children. Hence affordance is that a human being can detect the possibilities of interacting with the environment and thus find behaviors for better survival. Gibson's idea helps prevent us comprehending human behaviors from simplified points such as architectural determinism and might pave the foundation for analyzing/explaining how and why a human being reacts to the environment or the objects in museum built environments in this particular research.

Looking back at museum making, most of the making is still done by designers. If we draw our eyes back to Jonathan Hill's creative user (in 1.3), what kinds of museum design or built environments could enable users to be creative and not just tame audiences into passive users/consumers of the design? The above environment-behavior studies provide a possible model for us to understand human behaviors when investigating uses/users. In other words, creative users might interpret the front environment in different ways to other passive users or even the designers. In addition, only few researchers and practitioners in museum sectors who look for ways to make creative museum space have added to the above. First, Fabienne Galangau-Quérat notes that 'space can become creative when it expands the potential of the visitor's cognitive freedom.'¹³³ As narratives and meanings are created by human minds and are also resilient and open to change, the flexibility of interpretation might be an opportunity for users who are able to alter existing narrative structure framed by institutions and designers. Visiting experiences seem to catalyze a unique perception of a site on each visit and can vary due to different motivations of visits, differing companions, and changing arrangements in the physical setting. Freedom is emerging, but how such liberty could be manifested and further contribute to museum making needs more surveys. Moreover, museum designer Stephen Greenberg also suggests, 'creative space as a place of vital engagement, as audience space, as an experience and not as a static object'.¹³⁴ The diverse engagement derived from museum software (activities) and hardware (museum architecture and exhibitions) might bring museum space and visitors closer. Then, according to Gibson's affordance theory, once an individual is motivated

¹³³ Fabienne Galangau-Quérat, 'The Grande Galerie de l'Evolution', in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), p. 104.

¹³⁴ Stephen Greenberg, 'The Vital Museum, in Suzanne MacLeod (ed.), *Reshaping Museum Space: Architecture, Design, Exhibitions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), p. 104.

to take action, creative uses might be encouraged by the physicality of a museum setting.

To pull together these threads in the section, we see that first, theories on structure and agency show that architecture is made by human agency but is also itself an agency for structuring social actions. The theories assist us to analyze how social agents act on architecture making and also socially behave, which is influenced by the agency of the architecture. Hence, to scrutinize the intention of makers and to observe space users' behaviors are the keys to understanding the mutual relationship between architecture making and architectural agency. Second, in terms of the perception of architecture, Gibson's concept of affordance in particular, can help explain how space users act towards the built environment and how thresholds of creative uses might be able to take place. The above provides an analytic perspective to observing the making of museum architecture.

1.5 Conclusion- guiding the research

Following the above four sections, the conclusion will focus on research design and the perspective of the production of knowledge.

Conceptual framework

In order to channel the research to fulfill the objectives, the above literatures help develop a lens to gain more than a superficial understanding of making museum architecture. The conceptual framework, guided by multiple threads of the above theories, is thus formed and deployed. First of all, through the nature of current museum making practices, which contains cross-disciplinary expertise and encounters various making by varied actions, the detection and awareness of the power exercised in the decision making process is crucial. In order to analyze the complicated process, the attention will be focus around narrative making¹³⁵ and meaning making of the museum architecture, in particular, their role in shaping museum architecture.

Second, informed by Lefebvre and later architectural theories advocating architecture/space as a social product, situating the production of museum architecture in social and cultural contexts is imperative. Therefore, to unveil and to comb various forces, intentions, and motivations that guide museum making practices and museum design in order to liberate architecture from only architects' artistic control, is urgent. In addition, Hill's idea that architecture is made by use and by design guides the research to place particular emphasis on examining various users' actions which deserves much more concern, to counter the production of architecture dominated only by the powerful and the professional. It hopes to liberate and unleash the potential of users to affect architecture.

Third, to delve into users' creativity to architecture making demands deeper research on the interaction between architecture users and architecture itself. Under the assistance of

¹³⁵ Narratives could be seen as stories highly associated with the theme, mission, and vision of the museums. Also, narratives per se consist spatial dimension and in the other hand, narratives are accommodated in a museum space and architecture. See MacLeod, Hanks, and Hale (eds.), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, and Exhibitions*, p. xxiii and introduction of PART 1.

‘agency-structure’ theories, how users act socially and the detailed interaction between social actors, fields, and various capitals exercised in the making process can be probed. Architecture is made by human agencies but its own agency also guides social practices, reminding us to reevaluate what social behaviors architecture is intended to induce, reinforce, and stabilize. Then, by the assistance of Gibson’s affordance, the research would be led to observe how users react to architecture and the built environment from the angle of bodily and behavioral actions. Overall, this might lead us to discover more about the real users’ actions either socially or bodily. Moreover, these theoretical stands also help to recognize and to understand how creative use takes place in museum making and architecture making.

Gap of knowledge

MacLeod’s research on WAG reveals several important characteristics in her methodology and analytic approach towards architectural historic research which could be referred to for this research. First, informed by a few threads of architectural theories, her research was led to look at a longer duration of time in order to elucidate the changes which occurred at WAG fully. Then, instead of telling architectural narratives in chronological order, she chose to evaluate *significant making* in the histories of the making of museum architecture. Second, by situating museum architecture in the social context where it was born, she connects architecture making with the surrounding ‘social’, that ranges from event-wise (e.g. demonstrations and varied museum practices), professional-wise (e.g. the practices of the artists and directors in WAG), and to less extent, community-wise (e.g. the social groups around WAG in Liverpool). This also points out that citizens, communities, diverse social parties, and museum institutions, all act as ‘*space users*’ of architecture and their occupation could be major forces that are able to shape museum architecture. Nonetheless, due to its historic nature, her research concentrates on the significant historic alterations of architecture making in the past rather than on a current investigation into its use. Also, a void of unleashing visitors’ remaking to museum architecture remains unfilled.

This prompts this research project to attempt to fill the gap. With the above temporal and social concerns, this research, a piece of architectural history research focusing on significant making from the past to the present, presents the dynamics of making

architecture that occur in the inter-relationship between architecture, social parties and their actions (whether design or use), and the wider societal context, is necessary. Moreover, the research not only investigates actions of architecture, both by design and use but also to look into if these actions of design and use contribute to museum making. It aims to add more empirical data and detailed research to generate debates and discussions regarding museum making.

Terminology

In this research, I use the terms ‘architecture’, ‘building’, and sometimes ‘space’ interchangeably. One reason for this wording is the reflection of questioning the professionalized definition of architecture as an established discipline. Like Forty’s reminder, the words people use to describe architecture have the potential to shape architecture. Hence, words embed the meanings of value of certain groups formed in specific space-time contexts, and therefore need careful examination. Consequently, as the notion that architecture, building, and space are all social and cultural products is fully accepted in this research, I intend not to trap these words in any preset ideology, mentality, and judgment. Rather, using architecture and building for me most of the time refers to ‘the materialized result of built environment’ or ‘the physicality of museum environment’ while ‘space’ is utilized for describing a defined sphere, that is whether contained or constrained in the physicality of architecture. Hence, for example, some social practices or activities also have the capacity to shape space and potentially alter the physicality of architecture in an intangible sense.

Also, by use/user, in the field of museum studies, the term user is very inclined to refer to visitors or audiences. However, in architectural research, space users and uses in Jonathan Hill refers to the action of occupation. Museum architecture historian Suzanne MacLeod echoes this wider definition of use and applies it to all space uses of museum architecture, including any occupation of parties such as the museum institution and, for example, the occupation of directors or staff of the museum institution. One of the key purposes of this research project is to probe and evaluate how various actions resulting from uses and occupation implicate the physicality of the museum architecture. Therefore, in each of the later body chapters, user and use will be differed and defined, referring to specific groups (even individuals) of people in order to illuminate the

respective actions for museum making and architecture making in a fuller sense. In addition, if certain actions of users were identified as valuable for museum making or architecture making, on some occasions the term ‘social agent’ is used for emphasizing their agency of shaping museum architecture.

To conclude this chapter, I would like to quote Tafuri’s words to reveal my approach towards research and writing. He states,

If we look at it [the historic study of architecture], however, as the continual exposure to the unexpected instead of seeking causes, we get a different history, one that presents concatenations rather than causes. Instead of a linear history, we get a history with a hole in the middle.¹³⁶

This is how my research begins its own narration.

¹³⁶ Manfredo Tafuri, ‘There is no Criticism, Only History’, p. 11.

Chapter Two: research design and methodology

Informed by the conceptual framework in the previous chapter, this chapter aims to introduce the methodology and analysis conducted in this research project. It contains four sections: preliminary research, selected methodology—one case study (including various methods of data collection), method of analysis, and emergent themes. The preliminary research was utilized to detect a suitable case study and methods of data collection before the official research began; this happened during July to September 2012. The formal research methodology was conducted from August 2013 to January 2015.

2.1 Preliminary research

In the second year of my PhD study (July 2012), I started to filter potential preliminary case studies. In order to achieve the research objectives and answer the research questions fully, three candidate sites were selected: Treasure Hill Artist Village, MOCA Taipei, and the National Museum of Taiwanese Literature. The reasons to screen these sites as a first batch of candidates were: firstly, they share a similarity in that they have encountered architectural renovation programs by the Governments that have transformed historic buildings into museums/exhibition venues and were re-opened after 2000. Their drastic changes are associated with the alteration of architecture, and moreover, the programs of uses of the site tremendously shifted them from their original purposes to museum or gallery use. Second, these establishments took place around the time of a significant change in Taiwan in 2002; the promotion of the cultural and creative industries officially became an important cause of national development. Under this climate of the promotion of creative industries by central governmental policy, these three sites have all consequently encountered huge changes in the remodeling of their architecture. Thirdly, they are located in the bustling areas in two of the municipalities of Taiwan (Taipei and NMTL in Tainan), and the institutions at these sites have shown high ambitions to engage with their surrounding urban contexts and offer unique cultural experiences, functioning as leading cultural spots in their cities.

A one-week preliminary research visit for each of the above sites, including preliminary onsite observation, conversations with staff, and preliminary data collection, was undertaken to evaluate the feasibility of the three potential sites. During the pilot studies, I intended to re-assess my research objectives and paid particular attention to the phenomenon regarding ‘making and remaking or rewriting by design and use’. Besides, in most of the institutional museums/exhibition venues, the management is often controlled by the organization to a large extent - space users, whether museum staff or visitors, may change the space or the physical architecture for a short term period of time, but after the actions or activities are finished, these traces of remaking are often left concealed. Hence, the preliminary research was designed to test which case studies were suitable and full of resources for the researcher to use.

At the end of the preliminary research in September 2012, I discovered that the three case studies had unique stories of making architecture. Their complicated processes of making and possible remaking started to reveal themselves and all demanded time to dig out more and to analyze. After considering feasibility, I decided to focus on one case study, THAV, in order to gain depth. The key reason for the choice of case study is that compared to the other two, THAV was originally made by its space users in the first instance of its making and is a relatively rare case in the museum and gallery sectors. It is a rare case both in architecture making and museum making in Taiwan. Furthermore, there are still some residents living in the site, and at the same time it has been transformed into an art/cultural venue for the public. This diverse composition of uses highlights THAV as an unconventional piece of museum making in Taiwan, worthy of further investigation. Furthermore, there has been no detailed research on THAV from the perspective of museum making, in particular, remaking by uses.¹³⁷

During the preliminary research, because of the academic background of the researcher, the architectural historic research obviously guided the scope of the data collection around what, who, how, when, where and why the physicality of museum environment is made, which is always associated with questions of production, (architectural) interpretation, reception and experience, and use.¹³⁸ It was the first step to comprehending the nature of the sites and their histories of production of architecture.

¹³⁷ The few researches around THAV either focused on the time before it has been turned into an art venue or about art management after THAV is officially opens as an art venue.

¹³⁸ Iain Borden and Katerina Ruedi, *The Dissertation: An Architecture Student's Handbook* (Oxford: Architectural Press, 2000), p. 23.

2.2 Selected methodology – single case study

Architectural history research is a suitable approach for investigating the details and constructing descriptions of the formation and changes of the architecture at a site in a logical way. However, this research project is not a conventional piece of descriptive architectural research, and instead, relates to the contemporary scenes (e.g. the real picture of uses). Besides, as the objective of the research is to look at how actions by design and use could contribute to museum making, the research will not be only descriptive or informational but also explanatory and comprehensive. According to the research questions and objectives set out, the contemporary actions of architecture by design and use, highly associated with the intentions embedded in decision-making in certain temporal and spatial contexts, form a major part of the research in order to elaborate the processes of making museums. Hence, not only what/where/when/who, but also how and why questions encompass the investigation of these diverse actions. Therefore, *the case study method*, that is suited for how and why questions in a contemporary context, is preferable and deployed to support the research and analysis. Schramm, in 1971, indicated, ‘the essence of a case study, the central tendency among all types of case study, is that it tries to illuminate a decision or set of decisions: why they were taken, how they were implemented, and with what result’.¹³⁹

Moreover, on the difference between historic studies and case studies, Robert K. Yin points out,

The distinctive contribution of the historical method is in dealing with the “dead” past—that is, when no relevant persons are alive to report, even retrospectively, what occurred and when an investigator must rely on primary documents, secondary documents, and cultural and physical artifacts as the main sources of evidence.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹ Wilbur Schramm, Notes on Case Studies of Instructional Media Projects. Working paper for the Academy for Educational Development, Washington DC, 1971, in Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), p. 17.

¹⁴⁰ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research* (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2009), p. 4.

Therefore, the researcher realizes that this research is not merely architectural history research, although the historic bit is important as it serves as a foundation to identifying significant alterations in architecture and museum making. In addition, on whether to use case studies in comparison to historic studies, Yin says,

The case study relies on many of the same techniques as a history, but it adds two sources of evidence not usually included in the historian's repertoire: direct observation of the events being studied and interviews of the persons involved in the events...the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence—documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations—beyond what might be available in a conventional historical study.¹⁴¹

Nevertheless, for the same sake, case study, as a noted form of empirical inquiry, has been criticized for four weaknesses: the lack of rigor, the difficulty of generalization, sizable and unreadable documents, and causal relationships to the issue which the research intends to address.¹⁴² However, to answer the above flaws, Yin points out, 'the case study method allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events'.¹⁴³ Although it may risk being biased when interpreting massive amounts of data, the goal of conducting a case study should be 'to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization)'.¹⁴⁴ Hence, a theoretical lens is very crucial to a case study in both data collection and analysis.¹⁴⁵ Besides, as the research attempts to get a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic production of museum venues in their given social and cultural contexts, one case study in depth seems to be suitable for subsequent data collection and analysis. Due to the above considerations, a single case study was decided to be the main research methodology.

Research design

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

To conduct a single case study is also subject to theoretical guidance and the characteristics of the selected site. This research project aims to tackle the actions of architecture by design and use and to look at how they contribute to architecture making and museum making. The process of the making of THAV seems to have the potential to have dialogue with relevant theories, in particular, informed by Lefebvre, Hill's idea that architecture is made by design and use. Yin elaborates that one of the reasons to execute one case study is 'representing the critical case in testing theory'.¹⁴⁶ On the relationship between the theory and the critical case, he points out,

The theory has specified a clear set of propositions as well as the circumstances within which the propositions are believed to be true. A single case, meeting all of the conditions for testing the theory, can confirm, challenge, or extend the theory. The single case can then be used to determine whether a theory's propositions are correct or whether some alternative set of explanations might be more relevant.¹⁴⁷

Therefore, the case study is not like grounded theory or ethnography which 'deliberately avoid specifying any theoretical propositions at the outset of an inquiry'.¹⁴⁸ In this research, although its nature is still similar to typical architectural history research, it takes a particular angle on the actions of architecture by design and use, and therefore provides a different version from conventional architectural history narratives which focus more often on typology or styles based on the given criteria or the taste of design professionals. Architecture researcher Kenny Cupers pinpoints, 'expanding utility to embrace people's everyday experience brings new promises for the social role of design'.¹⁴⁹ Thus, this research project is set to create a differing architectural narrative based on evaluating the roles of design and use and to extract any useful meaning for museum making. Any action of design and use which has implicated museum architecture or contributed to museum making would be key focuses for data collection.

Data collection

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

¹⁴⁹ Cupers (ed.), *Use Matters: an Alternative History of Architecture*, first page.

There are six commonly used methods to collect data in conducting a case study; they are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant-observation, and physical artifacts.¹⁵⁰ Each way has its own purpose, strengths and weaknesses and the previous four major methods are utilized in this research project. Documentation and archives were mainly used for mapping a comprehensive view of the histories of making and for finding out what important shaping had taken place at the site. Then interviews were conducted to gain more details about certain events or making as well as listening to the subjective perception of the interviewees. In addition, to investigate users' occupation and possible remakings of the site, the researcher utilized direct observation and online posts collection together to explore the interaction between the use and the built environment. The four major methods sometimes work alongside with each other in order to provide a multi-evident angle and data sources.

Documentation and archival records

Documentation and archival records research includes diverse forms of documents, ranging from private ones to administrative records, relevant literature, formal studies and research, proposals, progress reports, essays and articles from newspapers, photos, personal documents, and online publications and websites. Archive records in this research project refer to mainly maps and charts which help depict the characteristics of a geographic location, the organizational records of THAV art institution, some survey data, and public use files such as briefs and meeting records from the Central or the City Government. Collecting data from various sources and different angles could assist to identify the key histories of the making of THAV's architecture and museum environment. Yin says, 'for case study, the most important use of documents is to corroborate and augment evidence from other sources'.¹⁵¹ As a result, it is crucial to identify significant making, actors, and actions related to making/remaking THAV through this method.

Furthermore, the actual collection of documentation and archives is divided into three main periods of time that address key alterations to or makings of the site in a

¹⁵⁰ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 102.

¹⁵¹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 103.

chronological order. These phases are: the histories before the village encountered the threat of demolition before the 1990s (the content mainly discussed in Chapter Three), the conservation demonstration, renovation, and the start of museum making (the content discussed in Chapter Four and Five), and the museum making after the site was officially opened for the public after 2010 (mainly in Chapter Six).

a. Histories before the village encountered the threat of demolition before the 1990s

The histories of this time period are relatively less investigated, and there are fewer pieces of documentation found, mainly a few investigation reports, articles in magazines and newspapers, and old photos possessed by researchers or residents. The reasons behind the scarcity of documentation are probably because of the characteristics of the case study, a self-built village lacking official permission for its building and construction. In addition, the first batch of residents had been aging, and most of them moved out of the village after THAV became an art venue during 2002 to 2006, which makes it more difficult to approach the dislocated residents who had lived there. However, the cartographic data that drew the surrounding area of Treasure Hill are accessible in the government archives, such as *Historic Maps of One-Hundred-Year Taiwan* (Center for GIS, Academia Sinica) and *Taiwan History and Culture in Time and Space* (Academia Sinica, 1st Edition, September 2003). The collected data for this period are used to depict the developments of the self-built villages in the past.

b. The conservation demonstrations, renovation, and the start of museum making

Data for this period of making (from 1999 to 2010) was mostly collected from volunteers, community planners (NTUBP), commissioned architect of renovation, and the City Government. They contain architecture research reports, plans, schemes, regulations, proposals, meeting briefs and records, construction plans and records, and documents from the Government. In addition, news, essays from newspapers, oral histories, articles on websites, and discourses and narratives made during the early stage of the conservation (from 1999 to 2003) and stages of planning and renovation (from 2006 to 2010) were also collected and evaluated. The documentary resources seem to show conflict or collaboration during this phase, and these documents and archives related to architectural making as well as

museum making of THAV enhance the understanding of the different forms of making enacted by distinct social parties, such as community planners, architects, officials, future museum staff, volunteers, residents, citizens, and other parties.

c. The museum making after the site was officially opened for the public after 2010

For this period of making, the documentation and archives were mainly from the public archive of Taipei Artist Village (the umbrella organization which controls the art institution of THAV), published papers and articles, and annual reports of THAV. Some documents, such as annual budget plans in this archive, have more security concerns, and the researcher was forbidden to photocopy them. Therefore, some information was transcribed and handwritten on field notes. The collected relevant documents and archives help reveal the art institution's intentions and strategies regarding the operation of THAV and the intervention of the City Government and Taipei Artist Village in shaping the museum environment both in the physicality and software.

Direct observation

Onsite field research and direct observation were conducted to tackle two main things. First, to scrutinize the actual built physicality of museum environment to see if it is as recorded in the above documentation. Second, to comprehend the real picture of users in the contemporary setting as well as to check if any creative uses contribute to shaping museum architecture.

The onsite observation was conducted with the consent of the art institution at THAV. This research method aims to capture a sense of how the site is occupied and what various users and uses occupy the site. It consisted of formal and casual data collection as Yin recommends.¹⁵² The formal observations were two one-week observations (one from 15 April 2013 to 21 April 2013 and the other from 7 November 2014 to 13 November 2014), both from Monday to Sunday. A notice was put up during the observation, saying that the observation was taking place for a doctoral research project

¹⁵² Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 109.

about the use of the space. The observation took place during the day between 11 am to 1 pm, 2pm to 4 pm, 5 pm to 7 pm, and 8 pm to 9 pm), and eight observation points where the researcher could observe most of the visits along the main routes and circulation were scattered around the artist village. The researcher would stand and stay at each point for 15 minutes and would then leave for the next. In order to answer the research objective—is the site open to creative use? —the mutual interactions between the museum’s physical settings and behaviors and movements of audiences were primarily observed and recorded. Moreover, the research included a number of casual field visits during 2013 to mid-2015 for double-checking the research findings and sometimes this was accompanied with official interviews.

Collecting feedback from audiences both onsite and online

Despite two one-week direct onsite observations and a number of revisits, to grasp the real picture of uses still required more effort and time. Here, the collection of onsite feedback and online posts helped researcher gain more data from the users’ side. Collecting audiences’ feedback both onsite and online (electronic narratives) aimed to further understand audiences’ visiting experiences and to observe if audiences exercised any potential remaking of the site by occupation. Through the onsite posts, and written feedback books, the feelings, emotions, and reflections of audiences were shown. In addition, the online posts, which contain images and texts from visitors, were a fruitful content source for understanding visitors’ subjective perceptions and behavior patterns that repeatedly appeared in this feedback.¹⁵³ By reviewing the above, the researcher attempted to understand how audiences construct their spatial and visiting experiences and, furthermore, if any re-making of architecture, either physically, tangibly, or mentally (like making narratives or making meaning in *public* spheres both onsite) have been shown in individual posts left on the official website/social media pages of THAV. In other words, it serves as other ways of observation through writing or digital narratives.

According to Earl Babbie, ‘content analysis is a social research method appropriate for studying human communications’ and ‘units of communication, such as words,

¹⁵³ In most instances, such feedback is made by a plenty of audiences voluntarily and spontaneously.

paragraphs, and books, are the usual units of analysis in content analysis'.¹⁵⁴ My criteria of selecting samples for feedback online are 'posting time' and 'quantity/content of postings'. First, in order to know the recent contexts of how the site is used, I conducted content analysis of 158 electronic narratives made by audiences online from 1 Jan. 2011 to the end of 2014.¹⁵⁵ Second, in terms of the quantity of the posting, a filter was set to select posts that consist of no less than two pages (text plus images on webpages) and at least three images (via Safari browser on Mac operating system). The tool I used for filtering data was the 'Google search engine'. Typing keywords such as 'Treasure Hill Artist Village' in Google search and setting a custom time range in the advanced search menu, I then reviewed and evaluated posts from searching results one by one and omitted those which came from official websites of THAV, advertisements, or any posters who only mention their visiting as passers-by or give only images without any personal textual description. Then every selected entry from the search was analyzed and examined by the researcher to check if there was any pattern or repetition in users' description and narratives.

However, this method of collecting and analyzing online posts, risks problems with the reliability of sampling and also raises research ethics and copyright issues on any quoting of the posts, although they are useful to the research.¹⁵⁶ Hence, the researcher carefully chose the posts in order to balance the amounts of the selected posts in the scope of the observed duration (three divisions made between 1 Jan. 2011 to the end of 2014) as well as to match the posts with other key observations of the village via other research methods. Also, the termination of data collection and sample analysis took place when regular patterns emerged from selected samples.

Interviews

The purpose of conducting interviews was to learn from the direct experiences of varied kinds of space users in the making of THAV. In particular, in the case of those actors,

¹⁵⁴ Earl Babbie, *The Practice of Social Research* (Belmont: Wadsworth Publishing Company, 1995), p. 335.

¹⁵⁵ The list of selected online posts could be seen in the appendix.

¹⁵⁶ If eventually I did cite a specific post, I would ask for permission in a written form from the posters/bloggers.

except for visitors, interviews could help assess and clarify previous understandings from the above research methods as well as to fill the gap that other resources could not cover. Yin notes one of the sources of evidence in a case study is the interview, and its strengths are that it is ‘*targeted and insightful*’.¹⁵⁷ Hence, the researcher asked key figures or interviewees who had involved themselves in significant acts of making about the facts of a matter as well as their individual opinions and feelings about the events they took part in. As a result, the researcher conducted fifteen *in-depth* interviews from August 2013 to the end of 2014. All interviews were audio-recorded and most of the records were transcribed in Mandarin.

The interviewees consisted of identified key people who participated in and significantly influenced the making of THAV and were categorized into six kinds: community planners and architects, staff in the art institution, directors of THAV, residential artists, residents, and others. The questions for each kind of social parties can be seen in Appendix. This method is intended not only to understand the actions of making architecture in THAV but also to check any institutional strategies that might intervene with large-scaled shaping by organizational management. The interviews could help probe if the uses/occupation/actions of above-mentioned parties (all considered space users) could be considered certain kinds of actions of architecture that also contributed to making THAV into a museum. In other words, the interviewees were approached as potential *authors of architecture*.

The interviewees were approached and selected by several routes. First, I participated in the volunteer actions and demonstration in 2001 and 2002 when the site was threatened demolition by the City Government and therefore know some of the key figures in that period of time since then. Second, the interviewees who significantly participated in certain events of making THAV were recorded in the above other methods. The researcher followed the clues to contact them. In addition, most interviewees introduced more people as further resources to the researcher during their interviews or unofficial casual conversations.

Field notes and photography

¹⁵⁷ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 102.

Field notes and photography have been used to record any potential actions of architecture or the conduction of the above interviews, observation, or documentation and archive analysis. The field notes are mostly handwritten and in a few cases typed. Also, a digital camera was used to capture spatial events or circumstances when handwriting was not possible, when the researcher was doing direct observation, for instance. To sum up, photography was an auxiliary and supplementary tool for field notes.

Their use as tools can be divided into two stages: data collection and data management/analysis. First, in data collection, as the researcher during direct observation (pre)tended to act like staff (with a small name card hung on the neck but different from the official ones) and a visitor (the name card was sometimes covered by clothes and a normal-sized digital camera), the field notes were always written in very short and essential words. Later, the researcher would re-write the notes when he was able. Therefore, photography worked as a major supplementary tool with the field notes to record the observation immediately and spontaneously. Although photography is allowed in THAV, the importance of preventing any disturbance to any onsite residents/visitors was foremost in the researcher's mind. The pictures were never focused on people or specific visitors and were only taken in the panoramic scenes around researcher's perspectives to record certain actions of users and their surrounding environment at the same time.¹⁵⁸ Second, on data management and analysis, Yin suggests three principles of data collection for a case study: 'use multiple sources of evidence, create a case study database, and maintain a chain of evidence'.¹⁵⁹ These three principles relate to each other and need an internal integration. Back to the research, field notes and photography, therefore, play a central role that coordinates and provides links to multiple sources of the above collected data. Field notes are part of data but also a helpful classificatory system that records the data collection in a chronological way.

¹⁵⁸ These photos are only for research purposes and documentation. If I would use these records in the final dissertation, I would keep any person in the pictures unrecognizable and anonymous.

¹⁵⁹ Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 114-120.

2.3 Method of analysis

The analysis is always considered the most difficult part in the conduction of case study because of the complicated multiple sources and massive data collected. In order to ease the potential analytic nuisance, Yin proposes four general strategies for it: ‘relying on theoretical propositions, developing a case description, using both qualitative and quantitative data, and examining rival explanations’.¹⁶⁰ Informed by these principles, the research project has almost utilized all the above to enhance the focus, coding, and analysis.

First, on ‘*relying on theoretical propositions*’, the above architectural and spatial theories in Chapter 1 are the essential lens to process the analysis. By looking at wider threads in the societal context where the case study is located, architecture is no longer a work by design or certain professionals. Instead, it is an amalgam produced by diverse acknowledged forces. To investigate and identify these key forces and interests is a fundamental start. These key makings and events will later form the cores of each body chapter.

Jonathan Hill’s theory ‘architecture is made by use and by design’ and Tricia Austin’s ‘the narrative process in context’ also significantly informed the data collection and the analysis.

We first look at Hill’s identification of five kinds of creative users. He says,

Mental, a change in understanding, such as renaming a space or associating it with a particular memory; *bodily*, a movement or series of movements, independent of or in juxtaposition to a space, such as a picnic in a bathroom; *physical*, a rearrangement of a space or the objects within it, such as locking a door; *constructional*, a fabrication of a new space or a physical modification of an existing form, space or object, such as removing the lock from a door; *conceptual*, a use, form, space or object intended to be constructed, such as a door.¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 130-136.

¹⁶¹ Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative Users*, p. 88.

These five kinds of creative uses might form a provisional framework for *pattern matching*, one of the five analytical techniques Yin proposes.¹⁶² Comparing the empirical data collected to these theorized ones, helps observe and analyze how users can play an active role in architecture making, which helps focus on data collection. In addition, through theoretical lenses and pattern matching, the unique characteristics of actions of architecture (in particular applicable to use) in THAV might be emerging and possibly in turn expand/challenge the existing theory.

Then, about the second principle Yin suggests—‘*developing a case description*’, if the actions of architecture by design and use can be identified according to the above theoretical propositions, how can the analysis explain these actions of architecture? How do these actions help depict and make the nature of a case study on museum making? Austin Tricia proposes a linear model about *the narrative process in context*: AUTHOR(S) > STORY(S) > TELLING(S) > AUDIENCE(S).¹⁶³ This might be useful if we consider that every action of architecture, to a greater or lesser extent, makes a certain degree of ‘narrativity’ of the built environment, which has implications for the museum setting and museum making.

One crucial element in the above linear model is *context*, which ‘is taken to mean the physical, historical, cultural, social and political circumstances within which the exhibition is designed and understood’.¹⁶⁴ In other words, the context would play an influential backdrop role on how audiences receive and perceive the ‘tellings’ and get the (diverse) meanings out of the performances of ‘telling’ and ‘stories’. Although the linear sequence might be over-simplified in describing the formation of the narratives and meaning, it could still inspire possible analysis of the research: first, can varied space users (including audiences) be authors and tell stories that re-write museum or narrative environments? If yes, what kind of methods do they adopt to shape the

¹⁶² The five analytical techniques are pattern matching, explanation building, time-series analysis, logic model, and cross-case synthesis. Different case study design has different tendency to utilize these five techniques. Yin, *Case Study Research*, pp. 136-159.

¹⁶³ Tricia Austin, ‘Scale of narrativity’, in Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston Hanks, and Jonathan Hale (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions* (Oxon: Routledge, 2012), p. 116.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

environments? Second, the narrativity of the built environment is perceived by receivers and its context impacts the meaning that audiences might acquire. Conversely, through the above diverse data sources on use is revealed what varied space users sense, perceive, or are impressed by in certain parts of the museum environment; and thus we may then identify what significant making or remaking of museum architecture is happening. Taking analysis of online posts as an example, the characteristics and features of the self-built buildings in THAV are highly attended to in audiences' online posts and seem to form an important part of visitor experiences in THAV, then the actions of architecture which made or remade (e.g. by renovation) self-built buildings would be shown as the more important actions to museum making.

Third, in terms of 'using both qualitative and quantitative data', inspired by phenomenological approaches, the analysis might refer to another assumption that 'from the perspective of the phenomenologist, people do not passively obey a set of social rules. [t]hey are viewed instead as agents who interpret their experiences and who actively create an order to their existence'.¹⁶⁵ Through the above qualitative methodology, various designers and users were all viewed as agents who might have the capacity to interpret their individual experiences of THAV, and more intriguingly, they might physically or intangibly create something to the museum environment accordingly. The idea was to find out if there is any behavior of audiences that follows or differs from the 'behavior settings' framed by architects and designers in previous actions or projects at the site. If yes, these potential creative uses were further evaluated in terms of how they contributed to the rewriting of THAV, and further investigation took place, such as interrogating the intentions/motivations behind these identified uses to comprehend more about *their occupation and experiences*. The purpose is to understand *the architectural meaning/alteration they made* and to evaluate their actual contribution to museum making when their possible rewriting was detected and identified. In addition, in terms of quantitative methods, although the conventional statistical method was not applied in this research project, the repetition and frequent phenomenon count for a great deal.

¹⁶⁵ Martyn Denscombe, *The Good Research Guide*, 4th edn. (Berkshire: Open University Press, 2010), p. 96.

Last but not the least, on ‘examining rival explanations’ which always works with all of the above three principles, the research pays extra attention to conflicting interpretations or meaning making on identifying significant makings of the site. However, by doing so, the purpose is not only to make juxtapositions of competing explanations by different agents, but to create a space of distancing to come back to the research questions and objectives that examine the constant shaping and reshaping of museum architecture through dynamic circumstances where the contestation of the meanings and makings are embodied in the physical form in a synergy.

2.4 Emerging theme

During the research project, two major issues emerged, related to the position of the researcher and the reliability of data collection and interpretation due to the observational position and accessibility to certain decision making.

The suspicious insider of the researcher

The researcher was one of the volunteer students of the Graduate of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University (NTUBP) in the demonstrations around 2001 and 2002. This may challenge the position of the researcher and make my situation similar to participation observation. The main problems relevant to participation observation often have to do with ‘potential biases produced,’ as the researcher is likely to become a supporter of a certain group or hold an advocacy role, which is against the common accepted social science rules.¹⁶⁶ However, although during 2001 to 2002 the researcher was indeed an advocate for the conservation demonstration that was one of the significant periods for THAV’s making, the researcher did not involve himself in any official projects that directly shaped or intervened with the making or transformation of the village before and after the demonstrations ended in 2002, which indicates that when the researcher re-approached the case study in 2012, there was a ten-year absence of the researcher’s participating in any activities about the site. In terms of the relationship to the residents in the village, in 2012, most of the second generation of residents did not recognize the researcher in spite of the fact that in 2001 the researcher was more familiar with the first generation residents. Hence, it is not a common case of participation observation.

Nonetheless, when interviewees such as the second generation of residents or the community planners/architects found out about the researcher’s participation in the demonstrations in 2001 and 2002, the stereotyped impression of ‘the advocate in demonstrations’ might occur to them to different but obvious extents. The strategies to handle this circumstance were to emphasize the fact that the researcher had shifted his focus to actions of architecture and museum making. So to understand the historic

¹⁶⁶ Yin, *Case Study Research*, p. 112-113.

making of the site was prioritized, and the researcher would not join in any activities which might intervene with the site and prevent the researcher from being categorized into some preset standpoint.

Time consuming nature and reliability of the case study research

Due to the previous position (an advocate for conservation) of the researcher, the data collection on the Government side was relatively less weighted. In particular, the complicated dynamics of decision making and the process of discussions/meeting in the Government were not easy to uncover only by reviewing the documentations and the archive available for public use. These dynamics were the results of numerous negotiations piecemeal by piecemeal and demand much more time to trace and to clarify the decision making interactions among all parties involved. In addition, it is also time-consuming to verify different interpretations from different parties by comparing their versions of 'facts'. Hence, if the research project was conducted by a different researcher who stood in a different position such as in the Government service, more insider data might be accessed and could have led to different descriptions and interpretations of certain events of the making. Therefore, the researcher attempted to be aware of the issue and often came back to the aims and objectives of the research and to acknowledge the narrative perspective laid on *actions of architecture*, in particular, users and uses. This particular perspective is set for opening up a different understanding of the nature of the case study and minimizing the biases by the above-mentioned examination of contrary explanations.

2.5 Scope of research

The body of the research is divided into five main chapters (including conclusion chapter) informed by the research questions and objectives set out in the introduction. The narrative is developed in a chronological order, and more importantly, with the identified crucial histories of the making of the site. Each chapter intends to elaborate a significant episode in a certain period of time and its fragmentary narrative, which describes the making or remaking of the THAV in certain temporal and spatial contexts.

Chapter 3, Space, forces, and society: the early making of users' space in Treasure Hill, looks at the early making of the architecture by its space users in Treasure Hill Village (hereafter THV). It aims to provide wider comprehension of the formation of user's space in different spatial-temporal context and to set the foundation for the further exploration in next chapters. This chapter, divided into two sections, examines the early making of THV from two scales of perspective, the marco and the micro. First, by relating the village to the surrounding regions and social contexts in different times of authority, such as the Qing Dynasty, Japanese Colonization, and Kuomintang Government after WWII, the investigation illustrates the relationship between the development of the village and the crucial city development in Taipei. The second section, narrowing down the focus to the angle of inhabitants, delineates the construction of the self-built village and reveals the close engagement between users, neighborhood, and their making. Personal stories and emotional attachment to the self-built creation shows 'the building of home', which connects with their stories of settling down in the rapidly urbanized city and the emotional attachment to the place of inhabitation as time went by. Through both the macroscopic and microscopic angles, the chapter concludes with three key forces, which significantly influence the production of '*architecture (buildings) without architects*' and form the unique spatial characteristics of *user's space*.

Chapter 4, From architectural meaning making to the prelude to museum making, hones in on the construction and contestation of architectural meaning and narratives with regard to the buildings in THV made by both top-down and bottom-up approaches during 1999 to 2002 in order to prevent the village buildings from demolition by the City Government. Since the 1980s, THV had been considered illegal by the City

Government, and its threat of demolition between 1980 and 2000 caused a series of petitions and demonstrations in order to halt the municipal decision. The chapter elaborates how alternative spatial meaning and vision had been constructed by varied social parties and was eventually accepted by the City Government. Two major strands of enquiry are brought into focus. First, the section combs the actions and the arguments that the advocates and architects adopted during the conflict/lobbying and illustrates why one of the alternative architectural programmings was chosen to replace the demolition policy. Second, the section sets forward what the role and attitude of designers, such as advocates, community planners, and architects are during the demonstrations to strive for security and social justice embedded in the conservation of the self-built village. In 2002, the City Government still forcibly demolished the area along the riverbank, and about 40 households were relocated to other places for the sake of flooding prevention. Activists then turned to history conservation (THV was later identified as a historic village in 2004), and it resulted in the beginning of museum making.

By examining the two threads, the chapter raises inquiries on the interpretation and representation of the site which speaks for grassroots. During the demonstrations and conservation process, the meaning making of THV landscape was connected with complex social interaction among social parties involved in the demonstrations, showing how social relation and cultural capital of social groups had been exercised in urban politics and also architecture making. Moreover, the selected alternative architecture plan also shows the result of compromises and negotiations among activists, architects, residents, and the City Government, leading the partial demolition to the village. This drastic change tremendously reshaped the site and the transformation of the uses from a residential area to a public, cultural, and historic site. It triggered an unconventional museum making and opens up an unprecedented case of heritage making in Taiwan. Among the interrelationship between the self-built architecture, narrative and meaning making, space and identity, museum making, and social concerns, the chapter aims to mainly identify the role of design and their actions to shape the site in the process.

Chapter 5, Actions of museum making: striving and struggling towards social architecture, looks at the museum making process and architectural renovation of THV

into Treasure Hill Artist Village (hereafter THAV) during 2003 to 2010. Following the chosen conservation plan in 2002 and its objective, a village of ‘symbiosis’ consisting of art, residential use, and the service (youth hostel), the village encountered another phase of tremendous change of adapting itself under public gaze.

The chapter starts from the perspectives of eco-museum as one of the motivations influencing the gist of the Conservation Plan is informed by the discourse of eco-museum. The it concentrates on the remaking of the site by varied social parties respectively as well as synergetically: community planners, artists and curators, second waves of protestors, architects, and the City Government and future museum personnel of the art institution in THAV. It was an experimental process full of negotiation and conflicts. Moreover, the chapter examines the architectural changes in THAV in different stages of the renovation process to illuminate how the ideal objective of the conservation plan—the symbiosis of community and new artistic use—had been or not been realized in this eco-museum-like plan by various making by design and use, also showing strive and struggle resulted from the distance between the vision and the reality.

To conclude, the chapter proposes that to conserve a grassroots village as a historic village in Taiwan was unprecedented and the quality of the temporariness of the self-helped buildings made the renovation difficult. Diverse actions made by different parties with their intentions and visions contributed to the actual content of this museum making process. Moreover, the ambiguous attitudes of the City Government on doubting the feasibility of coexistence and the security of architectural condition, which resulted in relatively insufficient financial investment, led to an undetermined execution, placing a ‘temporary conservation’ order on THAV. This museum making process is an ongoing social experiment.

Chapter 6, Transients and inhabitation: remaking by users and their occupation, looks at how the buildings of THAV have been appropriated and remade by various spatial users, including the directors and staff of the art institutions, residential artists, residents, and audiences after the official openings of THAV during October 2010 to 2014. Starting from the background of the art development (art museums, gallery, and

art-in-residential venue) in Taiwan, the practices in THAV stand out in current art activities as the onsite residents' daily lives encounter art and commercial uses.

Furthermore, with different intentions behind the occupation and duration of the appropriation of the space, the above varied social groups exercise their own agency in THAV distinctly as well as collaboratively. The unprecedented setting of the scenario of THAV: a symbiotic village between art and residential use, had allowed trial-and-error experiments by social parties to realize how a case of symbiosis could operate since its opening in 2010. First, strategies and attitudes that the art directors adopted to the site significantly shaped the atmosphere of THAV and the operation of the art-in-residency program. Second, the international artists and their own art creation, in shorter or longer term, had remade the site in diverse ways, ranging from physical creation to invisible meaning-making, from temporal to permanent, from individual interpretation to co-working with the community and the public, and from site-specific to unrelated to the context. Also, different extents with which their creativity was associated with the characteristic locality seemed to determine the duration and strength of intervening with the landscape making.

Third, the twenty-one households had actively but silently contributed to the remaking of the architecture in the village. They gradually reshaped the space in the village through their daily practices such as constantly rebuilding the communal place. Also, a few residents have begun to conduct activities of making narratives through culture and art production to tell stories about the site and themselves. It also shows that the second-generation residents realize that to take part in the given plan could be beneficial for the coexistence although the tourist-driven institutionalization had drastically changed the relationship between their lives and the buildings. Fourth, audiences demonstrate how short term spatial users experience, perceive, and re-interpret the buildings and exhibitions, and what repetitive patterns of audiences' behaviors and any creative actions there might be. Audiences seem to remake the architecture by re-narrating their understanding of the site, bodily intervention, and imagination, triggered by elements in the site. Their temporary appropriation reflects the relationship between the built environment and themselves and reevaluates the designed space.

By reviewing the findings of the above chapters, the architecture in the case study is presented as having the nature of being made and remade constantly by varied social parties. The conclusion will clarify major forces that (re)shape architecture and space in different phases of THAV, ranging from social needs, designer and user's actions, objectives of policy and the conservation plan, individual vision and making, and a possibility of multiple agency/authors. By making dialogues with key literature and thinkings, the conclusion proposes some learning on museum making for future museum design emerged from the research findings, and more importantly, raises questions and reflection for rethinking museum making.

Chapter Three: Space, Forces, and Society- the Early Making of Users' Space in Treasure Hill

Introduction

This chapter investigates the early production of the architecture in Treasure Hill Village from the perspectives of the political, the social, the conceptual, the representational, and the collective as well as the individual. Informed by Henri Lefebvre's conceptual triad of space production and relevant theories on spatial agency of use discussed in Chapter 1, the chapter aims to emphasize the sense of users' space and 'architecture without architect' in this self-built village, and sets out to examine its history of early making with two different scales, macroscopic (socio-cultural context) and microscopic (uses and lived space), divided into two main sections.

The conducted methodology for the chapter combines documentation, archival research, and the record of the direct observation done during the demonstrations in 2001 and 2002. The documentation consists of past reports, previous research of master thesis, and records of the first-hand interview in 2001 and 2002. These records of interview and observation made during demonstrations are key supplements to help depict the architectural and spatial changes as well as the living experiences of the residents. The archives focus on maps in different periods of time to map the historical changes of landscape in Treasure Hill village.

The first section, by relating to the village, the surrounding regions, and the social contexts from the Qing Dynasty (A.D 1681-1985) to 1990s, intends to illustrate the relationship between the development of the village landscape, the surrounding areas, and the crucial histories of Taipei City in a chronological order. The purpose of the chronological narrative is to look at the changes of the articulations between the village under the wider context of the society where it was born.

The second section takes an entirely different angle, a closer look at the formation of the self-built village, and aims to reveal the close engagement between space users and

environment by connecting the physical creations and the residents' daily lives and by unveiling their personal emotional attachments to the built environment. An attempt to underline the experiences of space users in the village to stress 'the lived space' is made in this section.

Overall, the analysis is laid to stress the multiple forces that have influentially shaped the making of the unique physicality of the users' space in the village. Through the above-mentioned macroscopic and microscopic points of view, the conclusion aims to unfold the key factors/forces which significantly shaped the early production of the self-built buildings in the village. Also, by delineating the process of how the village was first made by space users in their specific context, the chapter serves as a background for later chapters.

Status Profile

There are two ways to reach Treasure Hill Village. One entrance is along Lane 230 of Ting-Zhou Road from the prosperous area of Gong-Guan district in Taipei City (See Figure 3.3), the capital city of Taiwan with an approximate population of 2.69 million.¹⁶⁷ By taking vehicles or walking along Lane 230 of Ting-Zhou Road for about two hundred meters, before arriving at the east side of the community, it is possible to see that the landscape hugely changes from a dense, urbanized, and commercial theme to a low-rise and country scenic village. The other way to approach the west side of the village is by cycling along the river bike routes.



Figure 3.1 Treasure Hill Village, now Treasure Hill Artists Village since 2010, is located near the river bank of Xin-Dian River, a tributary of Tamshui River in Gong-Guan district, a southern area of Taipei City. The location of the Office of the President, Republic of China (R.O.C.) represents the old city center in the west side of Taipei while the Taipei City Government, relocated from the western part of Taipei to the east part of Taipei where Taipei 101 is nearby, symbolizes the new economic and cultural city center

¹⁶⁷ Department of Budget, Accounting, and Statistic, Taipei City Government, May 2014
<<http://w2.dbas.taipei.gov.tw/statchart/a2.htm>> [accessed on June 20, 2014].

after the 1980s. Original image from *Taipei Unveiled*, by Shu Chang, Chun-Hsiung Wang, (Taipei: Garden City, 2013), p. 10. Modified by the author.

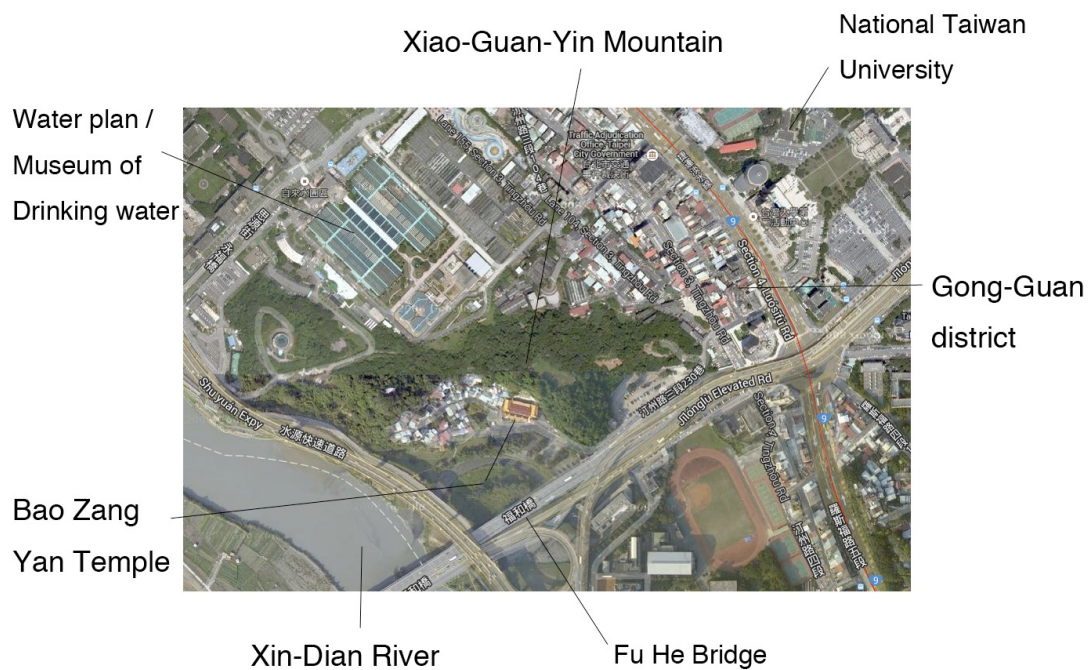


Figure 3.2 Treasure Hill aerial image from Google map. Accessed on 20 January, 2014. Modified by the author.





Figure 3.3 The upper: Ting-Zhou Road. Photo shot at the entrance of Lane 230. The middle: Walking along Lane 230, Fu-He Bridge on the left hand side with a parking lot on the right. The lower: Along Lane 230 and turn right at the end, the temple and the village behind come into view. Photos taken by the author.



Figure 3.4 The panorama of Treasure Hill before partial demolition in 2001. Photo from the powerpoint file of Treasure Hill Artist Village Volunteer Training. Provided by Jing-Fang Cai.

3.1 Settlement development from Qing Dynasty to 1990s

This section is to illustrate the changes of Treasure Hill Village before 1990, which includes the Qing Dynasty of the Empire of China, the Japanese Occupation (from 1895 to 1945), and the postwar development. The approaches to historical research and writing in this section focus on the relationship between the state, regional development, and settlement shaping. In other words, the narrative looks at how external forces influenced the formation and development of the village.

3.1.1 Regional development in Qing Dynasty (1681-1895)

River transportation and irrigation canal in Gong-Guan district

During the Qing Dynasty in the sixteenth century, the Han immigrants, mainly from the southeast coastal areas of China, such as Fujian and Guangdong Provinces, came to northern Taiwan and started cultivating along Tamshui River, the longest river in North Taiwan, and its tributaries in Taipei basin. Researchers believe that some immigrants crossed the ancient muddy basin, the predecessor of Taipei, and came to the south edge of Taipei basin, to the bank of Xin-Dian River, and eventually arrived in Gong-Guan district, where they started to build their settlement.¹⁶⁸ By utilizing river transport, they gradually formed settlements scattered in south Taipei and around Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain and shipped tea, rice, wood, and camphor to trade from the upper reaches of the river to the lower reaches. Then goods were distributed by Tamshui River transportation to Mainland China and other countries.¹⁶⁹

Before the Japanese occupation in 1895, most of the land of Gong-Guan district was used for agricultural purposes and was a relatively rural landscape compared to the ancient city center of Taipei. During 1736 to 1766, Xi-Liu Kuo, originally from Zhang-Hua (middle part of Taiwan), and his son built a system of irrigation canals known as

¹⁶⁸ Ying-Jie Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries' (unpublished Master thesis, National Taiwan University, 1999), p. 36.

¹⁶⁹ The early settlements of immigrants in Taiwan were usually formed along with the main rivers and their tributaries. See more in Taipei City Archives, *Archives of Taipei*, 1983.

Liu-Gong irrigation canal, a significant furrow made by the immigrants for the benefit of farming, and its irrigated area nearly reached as much as half of the Taipei basin in the late eighteenth century.¹⁷⁰ However, this was not the first built environment in the area.

¹⁷⁰ Taipei Liugong Irrigation Association, *History*,
<http://www.liugong.org.tw/public/web_page.aspx?id=26> [accessed on 21 June, 2014].



Figure 3.5 The Liu-Gong irrigation system on the map of present Taipei. The red lines show the tunnels and gates of the irrigation web. One of the branches of the irrigation was close to Treasure Hill area. Image from Kuo Xi Liu Foundation, <<http://www.khl.org.tw/source2.html>>. Modified by the author.

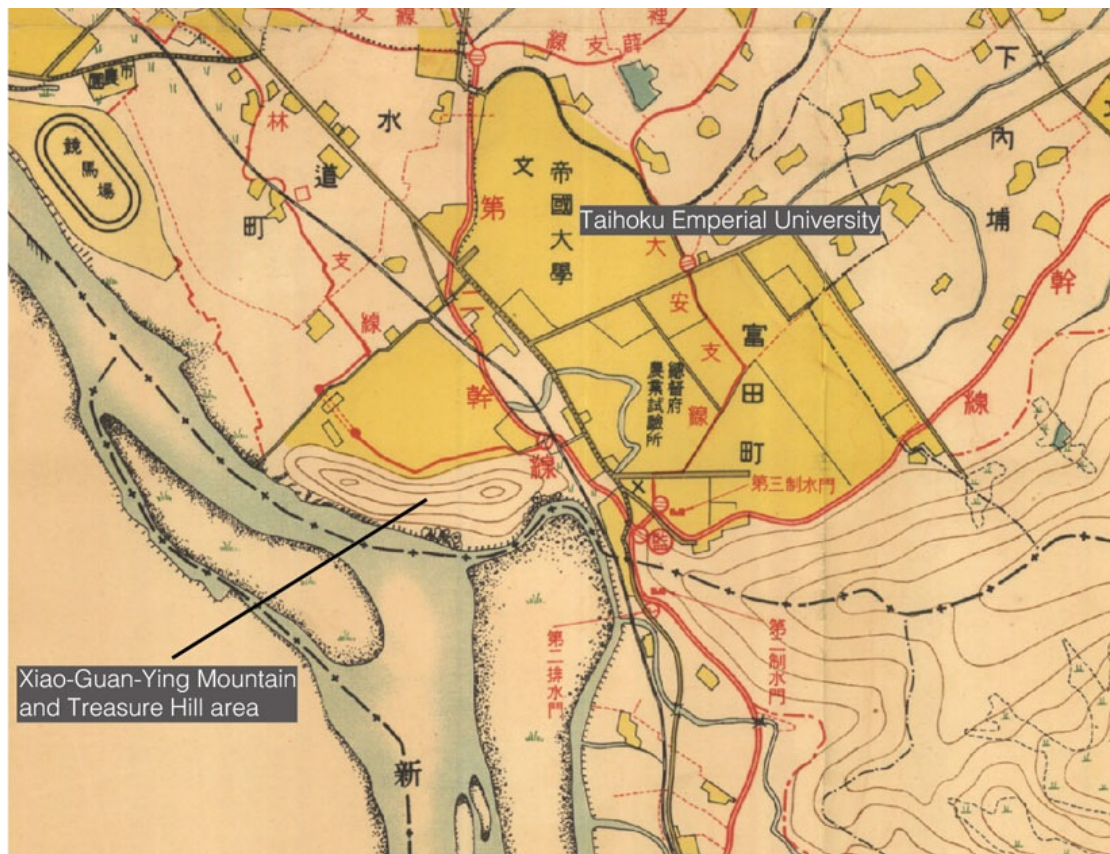


Figure 3.6 A closer look at Treasure Hill and Liu-Gong irrigation system. The red lines show the tunnels and gates of the irrigation web in Gong-Guan area. The map was made in the 1930s (Japanese occupation). Image from webgis.sinica.edu.tw/map_irrigation/Canal_D02.html. Label added by the author.

The foundation of Bao Zang Yan¹⁷¹ (Treasure Hill) Temple

The earliest documented building in Bao Zang Yan Village (Treasure Hill Village) is Bao Zang Yan Temple (Treasure Hill Temple).¹⁷² Researchers believe that it might be the oldest temple in the Taipei basin, firstly made of wood and established by Kuo, Zhi-Heng in 1681.¹⁷³ It is closely related to the history of the Han immigration due to its

¹⁷¹ The term 'Bao Zang' in Chinese means 'treasure' and 'Yan' in Chinese signifies a temple built on the hill.

¹⁷² Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village* (Taipei: Commissioned project by Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, 2005), pp. 2-3.

¹⁷³ Zheng-Zong Que, *The Epic 100 Year History of Bao Zang Yan Temple in Taipei*. (Taipei: Taipei City Archive, 2002), p. 129-147.

being adjacent to the irrigation tunnels.¹⁷⁴ Although it was built in 1681, before the Liu-Gong irrigation system came into being, the temple seemed to have a strong connection with the spiritual needs of the immigrants.¹⁷⁵ It worships Guan-Yin, the Bodhisattva of Compassion, a very popular folk deity even today. Because it was located near river transport, and there were a few populous villages around Gong-Guan district, followers increased.



Figure 3.7 Bao Zang Yan Temple during the Japanese occupation. Photo from Taipei Archives.



Figure 3.8 Bao Zang Yan Temple in 1941 under the Japanese occupation. Unknown origin. Provided by Fang-Zheng Lin.

Temples played an important role in the traditional Han-immigrant society. They were not only religious sites, but also social, administrative, economic, spiritual, and entertainment centers for villages. Also, some temples functioned to unite immigrants

¹⁷⁴ Bing-Yi Lu et al. 'A Preliminary Investigation on Treasure Hill' (unpublished report for the seminar, 'Introduction on the histories of architecture and city', National Taiwan University, 1988).

¹⁷⁵ Inscription on a tablet in Bao Zang Yan Temple made in 1796 demonstrated that the immigrant who made the inscription bought large piece of water farm near Treasure Hill.

who moved from the same ancestral homes in China. As immigrants were not able to acclimatize to local situations and had diseases, the gods and goddesses from their homeland became their spiritual sustenance.¹⁷⁶ In addition, the productivity in agriculture was low and unstable because of the low technology of farming and unexpected loss caused by natural disasters. Regular seasonal worships based on their folk faith in the temple and the nature were important to farmers.

Due to the lack of evidence, it is not certain if there was a direct connection between Bao Zang Yan Temple and the early immigrants in the nearby settlements as well as the Liu-Gong canals in Gong-Guan district, although the temple seemed the only building before Japanese rule.



¹⁷⁶ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, pp. 2-2.

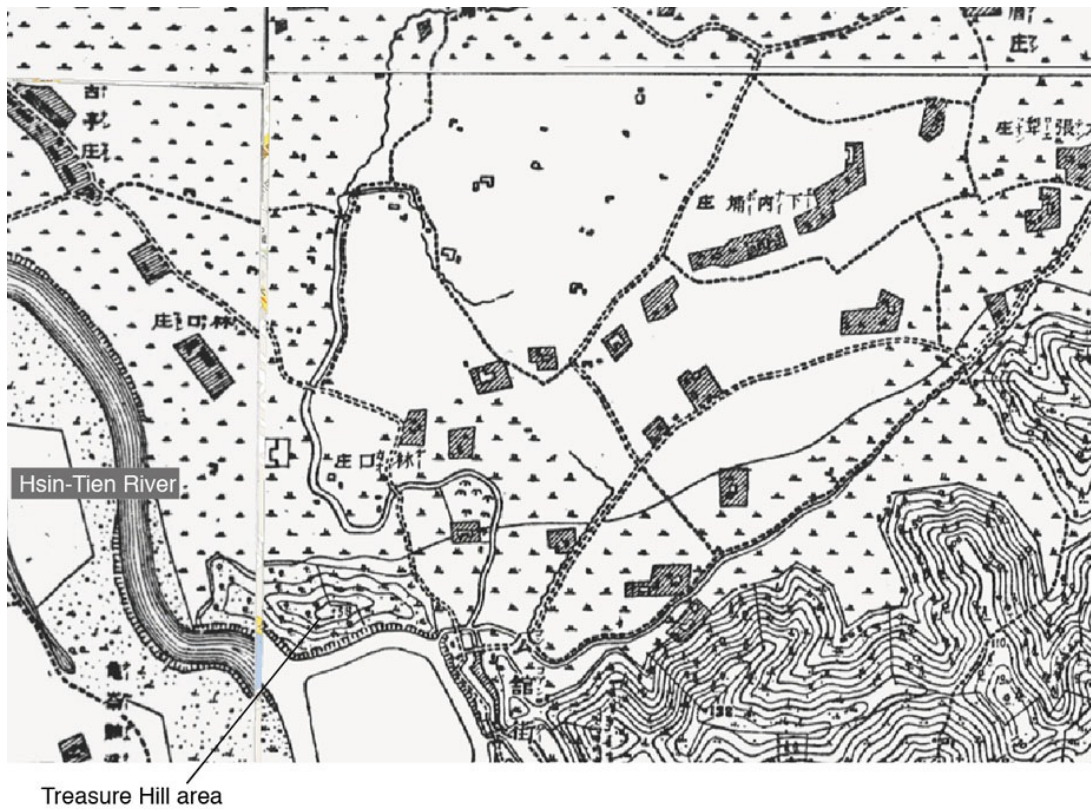


Figure 3.9 and 3.10 (close look) Taipei terrain map in 1895. Red circles refer to the old Taipei town centers developed prosperously with Tamshui River transportation. The area around Treasure Hill was relatively remote to the town and mainly used for farming. Photo from Center for GIS, Academia Sinica. Modified by author.

3.1.2 Japanese occupation (1895-1945)-- urban modernization and state intervention

In 1895, Taiwan was given to Japan as China was defeated in the first Sino-Japanese War. Although Taiwan became a new part of the Japanese Empire, the Taiwanese people, except local gentry or notable family members, did not acquire any political power.¹⁷⁷ In order to stabilize the colonial sovereignty and capital accumulation, the Japanese colonial government made a series of fundamental economic and cultural policies, some of which hugely impacted the landscape around Treasure Hill Village.

During the Japanese occupation of Taiwan, the early works of policy led to an economic squeeze. The colonial government made use of natural resources and labor surplus in Taiwan to accelerate further development of capital accumulation in Japan as well as considering Taiwan as a base for invading Southeast Asia and China.

In order to achieve the above goals, the colonial government invested in urban infrastructure in the colonized Taiwan, such as urban hygiene, health, and safety improvement and modernizing the old Taipei city center by knocking down the city walls built in the Qing Dynasty and re-planning the roads into a grid system.¹⁷⁸ Urban areas were reshaped into a more efficient place for trade and the exchange of commodities.¹⁷⁹ Under the policy of '*Developing industries in Japan and agriculture in Taiwan*', many agriculture-related institutes such as the Agricultural Experimental School, the Institute of Sugar, and High Education of Agriculture and Forestry School (the predecessor of Taihoku Imperial University founded in 1928, which became the National Taiwan University after 15 November, 1945),¹⁸⁰ were established in Gong-Guan district as the Liu-Gong irrigation canals were a well-developed furrow system.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁷ Mi-Cha Wu (ed.), *Ten Short Talks on Taiwan History* (Taipei: Third Nature Publishing, 2005), p. 51.

¹⁷⁸ Shuo-Bin Su, *Invisible and Visible Taipei* (Taipei: Socio Publishing, 2010), p. 186.

¹⁷⁹ Chu-Joe Hsia, *Building Colonial Modernity: Rewriting Histories of Architecture and Urbanism in Colonial Taiwan*, *A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies*, 40, (2000), p. 47-82.

¹⁸⁰ The only comprehensive university in Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period. It was one of the nine imperial universities in Japan before the war. See more in National Taiwan University, *NTU History*, <<http://www.ntu.edu.tw/about/history.htm>> [accessed on 20 January, 2014].

¹⁸¹ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 39.

In 1907, the Liu-Gong irrigation canals were nationalized and publicized under the management of the predecessor of Taipei Liu-Gong Irrigation Association, and the traditional relationship between landowner/canal owner and contracted farmers collapsed.¹⁸²

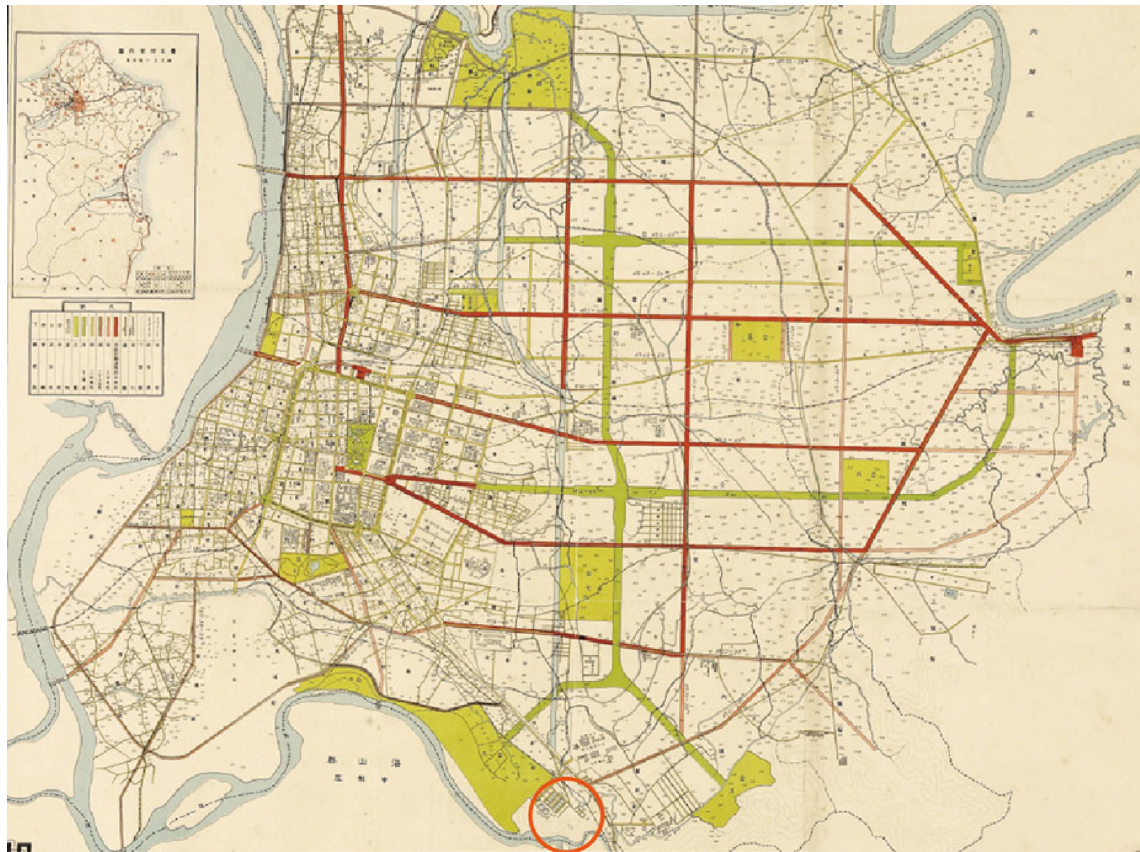
Policy shift in Taiwan after 1930s

At the end of 1920, the regime of Japan shifted to militarism gradually and showed great ambition to expand its territory. Geographically, Taiwan played an important role for the Asian invasion plan. At the same time, in order to meet the possibility of overseas war, the Japanese colonial government attempted to transform Taiwan into an economically industrialized base, and also assimilate it into Japanese culture and society through ‘Kominka movement’ (Japanization)¹⁸³, whereby a series of top-down policies were used to dominate and assimilate the colonized people by means of language, including Japanizing people’s names, education, and social control.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² The History of Taipei Liugong Irrigation Association, *History*, <http://www.liugong.org.tw/public/web_page.aspx?id=26> [accessed on 30 May, 2014].

¹⁸³ Between 1937 and 1945, ‘Kominka movement’ was a campaign that attempted to transform the Taiwanese into loyal subjects of the Japanese Emperor thoroughly. See more in Ministry of Culture, *Encyclopedia of Taiwan*, <<http://taiwanpedia.culture.tw/en/content?ID=3803>> [accessed on 28 December 2013].

¹⁸⁴ Wu (ed.), *Ten Short Talks on Taiwan History*, p. 175.



Xiao-guan-ying mountain and Treasure Hill area

Figure 3.11 Taipei Urban Plan and Park Plan in 1932. The map demonstrates the grid system of roads after urban renewal according to the 1932 urban plan by the Japanese colonial government. There is only water purification plant on this map in Treasure Hill area without showing the temple (orange circle). Photo from Center for GIS, Academia Sinica. Modified by author.

Treasure Hill in Japanese Occupation

According to the plan of modernization, Xin-Dian River was identified as one of the water resource preservation areas. In 1896, the colonial government appointed a British consultant, William Kinninmond Burton, to conduct the planning of Taipei water resources and related facilities.¹⁸⁵ In 1909, water purification and supply facilities were completed in Xiao-guan-yin Mountain, where Treasure Hill belongs, to supply water for the whole of Taipei City.¹⁸⁶ It was one of the most important modern infrastructures in colonized Taiwan. At the same time, to protect the water quality, Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain, Treasure Hill, Xin-Dian River, and the surrounding areas were all classified

¹⁸⁵ Shi-Juan Huang, *Building Technocrats and Colonial Enterprise 1895–1922* (Taipei: Taipei National University of Art, 2012), p. 49.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 50.

as a ‘protected zone’ by introducing urban planning regulations and sending artillery troops to guard it.¹⁸⁷ To achieve these goals, a number of military facilities and warehouses were built. Now some of the buildings for sentries have been overtaken by nature.

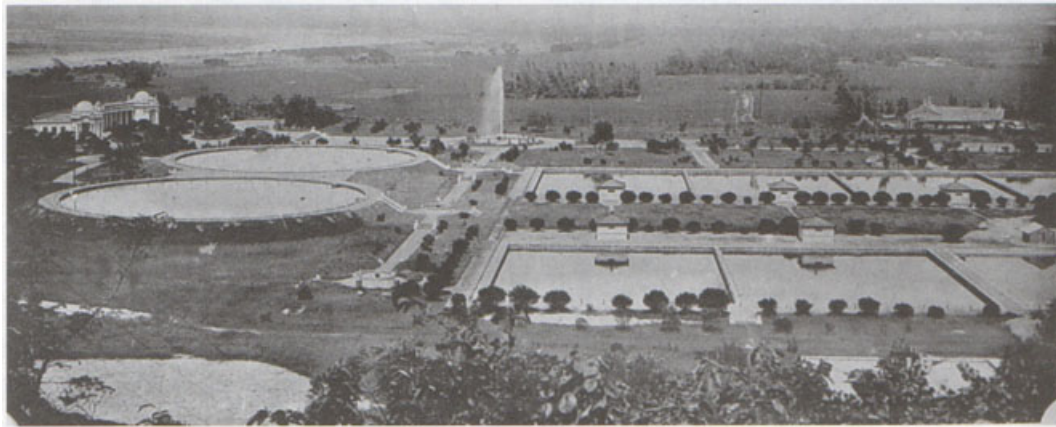


Figure 3.12 Water purification plant in 1918. Photo from Museum of Drinking Water. Pumping room was located in the left side of the picture.

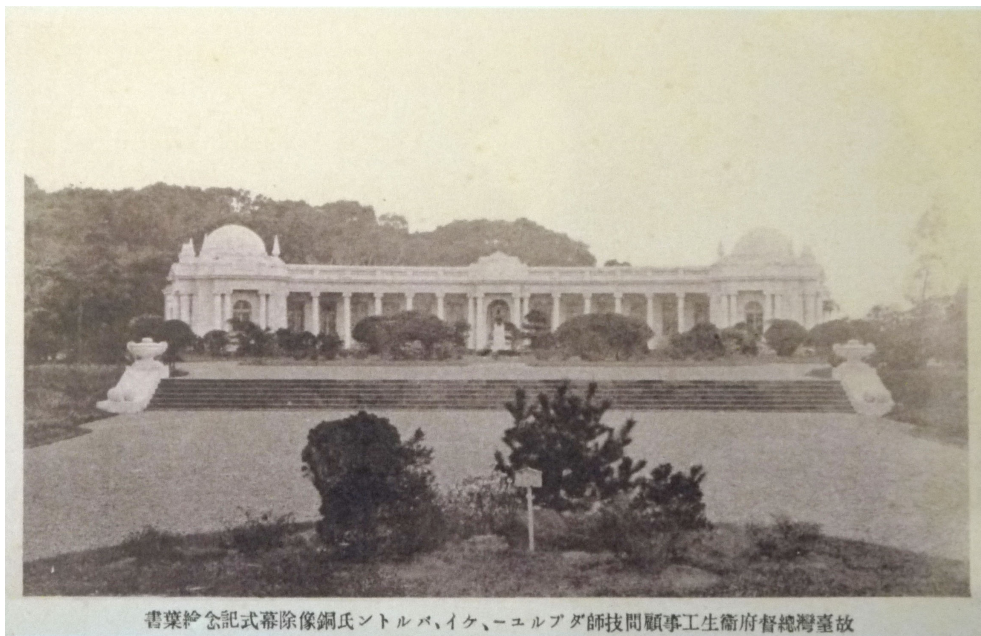


Figure 3.13 Pumping room in water purification plant. (now Museum of Drinking Water) Photo from Museum of Drinking Water.

¹⁸⁷ Chen, ‘Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries’, p. 40.



Figure 3.14 The inside of the pumping room.
(Museum of Drinking Water) Photo by the author.

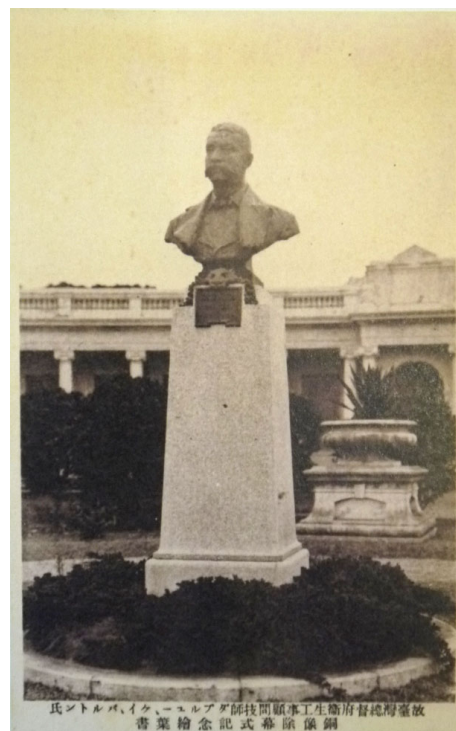


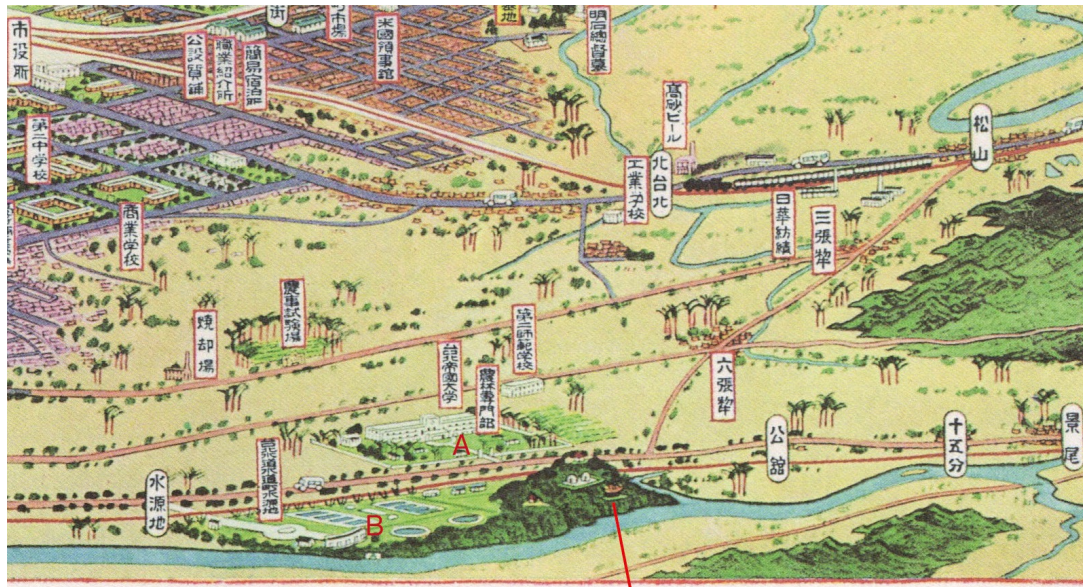
Figure 3.15 The statue of W.K. Burton.
Photo from Museum of Drinking Water.

At that time, the main hall area of Bao Zang Yan Temple was 92.5 square meters, and the total temple area was 396.7 square meters with 1722.3 square-meters of fields, and a 5166.9 square-meter garden.¹⁸⁸ It was a large-scaled faith stronghold of the southern district of Taipei, and therefore led to the beginning of village development later. However, many farms around the Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain and Liu-Gong irrigation canals were expropriated by the colonial government for building urban facilities.¹⁸⁹

The sub-division of the water protection zone by the state's sovereignty and intervention of national power significantly reshaped Treasure Hill area into a military guarded place. In terms of colonial modernity, Treasure Hill landscape was viewed as national assets for the first time and shaped by rational and scientific perspectives.

¹⁸⁸ Zheng-Zong Que, *The Epic 100 Year History of Bao Zang Yan Temple in Taipei*. (Taipei: Taipei City Archive, 2002), p. 129-147.

¹⁸⁹ The History of Taipei Liugong Irrigation Association, *History*,
<http://www.liugong.org.tw/public/web_page.aspx?id=26> [accessed on 30 May, 2014].



Bao Zang Yan Temple (Treasure Hill Temple)

Figure 3.16 Scope of Taipei made in 1930s. A refers to Taihoku Imperial University, established in 1928, and other agriculture-related institutes, and B is a water purification plant. This map shows four buildings on the hill. One is Bao Zang Yan Temple, and the other three might be facilities related to the water plant or military guards. Image copyright belongs to from Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. From Zheng-Zong Que, *The Epic 100 Year History of Bao Zang Yan Temple in Taipei*. (Taipei: Taipei City Archive, 2002). Modified by the author.

3.1.3 After the Second World War to the 1960s

First households during the political gap

After the Second World War, the Japanese colonial government retreated from Taiwan, and all Japanese soldiers left Treasure Hill. The result was, between 1945-1949, a political gap between Japan's retreat and the Kuomintang party (KMT) military's stationing. The now empty military warehouses and buildings around Bao Zang Yan Temple were used and occupied by some believers and people who looked for a shelter. The other three households later joined the village, and they were silt removers, deliverymen, and cooks, working for local capitalists in the Xin-Dian River area.¹⁹⁰ Besides the earliest known six households, Bao Zang Yan Temple, and abandoned military houses and bunkers, the rest of the landscape in Treasure Hill village was covered by forest. One of the early inhabitants called this place their Xanadu, given the nature and wilderness around.¹⁹¹

¹⁹⁰ From interviews with six early households done in 1998 in Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-6.

¹⁹¹ Interview transcripts of Mrs. Yue Er Li in Zhi-Cong Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, (Taipei: Taipei Archives, 2011), p. 88. Her family moved into Treasure Hill from Tainan in 1946. Her parents at that time found this land and the ownership was unknown. Therefore they decided to settle down.

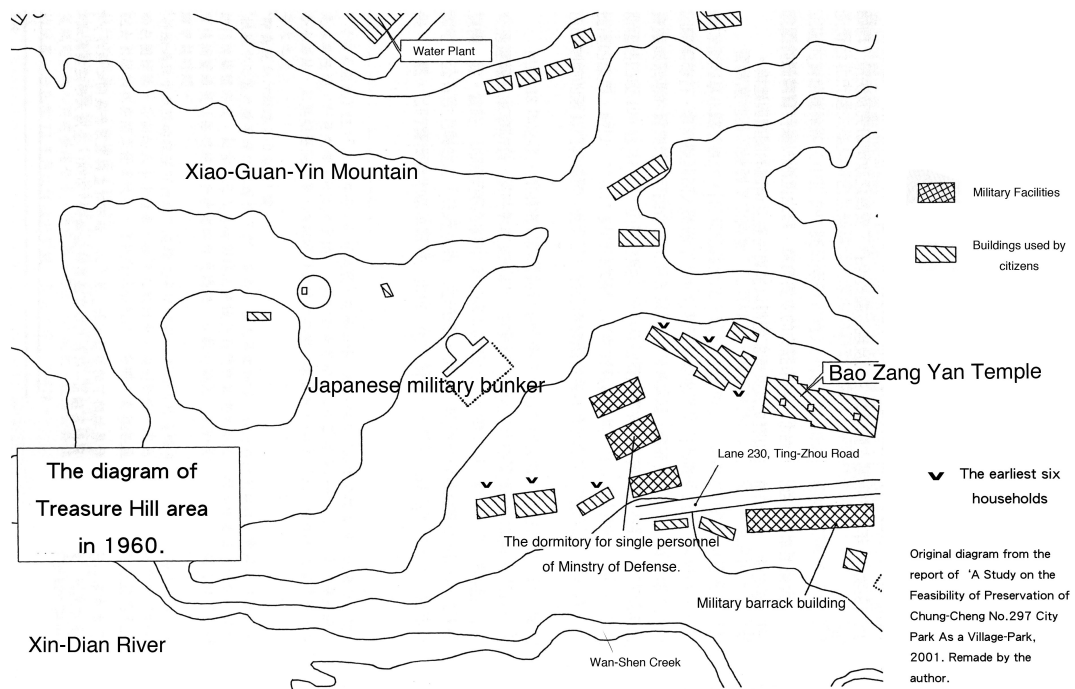


Figure 3.17 The diagram of Treasure Hill in 1960. Three early households were living next to the temple by occupying the Japanese military warehouses, and other three families that were located closely to the dormitories later joined in the village. Original diagram from ‘A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhung-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park, 2001.’ Modified by the author.



Figure 3.18 Bao Zang Yan Temple in 1950s. Photo provided by Fang-Zheng Li, originally from family Hsu.



Figure 3.19 This photo might be have been shot by standing at the temple, facing the west. The lower house on the left was a dormitory of single people and the middle one could be an early resident's house. Photo provided by Fang-Zheng Li, originally from family Xu.

Another wave of immigrants

In 1949, KMT made Taipei the temporary capital city of the Republic of China. The leader of KMT, Chiang Kai-shek, retreated with his soldiers from Mainland China because of the defeat in the civil war between KMT and the Mao communist troops. All of a sudden, a large number of military soldiers, governors along with their families, moved to Taipei, a city that had been designed by the Japanese Government in 1932 to accommodate only 300,000 inhabitants. The population then boomed to 600,000.¹⁹² Under the rapid population expansion, housing shortage became an urgent problem. In order to settle these political immigrants, the existing dormitories and buildings made by the Japanese government became residential places for the newly arrived governors

¹⁹² Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-6.

and officials.¹⁹³ The water resource area near Bao Zang Yan Temple and the University of National Defense Medical Center on Ting-Zhou Road were full of asylums and temporary houses. It was estimated that one-third of the population in Taipei in 1950s lived in self-built houses.¹⁹⁴ These temporary buildings, later identified as illegal, were common urban landscape and life experiences during that time.

After the civil war, the political tension between the KMT government in Taiwan and the Mao communists in China was still high. Being concealed in Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain and the closest hill to the Presidential Palace (now Office of President), the water resource area was transformed into one of the southern military fortresses of Taipei by the KMT government. The North Command was set up and the nineteenth troop, which retreated from Zhou-Shan Islands, located in the entrance of Long River in China, was stationed here. In addition, the training camp of military police guarding the Presidential Palace was set up near Wan-Shen Creek, a tributary of Xin-Dian river, which goes right in front of Bao Zang Yan Temple.¹⁹⁵

Furthermore, during the U.S.-Taiwan defense period (1951-1979), the American army established a radio communication system in a cave in Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain and sent naval forces to be stationed next to the temple.¹⁹⁶ A series of military control actions significantly limited the development of Treasure Hill village. All people needed entrance permission, including the earliest six households.¹⁹⁷ In the post-war years, Treasure Hill and the whole Gong-Guan district became a major military region of southern Taipei.

¹⁹³ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 46.

¹⁹⁴ Mi Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation' (unpublished master thesis, National Taiwan University, 2000), p. 31.

¹⁹⁵ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-6.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2-6.

¹⁹⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 90.

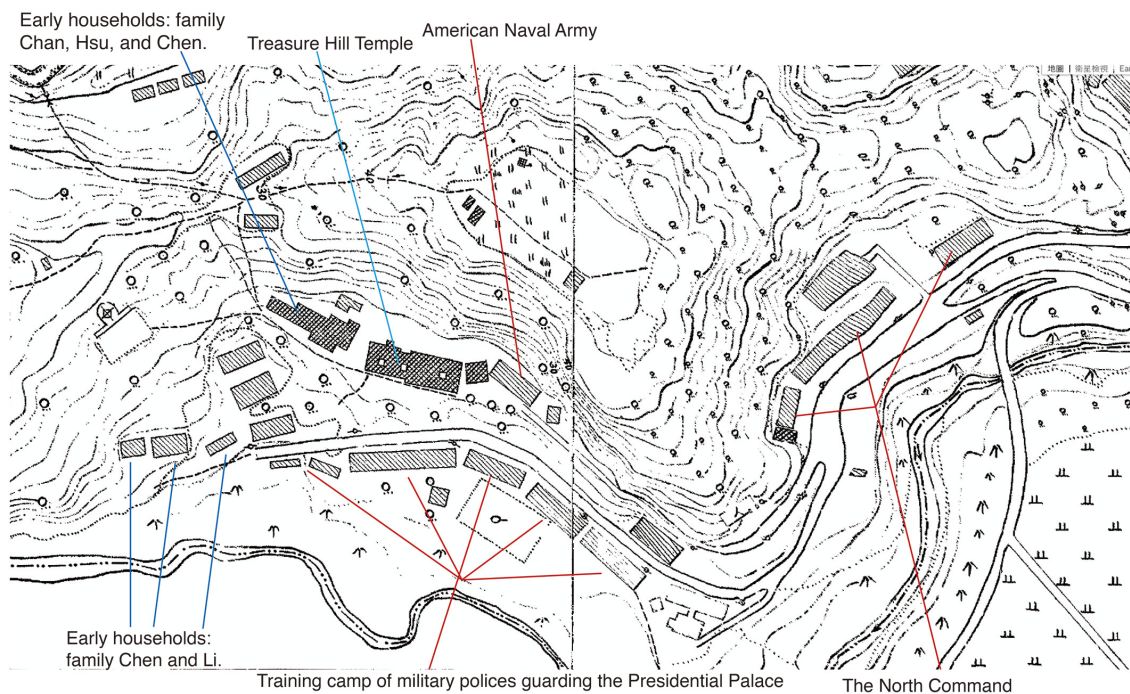


Figure 3.20 Taipei terrain map in 1958. The blue lines indicate the residential households and the temple were under the military control after 1949. Original image from Center for GIS, Academia Sinica. Modified by author.

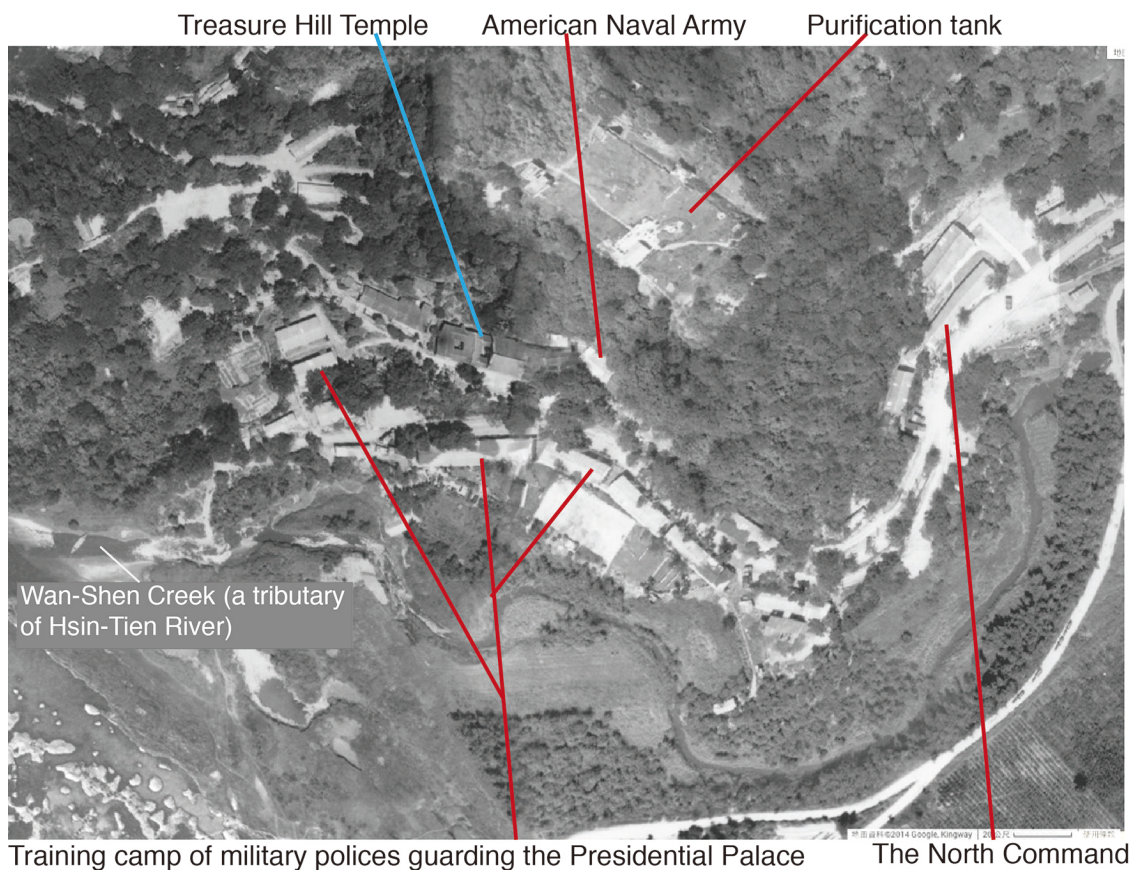


Figure 3.21 Satellite image in 1957 shows the west side of the village was still covered by forest and nature. Image from Center for GIS, Academia Sinica. Modified by the author.

Building of the illegal houses in Treasure Hill

With the postwar U.S. military and economic aid, Taiwan's economy had gradually stabilized and improved. In the 1960s, Taiwan played a key role in the manufacturing and export trades in the international industrious and business network.¹⁹⁸ This economic boom created many job opportunities in industries in urban areas as well as urban problems especially in the capital city, Taipei, and the second largest city, Kaohsiung.

According to the interviews with some residents in the village, the rapid economic boom made some military officers and soldiers inclined to apply for early retirement, attempting to enter the industrial sectors in order to earn higher wages than they did serving in the army.¹⁹⁹ These veterans could not get proper housing because of the housing shortage due to increasing numbers of rural migrants pouring into the city.²⁰⁰ Under the pressure of settling down themselves with their families, they built their houses illegally with their own hands or rented illegally built houses to fulfill their living needs. Such kinds of occupation could remain secretive because Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain was a natural environmental barrier and masked Bao Zang Yan Village, and also because of the tacit consent of military colleagues.²⁰¹ The expansion of Bao Zang Yan village gradually took place even though any construction in the military controlled site was forbidden. Nonetheless, the village still expanded from where the earliest six households were, and new residents included veterans and military personnel in service. During this period, Lane 230 and Alley 16 and 37 were firstly formed under the inconsistent attitudes of the military.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 46.

¹⁹⁹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-7.

²⁰⁰ In 1963 and 1970 there were two peaks of rural migrants. See more on Yu Fu Yang, 'A Study on Housing Development and the Discourses of Housing in Taiwan After WWII', *Journal of Architecture*, Architectural Institute of Taiwan, No.5 (1992).

²⁰¹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-7.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 2-7.

The early self-builders before the 1960s were mostly friends of the soldiers in service or veterans themselves.²⁰³ And they occupied land with the help of their soldier friends. Due to the lack of construction materials, they initially set up bamboo huts, and then gradually enhanced the quality of the houses or rebuilt them when their economic condition improved. The relationship between these veterans and troops was ambiguous. On one hand, the military seemed to forbid private construction. On the other hand, the makers who might work in other parts of the city during daytime managed to transport the construction materials when the entrance control was let down at night.²⁰⁴ They also did land preparation work in the name of woodland clearing or fruit tree planting. As long as the building had not been put up, the first step of self-construction could seem plausible, though still illegal. They spent a couple of months or years building their houses bit by bit. Sometimes they built the houses, repaired them, demolished them when they were caught, and had to restart the whole thing again, and therefore created a dynamic arduous and labor-intensive process. The residents jokingly called this process “the trilogy of illegal building”²⁰⁵: thatch, wooden plates, and finally the brick construction. Such dynamic building stories replayed themselves several times.

Since 1949, Treasure Hill village has been like a symbiotic system where the inhabitants were living with the KMT military. In the beginning of the settlement, the early households shared electric power and water from the barracks secretly.²⁰⁶ (In the 1950s, only three households obtained formal electricity from the state-operated Taiwan Power Company.²⁰⁷ Then households gradually applied for formal supply of electricity and tap water.) The military took care of inhabitants in the village. The inhabitants called it ‘One family of soldiers and civilians.’²⁰⁸ This symbiosis ended with the lifting of military control in 1971. In addition, between 1945 and the 1960s, the

²⁰³ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-7.

²⁰⁴ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park* (Taipei: NTUBP, 2001), p. 2-13.

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2-13.

²⁰⁶ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 63.

²⁰⁷ Data from Taiwan Power Company. See more in Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Chung-Cheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-19.

²⁰⁸ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 89.

construction was based on users' daily needs. Mi Shi called it 'non-commodity production'. There was no renting of illegal buildings until the 1970s.²⁰⁹

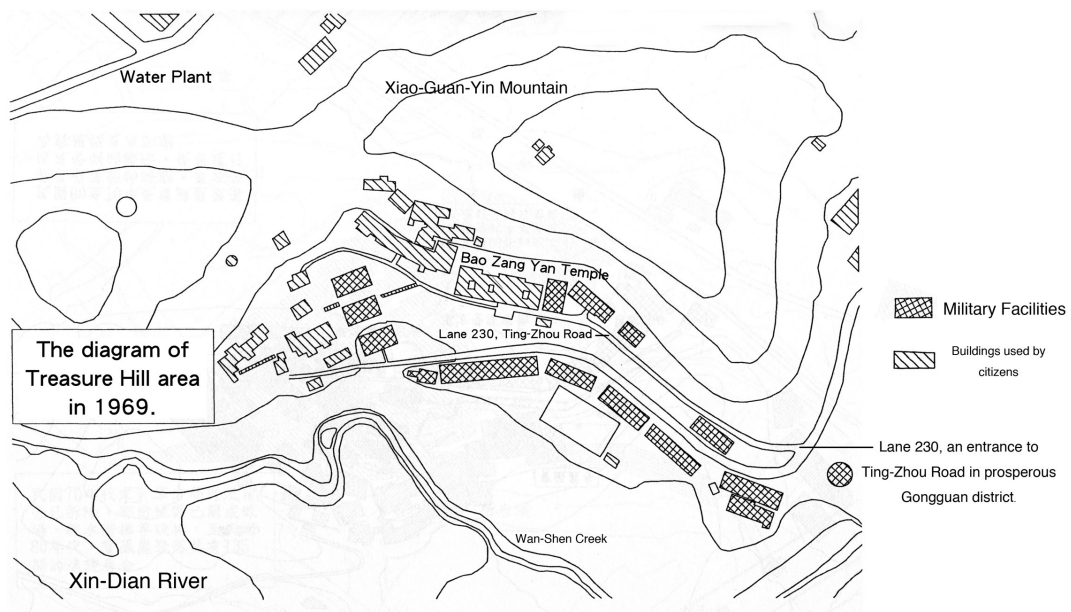


Figure 3.22 The diagram of Treasure Hill in 1969. The village grew slowly under military control. In the 1960s, the residents shared water and electricity from military buildings. Original diagram from the report of 'A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park, 2001.' Modified by the author.

²⁰⁹ Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 45.

3.1.4 The 1970s and 1980s: the substantial expansion of the settlement after the lifting of military control

The current structure of Treasure Hill village was shaped in the 1970s and 1980s mainly due to the lifting of military control in the village. A significant number of self-built houses appeared rapidly and formed a unique view of the settlement which embedded close social relationships. This part of this chapter sets out to illustrate the huge expansion of the village and its relationship with the surrounding area and the city.

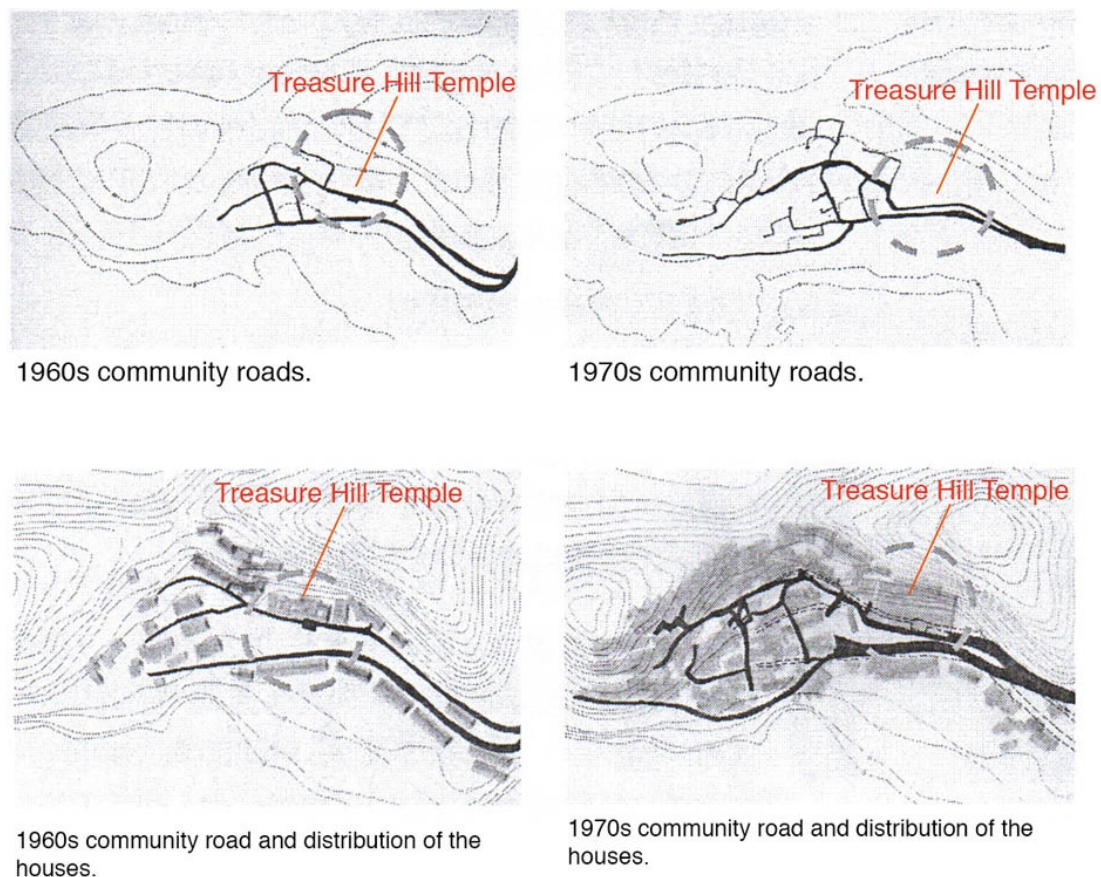


Figure 3.23 The growth of the community roads and the distribution of the buildings in the 1960s and 1970s. This figure illustrates the different rates of the growth of the village and the extension of the routes in the 60s and 70s. Original image from *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*. Remade by the author.

The rapidly extending urbanized area

In the 1970s, as the national economic policies focused on labor-dependent development, the industries in major cities needed more manpower, and therefore a

massive number of immigrants moved to urban areas from rural counties. From 1962 to 1971, Taipei's population grew from 970,000 to 1.9 million.²¹⁰ In 1967, there were 130,000 illegal houses in Taipei City, which was approximately 28.13% of the whole city's households.²¹¹ The large immigrant population could only spread itself to adjacent villages and towns, or solve its needs through informal sectors such as illegal occupation and construction.

The main housing policies in Taipei in the 1960s were 'firstly, build public housing and demolish the illegal afterwards' and 'tolerance of early illegal self-built houses' in order to face the shortage of housing in the urban area.²¹² On the other hand, since 1958, the City Government had been attempting to beautify the city landscape, and in 1966, 'two four-year sub-plans on managing illegal buildings' was published, which set out to demolish self-built houses in Taipei within eight years.²¹³ However, the government could not immediately find enough land for construction and provide enough affordable collective housing. People living in self-built houses pleaded for an extension to demolition deadlines. The second sub-plan was therefore halted.²¹⁴ The City Government had no choice but to tolerate the illegal housing as it was not able to manage to the complexity of urban housing resulting from the hurried urbanization.

As a result of the expanding urban areas, the demands for transportation such as roads and bridges arose. In the early 1970s, Fu-He Bridge, connecting Yong-He Town in Taipei County (now New Taipei City) and Taipei City, was constructed.²¹⁵ This infrastructure indirectly resulted in reducing the concealment and importance of Treasure Hill being a military site, as the military facilities were seen when standing on the bridge; also, the bridge cut the military field in half. Furthermore, the tension of the war between the communists in China and KMT in Taiwan lessened. The North Command and Military police guards battalion were evacuated from the area, and the

²¹⁰ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-9.

²¹¹ Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 31.

²¹² *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

²¹⁵ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 51.

guard outposts in the entrance of the road, riverside, and on Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain were as well.²¹⁶ The building the Military police guard battalion occupied was used as a dormitory or quarters for single personnel of the Ministry of National Defense, and a Welfare Market for Army and Officials was opened in the building where the North Command was.²¹⁷

Annulled water resource protection

On the other hand, tap water facilities in Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain were no longer adequate, as Xin-Dian River was polluted due to the hasty urbanization in Gong-Guan and the adjacent districts.²¹⁸ The access to clean water had to move to the upper reaches of the River. The original water resource protection in Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain area was not strict anymore. These changes under the growth of Taipei's metropolitan area resulted in an increase of illegal construction in Treasure Hill Village.



Figure 3.24 Bao Zang Yan Temple in 1970s. The military camp, in front of the temple, was the training camp of the military police battalion. Photo provided from Fang-Zheng Lin.

The expansion of the settlement in Treasure Hill

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

²¹⁷ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-9.

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 2-9.

Due to the removal of the Northern Command and lifting of entrance control, the community was no longer isolated from the city. The land where military facilities were built was turned into preservation zone of water plant, open space, or designated park. Besides, due to the military evacuation, many veterans retired. Some of them had family to settle, and they chose to reside in the village and built up their houses.²¹⁹

In the 1970s, the village expanded to about 135 households.²²⁰ The inhabitants who moved into the village in this period were mostly single and retired veterans (soldiers of the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949 were usually decommissioned in the early 1960s), married veterans and their spouses, and the immigrants from rural towns who were employed in cities.²²¹ Some lower-level veterans serving in the nearby barracks moved into the dormitory for single personnel of the Ministry of National Defense, and the other retired married ones built up their houses here because of military fellowship and regional connections.²²² Treasure Hill village was rapidly expanded to about 135 illegally built households with 46 units in the dormitory for single personnel.²²³

The occupations of inhabitants were closely related to the Gong-Guan region. Some inhabitants worked in low-level positions, such as clerks, secretarial staff, cleaners, and building administrators, for the Water Purification Plant on the north side of Xiao-Guan-Yin Mountain, Taiwan Agriculture Research Institute, National Taiwan University, and textile factories on Ting-Zhou Road after gravel mining around Xin-Dian River and the swine industry were forbidden. In addition, some residents worked as vendors both in the Water Source Market and on the street, and some cultivated vegetables on the riverbank.²²⁴ In 1976, Taipei City Government seemed to accept the

²¹⁹ From interviews conducted during 2000 to 2002, provided by community planner Fang-Zheng Lin.

²²⁰ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Chung-Cheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-13.

²²¹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-10.

²²² Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 52-53.

²²³ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Chung-Cheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-13.

²²⁴ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, 2005, p. 2-10.

self-built village and the most of the households acquired water, electricity, and telecom supplies from the municipal administration. Some of them even leased their spare houses to rural immigrants or students with self-built connections to electricity and water directed from the household that had a license of use.²²⁵ Researchers describe the village at this period as a ‘social history of grassroots supported by informal sections’.²²⁶

From then on, the piecemeal infrastructure improvement, such as setting up street lighting and tar-paving, was sometimes done to ingratiate with the villagers when the elections of the heads of neighborhoods and urban villages were held every four years.²²⁷



Figure 3.25 The dormitory of single personnel. Photo taken by Bin-Yi Lu in 1988.



Figure 3.26 The dormitory of single personnel with propaganda on the wall and hanging the flag. Photo taken by Bin-Yi Lu in 1988.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2-10.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 2-10.

²²⁷ Lu et al. ‘A Preliminary Investigation on Treasure Hill’.



Figure 3.27 Welfare market for army and officials. Photo taken by Bin-Yi Lu in 1988.

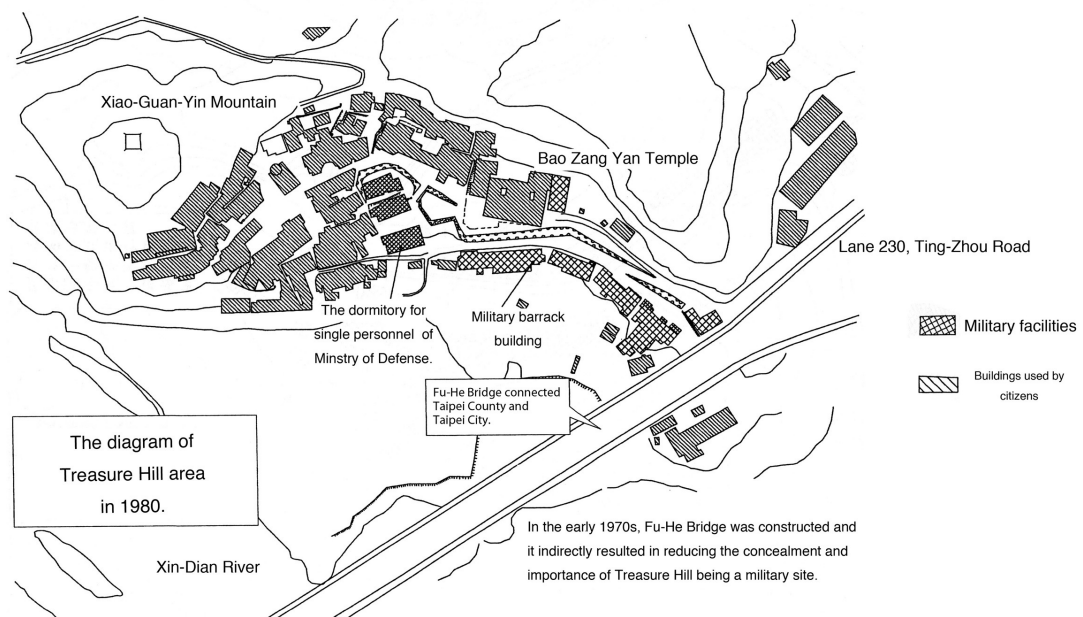


Figure 3.28 The diagram of Treasure Hill in 1980. After the lifting of military control, the village had been increasing size during the 1970s and 1980s. And Military police guard battalions were turned into dormitories for single personnel of the Ministry of Defense. Original diagram from the report of ‘A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park, 2001.’ Modified by the author.

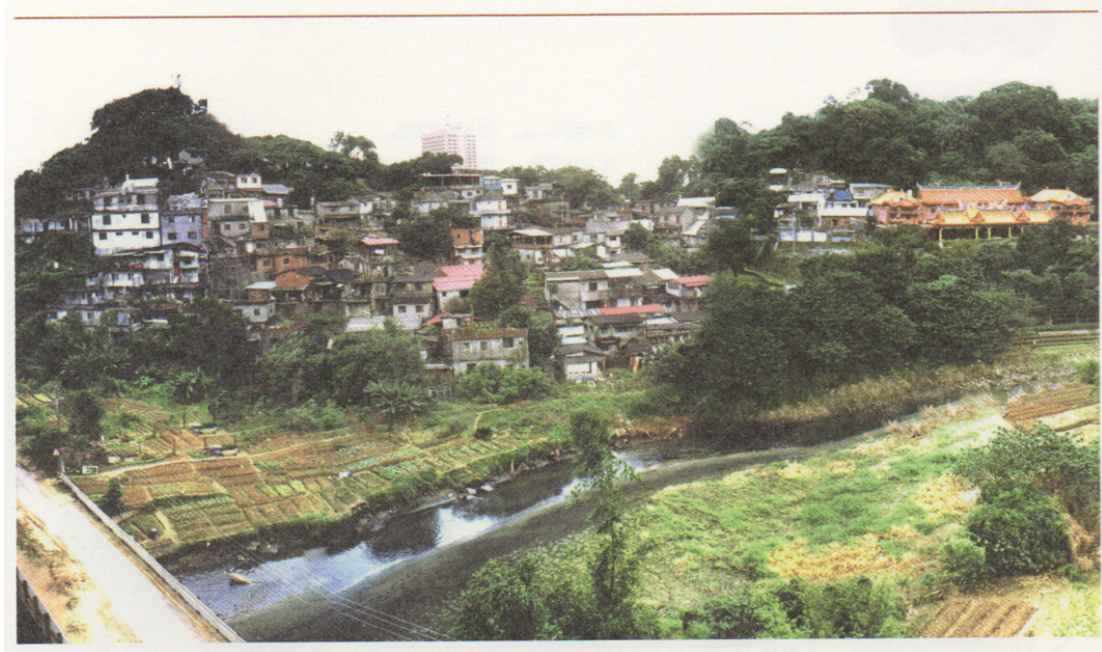


Figure 3.29 Treasure Hill village in 1980s. The picture shows the most stacked and layered houses and farming along the riverbank of Wan-Shen Creek, a tributary of Xin-Dian River. Photo from the archive of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. From Zheng-Zong Que, *The Epic 100 Year History of Bao Zang Yan Temple in Taipei*. (Taipei: Taipei City Archive, 2002).



Figure 3.30 Investigation of the buildings of the Treasure Hill Village in the 1990s from *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, 2001. In 1993, the dormitories were removed, and the buildings were knocked down. These spaces of the military buildings have been transformed into open spaces. In 1998, the last array of the naval army stationed next to the temple were evacuated. Modified by the author.

3.2 Spatial and cultural forms in Treasure Hill village

Different from the first section, the second section takes a closer look at the making of the self-built buildings and their relationships to their space users and makers. It intends to depict and analyze the spatial and cultural forms in Treasure Hill by reviewing various resources, such as previous research and reports, old photos collected from diverse agents who participated in the affairs of the village, interviews with the residents done from 2000 to 2006 and 2013 to 2014 (as part of this research), and my own observation derived from participating in the anti-demolition movements and the investigation.

Treasure Hill Village is an organically built settlement with houses and buildings piled up along the terrain with a wide range of combinations. Adjoining houses and free-styled extensions result in a cluster of buildings, which make it difficult to distinguish the borders between households. Compared to modern architecture and construction projects that include recordable, rational, measurable, representational architectural plans and scales, these organic construction processes can only be traced by oral histories, observation, and surveying. The closeness of the community and its stigmatized identities, such as the illegal, grubby, and backward slum area, attracted no academic attention either from architecture schools or relevant departments before 1988. There have been a small number of academic investigations and analyses of the space and building forms in Treasure Hill since 1988. For example, Bing-Yi Lu and his colleagues demonstrated a preliminary observation of self-builds and an analysis of the current life of the community in their report during their graduate study in 1988. In 1998, Ying-Jie Chen attempted to analyze the spatial forms of the buildings through finding out the common and repeated ‘patterns’ shared in the self-built houses in Treasure Hill Village. Inspired by Christopher Alexander’s ‘A Pattern Language’, Chen deducted and proposed nine frequent patterns of spatial forms in this informal construction village.²²⁸ These two pieces of research provide valuable early fieldwork and stories and their observations and interviews help to illuminate the discussions below.

²²⁸ Chen, ‘Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries’, p. 62.

In the following sections, I intend to produce *an analytic narrative* that elaborates an intertwined and close relationship between the buildings and self-builders/users in the village. In order to emphasize the interaction and connection between artificial creation and involved space users, five significant points that consist of both the depiction of physical buildings and corresponding description of the users related to the aforesaid depiction, are proposed. By constantly making dialogues between my research and observation and other resources, the analysis of the spatial and cultural form of the buildings in Treasure Hill village before partial demolition in 2002 is revealed and built up.

3.2.1. Organic development responding to the terrain and the social conditions

The first characteristic of the buildings in Treasure Hill is that the layered buildings are results of a dynamic construction process to respond to the natural and social conditions in the village. From the interviews done in 2001, it was found that the residents, who moved into the village after the early six households, built their houses with the intent to work in concert with the hill terrain and with the collaboration of existing neighbors.²²⁹ Terrain-wise, the residents built or bought their houses next to or near the existing ones. Therefore the sequences of settling down in the village can be shown by their door number. The smaller the number, the earlier its inhabitation.²³⁰ In addition, the lack of powerful technology for flattening the slope of the terrain was possibly another influential reason.²³¹

Social-wise, since 1949, most of the buildings were made or renovated by spatial users with the help of their wives, family members, fellow neighbors, or other soldiers. Gradually, some self-builders in the village became self-taught constructors for the

²²⁹ This came out very clearly in the interviews conducted during 2000 to 2002, provided by community planner Fang-Zheng Lin.

²³⁰ Lu et al. 'A Preliminary Investigation on Treasure Hill'.

²³¹ Interviews of self-helped builder, Fo-Kun Lo (No.38, Lane 230), done by community planner Fang-Zheng Lin and Qing-Feng Yang in 2002.

other households.²³² Except for the early households who occupied the warehouses made in the Japanese governing period, most of the buildings in the village were created by about five veterans with the help of their social network, such as neighbors, relatives, or friends who worked as builders or were trained with relevant construction skills.



Figure 3.31 Stacked and layered buildings in Alley 18, Lane 230. Photo taken by the author in November 2001.

²³² Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 112.



Figure 3.32 Piled brick houses. The retaining wall shows the difference in height levels. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo in 2001.



Figure 3.33 A passage went through the front space of a household. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo in 2001.

The terrains and layouts of the buildings also influenced the formation of the routes later in the village. Chen also gives an idea of the history of the passages and roads in the village which grew by conforming with the terrain and existing buildings. In the early period of the development of the village, houses and buildings were constructed along the main roads such as Lane 230. Houses built in the later period gradually crawled up the hill.²³³ As a result, the subordinate routes got manifested correspondingly, and some passages got connected to each other and formed a complicated route system. Some routes were too narrow to allow any vehicles, and some ways were only accessible by passing through someone's interior space.

Chao-Ming Zhan, whose parents formed one of the early six households in the Treasure Hill, mentioned that the roads would be carefully considered in order not to bring inconvenience to other residents when people were building their houses.²³⁴ This illustrates that there was an unspoken consensus in the community on building houses and routes (the negotiation in the community needs more investigation). The intangible relationship within the neighborhood influenced the decisions behind the self-built houses.

²³³ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

²³⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 82.



Figure 3.34 Houses built along Lane 230. Photo by the author in 2001.



Figure 3.35 A narrow route formed on the edge of a retaining wall. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo in 2001.

The physical forms and patterns of Treasure Hill were a direct result of the particular social conditions of Treasure Hill and the terrain. The responding characteristic of the buildings in Treasure Hill village reflects how terrain interacted with diligent self-builders, and it also indicates the close social relationships existing in the production of the settlement. They excavated the slope of the hill to only limited extent and made

simple retaining walls to stabilize the slope under community cooperation. Such painstaking tasks and cooperation between residents made a tightly knitted community. Under military control, the builders kept a low profile and therefore the construction remained small-scale and uninviting. Such qualities somehow encouraged like-minded people to move in, and the new buildings were produced organically with a tacit, negotiable and mutual understanding with the previous existing houses and earlier residents. The amicable negotiation might be based on the comradeship or the close relationships between the early households and stationed military. The self-helped buildings were born in and shaped by this social and natural condition.

3.2.2 Diverse spatial forms responding to the needs of life

The self-built houses in the village show diverse spatial forms with high flexibility in terms of utilizing space, and reveal distinct needs of the family or residents. The building and space arrangement express how the residents fulfilled their daily or social needs by materializing them in self-built forms.

The layout of the interior spaces

Except some of the early comers or veterans with high positions, most of the interiors of the houses in the village are limited and the residents utilized their space with careful arrangement with different intents. For example, in order to support their earning a living, Lu points out a single middle-aged male who worked as a street vendor and used the space of a living room as accessible storage, while his bedroom was located in the back of the house.²³⁵ In addition, Chen also describes other inhabitants' strategies to arrange their interior space (See Figure 3.36).²³⁶ Mostly the families along Lane 230 placed the spaces related to housekeeping, such as kitchen, toilet, and laundry space, close to the entrance in the front of the house—if not separated from the main house. Other bedrooms were in the rear side for better privacy. Another reason was mothers could see their children better who might be playing in the living room, and any guests or neighbors passing through the house would be monitored at the same time when they were cooking or washing clothes in domestic spaces.²³⁷

²³⁵ Lu et al. 'A Preliminary Investigation on Treasure Hill'.

²³⁶ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 78.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

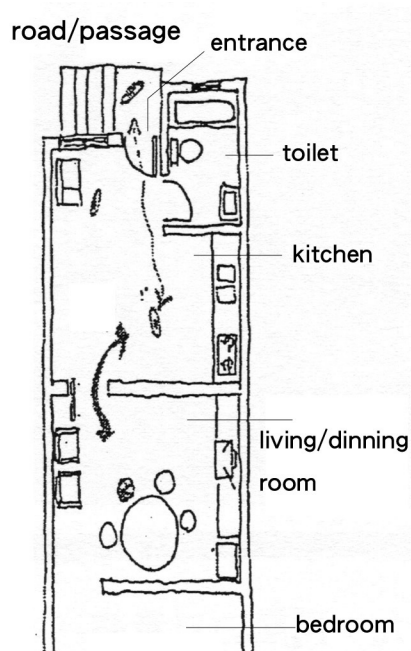


Figure. 3.36 The diagram of one typical plan of the interior arrangement in Lane 230. Original plan from Ying-Jie Chen. Remade by the author.

However, this diagram cannot fully describe all living conditions in the village as some houses were not built in a linear shape. For instance, some retired veterans placed their living room next to the entrances, as the living room for them was a place for socializing with neighbors and friends (See Figure 3.37).²³⁸ They might place the kitchen and toilet (both need water supply and pipes for smoke and waste discharge) in good ventilation but did not want them to be easily approachable when entering the house. Furthermore, some kitchens in the village buildings were separated from the main houses. One reason for an independent kitchen was to gain better ventilation for oil fumes from cooking and more natural light as one side of the houses, being very adjacent to the hill, might not have enough air circulation.²³⁹ Another reason might be to increase the interior area by building the kitchen outdoor separately.²⁴⁰ If the house faced the main road, the separate kitchen would be built on the opposite side in order

²³⁸ Taking example of the house belong to a retired veteran, Mr. Bei. From the interviews conducted in 2003. Provided by community planner, Fang-Zheng Lin.

²³⁹ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 78.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

not to disturb the public road.²⁴¹ Such an open kitchen also provided more opportunities for interactions between inhabitants and supported occasional outdoor collective meals in common spaces.²⁴²

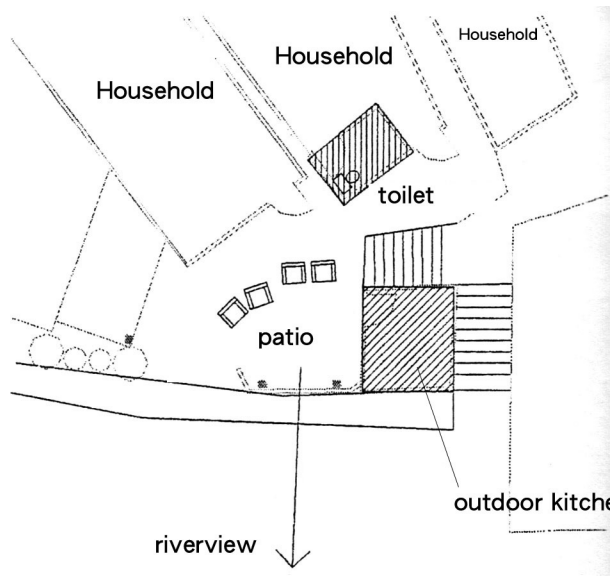


Figure 3.37 The diagram of an outdoor kitchen. Original plan from Ying-Jie Chen. Modified by the author.

Changes in built forms as a result of changing needs

According to the interviews and oral histories of the inhabitants, the expansion of the buildings in the village, both vertical and horizontal, had always been accompanied by changes in the families. The piecemeal construction, to a large extent, resulted from the changing needs such as accommodating increasing family members or possessions (See Figure 3.38).²⁴³

²⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 79.

²⁴³ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, pp. 87-89.

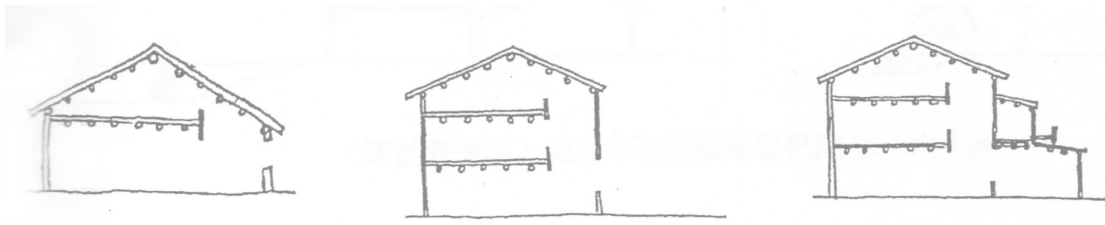


Figure 3.38 The diagram of the expansion of one household (The owners have been living here since 1955 at No.33, Lane 230, Ting-Zhou Road) in Treasure Hill village. He firstly built a one-storied house (the left), extended it to two stories, and to three stories, with a toilet facing the main road (Lane 230). Diagram from Ying-Jie Chen. Modified by the author.

In 2011, after the renovation plan, Liang researched the typology of the buildings in the village. He classified the village housing into four types: occupation and extension typology, common corridor typology, courtyard typology, and commune and rental typology (See Figure 3.39).²⁴⁴ The occupation and extension typology explained the early households occupying the military warehouse and how the residents extended the house according to their family changes. Common corridor typology refers to the collective veterans' lives, while the courtyard typology is more associated with single veterans' mutual caring lifestyle. The commune and rental typology is mostly leased to immigrants from other rural districts.

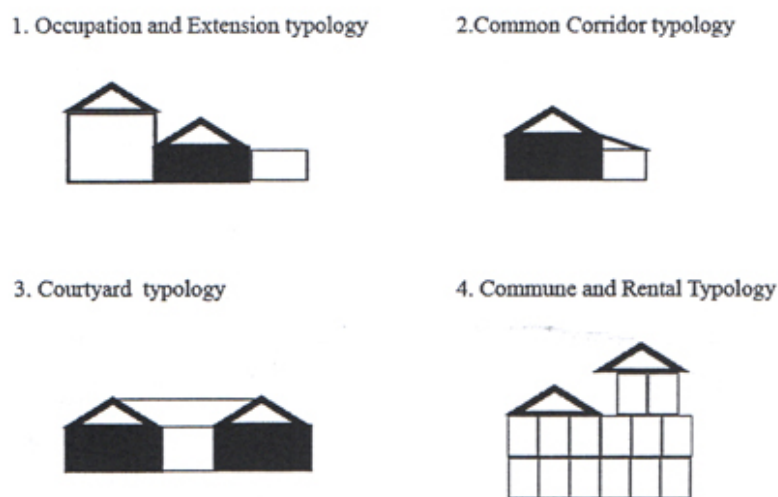


Figure 3.39 Liang's classification of building typology in his dissertation. Original image from Tsu-Ying Liang, *Art Production and Spatial Implication of Institutionalizing Informal Settlement*, Unpublished Master dissertation. Master of Architecture, National University of Singapore. 2011.

²⁴⁴ Tsu-Ying Liang, 'Art Production and Spatial Implication of Institutionalizing Informal Settlement' (unpublished master thesis, National University of Singapore, 2011), p. 114.

Liang's classification is very helpful for comprehending the creation in the village and understanding the rough pictures of the self-built constructions. (In 2011, most of the residents were evacuated, and the renovated buildings were emptied, clearly finished, and then sterilized to be without traces of life stories and contents. More details will be discussed in Chapter 5 and 6.) However, when delving into the real everyday life of the residents, the daily arrangement and the details of space making by the residents seemed to be strongly intertwined. People at different life stages and with different needs shaped their environments accordingly. The building itself, either exterior or interior, reflects people's current needs and tells stories about its space users and their houses, and also represents the users' identities and personal characteristics. The engaging relations between spatial users and self-built creation gets enmeshed in the respective houses.

3.2.3 Communal space reflecting and producing social complexity

Examining the communal spaces in Treasure Hill village helps us unfold the formal social relationships and the composition of the village. By observing the appropriation or the formation of the shared spaces as well as varied private and collective activities, we can read off the interaction among social groups in the village and the tacit boundaries between the households and the community.

The most popular communal space was located in the intersection between Alley 16 and Alley 18, next to the lawn, which came into being due to the removal of the dormitories. This 'spatial node' was the most common place where the residents gathered frequently and was located at the intersection of the main routes and the center of an open space in the village.



Figure 3.40 The self-help arbour. Residents moved furniture here and decorated the space with calendars, posters, and a notice board. The route on the right is Alley 16, where the three early households are located. Alley 18 is on the left next to the arbour. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo in 2001.



Figure 3.41 Veterans chatting in the arbor, and a liquefied petroleum gas porter temporarily parked his motorcycle. The lawn was created as a result of the removal and demolition of the dormitory of single personnel after 1993. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo in 2001.

The physical characters of this arbor-like space are an open space with the shade of a tree, a hand-made arbor or eaves.²⁴⁵ The inhabitants spontaneously brought various tables and chairs to occupy and to create the space for gathering, chatting, chess playing, and other everyday social events.²⁴⁶ It was a space that was constantly changing, and its form was changed according to the users' needs. In terms of the temporal, it was observed that ten to eleven thirty in the morning and three to five in the afternoon were two regular periods that veterans and a group of women gathered.²⁴⁷ Also Lu's observation was that the village women always chatted in front of the grocery store at Alley 18, which was very close to the arbor which elder males mostly occupied.²⁴⁸ Some immigrants from the rural places might join them after getting off duty.²⁴⁹ This main spatial intersection was the place for the residents' daily life as well

²⁴⁵ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 73.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

²⁴⁸ Lu et al. 'A Preliminary Investigation on Treasure Hill'.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

as for community discussion of collective agendas. It was an important place which symbolized the central communal space of the village.



Figure 3.42 Canopied passage in Treasure Hill Village. Photo belongs to Department of Cultural Affairs. From Zheng-Zong Que, *The Epic 100 Year History of Bao Zang Yan Temple in Taipei*. (Taipei: Taipei City Archive, 2002).

Besides, the roads or routes in the village were not only for transportation but also the stage for everyday life where the social interactions and encounters happened. One of Chen's patterns, 'Multi-functional outdoor terrace and common corridor', describes that the inhabitants often created a terrace or eaves to cover the space in front of the door of the house.²⁵⁰ It was a semi-private space for the owner to sun dry their clothes or quilt, to plant a garden, to have a rest, and it was even used as a temporary domestic OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer) space and open studio for making furniture.²⁵¹ It also showed a pattern of the neighborhood: when one household made eaves in front of its entrance, the neighbors either side would follow.²⁵² Then a canopied passage gradually came into being.²⁵³ Furthermore, this kind of space was also semi-public where neighbors met each other, and sometimes they would do the chatting, gardening, and chess playing there, while other inhabitants were doing their domestic

²⁵⁰ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 75.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 75.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

housekeeping tasks.²⁵⁴ The semi-public/private space use seemed to be based on a trustful relationship between the villagers. The pattern demonstrated a multi-functional space both for social contacts and domestic needs. Such diverse uses had been frequently observed before the partial demolition in 2002.

Some communal space was not only multi-functional but used for sharing among the residents. An example could be observed in the house units where a few single veterans lived. These buildings for single veterans and residents formed a U-shaped community. They shared bathrooms, dining places, and made the central open space into a leisure place by placing tables, chairs, and deck chairs. According to the interviews, it might be one of the crucial reasons that single veterans preferred living here, rather than in official Veterans' Homes, as they could support and look after each other. Some veterans even said living in the Governmental Veterans' Homes equaled 'waiting to die'.²⁵⁵ The U-shaped single life community represented strong and close social bonding and fellowship between the veterans.

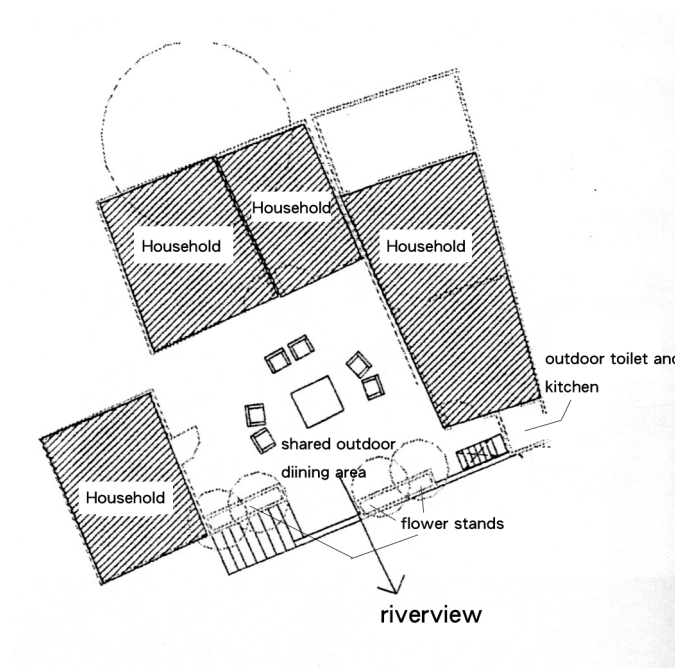


Figure 3.43 The diagram of the plan of the U-shape single life community. Original plan from Ying-Jie Chen. Modified by the author.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

However, the above patterns may risk being over-simplifying and romanticizing the daily life of the collective life style, as different social groups in the village might occupy the public space in very different ways. The idea of spatial nodes can be expanded by understanding the social interactions behind the uses of the communal spaces in the village.²⁵⁶ By delving into the occupation of different social groups, uneven relationships among different those groups might be revealed.

Firstly, gender difference seemed to be obvious in the use of communal space. In the village, some veterans remained single all their lives while some veterans, who had their first marriage in China before they retreated to Taiwan, married again.²⁵⁷ However, according to the interviews, many marriages shared a similarity: the marriage happened to improve the economic situation of most of the brides' families with poorer backgrounds.²⁵⁸ The characteristic of this kind of marriage in the village showed clear gender prescribed roles; most wives and women took charge of domestic work. They often gathered and socialized with other women with a similar situation. Particularly for the Taiwanese women, the grocery store was observed as their most frequent gathering place.

²⁵⁶ Informed by Kevin Lynch's the idea of the "legibility" of the built environment in his book, *The Image of the City*, Chen used 'nodes' to mean a gathering place. Nodes are often junctions – a crossing or converging of paths. They often have a physical quality such as a plaza area.

²⁵⁷ Generally, the veterans who retreated after Second World War are called 'mainlanders': they can hardly speak Ming-Nan language, a dialect used in Taiwan and Fu-Jian province in China. In 1949, the 228 Incident, a massacre by KMT to suppress different local voices, deepened the conflicts between mainlanders and Taiwanese identities and became a main national identical division.

²⁵⁸ Before the 1980s, most of the veterans married Taiwanese females who had migrated from countryside or aboriginal females. In the 1980s, some veterans contracted a marriage with foreign females from Indonesia and Thailand introduced by brokers.



Figure 3.44 The grocery store in Alley 18. Photo taken by Bing-Yi Lu in 1989.

In front of the only grocery store in the village, the movable furniture such as tables, chairs, and eaves supported womens' social activities. Some of them brought their OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer) works here and chatted and socialized with the female owner of the store and other residents who purchased groceries occasionally.

Unlike the gathering of the female inhabitants, veterans often chatted with their fellows in the aforementioned arbor or went to someone's house for board games, such as Ma-Jian. Besides of the central arbor, many intersections or semi-private space could sometimes be used as chatting places for veterans. In 2001, one could see the wives staying in the arbor and socializing with other males. However, the topics of chatting could be entirely different compared to occasions that involved only males, according to a reflection of one of the veteran interviewers.²⁵⁹



Figure 3.45 The front door space became a socializing spot. Photo by Bing-Yi Lu in 1989.

²⁵⁹ The reflection appeared in a meeting of voluntary interviewers in 2001. I was one of them.

Another example for unfolding the uneven social relationships in the communal space is the relationship between the Temple and the residents. Not every villager had a good relationship with the Temple. The first reason is cultural identity. The residents with Taiwanese identity, no matter female or male, particularly the early six families who prayed in the temple regularly, got along with the staff in the Temple, while the veterans did not hang around with the Temple as the staff mostly used the Taiwanese dialect. Secondly, in terms of spatial use, the temple organizers disliked that the residents went out of the village by passing the front yard of the temple, where the outside prayers were held. When the temple was remodeled and extended in the 1970s, the administrator of the temple intended to expand the border/barrier of the temple in order to stop residents passing through its front yard. Severe conflicts arose, and have not been resolved since then. The administrator of the temple did not attempt to fix the relationship with the community as, by then, most of the believers of the temple came from outside, distributed in areas such as Gu-Ting, Xin-Dian, Qing-Mei districts in Taipei City, and Yu-Hong district in New Taipei City, all close to Treasure Hill. As a result, the Temple, which was once the origin which the village grew from, now sat at a distance from the life of the community embodied in the uses of the space.



Figure 3.46 Staff in the temple defined their boundary by placing bars in 1989. Later in the 1990s, the temple was expanded even more forward and only a narrow passage was left, just for walking and bikes. Photo taken by Bing-Yi Lu in 1989.

The various uses of the space implies the social relationships where unequal power was microscopically exercised. Thomas Gieryn suggests, ‘Buildings, as any other machine

or tool, are simultaneously the consequence and structural cause of social practices'.²⁶⁰ Buildings were born from the social structure and possess structuring forces to stabilize that same structure. Gieryn refers to Anthony Giddens and points out, 'The structuring force of built-environments comes from the spatial and architectural routinization of everyday interactions'.²⁶¹ Different spatial uses might result from gender, culture, and social contexts where self-built buildings were born, and through daily practices, the built environment in Treasure Hill seemed to reinforce the existing social relations. For example, among the retired veterans, low-level younger veterans who often showed special respect to the high-level ones might change their behaviors in communal spaces. Besides, only a few tenants were observed socializing with their landlords in the communal spaces in the village although there is no direct evidence disclosing this aspect. In summary, the shaping of the common spaces can be seen as community spaces but must also be re-evaluated and recognized as sites where unequal social relations were made clear and concrete. Communal space or public space is not neutral. A closer look at varied social relations embedded in the communal spaces in the village not only helps us comprehend the flexibility of spatial uses in communal or semi-private space but also reveals the invisible social rules which, more importantly, informed the occupation and perceptions of diverse space users.

²⁶⁰ Gieryn, 'What Buildings Do', p. 41.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 37

3.2.4 Temporality

Affected by the residents' constrained economic conditions, almost all buildings in the village expressed the quality of temporality, and the material composition seemed simple and straightforward for fulfilling the daily needs. One reason was the fear of being caught, as self-built buildings were illegal, and therefore the piecemeal growth remained inconspicuous and easily assimilated into daily life. Another reason would be the lower quality of construction skills and materials that residents had.

The mentality of temporary occupation and self-builds

In spite of the rapid economic development in Taiwan, unaffordable housing had always been a burden for the middle/low income classes. The immigrant waves to the city in the 1970s exacerbated this problem. In addition, the privatization of land and the ignorance of social housing investment were reasons for the unfriendly housing market, as the main concerns of national policies focused mainly on economic development and military investment.²⁶² Therefore, making houses in separate steps was more favorable for the residents. Unlike paying a one-off large amount of money to purchase a house, the residents' burden of investment was lessened. They could have their own self-built house within a limited budget.²⁶³

²⁶² A full discussion of housing problems will occur in Chapter 3.

²⁶³ Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 55.



Figure 3.47 Temporary occupation turned the arbor into a dining room in 2000. Photo provided by Fang-Zheng Lin.

Secondly, the temporality embedded in self-built construction and the ways of occupation in the village are easily observed. For example, the residents often arranged their own furniture or stuff to define space, and temporary occupation could turn the space to different uses. The provisional uses of space could last for months, days, or just a couple of hours. Furthermore, through occupation with props, or objects which the residents utilized, the sense of uses and specific spatial atmospheres came into being. The repetitive short-term appropriation of space resulted in a sense of placemaking. For instance, many residents, mostly males, moved chairs in between the arbor and the lawn. They chatted, played chess, or baked under the sunshine. A sense of place is thus formed by certain activities and social groups.



Figure 3.48 Place making and defining space with activities supported by movable objects. Photo provided by Fang-Zheng Lin.

The temporality is not only found in communal space but also in private. A veteran, Li, could be an example. He created his own front yard by occupying the roofs of other houses on the lower level (See Figure 3.49). Then he arranged his sofas to define the places as an outdoor living room, and when visitors came, the table could be moved next to the sofas for serving tea to adapt to different needs. Also, he put vases to form a green passage that led to the door of his house. On the right side of the passage, his domestic stuff was arranged along the wall. Every element was portable and movable and could be accessed and manipulated easily. The open space seemed implicitly defined, and people referred to it as ‘Mr. Li’s living room’, and therefore it was given a specific sense of place.



Figure 3.49 Retired veteran Li created his front yard on the roofs of neighbors' houses and defined the space by portable and movable furniture. Photo by Chun-Ling Zhang in 2001.

A glimpse of creativity

The temporality is often associated with the spirit of 'Do it yourself' (DIY). It seems to be a tacit principle that has pervaded the village. Various and unique forms have been created to supply certain needs, and creativity can be sensed from the uses of material and the improvisational way of making.

The common features of the construction of the houses in the village are simple and inexpensive. There are four frequent construction ways in the village: brick or reinforced brick, wood, reinforced concrete (RC), and light-weight steel. The load-carrying system is simply brick walls, and therefore the scale of the houses is limited.²⁶⁴ In order to fulfill daily needs, the residents reused irregular shaped, colored, textured materials to create their houses without any mould.²⁶⁵ Chen points out the materials that the self-builders used to construct their houses were from general construction market

²⁶⁴ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-23.

²⁶⁵ Chen, 'Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries', p. 69.

(sand, cement, bricks, and iron sheets usually for roofs), mobile vendors who sold stones by ships through river transportation, second-hand markets (the most frequently used elements were wooden door plates, windows, and wooden beams), and collected materials such as stones from Xin-Dian River bank.²⁶⁶ Another material resource was abandoned or dismantled materials found in other demolished building sites in the city or in the village.

The construction process is like making a patchwork. Materials seemed randomly applied and connected with other materials. Nonetheless, the inspiration and the intent of problem-solving of the self-builders could be observed.



Figure 3.50 The varied material composition of the house on the left. Photo provided by Fang-Zheng Lin.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 70.



Figure 3.51 The gate, the painted staircase, and the handrail of staircase of the house at Alley 59 by a veteran, Mr. Huang, represents DIY spirit and creative reuse of materials. Photo provided by Treasure Hill Artist Village.

To sum up, in terms of making space, the temporality resulted from the residents' response to the limitation of their circumstances and to fulfill their life needs in a feasible way. Also, the residents produced the space, even though temporarily, by arranging their possessions and objects at hand. Through this process, a certain sense of space provided opportunities for social contacts as well as stabilization of the social relations of the community. Furthermore, in terms of creating space at a bodily level, the self-built creation shows not only the thinking of problem-solving, but through observing the creative ways of assembling materials to produce the feasible form, the intent, the thinking, and the materiality embedded in the creation seem to provoke bodily sensations for the observer. Juhani Pallasmaa proposes 'existential knowledge' formed by makers' experiences of life. He points out, 'Existential knowledge arises from the way the person experiences and expresses his/her existence, and this knowledge provides the most important context for ethical judgement'.²⁶⁷ Originally born from a social context of scarceness of supplies, the temporality implies a sense of

²⁶⁷ Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Thinking Hand: Existential and Embodied Wisdom in Architecture*. (West Sussex: JohnWiley & Sons, 2009), p. 119.

place as well as a sense of life that is associated with being present, problem-solving, and securing survival. At the same time, the interaction and synergy among the objects and the users' activities characterized distinct creativity where juxtaposing/combining objects by users suggested a spontaneous way of occupying space.

3.2.5 Bodily and emotional engagement between residents and the environment

This part explores intangible intentions derived from the observation of the details of the creation in this self-built village. By observing both the physical forms in the village and subjective perception from the residents' life experiences, the unique characteristics of the close relationship between villagers and their houses gradually emerged.

Hapticity

The straightforward and unadorned manners of using materials brought a quality of hapticity when people were immersed in the village. Narrow passages, complex twists and corners, and interconnected spaces all resulted in a close sense of touch. The exposed and unpolished materiality could be easily sensed by the human bodies. In addition, the closeness between the built environment and people was also shown in the circumstances of social contacts. The piled buildings created vertical abutting that allowed neighbors direct verbal communication and enhanced the closeness of the neighborhood.²⁶⁸ Besides, residents also shared the horizontal closeness as they usually passed through others' balconies, semi-private spaces, and communal spaces on their everyday routes. This kind of spatial arrangement largely increased opportunities not only for the residents to be in contact with each other but also for an intimate tension between the body and the buildings.

²⁶⁸ From onsite observation and the interviews in Chen's, *Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries*, p. 63.



Figure 3.52 Narrow passage and vertical closeness provided tension (Alley 18, later demolished in 2002). Photo by the author in 2001.



Figure 3.53 The brick on the both sides of Alley 18 providing a sense of hapticity. Photo by the author in 2001.

Strong emotional bonding

The tight engagement between the residents and the environment caused a deep emotional attachment between space user (subject) and physical creation (object). For example, a veteran's wife, Lan, who comes from Indonesia, created a garden lovingly. In her interview, she recalled the life in her homeland and considered a four-meter-high mango tree she planted 'a symbol of her parents'. Cultivating and watering the tree became her spiritual rituals for memorizing her family and home.²⁶⁹



Figure 3.54 Lan's garden. Photo by the author in 2001.



Figure 3.55 Mango tree symbolized Lan's memory of her parents. Unfortunately, it was cut when the demolition of houses near riverbank took place in 2002. Photo by Fang-Zheng Lin.

²⁶⁹ From interviews of Lan and his husband by the author, December 2001.

According to Lan's story, physical buildings not only function as a shelter for survival but also as a vehicle of their users' emotion and spirit. Juhani Pallasmaa says, 'touch is the sensory mode that integrates our experiences of the world and of ourselves'.²⁷⁰ Lan created and nourished her hand-made garden and considered her creation as akin to the beloveds in her life, metaphorizing or symbolizing her parents. The hand-made creation reflects her experiences of the world and herself. Through making and materialization by hand, 'the haptic continuum of the self' gradually comes into being.²⁷¹ The residents in Treasure Hill, either veterans from Mainland China, or rural immigrants attracted by the urbanized city, shared the experiences of displacement. In their new settlement in Treasure Hill, their self-built houses and the environment naturally became their emotional attachment and sustenance. In the previous section, temporality was introduced, but it is meant to be a superficial and imprudent act of how residents treated the materials and the environment. In contrast, the stories between how the residents made, remade, or interacted with their environment and possessions indicate a deep engagement between residents and the environment is noticeable.

²⁷⁰ Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Thinking Hand: Existential and Embodied Wisdom in Architecture*, p. 101.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.



Figure 3.56 Potluck Party. Photo taken by Fang-Zheng Lin in 2002.

Another example that might indicate this close engagement is that residents had regular community events such as Potluck parties and outdoor movie events. Through setting up the places and preparing and sharing food together, close social bonds were formed between villagers and also between the built-environment and residents. These events are collective memory. The close engagement between residents, activities, and the environment caused a deep emotional attachment between space users and their homes. It is also what Lefebvre called ‘lived space’, a space for inhabitants and users. Contrast to how the state considered Treasure Hill a protection or military zone, the perception of users in the village possessed an entirely different understanding from the perception of ‘representation of space’ framed by the specialists and professionals. It is about ‘dwelling’ in which we see how the deep connection between living place and the inhabitants had been produced through numerous daily haptic interactions.

In summary, in terms of building, these houses are architecture without architects²⁷² with the ways of construction different from the modern construction practices in

²⁷² The terms are borrowed from Bernard Rudofsky, *Architecture Without Architects: A Short*

Taiwan, especially in urbanized cities. The meaning and the practical knowledge of this untutored building goes beyond just economic and functional considerations and reaches the far deeper aspect of how to inhabit and how to connect with the land. Having observed the spatial and cultural forms in the village, the reflection on architectural production and emotional attachment deserves more attention and analysis. Looking back at the most popular way of housing production in Taipei, it is moulded apartment buildings produced without any user participation, not to mention it is done without tackling the needs of unknown future users. Treasure Hill village exemplifies how space users can deeply involve themselves in the making and remaking of buildings, physically or meaning-wise. In addition, although the concept of the ownership still clearly influences the boundary between indoor and outdoor, also private and public, in Treasure Hill village, the manifestation of collective and communal ideas and personal emotional attachment synergetically provides a sense of identifiability.

3.3 Analysis and conclusion

Reviewing the development histories of the architecture and space making in Treasure Hill, it is possible to see that interconnected historic events played an important role in the development and growth of the village. The analysis will go through three forces that combined both macroscopic and microscopic points of view. They are the conditions of terrain and land, the policy made in specific social context, and the users' actions of making architecture.

First, due to geographical uniqueness, the conditions of terrain and land have played an unavoidable role. In the Qing Dynasty, the Hill was considered a wild, natural, secluded, and relatively remote place where the Han immigrants chose to establish a temple to fulfill their spiritual needs. During the Japanese occupation, Treasure Hill was viewed as a natural resource and an essential site for water protection. Also, the colonial government reshaped it as a military guarding area to protect and to utilize the nature and water resources. After the Second World War, its geographical location and hilly terrain made it suitable as a southern military base for the KMT party to defend Taipei and Taiwan from the communists in China, and the terrain also camouflaged some secretive military facilities such as the radio communication station aided by the State Government. Later on, the terrain concealed the self-built construction to some extent. Users' self-built architecture therefore could be rooted here. The production of users space in the village was very much influenced by both the geographical characteristics, and the uniqueness had been the key force that 'attracted' the intervention by varied social parties such as the state and the self-builders.

However, some events were documented, and their influences seemed to persist in many ways, albeit that the events themselves no longer exist. For example, the warehouses left by the Japanese army were later occupied by the believers of the temple (the first batch of early residents) and caused the beginning of the village. The recognition of the contingency and inevitability of the interwoven historic events is

important, although we should not forget that any historical research is always porous when it tries to find a logical narrative through fragmentary evidence and deduction.²⁷³

Second, in terms of the large-scale intervention, that the policy was made in a specific social context cannot be underestimated. State-wise, it is noticeable that the authority aims to frame/define the area to make it 'the territory of nation'. For example, the making of the 'modernized landscape' that Japanese colonization began in Taiwan made Treasure Hill an important piece of water infrastructure supplying the water used in Taipei City. After 1949, the KMT party, an authoritarian regime until the 1980s, further militarized the village and remade Treasure Hill area as a guarded place. Furthermore, around the 1980s, it stopped being essential that the site serve a military use and the State's control lessened accordingly. The village therefore gradually attracted retired soldiers to settle. As a result, the village substantially expanded. These alterations of policies made in different times not only shaped the landscape but also decided the relationship and the forms of access between the village and other parts of the city. The living of users and lived space here were all monitored and controlled by the authority.

Third, space-user wise, besides the six early households, most of the self-built buildings in the village were collaboratively built by the builders and their networks in the community. The users' action of making architecture is another significant force to look at. These actions of architecture consist of the users' life needs, making guided by socio-economic-cultural conditions, the wit and sensibility of self-building, and personal attachment. Looking at the building forms and space arrangements in the village, reveals clues to the spatial users' life needs and their social/cultural identities, embedded in both interior and exterior space making. Moreover, social, economic, and cultural conditions of the residents seem to guide self-builders' materials use and the techniques of building. Japanese architectural historian, Horigome Kenji, described the physical creation in Treasure Hill Village as 'a settlement that can not be made by design with the most ragged materials'.²⁷⁴ Also, the wit and sensibility of self-building

²⁷³ Manfredo Tafuri, 'There is no Criticism, Only History', p. 11.

²⁷⁴ Horigome Kenji was interviewed by a journalist in 'Experts call for the identification of Treasure Hill Village as historic site'. in *China Times*, 25 December 2001.

led to the making of the buildings with flexibility and improvisation and customization of the creations to fulfill needs. Last but not the least, the close engagement between the residents and the self-built buildings is noticeable. The changes of the buildings accordingly symbolize the changes of life picture of the residents. The intimate relationship between the residents and the place was formed by the accumulation of the interactions between the inhabitants and the living environment as time went by.

Informed by Thomas Gieryn, the design of physical environments not only expresses but also reinforces and structures social life. The buildings in Treasure Hill were self-built as 'home' or 'properties' for these disadvantaged groups of immigrants to settle themselves on the margin of the City. In the traditional building and construction culture of the Chinese, there is no such differentiated position as an 'architect' as developed in the western context since the Renaissance.²⁷⁵ Therefore, such architecture without architects not only implies the active agency of space users but, more intangibly, stresses the intimate connection between subject (resident) and object (the buildings as home for survival). The direct engagement between building, use, and user represents a mutual, close, and potentially creative subject-object relationship. Also, in the scale of the village development, the closely built architecture further solidifies the sense of community and creates the identity of the place. These are all the fundamentals of Treasure Hill Village as user's space and a cultural landscape.

In Treasure Hill Village, self-built architecture had been made for use and users. To draw on both macroscopic and microscopic perspectives, this chapter provides histories of making architecture in different space-time contexts and aims to form a firm foundation for later chapters. The self-built village, under tacit agreement of the Government before the 1980s, demonstrated the sense of 'architecture without architect', although most of the buildings in the village strived to remain due to the issue of legality. However, the struggles of the self-built village in terms of its constant negotiation with the Government to stay onsite never ended. Huge challenges

²⁷⁵ A comparable role in Chinese construction before modernization is the leader of building project, normally the major carpenter with the best craftsmanship, held up by the construction team. And leader of project played a key role in physical making.

approaching this users' space soon drastically pushed the self-built architecture to change.

Chapter Four- From Architectural Meaning Making to the Prelude to Museum Making

Introduction

This chapter sets out to look at the drastic changes at Treasure Hill Village from 1999 to 2002. The reason for focusing on this period is that THV encountered the threat of demolition as THV had been considered illegal since the 1980s by the Taipei City Government. During this time, as the City Government intended to knock down the buildings due to their self-built nature, between the 1980s and the 1990s some residents petitioned for suspending the demolition, and a series of protests and mobilizations took place from 1990 to 2002 to halt the government's plans. This history of making hugely altered the landscape and architecture in the village.

Moreover, various social parties, such as activists and architects who advocated for conserving the community onsite and keeping the social network, had involved themselves in different ways in the conservation of the landscape at Treasure Hill. Eventually, after a long process of negotiation, in 2002, the alternative conservation plan proposed by the activist architects and planners was accepted by the City Government, and the site was put into a heritage and museum making process. The architectural meaning making process during the demonstration seems to be one of the significant keys to reverse the policy making.

In order to explore this difficult period in the history of Treasure Hill Village, the chapter places special focus on the construction and contestation of the various forms of (architectural) meaning making by the involved social parties. What is the role of the 'designers'? And what is the role of the users (the community and the residents) participating in the architectural meaning making process? Also, it inquires how an alternative vision for the site was produced and accepted to start the museumification of THV after a social process of negotiation. Moreover, the data collection for this chapter encompasses documentation (reports, exhibition brochures, books, thesis, newspapers,

records of oral histories of residents, and the records of observation done in 2001 and 2002), archives, and two new interviews conducted for this research project.

In summary, by examining these two lines, the chapter explores the complex social interaction among diverse social actors, both bottom-up and top-down, who were involved in the conservation movements and significantly influenced the meaning making and physical shaping of THV. It is the prelude to heritage making and museum making that changed the village drastically under public gaze. The impacts and debates last till today.

4.1 Demolition or dwelling: a background brief of the City demolition policy

This beginning section aims to explain why THV faced the threats of the demolition caused by the policy of the City Government. The self-built phenomenon in THV is not a special case. Instead, it was an epitome representing a prevailing postwar city landscape. The first part of the section introduces the historic view of the demolition policy by the City Government and the second part of the section focuses on the demolition happened in THV.

The origin of the self-built city landscape and the demolition policy of the government

The main origin of the self-built houses in major cities in Taiwan was the shortage of urban public housing due to a rapid influx of immigrants in two waves after the Second World War. The first wave came immediately after the war; a large number of soldiers, police, officials, and political refugees of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) from Mainland China relocated themselves to Taiwan, outnumbering the planned population set out in the Urban Plan.²⁷⁶ As these new populations strived to settle themselves in a new place, many self-builds were produced in cities.²⁷⁷ The second wave of immigrants was caused by rural-urban migration resulting from the rapid urbanization and growth of major cities. There were two peaks of rural-urban immigrants to major cities in Taiwan in 1963 and 1970.²⁷⁸ In 1963, 28.13% of the population was living in self-built constructions in Taipei, occupying 6.25% of the city area.²⁷⁹ Nonetheless, in 1967, which was considered the year of the climax of illegal buildings, there were approximately 130,000 self-constructed buildings in Taiwan, and 40% of them were

²⁷⁶ In 1944, the Japanese colonial government framed an urban plan identifying and planning seventy-two cities and towns in Taiwan.

²⁷⁷ About 1.03 million people (including approximately 610 thousand soldiers) were relocated with the Nationalist Party in 1949, and before this wave of relocation, the total population in Taiwan was 6.98 million according to the investigation done in 1944. See <<http://myweb.ncku.edu.tw/~ydsai/immi/sini-immi.pdf>> and Jin-Sen Zhang, 'Taiwan's modern urban planning: a study on the political and economic history', (unpublished PhD thesis, National Taiwan University, 1991), pp. 143-144.

²⁷⁸ Yu-Fu Yang, 'A Study on The Development of Housing and Discourses of Housing in Postwar Taiwan'. *Journal of Architecture*, Architectural Institute of Taiwan, Vol. 5(1992).

²⁷⁹ Taipei City Government, *A Survey of Illegal Buildings in Taipei City*. (Taipei, 1964).

located in the largest city, Taipei.²⁸⁰ New city inhabitants urgently needed places to settle down. Living in self-help houses became an affordable solution for survival. The landscape of self-help buildings was a significant phenomenon in Taiwan's major cities.

However, it is in the changing demolition policies where we can see the changing attitudes of the government towards self-constructed buildings.²⁸¹ *The Principles of Management in Illegally Built Buildings*, firstly enacted in 1957, showed a softened attitude from the Government to such a temporary solution for residential uses, as the state government realized there were insufficient public housing units for people.²⁸² In addition, researchers believe that the public investment on public housing at that time was in short supply, as the focuses of the national policies were for 'retaking Mainland China' and 'economic development', not aiming at a long-term housing development in Taiwan.²⁸³

In 1966, the Taipei City Government formulated an eight-year plan, *The Plan of Management of Illegally Built Buildings*, with an objective that 'demolition should be executed after building the public housing and re-settling the households living in illegal built houses'. This principle seemed to show humanistic concerns. Unfortunately, the second half of the plan was not fully fulfilled as the land for public housing was scarce, and the state was challenged by a financial crisis.²⁸⁴ The state and the City Government were not able to build enough housing units to replace the illegal structures and to fulfill the residential demands, especially for the disadvantaged who had less capacity to purchase a private unit in the real-estate market.

²⁸⁰ Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 31.

²⁸¹ Before the lift of military control in 1987, the Mayor of Taipei City was appointed by the central monarchy of the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang, KMT) government. The policy of the Taipei City Government, to a large extent, was influenced and decided by the political power of the Nationalist Party, which also held the power of the state government.

²⁸² Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 9.

²⁸³ Yi-Ling Chen, *Taiwan's Housing System: The Crises under Free Market and Commodification*, in: Urban Planning International, Beijing, China. 135 (in Chinese).

²⁸⁴ Shi, 'Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation', p. 33.

In 1983, the ideal spirit of *The Plan* that demolition should be executed after building the public housing was officially discarded when the policy was reassessed. The new version authorized the leading cadres of the cities to decide how to manage the illegal buildings with the relaxation of regulations. Illegal buildings, therefore, were allowed to be repaired, and sometimes even to have additions and improvements in the name of ‘postponed demolition’.²⁸⁵ Besides the necessary demolition of illegal buildings located in planned infrastructure sites, the massive demolition was almost stopped in Taipei City.

After actions eliminating illegal construction in varied ways from 1960s to 1990s, in 1998, illegal construction was reduced to 1.5% of all households in Taipei.²⁸⁶ In 1997, in the downtown of the City, for the first time, the demolition of the self-built settlements in the area which had been planned as No.14 and No.15 City parks²⁸⁷ in the Urban plan framed during the Japanese occupation aroused strong social movements against urban green bulldozers.²⁸⁸ The forgotten principle, which emphasized social justice—demolition should be executed after resettling people in public housing—again, became the core of public discussion. In 1999, Taipei City Government, based on the Local Government Act, officially added ‘the principle that demolition should be executed after relocating people to public housing units by rent or sale’ into amended regulations. In addition, if it were not achievable for the people to relocate themselves, the government would pay rental subsidies to them.²⁸⁹ Although the rental subsidy might support people to find a new place in private real estate or the rental market, it likely wouldn’t lead to accommodation in public housing; the public housing units/social housing in Taiwan only made up 0.08% of dwellings up to 2012.²⁹⁰ Also,

²⁸⁵ Kun-Rong Xu, ‘A Sociological Analysis on Real Estate Market in the Marginalized Area of Taipei’ (unpublished master thesis, National Taiwan University, 1987), pp. 20-33.

²⁸⁶ Data from Taipei City Government, *Statistic of Taipei—Taipei Public Housing Statistic Yearbook 1999*, in Shi, ‘Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation’, p. 33.p. 49.

²⁸⁷ The movement and protest in planned No.14 and No.15 City Parks were the first social movement against the city renewal policy in 1997. Eventually the City Government demolished about one thousand self-built buildings in the site without proper settlement and further policy of housing and this action of beautification was much criticized as eliminating the landscape of poverty by means of bulldozers.

²⁸⁸ ‘Green bulldozer’ is the term that activists used in the movement in the planned No.14 and No.15 City Parks to refer to the actions of demolition by the City Government in the name of city beautification.

²⁸⁹ Shi, ‘Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation’, p. 35.

²⁹⁰ The statistics of the amount of the social housing unit in Asia Countries, conducted by Social Housing

the financial support often could not protect the wholeness of the community. People, especially the disadvantaged, who were relocated to other places, were forced to leave their neighbors, social networks of care, and familiar living environments. Such a compromised consequence reflected that the government was not able to solve the housing problems.²⁹¹

Eliminating mess: City beatification in Treasure Hill Village

Back in 1980, Taipei City Mayor Mr. Li, Deng-Hui, for the sake of ‘eliminating the mess’ in the city, recommended the rezoning of the land use of the Treasure Hill area from a preservation area into ‘Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park’ in the first comprehensive review of Taipei City Urban Plan.²⁹² In order to demolish the illegal landscape in Treasure Hill and build a new city park, the government requested that the residents relocate themselves. In 1984, although the total area of public parks in Gong-Guan district (where Treasure Hill is located) was already more than the standard set by the Ministry of the Interior²⁹³, the report of the second comprehensive review of Taipei City Urban Plan still insisted on demolishing the village to make a park for the ‘beautification drive,’ again without any further investigation.²⁹⁴ Ironically, in 1991, the Department of House Registration registered the households in Treasure Hill, which seemed to admit the legality of the residence.²⁹⁵ The status of these inhabitants became ambiguous due to the equivocal attitudes of City Government.²⁹⁶ The controversy and debates over the City Park Plan had continued since 1980. The result of the pending

Advocacy Consortium, 29 Jan. 2015 <<http://socialhousingtw.blogspot.tw/search/label/□□□□>> [accessed on 10 February 2015].

²⁹¹ One of the symbolic demolition cases in Taipei was the demolition in the planned No.14 and No.15 parks in 1997, due to the lack of proper settlement of the low-income population in Taipei in the 1990s. A series of protests and demonstrations went against the policy. Following the increasing citizen movements, Treasure Hill Village, once considered illegal and supposed to be turned into a park, was one such case in Taipei City.

²⁹² Chen, ‘Reseeing Bao Zang Yan: Building process and Forms of Urban Informal Cultural Landscape in Developing Countries’, p. 52.

²⁹³ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-12.

²⁹⁴ Shi, ‘Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation’, p. 49.

²⁹⁵ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-15.

²⁹⁶ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 9.

plans also showed the difficulty of implementing demolition without complementary residential and welfare support. The threatening demolition policy aroused the issues of 'the shortage of the public housing', 'social justice', and 'social exclusion', which all became base of how activists in Treasure Hill conservation movements built up their arguments.

In 1993, the residents in Treasure Hill received an official notice that they had to quit the village from the Taipei City Government. After that, the inhabitants in Treasure Hill Village pleaded with the city councilors for giving a full account to rescind the city park plan, or even to change the land use of the area of Treasure Hill into residential purpose by reviewing the urban plan again on many public occasions.²⁹⁷ The functionalistic thinking of beatification through the removal of squatters made the residents in Treasure Hill frightened because it would cause dramatic changes to their lives. In addition, a supporting settlement plan was absent, except for plans for residents of a certain social status.²⁹⁸ For example, retired veterans would be settled at the Veterans Home by Veterans Affairs Council, and low-income households would be moved to public housing by the Department of Social Welfare, and so on.²⁹⁹ These ways of settlement did not seem to consider the existing community network and social relations, and the neighborhood bond appeared to be underestimated and unvalued. Gradually, whilst some residents accepted the administrative relief from the City Government, some residents decided to stay.³⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the number of registered residents in the village steadily declined.³⁰¹ However, some residents did not give up and continued to state their requests to stop the demolition. These social debates did not cease. In 1997, Taipei City Mayor, Mr. Shui-Bian Chen, promised to achieve completion of all

²⁹⁷ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-16.

²⁹⁸ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 83.

²⁹⁹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-18.

³⁰⁰ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-25.

³⁰¹ In 1991, there were 485 registered people in the village, and in 2000 it decreased to 280. It shows that the uncertainty of the demolition plan caused insecure feelings for the people in the village.

settlement before demolition would take place.³⁰² The demolition plan was temporarily shut down.

The demolition policy originally aimed to reduce the illegal self-built constructions in Taipei, but it was not helpful for solving housing problems. It revealed two facts: first, self-helped buildings were a prevalent city phenomenon in Taipei linked to numerous immigrants' survival. Second, there were more squatters in the city than spaces available in public housing. The amount of public housing in Taipei remained at a low ratio comparing to other developed countries even till the present, which means the demolition was only a strategy to beautify the surface of the city by the state and the City Government without looking at the origin of the urban problems. The slowed-down demolition policy in recent years could be considered a compromise between the state/the City Government and people, as the housing demands still have not been fulfilled.

³⁰² Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-19.

4.2 Making narratives of bottom-up and alternative architectural programming

*'House and home are two evidently different notions: house is a material, spatial, and architectural concept, whereas home is a unique setting and product of the act of dwelling itself.'*³⁰³ By Robert McCarter and Juhani Pallasmaa.

In order to prevent the village from being demolished, activists mobilized to protest and aimed to change the policy. This section illuminates how advocates for the conservation of Treasure Hill Village constructed alternative plans associated with narratives made from villagers' lives and lived spaces as well as demonstrating different architectural meaning through diverse strategies and tactics. Eventually, these movements of meaning making through conservation became the features of the village and content which belongs to the social history of Taipei City.

The profile of the village in 1990s

Before the official announcement of the intention to demolish Treasure Hill village in 1993, the village was populous with diverse social groups. The actual number of people living in Treasure Hill Village was more than 350.³⁰⁴ According to an investigation on the population in Treasure Hill Village conducted by the Office of Social Work, the Department of Social Welfare of Taipei City in 1997, retired veterans comprised 60.1% of all inhabitants.³⁰⁵ There were 132 households in total, and besides the veterans' families, the other 52 households were low-income families, aboriginal groups, disabled people, and temporary workers.³⁰⁶ Immigrants from the rural areas of Taipei during the rapid urban development made up the majority in these 52 households. As far as the veterans were concerned, single and married veterans were almost equal in number, and

³⁰³ Robert McCarter and Juhani Pallasmaa, *Understanding architecture* (New York: Phaidon, 2012), p. 217.

³⁰⁴ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-20.

³⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2-22.

³⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p.2-21.

some of the veterans' spouses were overseas Chinese from south-east Asia, Mainland China, Korea, etc.³⁰⁷ Veterans (mainlanders³⁰⁸) and their families, rural-urban immigrants (local Taiwanese residents), cross-cultural immigrants, and various minor social groups made up the community in the 1990s.

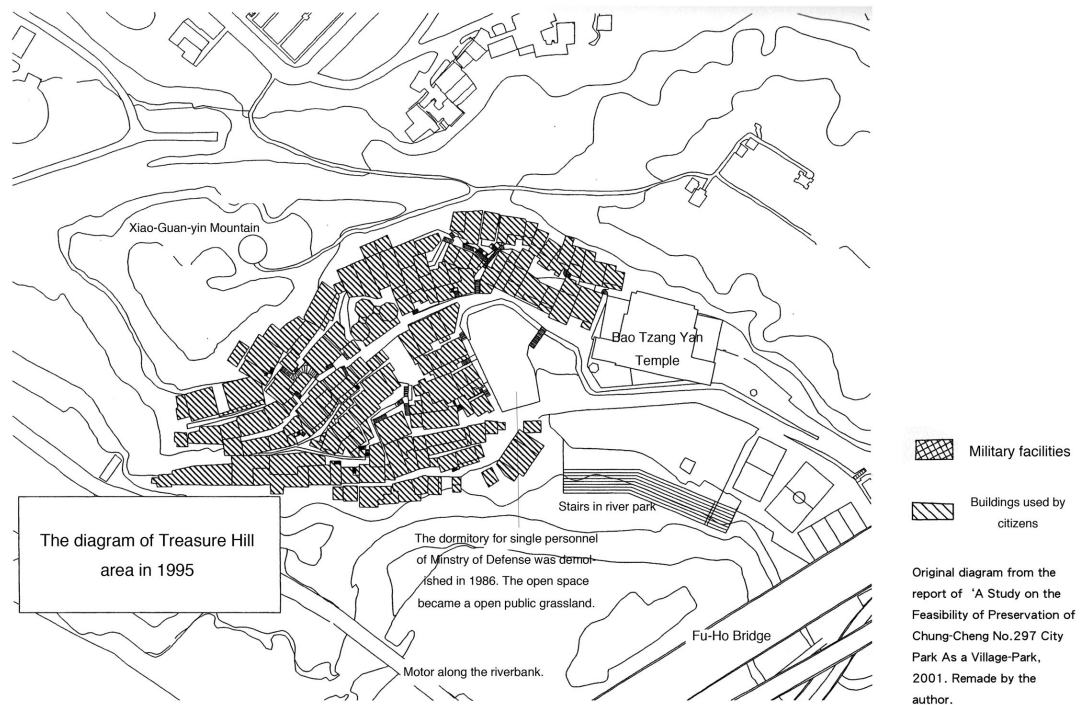


Figure 4.1 The diagram of Treasure Hill in 1995. Original diagram from the report of ‘A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park, 2001.’ Modified by the author.

However, the image of minority and poverty may not be an appropriate stereotype of the community of the village. It is worthy noticing that, according to Mi Shi’s research in 2000, the illegal self-built community in Treasure Hill is not like the stereotypic perception of ‘*the culture of poverty*’. She argues against Oscar Lewis (1976), who painted an image of laziness and argued that poverty is a unique mentality and social value of the poor who lack long-term career plans and an ability to imagine the future.³⁰⁹ Treasure Hill Village, for the immigrants and veterans, was a place of

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-20-21.

³⁰⁸ Mainlanders are Chinese people who live, or were born, in Mainland China as opposed to Hong Kong, Macau, Singapore, or Taiwan.

³⁰⁹ Shi, ‘Illegal Community and Fortune Accumulation’. p. 80.

survival, serving as the beginning of their new lives in Taipei City. The self-built buildings were their homes for affordable living and also properties to gain more money by leasing them to other immigrants who needed low-priced housing. These buildings enabled these disadvantaged groups to settle down in the capital city, where the private real-estate market was out of reach. Furthermore, living in the self-builds helped them save expenses (by borrowing water and electricity from the army for free before the military departure) and work in the formal sectors in the city. Some villagers, therefore, improved their life conditions and were even capable of purchasing housing units in the city. They survived in the illegal buildings in order to gain opportunities to stay 'legally' in the city. Shi even indicated that some families spent the capital they accumulated on their children's education for a better chance to improve their career.³¹⁰ These facts undermined the stigmatization of the poverty. The self-constructed buildings were not only their homes, the place of inhabiting, but also a temporary solution to improve their and their children's lives in the city. They are not as passive as outsiders' fixed impressions of being marginalized, either income-wise or mentality-wise.

Making invisible stories visible

In August 1999, an investigation into the households of THV conducted by the Department of Social Welfare of Taipei City indicated that approximately 70 percent of the households hoped to stay on site.³¹¹ This unseen aspect of the village was totally ignored in the formalist (beatification) and functionalist (demolition) approaches in the decision making process of the city demolition policy.

The teachers and students of the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University (hereafter NTUBP) played central roles in these social movements and protests for THV conservation. NTUBP is a graduate school which focuses on combining studies and practices with cross-disciplinary cooperation and emphasizes the importance of community participation in planning and design process in spatial

³¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

³¹¹ Social Worker Office, Department of Social Welfare, Taipei City Government, *Report of the Investigation on the households in Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park* (Taipei, 1999), p. 18.

projects ranging from architecture, landscape, and urban design/planning scales.³¹² NTUBP was concerned about the situations of the disadvantaged in the city and prioritized bottom-up and community-led approaches to space making. Students and teachers had made connections to the community in THV since the early 1990s.

In order to hinder the demolition, the activists from NTUBP needed to find a powerful foundation against the formalistic thinking of the city government, which considered the form of the construction by only taking statistical data and functionally-driven approaches into account. It seems to have always been dominant in the decision making of the infrastructure in Taipei City. Inspired mainly by Neo-Marxist theories and political-economic analyses, the advocates for conservation set out to explore the spatial meaning of THV in terms of grassroots people and community which were considered the center of producing social space in the built environment and architecture. Between 1998 and 2001, students in NTUBP and other spatial professionals, architects, and planners who shared similar concerns, voluntarily decided to interview every resident to comprehend their life histories as well as the current composition of the village. The purpose of the interviews and investigation was to find out about the connection between the villagers and the buildings in the village, and also, they took turns guarding in the village to report if the City Government took any sudden action. Most importantly, they attempted to make invisible stories of the residents and their village life visible and meaningful to the City Government and to the public.

Through the interviews and investigations, the protestors gradually came up with the foundation of their arguments against the demolition. By conducting oral histories of almost all households in the village, the activists gradually mapped the complex relations between the buildings and the people as well as between the local context and the wider social context. The volunteer students and community planners collected stories and information as much as possible in order to know the villagers' opinions and the possible ways of convincing the City Government of the need to change its strategies.

³¹² NTUBP, *Introduction*, <<http://en.bp.ntu.edu.tw>> [accessed on 10 February 2015].

The activists firstly attempted to show the emotional bond between the people and the place. Due to the perceived urgent need for the demolition, stories and photography related to the 'harmonious sense' of the community - such as mutual care between veterans, the wisdom with which they treated the land and created self-constructed buildings, and the intimate relationship between the residents and their self-made domestic environment - were preferable to protests. For instance, Lan, mentioned in Chapter 2, who married Hong-hei Lu and moved to Treasure Hill Village in 1982, created her own vivid garden in order to memorize the home of her childhood. She said,

My parents' home was surrounded by trees in the mountainous area. You don't see other houses unless you took half an hour walk! I particularly fancied the blue hydrangea grown by my father in front of the door of my home.³¹³

The volunteers intended to build up a database of stories associated with people, architecture, and the environment, jointing the subjectivities of human experience to the material and physical world. These kinds of stories formed a strong base against the official policy, which did not take the circumstances of the villagers, the complex locality, and social aspects into account.

Besides, the homes are not only physically functional spatial units. The current settlement plan was to send the elders to modern featureless apartments, where the sense of community was absent. The atmosphere of the village seemed more collective, coherent, and inhabitable. Mr. Rong-Tien Li, who was 78 years old and had lived in THV for 18 years in 2001, was one of the villagers who appreciated the life in community. He said,

We don't want to move. Here people meet each other everyday and say greetings like 'have you had yourself full in stomach? Or what were you doing today? How nice! But in the apartments in public housing, neighbors tend to be isolated, and greetings are merely polite courtesy. Who likes it?'³¹⁴

³¹³ A newspaper article on stories of Lan and her husband. See Yuan-Lin Ma, 'Cross-Cultural Couple Built Their Own Home in Hardship', *Liberty Times*, 19 December 2001.

³¹⁴ A newspaper article interviewing Mr. Rong-Tien Li. See Yuan-Lin Ma, 'The Relief is Only Enough

The residents, especially the elders, relied on mutual care and the collective lifestyle. Activists believed that forcibly relocating the villagers who had lived in the village for a long time, especially the elders who needed physical and emotional care from the community, was inhumane. The issue of ‘the right of inhabitation’ became a focus for discussion.



Figure 4.2 The photography exhibition: *Stories Will Continue in Treasure Hill*, organized by students from NTUBP. Photo taken by Zhung-Lin Zhang on 10 December 2001.

Networking for social awareness

Besides working in the community, activists realized they needed to raise more awareness of this issue to obtain more support from wider audiences in the city and the outside world. They came up with several strategies. First, they made connections to other similar communities in Taipei to increase exposure and the strength of the mobilization. In November 1998, Taipei Disadvantaged Minority Community EXPO was held in Treasure Hill Village with the cooperation of the residents in communities, several non-government organizations, and NTUBP. As a result of the EXPO, the

for Two-year Renting in Public Housing Unit', *Liberty Times*, 12th section, 18 December 2001.

residents of Treasure Hill received a signed petition and promise from two City Mayoral candidates: Mr. Ying-Jeou Ma (the candidate of the Nationalist, KMT, now the president of Taiwan, the Republic of China, from 2008 to present) and Mr. Jian-Xuan Wang (the candidate of the New Nationalist Alignment). However, the current Mayor, Mr. Shui-Bian Chen (from the DPP, Democratic Progressive Party), did not sign.³¹⁵ The activists hoped to influence the urban politics and the political figures in power to support the conservation.

Second, because the legitimacy of preserving the slum area was unprecedented, and it seemed impossible to legitimize the illegal onsite for the City Government, the activists also attempted to use ‘heritage making’ as their strategy to create a possibility of conservation. They made a village photography exhibition and approached journalists, art practitioners, film directors³¹⁶, and even other academics to gain support and to amplify the exposure of the village.

Third, the activists tried to connect the history of the village with the histories of Taipei City through research and investigation. One of the advocates, an architectural historian, Professor Hsia, Chu-Joe from NTUBP, directly pointed out:

Actually, Treasure Hill Village is (the microcosm of) Taipei. In 1950s, most of the people living in Taipei relied on urban informal sector to fulfill their needs, as urban service was severely insufficient.... The historic value of community conservation lies in it being a ‘cultural landscape’, not just single buildings or any architectural typological commemoratives.³¹⁷

³¹⁵ Shui-Bian Chen is the first democratically elected Mayor of Taipei from Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, the second largest party in Taiwan), on duty from 1994 to 1998. He and his municipal administration forcibly demolished the self-helped buildings in planned No.14 and No.15 City Parks (mentioned in p.), which was considered one reason of losing Mayor election in December 1998. Later he was elected as President of Republic of China (Taiwan) from 2000 to 2008. Also see Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 2-18.

³¹⁶ The activists arranged a film festival in the village and invited eight film directors who shot in THV in December 2002, including Hsiao-Hsien Hou with worldwide reputation.

³¹⁷ Chu-Joe Hsia, *Re-reading Treasure Hill*, in the Brochure of Family Cinema in Treasure Hill, (Taipei: NTUBPF, 2002), pp 1-2.

Hsia's words elaborate a vision of living conservation, preserving the buildings and, more crucially, the subjectivities and the context that made the buildings. However, the identification of the historic value of Treasure Hill Village challenged the general practice of heritage making before 2000 in Taiwan. The activists intended to expand the understanding of the architectures of THV and the village, to persuade the architectural practitioners, and to re-construct the current perception of public opinion.

A current committee member of heritage evaluation in Taipei City Government, Professor Horigome Kenji, echoed the argument of the activists. He pointed out its architectural value in the most straightforward way, 'the building type of the village could not be designed or duplicated as the construction materials of the buildings were nearly abandoned but usable materials. They are crappy. Therefore it is the cultural value that could be preserved.'³¹⁸

The activists also seemed to gain support from other academics of architecture. Yet for some protestors, the preservation of the cultural landscape is to preserve the community intact. Their core idea was to settle the residents onsite, an ideal based on a notion of social justice. In order to build up convincing arguments, the activists tried to build up discourses where the histories of the residents and the village could reveal, uncover, and represent one unique aspect of the after-war period history of Taipei City. It also implied that the life stories of the veterans should be part of the social history of Taipei. By conducting the above methodologies, the activists aimed to uncover the histories of the THV, which had been ignored by policy makers, and to recreate the connection between Treasure Hill Village and the city. Moreover, situating the history of THV in the history of Taipei/Taiwan/even Mainland China at a larger scale aimed to build up the discourse that the THV community was a significant part of the city, the nation, and even the developmental duration of post-war Taiwan.

Another leading advocate, Dr. Ke-Qiang Liu, an architect and a professor at NTUBP, talked about the protesters' visions for the cultural preservation of THV. He pointed out,

³¹⁸ A newspaper article, Author unknown, 'Experts urgently appeal to identify the Treasure Hill Village as a historic village', *China Times*, 25th December 2001.

There are two main points of view. The first one is that the buildings are the evidence of the relationships between the construction materials and the current society. They could be preserved through techniques of exhibition. The other is to have THV preserved as a cultural landscape with its original inhabitants, especially the social network of the community. However, it will cause issue of legitimacy, which is: how could people stay here legally?³¹⁹

Dr. Liu attempted to connect the physical creation with the intangible meaning and argued to preserve the cultural landscape. However, the intents of the activists were not identical. Some of the advocates for conservation emphasized keeping the residents onsite and considered ‘conservation’ *only a strategic way* of maintaining the social network, while others thought the physical buildings literally symbolized one type of postwar constructions and residential phenomena in Taiwan, and therefore the buildings deserved more attention and care in their own right.³²⁰ Even though the activists shared different approaches to the architectures and buildings in the village, during the period of protesting, the two major batches of advocates shared the same goal and endeavored to fight against the demolition together.

³¹⁹ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 108.

³²⁰ Li-Ben Zhang, ‘The Production of Taipei City and Urban Social Movements: The Cultural Strategies in the Anti-Demolishing Movements of Treasure Hill Village’ (unpublished master thesis, Shih-Hsin University, 2005), p. 70.



Figure 4.3 The city councillor, Xu-Sheng Chen, had a meeting with the villagers and activists in the community arbour. Photo by Fang-Zheng Lin on 9 December 2001.

Providing alternatives by activists and architects

The voices of the activists provoked responses from the City Government. In March 1999, Mayor Ying-Jeou Ma instructed Deputy Mayor Mr. Xiu-Xiong Bai to be the chair of a special cross-bureau committee for the demolition and settlement plan of Zhung-Zheng No.297 City Park.³²¹ Considering most of the residents in the village belonged to disadvantaged groups, the shortage of social housing in the city, and the preservation of the unique cultural landscape, the City Government asked the scholars and representatives from NGOs on the committee to propose plans that would take the villagers' needs and cultural preservation into account.³²² In 2000, the Parks and Street Lights Office, Public Works Department of Taipei City Government commissioned NTUBP to conduct research on the possibilities of preservation. In 'A Study on the Feasibility of the Preservation of Zhung-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park',

³²¹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-13.

³²² *Ibid.*, p. 2-14.

NTUBP suggested three alternative solutions: ‘Village/eco/art park’, ‘Village/art and performance park’, and ‘Public welfare housing’. The details of the three alternatives are summarized in the columns below.

| | Alternative 1: Village/eco/art park | Alternative 2: Village/art and performance park | Alternative 3: Public welfare housing |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sub-division in urban plan | Public Park | Preservation area | Preservation area |
| Area | Treasure Hill and Treasure Hill Village (the area of Zhung- Zheng No.297 Park) | Treasure Hill and village, Xiao-Guan- Yin Mountain, and The Water Museum | Same as alternative 2. |
| Regulations for building preservation | 1. Cultural Heritage Preservation Act. 2. Building Act. Article.99. 3. Autonomous Regulations of Historic Building and Historic District Development in Taipei City. | Same as 1. | Same as 1 |

| | Alternative 1: Village/eco/art park | Alternative 2: Village/art and performance park | Alternative 3: Public welfare housing |
|----------------------------|--|---|--|
| Regulations for land use | 1. Multi-objective Public Facilities Use in Urban Planning Regulation. 2. Taipei Park Management Regulation | 1. Urban Plan Act 2. Autonomous Regulations of Historic Building and Historic District Development in Taipei City. | Same as 2 |
| Department in charge | 1. Parks and Street Lights Office, Department of Public Works. (For land use) 2. The Department of Cultural Affairs (for buildings) | 1. The Department of Cultural affairs (for buildings) 2. Department of Urban Development. | Same as alternative 2. |
| The method of preservation | To identify the buildings in the village as historic buildings. | 1. To rezoning all area into preservation area. 2. To identify the buildings in the village as historic buildings. | Same as alternative 2. |
| Resident settlement plan | Short term: Onsite settlement. Long term: building new social housing units near the site. | Onsite settlement with Sunset Clauses. | Same as alternative 2. |

| | Alternative 1: Village/eco/art park | Alternative 2: Village/art and performance park | Alternative 3: Public welfare housing |
|-----------------------|--|---|--|
| The estimated cost | 145 million | 157 million | 160 million (NTD, New Taiwanese Dollars) |

*Building Act. See <http://glrs.moi.gov.tw/EngLawContent.aspx?Type=E&id=26>. [accessed on 6 Dec 2015]

The first two plans suggested the City Government build social housing near the village; the last one intended to settle the existing inhabitants onsite and to transform the village into social housing on the spot, which was Architect Liu's ideal plan.³²³ However, the Department of Social Welfare lacked relevant experiences of cases like this and did not want to take the responsibility of administration.³²⁴ The original intents of the activists, which were onsite settlement and working as social housing units, now seemed difficult to implement.

Alternative plan replacing the demolition policy

In order to persuade the associated departments in the government to accept the alternatives, the advocates of the conservation plan actively sought support from more political figures who might be able to influence urban political decisions. They met, negotiated, and discussed the issue with Dr. Ying-Tai Lung, who was about to take up a position as the first director of the Department of Cultural Affairs in 1999.³²⁵ She used to live in Germany and returned to Taiwan to take charge of this newly set-up department on the invitation of Mayor Ying-Jeou Ma. After several contacts and meetings with the advocates, she seemed to support the second plan, 'Village/art and performance park'. Eventually, in August 2001, the City Government made an official

³²³ Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University, *A Study on the Feasibility of Preservation of Zhong-Zheng No.297 City Park As a Village-Park*, p. 7-25.

³²⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 109.

³²⁵ Department of Cultural Affairs is established in November 1999. She was also the director of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs from 2013 to 2014.

decision in the 8th committee meeting to start the preservation plan, which contained several significant points.³²⁶

1. To identify Treasure Hill Village as a historic settlement according to the cultural heritage preservation law.
2. To rezone Zhong-Zheng No. 297 City Park in the urban plan as a preservation zone according to the cultural heritage preservation law as soon as possible.
3. To transfer authority/administration from the Parks and Street Lights Office, Public Works Department to the Department of Cultural Affairs.
4. To provide the option of either onsite settlement or other public welfare so that the inhabitants could choose their own placements as well as saving social welfare resources.
5. After the completion of the above issues, City Government would budget for the renovation of the houses and the environment in the village.

This plan was the first conservation plan that built up foundational values, and it has significantly influenced and shaped the landscape of Treasure Hill since then. The above five principles contain different levels of spatial planning tools to achieve Architect Liu and his comrades' emphasis on keeping the social network among the villagers. They started the historic building identification to keep the cultural landscape and to apply different methods to realize the conservation plan, such as rezoning THV in the urban plan. Moreover, they asked the City Government to implement proper settlement and to invest money in renovating these historic buildings. The above facts all indicated that City Government should consider this case 'cultural affairs' instead of 'public construction work'. Architect Liu and his comrades intended to turn the dominant habitual thinking of hardware construction in the City Government into a software-centered approach towards social welfare and community empowerment. The version of spatial meaning made out of grassroots everyday life and dwelling in the village through the investigations by the activists seemed to replace the top-down point of view.

³²⁶ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-14.

4.3 Urban politics and new vision in conservation plan

Section 3.2 explored how the activists aimed to unfold the invisible perspective of the village and to create an alternative meaning for the buildings in the village. The activists also tried to step into urban politics and influence political change by drawing attention to increase the value placed upon dwelling, a bottom-up approach to place-making. In this section, by delving into urban politics and exposing how the City Government viewed this as an unprecedented conservation plan, the unconventional role of designer emerged.

The election effect

Urban politics were an important aspect when looking at the conservation of THV. The veterans, who retreated with Chiang Kai-Shek and were loyal to the Nationalist Party, tended to be in favor of the Nationalist Party. From the point of view of activists and architects, the city councilor, whom the residents petitioned to, worked for the same party. Therefore, the demolition in THV might affect public opinion, social perception, and more crucially, before the Mayoral election, which candidate the veterans would vote for. Looking back to the Taipei Disadvantage Expo in November 1998, which took place just before the Mayoral election in early December, the two candidates who signed the petition, Ma and Wang, both belonged to the parties that had affinities to mainlanders and veterans. Activists intended to ask the candidates to give their words by the election. In the Mayoral election in December 1998, Ma won the election while the previous Mayor, Chen, the candidate of the DPP, who did not sign, lost the election. Activists thought one of the reasons that made the conservation of THV possible is the effect of the election, before which the political figures might take an unfriendly attitude to disadvantaged groups.³²⁷

However, political affinity was not the only factor, and not a crucial one, for decision making. A scholar, Sun-Quan Huang, who participated in three other similar cases and

³²⁷ Sun-Quan Huang, *Green Bulldozer: The Squatters, Parks, Nature Estate and Institutionalized Landscape in 90' Taipei*, (Taipei: Indymedia, 2012), p. 170.

social movements against the demolition of slum communities in the framed park area during 1990s, used ‘informal landscape’ to refer to the illegal spatial appropriation of planned lands, as opposed to ‘institutionalized landscape,’ landscape which gains official approval and satisfies the taste of the ‘metropolitan gaze’. He pointed out that these demolitions could lead to a price increase of the land and real estate around the planned park after the squatters were removed.³²⁸ After the experiences of similar cases, Parks 7, 12, and 14 and 15, located in the downtown area of Taipei and where the slums were eventually all torn down, Huang conceptualized the demolition process during 1990s to 2000 as one of transforming informal landscape to institutionalized landscape, a historic plan in which the city or the state was building up a ‘national landscape’.³²⁹

The vision of the new director

Possibly the geographic marginality of THV prevented the process of gentrification in the city center, but it was not able to escape from being institutionalized by the political authorities. The decision making process implicitly reflected the operation of City Government. In column 3.1 of the table above, the three alternative architectural programs involved different departments. And yet, none of the departments thought their expertise could fit this unprecedented case and were not inclined to be part of the conservation and to take the responsibility for it. As a consequence, the Department of Cultural Affairs, newly established in 1999, became the only hope of the activists. The first director of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Dr. Ying-Tai Lung, played a crucial role in the preservation process of Treasure Hill Village. Born in Taiwan, she is part of the second generation of the migrants who retreated from Mainland China. She wrote a sought-after book *Big River, Big Sea 1949*, telling stories of the chaotic retreat process that her parents and people with a similar past went through. The book reveals complicated identification, wounds, and nostalgia to the homes in Mainland China. After some discussion with the activists, she expressed her support for the conservation plan. As the Department of Cultural Affairs was newly established in November 1999, she brought new and fresh visions into the bureaucratic government system. Her open-minded imagination and interpretation of Treasure Hill seemed to open up a new horizon

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

³²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 174.

for the officials in the City Government and to help them envision the future of the conservation. She said:

If we only looked at the matter from the perspective of urban development, Treasure Hill village was meant to be demolished. Taipei City government intended to do so. However, when I stood on the top of the hill, I started looking at it from a different point of view. I immediately saw another imaginal scene out of it: a hill with scattered huts and houses. For example, if all houses were painted in white, it might look like an interesting vivid Greek village, which rose up from the sea. I could see the potential of the village. “The tumor of the city” could be turned into “the light of the city” if we did it right.³³⁰

Her idea played a role in encouraging the officials that conservation might turn the ‘negative landscape’ into a positive spot in urban renewal development. Nonetheless, Dr. Lung’s expectation of Treasure Hill showed a romanticized vision. Her visionary ideas implied an action of ‘beatification’ by projecting a specific taste, another existing pleasant picture, onto the village with a different context.

In addition, she also proposed the theme ‘Impoverished Artist Village’ to draw the uses of the future of Treasure Hill.³³¹ She said:

One of the strategies of cultural affairs of Taipei City is the plan of the international artist village. Treasure Hill Artist village will target potential young talented but poor artists.... There was a concept of ‘poor theater’ (originally by Polish theater director Jerzy Grotowski). The term “poor” or “impoverished” does not necessarily carry a negative or backward meaning. It depends on how you give it a new meaning... There are two layers to my ideas. Firstly, now that Taipei has become rich and modernized, to keep Treasure Hill Village in a plain way would indeed be a respectful gesture to our father’s generation. It would remind us to be grateful although we are not poor

³³⁰ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 17.

³³¹ Department of Cultural Affairs in Taipei City Government, *Taipei Municipal Record*, (Taipei: Taipei City Government, 2002), p. 8.

anymore.... Second, the wild terrain in Treasure Hill is suitable for early-career artists. Using “impoverished” to highlight the spiritual power of austereness and genuineness is honest but sharp, isn’t it?³³²

The support from a political figure worked as a double-edged sword. Dr. Lung, as part of the second generation of Mainlanders having a similar background to the veterans³³³, proposed her vision intending to represent the recent development of Taiwan by acknowledging the past and embracing new possibilities. The idea of the ‘Impoverished Artist Village’, significantly facilitated the conservation plan from that point onwards. However, this is the prospect of the city landscape which the Government wanted, a feature of the spiritual power of austereness and genuineness (that) is honest but sharp. For the activists and advocates, to preserve this village and reuse the buildings in the village for social housing was much more important for low-income people than reinventing artistic features. Furthermore, the background culture and social network were what the activists aimed to honor in the conservation plan. In Dr. Lung’s vision, these issues were absent. The new use of the site might help the site become preserved but the original intent of the advocates and residents’ expectation remained unaddressed. Similarly, the original reasons for the demonstration and the movements that were proposed to urge the Government to rethink public housing were relatively less frequently discussed in the conservation plan. The City Government subtly absconded the public issue by approving the conservation plan.

³³² Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, pp. 20-22.

³³³ See more in Ying-Tai Lung, *Big River, Big Sea — Untold Stories of 1949*. (Taipei: CommonWealth, 2009).



Figure 4.4 The director of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Dr. Yin-Tai Lung, visited the village with residents and activists. Photo taken by Bo-Xiu Kuo on 3 December 2001.

Failure of cross-department coordination and compromise from the activists

As a matter of fact, the unprecedented plan immediately faced challenges as a result of the lack of relevant experiences in different bureaus in the Taipei City Government. In the first place, cross-departmental cooperation and communication between the bureaus in Taipei City Government at that time was rather poor. For example, the common practices of the Parks and Street Lights Office was to tear down ‘obstacles’ and transform the land to a public park with perceived uses of basketball and open-air morning dancing sessions.³³⁴ Such long-established functionalist and formalist thinking had dominated their civil servant practices. Such bureaus shaped the city through hardware construction in a routine way. Although the Department of Cultural Affairs, newly established in 1999, brought a new eye to city governing, tremendous negotiation and mutual understanding were needed. For Director Lung, to communicate the idea of a conservation plan with other civil servants from low-level officials to high-level administrators in bureaus, such as the Parks and Street Lights Office, Construction

³³⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 21.

Management Office, and Fire Department, was indeed a painstaking task.³³⁵ The conservation plan was a new project genre, not only for the planners and the villagers, but also for the city governors.

The limited cross-departmental cooperation and communication were quickly exposed. In November 2000, a one-floor high flood caused by typhoon 'Xiang Shen', made the Parks and Street Lights Office decide to knock down 38 houses close to the River. On 24 October 2001, Mayor Ma agreed to conduct research on the preservation plan, while the Parks and Street Lights Office posted a notice in the village to announce the forthcoming demolition on 13 November.³³⁶ This decision panicked the inhabitants of the village. The advocates for the conservation plan and planning professionals criticized City Government for not complying with the resolutions in the preservation plan that the houses close to the River could only be demolished after the householders were resettled into the empty houses in the upper area of the hill, as stated in Plan II of the research in order to keep the social network intact.³³⁷ They used the discourses/theories from environmental psychology that indicate that the mortality rate seems to increase when elderly people move out of their support network.³³⁸ However, the Parks and Street Lights Office claimed that the idea of demolishing the houses close to the River was one of the urgent suggestions in the research for the sake of 'urban security' done by NTUBP.³³⁹ The staff of City Government set up a temporary office in the village to either distribute relief to the households close to the River or settle them in public housing. A wave of social movements and pleading, mobilized by NTUBP, NGOs, students and academics, took place against the demolition. Voluntary students of NTUBP again entered the community and did oral histories to update inhabitants' situations in order to persuade the City Government to stop the plan.³⁴⁰

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³³⁶ Zhang, 'The Production of Taipei City and Urban Social Movements: The Cultural Strategies in the Anti-Demolishing Movements of Treasure Hill Village', p. 87.

³³⁷ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-15.

³³⁸ It also places fundamental principal in the idea of 'settling inhabitants on site' in NTUBP's research. See more in Zhang, 'The Production of Taipei City and Urban Social Movements: The Cultural Strategies in the Anti-Demolishing Movements of Treasure Hill Village', p. 91.

³³⁹ Department of Public Works, *Taipei Municipal Record*, (Taipei: Taipei City Government, 2002).

³⁴⁰ I was one of the fieldworkers and participated in some demonstrations.



Figure 4.5 Activists protesting to Mayor Ma. Photo taken by Bo-Xiu Kuo on 1 December 2001.



Figure 4.6 Activists hanging the demonstration strap, saying “Postpone the demolition”. Photo by Bo-Xiu Kuo on 2 December 2001.

The protestors, who consisted of teachers and students from NTUBP and other

universities, staff in third sectors and NGOs, and some inhabitants, appealed to the City Government to preserve the cultural landscape of Treasure Hill. Concerning the houses close to the River, they suggested the evacuation of the residents and the keeping of the physical construction to make it a site of ruin exhibition; and furthermore, they argued that in order to keep the stability of the slope of the hill, the demolition plan must stop.³⁴¹

In April 2002, on the grounds of safety, the Parks and Street Lights Office strongly insisted and succeeded in tearing down all households located in the area below the line of flood control by either machines or hands (to prevent excessive vibration)³⁴² while the actions of the protests were happening.³⁴³ The organically built layers of the village close to the River were erased and turned into an open space. As the village failed to stay intact, some inhabitants were forced to relocate themselves and the residents who lived close to the River blamed NTUBP's intervention for being oversimplified and the main cause of the collapse of the community.³⁴⁴

The safety worries eventually made the exhausted activists surrender and agree to the partial demolition plan. Architect Liu said, 'We were indeed compromising. If we did not agree (the partial demolishing plan), the City Government would have not granted the preservation plan'.³⁴⁵ In times of crisis, the demolition revealed the unbalanced relationship between the City Government and the commissioned scholars and architects. On one hand, the City Government seemed to accept the alternative (Plan II) from NTUBP's commissioned research. On the other hand, different bureaus had different agenda, such as remodeling Treasure Hill as a city park, and yet there was no mutual trust and communication. The two sides did not operate consistently.

³⁴¹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-16.

³⁴² Department of Public Works, *Taipei Municipal Record*, (Taipei: Taipei City Government, 2002).

³⁴³ Interview with planner Fang-Cheng Lin in Building and Planning Foundation, National Taiwan University, in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 135.

³⁴⁴ Zhang, 'The Production of Taipei City and Urban Social Movements: The Cultural Strategies in the Anti-Demolishing Movements of Treasure Hill Village', p. 89.

³⁴⁵ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 110.

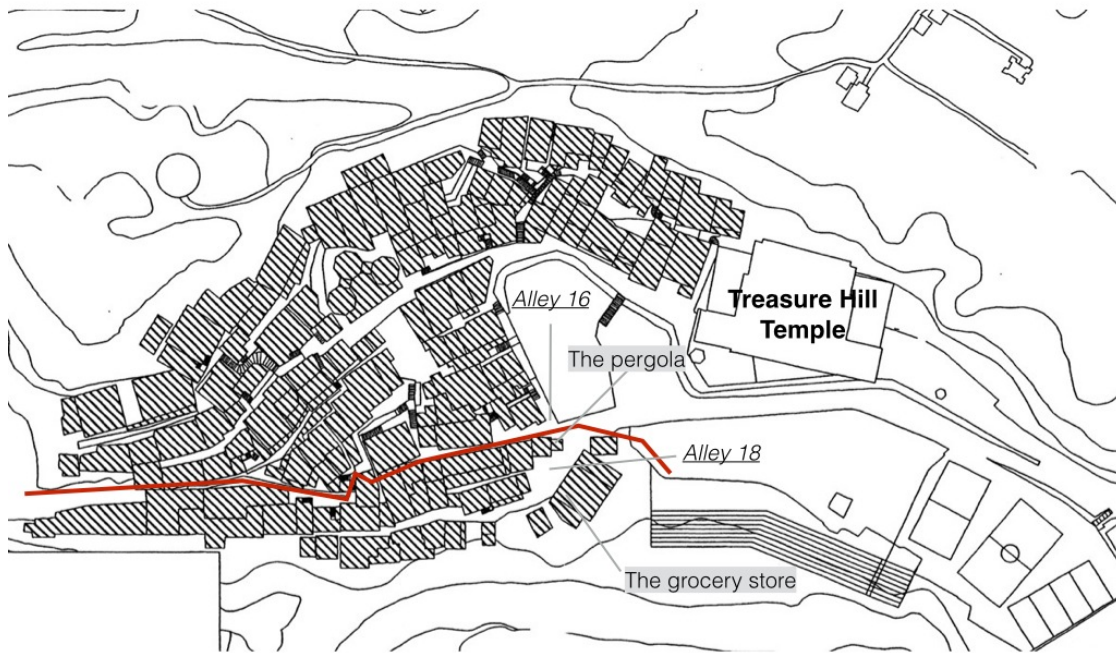


Figure 4.7 The partial demolition in April 2002. In order to prevent associated collapses of other self-constructed buildings from partial demolition, the City Government agreed to tear down some houses by hand. Photo taken by the author in 2002.

It was considered a ‘failure of the conservation movement’ by a number of the residents, as the activists were not able to prevent the village from destruction. The main gathering points such as the pergola and the grocery store, where the villagers used to idle, were knocked down. The knocking down dramatically changed the landscape, and thirty-eight households were forced to relocate themselves outside, as there was no legitimacy for them to stay in other empty buildings in the village. It also uncovered a fact that the newly established Bureau of Cultural Affairs was not able to influence the decision making in the City Government when encountering an urban security issue. The ‘construction-driven ideology’ and ‘functionalist (technological consideration) approach’ were revived.

Initially, the advocates and activists strived to transfer the administration from the Parks and Street Lights Office and Public Works Department to the Department of Cultural Affairs, symbolizing that the logic of city governing on THV, to some extent, shifted from the customary hardware thinking to an emphasis on people, culture, and

humanity.³⁴⁶ However, the unexpected flood triggered fear for public safety, crushed the original plan of keeping the community intact, and destroyed the trust between the villagers and the progressive architects.



Partial Demolition in April 2002 (the houses around Alley 16 and 18)

Figure 4.8 The houses located in Alley 16 and Alley 18 were demolished in April 2002. The area below the red line was knocked down in partial demolition in April 2002. Modified by the author.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

4.4 Analysis and conclusion

*'To dwell in the qualitative sense is a basic condition of humanity. When we identify with a place, we dedicate ourselves to a way of being in the world. Therefore dwelling demands something from us, as well as from our places. We have to have an open mind, and the places have to offer rich possibilities for identification.'*³⁴⁷

The chapter has demonstrated how THV was transformed from an unknown village to a public venue, a quasi-eco museum through conservation movements. The different points of view from architects, the residents, the activists, and the City Government created different perspectives and meanings to viewing the self-built creation. Here I borrow the triad of space production, proposed by Henri Lefebvre, to draw an analysis which stresses what the role of the designers is and what their actions have done.

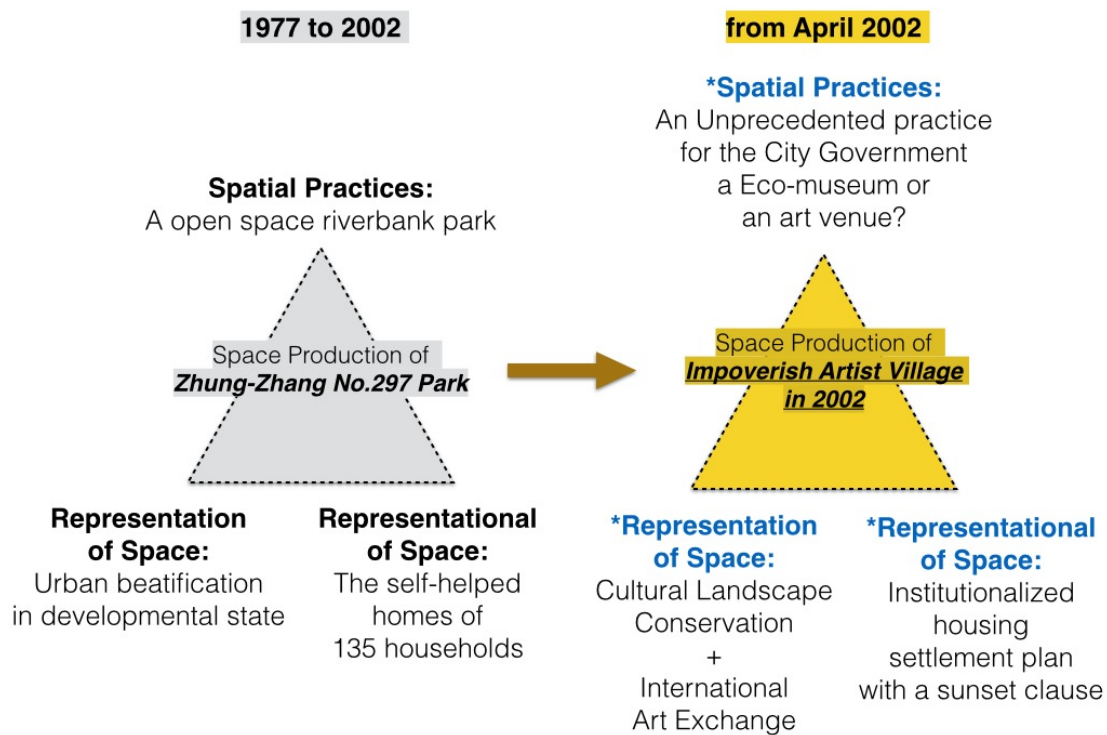


Figure 4.9 Before and after the conservation movements of the village based on the triad of space production.

³⁴⁷ Christian Norberg-Schulz. *The Concept of Dwelling: On the Way to Figurative Architecture*. (New:York: Rizzoli International Publication, 1985), p. 12.

Before the conservation movements, from the City Government's point of view, the self-constructed buildings were illegal due to their occupation of the public land. Then in 1977, Mayor Lee decided to change the land use from a preservation area to a 'public park' in order to 'eliminate the mess' and intended to reshape THV as a riverbank park. However, THV was a historic consequence of rapid urban development and offered informal housing solutions for more than 135 households. The City Government's ambiguous acquiescence and tacit approval for self-constructed buildings showed that the municipal authority had not been able to work out the housing problems. But the circumstances of the residents' living were not taken into consideration in the making of the demolition policy. After the conservation movements, different architectural meanings and narratives had been produced by the activists, architects, planners, and volunteer students. They expected a grass-roots perspective, where an alternative architectural meaning and architectural brief might emerge from, to provoke the thinking that the City Government should re-consider the right of dwelling and the building of a formal regular city park. In 2002, the alternative conservation plan was accepted by the City Government. It seemed that the advocates for conservation won, but the activist architects compromised with the City Government by accepting partial demolition along the riverbank, and a symbiosis of architectural use where new artistic uses were introduced was imported into the site. It would turn the village into a public venue (an 'Impoverished Artist's Village')—a prelude to museum making in THV.

The diagram shows the drastic changes of the perspectives from both the power and the experts (representation of space) and the bottom-up points (user's space or representational space). Also, the overall spatial practices changed accordingly through the dynamic process of the conservation movements. The analysis of what designers, who advocated for the conservation, and their actions had done in the process seems to be key to alter the original policy of demolition.

Designer as mediator between the authority and the local

The process of the conservation movements offers an opportunity to rethink the position of designer. The activist architects attempted to be mediators who wished to transmit the needs of the community into the architectural programming. They aimed to build up different perspectives on the self-built buildings through varied methodologies. This

work can be read in at least three layers. First, by collecting oral histories, they intended to emphasize the importance of the community and its social network, which helped the residents to survive in the City. In addition, these self-built houses were a means of survival in the disadvantaged people's settling down in the city. Based on the above, they argued that the authority should protect 'the right to inhabit' and sustain the community onsite. The activists attempted to enlarge the villagers' voices of their truth and reality in order to gain more humanistic consideration.

Second, the activists considered the self-built creation as a piece of evidence that an intimate relationship between the residents and the place could be sustained. Its wisdom of problem-solving and the flexible organic growth of the village buildings provide a contrast to contemporary construction and are complimented by progressive architects and planners. They believe the organic growth and changes of the buildings show an agile relationship between users and their creations. Therefore, the activists argued for a form of living conservation by preserving the physical buildings and keeping the neighborhood intact at the same time. This perspective of engagement between materials and human beings seems to go beyond a romanticized nostalgia. They tried to provoke social awareness of rethinking what dwelling is in a rapidly developing city.

Thirdly, and probably most crucially, by delving into the urban development history, the activists attempted to connect the history of THV with the history of the city. By unfolding the negative and uncomfortable side of the city history which was never considered the 'image of progress'³⁴⁸, the conservation movements reminded people that self-built culture was a common part of the Taipei City landscape historically. It was not the first of this kind of squat and not the last.³⁴⁹ The activists' strategy to expose THV to more public audiences by producing the meaning of the Treasure Hill was to associate it with the level of Taipei City's development. They argued that the city agenda should consider more historic and cultural aspects instead of only thinking in terms of superficial city beautification without looking at the origin of the social phenomenon. Therefore, the meaning constructed here is that THV is seen as a cultural

³⁴⁸ Here I borrow the concept of 'image of progressive' from Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750-1980*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

³⁴⁹ In 2014, the Toad Mountain village just next to Treasure Hill but separated by the Fu-He Bridge, having a similar background, was identified as a historic village following the case of THV.

landscape that witnessed ‘the self-built culture of veterans, rural immigrants, and urban indigenous people’ in the postwar period of rapid development.³⁵⁰ This is the first heritage making practice in Taiwan where the physical environment speaks for the anonymous grassroots.

Connecting lived space with representation of space

Throughout the conservation movements, the residents were relatively silent and passive even though they petitioned their requests to the city councilors in private ways. Here, the activist designers played the role of a bridge in ways that they assisted the spatial users (villagers) to express their wish to stay and to convey the spatial meaning of ‘the lived space’. These meanings are rooted in oral histories, countering the spatial meaning of ‘representation of space’ made by the state regulations.

However, we have to note that the constructed meanings are also the results of filtering. They are only selected fragments. For instance, the stories that tell of the harmonious relationships in the community do not mention the landlord-tenant financial relationships among the villagers. The internal conflicts among villagers were missed in the stories which activists made arguments with.³⁵¹ It is also noticeable that even in one social group, it might not be possible to achieve consensus. Under the threat of demolition, the constructed meaning of grassroots community was used to contest the single angle of the beautification policy. It opened up a new dimension for public discussion. I would argue that the residents, or the space users, are interpreted by the designers (activists), and that the designers work as a mediator between the top and the bottom, and the power and the grassroots.

Designers stepping into urban politics

³⁵⁰ In 2011, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture re-announced THV as a historic village in the archive of cultural heritage. Bureau of Cultural Heritage, *List of Culture Heritage*, 27 May 2011, <<http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/frontsite/cultureassets/caseBasicInfoAction.do?method=doViewCaseBasicInfo&caseId=AB10007000059&version=1&assetsClassifyId=1.3&menuId=302&siteId=101#01>> [accessed on 11 Feb 2015].

³⁵¹ The inner conflicts among the residents eventually influenced the process of village conservation and will be discussed in Chapter 5 later.

In the THV conservation movements, designers (activist architects and planners) were aware that urban politics was a crucial aspect which could impact architectural programming. Therefore, they tried to contact political figures, officials and city councilors, and more academics to gain support. Also, the new establishment of the Department of Cultural Affairs in the City Government symbolized that municipal affairs were finally more concerned about cultural arguments. The first director, Lung, expressed her support for the alternative Plan II. It shifted the focus of conservation movements from the right of inhabitation and public housing to a more cultural consideration—cultural landscape conservation. It led to the beginnings of heritage making at the site. Pierre Bourdieu indicates that the exercises in the ‘political field’ possesses dominant impacts on other fields in the process of cultural production. Designers were sensitive to the fact that without support from the authorities, the conservation plan might not be able to realize itself at the municipal level.

Although the City Government accepted the alternative conservation plan, the government asked the activists to accept the compromises too. First of all, when Director Lung projected a new use onto the site, she conveyed not only her own vision but also the intentions of the city cultural policy—turning the site into a public venue that accommodated an international art residency program. The city agenda still wanted the site to serve urban renewal objectives although in a different way. This result tremendously reshaped the village in later practices. Again, it was a representation of space, a vision made by the experts and professionals. The advocates, architects, and planners were frustrated but forced to make compromises which they might not have regarded as the best solution.

However, on the other hand, the newly established Bureau was unable to conduct cross-departmental cooperation and communication, and therefore failed to change the 'habitus' of administration in the City Government. The other departments in the City Government kept the technological thinking in regard to architecture and prioritized the issues of safety and security; therefore, the partial demolition and relocation of 38 households happened. Again, the architects and the protesters eventually accepted the compromised solution in order to ensure that other parts of the conservation plan could be realized.

Just as Kim Dovey and S. Dickson note, 'A primary imperative is that architecture be stripped of the illusion of autonomy; there is no zone of neutrality in [architectural] practice. Architects must enter into and understand some necessary complicities.'³⁵² Designers/architects are unavoidably involved in urban politics, whether in intentional or forced ways. They are not free artists and need to meet given goals and objectives from the clients (here the City Government). The practices of architects are in some ways confined by external factors and the context.

To sum up, a new alternative architectural programming would need all involved social actors to respond. The new conservation plan, intended to accommodate the existing and new ways of occupation and social needs, would impact all of the different habitus of various social groups. From a self-built village with autonomous domestic uses to a publicized venue, legitimization and institutionalization became unavoidable after the state intervened, and the departments in the government and the residents needed to adapt themselves to an unprecedented case.

The prelude to becoming a museum

The conservation plan opened up the beginning of museum making in THV. In the beginning, the activists aimed to preserve the community and its social network. By making alternative conservation plans which were accepted by the City Government,

³⁵² Kim Dovey and S. Dickson, 'Architecture and Freedom? Programmatic Innovation in the Work of Koolhaas/OMA', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 56 (2002), pp. 5-13, cited in Jones, *The Sociology of Architecture*, p. 25.

the conservation plan regarded THV not only as a cultural landscape but also as another way of including disadvantaged people in the city. Urban historian Dolores Hayden illuminates, ‘A socially inclusive urban landscape history can become the basis for new approaches to public history and urban preservation.’³⁵³ Unlike conventional museum making in Taiwan that usually involves a new building, high-value collections or celebrity artists, and an organization with programs on museums, THV opened up a different form of museum making wherein the initiative of becoming a museum emerged from the needs of the community and urgent social issues—the lack of social housing units in the City. Therefore, THV conservation challenged the current heritage making practices in Taiwan that almost always refer to the powerful, the rich, or the famous. It started alternative museum making practices in Taiwan.

Professor Hsia points out,

If in the future, the illegally built settlements of Treasure Hill could truly be saved, and the conservation could be successfully executed, we could then say it has embraced the disadvantaged persons that are excluded by the era of globalization. Its significance lies in illustrating that Taipei finally transforms itself into a confident Third World city. It confirms that illegally built settlements, which have long been considered typical urban problems in developing countries and a shame of the city, can be part of the collective memory of their city. And the history of the underclass in Taipei, mainly veterans and rural-urban immigrants, is seen again.³⁵⁴

Treasure Hill Village conservation is the first case in Taiwan that legitimates the squatter and preserves the self-constructed buildings. The process of THV conservation has signified the start of change and can be summarized in two points. First of all, after the process of THV conservation, the voices of the disadvantaged social groups seemed to earn a bit more consideration from the City Government. Second, the THV conservation expanded the practices of heritage making/museum making in Taiwan

³⁵³ Dolores Hayden: *The Power of Place: Urban Landscape as Public History*. (London: The MIT Press, 1995), p. 12.

³⁵⁴ Chu-Joe Hsia, ‘The Imaginations of Historic Conservation in the Network Society’, *Cities and Design*. No.13/14, (March 2003). p. 64.

beyond mere identification of cultural/educational meaning to a broader scope that includes social concerns. This self-built village was for private domestic use, and after the conservation demonstrations the subsequent actual execution of museum making in the last eight years has drastically reshaped the site, which will be explored fully in later chapters.

Chapter Five: Actions of Museum Making- Striving and Struggling Towards Social Architecture

Introduction

This chapter looks at the history of the making of Treasure Hill Village between 2002 and 2010. In this period, the alternative Conservation Plan, which was discussed in Chapter 4, had been realized and intended to transform THV into an eco-museum-like site as well as an art venue, Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV). With the Conservation Plan made in 2001 with the spirit of ‘symbiosis’ covering art and residential use, THV faced a tremendous change as new architectural uses were introduced at the site. This chapter aims to elaborate the diverse making actions by different social parties. It is divided into five parts. First, it starts with the discourses of eco-museums to help understand the circumstance of the Conservation Plan. Then later sections indicate different actions and interventions for making THAV a museumified venue by involved various parties. Here, the questions raised are: what did they think of the site and how and why did they conduct certain actions upon the site? The other four sections in turn elaborate the actions and the making of community planners, artists/curators, second-wave protestors, and architects who were responsible for the renovation plan during 2006 to 2010. This chapter aims to identify and illuminate how different actions by design and use reshaped the site and contributed to museum making in the village.

The data sources in this chapter are twofold. First, documentation including reports of planning and renovation, records of municipal meetings, papers, newspapers, published books, and relevant posts on websites. In 2002, the chosen Conservation Plan was in lack of precise executive content and details. The City Government then commissioned researchers and community planners to conduct a research and planning project that focused on how the plan could be realized and integrated into the community context and circumstances from 2003 to 2005. During this period, many actions, investigations, and events, which unfolded and directly affected the production of THAV, were complex, multi-layered, and experimental. For instance, the community planners invited

curators and artists to hold an art experiment, GAPP, to try out how art could exist alongside the community's life. Diverse art projects in GAPP turned the village into a creative incubator where art was grown from the context of the community. The planners and officials in the City government looked for feasible ways to interpret and implement the Conservation Plan, which aimed to integrate the residential uses and the new art uses. The second data source is interviews with the key figures helping the mapping of the details in this complicated making process.

The chapter starts with a brief review of eco-museum development to compare and deepen the understanding of the case. Each section in this chapter serves to point out a significant remaking of THV from the perspectives of the selected influential social groups and specific events. It was a process full of negotiation and conflicts. From a private-use village to a public venue, THV was remade again by different interests and intents towards an irreversible physical alteration. However, there were multiple social and critical concerns embedded in these various makings. The Conservation Plan, which aimed to turn THV into a public site or a piece of social architecture that witnessed the self-built history of Taipei City, had been debated and shaped by different social parties and struggles between the ideal and the reality as a museum making. In the analysis and conclusion section, it contends that in this phase, THAV had not yet been realized as a mature eco-museum but was informed by eco-museum ideas. The unique practices made its museum making a social experiment.

5.1 Perspectives and debates on eco-museum

Eco-museum has been considered a cultural movement or even a set of ‘anti-(conventional) museum’ or ‘revitalized museum’ approaches that push the boundary of the museums into a new territory where the mindset and fundamental concepts of the conventional factors of the museum, such as mission and vision, stakeholder, collection, display, and educational approaches are tremendously shifting and evolving.³⁵⁵ At present, the most accepted definition of an eco-museum is a museum focusing on the ‘identity of a place’ or ‘sense of a place’ and ‘a community-driven museum or heritage project that aids sustainable development’.³⁵⁶

The term was originally coined by French Museologists Hugues de Varine-Bohan and Georges Henri Rivière, and the practices of eco-museums have been carried out in diverse forms in different countries worldwide.³⁵⁷ Max Querrien addresses the revolutionary meanings and exemplifies seven features of an eco-museum: territoriality, social practice, de-museumification, everyday objects, heritage data bank, a center for research and mutual training, and tentativity.³⁵⁸ Moreover, Gerald Corsane proposes the basic tenets are:

- The adoption of a territory that may be defined, for example, by landscape, dialect, a specific industry, or musical tradition.
- The identification of specific heritage resources within that territory, and the celebration of these ‘cultural touchstones’ using in-situ conservation and interpretation.

³⁵⁵ About more thorough and general ideas of ecomuseum, see Peter Davis, *Ecomuseums: A Sense of Place* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1999). René Rivard proposes ‘people’s museography’ in ‘Ecomuseums in Quebec’, *Museum*, No. 148, pp. 202-205.

³⁵⁶ Peter Davis, ‘Ecomuseums and Sustainability in Italy, Japan, and China: Concept adaptation through Implementation’ in Simon Knell, Suzanne MacLeod, and Sheila Watson (eds.), *Museum Revolutions: How Museum Change and are Changed* (Oxon: Routledge, 2007), p. 199.

³⁵⁷ See Peter Davis, *Ecomuseum: A Sense of Place*, 1999 and Yu-Tan Chang, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement* (Nantou: Five Senses Art, 2004), which reviewed significant eco-museum cases in France, the UK, Canada, and added the cases in Taiwan.

³⁵⁸ Max Querrien, ‘Taking the measure of the phenomenon’, *Museum*, No. 148, pp. 198-199. Quoted in Chang, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement*, pp. 72-74.

- The conservation and interpretation of individual sites within the territory is carried out via liaison and co-operation with other organization.
- The empowerment of local communities—the ecomuseum is established and managed by local people. Local people decide what aspects of their ‘place’ are important to them.
- The local community benefits from the establishment of the ecomuseum.³⁵⁹

The wide range of natural and cultural resources are the targets to be cherished and preserved. For instance, the Ironbridge Gorge Museum aims to ‘preserve and interpret the remains of the Industrial Revolution in the six square miles of the Ironbridge Gorge’.³⁶⁰ The cultural heritage scattering in a defined area addressed one of the most unique features of eco-museum, which is that geographically, an eco-museum expands the museum boundary beyond the tangible architecture, and the whole of the landscape can be transformed through the involvement of investigation and concept of collection into a museumified territory. In Taiwan, I-Lan Museum Family is home to the practice of this kind of ‘museum without walls’. In I-Lan County, there is one main museum (Lanyang Museum) and more than thirty satellite museums, and they are all about the local cultural or art development scattering around the whole county.³⁶¹ The second key characteristic is ‘local people-oriented’, which refers to the systematic change that the bottom-up approach plays an important a role in the operation and management of the eco-museum, which challenges and changes the conventional model of museum run by museum personnel, institutions, and policies. The above two significant features, the territorial and the administrative, re-conceptualize and re-structure what an eco-museum looks like apart from the traditional sense of museums. Museologist Yu-Tan Chang concludes five modalities inspired by the theories of eco-museums and practical experiences in Taiwan. He points out, ‘from top down to bottom up’, ‘from museum

³⁵⁹ About benefits from the establishment of the ecomuseum. Corsane et al. added ‘Benefits may be intangible, such as greater self-awareness or pride in place, tangible (the rescue of a fragment of local heritage, for example) or economic. There are often significant benefits for those individuals in the local community most closely associated with ecomuseum development’. See Davis, ‘Ecomuseums and Sustainability in Italy, Japan, and China: Concept adaptation through Implementation’, p. 198.

³⁶⁰ Ironbridge Gorge Museum Trust. < <http://www.ironbridge.org.uk/about-us/ironbridge-gorge-museum-trust/> > [accessed on 1 August 2016]

³⁶¹ Chang, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement*, pp. 156-171.

professionals to participation of the local', 'from grand theory to popular museology', 'from object-oriented to person-oriented', and 'from past-oriented to present or future oriented'.³⁶²

These ideals of ecomuseums contend that museums work as catalysts for social change. However, the flawless vision of eco-museum encounters three major challenges: finance, which questions the sustainability of the operation of the ecomuseum that differs from the conventional official sponsorship/funding model, can sometimes even undermine the foundation of the eco-museum; power, the paradigm-shifting decision making and management model between institutional ecomuseum and community ecomuseum; and identity, as some eco-museums are criticized for having a tendency to romanticize, an artificial identity that inclines to communitarianism and absence of the scientific dimension.³⁶³ To sum up, the ecomuseum could be considered a perspective or approach of problem-solving for certain cultural natural conservation, which constantly adapts itself to responding to the new situations rather than viewing it as a perfect practice model.³⁶⁴ Also, in terms of sustainability, Davis emphasizes the external help (the curatorial and financial expertise) that is crucial for sustaining the development of an ecomuseum.³⁶⁵

Looking back at the making of THAV, the idea of the eco-museum acts as a theoretical and practical lens to help investigate the making of the site. Not only because part of the original idea of the Conservation Plan in Treasure Hill was informed by the idea of the eco-museum, introduced by a political figure, but also because the democratic approaches, which provoke either the changes of museum practices or re-construction of actors in decision-making, seem to allow the local and residents to stand in a more proactive role. Connecting the objectives of the research project with the diverse process and practices of ecomuseum, the research not only satisfies in observing and

³⁶² Yu-Tan Chang, *Exploring Contemporary Museums* (Taipei: Nantien, 2000), pp. 104-105.

³⁶³ Chang, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement*, p. 218.

³⁶⁴ Andrea Hauenschild, 'Claims and Reality of New Museology: Case Studies in Canada, the United States and Mexico, Smithsonian Center for education and Museum Studies, 2000. Originally published by the International Council of Museums (ICOM) in German.

³⁶⁵ Davis, 'Ecomuseums and Sustainability in Italy, Japan, and China: Concept adaptation through Implementation', p. 213.

evaluating if/what eco-museum ideas are embodied in the real operation (then the following question will be: is THAV an eco-museum?) but also aims to examine under the above circumstances of eco-museums. The questions might be asked slightly differently: what are the main actors and actions in making the site an ecomuseum? How do these actions implicate the site in terms of shaping architecture and transforming the site into a museumified venue? How do ecomuseum approaches induce, trigger, or even facilitate any agency on making architecture, which contributes to museum making? In later sections, the chapter will investigate the review of several major actors and their key actions one by one to elaborate the museum making process of THAV.

5.2 Community planners' community-centered vision and making

The partial demolition in April 2002 not only knocked down the physical buildings but also significantly changed the living landscape of the community by destroying common places in the village, such as the buildings of thirty-eight households close to the riverbank, a grocery store, public toilets, a wooden pergola, and mailbox rows.³⁶⁶ As a result, the atmosphere of the living landscape in the village altered. The residents who were living in the demolished area either moved into the public housing sector with compensation, rented apartments in other parts of the city, or resettled themselves in other houses in the village.³⁶⁷ The social network and the sense of community collapsed to some extent as the partial demolition caused a sense of fear that the village would eventually be wiped out.³⁶⁸ For the activists, the worries and risks were not only the destruction of the integration of the community (only about 50 households were left), but also the undermining of the foundation of the Conservation Plan, which was framed to keep people's lives and houses intact. Therefore, attempts to rebuild the public life spaces and enhance community empowerment in THV after the partial demolition became the primary tasks for the activists and volunteers. They realized that a united community would work as a strong base when confronting the unexpected changes from the City Government.

The attitude of the City Government

Urban politics-wise, after the partial demolition in 2002, THV Conservation Plan went through a transition period, as the first director Dr. Ying-Tai Lung was relieved from her role as the director of the Department of Cultural Affairs at the end of 2002. The 2nd director, Dr. Xien-Hao Liao, played a significant role in developing and executing the Conservation Plan while the exact content and details of the Conservation Plan were

³⁶⁶ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 2-17.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 2-16. The residents resettled themselves in the village only if they had other houses in the village or rented another unit from other residents.

³⁶⁸ The fear and worry could be observed in Po-Xiu Kuo's research. See Po-Xiu Kuo, 'Straddling Between Attachment and Disembeddedness: A Research on Place-Identity in Bao-Zang-Yen Village' (unpublished master thesis, National Taiwan University, 2007), p. 77.

still unclear following Lung's departure. From Dr. Liao's point of view, the Conservation Plan of THV should be alive, like a quasi-eco-museum, a symbiosis of community and art.³⁶⁹ He prioritized 'the community' in the Conservation Plan and insisted on the original spirit of the Conservation Plan, which was settling the inhabitants onsite even though there were no precedents and legal cases. Moreover, he regarded the artist-in-residence project as only one part of the whole Plan.³⁷⁰ In his vision, the plan should also include the inhabitants' homes, an ecological park, an artist village, and a youth hostel for sustainable future income generation of the village, and 'the neighborhood spirit' should be kept by allowing the residents to remain onsite.³⁷¹

Then he commissioned an active community-approached NGO, Organization of Urban Re-s (Re-s refers to revolution, reformation, regeneration. Later abbreviated OURs)³⁷², to conduct a research and planning project of artist-in-residence projects in Treasure Hill Village from 2003 to 2005 in order to understand how art could co-exist with the community feasibly.³⁷³ The planners in OURs were the demonstrators and activists in the conservation movements. The City Government, in particular Liao, wanted to support them to carry on their claims and vision. In addition, another major goal of the project was to assist the residents to understand the possible changes resulting from new programming and make them ready for the implanting of new artistic uses.³⁷⁴

5.2.1 Planners' intent: reoccupying space

³⁶⁹ A name, 'Symbiosis Art Repository' first appeared in the title of the commissioned planning project by the Department of Cultural Affairs.

³⁷⁰ Interview with Director Liao on Public Television Service, *Our Island*, 19 Jan. 2007

<<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tXmmB7ERLPU&list=PL45DCD9FC500F5F45>> [accessed on 15 January 2014]. Director Liao's ideas can also be read in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 110.

³⁷¹ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 28.

³⁷² OURs is a legal association established by a group of academics, architects, and planners in 1989, with missions that aim to conduct community-based actions cooperating with both professionals and grassroots communities. See OURs, *Introduction*, <<http://www.ours.org.tw/about>> [accessed on 20 April, 2015].

³⁷³ National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, (Taipei: NTUBPRF, 2013), p. 291.

³⁷⁴ Interview with Fang-Zheng Lin in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 138.

The community planners in OURs and volunteer students hoped the residents could unite together to voice their needs and to rebuild the demolished landscape. They used various strategies to work with the community, even before they were commissioned.³⁷⁵ Some of the actions involved the making of architecture, either physically or invisibly. Three major efforts are analyzed here, as they recreate the village respectively. They are: remaking the community's living space, rebuilding common spaces such as Treasure Hill Family Cinema and the harbour, and holding Film Festivals related to the village and in it, all inspired by the daily routines of residents.

First, in the summer of 2002, an unanticipated discovery appeared when some students wanted to trace the re-located inhabitants in order to gain updated information about their circumstances and health conditions. Through the investigation, they discovered that the village landscape appeared in quite a few movies, TV series, and music videos.³⁷⁶ Several inhabitants even played roles in some films. For the community planners, the representation of the village seemed to explain the important meaning of the village from the perspective of urban history.³⁷⁷ The planners and volunteers decided to take advantage of it, and at the same time, to revive another community activity: outdoor cinema. The community planners and students from the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning in National Taiwan University (NTUBP) first paved the floor with the residents' help, and created a space called 'Family Cinema Club of Treasure Hill' in the ruin, and started to play movies associated with the village every Wednesday from April, 2002.³⁷⁸ The cinema was run for about three years.³⁷⁹ The community planners and students intended to create meeting opportunities and public

³⁷⁵ These community planners were also the protestors in the social movements against demolition (discussed in previous chapters). After partial demolition in April 2002, they still voluntarily went to the village and worked with the community.

³⁷⁶ Interview with Fang-Zheng Lin in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 136.

³⁷⁷ A community planner in OURs, Mr. Fang-Zheng Lin, pointed out that the City Government thought if they did not demolish the houses close to the River, it might arouse fights from illegal buildings of similar scenarios in the City in the future. Therefore, he and the advocates from NTUBP had a sense of urgency that they must call other groups than NTUBP to attract more public attention to Treasure Hill. See Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 136.

³⁷⁸ Taiwan Film and Culture Association, NTUBRF, and Treasure Hill Family Cinema Club, *Brochure of Family Cinema in Treasure Hill* (Taipei: NTUBPRF, 10 November, 2002), introduction page.

³⁷⁹ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, pp. 135-136.

discussion through daily activities. They not only made 'place' with the villagers but also vitalized the place with community activities.



Figure 5.1 Students, community planners, residents, and constructors worked together to pave the new ground. The white wall later is the projection area of Family Cinema. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo in October, 2002.



Figure 5.2 A resident cleaned up the wall. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo. 23 October 2002.



Figure 5.3 Group photo of residents, students, and community planners in front of the newly-built and painted wall of Family Cinema Club. Photo by Po-Xiu Kuo. 29 October 2002.



Figure 5.4 'Family Cinema Club' wall as the projection screen. Photo provided by Fang-Cheng Lin.

Second, from the summer of 2003, the volunteer students again entered the community and worked with the residents to re-build a new arbor to realize a brand-new gathering space for the community. They aimed to encourage the residents to re-occupy the open space where 30 households had been living and were later relocated after the partial

demolition. They invited the villagers to co-design the form, colour, and material of the arbor.³⁸⁰ Besides, they regularly participated in community events such as potluck dinners and Family Cinema, continuously updated oral histories, cleaned abandoned houses in the village, and published the weekly Treasure Hill Newspaper every Wednesday. The participating students and planners devoted a substantial amount of time to community affairs. Some of them even rented empty houses in the village and actually lived there to involve themselves as villagers.³⁸¹ They were eager to draw the villagers and community planners closer by meeting each other and working together. They intended to design the space and create the public sphere with end users.



Figure 5.5 Students making a model to discuss the design of a new pergola with the residents. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo on 13 July 2002.

³⁸⁰ Interview with one of the volunteer students, Po-Xiu Kuo, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Tainan, 13 Feb. 2014.

³⁸¹ *Ibid.*.



Figure 5.6 Left: Students and planners set out onsite to simulate the future height and scale of the new pergola with the residents. Right: Photoshopped space stimulation for discussion. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo on 2 July 2002.

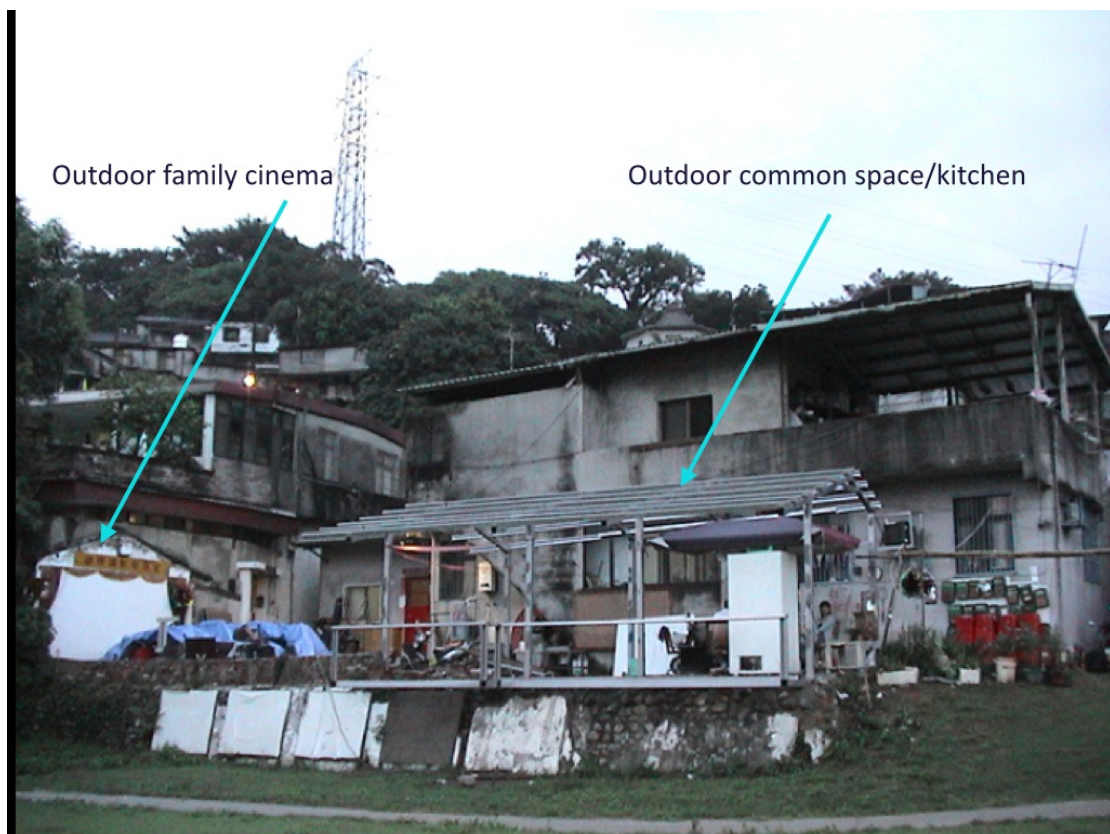


Figure 5.7 Photo taken from the demolished area facing the village on the hill. The wall on the left side is the Family Cinema and the pergola was being constructed. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo. 10 July 2002. Text modified by the author.

Third, the planners and students intended to provoke more public awareness by introducing the representation of the village buildings in those films. They thought that images of the Village in the films might affect the public's perception of Treasure Hill

Village. Then they contacted the directors who created the films, and they also cooperated with the Department of Cultural Affairs to organize an event called ‘Treasure Hill New Discovery Film Festival’, one of the activities of the 5th Taipei Arts Festival, from 23 November to 1 December 2002.³⁸² Eight movies³⁸³ and four directors who shot the movies attended the opening. In addition, four interviews were done by the organizers with these directors, including Hsiao-Hsien Hou, who has a worldwide reputation, talking about the reasons why they chose Treasure Hill to be the scenes in the films.³⁸⁴

In these films, the architectures in THV can be read in several layers. The spatial characteristics of the self-constructed buildings, such as their relatively small-scale interior, piled block combination, multiple openings and routes inside the houses or around the buildings, repeatedly appeared in the films. The features of the buildings in the village created a dramatic contrast to other buildings in the city. For example, the self-constructed buildings or the panorama of the village were usually borrowed to metaphorize the life scenes of ‘migrative mainlanders’, ‘military dependent village’, and the second generation of the mainlander soldiers.³⁸⁵ All are associated with the stories of migration and identities of diaspora of the mainlanders in Taiwan. Also, the four directors represented the life of the marginalized, muted, and lower-income class by using THV’s landscape as a metonym.³⁸⁶ The shots of the village made a strong contrast to contemporary urban life. THV, in many different ways, played a reflective mirror to the partial history of the fast-changing and the developing Taipei City after the war.

The introduction of the brochure of the Film Festival in THV by some activists says,

³⁸² Taiwan Film and Culture Association, NTUBRF, and Treasure Hill Family Cinema Club, *Brochure of ‘Treasure Hill New Discovery Film Festival’*, p. 2.

³⁸³ Including two documentaries, one of them made by a voluntary student of NTUBP, Po-Xiu Kuo.

³⁸⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 113.

³⁸⁵ The film, *South Bound Swallow*, tells a sad story about a retreated veteran and his new wife from Mainland China who live a deprived life. And another film documentaries made by Wan-Yu Lin records the hard lives in THV and the significant meaning of ‘homes’ for the disadvantaged group.

³⁸⁶ The plots in *Big Head*, *Dust of Angels*, *Goodbye South*, *Goodbye*, and *Rainy Dogs* tell stories about gangsters and criminals using buildings in THV or the village as the backdrop.

Treasure Hill Village is a microcosm of the immigrants' society in Taiwan. Through the films played in the festival, we could see not only the representation of the lives in the illegal self-helped community by the movie shots, but the strong vitality of the diverse, disadvantaged, and marginalized people in the destinies of drifting. The image of the homeland might not be beautiful but it should be unforgettable memory in the history of social development of Taiwanese society.³⁸⁷

In Taipei, a bustling city, Treasure Hill is often associated with the lonely, the marginalized, the isolated, and the silent destiny of the minority. They might be muted and quietly making a living in the city, but are forgotten by the city with an image of marginality. Playing the movie shots in the village very much increased the public exposure of Treasure Hill. It is hard to evaluate how these films influenced the film-watchers' perception of THV. Nonetheless, the films visualized and recalled the forgotten side of the village and of Taipei. For the organizers, the Film Festival was intended to create a connection between the histories of/in THV with the histories of the Taipei City³⁸⁸, discussed in Chapter 3. They unleashed the potential of THV for supplying the richness of the true past of Taipei. Playing movies related to the village seemed to be a bridge connecting the community planners, the outsiders, and the village.

³⁸⁷ Taiwan Film and Culture Association, NTUBRF, and Treasure Hill Family Cinema Club, *Brochure of Family Cinema in Treasure Hill*, p. 16.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 3.



Figure 5.8 Director Lung (the third from the left in front of the Family Cinema wall) in the Treasure Hill New Discovery Film Festival on 23 November 2002. Provided by Fang-Cheng Lin.

It is noteworthy that the students from NTUBP set up their temporary studio in an empty house and created the *Weekly Treasure Hill Newspaper* published every Wednesday, aiming to facilitate the communication and cohesion of the community.³⁸⁹ The content of the Newspaper was produced through the interaction between the students and the villagers, reporting current stories about the villagers' life. It also served as a board to announce public events for the community, such as member meetings and the announcements of the Family Cinema.³⁹⁰

These three actions worked well in two aspects. First, the actions of re-uniting the community and re-occupying the ruin enhanced community empowerment. The community seemed to realize that they needed to change their mindset and start to partake in the tasks which might affect their staying. Also, through participation, a new

³⁸⁹ Zhang, 'The Production of Taipei City and Urban Social Movements: The Cultural Strategies in the Anti-Demolishing Movements of Treasure Hill Village', p. 89.

³⁹⁰ Although researcher Li-Ben Zhang thought the community newspaper functioned well in information posting but did not seem to be effective in raising public discussion among the inhabitants, the Newspapers focusing on community provided a condensed version of documenting villagers' daily life and evidence of communication inside the village.

sense of community, where the residents re-domesticated the demolished landscape actively, came into being. Second, the continuous digging of the stories of the village and locality widened and deepened the meaning of the village. For example, these meanings of the village and the buildings were spread by public events such as the Film Festival. It not only increased transparency for wider citizens, but for the activists, such actions added more layers to the village and augmented the confidence towards a people-centered conservation which aimed to combine both the physical buildings and people's lives at the same time. Overall, these actions changed the village physically and also pushed the village to face the wider context of the city.

5.2.2 Shaping landscape with planner's tools

Besides the actions of community empowerment, the planners in OURs also focused on a master-plan in order to preserve both the physical buildings and the living community by adopting planning instruments when they were officially commissioned. The strategies focused on an integrative conservation containing the land, the buildings, and the community.

Towards conservation of the buildings

The planners intended to use the concept of 'cultural landscape' by viewing the village as evidence of social history and to keep the buildings complete by identifying them as cultural heritage.³⁹¹ After numerous negotiations between the architects and the government, the village was eventually identified as the first historic village in Taipei in 2004.³⁹² This change legitimated the buildings in the village and made the buildings protected under Cultural Heritage Preservation Law.³⁹³ It is recorded that the reason for

³⁹¹ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 1-2.

³⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 1-2.

³⁹³ Xi-Zhang Liao, 'Local Practices of Post-Museum', *Museology Quarterly*, Vol. 28, no. 1(Jan. 2014), p. 49.

being identified as cultural heritage is that the Village is a ‘self-built village by the disadvantaged post-war’.³⁹⁴

Towards conservation of the community and its living culture

As the land of the village was turned into a preservation area, the ownership of the buildings in the village was handed over to the Government. For the City Government, allowing villagers to stay onsite did not mean they could maintain their ownership of the buildings, as the government did not wish to create a precedent that legitimized the illegal constructions being turned into private property. Therefore, in the commissioned research project, the planners were assigned to set a standard that would filter who could stay in the village in order to emphasize the reasonability of public investigation.³⁹⁵ Selecting who could stay onsite was a complicated and contradictory task. It not only involved setting criteria that would filter all villagers, but revealed the issues of fairness, and the just distribution of public resources, which the City Government was concerned with the most. However, filtering villagers created an objective divergent from the original visions of the advocates.

In April 2006, the planners of OURs set their branch office in the village and started to visit every household to understand their willingness of settlement. At the end of the planning, they made criteria to evaluate the residency. They set three ways to filter the residents.³⁹⁶ First, the residents who would not receive any administrative money from the City Government but were in the official removal list announced by the government in 1993 were clarified. In other words, these were the residents who moved into the village at a relatively earlier point in time, and almost all of them were the owners or landlords of the houses in the village. The second type were the house owners who were

³⁹⁴ Bureau of Cultural Heritage, *List of Culture Heritage*, 27 May 2011, <<http://www.boch.gov.tw/boch/frontsite/cultureassets/caseBasicInfoAction.do?method=doViewCaseBasicInfo&caseId=AB10007000059&version=1&assetsClassifyId=1.3&menuId=302&siteId=101#01>> [accessed on 11 Feb 2015]. [accessed on 20 April].

³⁹⁵ Organization of Urban Re-s, *Symbiosis Art Repository: Commissioned plan of Artist-In-Resident Project in Treasure Hill History Village*, p. 8-5.

³⁹⁶ See The Standard for Evaluating the Residency in Treasure Hill Homeland, made on 21 August, 2009 by Taipei City Government. The document is provided by Jing-Fang Cai, the manager of Treasure Hill Artist Village from 2010 to 2012.

identified as socially vulnerable groups. The third type were tenants who were identified as socially vulnerable groups, but the tenants who moved into the village after the partial demolition in 2002 were not qualified to stay.³⁹⁷ The residents who qualified could move to the transitional houses built on the lawn where the military dormitories had been built to wait for the renovation to be done.³⁹⁸ However, even though they could move back to their houses, they would all become ‘tenants’, obliged to pay rents to the City Government with a 12-year contract (the sunset clause).³⁹⁹ In other words, now the buildings in the village could be seen as an alternative ‘public housing’.⁴⁰⁰

Numerous meetings and discussions between the residents, the planners, and the City Government focused on the legality of the settlement standard during the planning stage. The fundamental principle was that the residents could get compensation for their removal but had to give up their ownership of the houses, which means the land and the houses would be turned into public properties. Paradoxically, the residents who met the qualification were only 21 households who are now tenants, and all other villagers were informed they needed to move out and were therefore worried about their future.⁴⁰¹ In other words, the community would be drastically scaled down.

³⁹⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 123.

³⁹⁸ In order to keep the community network complete during the renovation period and decrease the risks of decay if the elderly moved out and lived alone, the idea of the transitional houses was proposed by the community planners in OURs. There were several advantages. First, the residents could live close to the original village and save the time and energy of moving houses. In addition, the community neighborhood could continue, and people could look after each other as before. Third, the residents could monitor how their houses were being repaired.

³⁹⁹ Interview with Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 12 Feb. 2014.

⁴⁰⁰ It was also the thinking that buildings in THV could work as public housing in the first alternative plan proposed by the activist architects. See Chapter 3.

⁴⁰¹ Before the renovation plan took place in 2007, there were about 50 households left in the village. See Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 137.

5.3 Actions towards art museum making

This section aims to illustrate how THV was engaged in art actions towards art venue making in the earlier stage of the Conservation Plan during 2003 to 2005. A significant event called *Global Artists Participation Project* (GAPP) was held in the village in October 2003, for the purpose of understanding what impacts art projects might bring into THV. It was an art experiment, working as a pilot test, but it also significantly reshaped the landscape of THV.

The project director in OURs, Dr. Ming-Jay Kang, who was a member of the Department of Architecture at Tamkang University, was commissioned by the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government to curate this event. Cooperating with *Pots Weekly*, a popular newspaper focusing on sub-culture, the GAPP team invited both domestic and international artists to conduct short-term artist-in-residence projects at Treasure Hill.⁴⁰² Kang and GAPP team used a word, ‘Artivism’, which is a portmanteau word made up of ‘art’ and ‘activism’.⁴⁰³ The intent was to draw social awareness and the energy of social movements into the conversation plan through artistic creation.⁴⁰⁴ Besides, Kang and his colleagues networked some communities with ecological concerns both in Taiwan (Nantou and Tainan) and worldwide (Berlin, Seattle, and Barcelona) to make a united community alliance with Treasure Hill Village. These efforts attempted to attract public awareness to Treasure Hill Village with similar cultural and environmental concerns worldwide.⁴⁰⁵

5.3.1 Making art from the community context

The planners in OURs wanted to know: what impacts might art projects generate? What sort of art would be suitable for the village? How should they define “suitable”?⁴⁰⁶ As

⁴⁰² Ming-Jay Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, (Taipei: The Culture Bureau of Taipei City Government: 2005), p. 9.

⁴⁰³ Co-curator Sun-Quan Huang’s article about the curatorial intent of GAPP in Sun-Quan Huang, *Art Experiments in THV*, <<http://praxis.tw/archive/gapp.php>> [accessed on 10 April, 2015].

⁴⁰⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 119.

⁴⁰⁵ Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 120.

⁴⁰⁶ National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, p. 294.

this was the first time that Conservation Plan and art experiments would take place in a grassroots village in Taiwan, the planners and the architects? were very careful about the process. The chief planner in OURs, Fang-Zheng Lin, said there were two goals of GAPP. One was to find ways to make art projects that would not interfere with the residents, and the other was to evaluate if the art projects would bring positive influences to the community.⁴⁰⁷ The GAPP project was an experiment with strong community concerns in preparation for potential coexistence in the future.

Apart from the community-driven approach, the organizers of GAPP took account of the process of art production. Co-curator Huang said, ‘We are not going to make an art festival in Treasure Hill Village. We let THV produce art’.⁴⁰⁸ The curation team preferred the art born in the community instead of parachuting it into the village. Moreover, as far as the Department of Cultural Affairs and second director Liao were concerned, they hoped that this project would acknowledge the community subjects, and artists were asked to interact with the residents equally.⁴⁰⁹ He says,

⁴⁰⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, pp. 138-139.

⁴⁰⁸ Huang, *Art Experiments in THV*, <<http://praxis.tw/archive/gapp.php>> [accessed on 10 April, 2015].

⁴⁰⁹ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 28.

Artists of course could teach the residents, for example, how to create their own voices. However, the residents could also teach the artists, a sense of everyday life that is embedded in their neighborhood, which is the significance of the preservation. This kind of intimate relationship between people seems extinct in our modern urban life. So we shall emphasize the equal relationship between artists and residents. It should not be like tourists and animals in the zoo or creators and their raw materials.⁴¹⁰

The mutual respect that Liao emphasized showed his careful attitude to art experiment and the Conservation Plan. He played a crucial role in realizing and executing the Conservation Plan. In particular, he supported the idea of keeping the residents onsite and was open to rethinking the relationship between artists and residents. He took GAPP as an experiment, both for the community and for the City Government administration.

5.3.2 Architecture reshaping by art projects in GAPP

In total, the GAPP included nine art projects and 14 artists and art groups.⁴¹¹ Almost all of them reshaped the landscape of Treasure Hill Village temporarily or permanently, physically or atmospherically, and mentally or conceptually, to differing extents. Here, I have selected three projects in order to elaborate the relationship among art, community, and space. They are: the Organic Layer Taipei by Finnish architect Marco Casagrande, environmental theaters, and Wei-Li Yen's Tea/photo Studio and Archive projects.

The Organic Layer Taipei by Marco Casagrande (from 1 to 18 October, 2003)

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴¹¹ The nine artists were Marco Casagrande(Finland), Project 108, Yoyo Yogasmana(Indonesia), Son-Sun Theater, Tai-Dong Theater, Bai-Le-Men Theater, Kenneth Haggard(USA), Yoshio Kato(Japan), Po-Shiung Lin, Jeremy Liu, Hiroko Kikuchi, Michael A. LaFond, Isona Admetlla Font, Diana Hofbauer(UFA Berlin, Germany), Jane Ingram, Assignment Theater. See Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 9.

Finnish architect and land artist Marco Casagrande's first impression of Treasure Hill was 'the attic of Taipei'.⁴¹² The attic of Taipei for him was a place where Taipei City's memory was hidden and invisible. Just as Gaston Bachelard says that the attic symbolizes the subconscious of a human being, Casagrande thinks that Treasure Hill acts as a memory database for the modern urban Taipei. He created a series of activities that followed the concept of 'the attic'.⁴¹³ First of all, on 4 October 2003, he and his teammates who were students from the Department of Architecture in Tamkang University and National Taiwan University, all wore black and cleaned up things in empty abandoned houses in the village.⁴¹⁴ They cleaned out a substantial amount of clutter, symbolizing tidying up an attic, and placed them in a green open space. Marco divided these discarded materials into reusable materials, old things, and trash. After one or two days, the old things were recollected by the residents.⁴¹⁵ The rest of the items then became materials that Casagrande later used for creation. This activity was called 'treasure hunting in the attic'.⁴¹⁶

⁴¹² Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 14.

⁴¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

⁴¹⁴ Yu-Qiong Lin, 'Art Creation and Subjectivity of Community: Art Experiments in Treasure Hill and Experience Analysis', in *Art and Public Sphere: Working in Community* (Taipei: Yuan-Liu Publishing, 2007), p. 155.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁴¹⁶ Interview with Po-Xiu Kuo, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Tainan, 13 Feb. 2014.



Figure 5.9 Finnish land artist Marco Casagrande cleaned out the clutter from the abandoned houses in the village. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo on 4 October 2003.

On the evening of 6 October 2003, an environmental performance ‘Transformation of the poet of the landscape’ was held by Casagrande. He and thirty followers dressed up in black and stood on the open space which had resulted from the partial demolition of the households near the riverbank in 2002. He firstly hid in an abandoned house and when he showed himself again, he dressed and performed like an escaping veteran. The clothes and accessories he put on were from the previous attic cleaning activity.⁴¹⁷ Other followers held a torch in hand and gradually stood on the abandoned houses near the façade and the light of the torches formed a path. (Later Casagrande and his helpers built stairs on the path to connect the higher area, the lower part of the village along the façade, and the riverbank of Wan-Shen Creek).⁴¹⁸ The torch that Casagrande held was lit by a nearly eighty-year-old resident, the head of community unit, Mrs. Chen. Her family was one of the six earliest households in the village, and she was the community

⁴¹⁷ Ming-Jay Kang, ‘Urban Planning Premise and Activist Responses in the Case of the Treasure Hill Settlement Conservation’, presented in Community Taipei, 2005: International Community Planning Forum, 2005, p. 181.

⁴¹⁸ Marco Casagrande’s blog, Casagrande Laboratory, *Organic Layer*, 2003, <<http://organiclayer.blogspot.fi>> [accessed on 11 April 2015].

leader. In the end, the torch was passed back to her to symbolize completion. Many residents were touched and said they had never seen such a spectacular performance at Treasure Hill.⁴¹⁹



Figure 5.10 The path formed by the torches held in Casagrande's followers' hands. Photo from Marco Casagrande's blog, <<http://organiclayer.blogspot.tw>> [last accessed on 13 August 2016].

After the performance, a two-week construction workshop started. With the residents' participation, Casagrande and his followers built stairs, a bamboo bridge, and platform to create a path that passed through some abandoned houses and roofs and therefore connected the higher and lower parts of the village, and the open space near the riverbank section by section. On this path, they tried to build a compost area, a civil garden for growing vegetables, and a platform under the trees for leisure in order to create a sustainable ecological system⁴²⁰ New community spaces were born and formed through the process. Interestingly, Mr. Li, a carpenter who lived in the community, seemed to echo the construction vibes in the community and built a stairway, a platform, and a garden in front of his home by himself at the same time. The self-built

⁴¹⁹ Kang, 'Urban Planning Premise and Artivist Responses in the Case of the Treasure Hill Settlement Conservation', p. 182.

⁴²⁰ Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 14.

quality was triggered by the activists.⁴²¹ However, there were some residents who thought their daily life was disturbed by these events and creation. Some visitors also criticized the motivation and said, ‘Is Treasure Hill community an extra to the creation, or the subject of the creation?’ ‘Is this art project generated from the community’s needs? Or is it the artist’s personal interpretation?’⁴²²



Figure 5.11 The stairs was built by Casagrande to connect the upper part with the lower part. Photo from Marco Casagrande’s blog, <<http://organiclayer.blogspot.tw>> [accessed on 13 August 2016].

⁴²¹ Po-Xiu Kuo, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Tainan, 13 Feb. 2014.

⁴²² Kang, ‘Urban Planning Premise and Activist Responses in the Case of the Treasure Hill Settlement Conservation’, p. 182.



Figure 5.12 The stairs built by Casagrande and his followers to create a route connecting the empty houses in the higher part of the village with the lower area near the riverbank. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo. October 2003.



Figure 5.13 A carpenter, Li, who was living in the village, built up his own garden immediately after Casagrande made the stairs. See the stairs Casagrande built behind in the left photo. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo. October 2003.

Casagrande was aware that his project would arouse public discussion, and perhaps this was one of his intentions. He attempted to connect the village with the neighboring parts of the city. The last part of his project was 'The parade of book-stops with torch'. Casagrande and his followers made mobile book-stops by scaffolding and other reused materials. The book-stops carried the dirt from Treasure Hill, native plants, albums, and old books. The artist and followers wore T-Shirts printed with 'Who cares wins', pushed the book stops, and walked with the residents to Gong-Guan area, which is considered a strong cultural area as National Taiwan University and National Taiwan Normal University are located here. They spotted many independent bookstores and coffee shops with social concerns about minor social groups in this area. The owners of these locations donated their representative books from their shops to the book stop. The parade clapped loudly back for exchange.⁴²³ This event was a manifesto for networking diverse sub-cultures in the neighborhood and symbolized that THV was seen by other groups in the neighborhood area.

After Casagrande left, the civil garden for vegetables was run by the residents continuously. Planting vegetables near the Creek was one of residents' early activities in the village. They grew, consumed, or traded the vegetables. Notably, after the demolition, when Casagrande and architect Ying-Jun Xie were working with the residents to create this vegetable garden, the residents were worried that they would be fined 18, 000 New Taiwanese Dollars, because the location of the garden was in the land zoned as the riverbank area, and therefore in a place where private actions were all forbidden.⁴²⁴ However, according to architect Xie's recalling, the residents went on asking the artists to promise that they would not be fined, and at the same time, they were craftily turning the soil and planting the seeds.⁴²⁵ The art project created a buffer zone where the boundary between spontaneous actions and illegality became vague.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 182.

⁴²⁴ Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 26.

⁴²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 27.



Figure 5.14 The stairs and the vegetable garden in the open space in the lower part of the village. The open space was a result of the partial demolition in 2002. Photo from Marco Casagrande's blog, <http://organiclayer.blogspot.tw> [accessed on 13 August 2016].

Environmental theaters around the village

During November and December 2003, four artists and theater groups performed environmental theaters at Treasure Hill. Each project had roughly a one-week residence in the village. Given such a short time, the artists had different strategies to work with the residents and had different interpretations of the landscape. Most of their performances took place within the original village landscape and houses. They used the buildings in the village either as the backdrop or to interact with the existing buildings to different extents. The purpose of the community environmental theaters was not only to create participatory art events, but also to empower the community to actively involve itself in the process of art museum making.⁴²⁶



Figure 5.15 The dancers' performances appropriated varied corners or location in the village. Photo from Ming-Jay Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, (Taipei: The Culture Bureau of Taipei City Government: 2005).

An Indonesian artist invited by Sun Son Theater, Yoyo Yogasmana, planned to do an Islamic purification ritual which came from his own cultural background, to interact with the community. He decided to do it in the 'Family Cinema Club', remodeled in 2002. He firstly washed himself in cold water in an abandoned bathtub. While performers of the artist group, Sun Son Theater, were singing in the background, Yogasmana walked out of the bath and swayed his body like waves spontaneously. Some residents were invited to strew flowers to symbolize the purification of his spirit.

⁴²⁶ Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 52.

The residents who participated showed their honor and respect by holding Yogasmana's hands warmly.⁴²⁷

After Yogasmana's performance, Sun Son Theater started a one-week workshop about drumming and mask making. Surprisingly, some veterans participated with their grandchildren every night in the week.⁴²⁸ Sometimes the artists invited the residents to dance with them to the drumming. Mask making workshops took place on the open grassland, and the masks people made were for a weekend night performance later on 7 December, 2003, organized by Sun-Son Theater. The artists used many locations and corners in the village, such as a broken window, a broken wall, and a dilapidated basement. Sun-Son Theater invited many voluntary theater workers to interpret the places in Treasure Hill through both improvisational and contextualized performances. The performance transformed the original landscape into different scenes and scenarios. The curator, Kang, describes it as,

Boundaries between the real, the unreal, and the surreal sometimes dissolved when the theatrical stages and the living environment were both de-constructed and re-constructed by each dramatic turn.⁴²⁹

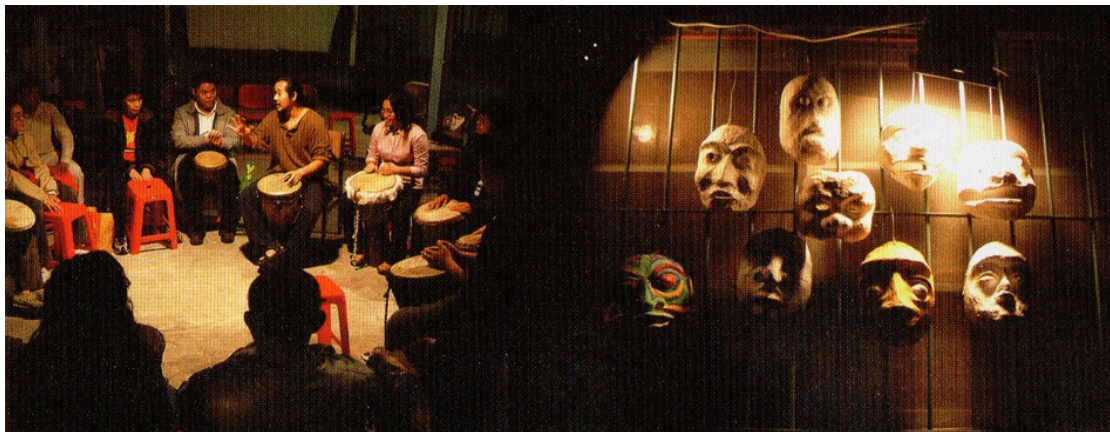


Figure 5.16 Drum and mask making workshop. Photos from Ming-Jay Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, (Taipei: The Culture Bureau of Taipei City Government: 2005).

⁴²⁷ Kang, 'Urban Planning Premise and Artivist Responses in the Case of the Treasure Hill Settlement Conservation', pp. 184-185.

⁴²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

The audiences of this event were over one hundred people, including both residents and outsiders, and some of them were even visiting Treasure Hill for the first time.⁴³⁰ Kang recorded feedbacks from the residents who shared their reflections on the community during GAPP. A veteran who watched the environmental theater said, 'If I had not joined the army in my youth, I would have strived to be an artist.'⁴³¹ Kang illuminated that his words indicated a very different aspect of the life of the veteran.⁴³² The hidden sides of the veterans were unfolded through encountering the art interventions. In addition, a woman who had been living in Treasure Hill for more than 30 years, said,

It's good to be able to come down here and watch performances, I rarely set foot in this lawn after the grocery store was gone (in partial demolition). Those old men sit under the bamboo all the time, and if it were not for the dance, I would not come down to the lawn.⁴³³

Kang points out that her feedbacks reveal that the highly-adored spatial pattern of 'a group of local senior citizens sitting under the bamboo trees chatting' (mentioned in Chapter 3) might be a romanticized description and hide 'the unquestioned power relations between male and female in the community'.⁴³⁴ These art projects seemed to create an interface for freedom that brought out the joy and the sense of 'transgression' which went beyond daily routine to the residents and broke out from the existing boundaries resulting from social relations.

Tea Photo Studio (February to April 2004)/ Archive Project (April 2004 to December 2005)

Artists Wei-Li Ye and Ho-Ran Liu started with occupying an abandoned house. They rebuilt it into a Tea Photo Studio and considered themselves new residents/intervener in

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴³² *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴³³ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 185.

the village.⁴³⁵ Their idea was to use their skills as tools to contact the residents in the village. They transformed a room into a teahouse in the front side of the house and remodeled a room in the backside of the house into a photo studio. From February to April 2004, the teahouse was used as a public sphere where artists, villagers, and visitors could chat and make tea.⁴³⁶ Through daily chatting, artists recorded the content and stories in details. Meanwhile, visitors who were willing to participate in this art project were invited to the photo studio to take their portrait photos.

In addition, in the teahouse, the artists set up a small library and photography resource gallery to exhibit the portrait photos along with other photography worldwide.⁴³⁷ Their teahouse was open to the public every day and welcomed people to chat inside and share their stories. However, during the residency project, most visitors were outsiders such as students or citizens. Only a few villagers went in.



Figure 5.17 Tea Photo Studio. Ye, wearing a hat, and two residents in their tea time. Photo taken by Po-Xiu Kuo. April 2004.

When their residency ended in April, Ye and Liu decided to stay longer. They applied to extend their residency project to the Department of Cultural Affairs. They cleaned and transformed two other houses next to the teahouse into a dark room, framing area,

⁴³⁵ Shao-Qian Zeng, 'The Spatial Story and Aesthetics Use: The Treasure Hill Tea+Photo Project', *Modern Art Journal*, Vol. 15, no. 5 (May, 2008), p. 23.

⁴³⁶ Kang (ed.), *GAPP*, p. 96.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

and their living places to start The Archive Project.⁴³⁸ His idea was to create a quasi-museum filled with the current residents and village's stories and material evidences. Also, Ye decided to move into the village. He even self-funded his project for two more years after the extension was due.⁴³⁹

In his letter to Mayor Ma, he expressed his idea and asked the City Government not to dislocate the residents in the future, he wrote:

The social fabric that makes up Treasure Hill is a rich source of inspiration, history, and sustenance for artists to draw from. The oral histories passed down through the exchanges with the residents here contextualize and deepen the experience and understanding of being in Treasure Hill. Without the voices and lives of these living residents, Treasure Hill would be but an empty shell of crudely constructed rubble.

Therefore, he kept recording stories, reorganizing data, collecting objects, and exhibiting them in the teahouse to demonstrate the layers and depth of the diverse aspects of the residents here. He exhibited these items in his studio and made the interior spaces like a 'quasi-museum', a chamber of memory, and showed the stories and objects associated with the village.⁴⁴⁰ The process of his projects was to re-contextualize the discarded objects he found into a representation of the village.

It is noteworthy that when he built his garden in an abandoned house, the owner of the house came to argue with him. In the end, he ignored the resident's disagreement and built up the garden. Some people criticized his disrespectful behavior.⁴⁴¹ Some people called it 'artist's ego'. Ye thought it was good to reuse/remodel the abandoned space, and he appreciated the quality of the garden. He took it as a neighborhood quarrel rather

⁴³⁸ Kang, 'Urban Planning Premise and Activist Responses in the Case of the Treasure Hill Settlement Conservation', p. 188.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

⁴⁴⁰ Zeng, 'The Spatial Story and Aesthetics Use: The Treasure Hill Tea+Photo Project', p. 34.

⁴⁴¹ Lin, 'Art Creation and Subjectivity of Community: Art Experiments in Treasure Hill and Experience Analysis', p. 155.

than conflicting positions between artist and resident. He considered himself a new resident.

In February 2014, when I interviewed Mr. Zhan, a resident who was the current executive director of Treasure Hill Cultural Village Organization, he recalled the teahouse project. He questioned Ye's choices of locating the teahouse. He said, 'If he would like to chat with us by making tea, why did not he come to the harbour to make tea with us?'⁴⁴² For the residents, to collect and to re-interpret the abandoned objects might not be assimilated into villagers' daily routine, which means Ye did not really become a part of social network in the current village although he immersed himself in the context. Nonetheless, Ye's project was successfully exhibited in Taipei Art Museum in 2006. Ye's relatively passive approach of remaking the empty construction into a quasi-museum did not seem to be fully understood by the residents. The role and position of the artists were temporary spatial users, and they were not able to involve themselves in the social relations embedded in the community.



Figure 5.18 An event in the room of the Archive Project. Photo taken by Fu-Zhang Cai. April 2004.

⁴⁴² Zhi-Xiong Zhan, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 18 Feb. 2014. He is a second generation resident and the current head of community culture organization since 2014.

5.3.3 Redefining and remaking spaces in the village

| | The relationship with the community and villagers | Architecture and Space implication | Referring to Jonathan Hill's five creative uses |
|---|--|--|---|
| a. The Organic Layer Taipei by Marco Casagrande | <i>Actively involves the residents to join in a short-term performance base.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Creating space by self-making.</i> 2. <i>Re-defining the landscape of the village.</i> 3. <i>Connecting THV with wider city context.</i> | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Physical</i> 2. <i>Bodily/ conceptual</i> 3. <i>Mental/bodily</i> |

| | | | |
|--|--|--|--|
| b. Environmental theaters | <i>Actively involves the residents in the workshop-based activities.</i> | <i>1. Freely appropriated the spaces in the village.</i> <i>2. Re-meaning the space by performances.</i> <i>3. Unfolding the hidden side of some veterans.</i> | <i>Mental, Bodily, Conceptual.</i> |
| c. Tea Photo Studio/Archive Project by Wei-Li Ye | <i>Relatively passive</i> | <i>1. Remaking the buildings and re-meaning by exhibiting objects/portraits related to the village.</i> | <i>Physical, Constructivist, Mental.</i> |

Diverse art projects during GAPP made THV a cultural venue opened for the public for the first time. Referring to Jonathan Hill's five types of creative users, the three art projects seemed to enable certain creative uses of shaping the architecture in mental, bodily, physical, constructional, and conceptual ways. First, in Casagrande's project, the newly built path altered the spatial structure and created new circulation and social spaces (vegetable garden and a new film cinema) along with the path. The stairs which they built connected the upper part and the lower part of the village created a new circulation of the village. A new way of experiencing the landscape came into being. In addition, connecting with other stores in Gong-Guan area conceptually linked THV and its surrounding area, and it symbolically involved the wider city and the public.

Besides, through the environmental theaters and the artists who occupied space in the village THV was introduced to visitors and participating residents by using the characteristics of the village landscape. In particular, in Yoko's performance art,

although the Islamic ritual was irrelevant to the context of THV, its enthusiasm to interact with the residents got spread out around the ‘place’ where it happened, which creates a unique memory of cultural exchange and alternative uses in the location of the village. The place he used for performance became more than a location for the Family Cinema Club every Wednesday; it was also a stage for the public to approach art. Inspired by the local context, the art projects in GAPP interpreted the village in ways different from what residents were used to and added more layers of meaning onto the village. Through the environmental theaters, the village was re-defined and remade conceptually for the participants.

Ye’s projects offered a different reflection on the village. Although the interpretation in his works might be subjective and egoistical, he aimed to convey an important message to a wider audience with his Archive Project, a quasi-museum. In this museum space, he exhibited the stories related to village, abandoned objects collected in the village, and photo portraits of the villagers. Although only a few residents partook in it, he tried to remind people not to forget the original initiatives of the Conservation Plan by creating an archive-like exhibition to place attention upon the onsite residents and their lives. Interestingly, till 2014, THAV had been officially open for four years, and there was still no formal archive room established by the art institutions. However, Ye’s works were criticized as being isolated and did not inspire other residents to participate.

On the other hand, the residents were not just passively receiving the impacts of the art. Although the residents seemed to play an assisting role when they participated in art projects, some residents, such as the carpenter Li (his garden and stairs) and Xu (her photographic mosaic, see Figure 5.19) created their own interpretation of their homes. The creation of the locals challenged the interpretation of the village and the question of ‘*what is suitable art for the village?*’⁴⁴³ Moreover, through the residents’ participation in art projects, the artistic skills of some residents’ appeared, which was hidden in the previous investigations. The mutual interaction opened a new dimension of the

⁴⁴³ Community Planner, Fang-Zheng Lin’s question. See National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, p. 295.

residents, and they started to realize that they might be capable of mediating themselves in the occurring Conservation Plan.



Figure 5.19 Treasure Hill people image mosaic by a resident, Mina Xu. Photo taken by Fu-Zhang Cai in June 2004.

5.4 Treasure Hill Commune' s occupation

Although the criteria/standard for selecting who could stay in THV attempted to take social justice and fairness on public expenses into account, some residents, mostly tenants, had different opinions. They thought in fact the settlement plan was there to wipe out the community in a disguised form, which only benefited the residents who were landlords. The settlement plan triggered disagreement and conflicts among the residents. In 2006, in the second half of one community meeting, the residents who were landlords requested their tenant residents to leave the meeting, which created the fear present in many tenants in the village since then.⁴⁴⁴ The landlords, since they were the chosen ones, wanted only a small number of people to stay so that the government wouldn't think they needed to invest much and would make the settlement and the renovation plan happen.⁴⁴⁵

The exposed tension between the tenants and the landlords in the village generated emotional disquiet. On 21 October 2006, because three artists were not inclined to move out after their residency contracts expired, OURs charged Offenses of Criminal Conversion upon artists Guo-Min Li, Zhong-Wei Wu, Jie-Jay Yang.⁴⁴⁶ Later eight students and artists who had been living in the village occupied some empty houses and criticized the settlement plan. They called themselves 'Treasure Hill Commune' and appealed for a halt.⁴⁴⁷ Their claim was to preserve the village in its original state, before massive public intervention. They protested against possible 'elitism' or 'gentrification' of the village landscape.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁴ Po-Xiu Kuo, 'Straddling Between Attachment and Disembeddedness: A Research on Place-Identity in Bao-Zang-Yen Village', pp. 93-97.

⁴⁴⁵ From the interview with Po-Xiu Kuo. She was the student of GIBP and had been documenting and participating in the events in the village since 2000.

⁴⁴⁶ Coolloud Public Forum, *Cutting the supply of water and electricity in Treasure Hill Village*, 22 Dec 2006, <<http://www.coolloud.org.tw/node/216>> [accessed on 26 April 2015].

⁴⁴⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 41.

⁴⁴⁸ Treasure Hill Commune, *Log Book*, 4 June 2007, <http://blog.yam.com/treasure_hill> [accessed on 10 December 2012].



Figure 5.20 The Commune members occupied empty houses and made their arguments on signs (“Guarding our ownership” on the red banners in the right photo) and walls in the village. Photos from *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, Taipei Archive. December 2003.

One of the members of Treasure Hill Commune, Yi-Cheng Liu, who was once a PhD student in NTUBP participating in the movements against the demolition in 2002, questioned the standard of settlement. He thought the village was consisted of many other kinds of vulnerable groups besides the elderly, economically impoverished, and the disabled, but the settlement plan was only applicable for some identities/status of the residents.⁴⁴⁹ They argued for a more inclusive mechanism for filtering the residents.

The members of Treasure Hill Commune occupied several houses and the surrounding area in the upper side of the village as their base and painted their arguments on the walls. However, they thought that the Government was just using the seemingly fair settlement plan to wipe out the villagers step by step. As a result, some residents became suspicious about the true intention of the City Government. At this time, many rumors about settlement plan were flying around and the community seemed restless.⁴⁵⁰

However, although most of the qualified residents were not satisfied with the 12-year

⁴⁴⁹ Public Television Service, *Our Island*, 19 Jan. 2007, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tXmmB7ERLPU&list=PL45DCD9FC500F5F45>> [accessed on 15 January 2014].

⁴⁵⁰ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 41.

contract,⁴⁵¹ Treasure Hill Commune did not obtain support from most of the residents. On 12 December 2006, 17 residents signed a petition to oppose the Commune's argument. The community planner, Fang-Zheng Lin, thought the radical movement of the Commune 'was not at the right time', as the Conservation Plan had officially been in process since 2003.⁴⁵² In December 2006, the City Government reacted by cutting off the supply of water and electricity of the occupied units. The members were ejected forcibly by the police officers that were four times more than the artists in number.⁴⁵³

The occupation of Treasure Hill Commune symbolized the last struggle to strive for preserving the village in an 'original' way, and seemed to voice for the most silent space users—tenants—in the village. Members of the Commune directly questioned the future of the village and the position of the community planners. To some extent, their arguments sounded idealistic in terms of keeping the integrity of the village. However, their criticism that the community planners had lost their radical beliefs by gradually compromising with the City Government revealed the fear and disappointment that resulted from the increasing institutionalization of THV by the authorities. Since the Conservation Plan started, the village seemed to become progressively publicized.

During the protest, the protestors built up their living environment, interiors, and barriers to prevent any officials from entering into their base. These traces and scrawls of the movements were partially kept in the later renovation. These marks symbolized how short-term users expressed their vision about THV. Nevertheless, the inexperienced ideal vision of anarchy that expected the change of the social system did not seem not to bring constructive suggestions or trigger any further discussion, even after the Treasure Hill Artist Village opened in 2010.

⁴⁵¹ See the report in Public Television Service, *Our Island*, 19 Jan. 2007, <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tXmmB7ERLPU&list=PL45DCD9FC500F5F45>> [accessed on 15 January 2014].

⁴⁵² Conversation with Fang-Zheng Lin in May 2013 and also see Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 140.

⁴⁵³ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 42.



Figure 5.21 The graffiti and scrawls were kept in the later renovation period. Photos from *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, Taipei Archive, December 2003.

5.5 Architects' experimentation on renovation of the self-built

After Treasure Hill Commune ended, the renovation plan returned to its original track and was about to start. The renovation of Treasure Hill Village was a challenging case as multiple objectives of the Conservation Plan were expected to be realized in this self-built village. It was not only facing an integrated conservation which aimed to preserve the landscape and the community at the same time but also being transformed from self-constructed buildings into an art venue. Moreover, due to the constraints of the City Government's budget, there was no architect or contract constructor willing to tender for the renovation plan.⁴⁵⁴ After several months of suspension, the City Government eventually invited and persuaded architect Ke-Qiang Liu to take part in this bid as he had participated in the previous movements and actions.

5.5.1 The social and community concerns

The commissioned architect Liu was very careful about the social aspects of the renovation plan. He and his colleagues attempted to keep the sense of place with the community life and to prevent the final appearances of the renovated houses from being middle-class taste, or possible gentrification.⁴⁵⁵ Four significant strategies and decisions made by the architecture team were developed to achieve their vision.

Cooperating with the planners to ensure the preservation of THV and the land by changing the zoning in the Urban Plan

⁴⁵⁴ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 12 Feb. 2014. He is a senior planner and designer working for architect Liu and National Taiwan University Building and Planning research Foundation.

⁴⁵⁵ National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, p. 295.

寶藏巖共生聚落全區規劃構想 The plan of Treasure Hill Symbiosis Village 24 April 2008



Figure 5.22 The planned zoning of the Treasure Hill Artist Village. Original image provided by Fu-Chang Cai and modified by the author.

First of all, according to the previous planning which ended in 2005, the community planners suggested a symbiotic village which contained three main uses—Treasure Hill Homeland, international artist village, and a youth backpacker hostel. In order to legitimize the planning, the community planners and architects aimed to push forward the zoning change in the Urban Plan. In 2006, community planners obtained the support of the Urban Planning Committee of the City Government to change the zoning of the surrounding area of Treasure Hill Temple in order to build transitional houses on the green lawn. (It was for settling those who qualified as residents onsite during the renovation. See point 3) Furthermore, in 2007, after the residents moved into the transitional houses, the architects continued to change the zoning of the other part of the Treasure Hill from park use to a ‘historic village’, which provided the legality of the renovation and residence in the historic village.⁴⁵⁶ These efforts were aimed to build an

⁴⁵⁶ Fang-Zheng Lin, ‘The Overview of the Conservation of Treasure Hill Informal Village’, National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, p. 297.

example that infrastructure construction in municipal services could be used to enhance the social welfare of the disadvantaged by adjusting the Urban Plan.

Careful developmental phases of the renovation

Secondly, a Principle of Renovating Buildings in the Treasure Hill Historic Village, based on the research of the previous planning project⁴⁵⁷, had been made by the architects and the City Government to stipulate the expected results of the renovation.⁴⁵⁸ This principle consisted of four major parts— the preservation of village features, the preservation of public space in the village, the conservation of the buildings, and the renovation tectonic.⁴⁵⁹ These principles emphasized retaining the spirits of the ‘self-built’ and making the renovation as an *open-end construction* system, which anticipated future repairs made by the residents themselves.⁴⁶⁰ The architecture team investigated every building in the village and analyzed all the self-helped constructive ways of the buildings. Through the research, they intended to choose the same or similar materials/methods observed from each target building for conducting the renovation, unless the materials or construction methods were not guaranteed to be safe.⁴⁶¹ (See Figure 5.24) Likewise, the architects kept the floor plan of each building as identical as possible to its original arrangement unless it needed improvement for its physical environment or disaster prevention. Also, some new windows and back doors were set, and some collapsed houses were removed to create appropriate open spaces for the sake of disaster prevention.⁴⁶² In total, nine open spaces, distributed over the village, were made for this purpose.

⁴⁵⁷ Community planners did the research and planning project of the symbiosis between art and community. See Section 4.1.

⁴⁵⁸ The Culture Bureau of Taipei City Government. *Renovation principles of preserving the landscape of Treasure Hill Historic Village*, 2007, p. 1.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴⁶⁰ National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation, *Strategic Collaboration: The 20th Anniversary Publication of National Taiwan University Building and Planning Foundation*, p. 300. and also from the interview with Fu-Chang Cai.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 300.

⁴⁶² Archives of architectural drawing of the renovation of Treasure Hill Village stored in National Taiwan University Building and Planning Research Foundation.

The renovation plan of Treasure Hill during 2007 and 2010 experienced numerous twists and turns, as renovating the ‘self-built’ was an uneasy task with tremendous details to take care of⁴⁶³, comparing to common construction work. Therefore, the architects planned four main phases for restoring the area step by step, but only the first three stages were conducted in the end because of the limited budget.⁴⁶⁴ In the first stage, the main goal was to build up transitional houses onsite, to settle the qualified residents in these and to relocate other residents who were not able to stay in other parts of the city. Moreover, the architects intended to repair a building as a renovation example (No.3 Alley 16, Lane 236, see Figure 5.24). In the second phase, the most difficult mission was to process the environmental infrastructure to ensure the safety of the whole village. Then in the third phase, the goal was to construct and to remodel the other 108 buildings in turn in the village.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶³ For example, on the detailed plans of each buildings made by architects, there appear sentences such as ‘construction should be carefully conducted in order to avoid damaging the adjacent buildings as these buildings were tightly connected to each other.’ See the detailed plan provided by planners in NTUBPRF, Fu-Chang Cai.

⁴⁶⁴ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 12 Feb. 2014.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

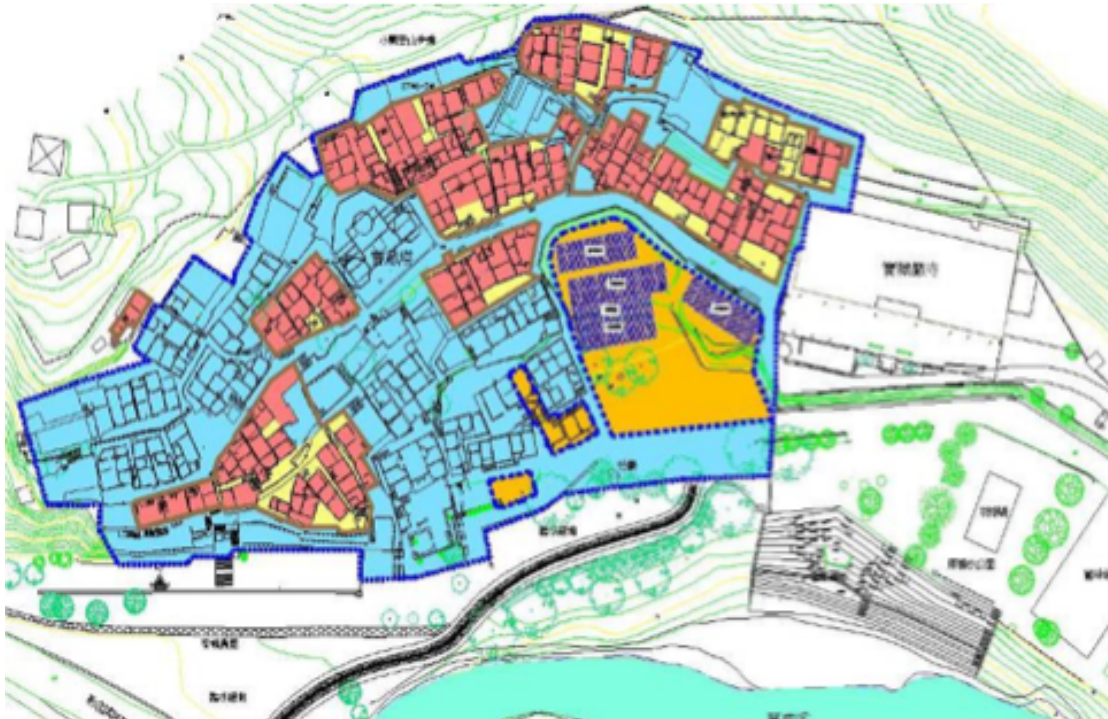


Figure 5.23 Three phases of the renovation. The 1st phase is the orange area. Building transitional houses (five blocks in purple) was the main task. The 2nd phase was to conduct civil engineering of the whole village (light blue area). The 3rd phase was to renovate the other 108 buildings step by step (red area). The drawing was provided by Fu-Chang Cai.

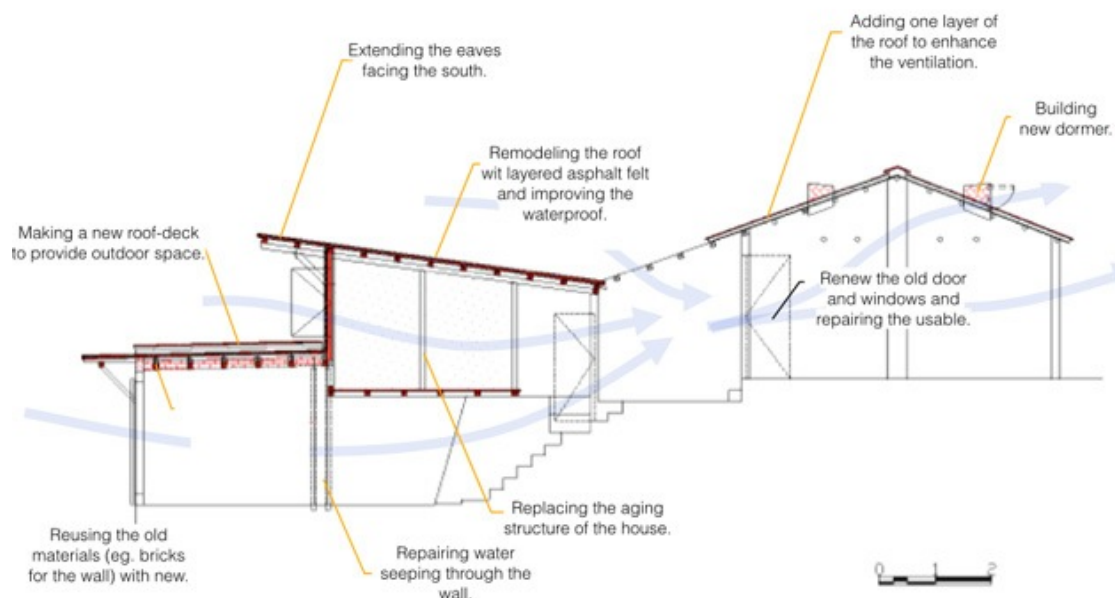


Figure 5.24 The major remodeling of No.3 Alley 16, Lane 236 in the 1st phase of the renovation. The drawing was provided by Fu-Chang Cai and modified by the author.

Onsite community settlement during the renovation

Thirdly, the reason for building the transitional houses in the first stage of the renovation was to keep the community network onsite. The transitional houses provided varied floor plans for different needs, such as single veterans, couples, and family households.⁴⁶⁶ Every room had its own bathroom, and a common kitchen was designed for maintaining social contacts. Architect Liu was hoping that residents in transitional houses could monitor, supervise, and even participate in the renovation of their houses and reproduce the behaviors and spirit of the self-build philosophy. Unfortunately it did not work as he expected as the contractors of the construction worked another way.⁴⁶⁷ Moreover, in order to solve the problem of the residents' property storage during the repairing, every household would leave their furniture and properties in a specific room of their house except for the things they would use in the transitional houses.⁴⁶⁸ So the residents could be close to their houses to take care of their belongings and properties. All of these were to maintain the relationship between the residents and the place, and also the community network between the residents.

⁴⁶⁶ There were 20 household qualified to stay onsite after the renovation. The transitional houses were for them to stay, so they did not have to move out separately when the renovation took place. The document provided by Fang-Zheng Lin.

⁴⁶⁷ Conversation with Ke-Qiang Liu, 15 Feb 2014. Also see Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 111.

⁴⁶⁸ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author.



Figure 5.25 Transitional Houses. Photo provided by Fu-Chang Cai. August 2007.

Participation of future staff of the art institution

The future museum director and personnel of the art institution, Treasure Hill Artist Village, also participated in the planning and renovation stage. When THAV was officially opened in 2010, the first assigned director Ms. Yao-Hua Su, had been involved in the projects from 2006 to 2010 to advise on the spatial needs of the artist village.⁴⁶⁹ At the larger scale of planning, in order to prevent the disturbances of the different uses among the art institution, artists, travelers in hostels, and residents, architects and the future staff decided to zone the village into three main areas (See Figure 5.26), which means all residents would live closely in two selected areas of the village.⁴⁷⁰ Moreover, Su and her colleagues thought about the uses of future art venues

⁴⁶⁹ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 148.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 110. This decision led to the result that some residents would move into other houses that were not their original homes.

and the conceivable circulation. They considered making the above-mentioned nine squares used in disaster prevention into outdoor performance stages and named these locations for art uses.⁴⁷¹ In terms of interior use, they selected suitable buildings and spaces for future administration and indoor exhibition spaces.⁴⁷²

In terms of conserving the cultural landscape, Su and the architect decided to preserve various traces in the village created at different periods of time. For example, they kept the graffiti made in the past movements, such as Treasure Hill Commune Protests that witnessed the stories happening in the village. The architecture team called the idea ‘organic historic mosaic’.⁴⁷³ Su tried to play a role of bridging the renovation, the memory of the village, with aesthetic concerns to create a sense of a symbiotic village.⁴⁷⁴ In addition, she often visited the construction site to talk with the residents in the transitional houses in order to establish a friendly relationship.⁴⁷⁵



Figure 5.26 Masterplan of THAV. The site is divided into 3 parts. The pink area is Treasure Hill Homeland, the blue is used for the international art residency, and the yellow area is going to be used as hostels for income generation. Provided by THAV.

⁴⁷¹ Conversation with Fang-Zheng Lin, May 2013.

⁴⁷² However, the expectation of the art institution sometimes countered the architect’s principles. For example, they selected a building which was divided into nearly thirty rooms, and transformed it into a rehearsal room for Assignment Theater, one of the first batch of residential artists. The interior walls were therefore torn down irreversibly to get wider indoor space for dancing and performances.

⁴⁷³ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author.

⁴⁷⁴ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 148.

⁴⁷⁵ Yao-Hua Su, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 31 July 2014.

5.5.2 Challenges on renovating the self-built

Self-constructed buildings in many ways cannot satisfy modern architectural regulations. From the perspective of the City Government, security, safety, and avoiding public risk were its major concerns. Therefore, the infrastructure engineering such as ground engineering, fire security, and the slope stabilization of the hill became the most important but difficult parts and cost the main part of the budget.⁴⁷⁶ In terms of architecture, Liu was keen to create a mechanism of involving residents to keep the spirit of the self-built and expected that the renovation could satisfy both the modern regulations and the characteristics of the self-builders.

However, how could contemporary construction work together with the conservation of self-built qualities originating from the time of scarce resource supplies? The architecture team found out that many self-built houses were not compliant to modern architectural regulations. For example, the width of the lane/route for fire prevention between buildings in the village was too narrow.⁴⁷⁷ Furthermore, the renovation of every building should meet the regulations of modern civil engineering and architecture regulations managed by other departments in the City Government such as Sewerage systems offices.⁴⁷⁸ This required a lot of communication efforts. In addition, the commissioner of the renovation project, the Department of Cultural Affairs, was lacking in experience in terms of the engineering, and therefore, had not been able to convince related departments to cooperate and to fulfill the architects' design decisions.⁴⁷⁹ Architect Liu ended up signing several guarantee letters himself to pledge a few non-mainstream construction methods during the renovation.⁴⁸⁰ The unprecedented renovation process resulted in numerous requests of design change from architects and repeated design reviews.⁴⁸¹ It was a time and money consuming process.

Also, the total budget for the renovation plan was only 120 million NTD. Most of the

⁴⁷⁶ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ Conversation with Ke-Qiang Liu. Also see the interview of Chu-Joe Hsia in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 99.

⁴⁸⁰ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author.

⁴⁸¹ Fu-Chang Cai, interviewed by the author.

expenses were spent on the infrastructure, such as basic measurements, ground construction, building construction, and supervision.⁴⁸² In the end, the architects paid from their own pocket.⁴⁸³ Nevertheless, the commissioned constructor did not repair all of the houses with care. For instance, the workers cleaned away all residents' properties stored in the assigned room in each household without any notification. Moreover, some households complained about the poor quality of construction, such as clogged drain pipes, the stairs hitting the wall when going downstairs, and wrong location of lamp switches, etc.⁴⁸⁴ The lackadaisical renovation process caused quarrels among the builders, the architects, and even the later staff of THAV. In 2010, the residents gradually moved out of the transitional houses to newly renovated houses in the village. The undesirable quality of the repairs of course upset most of the residents, and the most dramatic change was that now, the residents could not even repair their houses by themselves as they had become tenants of the City Government.⁴⁸⁵ After THV was turned into a historic village, any repairing of the houses had to comply with the Enforcement Rules of the Government Procurement Act, which needed municipal permission with loads of administration work and long waiting times.⁴⁸⁶ It not only caused inconvenience for the residents but also the essential spirit of this historic village—self-help—could not last because of the confined regulations.

The second director of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Mr. Liao, thought the result of the renovation was too 'neat', and therefore the original sense of place disappeared.⁴⁸⁷ However, this kind of renovation needs delicate work in both the design and the construction, and yet careful cooperation and communication between the departments in the City Government, the architect, and the constructors did not seem to happen perfectly. The advocate of the Conservation Plan and the curator of GAPP,

⁴⁸² *Ibid.*

⁴⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁴ Jia-An Lin, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 17 Novemer 2014. She was a staff member of Good Morning Culture, a commissioned party which facilitated the communication between residents and Treasure Hill Artist Village from 2012 to January 2015.

⁴⁸⁵ However, some families still spent extra money to restore their 'new' houses again in private, while some residents were not willing to fix the houses by themselves as they thought they were tenants and, therefore, city government should be responsible for paying for the damage.

⁴⁸⁶ From the interview with Zhi-Xiong Zhan, a staying resident and the current head of community culture organization since 2014.

⁴⁸⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 40.

Kang, points out that the constraints as well as challenges of the renovation of the Treasure Hill amounted to the following question: ‘how is it possible to remake self-helped buildings?’⁴⁸⁸ The informal and self-governing qualities can hardly be reproduced by planning and design. In the end, there was a gap between the renovation results and the original intents.

Many endeavors had been made in many stages of the renovation plan, such as planning, preparation, designing, and construction. The self-built village grew in a piecemeal way, but the renovation plan of a historic village was supposed to be accomplished all at once according to the present government system. Christopher Alexander proposed two distinct systems of building, ‘formal and informal systems’ through the architectural experiments in his lifetime. The informal system, that works closely with space users and allows the architecture to evolve along with users’ needs, contradicts the contemporary construction system.⁴⁸⁹ However, taking the renovation of THV as an example, the City Government purchase method does not support separate piecemeal execution. The architect’s vision and social concerns in the process of renovation seemed to be counteracted due to the all-at-once construction, and the constructors were not in the same context as the self-builders, and therefore the intimate connection between buildings and its makers and space users was not possible to replicate.



Figure 5.27 Before/after comparison of the renovation. Photos provided from THAV.

⁴⁸⁸ Interview with Ming-Jay Kang in Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 125.

⁴⁸⁹ See Christopher Alexander et al. *The Battle for the Life and Beauty of the Earth: A Struggle Between Two World-Systems*, pp. 43-63.

5.6 Analysis and conclusion

*'Unlike traditional heritage management and museum work, the principles of ecomuseology ensure that people have fuller access, control and sense of ownership of the heritage resources that are retained in their original contexts thereby giving colour and texture to 'spirit of place'.*⁴⁹⁰

By Gerard E. Corsane, Peter S. Davis, Stephanie K. Hawke and Michelle L. Stefenio.

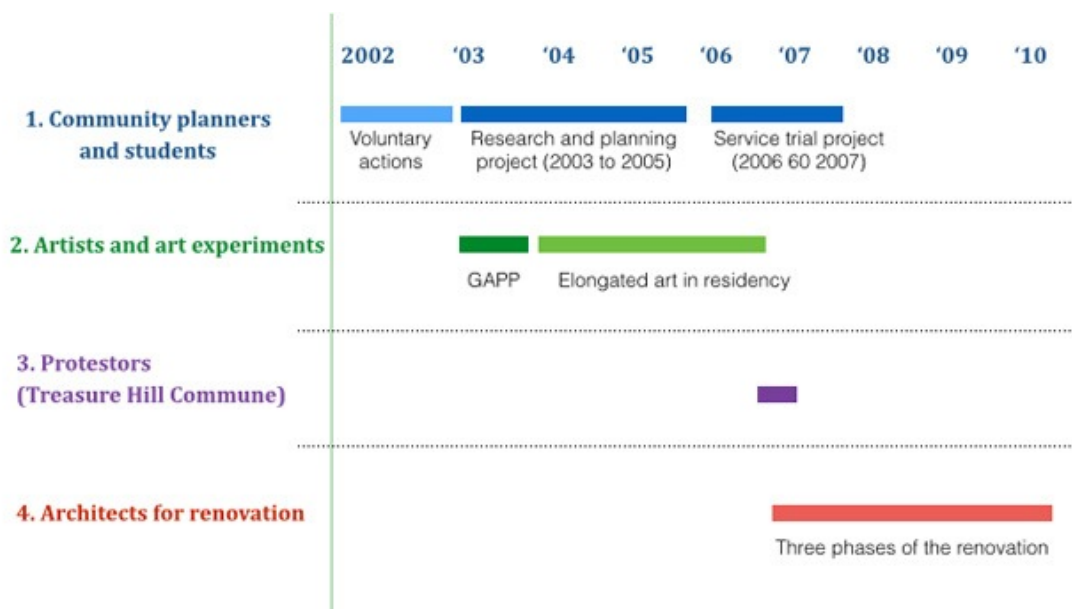


Figure 5.28 A diagram shows the different interventions from varied parties from 2002 to 2010. Made by the author.

This chapter has reviewed how different social parties intervened in the making of THV under the structure of the eco-museum-like Conservation Plan. The Conservation Plan of THV demonstrates two different aspects. First, unlike most eco-museum practices that have specific living heritage to preserve, whether tangible or intangible, the cultural value of conserving THV is still being debated and it is difficult to achieve a common consensus, as the focus of the conservation is placed on preserving the relationship

⁴⁹⁰ Gerard E. Corsane et al. 'Ecomuseology: a holistic and integrated model for safeguarding 'spirit of place' in the North East of England'. In: 16th ICOMOS General Assembly and International Symposium: 'Finding the spirit of place – between the tangible and the intangible', 29 Sept – 4 Oct 2008, Quebec, Canada.

between the residents, their self-built homes, and the right of inhabitation. Second, the community, which eco-museum practices prioritize the most, seemed marginalized in the process of making. The residents in THV, perhaps under long-term stigmatization as members of a slum area and because of the aging of the first generation residents, tended not to express themselves publicly. Thus, the community empowerment at this stage, that community planners, curators of GAPP, and architects had facilitated, focused more on supporting the residents to voice and to act in the space of the village.

In summary, I suggest that from 2003 to 2010, the Conservation Plan in THV was not yet a typical eco-museum as the community was not active enough as it would need to be an eco-museum. Instead, it demonstrated two inclinations: preserving the temporariness and the difficulties in authentic representation, and it reached conclusion of a social experiment on temporary conservation. They all characterized this unique case of museum making towards the production of a social architecture covering different uses.

Preserving the temporariness

First, preserving the temporariness is associated with the discussion about the representation of cultural conservation, such as authenticity, which is commonly debated in cultural conservation and the history business. In THV, the museum making in regard to the preservation of the intangible community culture has played a key role that has been realized in a non-physical way. Since 2003, the community planners had been devoting themselves voluntarily/professionally to community empowerment (See Figure 5.28). They endeavored to preserve the social and cultural context of THV as they realized that the residents are the sources of the culture in the village. Thus, to strive for a statutory position was their main goal, out of their mistrust in the promises of the authority. Moreover, they aimed to build a cohesive community and co-designed/transformed the open space into a daily living space with the residents. Through their participatory actions, an integrated conservation of the community culture and the making of living space was their primary strategy. Nevertheless, this intangibility of community culture is still undiscussed and questionable in this case. Whose culture does the community culture refer to? What are specific cultural values and cultural heritage identified to preserve? When the official Conservation Plan

started, and when the village was gradually made public, the public investment attracted increasing scrutiny, and therefore the fairness and justice of public resource distribution became the main issue. As a consequence, only 21 households could stay onsite.⁴⁹¹ The community culture either qualitatively or quantitatively was no longer the same to the past. To a large extent, these remaining residents were selected to represent the initial objective of the conservation.

Under such circumstances, what stories do the conserved THV spaces aim to tell or to convey via their status as cultural heritage? Is it the stories of the 21 staying households, or a village that represents the creation of self-builders, or an emerging public art venue in Taipei, symbolizing a spirit of makers in the contemporary age, or all of the above? Is it still the place where the activists intended to create alternative social housing by cultural conservation? All of the above seem to be left debated still and un-answered in a clear manner.

Later, the artists in GAPP in 2003 indicated slightly different ways of making, either in architecture or in the meaning making of the village. Casagrande tried to integrate space users' needs with his conceptual approaches by creating unexpected spatial experiences in the village. He stirred the community and also worked with the residents and even with the people outside of the village in his own way. Unlike the community planners who concerned themselves with the residents' daily routines, he created events to provoke discussion, responses, and interaction. The meaning of the village was therefore produced and added to, because his actions took the village out of its repetitive scenarios and created a short-term wonder for the insiders and outsiders. Moreover, the environment theaters and performance artists had similar impacts but created a distinct meaning. They used varied spaces and locations in the village creatively. The artists performed their bodies in the space, re-defining and making new meaning of 'the places' by using space in various ways. For example, Ye's approaches aimed to re-narrate the village. He considered himself a new villager and made a tea/photo room and the quasi-museum room by collecting and re-interpreting the daily everyday objects found in the village. These actions could be seen as an exploration of

⁴⁹¹ 21 households is about 1/10 of the number in the village when most households and people lived there from 1980 to 1990.

the village where art unveils or re-makes extra meanings of the village, but the whole art experiment was also a trial, which envisioned future uses by recreating the locality out of the village context rather than directly specifying the cultural values.

Also, the protestors of Treasure Hill Commune voiced their vision of ‘going back to community autonomy’ by occupying a number of buildings and domesticating themselves in THV. However, their actions on the buildings contradicted the residents (especially owners) as well as the occurring conservation/ renovation plan, and eventually they failed to influence the renovation plan. Their protests attracted public attention and worked as a reflection of reminding people of what THV had been going through. In spite of their only short-term occupation, their graffiti and arguments were kept, symbolizing the meaning of contestation. However, the conflicts about the making of the village are a reminder again that the value of the conservation and the Conservation Plan had not come cross and been fully accepted in consensus yet.

The difficulties on the authentic representation

The idea of authenticity of the self-built architecture did not seem applicable to this case because the renovation of the buildings did not focus on ‘representing the authentic’ like most cultural preservation cases do. The reasons are twofold: the lost practices of the self-built and the contemporary construction in the current bid system.

First, the lost practice of the self-built refers to the changes of the context. The architects followed the previous work of the community planners, and their making was aimed at maintaining the relationships and emotional attachment between the residents and their homes. They spent time interacting with the residents and attempted to find a mechanism that could continue the spirit of the self-built landscape by using similar materials, handicraft techniques. For instance, by changing the zoning of the land of THV in the Urban Plan and developing strategies to maintain the community social network onsite, the architects attempted to overcome the routine bureaucratic practices of the municipal governance. They took risks by applying unconventional methods of construction and hoped to remain the spirit of the self-built. However, the early self-builders were either aging or relocating to other places, and the culture of self-building

no longer exists. So architects and planners strove to work with the community in the realm of daily life.

Second, the contemporary construction in the current bid system refers to the changes of the 'habitus' of making architecture. Juhani Pallasmaa uses a combination of 'instrumental knowledge and existential knowledge' to elaborate how a wise and mature architect would work with his/her entire body and sense of self.⁴⁹² However, in THV, this quality of simultaneous engagement is difficult to perceive in the bid-driven contract construction of the public sector. Not because the workers in the renovation plan might use more modern tools and skills, but because the bodily status of the workers were not in tune with the residents, and they just operated based on their instrumental knowledge. From the quarrels after the renovation described in section 5.5, we could see that the contractors in the renovation seemed to take the project only as an unconventional and difficult 'work', compared to other commissions they worked for. As a result, the informal self-built qualities got covered and replaced by the formal construction, and the institutionalization took priority over community autonomy. Although the spatial scale and proportion are kept, the renovated buildings now became lifeless representations of the evidence of the early inhabitation.

Through the process of looking for a balance between the formal (the contemporary) and the informal (self-built) construction systems, each of these social actors responded to the proposition of the Conservation Plan with their own intentions and strategies. I would argue that each action seems to claim its value of conservation of THAV either implicitly or explicitly by preserving the characteristic of the temporariness of the self-built village made in a specific social/cultural context. Also, in order to conserve the site and the space users at the same time, all efforts and investments were distributed to preserve not only the physical creation but also the community coherence and empowerment. However, there is a disconnection between the conservation of the social and the preservation of the materiality of the self-built buildings, actions of self-building, and spirit of self-helpers, which had exercised only in the certain periods of the past. The difficulty of preserving the changing nature of the temporalities embedded within the self-built architecture leads to the dilemma and ambiguity of authenticity.

⁴⁹² Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Thinking Hand*, p. 119.

Conclusion: a social experiment on temporary conservation

Following the above, the actual museum making process in THAV started from a vision of eco-museums shaped by the governor, but until 2010, it was not, at least not matured, to be an eco-museum due to the passive role of the local. The design actions by spatial professionals and experts still dominated the whole making. I provisionally see the Conservation Plan as temporary form of conservation without any long-term plans of sustainable management. Two aspects are worthy of looking into. First, the contract between the City Government and the staying residents is only a 12-year one (the sunset clause), which shows an impermanent attitude and that the City Government might not promise a longer perspectives of both for Treasure Hill Homeland and the conservation of the cultural landscape of THAV. This sunset clause of community settlement seems to target the first-generation residents, who are on average around seventy to eighty years old. It is highly suspected that the conservation plan might end when these people fade away. Second, the careless construction in the renovation of the buildings has worsened the problem. The process of renovation demonstrated a lack of experience, not only amongst the contractors but also in the administration and cooperation in the City Government. Moreover, the disappointing quality of the construction of renovation failed to meet the residents' expectations, and the poorly functioning renovated houses further undermined the objectives of the Conservation Plan—an integrated conservation of the buildings and the people.

The ambiguous attitude of the City Government shows an uncertain decision-making process, and long-term commitment and determination, either execution or finance wise, which are needed to realize its original mission, are missing. From 2003 to 2010, THAV, an unconventional case of museum making, encountered thousands of different ways of making and demonstrates a hope for social architecture but also a series of hindrances to this idea by conflicts of value and lack of robustness. Even today, the value of the conservation is still debatable, questionable, and controversial for different social parties, not only in public discussion but also inside the City Government, especially when the authority in the municipal changes. That is the reason I would contend that it was a social experiment on temporary conservation rather than an eco-

museum, indicating that the museum making of THV is still taking its shape and is subject to the changing social and cultural context.

Chapter Six:

Transients and Inhabitation- Remaking by Users and Their Occupation

Introduction

This chapter aims to explore how the renovated THAV has been appropriated and remade by various spatial users, such as the art institution, artists, remaining residents, and audiences from October 2010, when THAV officially opened, to the end of 2014. As these four groups of major spatial users exercised their influence over the site in their own ways, the chapter looks for possible creative uses, which may contribute to museum making.

The data collection of the chapter is from a variety of sources: the documentation and archives, interviews, onsite direct observation, and online posts. The documents and archival research consists of reports, annual reviews of the art institution, published books, papers, newspaper articles, and essays on websites. Interviews were conducted with directors and staff of the art institution, the residential artists, and the residents. Observation and online posts were utilized to capture the picture of visitors and examining users' actions on shaping the architecture and making the site a museum.

Differing from the previous angles, the chapter starts from the background of art museum/venue development in Taiwan in order to situate the unconventional practice of THAV into the Taiwanese cultural and artistic context. THAV is an unprecedented case compared to other art gallery practices: a symbiotic village produced somewhere between artistic and residential use. By the end of 2014, there had been three directors in charge of the THAV. The three directors with their colleagues significantly shaped the site with their visions and approaches. Different makings by the directors and their teams, as well as how their actions facilitated or worked against the objectives of the preset Conservation Plan, will be examined. Second, as temporary inhabitants, how did the international residential artists and their artistic practices reshape the site? Third, and how did the remaining twenty-one households respond to the publicizing of THAV and

contribute to the making of THAV after it had opened? Fourth, focusing on audiences whose duration of occupation of the site appeared the shortest, the chapter will investigate how visitors re-write the site and their potential creative uses. Their temporary appropriation reflects the relationship between the built environment and visitors and acts as a mirror for evaluating ‘the designed space’.

The relationship between users, space making, and the Conservation Plan with its historic/cultural/social purposes is the key concern of the chapter. Therefore, in addition to examining the remaking by various users, the content of the chapter frequently looks back at the connection between these users’ remaking and the objectives of the Conservation plan, which aimed to accomplish the objective of ‘symbiosis’. Does users’ making enhance the purpose of the Conservation Plan or limit it? Overall, the chapter demonstrates that architecture is remade by varied occupation that had transformed the site into a museum making case.

6.1 Background

It may be helpful to contextualize the practice of THAV through the artistic perspective in the Taiwanese background before introducing the administrative structure of THAV. By concisely reviewing the art practices and the making of art museums and venues, the complexity and difficulty of the operation of THAV emerges. THAV offers an example which is entangled with city governance, art management, contemporary art practices, and onsite community empowerment.



Figure 6.1 Taipei Fine Art Museum. Photo by Pei-Yin Shih.

The first public art museum after WWII

Before the establishment of Taipei Fine Art Museum (TFAM) in 1983, different art practitioners and Fine Art Associations across a range of art and styles, such as Chinese styles, Japanese painting, and contemporary art influenced by westernization, often organized their exhibitions in social education institutions, regional cultural centers, and private galleries.⁴⁹³ TFAM – the first public art museums to open after WWII - was a milestone, which symbolized the national focus on public cultural infrastructure and the fruits of rapid economic and social development from the 1960s to 1980s. TFAM was positioned as ‘the Enlightenment on Modern Art’ bridging international modern and contemporary art with the trend that overseas Taiwanese fine artists came back to

⁴⁹³ Before the lift of martial law in 1987, some private galleries played pioneering roles to promote experimental contemporary art responding to the rapid transformation of Taiwanese society. Spring Gallery founded in 1978, can be a significant example. See Pei-Ni Hsieh, *When Spaces Became Events...Dispositif of Modernity in the 1980s, Taiwan*. (Kaohsiung: Kaohsiung Museum of Fine Arts, 2012), p. 7.

Taiwan.⁴⁹⁴ Then in 1988, Taiwan Art Museum in Taichung⁴⁹⁵ was established for researching and tracing the art development in Taiwan in order to understand ‘Taiwanese Art History’. Furthermore, in 1995, the second largest city, Kaohsiung, competed for the resources from central authorities⁴⁹⁶ to build up the Kaohsiung Art Museum and to reinvent this industrious city with more art and culture investment--calligraphy and sculptures were its original collection missions. Additionally, during the 1980s and 1990s other cities in Taiwan had been receiving resources from the Central Government to build cultural centers to accommodate public art and cultural activities. Similarly, since the 1980s, the number of private art museums and galleries made an unprecedentedly rapid increase.⁴⁹⁷

After the lift of martial law in 1987, museum practices gradually diversified alongside the development of a civil society in Taiwan. In 2000, the Museum of Contemporary Art in Taipei (MOCA) became the first art museum focusing on contemporary art and located in a renovated historic building. Other middle-sized cities such as Tainan and I-Lan began to plan their municipal art museums. At the same time, the worldwide attention on practices of contemporary art and the operation of art museums, impacted Taiwanese art circles. Notably, accompanying the democracy development in Taiwan, new trends and cultural practices such as rethinking the vernacular, history conservation and preservation, community empowerment, off-site practices, the emphasis on sub-cultures, and audience-centered approaches influenced the artistic and museum practices in Taiwan. The development of the eco museum in I-Lan County can be an example. In the beginning, the local government intended to build up a new museum architecture for the natural and cultural resources in I-Lan, and eventually the architectural programming turned its direction to a ‘museum without walls’ and

⁴⁹⁴ Kwang-Tyng Wu, *Our Age in Art—Thirty Years of Taipei Fine Arts Museum*, (Taipei: TFAM, 2013), p. 8.

⁴⁹⁵ Taichung is the third largest city in terms of population in Taiwan.

⁴⁹⁶ The competition on central funding in 1990s among biggest cities resulted in different larger-scaled public works in different cities. See more in Qiong-Rui Xiao, Ancient Capital of Cultural and Modern Art Museum, *ACT* No.53, 1 Jan. 2013, p. 19.

⁴⁹⁷ Curator Pin-Hua Wang called the 1980s in Taiwan an era of ‘art association’ and era of ‘art museums’. In the 1980s, there were about one hundred art associations. In 1989, there were 68 galleries established and in 1991, the number had increased to 195 galleries. See Pin-Hua Wang, ‘Emergence of Controversial Public Space: Production of Space and Spatial Politics in and around Art Museums in the 1980s’, *Modern Art*, No.168, (June, 2013), p. 15.

expanded its scope to a network of small museums, considering I-Lan County to be an eco-museum to emphasize the link between people and the land.⁴⁹⁸ These cultural shifts seem to echo the diversity of art.

Since the 1990s, there have been quite a few alternative art spaces/venues organized by passionate artists, and they have been set up around Taiwan to seek new possibilities on this island, which has encountered different influences from multiple cultures and authorities.⁴⁹⁹ Artist villages are one of the major alternative practices in Taiwan. Since 1990, the Council of Cultural Affairs (the predecessor of the Ministry of Culture before 2012) have been selecting artists villages in Mountain Chiu-chiu in Nan-tou County as an experimental start and international art exchange seemed to grow in number with different public or private projects.⁵⁰⁰ In addition, the trend expanded beyond remote scenes. In 1995, Bamboo Curtain Studio was founded as the first artist-in-residence program run by the private sector in Taipei. In 2001, Taipei Artist Village and AIR Taipei (Artists in Residence Taipei) started their operation in the remodeled national building in downtown Taipei.⁵⁰¹ In the same year, these sort of artist villages were open in a few places in Taiwan, frequently located in renovated historic buildings/sites which belonged to state-owned enterprises.⁵⁰² The artist villages and cultural-park-driven renovation seemed to be an innovative strategy for revitalizing the disused and neglected large-scaled national properties and buildings since 2000.⁵⁰³ Treasure Hill Artist Village joined the AIR program in October 2010 under the administration of the Taipei Culture Foundation, a non-profit organization sponsored by a combination of

⁴⁹⁸ Yu-Tan Chang, *Ecomuseums: The Rise of a Cultural Movement*, (Nantou: Five Senses Art, 2004), p. 161. Also, I-Lan Museum Association, *About Us*, <<http://www.il-mzm.com/en/index.php/about-il-mzm>>[accessed on 5 May 2015].

⁴⁹⁹ Many alternative art venues were born in this changing context. For instance, private-funded IT Park indicated their foundation was in the age of diversity on art after the military law was lifted in 1987. See ITPARK, *About Us*, <<http://www.itpark.com.tw/aboutus/index/1/en>> [accessed on 28 September 2015].

⁵⁰⁰ Mu-Qing Wu, 'The Dialectical Relationship Between New Expanded Definition of Artists Village and Spaces Governed by a Unified Policy', *ARTCO*, No.256, Jan. 2014, p. 82.

⁵⁰¹ *Ibid.*. Also available at Taipei Artist Village and Treasure Hill Artist Village, *About*, <http://www.artistvillage.org/?page_id=225&lang=en> [accessed on 15 July 2015].

⁵⁰² In 2001, the first venue of Taipei Artist Village is established in a former office building of the Taipei City Department of Public Maintenance and Construction. Since then, many artist villages have been located in reutilized spaces such as warehouses of sugar factory or railroad warehouses.

⁵⁰³ Many reused building have been turned into multiple-used cultural and creative parks. Hua-Shan Song-Shan Cultural Park in 2002 located in downtown Taipei is such as case.

public and private sector funding commissioned by the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government.⁵⁰⁴

Although the vivid production of the spaces of artist villages resulted from the rethinking on art museums in Taiwan, the experimental claims and arguments were mostly from contemporary artists and advocates, instead of top-down institutionalized transformation. In the current Taiwanese situation, art villages are not only lacking a completed culture policy but also insufficiently supported financially.⁵⁰⁵ The directors and curators in artist villages continue to look for sustainable ways to achieve their goals.

The practices and structure of THAV operation

On one level, THAV could be situated and comprehended as an intersection of alternative art practices and eco-museum trends in the above background, but it stands in a more complicated position. First, THAV was framed to accommodate the conservation of the histories of grassroots experience in the City. Its operation has been a great challenge to the administration in the City Government as there is no precedent for this case. Second, due to its location, which is in the bustling Capital City in Taiwan, THAV acts not only for its own sake but is always utilized and used by the need of the municipal cultural policy. Since the first director, Yao-Hua Su, took up charge of the organisation, directors had to negotiate the budget in the City Council to find ways to achieve financial independence to the maximum extent. The Conservation Plan in THAV had faced financial challenges after its official open in October 2010.

⁵⁰⁴ See Taipei Culture Foundation, *Taipei Art+*, <<http://www.taipeiculture.org.tw/English/index.html>> [accessed on 8 August 2015].

⁵⁰⁵ In 2014, the grant for supporting the development of all artist villages in Taiwan is only 1.2 % of all budgets in Ministry of Culture. Zu-Qin Kao suggested that the Government lacks of clarified policy for sustaining artists villages in Taiwan. See Zu-Qin Kao, 'Re-seeing Artists Village', *ARTCO*, No.256, Jan. 2014. p. 46.

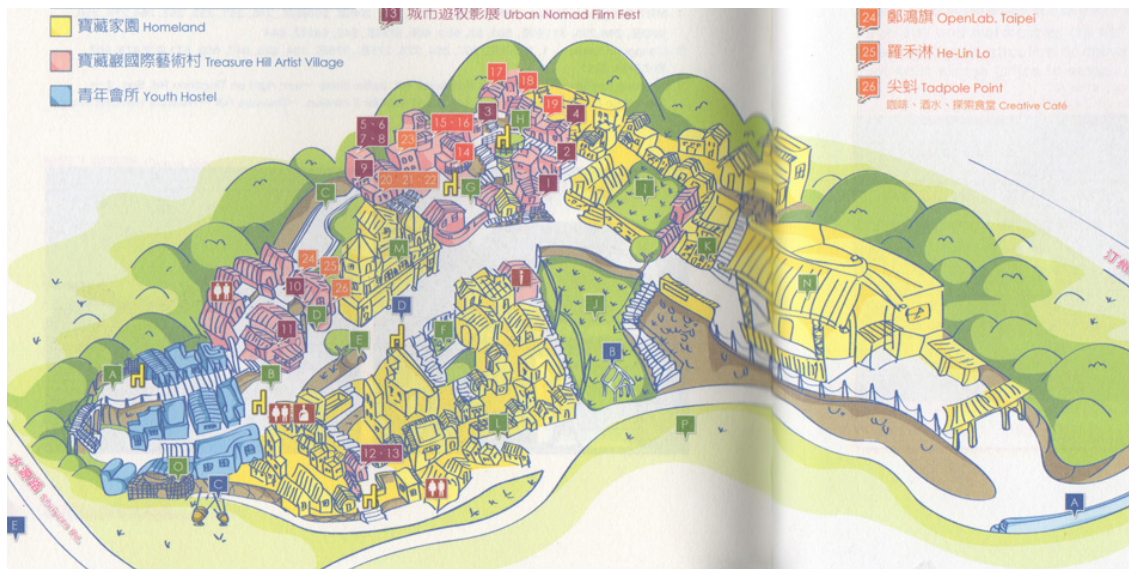


Figure 6.2 The plan of THAV as it opened in 2011. The yellow area is Treasure Hill Homeland and the Temple. The pink buildings are operated by THAV art institution, and include offices, artist studios, and exhibition space. And the blue area was framed to realize the International Youth Hostel. The diagram is provided by THAV (Source).

According to the Conservation Plan of 2011, the village is divided into three main sections. First, the art institution, which contains fourteen art studios for residential art projects⁵⁰⁶, ten Micro Lofts for cultural industrial practitioners renting as working units⁵⁰⁷, two rehearsal rooms, two exhibition spaces, and nine outdoor squares available for exhibitions or performances.⁵⁰⁸ Second, Treasure Homeland, which indicates the twenty-one qualified households and the area for residents' uses. Third, the unrealized Youth Hostel for the sake of self-sufficient income generation in the future. Besides, in order to enhance the communication between the art institution and onsite community, the Department of Cultural Affairs commissioned a third party onsite helper to regularly visit every household and address their needs. The purpose of establishing this mediator was to enhance community empowerment and mutual understanding between the art programs and residents. For instance, the residents now have to report to THAV when something is broken in their house as all houses are now municipal properties. The third party is expected to be a middle man to investigate life in Treasure Hill, help the

⁵⁰⁶ Normally the residential duration ranges from three months to six months.

⁵⁰⁷ Various practitioners ranging from all kinds of applied art or design like printmaking, papermaking, DIY crafts, contemporary makers, jewelry design, animation maker, and food maker etc.

⁵⁰⁸ Ting-Yu Ting, *AIR TAIPEI 2010*, (Taipei: Taipei Culture Foundation, 2012), p. 10.

residents fill in paperwork and deal with the administrative process, and eventually, eliminate the barriers between varied spatial users who possess different patterns of acting and living.

As the above description shows, operating THAV is an experiment. Although the executive details of the preset Conservation Plan and AIR program seemed to get clearer as time went by, their implementation in the real world encountered many problems due to the lack of experience of the related parties. Therefore, within the process of trial-and-error, the four major spatial users performed their own contributions to the plans and the site and added their own remaking.

6.2 Remaking by the art institution through the leadership of three directors

From its official opening in October 2010 to the end of 2014, three directors brought very different forms of leadership and visions to THAV. Their strategies and approaches towards how the art space should be realized have significantly influenced the physical space making and the atmosphere in THAV. Two aspects were observed here: one is the fundamental differences between the visions of THAV of the three directors, and the other is the distinctive natures of their curatorial approaches which produced art space in different ways.

6.2.1 The fundamental differences on the vision

The three directors seemed to show fundamentally different visions, some even divergent, towards how THAV should be in the realization of the Conservation Plan. The most significant differences lie in the attitudes to the community and the strategies they adopted for implementing the coexistence of artistic and residential uses. The three directors will be discussed one by one according to their sequence of duty.

The first director, Ms. Yao-Hua Su, had been participating in the renovation plan as an invited internal consultant in the City Government since 2005. She intended to balance the community and the new artistic uses equally. She committed herself to enhancing the mutual communication between the artists and the residents and had adopted an open and positive perspective toward the original objectives of the Conservation Plan. Su was keen to communicate with the residents and encouraged the artists to involve themselves in the community's celebration or reviving events such as 'One Family One Dish'. Her friendly attitude seemed to attract many like-minded staff to join the management team.⁵⁰⁹ Before she resigned her duty in February 2012, she frequently went to residents' daily spaces, in particular the new arbor, to consult elder residents about the strategies that the art institute intended to devise. Similarly, she invited new artists to discuss their settlement and art proposals. Interviews with her ex-colleagues

⁵⁰⁹ From the feedback of the interviewees who had worked with Su. They are Jing-Fang Cai, Su-Hui Yu, Mei-Ying Chen, and a residential artist Li-Xin Wang.

and residential artists illustrate that her enthusiasms and actions enhanced mutual understanding between varied spaces users and a sense of neighborhood.⁵¹⁰

Moreover, Su's vision was to create THAV as an experimental art and cultural creative incubator. She developed flexible strategies to liberate the operation from bureaucracy. How she intended to make up for the previous careless renovation can be used as an example. In October 2010, THAV was just open; there were still plenty of unused empty buildings waiting for renovation in THV.⁵¹¹ In spite of the constraints of the budget, she and her team still wanted to renovate these physical spaces. She set the theme by combining art and the environmental making to involve artists in facilitating the renovation. She tried to connect diverse creative strands beyond traditional fine artists, ranging from architects, interior designers, graphic designers, performance artists, and makers, to cooperate with them to conduct an experimental '*art renovation*'.⁵¹² Besides, with her encouragement, the first batch of residential artists tended to work with the residents in their creation.⁵¹³ She strived to fulfill the AIR program without interfering in residents' lives.

However, Su's friendly attitude to the community seemed not to be approved of or continued by the next directors and their staff. The second director, Su-Wen Xiao, seemed to doubt the feasibility of the Conservation Plan and the unexpected coexistence between art and community living.⁵¹⁴ In her vision, the role of the art institution should hone in on art exhibition making and art-related affairs and pay less attention to the community as she thought managing community affairs was not the expertise of her and

⁵¹⁰ Through the interviews with ex-staff Cai, Yu, Chen, and residential artist Wang (voices), I observed the repetition about Su's transparent and communicative attitude towards the residents, artists, and also staff, which even helped solve conflicts between the residents about daily quarrels.

⁵¹¹ After THAV's official opening on 2 October 2010, she and her management team had continued building up the spaces of THAV while the third stage of renovation was still in process. She attempted to integrate the art projects, either public art projects or international artist-in-residence programs while exploring suitable ways of using the village space for achieving the goal of 'symbiosis'.

⁵¹² These public art projects will be explored later in 5.2.2.

⁵¹³ Although most of the first generation residents and veterans living in the village were over 70 years old, some residents were still involved in some art projects. Having reviewed the public art projects and the art proposals made by the first-batch residential artists from 2010 to 2011, almost all art projects attempted to involve local residents in their own ways.

⁵¹⁴ Ex-staff, Jing-Fang Cai, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 28 April 2013, and the head of the community organization since 2012, Zhi-Xiong Zhan, interviewed by the author.

her colleagues. She thought the mechanism of THAV in 2012, which aimed to achieve the Conservation Plan and AIR Taipei, was ‘too idealistic’.⁵¹⁵ Her suspicious thinking and professionalizing approach led to a gradual divergence between the residents and the art institution and also brought a different approach to the art space making.⁵¹⁶

The Youth Hostel design provides another example to illuminate the different approaches of Su and Xiao. Su expected the design of Youth Hostel could represent creativity and, more importantly, perform inspiration through the local characteristics of the village, its history, and the spirit of AIR Taipei. At the end of 2010, Su invited practitioners in the creative industry, Tien Tien Circle Creatives (TTCC) and Zhi-Wei Yu⁵¹⁷, to create experimental spaces for future hostel uses. She attempted to make site-specific hostel spaces referring to the village context, rather than a commissioned mainstream interior design project.

According to Su’s expectations, TTCC and Yu’s creation needed to serve two goals simultaneously: being functional for accommodation but artistically and creatively displayed in the coming Lantern Festival in February 2011. However, due to the very limited budget (approximately 30,000 NTDs) and time (only 2.5 months), TTCC had struggled with achieving the dual goals. In addition, the building assigned to TTCC was not in a good condition even after the previous renovation. Therefore, TTCC had to spend money on repairing the house first to restore a proper condition, and only then was the building applicable for further remodeling.⁵¹⁸ In the end, TTCC created a work with a conceptual theme called *Lumintree House*, which metaphorized and echoed the histories of veterans who settled themselves in the village. By reinterpreting this piece of history in design, designers in TTCC intended to create an environment which

⁵¹⁵ Conversation with Ms. Xiao, 28 April 2013.

⁵¹⁶ In the interview with Zhi-Xiong Zhan, from residents’ observation, Xiao seemed to have different perspectives on managing tasks such as daily trivial ones. For example, Zhan mentioned an issue on defining the responsibility of cleaning communal space, the new-built pergola. Residents thought it belonged to the public area and it should be taken care of by the art institution while Xiao thought it should be taken care of by the residents as part of residents’ living space. This caused quarrels and complaints.

⁵¹⁷ TTCC is a non-profit creative club that gathered cross-disciplinary designers, and Yu is the director of Fong-Shan Travel Agent that focuses on in-depth cultural tourism.

⁵¹⁸ Ming-Ying Cai, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 2 Dec 2014. She is an architect in Tien Tien Circle Creatives.

supported backpacker travelers to camp indoors and in a semi-outdoor space in different forms of tents.⁵¹⁹ They designed exposed conduits to provide plugs, hooks, hangers to support tent-making in varied forms. Also, the space contained diverse light designs which were aimed for the exhibition in Lantern Festival (See Figures 6.5-6.7). But sadly, the quality of the creation was not sophisticated, and a leaking roof remained unsolved due to the constraints of the budget.

Yu and his invited artists created a house called ‘Ant Caves’ that contained handmade rattan woven beds in a three-storey building and aimed to echo the ‘self-helped quality’ of the village. These delicate furniture beds brought about a sense of the handmade and hapticity which aimed to echo the spirit of the self-built. The result performed a space of exploration and attracted the audiences’ eye. They both made an astonishing exhibition in the Festival but were not applicable and practical for real and prolonged use as a hostel.



Figure 6.3 The Ant Caves interior constructed by woven rattan, designed by Yu and his team in 2012. Photo provided by Jing-Fang Cai.

⁵¹⁹ It was located at No.5, Alley 59, Lane 230.



Figure 6.4 The toilet in Ant Caves. In B, the sink and the counter are renovated in black and they were common village residents' kitchen settings. Photo provided by Jing-Fang Cai.

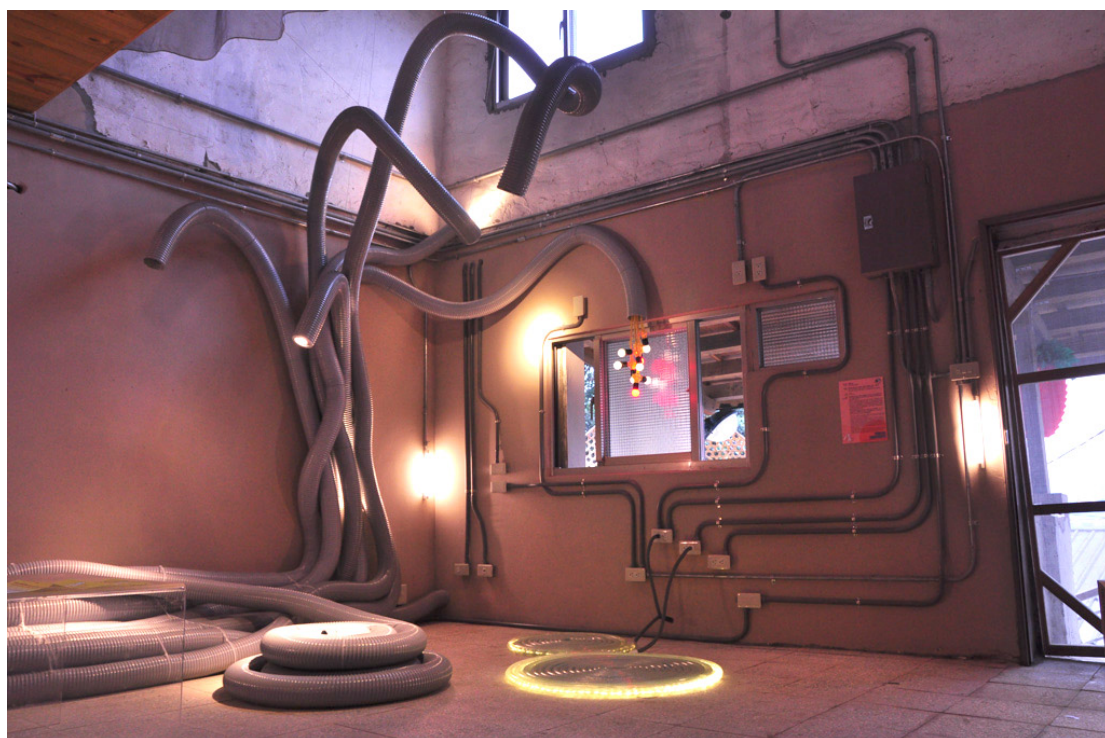


Figure 6.5 The communal space (living room) in LuminTree House in March 2012. Photo provided by Janet Wang.



Figure 6.6 The living room in LuminTree became a display in Lantern Festival 2011 and also served as an indoor performance location in 2012. Photo by Janet Wang.



Figure 6.7 TTCC created various 'tents' for backpackers to encourage camping indoors in February 2011. Photo by Janet Wang.

In 2012, the second director Xiao thought that they were not eligible either for art or accommodation and closed both spaces.⁵²⁰ During 2012 to 2013, Lumintree House was locked and Ant Caves was removed, and a new plan was developed to create a new Youth Hostel in the same house. The house was re-named ‘Attic Treasure Hill Traveler's Hostel’ and was built in 2013 by a commissioned architect.⁵²¹



Figure 6.8 The entrance of Attic Traveler's Hostel located in the space where Ant Caves appeared along the main path in the village, Lane 230, in March 2014. Photo taken by the author.

As the image above illustrates, the new hostel looked visually inconsistent with the adjacent landscape (See Figures 6.8-6.11). Its interior and exterior are too ‘polished and modern’ in appearance and made minimal dialogue with other buildings in the village. However, whether Xiao was dictated/influenced by the idea of the higher positions remains uncertain. The locality and the context, which was supposed to be the center of

⁵²⁰ From the interview with Jing-Fang Cai. The annual report of AIR Taipei did not mention anything about these two projects in the exhibitions (only Lantern Festival) or the preparing hostel plan.

⁵²¹ The Hostel was the only building that got a construction permit from the City Government in this originally self-built village. The Hostel needed to get a construction permit to be used for commercial and public uses. The other houses in the village are historic buildings. It was planned to open in March 2014. However, the water leaking problem stopped the schedule and the hostel had to be closed and fixed again in March 2014 when Mr. Huang took up his duty of the director. The final renovation of the hostel was accomplished in the Spring of 2014.

the Conservation Plan, were seemingly ignored in this making. It turned out to be a white-cube-like creation, lacking any sense of place. Director Xiao failed to acknowledge the history and features of the site and by adding these antiseptic spaces into the historic sociality of Treasure Hill, she introduced a new and institutionalized set of meanings to the site.



Figure 6.9 The interior of Attic Hostel in March 2014. The Attic rooms are now available for artists, practitioners, or visitors for short-term staying. Photo taken by the author.



Figure 6.10 The kitchen and dining place in the Attic in November 2014. Photo taken by the author.

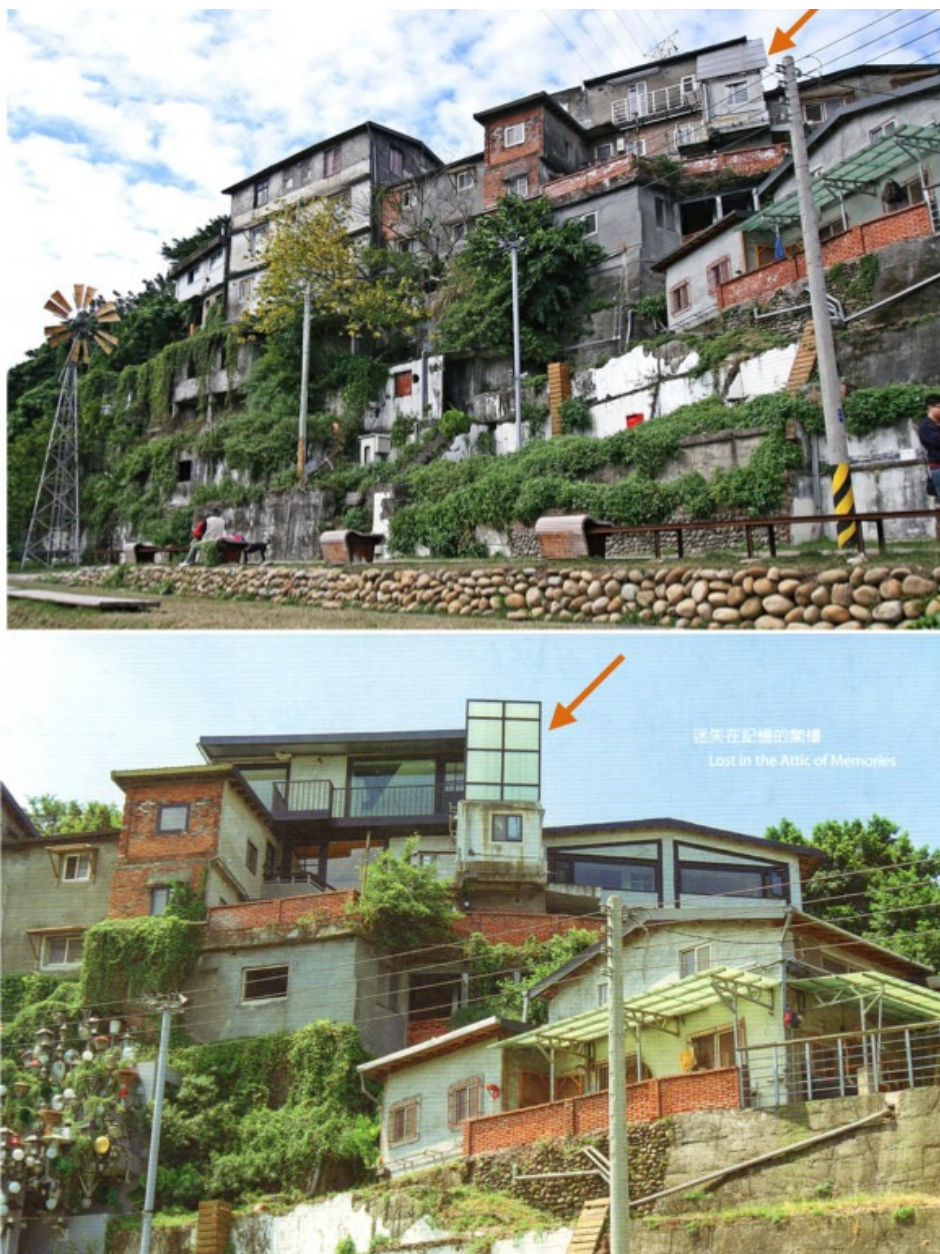


Figure 6.11 The village landscape before (the upper one)/after the completion of Attic Hostel. The light-filled awning (see the orange arrow pointing. Stairs are inside) is obviously distinct from the adjacent appearances of the village. Photo taken by the author in 2011 (the upper) and the lower one is scanned from the postcard of Attic Hostel, THAV.

The third director, Wen-Yan Huang, who has a background in management expertise and experiences in Taipei Culture Foundation⁵²², attempted to improve the management system in the village with a mild attitude. He took up his duty from September 2013 to

⁵²² The superior administrative unit of Taipei Artist Village and Treasure Hill Artist Village.

the end of 2014.⁵²³ He tried to mend the strained relationship between the art institution and the community which developed during Xiao's period in duty. According to the current head of the Community Culture Organization in 2014, Zhi-Xiong Zhan, Huang was willing to restart dialogues with the residents and to support community events by looking for opportunities to involve the residents in the activities of THAV.⁵²⁴ Unlike Su's warm-hearted attitude and Xiao's opposing approach towards the symbiosis, Huang tried to regulate the tasks of the art institute, artists, and the community and to establish an institutionalized management and rules to enhance respective operation. Comparing to the previous two directors, Huang performed his leadership with relatively less personal charisma or character.

The three directors' fundamental attitudes and visions seem to also impact the composition of their team members as well as the mindset of the personnel. From the interviews, I have observed that different directors attracted a like-minded workforce and a high turnover of personnel was triggered when a director left his/her duty.⁵²⁵ The dynamics of the personnel in the art institution have been observed as a significant factor influencing exhibition and art space making.

6.2.2 The distinction of the curatorial approaches

Different directors, with their curatorial approaches, led to distinct art exhibitions as well as art space making. This section will elaborate again the three directors' making from the perspectives of curatorial practice.

Art as a continuation of renovation

The first director, Su, as mentioned in the previous section, was struggling with the coarse result of the renovation and intended to facilitate site-specific creation to

⁵²³ In December 2014, a Mayoral election was held, and the director of the Department of Cultural Affairs was changed in accordance with new designations by the new Mayor and director of the Department of Cultural Affairs. It will cause the change of the director at THAV. Therefore, on one hand, Huang possibly knew the temporary nature of his duty, which instructed him to act as a 'caretaker'.

⁵²⁴ Examples seen in section 5.4.

⁵²⁵ For example, after Su's departure, almost all of the staff that had worked with her left their position one by one in about half a year.

improve the space's condition. The first project that brought noticeable changes to the village landscape was *Public Art Projects* from the beginning of 2010 to mid-2011.⁵²⁶ All proposals were encouraged to embrace the local context and were requested to conduct related public/community participation.⁵²⁷ Three of the four projects, which hugely reshaped the village in physical and permanent ways, exemplified how art renovated the site under Su's and the institution's wishes.

First, artist Yu-yo Pan undertook meticulous fieldwork and created a one-hundred-meter long mural, *A Live City Model*, depicting residents' postures and the daily lives of a couple of veterans on the wall of the pier of Fu-Ho Bridge, along Lane 230.⁵²⁸ Pan said,

It is the road on which the children walk by to go to school. It is the road through which the residents tread upon to go to the markets. It is the road from which the men and women enter the urban to work.⁵²⁹

Therefore he intended to represent the daily village life for the locals as well as the public. By drawing the portraits of the residents, the representative objects, daily life scenarios, and the people who usually visit the village along the road such as postmen, taxi, artists, and visitors, his work mixed the current and the past (the significant icons of veteran), his own imaginative interpretation and reality. Su called this mural 'a significant attribute of nostalgia in the community'.⁵³⁰ His works attempted to visualize the stories about the village in friendly romanticized ways. It has now become the entrance image.

⁵²⁶ This project contained four permanent public artworks and eight other temporary art proposals. Yao-Hua Su (ed.), *Exploring Art of Treasure Hill*, Department of AIR, Taipei: Taipei Culture Foundation, 2010, p. 10.

⁵²⁷ Interviews with Su, ex-staff Cai and Yu showed similar opinions. Also see more in Yao-Hua Su, 'Toward an Ethical Cultural Development: A Narrative of Art and Life Encountering at Treasure Hill Communal Village', in Hsiao-Yun Hsieh, *Exploring Public Art of Treasure Hill: The Panorama of Treasure Hill* (Taipei: Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City Government, 2011), pp. 7-12.

⁵²⁸ The Lane 230 is the main access to/from the village as the village's unique geographic location. See Chapter 3.

⁵²⁹ Hsieh, *Exploring Public Art of Treasure Hill: The Panorama of Treasure Hill*, p. 13.

⁵³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.



Figure 6.12 Lane 230 before Yu-Yo Pan's artwork. Photo provided by THAV (Source).



Figure 6.13 Lane 230 after Pan's artwork. Photo provided from THAV.

The second permanent public art project, *Heart Chamber: Move, Listen, to Our Chamber*, was curated by theater director Qiao Zhong and executed by artist Shun-Long Lin. They considered the village 'a heart covered with intertwining veins' and planned to create 'a heart chamber installation where people can have inner dialogue with each other'.⁵³¹ In the autumn of 2010, Lin began to construct a series of tree-house-like steel frames around the Picnic Field; the open lawn space after the demolition of the military dormitories. He intended to let everyone walk, rest, or have a chat in the steel tree house. The residents once held community activities here. However, according to my observation, although the artists had the intention of making this location as a community space, this new-built Heart Chamber works more as an artwork for outsiders (as the open lawn has always been occupied by artists to exhibit their installation), and does not appear to be integrated into the residents' daily use. Although art works could

⁵³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 41-46.

restore the space for ‘public’ uses, the spatial results were actually appropriated for certain uses and by specific social groups.



Figure 6.14 The grass lawn before renovation in 2006. Photo provide by Fu-Chang Cai.



Figure 6.15 *Heart Chamber*. A series of steel frames around the grass lawn (Picnic Field) to reshape the genius loci of the open space. Photo provided by Jing-Fang Cai, shot from the opposite angel to the previous one.

The third public project, *See or Be Seen*, by Yi-Ru Pan and Environmental Arts Design provided another example which remade the landscape for public use in the name of art. Pan is a landscape architect, and her project was a substantial landscape remodeling project which contained ground preparation and transformed the terrain from a wild ruin

to a wide open space with a defined stage. As a result, the project transformed the landscape into a neatly-done open space with a wooden area for performing art and the grassland for mass gathering. Besides, after managing the land, Pan and her staff installed the lights linked with a programmed control device and projected the intended effects onto the village building. The scheduled time-slot of light projection on the Historical Facades would then be rendered. This popular interactive light projection not only made the village and buildings precious objects but also implied a sense of living as the programmed light was turned on and off softly, and it simulated the breath of living creation.⁵³² The project fixed the appearance of the land and suggested its uses for the public and wider citizens.



Figure 6.16 Before (the upper) and after (the bottom) Ms. Yi-Ru Pan's work. Photo provided by THAV.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, p. 62.



Figure 6.17 Light Installation by Ms. Yi-Ru Pan. Photo provided by Jing-Fang Cai.

The above three projects had re-written the landscape. Su's unstated intention seemed to be to repurpose the artistic in continuing the unfinished renovation.⁵³³ She carefully matched the village space with the artistic as well as the storytelling of the village context. She utilized art as a way of 'restoring the environment' and then remade the spaces. On one hand, these creations linked art and renovation and represented the village context in an optimistic way, and on the other hand, they improved the environmental qualities of an open space, aimed for public visits and activities. Although these actions showed a strong sense of connecting the local, they seemed to gradually change the site into a public venue. The institution took this opportunity to continue the incomplete renovation, especially the open space in the village. From the perspective of art management, it could be seen as a necessary matter of expediency to face the unqualified renovation and, more imminently, an urgent need to make THAV a public venue for visitors.

Making the village a site of harmonious co-existence and creative incubation

⁵³³ According to the interview with an ex-staff member, Jing-Fang Cai, the Public Art Project had another embedded purpose that intended to continue the renovation as the previous renovation plan suffered a lack of budget to cover all repairing and betterment. Meanwhile, the repairing of the renovation plan was still processing in 2010 even after the THAV officially opened to the public on 2 October 2010.

Under the circumstance of urgently making THAV open to the public, for Su and her colleagues, the trials and tribulations were how to balance the public gaze and the residents' lives without imposing too many limitations. In order to make THAV an explorative site for visitors, they made clear signs to guide and distinguish which buildings were used for art or residential use as the appearance of both spaces were very similar. (See Figure 6.18) In addition, the staff set some barriers, such as chain-link fences or nets, to channel visitors' circulation, and therefore separated the daily routes of the residents from the paths for visitors. Visitors are told not to intrude upon the residential houses and alleys. These signs and obstruction invisibly divided the village into public and private spaces.

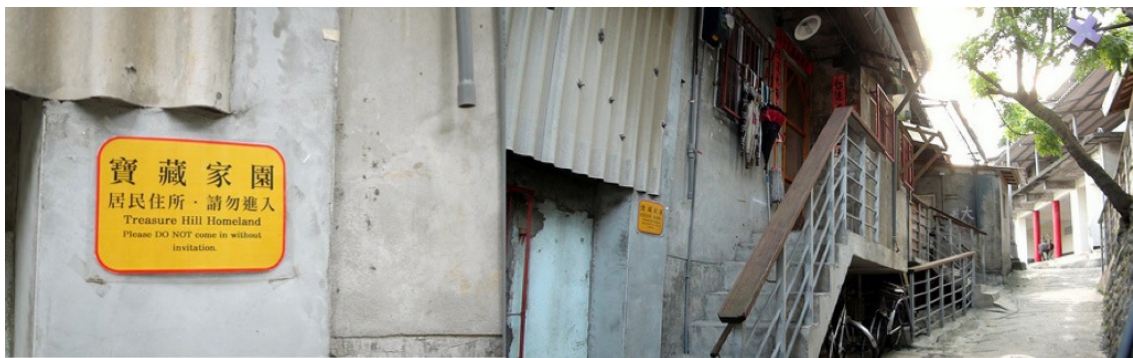


Figure 6.18 The signs of Treasure Hill Homeland. The left one says Treasure Hill Homeland: Please DO NOT come in without invitation. The right shows the location of the sign on the wall. Photo taken by the author.

Although the planners and architects detected the possible problem of mutual disturbance between the artists and the residents and attempted to eliminate it by zoning, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the mixture of art studios and households brought a sense of coexistence. Besides, Su's open and encouraging attitudes facilitated many artists to be more willing to work outdoors. Like the residents' doing their housework exterior, the artists and their outdoor making became another kind of display, forming a distinctive feature of THAV during Su's leadership. According to my observations from 2011 to the summer of 2012, not only could the audiences and artists walk freely in the village, but also the 'happening' of art making or performances had a sense of closeness. There was a loose, even a non-existent policy of controlling visitors' behaviors, and therefore the boundaries among art works, artists' studios, residents' places, and visitors seemed vague. Many artists consider creating and living in the village a rewarding experience. For example, artists Li-Xin Wang enjoyed the co-

working experiences with other artists and residents and frequently attended the community event, One Family One Dish, to socialize and familiarize themselves with other space users in the village. Artist Yao-Jia Gan said while working closely onsite and outdoor, the audiences could stimulate much more inspiration than only staying in a private and remote studio alone.⁵³⁴

Su's imaginative vision of THAV seemed to echo the ideal of GAPP in 2003, which was 'making art born in the village'. In a broader sense of art, the assumption is that the life style of the community and the local context can inspire art. In order to accomplish such a challenging task, a friendly and patient attitude was Su and her team's answer. Many ex-staff called the village during Su's duty 'the village of love'. The whole village was represented a milieu of encouraging creativity. Many types of creation, such as interactive art, behavioral art, and performance art, were invited experimentally whether the intent of art was directly articulated with the locals or not. Moreover, lots of ongoing and 'touchable' art projects were made, and the close relationship between artists, staff, and residents, formed a unique sense of the village. More conservation and interaction between different users were facilitated by Su's personnel, looking for more collaborative ways of coexistence.

Under such atmosphere, the initial objective and historic importance of the Conservation Plan, 'self-helped village by the disadvantaged after-war', seemed to re-incarnate in new artistic ways. Su attempted to refer the intangible value of the village into her management. This kind of art space which underlined the locality and the diversity of life scenes of spatial users, made the site a place where audiences were meant to explore and discover.

However, the intimacy between the artists/creation with audiences also resulted in disadvantage and disturbance to the residents and artists.⁵³⁵ The opening hours of THAV (every Tuesday to Sunday 11AM to 10PM) indeed aggravated the issue. Wang mentioned that there were always some visitors staring at her through the glass of the

⁵³⁴ A residential artist, Li-Xin Wang, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 3 March, 2014.

⁵³⁵ There were still lots of reports that visitors intruded the residents' houses without advancing any notices or invitation purposely or involuntarily.

window. In addition, when the open studio event began (three times a year), ‘We artists are like animals in the zoo. Visitors came into my studio not only to see my works closely but also to stare at me at a very close distance’, said English artist Alan Eglinton who had similar harassing experiences.⁵³⁶ He expressed his worry and elaborated the issue,

I personally hope this is not going to be an attraction park. I think there are other sites where Taipei City can do attraction parks. This place is more appropriate for something more alternative, or for visitors questioning, criticizing, or sharing dialogue... However, an attraction park is just like a place where you just visit, you take, and then you go away. It’s good if visitors can exchange or visitors go away from here with a question or a new idea... something quite personal... something you don’t just consume.⁵³⁷

Eglinton’s pessimistic vision seemed to come true in the later development. The second director Xiao, took up her duty in an opposing direction to her predecessor.

Reshaping THAV as a professionalized gallery

Unlike Su’s context-responsive curatorial approach, Xiao adopted a different perspective to exhibition making in her selection of artists and art space making. She was inclined to make contemporary art curation, like those in art museums, and considered THAV a stage for exhibiting. Taking the Lantern Festival in 2013, *Landscape of Spectacle*, as an example, the description of *Landscape of Spectacle* said,

At the Lantern Festival, Treasure Hill will transform, in a certain sense, into a grand gallery, allowing us to recapture the panorama of human nature in all its nuances’. Also, it referred to ‘the 18th centuries English painting embracing the theory of the picturesque.’⁵³⁸

⁵³⁶ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 178.

⁵³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 180.

⁵³⁸ The text comes from the original leaflet of the festival. See Tsai-Jung Chan and Hsiao-Chi Yang, *Landscape of Spectacle* (Taipei, 2013).

Furthermore, the exhibition description says, ‘Treasure Hill, situated in one corner of the tumultuous metropolitan world, has produced a spectacle of contemporary urban society... This festival affords this place the opportunity to transform itself into a memorial hall, a work of art’.⁵³⁹

These texts seemed to exalt Treasure Hill Village. Nevertheless, the imaginary description revealed Xiao’s viewpoint which contemplated THV as a romantic background which accommodated artists’ creation and, therefore, as *a work of art*. But it masked the real conditions by giving undue emphasis in order to achieve the success of a praiseworthy exhibition.

In addition, instead of involving onsite residential artists like Su, Xiao invited more outsider artists in this Festival. They were more mature and renowned than most of the residential artists who were still building up their careers. One suspected reason for this is that Xiao was attempting to make the exhibition more attractive and less experimental for the public. From the curatorial intents and the selection of artists, Xiao intentionally made the division between art residency and the festival for display.

⁵³⁹ *Ibid.*



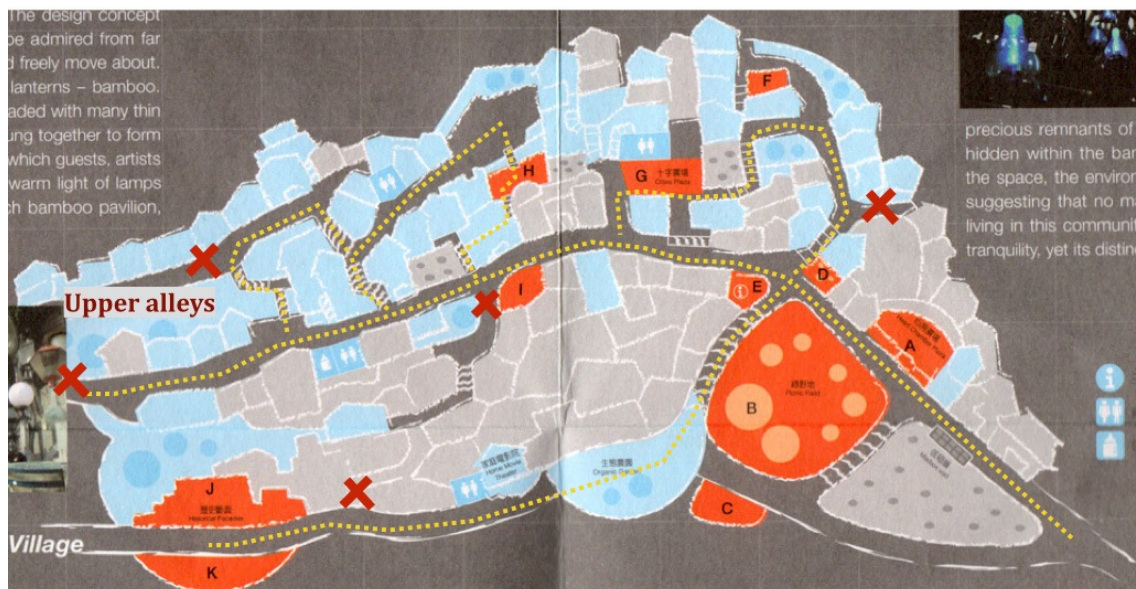
Figure 6.19 The light-related art installation at the Lantern Festival 2013, *Landscape of Spectacle*. Photo taken by the author in March 2013. (A: *Desire in Extremis* by CBMI. B: *The Light Dam* by Uno Lai. C: *Dormant Volcano* by Wei-Hsiang Weng.)

Xiao's professionally-driven approach is also evidenced in *On Site*, a metal music performance. It was an inventive event which gave touring performances in different parts of Taipei City. Treasure Hill Artist Village was one of the venues of the tour. The open space next to the Historical Facade (Pan's project, previously mentioned in 6.2.2. was the stage. Although it was a very successful event in terms of the audience number, it was the first large-scaled activity with a theme and content which were irrelevant to the site since THAV's opening. An ex-staff member in Public Relations, Joanna Sun noticed that different audience groups joined *On Site*, compared to other art-related exhibitions. Through *On Site*, THAV reinvented its image into an exotic venue where widespread activity could take place in its historic and vernacular setting. Xiao's strategies seemed to rewrite the site towards a public gathering place through event making.⁵⁴⁰

⁵⁴⁰ Chin-Oh Chang, *AIR 2013*, (Taipei: Taipei Culture Foundation, 2014), pp. 96-101.



Figure 6.20 *On Site* in Historic Façade in THAV on 7 October 2013. Image from the video record on YouTube (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Iu7AyAk9xQM> [accessed on 7 June 2015])



✕ Main blockage to control the circulation

Figure 6.21 During Xiao's period of duty, once she tried to create a single and simplified circulation for audiences to go in and to go out. (The blue areas were operated by THAV and the gray area was used for Treasure Hill Homeland. Red Xs mean blockage.) The image is scanned from the leaflet of THAV.



Figure 6.22 During Huang's time in office, the reopened upper alleys regain the circulating routes and therefore increases the diverse possibilities of visiting. The image is scanned the leaflet of THAV.

Xiao's curatorial intent and art space making can be understood from three aspects: personal, professional, and institutional. First, having been working as an art curator in art museums for years, Xiao must have understood the purpose of the Conservation Plan and Su's incentives of involving the locality. However, the questioning of the original setting of the Conservation Plan led to different forms of making. Second, for the operation of the THAV, she was inclined to stand firm in terms of professional practices on art exhibition making. Instead of making THAV an experimental site, she tended to separate the onsite residents and residential artists from her network of outside artists in order to ensure the exhibition's results. Third, more and more interior spaces in buildings were turned into clean and white-cube-like exhibition spaces along the main route, Lane 230. Her management once framed a straight and simplified circulation by closing the access to upper alleys area and unused houses (See Figure 6.21.) It offered more limitations for visitors but was convenient for management. In addition, her proclivity towards art distanced the onsite community from the operation of THAV. As a result, the specialty of the village was secondary and became a stage for buzz-worthy and extrovert events without giving weight to the residents. Although several successful events during her duty had high number of visitors, the spirit of the Conservation Plan

and the acknowledgement of residents was not her priority. This was shown later in the dissent between the art institution and the community.⁵⁴¹

Third director: splitting practices in an institutionalized THAV

The third director, Huang, without any background in the art field, seemed to follow Xiao's footsteps before the Mayor Election in December 2014. He continued to restore more units of the houses for exhibition use and improve the environment for visiting. He kept himself a low profile and did not show much individual style in curatorship and exhibition making. For instance, the 2014 Lantern Festival called *Now Is Here*, a collage of cross-disciplinary creators, was a boisterous event but again, irrelevant to the weight of THAV as a historic site. The show applied the concept of Carnival in the Middle Ages which eradicated all barriers depressing daily behaviors and aimed to bring opposing elements together, turning the celebration of Lantern Festival into Mikhail Bakhtin's carnivalesque.⁵⁴² The curatorial intention, again situating THV as a stage, projected its imaginative vision onto the village.

The activity-driven approach during the leadership of Huang further turned THAV into a placeless public venue by accommodating varied activities. For instance, *Improv Everywhere* from New York held global activities, *MP3 Experiment*, in which participants act under the guidance in an MP3 audio file downloaded in advance to participants' mobile phones.⁵⁴³ Participants therefore acted accordingly and sometimes made the same postures and actions, all silently. After the audio files finished playing, participants slowly dispersed. In this scene, the characteristic of the local context totally ceased to matter, or it only played a geographical spatial dimension where crowds met through pre-programmed settings.

⁵⁴¹ From the interview with Zhan.

⁵⁴² Rephrasing the description of the curatorial text on the leaflet of *Now Is Here*, from 15 February to 16 March 2014.

⁵⁴³ The description says: 'Participants are asked to download spoken instructions for the event which will be available on the event website in MP3 format. During the 45-minute event, participants will silently perform movements, or make specific noises, as indicated in the MP3 instructions in a predetermined public space. The goal is to have everyone act in unison to create a live public performance. Participants will all appear as if they are being guided by a single spirit wham following the hilarious instructions designed by Improv Everywhere artists, and gradually form a continually changing public performance sculpture.'



Figure 6.23 *MP3 Experiment* in Historic Façade in THAV on 15 February 2014. Photo taken by the author.

Huang's leadership reveals how the Department of Cultural Affairs in the City Government viewed THAV. By connecting THAV with other city-scaled cultural activities in Taipei City, THAV slowly and surely became a municipal activity venue.⁵⁴⁴ More and more art/cultural activities were disconnected from the context of THV but favored its characterful qualities of setting. An 'urban village', the term coined by David Harvey, came into being gradually and through which 'facile pleasure' was easily consumed by the public, perhaps with an exotic sense of nostalgia.⁵⁴⁵

Shaping space by rigid management

⁵⁴⁴ In many cultural events organized by the City Government, THAV is highlighted as one of characterful venues in Taipei. For instance, World Design Capital 2016 in Taipei. See Wei-Gong Liu, *Adaptive City*, (Taipei: Department of Cultural Affairs in Taipei City Government, 2013), p. 148.

⁵⁴⁵ The concept of 'urban village' is borrowed from David Harvey, *Justice, Nature, and the Geography of Difference*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996).

Another feature added into THAV during Huang's leadership was to build up a clearer regulations of management. One artist, Xin-Yi Lin, who had applied for residency in Micro Lofts since 2011 and has been through three directors' duties, felt more and more rigid administrative regulations for scrutinizing artists but less and less communication for reaching mutual sensible consent.⁵⁴⁶ For her, the atmosphere of the village dramatically altered in only four years. In terms of evaluating residency, she pointed out that Taipei Cultural Foundation intended to affirm the efficiency of space use by evaluating the open hours (four days a week) of their studio.⁵⁴⁷ However, compared to Su, the other directors did not seem to encourage the cooperation between artists but prioritized the success of large-scaled events and media exposure over the site. The above resulted in the isolation of the artists, in particular, artists in Micro Lofts. Lin thought that the art institution left them ignored in their own studios but still evaluated diverse artists against a fixed standard. However, less communication/interaction among the space users brought forth an 'indifferent sensation' and each party started to be less and less engaging and tried not to disturb each other. Polish residential artist Anna Suwaloska, who stayed in THAV from 2014 to early 2015, was puzzled in this circumstances. She thought the whole setting of THAV 'a bit fake' as she felt like she was isolated from the village although the environment was enjoyable for her.⁵⁴⁸ More residential artists observed that they only worked in the village in daytime but did not stay overnight.⁵⁴⁹ Until the end of 2014, although more empty buildings were renovated into usable spaces, and varied events, including One Family One Dish, still went on regularly, the sense of separation prevailed due to the lack of contact and liaison. The quality of architecture/spaces is not only produced by physical realization but also shaped by the invisible dynamics of the users onsite.

⁵⁴⁶ For the artists who applied for the studio spaces of the Micro Loft, they only got empty spaces for working but not for accommodation.

⁵⁴⁷ Xin-Yi Lin, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 7 Nov 2014.

⁵⁴⁸ Anna Suwalowska, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 19 Dec 2014. Anna thought that she couldn't distinguish the residents from the visitors, as there was no relevant orientation information about the circumstances of the village. Also, she had never met the director Huang even after living in THAV for two months. Therefore, she had no idea about the past, the present, and vision of THAV.

⁵⁴⁹ They might rent another place outside the village. Until November 2014, the fieldwork and onsite observation suggest that more residential artists rented another room or apartment outside THAV and use the assigned space as working space or simply a gathering space with other artists or audience.

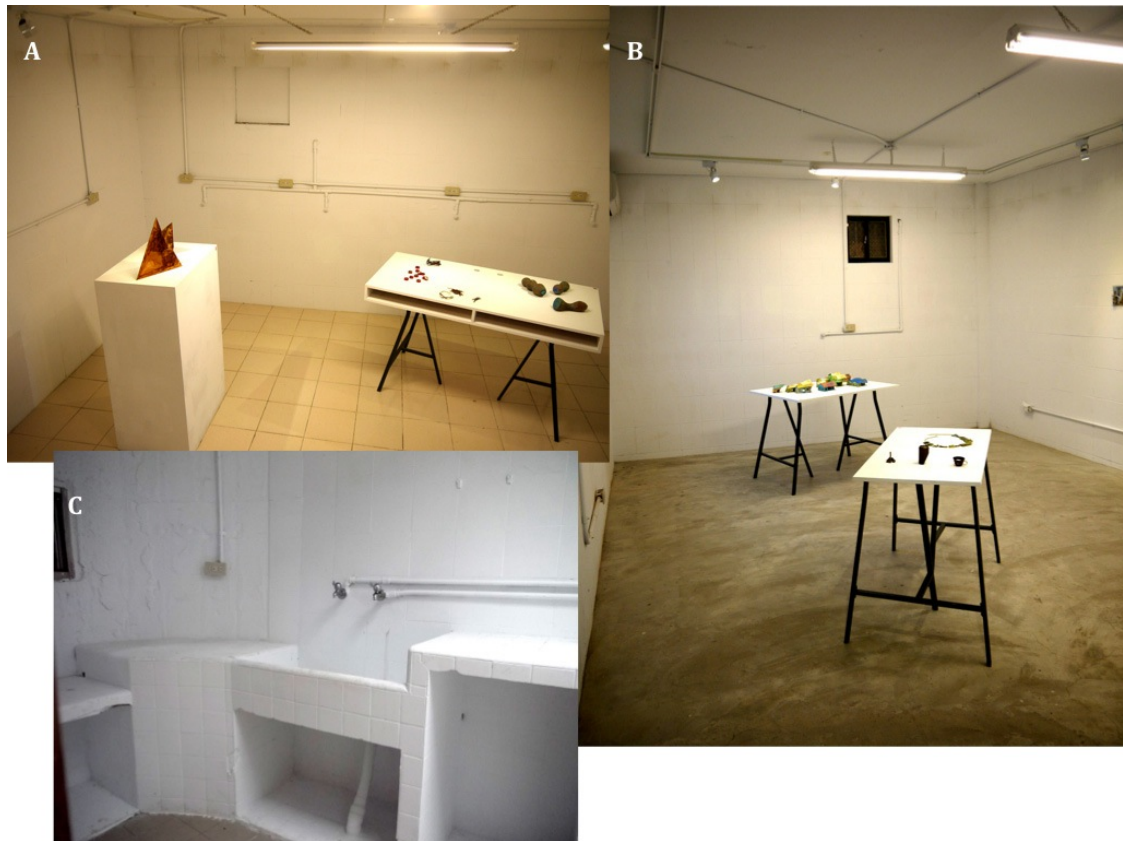


Figure 6.24 White-cube-like space making in THAV. **A** and **B** are indoor exhibition spaces in renovated buildings. **C** shows that the art institute painted the original residents' kitchen in white after the renovation. Photos taken by the author in November 2014.

Re-seeing Community

In spite of the increasing institutionalization without sufficient communication among varied spatial users, Huang was aware that mending the disconnect between the community and the art institution was crucial. He frequently walked into residents' living spaces to talk with elder veterans and the leaders of the community organization.⁵⁵⁰ Noteworthy, Huang's friendly approach was to motivate the residents to move beyond just being tenants. He wanted the community to take part in the operation of THAV, such as taking more responsibilities on running community spaces, participating in selecting artists and artistic projects, and contributing to income generation.⁵⁵¹ Not only did he attempt to manage and evaluate artists and their residency

⁵⁵⁰ Feedback from interviews with director Huang and the residents Zhan.

⁵⁵¹ Huang invited the community to create a piece of work in the Lantern Festival and encourage residents to get involved in the operation of THAV in 2014. See more in section 5.4.

in quantitative measures, but he gradually turned the community into a stakeholder in the operation.

In 2014, on the surface, the varied space users seemed to co-exist harmoniously. In reality, the lack of internal communication among different onsite groups led to the isolation of each group. In the flood of time and under such heavy bodies of different art space making, THAV gradually lost its essential critical position, which was expected to provide a reflexive perspective to both art practices and urban historic conservation. Even if the physical characteristics of the building had been kept, the actual uses and social relations behind the spatial users had been tremendously changed by each social member, and eventually, institutionalized management had replaced the unprompted potential of users' practices.

6.3 Implications by art

Artists' practices also intervened with the space making and architecture remaking in THAV under the leadership of the three directors. During 2011 to 2014, approximately two hundred varied-approached art activities were created and organized by residential artists or invited guest artists.⁵⁵² Different art creations demonstrated unique responses to the local context. Some artists showed a strong association with or were inspired by the local context, such as the histories of village, the lifestyles of the veterans, the features of self-help buildings, while some only appropriated the site as an exhibition venue.⁵⁵³ In order to illustrate the implications of art for the architecture of THAV, I set out two main points. First, to ask whether art creation has physically reshaped the landscape, architecture, and the space of THAV. If yes, the other key point is to delve deeper into the relationship between the artists' intentions and the initial objectives of the Conservation Plan in order to elaborate how and why artists reacted to preset programs. Through the above, various art creations could be divided into long-term reshaping and short term reshaping according to the duration of what the artistic intervention has contributed to architecture remaking.

6.3.1 Long-term reshaping

Most of the artistic activities in THAV are removed after its exhibition gets knocked down or at the end of the residency. Besides the permanent public art installation discussed in 5.2.2, only a few creations have left long-term impacts on the physical landscape.

The residential projects by Carlotta Brunetti (Italy) and Julie Chou (Taiwan) are significant examples of projects that reshaped the village after the artists left their residencies. Brunetti's project, *Ideal Garden*, was initiated to create a participatory

⁵⁵² Most of the residential artists applied for artist-in-residence programs from four to six months. Some artists or creators applied for Micro Lofts as their creative studios and signed a two-year contract.

⁵⁵³ An ex-staff member, Mei-Yin He, reviewed first batch of the artist-in resident projects from 2010 to 2011 in her research and found eight art projects made strong connection and dialogues with the community out of the eleven proposals.

action art, a co-farming environment.⁵⁵⁴ A shared garden was proposed to revive the community tradition and to encourage community participation (See Figure 6.25). She and Chou co-worked with recruited residents and volunteers to restore outdoor abandoned places into a vegetable garden. In the beginning, Brunetti framed her own design of the garden and planned a list of plants. Her original idea gradually changed after discussing with Chou and the residents, in particular Mr. Xu, who had lived in the village and regularly came back to visit his neighbors. Chou described how unexpectedly different ideas were encountered in the making process. She said,

In the beginning, Brunetti had her own picture about the garden and the form of the planting of vegetables. One day, one of a female resident bought the seeds of red onion and planted it. This was out of the original plan and Brunetti managed to accept it. Then she asked residents to plant the red onion in round shapes. However, Mr. Xu thought the round shapes had breaches and tried to make it up. After his making up, the round shapes were vanished and merged and all you could see was a large field.⁵⁵⁵

The co-working process is a collaboration between the artist and the locality. Artists and residents both had their ideal plan in mind, and the co-working process could be considered a form of micro politics and negotiation. After Brunetti left Taiwan in December 2010, she commissioned Chou to continue her project. She adopted many ideas from other residents and simplified Brunetti's design according to their previous experiences of co-working. Therefore, in the end, she thought of Xu as one of the creators in this project. Then the next step was to make the project result operate sustainably and to seek the residents' continuous participation in the farming.⁵⁵⁶

Su-Hui Yu, ex-manager of THAV during 2010 to 2012, thought the first batch of the residential artists in THAV during 2011 to 2012 were enthusiastic about involving

⁵⁵⁴ The art project contains three parts, *Nest in Waterfront*, *Power of Vege & Fruit*, and *Greener House*, in Ting-Yu Ting, *AIR TAIPEI 2010*, p. 94.

⁵⁵⁵ The Interview with Li-Zhi Chou (Julie Chou), in Mei-Ying Ho, 'Research on Art Practices in a Communal Village: Public Art Project in Treasure Hill Conservation Area' (unpublished master thesis, National Taiwan University of Arts, 2012), p. 118.

⁵⁵⁶ Ho, 'Research on Art Practices in a Communal Village: Public Art Project in Treasure Hill Conservation Area', p. 119.

themselves in ‘community empowerment’ in art creation.⁵⁵⁷ After the revision of the land of the village was turned into ‘public uses’ in Urban Plan, any farming on the public land was illegal and forbidden. Therefore, Director Su and Yu thought that ‘art uses’, such as *Ideal Garden*, might be able to work as an escape from the strict regulation on land uses. They expected to revive villagers’ practices, farming, by art and could use it as an exemplary action for wider urban dwellers.⁵⁵⁸ Here, art plays a mechanism for legitimatizing some intents with support from the art institution. At the end of 2011, Chou created an event to connect with another villagers’ tradition, *One Family One Dish*, and cooked with the vegetables grown in this farming garden. During the event, residents held up Xu as the leader of the organic farm. Chou re-evaluated the project and thought that in this co-working project her role was to amplify the idea of community participation with behavioral art.⁵⁵⁹ The accompanying landscape was produced alongside the art production.

⁵⁵⁷ Ex-staff member, Su-Hui Yu, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 19 Feb. 2014.

⁵⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁹ See Ho, ‘Research on Art Practices in a Communal Village: Public Art Project in Treasure Hill Conservation Area’, p. 90. As of the time of writing, the farming garden is still being operated by Xu and some residents.



Figure 6.25 Ideal Garden workshop in 2011. Photo provided from Jing-Fang Cai.



Figure 6.26 The flourishing vegetable garden in October 2014. Photo taken by the author. (Shot at a similar angle to the right picture of Figure 6.25.)

Reshaping by art production

The above project and Public Art Projects mentioned in 5.2.2 arouse questions on why some of the art projects could cause long-term reshaping while some not. The most crucial factor seems to be the support from the art institution. Also, the artists' will and their works which are integrated into residents' daily practices through community participation, might have more chance of staying. Once the residents, those who have occupied the land for the longest time, participate in the art process and are able to continue or duplicate the artistic results in their own ways, they might take responsibility for the long-term management.

The collaborative process might ensure the possibility of sustaining the artwork but not always positively. The art institution still plays a dominant role of supervising and censoring art. Besides the planned art installations such as Public Art Projects by the art institution or the City Government, although the first director Su and her staff encourage residential art projects to echo the locality, the artist-resident cooperation did not guarantee long-term impact. It depended on a process of varied negotiation between artist, community, and art institution during the duration of art production.

6.3.2 Short-term reshaping

Through both investigation in archives and personal feedback from interviews with directors and ex-staff, short-term reshaping by artistic means in THAV is shown to have significant impact on reshaping THAV temporarily. Firstly, customization of the interior space of buildings by artists' inhabitation is a regular form of remaking in THAV. Each residential artist is assigned a furniture studio and a bedroom and artists usually domesticate the bedrooms for their needs. Besides, artists are requested to open their studio for exhibition at least once during their residency. Each artist creates and decorates their working space in their unique ways based on their interests and professional skills.⁵⁶⁰ However, this sort of remaking is usually reversible and unapparent and might not be observed in appearance.



Figure 6.27 The empty space and unified furniture provided by the institution before an artist's moving and remaking. Photo taken by Li-Xin Wang in 2010.

⁵⁶⁰ Some may change their studios and rooms when they find disadvantage of the space or when the space does not suit their needs.



Figure 6.28 Studio interior space restored by residential artist Xin-Yi Lin. Photo taken by the author on 7 November 2014.



Figure 6.29 Studio interior space restored by residential artist Mia Li. Photo taken by the author on 22 November 2014.

Secondly, occasionally artists appropriate public open space for making and displaying their working process and artwork. Due to the limited interior space of the studios, plenty of art projects were intentionally performed as ‘the happening of the art production’ outdoors, especially under Su’s leadership. Yu-Jun Ye (Taiwan) choreographed Treasure Hill Artist Village Wan-wan Morning Healthy Exercise by

involving residents, visitors, and other artists for the performance.⁵⁶¹ Her project also aimed to rediscover unnoticed pace in the village by occupying these spots with their bodies and exercises. The postures of the healthy exercise were inspired by residents' daily life, such as hair-combing, driving, picking up things from ground, etc.⁵⁶² Similar to the environmental theaters in GAPP in 2003, art work added new layers of meaning onto the space by appropriating the space with their bodily actions.



Figure 6.30 Yu-Jun Ye's morning healthy exercise project in 2010. Photo provided by THAV.

Similarly, art creation offered an alternative angle for looking at the village. Japanese artists Hirofumi Masuda, for the sake of cultural exchange, built Jinriksha (traditional ricksha) from the Edo Period outdoor in the village. Then he planned a driving route for visitors and wore traditional Japan car drivers' suit to start his transportation service in the village. By providing different bodily experiences of slow transportation and touring around the village and the scenes of the hills and the river, his work creates a different

⁵⁶¹ During the 1980s, public elementary schools in Taiwan asked children to gather together to conduct healthy morning exercise containing a series of movements designed by the government.

⁵⁶² Ho, 'Research on Art Practices in a Communal Village: Public Art Project in Treasure Hill Conservation Area', p. 58.

way of approaching the site and a sensational experience for visitors.⁵⁶³ Artworks, although irrelevant to the local context, introduced new experiences and perspectives of viewing the village.



Figure 6.31 Hirofumi Masuda built the Jinriksha outdoor and performed his works by carrying visitors to tour the village during 21 December 2010 to 18 January 2011. Photo provided by THAV.

Thirdly, Li-Xin Wang (Taiwan)'s project, *Hang Drying*, shows another reshaping of the landscape by imitating residents' regular housework. It is inspired by her memory of one sunny day in 2006 after the rainy season. She came to the village and saw the residents hanging their clothes and sheetings along any corner where the sunshine could reach. The sunshine is crucially vital to this humid hill village.⁵⁶⁴ Then she adopted this daily event as a starting point. She dyed a few clothes pink and attached some daily items (from resident donation's or discards) on them and hung the clothes onto the bamboo stickers. Her intention was to make an installation which reflected the effects of the sunshine through the fading of the colors on the clothes. The areas of the clothes covered by items would retain their original color. She hung the clothes and took them down everyday. As her project looked very domestic, residents collected them indoors when heavy rain came in an afternoon without notifying the artist. The interaction

⁵⁶³ Hsiao-Yun Hsieh, *Exploing Public Art of Treasure Hill: The Panorama of Treasure Hill*, pp. 87-90.

⁵⁶⁴ Interview with Li-Xin Wang, residential artist during September 2010 to April 2011.

between residents and temporary occupants (artists) seemed to be established naturally, and her work seemed to cross the boundary between the art and the domestic objects.

Another of Wang's projects exemplified the ephemeral reshaping of the architecture by utilizing temporariness of materials. She created a painting with crayon which has warm/washable qualities to it. Then she held several crayon graffiti workshops with visitors of different ages. Before the workshops began, she would give a session about the history of the village and the basic techniques of drawing to the participants. She made people draw on the walls along Lane 230, referring to the village context. Collaboratively the artist and participants reshaped the architecture by drawing new appearances on the buildings and their rewriting was washed away naturally over time. She metaphorized the temporariness to convey a message that all people in this village are temporary users, and anything users have created will not necessarily exist forever.⁵⁶⁵



Figure 6.32 Li-Xin Wang's outdoor crayon workshop. Photo taken on 12 January 2011 by Li-Xin Wang.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*



Figure 6.33 Outdoor crayon workshop. Photo taken on 21 November 2010 by Li-Xin Wang.



Figure 6.34 Results of outdoor crayon workshop. Photo taken on 21 November 2010 by Li-Xin Wang.

The above artistic creations introduce varied ways in which artists temporarily reshape THAV with their art production. Art here is not to create a conventional relationship between users and artworks for contemplation. Instead, art creations here more or less made a connection to the site and people and provided distinct spatial experiences for the residents and visitors through physical installation as well as enhancing personal interactions with the artwork.

Recreating locality with creative uses

From art as renovation to temporary occupation, artists' creative uses remake the architecture over long-term and short-term periods. In terms of various forms of the remaking, some cause physical and constructional remaking while some create conceptual and mental rewriting by offering alternative meanings and angles of viewing the site. Besides, comparing the intentions of the art projects to the initial objectives of the Conservation Plan, some art works only considered THAV an exhibition site without any connection to the village context, while some demonstrate strong associations. The artworks that responded to the existing context of the site seem to recreate/rediscover more meanings related to the site and produce a new representation of the locality. Through the permanent or temporary remaking resulting from these site-specific artworks, the local characteristics of the site have been augmented and accumulated. However, residential artist Wang points out,

Some art projects seemed very interesting, for example, using garbage paper to make new recycled paper. But, is there any possibility to involve the residents such as into the paper production? However, they are not allowed to trade in their houses so it seems hard to keep going.⁵⁶⁶

Although artists's practices look creative and flexible with their free will, the art institution may still be the key authority regulating whether art lasts or not. It recurs to the attitude of directors and the administrative management. Besides, residents with

⁵⁶⁶ In Wang's interview, she tried to describe the difficulty to maintain the residents' involvement in art projects if there was no other mechanism (e.g. trading) although she thinks the involvement of the residents is crucial to either the artistic project or the operation of the site.

their everyday needs are another essential factor. If the community was invited to take part in art production, the residents might have a chance to intervene with the sustainability of the artwork, and then artwork would be integrated into the residents' lives. Next section will focus on the daily life of the residents and how the community gradually takes a more important role in terms of participation in THAV operation.

6.4 Rewriting by residents and daily life

This section turns the focus onto the spatial users who have appropriated the site for the longest time. From a self-built village to a publicized venue, the residents had adapted themselves to deal with dramatic changes. Besides, after the renovation, the size of the community shrank and only twenty-one households were chosen to stay and the residents began a new process of adjustment, not only to public attention but also to municipal governance and institutionalization.

Such significant changes in the community are easily observed. The respectful ex-head of the community unit, Ms. Chen, who moved into the village with her husband and became one of the earliest residents, felt a huge alteration of the atmosphere in the village as most of her neighbors were relocated.⁵⁶⁷ New spatial users and social relations were bonded to the site after THAV officially opened. In order to understand how residents participated in reshaping architecture in THAV, through fieldwork and onsite observations, three important adaptations of the community were spotted, which are crucial in terms of tackling residents' practices in this eco-museum-like venue. First, their daily lives under the tension aroused by the close boundaries between their domestic use, artistic application, and public occupancy.⁵⁶⁸ Second, how they involved themselves in this art-historic site is central, as it reveals their attitudes to the Conservation Plan. Third, since 2012, the aging of the community and the urgency of re-structuring community union seemed to enhance the second-generation residents to adapt a more active role in facing new circumstances in THAV.⁵⁶⁹

Remaking space by/for community uses

⁵⁶⁷ Wong, *The Oral History of Treasure Hill*, p. 63.

⁵⁶⁸ Remaining residents changed their roles from owners of the buildings to tenants. Most of the remaining families spent extra money to restore their 'new' houses, as the qualities of the renovations were undesirable: such as some drainpipes were clogged and there were leaking problems in most of the houses. However, some residents are not willing to fix the houses by themselves as they think they are tenants and city government should be responsible to pay for the damage.

⁵⁶⁹ In June 2012, Ms. Chen passed away and many residents, artists, community planners, activists, and staff in the art institution attended her funeral. It symbolized the aging of the first generation residents.

The residents' daily life plays an active but low-profiled role in the production of space at THAV. In Chapter 4, the residents, voluntary students and spatial professionals co-designed and re-built the Family Cinema and a new arbor on the ruin of the demolition area. The rebuilding of the communal space collaboratively made by both designers and users was the beginning of turning over open space for residential use. Besides, in the previous section, Brunetti and Chou's vegetable garden, in cooperation with residents and supportive staff in the art institution, successfully mediated artistic use and residential needs under the rigid regulation of land use. Against this background, although there were only twenty households in 2014 living in the Treasure Hill, the community seemed to exercise their agency in space making with their regular practices.⁵⁷⁰

The community events like One Family One Dish, family cinema, and daily chatting have been held and observed regularly alongside occasional reunions with ex-neighbors relocated outside.⁵⁷¹ These activities mostly take place under the new arbor, and they efficiently enhance recreating the domestic space of the residents. Taking the preparation of One Family One Dish in 2014 as an example, the main organizers, middle-aged second generation villagers, rearranged the space by setting up tables, preparing food and dishes, firing the bread kiln, informing each household, artists, and staff in the art institution (Figure 6.35). The activity was repeated again and again and gradually formed the residents' sphere, and thus a sense of place comes into being atmospherically. Moreover, the vegetable garden was growing prosperously under the residents' care. The arbor, family cinema, vegetable garden, and a newly-opened house called Treasure Hive that is officially used for a children's library and the office for community organization (THV Cultural Village Association) which opened on the 22 December 2013, all make up 'the landscape of daily life'. This day-to-day landscape catalyzed by the needs of daily life has been changing the space and architecture of THAV bit by bit in its slow rhythm (Figure 6.37).

⁵⁷⁰ Two veterans had moved out the village due to personal and health issues after THAV's official opening.

⁵⁷¹ For instance, the event, One Family One Dish, was held once in every two months between 2010 and 2012.



Figure 6.35 One Dish One Family scenes on 22 November 2014. Photo by the author.

In particular, the production of ‘Treasure Hive’ records the varied relationships between spatial professionals and the grassroots. First, the form of the red round-holed gate was originally made by Kenneth Haggard in GAPP in 2003. The reasons why he made a huge round hole were to enhance ventilation and to make an association with the traditional Chinese cultural form of a round gate. After GAPP, Treasure Hive was temporarily turned in to a grocery store for community's gathering and dining. From 2005 to 2007, community planners were stationed in buildings where Treasure Hive was located to conduct investigation on the residents' opinions about the future renovation. Later in the renovation stage, Treasure Hive was the first building presented as an example of renovation to convince the residents and the City Government (No.3

House). After THAV opened in 2010, due to the lack of indoor space for community activities and community organization, THV Cultural Village Association proposed the idea of restoring the building as a multi-functional space containing a children's library, a living room for both guests and residents, and a communal kitchen. Nonetheless, residents were not able to make a proper plan for fundraising on architectural remodeling. The Department for Cultural Affairs and the stationed third party commissioned to enhance community empowerment, Good Morning Culture, together helped the community association to make the application. The leader of the Cultural Village Association, Zhan, in the interview points out the shortfall of their ability to make 'plans and paper works' and emphasized that applying for budgets from the art institution or the City Government is urgent for them.⁵⁷²



Figure 6.36 The opening of Treasure Hive as a multi-functional community space. Photo taken by Ming-Ying Cai on 22 December 2013.

⁵⁷² Interview with Zhan.

The history of making Treasure Hive indicates how second generation residents have learned under the institutionalization of THAV. From replacing a light bulb, fixing the floor and pipes, to dealing with visitors, middle-aged residents gradually realized that they have to keep pace with the development and operation of THAV. In addition, the tenant contracts of the remaining residents with the City Government run out in 2022 (twelve years after the opening). The uncertainty about the future raises a sense of crisis for younger residents to step into the management of their 'Treasure Hill Homeland'. If first generation residents were ostensibly passive in the past conservation demonstrations as they were afraid of relocation and demolition, second generation residents seemed to deal with their issues more actively and practically.



Figure 6.37 The residents' living landscape. 1: The pergola for One Family One Dish and the common kitchen. 2: Outdoor Family Cinema. 3: The vegetable garden. 4: Treasure Hive: Community office and library. Photo taken by the author on 11 December 2013.

Telling stories by residents

Treasure Hive is not only used for dealing with community affairs but is a center for displaying stories about the village to outside visitors. The Cultural Village Association

first set up two boards: one for mapping and locating each household and the other for exhibiting a few past images and texts of the village for visitors. Zhan observed that, 'there is only a small signboard about the village's history at the entrance of the village. If visitors miss the board, they probably have no idea about anything of the histories of the site'. Therefore, the community association attempted to improve the communication with visitors. With help from the art institution, in particular the third director Huang, Good Morning Culture, and designers, a very early version of story house came into being. Residents have started to tell their stories in Treasure Hill.

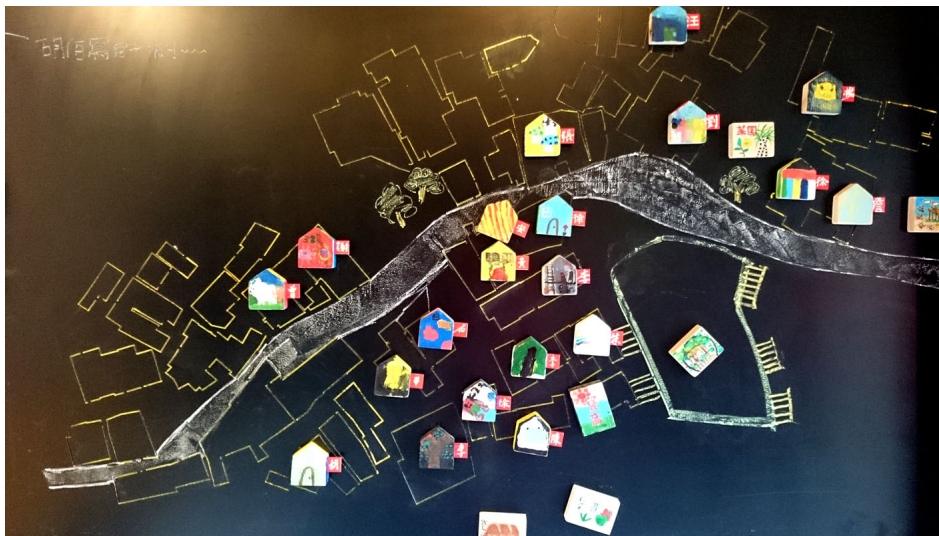


Figure 6.38 Residents were mapping all households on the village map in the entrance of the Treasure Hive introducing the location of the community. Photo taken by the author on 22 December 2013.

Another example of residents' remaking is meaning making for each household. At the end of 2013, with the assistance of Good Morning Culture regarding filling papers to apply for funding, the community culture organization created square doorplate light boxes with family names on them and a short introduction on each plate that tells a brief history of a household: how veteran or family settled here. It is a significant step for the residents to voice their own interpretation of their history.

However, a doorplate with a family name is not a common cultural practice in Taiwanese families, and the brief introduction of the history on the wall of the house is only seen in celebrity heritage sites (mostly of the deceased) or museums in Taiwan. The action of labeling and telling stories implies a sense of display and exhibiting. The creation of these light boxes shows how residents from the second generation view

themselves and their houses as *exhibits* to wider audiences. These middle-aged villagers started to play a more engaged role in THAV, and in particular, by presenting their stories to give more weight and legitimacy to their inhabitation. The remaking by residents is not only a byproduct of their daily routines, but also situates the community within the act of cultural production.



Figure 6.39 The family door plate light boxes (the red ones). See the number in yellow. 1: Family Li. 2: Family Chen. Photo taken by the author on 16 February 2014.



Figure 6.40 The family light boxes with histories of the families next to the family names. Photo taken by the on 16 February 2014.

However, if one takes closer look at the stories of each family light box, the stories told are simplified, neutral, and generalized. Each story starts with a family name and shows a male-householder-centered interpretation of how the family had moved into the village. The stories did not mention much of the village context such as the origin of self-building in a specific space-time and the controversial moments and challenges in the histories of making THAV. The insensitive and patriarchal stories seemed to neutralize the criticality of conserving THV and to reinforce the positive and antiseptic condition of the institutionalization of THAV.

Participation in operation as a stakeholder

The second-generation residents push for a more important position in the operation of THAV by reinventing themselves as active agents. Borrowing Pierre Bourdieu's concept, *habitus*, the residents now try to learn more ways of thinking and acting, which help them adapt in the public sphere with more possibilities. On the other hand, they have to seek collaboration with the art institution and the Department of Cultural Affairs and to look for more resources for the community. For instance, in February 2014, with the invitation and help from director Huang and artists, the residents made a light installation alongside the farm to be part of the Lantern Festival exhibition 2014. Although it is not the first time that the artwork has been created by/with residents, the installation is represented as being under the authorship of whole community. The community formally produced 'art' in public event but, of course, under the supervision of the art institution.



Figure 6.41 The left-sided brick installation made by residents with assistance of volunteers for the Lantern Festival 2014. Photo taken by the author in 2014.

However, the community did not seem satisfied with just playing a helpful agent for the operation of the Conservation Plan. In 2014, Zhan was invited to be part of the committee of THAV to participate in the selection of residential artists and to re-evaluate the efficacy of artists who applied for Micro Lofts. Through augmenting the involvement of community as one stakeholder, the role of the residents in THAV's operation seems to be increasing. At the same time, due to the limited budget given by the City Government, the THAV has been required to control expenses and look for

more funding since its opening, and the community feel obligated to bear more responsibility.

The rising community empowerment triggered the making of the space where residents are in charge of operations. On the 19 March 2015, the Treasure Hill Grocery, organized and operated by middle-aged residents with the art institution and artists' help, officially commenced business. The grocery offers hand-made food, such as fried rice noodles and meatball soup, which represent the villager's lifestyle and speaks to the tradition of how the elder residents treated their guests in the past. The mission of the shop is to generate funding by providing groceries for all space users in the village ranging from the residents, artists, staff, and visitors, and, more meaningfully, to revive the memory/tradition of the groceries in the village before the partial demolition in 2002.⁵⁷³ This is a milestone in the evolution of the community toward the status of stakeholder in the current institutionalization of THAV and owner of its past.



Figure 6.42 One of the placements of the security guards in THAV was replaced by a resident indicating the involvement of community during Huang's leadership. Photo taken by the author on 22 November 2014.

⁵⁷³ The third director, Wen-Yen Huang, interviewed by the author, digital recorder, Taipei, 13 November 2014.

Summary: from self-building to building a self-sufficient agent

*'Exhibitions in art museums do not of themselves change the world. Nor should they have to. But, as a form of public space, they constitute an arena in which a community may test, examine, and imaginatively live both older truths and possibilities for new ones.'*⁵⁷⁴ By Carol Duncan.

In 2014, the leader of community organization, Zhan, described the current operation of THAV: 'each group acts in its own way'.⁵⁷⁵ The words seem to imply the discord and deadlock between the residents and the art institution resulting from the duty of the second director, Xiao. In the same meeting, Zhan argued that there was no budget specifically for community organization and pointed out that community empowerment is what the community expect instead of patronizing help from social welfare or the art institution. Therefore, the residents have been striving for a better condition in THAV and reshaping the living environment in their own piecemeal ways.

In the past, first generation residents built up their life space/environment according to their survival needs while second generation residents have been reinventing themselves to show an active disposition in the operation of the Conservation Plan. They remade communal space with collective activities, narrated the stories of the village and themselves, took part in artistic productions, and transformed the community into a stakeholder. Echoing Duncan's above emphasis on community, the community has stepped into cultural production in this symbiotic art venue and opened up their experiments with daily practices, through which it is possible to link the reminiscent past, present needs, and future visions. As a result, the residents can stand up for themselves in this unprecedented eco-museum-like Conservation Plan by appropriating the space by and for their uses.

⁵⁷⁴ Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (Oxon: Routledge, 1995), p. 133.

⁵⁷⁵ Interview with Zhan.

6.5 Short term occupation of audiences

Based on onsite observation and an analysis of selected online posts from 2011 to 2014, this section discloses the profiles of temporary spatial users, audiences, and elaborates any repetitive pattern of behaviors or descriptions within the site, showing audiences' interactions with the environment towards possible remaking and creative use. The section first looks at what common spatial experiences visitors have narrated, perceived, and represented in THAV in their travel notes and posts. Second, their behaviors on the site might indicate the *affordance* of the built environment of the village with art activities and are an important aspect to examine. The third part will explore possible remaking and creative uses from those temporary occupants.

The spatial experiences and representation of THAV

The visitors re-narrate their experiences in their online posts representing the site in their individualistic ways. Most of the posts describe their bodily experiences, sensations, emotional feelings, and intellectual and mental understandings of the site, such as the information and history of the site. Subjective awareness and objective perception seem to be intertwined in their narratives, showing their sensitivity to the space/architecture in THAV. Some frequently appearing patterns that depict the spatial characteristics outline the reproduction of THAV in visitors' understanding.

First, general spatial experiences of audiences in THAV are related to the term *surprising*. They use words like '*unique*'⁵⁷⁶, '*treasure hunting*'⁵⁷⁷, '*enjoying exploration*'⁵⁷⁸. These terms frequently appear in the posts, in particular in regards to their first visit, with or without a specific reason. In contrast, a small number of posts show their disappointment about the renovation and the decision to publicize the village. In addition, a few audiences show their wonder by making comparisons and metaphors. For instance, 'this is the most quiet place in Taipei.'⁵⁷⁹, 'a place contrast to

⁵⁷⁶ For instance, the selected post coded B25, [accessed 17 July 2015].

⁵⁷⁷ Example: B20, [accessed 17 July 2015].

⁵⁷⁸ Example: B21, [accessed 17 July 2015].

⁵⁷⁹ Example: B34, [accessed 17 July 2015].

the city.⁵⁸⁰, 'like walking into a time tunnel'⁵⁸¹, and 'secluded and cozy place'.⁵⁸² The atmosphere of THAV is characterful in comparison to urbanized space. Also, many of the posts mention that the physicality of THAV is like a 'maze' which made visitors get lost, or which was inadequate for children, elders, and baby carriages (such as in B5, B16, and B34). THAV, for the first impression of the audience, appears to be notable for its setting and the intricacy of its spatiality.

Second, the audience is conscious of every detail and element in the site. Ranging from the traces and signs on the walls or building structures, (the sign of 'Family Barber' made by the elder residents; B25), the terrains, the paves, and stairs in the village (B33), small corners and penumbras (B36), ruins and shabby houses (C4/C5), residential or art objects, graffiti, to intentional exhibits and installation (B14). An observed tendency is that visitors attempt to delineate almost every detail and thing they find astounding by seeing, hearing, or encountering. For visitors, the surrounding seems to offer an immersive environment full of elements which can generate a sense of wonder and admiration for audiences with novel, artistic, and historic associations.



Figure 6.43 Audiences' exploratory behaviors. Photos taken by the author during onsite observation.

⁵⁸⁰ Example: B33, [accessed 17 July 2015].

⁵⁸¹ Example: B5, [accessed 17 July 2015].

⁵⁸² Example: B34, [accessed 17 July 2015].



Figure 6.44 A cat was photographed by the audience, showing THAV to be a place where every element might catch their attention. Photos taken by the author during onsite observation.

Third, about objective understanding, the knowledge about the site mentioned in online posts suggests that almost all audiences' objective facts about the site come from the official site of THAV or Wikipedia. By partially quoting or copying the information into their posts with little amendment, audiences could reach only rough, brief, and neutral histories of changes of the site without addressing much on the complicated processes of conflicts and negotiation.⁵⁸³ Moreover, in terms of the space users in THAV, quite a few posts have observed the remaining community and noticed the regulation and signs for guiding visitors' manners.⁵⁸⁴ Most of the posts adopt positive attitudes towards the Conservation Plan with limited comprehension of the partial or trimmed history.

The behaviors

⁵⁸³ In particular, the information on the official site of TAV and THAV, *About*, http://www.artistvillage.org/?page_id=225&lang=en Last accessed on 31 August 2015.

⁵⁸⁴ Examples: B3 and B25, [accessed 17 July 2015].

From onsite observation and online posts, audiences seem to demonstrate a Rambler-like behavior in THAV. The most regular behaviors are walking, halting, looking, photographing, and interacting with their companions. The unfixed circulation onsite might enhance the roaming-round experiences and possibilities of viewing the site. The audience member in post B24 even thinks THAV is 'the place capable of making ten versions of feeling after ten times visiting'.⁵⁸⁵ Although most of the posts do not state explicitly their reasoning, these depictions seem to suggest the sense of richness of the spaces in THAV.



Figure. 6.45 Outdoor installations in the open terrace ruin in THAV. There are layers of traces from different periods of the village on the top of the building and more than ten different visitors' behaviors were observed by the researcher. Photo taken by the author.

Furthermore, audience members readily interact with the elements around themselves in THAV, as art creation is mostly open for touch and some pieces are even integrated into the adjacent surroundings. In Figure 6.45, in the open terrace ruin, which was originally a household before demolition, there are two artworks made in different times. The left one was *Desire in Extremis* created by CBMI for the Lantern Festival in 2013 (during Xiao's period of duty), and the juxtaposed one on the right side of the terrace is a lifeguard chair made by Chun-Hao Liao in *Yellow Chairs Art Project* in 2011 (during

⁵⁸⁵ Many posts echo this point. For instance, B29, [accessed 17 July 2015].

Su's duty). Varied visitor behaviors are observed whilst they are interacting with the artworks. Audiences closely move around the artworks, touch, photograph, take selfies as well as climbing on the lifeguard chair and sitting on it. Besides, once in a while, some visitors move the location of the artworks. Moreover, many small areas drawn by the graffiti artists on both sides of the ruined wall around the terrace are noticed by many audiences. It creates a sense of exploration for visitors. They seem to enjoy discovering and searching for miscellaneous unexpected elements/details that they consider wonderful. The audience seem firstly to find one attraction such as a piece of graffiti or the opening (which was a window) on the ruined wall and take photographs of it and then, suddenly they are led by another attraction, such as another scene or the astonishing detail on the half damaged structure of the terrace. As a result, on this terrace, an audience might perform ten angles of viewing and photo shooting from different locations by moving their body around these two pieces of art installation made at different times. The rambler-like patterns seem to replay on and on at several points of the site and they seemed to construct the essential parts of visitors' experiences.



Figure 6.46 Different angles of viewing or photo shooting in the terrace ruin. Photos taken by the author during onsite observation.

By taking closer looks at the photographs visitors took, audiences performed their subjective ways of interacting with the artworks or spaces surrounding them. For them, every detail and thing, either artificial or natural, seemed to have a look of wonder and was worthy of recording. Visitors interacted with the mural (B15), art installation (B10), the hanging signs of the post office (B10), or imitated or responded to the posture or movement described in art works. Visitors' bodily performances reflect diverse affordance embedded in the objects or in the village.

However, the 50 selected online posts from 1 Jan 2014 to 31 December 2014 start to show patterns of similarity: that the audiences' photos are taken in certain spots; that there is a particular order of visiting; and that there are particular viewing angles. The audiences' experiences seem homogeneous. These posts imply that the outdoor scenes/circulation are gradually monitored or restricted by the institutionalized

management. Also, the built environment seems to be controlled subtly and is therefore less chaotic and more organized. This echoes the increasing production of white-cube-like space during the leadership of the second and third directors. Comparing to the spaces under the first director who was relatively interactive and sometimes even disorganized, the open spaces in 2014 seem well-managed (monitored) and more art exhibitions were held in the indoor gallery space. Although audiences' photographs still present many details discovered in art objects or the village scenes, the homogeneity and indistinguishable perception of the site gradually appeared from different visitors' experiences.

Remaking by creative uses of visitors?

From the experiences and behaviors of the audiences in THAV, some possible creative uses potentially reshape architecture of the site. The observed manners are subjective interpretation, rewriting through physical actions, and the occupation of the imagination.

First, subjective interpretation might expand the meaning which architecture was made to convey. It is possible to recognize the connection between the histories of architecture, the histories of museum making, and visitor' narratives. Take the above-mentioned terrace as an example, the layered traces in the physical spaces provide multiple possibilities of the *affordance* in the environment for temporary users to react upon or interact with. With a novel viewpoint and wonder, the elements in THAV are quite unusual for people living in an urban setting. The ways users appropriate the space and make their narratives online allow diverse interpretations to be made of the physicality of museum architecture. Architecture is no longer 'an art masterpiece' fixedly designed by architects but a window of opportunity in which the user's occupation could unfold the architecture's potential of re-interpretation and re-write the architecture by simply re-situating architecture in narratives made by temporary users.

Moreover, some of the audiences' subjective feelings, emotions, and reflections on or from the site, form a subjective space for themselves and are represented in their online posts. On one hand, these are personal and representational versions of the architecture, and on the other, the virtual space/architecture formed by subjective spatial experiences

can be read and distributed, and may perhaps trigger the imagination of other online readers to help shape their conceptual perception of the site. As Adrian Forty said, people who talk about architecture are one of the four kinds of people who could shape the architecture.⁵⁸⁶ The individual interpretation is formed from the process of both experiencing themselves and re-structuring their experiences into sensible texts. Audiences recreate architecture by representing their experiences of encountering the space, either through long narratives or a word of mouth. Although their subjective representation seems to create the architecture only partially, it still looks like a witness who encounters the architecture and therefore it is phenomenological, existential, and potentially influential.

Second, the rambler-like behaviors reflect sufficient affordance contained in the built environment of THAV and provide opportunities reaction. In the previous terraces case, the uses of the art objects and the built environment are various and at the same time, possible remaking could happen when audiences moved the location of artworks, such as that lifeguard yellow chair which changed its positions and was appropriated by audiences all the time. In addition, many outdoor installations are reported to be relocated and rearranged by the audience intentionally or unconsciously (See Figure 6.47). However, the artistic intentions and the management of the art institution are essential, which determine to what extent visitors could interact with the art objects. Also, many reversible remakings by audience members might be removed or reinstalled after the opening time every day. Therefore, the management of the art institution seems intangible but it is crucial to how audiences approach the site and exhibitions. The characteristic of THAV that the artistic is closely juxtaposed with the mundane residential things might be the central feature of the site, which brings a contrast to the urbanized scene. The loose regulation on how artworks should be exhibited allows more possibilities for how people interact with artworks. It enhances the chances of people's physical intervention in the site, such as photo taking, leaving messages in visitor books or on the wall,⁵⁸⁷ and in only a few cases, re-arranging the exhibits intentionally or unintentionally. Such creative uses might lead to architecture remaking.

⁵⁸⁶ Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, p. 11.

⁵⁸⁷ The selected post: B1, [accessed 17 July 2015].



Figure 6.47 Left: a wall that audiences left their messages on. Right: a piece of artwork made by TTCC had been repositioned by audiences a few times. Photos taken by the author during onsite observation.

Third, audiences' imaginative associations expand the spatial meaning of the site. It seems similar to the first point but goes beyond the personal and objective territory of representing the visit into wider narratives of memory and self-identification. Only two online posts reveal the potential of this. One describes his exhilarating memory of Japan when he saw the cherry blossom in THAV. He illustrates his emotional shift in detail, and how the spatial experiences in THAV were connected to his piece of memory simultaneously, a precious spatial/bodily experiences in other places. These two space-time allocations are connected because of his association. Another example is that one poster recalled her own family, who were immigrants from China after the end of Second World War, whilst in THAV. Many details or scenes in THAV seem to remind her of her own family history and condition. Through visiting THAV, she also goes through again her own attachment to her family of origin. In the above two cases, the comparable scene and spatial experiences are entangled with their reshaping of personal identity through the triggered process of re-collection.

This aspect of remaking the architecture suggests that the *affordances* that could trigger body memory and imagination are embedded and hidden in the space and architecture. Juhani Pallasmaa says, memory experiences in architects of several hundred years ago can still be sensed by people.⁵⁸⁸ It can be obscure or explicit, artificial or natural, sophisticated or raw, a piece of something or an immersive spatial atmosphere: it is connected to certain individuals and is able to trigger their association or imagination to

⁵⁸⁸ Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*, p. 67.

re-narrate or re-structure their own individual stories. Different places and times associated with each other therefore have rewritten the perception of both the site and the narrators.

6.6 Analysis and conclusion

'In fact, we can think of buildings altogether as material, embodied, and lived metaphors which express and articulate our experiences and understanding of our being-in-the-world; we live in spatial metaphors constructed of matter'.⁵⁸⁹

By Juhani Pallasmaa.

Having reviewed the distinct remaking from four major kinds of space users in THAV, this chapter reveals the ways in which THAV has been co-produced. From 2010 to 2014, in this unconventional practice of both museum making and urban history conservation, THAV has acted as a field of experiments for the involved parties, such as the City Government, the art institution, and all other spatial users. Varied users have constantly remade the space and architecture with their vision, knowledge, abilities, skills, and resources. Simultaneously, these diverse experiences of occupation gradually transform this museumified historic venue into a public venue and enrich the meaning of the site even more diversely. The users and use, in this public site, seem to play a potential role to contribute to the museum making. This section would review the actions from two perspectives: the stakeholder and shared authority and remaking by occupation of multiple authorship.

The stakeholder and shared authority

The main stakeholder, the City Government, has been holding an ambiguous attitude to the Conservation plan although some key directors in the Cultural Bureau or in the art institution in THAV had insisted in realizing the eco-museum like objectives. Compared to the last phase described in Chapter 5, a more collaborative mechanism which offers more shared authority to the residents has been gradually set up. On one hand, the empowerment of the community that architects had emphasized since the conservation movements seemed to develop, and the residents now became more active in participating in the operation of THAV. On the other hand, the gradual

⁵⁸⁹ Juhani Pallasmaa, 'Towards A Biophilic Future: Culture, Beauty, and Human Nature', in the Conference Manual of Architecture for People: Challenges and Opportunities of Contemporary East Asian Society held on 13-14 December 2014, Taipei, p. 53.

institutionalization pushed the village towards an efficiency-driven management in which it made all onsite spatial users obliged to follow the regulations and evaluation. In consequence, the municipality prioritized making THAV a cultural spot for visitors by making exhibitions and activities rather than operating the site with the initial objectives of the eco-museum-like conservation plan. Under this climate, the staying residents, in particular the second-generation residents, started to have a sense of crisis and began to learn to play a more active role. Although the museum making process from 2003 to 2015 was mostly under public power domination, the status of grassroots power gradually exercised their agency.

Remaking by occupation of multiple authorship

Since 2010, the three directors reshaped the site with respective ambitions of their visions and missions. In addition to many facilities and services which turned the site into a cultural venue for public availability, the three directors had their unique ways of embedding certain visions of the site into acts of physical making. First, under the limitations of budget, the first director, Su, and her staff attempted to create a dynamic and collaborative ‘platform’ with incentives to honour the special nature and historic importance of the site during the initial stage of the experimental project during 2010 to 2012. They hoped to re-produce the spirits of the self-built through the production of contemporary art and creation. This is how they responded to the Conservation Plan to encourage new creation, alongside the historic emphasis and preservation.

The second director, Xiao, also brought her vision into the village by introducing professional manners of contemporary art curation. THAV had been transformed into a characterful exhibition venue with a backdrop of the village context, in which an exotic sense of nostalgia characterized the site. Although some large-scaled gathering and diverse activities were irrelevant to the background of the village, the art institution successfully made THAV one of the prominent art and cultural venues on Taipei’s cultural map. However, the onsite community was therefore relatively neglected by the art institution and the weight of the locality was lessened. The third director, Huang, was aware of the equal importance of both the community and the art institution. His methods focused on introducing a clarified management system to regulate the onsite users’ duty and considered the community a key party to share the responsibilities of

operation. The pursuit of ‘efficiency’ happened at the cost that the strengthening of institutionalization tremendously changed the atmosphere of the village from an accommodation for a creative, chaotic and improvising milieu to more rigid and organized arrangement, influencing both the hardware and software in the village. Overall, the distinct approaches of the directors revealed that the flexibility of practices influenced by the director’s willingness in many extents.

The residential artists were generally well aware of the uniqueness of the village context and the Conservation Plan. Some of their works bridged their creativity and the locality and resulted in the remaking of the landscape. As their remaking and creative uses were eventually monitored by the art institution, their art production might not last long—although they were inclined to respond to the specificity of the site to different extents. The support of the community and the art institution seem to be the reason why the art projects could have caused long-term reshaping of the landscape. Moreover, in terms of short-term effects that the art has achieved, many residential art projects have been able to re-produce, or dig-out more aspects of the locality and make these features noticeable in artistic ways. Eventually, the meanings of the site made by diverse occupation have been accumulated.

The community, especially the second-generation residents, intervened with the remaking alongside their survival and life needs. The life landscape gradually came into being as well as characterized the site. In addition, the residents begin to move towards a more active role by involving their expectations in the THAV operation. Such development seems to be closer to the original vision and objectives of the Conservation Plan. Although the community encountered difficulties due to their lack of cultural capital and often required support from other parties and needed to compromise with the institution, the community slowly claimed their essential role in this program.

In this relatively free environment with least restrictions on audience behaviors (especially under the first director’s leadership), audiences’ rambler-like behaviors allow them to explore freely and to re-construct their visiting experiences according to themselves. Also, their feedbacks show the richness of the site that offers people the freedom to explore, to experience, and to imagine. The majority of audiences’ rewriting

is that they re-produce the site through their subjective experiences and associations. Through the medium they use such as texts, images, and messages in social media, they convey their spatial experiences as well as reproduce the site space in their representations. Besides, in a few cases, audiences reposition the exhibits and re-create new meanings for the art projects or ways of occupying the space. Although the impacts aroused by audiences appear slight and temporary in the physical space, the effects in virtual space (ex. words of mouth on the Internet) should not be underestimated. This needs more study to be illuminated fully.

Both the residential artists' working process and the residents' daily life share a sense of 'the presence' in which their daily lives and practices seem to form a characteristic of the site. Such a cultural phenomenon makes the site appear constantly changing and alive. Therefore, through space users' everyday practices and the ongoing events in the venue, for audiences who visit for the first time, the site provides a genial and novel setting.

Conclusion

For some critical artists and advocates of the Conservation Plan, THAV gradually turns itself into an exotic urban-village-like place and a site of 'duplicity' as the initial objectives and criticality of the Conservation Plan have been neglected.⁵⁹⁰ This observed phenomenon seems to support the concerns that the locality would only be consumed by urban hipsters or the middle classes without enough historic sensitivities.⁵⁹¹ Nevertheless, the above four forces vigorously, in their own ways,

⁵⁹⁰ One of the ex-staff with director Su, Ming-Li Li, says, 'Under blowing wind, basked themselves in the sun, enjoying the large outdoor Live House on the grass lawn (in Historic Facade), none of the audiences maybe remember the ground they stepped on was a flooding low land when heavy rain came, and the mottled romantic look of the ruins were controversial and conflicting scar left by demolition of 35 households in 2002', in Ming-Li Li, 'Grassroots Settlement with Light on— City Treasure Nominated Along with Taipei 101', *Heritage Note*, 22 July 2014
<<https://heritagenote.wordpress.com/2014/07/22/treasurehill/>> [accessed on 8 June 2015].

⁵⁹¹ Here I borrowed David Harvey's concept, urban village, 'where, it is believed, everyone can relate in a civil and urbane fashion to everyone else', in David Harvey, 'The New Urbanism and the Communitarian Trap', in *Harvard Design Magazine*, Number 1 (Winter/Spring 1997), p. 2. And also see David Harvey, *Rebel City: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2012), p. 71.

contribute to continuous museum making in THAV. It has the potential to imply a possibility of multiple authorship which might open up a new mechanism for making museums and built environments. It seems feasible that museum environment may not only be made by design, but by different kinds of users who can intervene with or partake in the different stages of making of the site—if sufficient communication, mutual understanding, and space remaking can be made for accommodating the old and the new the preserved and the created, and the inhabiting and transient appropriation.

Chapter Seven: Conclusion

*‘The space of enjoyment cannot consist of a building, an assembly of rooms, places determined by their functions. It cannot consist of a village, a small town, which have been repurposed to a certain extent. Rather, it will be the countryside or a landscape, a genuine space, one of moments, encounters, friendships, festivals, rest, quiet, joy, exaltation, love, sensuality, as well as understanding, enigma, the unknown, and the known, struggle, play’.*⁵⁹² By Henri Lefebvre.

Lefebvre reminds us of the space of enjoyment generated from the acknowledgement of diverse aspects of human being - in particular, the intangible connection with the space through the bodily, the emotional, the sensational, the interactive, and the engaging and celebration. A building or a piece of architecture is definitely not just associated with its functions or exchange value alongside with the capitalistic market’s logic. In current Taiwanese society, development-oriented thinking still dominates the decision/policy making in the governance of public affairs. This sort of thinking is also observed in the museum sector when assessing cultural affairs and museum practices. For example, quantitative indicators such as ‘the total number of visitors’ are applied to evaluate the performance or efficiency of the operation of cultural venues. This angle often ignores or simplifies the true picture of how visitors and various users occupy the site and what their occupation means to them and to the venue.

Back to museum architecture: public debates around museum architectures are mostly focused on spectacular creation or ‘the images of progress’.⁵⁹³ As a result, the physical form of museum architecture, ‘the visual’, becomes the central focus of the reporters and media when it officially opens. Such efficiency-oriented and visual fetish thinking seems to be informed by current global capitalist logic, risking what David Harvey reminds us of, which is the process of capital accumulation, or even ‘accumulation by

⁵⁹² Henri Lefebvre, *Towards an Architecture of Enjoyment* (Minneapolis: UMP, 2014), p. 152.

⁵⁹³ Here I use the concept of ‘image of progressive’ from Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750-1980*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1986).

dispossession',⁵⁹⁴ that has been creating uneven geographical development and by which local uniqueness is being eliminated and homogenized.⁵⁹⁵ As a result, the production of the museum built environment might also be one form of 'creative destruction', which only shows images to tame people/audiences to fit into the novel environment rather than facilitating users to build up their personal and intimate connection to a museum's space. Again, in public debates, the absence of the users during the making process, or the study and re-evaluation of the real status of users and occupation are rarely discussed. Museum architecture is still the territory of the professionals and architects, or the domain of aesthetics. More unfortunately, a seemingly transparent but opaque process of the production of museum architecture which only involves a few parties and selected experts in state-led museum making projects is still the mainstream practice in Taiwan.

Besides, this sort of instrumental thinking and distancing production of museum architecture loses sight of museum making as a form of urban placemaking that might be beneficial for enhancing citizen's living experiences in urbanized cities. Museum architectures, especially publicly funded ones, are not only projects of making buildings for museums. They are also part of the regeneration of the urban landscape. Furthermore, if storytelling is still considered the essence of museum making, then not only does museum architecture serve as a narrative environment, where 'experiences which integrate objects and spaces- and stories of people and places—as part of a process of storytelling that speaks of the experience of the everyday and our sense of self, as well as the special and the unique'⁵⁹⁶, but also as a materialized medium that accommodates narratives of the histories of the making and remaking of the landscape.

What can we learn from the study of the historical making of the architecture in Treasure Hill through the above empirical research? The self-built buildings, the

⁵⁹⁴ David Harvey, *Spaces of Neoliberalization: Towards a Theory of Uneven Geographical Development* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005), p. 58

⁵⁹⁵ David Harvey, *Space of Hope* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2000), Chapter 5: Theory of Uneven Geographical Development.

⁵⁹⁶ Suzanne MacLeod et al. 'Museum making: the place of narrative', in Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston Hanks, and Jonathan Hale (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, p. xix.

architecture without architects, might help us rethink design, users, buildings, and the society they exist within.

This chapter will conclude the above points fully and is divided into three main parts. First, by connecting chapter 3 to 6, this chapter intends to refer to the main research questions and objectives, and the actions of making a museum at THAV will be concisely reviewed. Second, the section ‘Learning about museum making’, will address three major points which might contribute to creating an environment enhancing creative uses, an explorative environment of layering meaning, and an environment of accumulating users’ remaking. Last but not the least, the third section, ‘Museum making as a method of social innovation’, will offer a provisional proposal that needs future investigation, suggesting that agenda for making museums could come more from social concerns.

7.1 Actions of making museum

To answer the research questions and objectives set out at the beginning of the research, the core issues of the above body chapters are integrated and reviewed here. First, in Chapter 3, the formation of the self-built architecture reveals that these architectures were the results of a close interactive relationship among users, buildings, the social context, and the geographic characteristics of the location, representing how early space users, the residents, reacted to the environment and built up their identification through spatial layouts and material choices. On a wider scale, the happening of self-constructed buildings reflects necessity at a certain space and time of the urban development in Taipei City. These buildings indicated how the pressure of insufficient housing was soothed. Thomas Gieryn proposes to understand ‘buildings as the object of human agency and as an agent of its own’.⁵⁹⁷ The space of the users at THAV is a social and cultural product demonstrating how self-built construction was the compromised way in which disadvantaged people and migrants could survive in the urbanized city. From a microscopic view, the self-constructed buildings reflect the terrain, the weather, the residents’ needs, and social relations among the spatial users. The patterns and forms of the buildings echo the dense interdependent relationships of comradeship and community. The skills and lifestyles of the veterans shaped the buildings, and their identities were embedded into the building forms. Here, Alexander Christopher’s system A, that is, a system which ‘places emphasis on subtleties, on finesse, on the structure of adaptation that makes each tiny part fit into the larger context’⁵⁹⁸, is particularly useful to address the advantages of the actions of the people who created their buildings without architects. This building mechanism has helped create a living environment and formed a straight connection, the feeling of home, between users and the buildings. Architecture here plays an active vehicle through which users’ senses of identity have been made and formed.

Overall, the original development of architecture in Treasure Hill indeed shows that built forms are both closely intertwined with the society and mobilized for fulfilling users’ and wider social needs.

⁵⁹⁷ Thomas F. Gieryn, What Buildings Do, *Theory and Society*, p. 36.

⁵⁹⁸ Alexander Christopher. *The Battle for the Life and Beauty of the Earth*, p. 6.

Second, as presented in Chapter 4, during 1999 to 2002 the village encountered a process of drastic change in physical and meaning making terms. From a hidden village to an identified historic village positioned to tell a part of urban history, and to a symbiosis of art, community, and public services (the youth hostel), the types of users and uses were accordingly radically changed.

The drastic physical changes at THV started for the sake of city beautification under the City Government's policy of demolition. Under the threat of demolition, the conservation movements and demonstrations by social agents with different intentions and agendas came into being and triggered the (alternative) meaning making process. The advocates, academics, and architects attempted to mobilize their social networks to achieve the alternative meaning of self-built architecture and to produce the unconventional urban history conversation in THAV. Designers and academics tried to achieve their vision by applying their cultural capital and sought more support from other academics, public debates, or social agents in other fields such as the political. Eventually, as Bourdieu suggests, the practices of the political field dominated (impacted) all other fields and made the conservation possible. If we delve into the success of the conservation movements with Bourdieu's idea, '[(habitus) (capital)] + field= practices'⁵⁹⁹ in his groundbreaking book, *Distinction*, we can see that designers and architects played a crucial role in bridging between disadvantaged people and social actors who had higher cultural capitals in order to voice the residents' wishes. This was the very beginning of meaning and narrative making at THV, and the prelude of the museum making which happened due to the Conservation Plan.

Although the first director of the Department of Cultural Affairs supported the conservation of THV with her 'Greek Village' vision, the execution of the Conservation Plan was still inexperienced and unfamiliar to the municipal system. For instance, the Department of Social Welfare was not able (or willing) to settle the residents all at the same time, and Department of Public Works was suspicious of public security and disaster prevention. Eventually, the functionalist thinking of the Department of Public Works did not comply with the decision of conservation, and buildings along the

⁵⁹⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, p. 101.

riverbank were demolished, resulting in the first but significant collapse of the community. The partial demolition also indicated the advocate architects' acts of compromise. Here, the production of a new kind of architecture and museum making seemed to impact the original habitual thinking of the functionalist (which still dominates) in the decision making in public sectors.

However, the peaks of various meaning makings at the site during the conservation movements are important for THV as a case of museum making. During the conservation movements, architectural drawing, household interviews, life stories documentaries, fieldworks, shots in movie scenes, and news and reports had been investigated by academics and volunteers, serving as the foundation of the narratives of the site. The angles of meaning making range from urban history, users and their unique experiences and emotional attachment, to bottom-up empowerment, and also the opposing sides such as a top-down angle on legitimation, security and hygiene doubt, and the stigmatization surrounding self-built buildings. Adrian Forty suggests that the words and images of architecture significantly inform the way we read/perceive architecture.⁶⁰⁰ Therefore, these representations and meaning makings related to the village are the foundation which underpin the discourses of cultural conservation and later the introduced eco-museum idea. These actions of meaning making not only attracted public attention and similar-minded people to join, but also challenged the conventional practices of culture conservation in Taiwanese society, which tends to only look at the value of the heritage recognized by the State or the elite. The focus is thus turned to the disadvantaged and everyday life. Also, most importantly, as a result, how the City Government treats grassroots practice has been altered a little but significantly. However, it is worthy of note that the alternative meaning of the site by various agents involved in the process was being produced, added to, distributed rapidly via media, and made to fight against the demolition; the bias of made narratives and meaning could risk romanticizing the cultural side and ignoring the true pictures of the formation of the village. This paved the way towards museum making but also later undermined the execution of the Conservation Plan, as the exact content and value of the Conservation Plan were not fixed and still open to debate and change.

⁶⁰⁰ Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, pp. 12-13.

Third, after the partial demolition in 2002, Treasure Hill Village has been gradually transformed into a public venue.⁶⁰¹ In Chapter 5, various decision makers, designers, and users in different phases of making, were shown to have performed their own different ways of making architecture, which responded to the Conservation Plan. For instance, the community planners strove to take the social side into consideration - keeping the community coherent and alive - and the architects intended to confirm the physical side - the scale and sense of the appearance of the self-built buildings in the village landscape by zoning and building onsite transitional houses in order to make sure the community was involved in the plan. Overall, the designers, in a wider definition, utilized their expertise to shape the site with social concerns.

However, despite the fact that this eco-museum-like Conservation Plan originally resulted from social concerns, the publicized process resulted in the fact that most of the residents gradually moved out, and new uses and users, such as artists and the commercial, were brought into the site. Notably, the changing social composition gradually reshaped the essence of the self-built village. The remaining residents, only one tenth of the original population in the village, were also no longer able to possess their houses. The transferal of ownership turned the remaining residents into tenants, and the institutionalized management changed the site to the control of the public authorities, especially after the renovation began in 2007. When Treasure Hill Artist Village (THAV) opened in 2010, the municipal administration further sped up the institutionalization of the site. The new social composition in THAV again added new layers of meaning onto the site. By the end of 2014, the three directors, their management teams, and invited artists respectively had rewritten the site with their own visions and actions. Some of their actions antagonized each other, while some were similar in terms of making THAV a publicly accessible venue. The external account of the making seemed more of a priority than the internal account of community and conservation.

⁶⁰¹ Although the buildings in THV were eventually identified as the first historic village in Taipei, the drastic change made the self-built village transform itself into a public venue, the prelude towards museum making.

Conversely, due to the aging of the first-generation residents, the second-generation residents started to re-think their role in this unconventional museum making and to involve themselves both in meaning and narrative making and the shared authority of operation. In spatial terms, the activity of the residents is shown through constantly changing the living landscape, and various storytelling and meaning making projects. Under the new setting of the symbiosis of art and community, the various users, such as the artist village institution, staff, directors, artists, and residents, through a series of negotiations, appropriated the site and even reshaped it in their own unique ways.

Remembering that Jonathan Hill's architecture is made by design and use, in Treasure Hill, if we look at design and use as the agents in an existing social structure, it is obvious how influential it is if a sensitive designer opens up the chances for the participation of future creative users during the making process. Moreover, in Chapter 6, we have to acknowledge that users' potential and possible creative uses can be essential to museum architecture, either in the physical remaking or the rewriting of intangible meanings. In an unconventional museum making like THAV, the physical space and meaning making are all still constantly changing. Viewed as a social space, THAV is a site where enmeshed social relations of designers and users keep interacting with each other and also continue to reshape the physical buildings and landscape. Through it, varied onsite users utilize their own skills/ways of seeking opportunities to exercise their force upon the site. From this a question arises: what could planning and design do in terms of accommodating more creative uses and rewriting for users?

7.2 Learning about museum making

Enhancement of creative use

This section will deepen the understanding of how design and use both play important roles in making and remaking architecture and museum environments that enhances **creative use**. It is divided into two threads: the control of the environment and users' bodily interventions.

First, in talking about the control of the environment, the first director of THAV, Su, cannot be overlooked. Around THAV's official opening, the site had the flexibility to accommodate users' changes. She appreciated the spirit of DIY and self-building in THAV and encouraged the artists in THAV to conduct site-specific creations. She thought any new action of remaking the site was able to echo both the present status of the site and the community life and its past histories. Su's flexible and experimental management permitted creative uses to happen, to leave traces, or even to cooperate with the institution's strategy (See the vegetable garden art creation in Chapter 6). Her approaches were open to adapt to actual users' actions. However, the second and third directors concentrated more on making THAV a public site so that various users onsite were guided to work in cooperation under a given policy goal: a symbiosis of art and community but under the institution's management. The control of the institution and the city government became crucial gatekeepers to the site. The institutionalized THAV seemed to allow users' creative uses, but the final results were still monitored by the authorities. For users such as artists and residents who stayed longer onsite, their creation or daily appropriation therefore increased the 'narrativity' of the environment.⁶⁰² This approach of remaking became less and less visible in the later two directors' terms of office. Also, for audiences who occupied the site, the relatively loose control of circulation around THAV allowed audiences' rambler-like behavioral patterns, again in particular during Su's duty. Compared to most museum making in Taiwan, where controlled circulation was produced to guide the visitors around the

⁶⁰² Tricia Austin, 'Scales of Narrativity', in *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, pp. 107-118.

spaces that the institution wanted to present and sometimes framed for the sake of storytelling, THAV offered an environment for exploration instead of imposing too much guidance on visitors.

Second, in terms of users' interventions in the space, such as artists' remakings, audience's explorative rambling behavior, or residents' living landscape, the bodily is another key. Juhani Pallasmaa's work, *The Eyes of The Skin*, criticizes the hegemony of vision and expands the discussion to diverse bodily sensations that perceive architecture in ways other than visual and intellectual points of view. He notes, 'the world and the self inform and redefine each other constantly. The percept of body and the image of the world turn into one single continuous existential experience.'⁶⁰³ The accumulation of bodily experiences of interacting with the physical world can make and remake the image of the self over time. Architectural researcher Jonathan Hale echoes this in his attempt to theorize the idea of narrative environment. He quotes psychologist Jerome Bruner's description of 'narrative as the creation of story, and it intends to build meaning rather than truth' and Merleau-Ponty's ideas that 'a sense of the self as a distinct entity begins to develop through the bodily experience of movement and action'.⁶⁰⁴ There is a natural tendency and ability to narrate in human beings to help them comprehend the environment around them. Hale suggests that a human being learns about the essential and inherent self through both narrative and bodily experiences, and advocates the idea that a three-dimensional space (museum and exhibition space) can work better than texts. The bodily is another key aspect that might lead to creative uses in the environment as it allows the users to experience 'themselves' through bodily sensation and actions. The emerging differentiated 'Self' may lead to more individualistic behaviors and actions, which have the potential to become creative uses. In THAV, the open atmosphere of symbiosis seems to facilitate the bodily experiences of various spatial users.

⁶⁰³ Juhani Pallasmaa, *The Eyes of the Skin: Architecture and the Senses*. (West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2005), pp. 41-45.

⁶⁰⁴ Jonathan Hale, 'Narrative environments and the paradigm of embodiment', in Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston Hanks, and Jonathan Hale (eds), *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures, Exhibitions*, p. 198.

The advocates for traditional museum practices might think that the open environment is the result of loose management and lack of proper planning. However, Jeremy Till's concept, slack space, which echoes Jonathan Hill's emphasis on architecture remaking by users' occupation, might help underpin the free-floating environmental setting of THAV. Slack space, 'is open to changing use... it is space that something will happen in, but exactly what that something might be is not determinedly programmed. Slack space operates more as a robust background than a refined foreground.'⁶⁰⁵ In THAV, the flexible spatiality of around 2010 to 2012, allowed all users with different durations of occupation to act in their own patterns and at their own pace. For museum makers, it might be more important to create an environment that offers as many affordances embedded in the environment as possible rather than a fixed and visually-oriented setting of scenography with a single circulation pattern.

Explorative environment of layering meaning

Following the above, the analysis of online posts in Chapter 6 suggests that the environment of THAV appears as an environment that contains layers of meanings and stories. Some of them are obviously discovered while some are not. Jonathan Hill's ideas are again helpful to explain this. He applies the early twentieth-century avant-garde concept of montage, in a new way. Instead of using it to evoke surprise by juxtaposing different fragments, he emphasizes that the gaps (between fragments) are as important as the fragments. He points out, 'the aim of the montage of gaps is not to grab attention, and then sink to acceptability, but to have a more gradual influence, remaining unresolved to be remade anew by each user'.⁶⁰⁶

If we consider the given programming and objects (in museums) as fragments, the backdrop or the background environment might act as gaps: situating THAV in its context, the area of Treasure Hill would serve as the 'gaps'. It contains the symbiotic village but also a historic temple, a natural landscape (riverbank and forests on the hill), other municipal leisure infrastructures (river bank park and cycling routes), the artistic creation and setting, and the residential district. The built environment, ranging from the

⁶⁰⁵ Till, *Architecture Depends*, p. 134.

⁶⁰⁶ Hill, *Actions of Architecture: Architects and Creative User*, p. 110.

artificial to the natural, possesses many visit-worthy characteristics for visitors to explore. Furthermore, in the village, there are many corners, open places, and different landscapes for audiences' to temporarily occupy. In addition, in Chapter 6, it was shown that the temporary appropriation also seemed to allow audiences to come back to themselves and re-connect/re-collect their similar spatial experiences from their pasts. Via the online posts, audiences not only constructed their own experiences in their own ways but also projected their interpretation, memory, or imagination, onto the physical environment they were immersed in. It allowed audiences to wonder, to read, to dig out, to interpret, and to freely construct their own visiting experiences and new meanings.

The open landscape around THAV may be seen to dilute it as an art venue. However, from the perspective of placemaking in a densely urbanized city, it enriches visitors' experiences and makes the site more livable for both the community and citizens. For museum makers, to take creating an environment that embeds layering of meaning, ranging from the natural to the cultural, from the artistic to the historical, from the institutional to an everyday agenda, into account is crucial as the interplay between the fragments and the gaps could continuously generate new meanings from individual users and might transform the space in/around the museum environment for users' appropriation as a 'lived space'.⁶⁰⁷

The environment of the accumulation of user's remakings

Although the planning and design in THAV are supportive for use/users and therefore might offer chances to rewrite the space, before the end of 2014, the conflicting past and the controversial process of how buildings had been changed and impacted upon were not shown onsite. Only some traces like graffiti were purposely kept by the architects and the art institution during the renovation. However, without clear narratives, it is still very difficult for audiences to comprehend easily, especially in this mixed environment with layers of histories and information. Suzanne MacLeod refers to Jane Rendell's critical spatial practices to suggest that the histories of changes in museum architecture could help lessen the gap between museum practices and their architecture.⁶⁰⁸ Looking

⁶⁰⁷ Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, p. 39.

⁶⁰⁸ Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 186.

back at THAV, in particular, how different users who occupied the site for different duration of time and how their uses rewrote the site seem urgent to have some interpretative design as visitors seem unable to fully understand how the conservation plan had been conducted. Otherwise, an environment, which contains implicit clues, might be misread, and its meaningful process of making stays veiled.

Geographer Edward Soja coined a term ‘thirdspace’, in which

everything comes together...subjectivity and objectivity, the abstract and the concrete, the real and the imagined, the knowable and the unimaginable, the repetitive and the differential, structure and agency, mind and body, consciousness and the unconscious, the disciplined and the transdisciplinary, everyday life and unending history.⁶⁰⁹

Thirdspace is based on the work of Henri Lefebvre and attempts to grasp a transcendent concept, which constantly expands to include “an-Other”. Consequently, it gives the opportunity to include the contestation and re-negotiation of boundaries and cultural identity. From THV to THAV, various debates, ranging from ugliness (the self-built) and beautification (the city), the powered and the disadvantaged grassroots, slack management and fixed administration, had all taken place, at this site where the dualism is never enough to designate the complicated practices of its making. What could museum makers and designers learn from this? A place like THAV lies between the real and the imagined, the lived and the designed, and the past and the present, built through various actions of design and use, and this characterizes the spatial experience at the Hill. THAV as a symbiotic site made up of a contemporary art venue, a historic village, and a residential homeland, and offers an immersive environment in which preset audience behaviors do not exist. Instead, it enables visitors to experience both natural and artificial settings made in the past and encourages them to reflect upon the physical spatiality as well as their inner perception and interpretation in the present.

In summary, from the perspective of the spatial, THAV keeps the scale of building made by the first batch of self-build users and aims towards making space for

⁶⁰⁹ Edward Soja, *Thirdspace* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1996), p. 57.

community use. From the viewpoint of the temporal, layers of the histories of making made by various design and use are embedded and carefully preserved in the built environment, which is a potentially crucial part of storytelling and meaning making of the site and also for users to remake. Juhani Pallasmaa's 'fragile (weak) architecture', that indicates 'architecture of weak structure and image', as opposed to 'architecture of strong structure and image'⁶¹⁰. Suzanne MacLeod elaborates his words and points out, 'an approach to making built forms where the strong, masculine and powerful architectural idea is replaced by an emphasis on process and building forms are allowed to emerge from the needs of its users'.⁶¹¹ So rethinking the design of museums as production of social spaces helps us reconsider museum making a process of social innovation for users rather than a standard design process from the concept development to the details of building design. To conclude, I would like to contend that we consider museum making a representational environment of constant interplay between the designed and used, instead of only a fixed three-dimensional product, where varied forms of design is made for allowing a variety of uses to remake in various ways. Moreover, it is crucial to acknowledge users' remaking, either meaning-wise or the physical wise as accumulatable parts in museum making, to continuously enrich museum architecture's meanings.

⁶¹⁰ Juhani Pallasmaa, 'Hapticity and Time: Notes on a Fragile Architecture', *The Architectural Review* (May, 2000), p. 81.

⁶¹¹ Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 184.

7.3 Museum making as a method for social innovation

This section suggests a possible approach to museum making in Taiwan that might go beyond the current bid system in the public sectors.⁶¹² THAV contrasts with the common production methods of museum architecture which exist in Taiwan, in which museum architecture always comes into being after the architectural programming of museum making. In THAV, it is the other way round. Here the museum making results from social issues/concerns that deal with the governmental development and the community's right to stay in the city. Cultural conservation seems to be the only feasible stance against the given policy of demolition. Therefore, from the perspective of museum practices, the original objectives of museum making in THV were not from a policy agenda. It is from the intention to preserve grassroots' rights to the city and the community network. The cultural Conservation Plan which later developed into art venue making can be seen as a compromise after negotiations among the activists, the community, and the City Government and as a way out for the municipal system at that time. As a consequence, the process from THV to THAV can help us rethink the reasons for museum making, and drive them towards more social considerations. Museum architecture historian Suzanne MacLeod's words provoke more social concerns regarding museum making. She points out,

For the museums that aim to play some role as anchors for identity and as sites for the representation of history, telling us who we are and where we come from, these are important observations. For progressive museums, committed to community involvement and use and driven by a desire to make a difference to life as it is lived, these ideas are vital.⁶¹³

The intention of the museum making in THV is not to build a physical site, but to pursue a goal of social justice and reformation: the living conservation plan was to care

⁶¹² Chapter 5 and 6 elaborate diverse making which contributes to transforming THV into a museumified site and an art venue. It includes the intervention of public investment, such as the research and planning project commissioned by the Department of Cultural Affairs in the City Government (two projects in 2003-2005 and 2006-2007) and the renovation execution (2007-2010), and also other onsite interventions made by the artists, the residents, and short-term space users.

⁶¹³ Suzanne MacLeod, *Museum Architecture: A New Biography*, p. 30.

for the life of the grassroots. It is a systematic design that enhances social innovation in both bureaucratic operation and community empowerment. Rethinking the production of social space in THV reveals that social considerations were incorporated into the architectural programming, but also more importantly, into every step of making and remodeling the self-built buildings, such as planning, designing, construction, and operation. As a consequence, the diverse museum making was accompanied with social concerns, which could be seen as opportunities (though sometimes might appear as constraints) for designers to influence the systematic reformation. I would argue here that this form of museum making, which has grown from social issues and social needs, should receive more attention in the production of museums as well as museum architecture. If we consider museum making a form of social reconfiguration, should we rethink the goals of making museums, the distribution of social resources, and impacts on social reconfiguration and social innovation in the museum making process? Museum making might consequently become a path to social innovation. Although the unconventional museum making of THAV is still a unique case by the end of 2014 in Taiwan, and the bureaucratic operation has not seemed to change much after the execution of THAV, the value of the case lies in its being a milestone of progressive heritage and museum practice.

Appendix I

The asked questions in official interviews

1. Questions for community planners and architects (totally 3 interviewees. Only two signed the Consent Form and the other provided data)

.....

(About their job)

What project did you do in THV? What exactly is the project about and what is your role in the project?

When and how long did you work in THV? Do you sometimes go back to THAV?

(About conservation plan)

In your opinion, what key factors have influenced the result of the conservation plan of THAV most? And why? Can you provide more details?

In your opinion, what events/moments could be the major making/remaking to the architecture and landscape of THAV? And why? Can you provide more details?

What can be done better if you could have done it differently? Why?

What do you think of the management of THAV by the art institution? Do you think they have continued the mission/vision of the conservation plan?

(About creative use)

What comes to your mind when you hear ‘creative use’ to the site?

Do you think of anyone else I should ask if I wanted to tackle more on creative use in THAV?

2. Questions for staff in Treasure Hill Artist Village (totally 4 interviewees. Three interviewees signed the Consent Form, and the other one only provided data)

.....

(About information about their jobs)

When have/had you started working in THAV? What attracted you to work here?

What projects do/did you take charge in THAV? What is/was the content of the project exactly and how do you tackle it?

(About THAV)

What do you think about the unconventional plan of THAV?

How do you find the conservation plan of THAV? Do you agree with the vision of THAV? What do you personally feel about it?

Do you know the history of THAV before it is turned into a symbiosis site of the residential, the art, and the youth hostel?

Can you talk more about your impression of visitors and give me a general profile?

Can you talk more about how art institution communicates with artists and the community in daily base?

(About specific questions for understanding certain making in THAV)

Taking the design of the youth hostel as an example:

Can you talk more about ‘how/why had the design of the youth hostel been decided’?

Do you know who did the project? When did the project start and finish?

(About creative use)

Do you think any of actions/projects in THAV that could be called creative use by art institution, the community, the residential artists, or any other party?

In the projects you are/have been doing, what and how do you shape the space in THAV? Could you please also explain why you have done things in that way?

Do you think of anyone else I should ask if I wanted to tackle more on creative use in THAV?

3. Questions for the directors of Treasure Hill Artist Village (two interviewees signed the Consent Form, and a long conversation with the other director)

Questions might not always be asked in the order below and certain terms and words might be slightly different according to the actual interviewees' duty.

.....

(About the City Government in the decision making process)

As an official in the City Government, could you please point out in your point of view what factors have significantly influenced the decision making in shaping THAV?

After THAV opens, in your duty what is the expectation and the administrative goals for operating THAV?

(About the preparation of the art institution. Note: this section is only for the first director)

Following the above, during your participation (time range. e.g. 2006 to 2009 with the first director Yaohua Su's preliminary involvement), what tasks did you majorly conduct in shaping THAV?

How was the space/interior arrangement decided, in particular the space/building for art use? Did you collaborate with the architects and planners? If yes, how and what mechanism did you cooperate?

(About management and art curation in THAV)

What difficulties are as the hardest ones in the administration and management in THAV in your point of view?

How did you select residential artists, including public art projects, micro-lofts, and international residential artists?

What were your major concerns and ideas when you curated the annual exhibitions and art activities in THAV? How did the approaches of making art exhibition relate to this site?

(About the interaction between other onsite parties)

What do you think of the setting of symbiosis (co-existing) in THAV? How did you deal with the communication with the community and the artist groups? What issue is the most complicated in your opinion?

(About the vision of THAV)

A general question: what would be great about THAV if it happened?

(About creative use)

What comes to your mind when you hear 'creative use' to the site?

Do you think of anyone else I should ask if I wanted to tackle more on creative use in THAV?

4. Questions for residential artists (totally 4 interviewees)

Questions might not be asked in the order below and depend on the progress of the actual interview.

.....

(About daily practices)

What do you do in your day when you conduct your residential project in THAV?

How do you decorate your working space and your bedroom in THAV?

Do you contact any other onsite residents? If yes, whom do you usually contact with and why?

(About perception of the site)

What do you know about the histories of the site?

Why did you apply your residential project to THAV?

(About art creation)

Could you talk about what you have created in THAV? How do you develop your art residential and exhibit your creation in THAV?

Do you think your art work talks to the physicality of the site? If yes, how does the environment of THAV interact with your art?

(About creative use)

What comes to your mind when you hear ‘creative use’ to the site?

Do you think of anyone else I should ask if I wanted to tackle more on creative use in THAV?

5. Questions for the residents (totally 2 interviewees: one signed the Consent Form, and the other provided images and data)

.....

(About their living in the village)

How long have you/your family been living here?

Do you have any photo to show how the village and your home looked like?

What part of your living do you like and dislike the most?

What do you feel about living in the village after THAV is officially open to the public?

What space do the residents of the 21 households use in the village? What do you usually do in the common space?

(About the current operation of THAV)

Do you participate in any activities or affairs in the operation? If yes, what do you do?

How often does the art institution contact the onsite community and the residents?

How and how often do you and the residential artists contact each other or other onsite residents?

What do you like or dislike about the current operation of THAV? Do you hear any other comments from the residents?

In your point of view, what are the strong or weak aspects in the conservation plan?

(About the organization of the community)

What is the organization working on currently? How many residents involve themselves in it?

Do you find any difficulty in doing these projects?

Can you talk more about any past community events that impressed you the most?

6. Questions for other relevant party/ museum workers (totally 3 interviewees including a volunteer student participating in the demonstrations and rebuilding community public space after partial demolition in 2002)

.....

Why did you frequently visit Treasure Hill Village?

What did you do in the village? Can you give more details about the works you have done here?

With whom you did the volunteer works together?

Who are the residents you often contact?

What do you think of the conservation of THAV? And why?

(About creative use)

What comes to your mind when you hear ‘creative use’ to the site?

Do you think of anyone else I should ask if I wanted to tackle more on creative use in THAV?

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A 02 26 Mar 2012

<http://jay0909.pixnet.net/blog/post/30542792-%5B> 台北遊記%5D-寶藏巖國際藝術村
-漫步在藝術村

A 03 15 Sep 2012

<http://standinghere.pixnet.net/blog/post/31163363>-隨拍 | 初訪,寶藏巖國際藝術村

A 04 24 Apr 2012

<http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/nakamaa66/post/1322912982>

A 05 21 Apr 2012

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A 06 22 Mar 2012

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A 07 18 Sep 2012

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A 08 1 Sep 2012

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A 09 7 Oct 2012

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A 10 9 Aug 2012

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%E3%80%90%E6%88%91%E5%BF%83%E6%89%80%E5%9C%A8%E3%80%91%E4%B8%80%E7%A8%AE%E6%87%B7%E5%BF%B5%E2%80%A7%E5%AF%B6%E8%97%8F%E5%B7%96

A 11 24 Jul 2012

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A 12 26 Oct 2012

<http://www.ipeen.com.tw/comment/365584>

A 13 4 May 2012

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A 14 20 Sep 2012

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A 16 22 Jun 2012

<http://cutemin73610.pixnet.net/blog/post/31046445->【玩在】台北。寶藏巖

A 17 25 Oct 2012

<http://imagepixel.pixnet.net/blog/post/55759646->》寶藏巖國際藝術村

A 18 5 Nov 2012

<http://sogirl0105.pixnet.net/blog/post/82673451->寶藏巖國際藝術村

A 19 29 Jan 2012

<http://nonobf.pixnet.net/blog/post/27776939-%5B> 無障礙旅遊%5D-公館小旅遊：寶藏巖、永福公園

A 20 18 Jan 2012

<http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/tpemks/post/1322726932>

A 21 4 Jan 2013

<http://yukiblog.tw/read-1699.html>

A 22 13 Jun 2012

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A 25 13 Apr 2012

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%E2%80%A7 寶藏巖

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<http://si3319.pixnet.net/blog/post/31117031>-公館寶藏巖

A 35 27 Sep 2011

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A 36 15 Apr 2012

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A 40 24 Jun 2012

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A 42 22 Feb 2012

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國際藝術村](http://palinkafuss.pixnet.net/blog/post/23146365-%5B台北%E2%80%A7寶藏巖國際藝術村)

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村，發現小
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<http://chiena329.pixnet.net/blog/post/314950562->【公館】寶藏巖國際藝術村 | 來一趟文藝之旅

<http://rym829.pixnet.net/blog/post/38536797>-台北公館【寶藏巖國際藝術村】
%E2%80%A7 為小狗探路

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