

研究論文會議

Participatory Community Design in the Pacific
Rim
環太平洋地區的社區參與式設計
GREEN COMMUNITY DESIGN

服務機關：台灣大學建築與城鄉研究所

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一、目的

自 1998 年以來，「環太平洋地區的社區參與式設計」網絡一直在城市規劃和設計過程中尋求新的、實用的解決方案。今年度的會議在韓國首次舉辦，主題是綠色的社區設計，預計將提供各種新的觀點和促進更多跨領域的專業討論。在氣候變遷的時代，“綠色”並不僅僅意味著為綠色空間和設計，更意味著可持續的生活模式和價值體系。因此，綠色社區設計關注在不同的領域如：開放空間的規劃、城市設計、聚落保存..等。本次會議搭建一個開放的平台，分享知識和經驗，且企圖在這些問題上提出了關於多元城市、綠色政策、社區參與的想像。近年首爾以開發為導向的規劃已受到質疑。社區關懷和尊重現有的社會生態已成為城市政策的首要議題，主辦單位希望藉由此次會議的多元論述可帶給首爾城市一點刺激。

本人的研究主題關心的是臨水而居的聚落保存，韓國清溪川的案子值得作借鏡。在全球化競爭與氣候變遷的時代，全世界城市的空間治理都在探討城市與河川之間的共生關係，將水的元素視為城市的「藍臍帶」，用以創造一個永續的、綠色的生活環境。韓國首爾清溪川整治改善計畫即震撼了全球都市規劃界，其打造的都市意象影響著政府推動城市水空間的想像。台北瑠公圳的改造計畫就被政府部門定義成清溪川的模樣，然而直接仿效其手法卻顯粗糙，並且衍伸更多城市空間治理的課題。如同本研究的對象新北市瑠公圳及其周圍的生活地景，因為政府要實踐清溪川的藍圖使得家園被迫拆遷。因此本次研究論文關注水圳的歷史文化與在地的連結，並參與一個從水圳保育到捍衛家園的行動，試圖從文化資產的角度來探討瑠公圳在城市的價值，希望從這個角度來重新思考城市與水圳、人的關係，藉此探討「誰來定義瑠公圳」？並與韓國清溪川進行對話。

二、過程

1. 專題發表

會議的第一天的行程主要是開幕式和專家學者的專題演講，現場備有同步翻譯。主要演講的議題幾乎聚焦在如何透過由下而上的地方力量攪動制式的、僵化的規劃設計領域。會議最後進行總體的討論，雖然各國對綠色社區設計的論述不盡然相同，但幾乎一致認同唯有從社區的單元做起，才可有效達到環境共生、永續環境的目標。



2. 論文發表

第二天的論文發表在首爾大學舉行，本次總共區分為八的子題，分別如下：

Session1: Re-envisioning of Community Design ; Session2: Urban Gardening & Urban Agriculture ; Session3: Community Leadership & Governance ; Session4: Green Design & Community ; Session5: Community Design & placemaking ; Session6: Community Revitalization & Neighborhood Planning ; Session7: Community Politics & Democracy ; Session8: Community Business & Social Enterprise 。本人是參與 Session2 。



3. 參訪行程

第三天為參訪行程，本次主辦單位安排三個路線，分別是： Team A : Mullae-dong in Seoul, Nodle island in Hangang(River); Team B : Lotus village, Boouingbe Village, Namyangju-si in Gyeonggi-do; Team C : Mt. Sung-mi village in Seoul, Street around Hongik University, Gyeongui Line Park ; Team D: Seoul Forest, Cheonggyecheon 。因本人研究的比較對象是首爾清溪川，因此就選擇 Team D 。





三、心得及建議

本次會議是以是發表人的身份參與，雖然只有短短的十五分鐘的報告，但整體參與其中仍有幾點心得如下：

1. **有關舉辦「環太平洋地區的社區參與式設計」研討會的意義：**此會議目的是搭建一個開放的平台，使來自各國的研究者可分享知識和經驗，因此創造出一個可分享的討論空間是非常重要的。可惜的是本次會議太著墨在會議形式，專家學者與台下聽眾的互動很少，再者是行程過於緊湊，研究者間非正式的交流時間太少。下次會議將在台灣舉辦，建議首日的專家演講場次可以減少，增加多一點小型的、不同子題的座談會。
2. **有關論文發表的反思：**本人的研究主題是瑠公圳的聚落保存，在此次會議特別和韓國清溪川的案子做比較。在訪談中得知，清溪川的整治的確充斥著政治的意涵，也難怪台灣的政界、政府部門紛紛想移植清溪川的成功模式。從台北市宣稱要讓瑠公圳重現天日，到台北縣(現改制為新北市)的中港大排整治計畫、甚至高雄的鳳山溪、曹公圳都不約而同地要向清溪川看齊。然而令人疑惑的是，不同河川或水道有其特性，能適用於同一種模式嗎？從實際參訪清溪川博物館及清溪川的過程中有很深的體會，該案例的特殊性必須從其特殊的歷史脈絡下去解讀，而非只見其光鮮的設計成果，因此，回到本文的論述「誰來定義瑠公圳？」，從「韓國青溪川」的都市意象到專業者「瑠公家園」保存的訴求，建構了一個不同願景意義競爭的場域，社區組織、保存團體、地方政府因各自不同的願景（居住權、城市美學、聚落保存）在爭辯、談判，都試圖在公共場域中定義瑠公圳，然而，僅從某一方或用單一角度來支配，只會帶來災難，是無法支撐水圳文化在整個城市發展過程中累積的深度和厚度，唯有透過一個由下而上的參與機制，接納弱勢、突破制度、跨領域對話與合作，才足以面對全球化多元城市帶來的挑戰，這即是本次會議帶給我最大的啟示。

附錄、研究論文發表

Expired Community, Out of work Waterway: Demolishing the Liugongjun Canal and Village to Build a Cheonggyecheon in the Metropolitan Taipei , Taiwan

by

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【Abstract】

Taiwan's urban landscape has been undergoing a dramatic change at the stage of globalism. The government's plans for landscape reform have been ignoring the local life, cultures and history. Building and destroying are mostly simultaneous. Therefore the landscape becomes placeless. Who does such landscape belong to? The original living spaces are disturbed and destroyed. Groups that are unable to deal with such changes are thus excluded from the power landscape. Their cultural assets and environmental justice are sacrificed in the exchange of urban development.

This study focuses on the conservation of villages by waters. In history, water is central to issues ranging from cultural development to economic construction. Liugongjun with two-hundred-year history is a representative landscape. It flows through Taipei city like veins running through peoples' bodies. While it bears witness to the growth of Taipei, the downside of urbanization also comes into its sight. Along Liugongjun lies a village which is situated in section 2, Lixing Road. The Liugongjun Village is known for stilt houses. Plus soldier residents and immigrant integration all add to its distinctiveness. It thus became the protagonist in a governmental project called Cultural Asset and Conservation of Liugongjun Cultural Landscape. While the government's plans for landscape reform highlights the need of urban development and the land use of infrastructure, it devaluates the Liugongjun Village as a historical heritage.

Besides, this article also deals with the interaction among the communal organizations, civic groups and local government. Since these social actors have their respective prospect of the right of abode, city aesthetics and the maintenance of dwellings, they argue and negotiate with one another. Moreover, the meaning of cultural landscape in terms of urban regeneration and the perspective on social and spatial justice are also reassessed. Finally, this article proposes that Liugongjun as a cultural landscape is not only the canal itself but also its identification with the locals. Accordingly, we should deal with controversies over Liugongjun Village in terms of cultural landscape conservation and urban regeneration from a more holistic perspective.

【Keywords】 Liugongjun Canal System 、 Cultural landscape, Spatial justice

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1 Preface

In the time when global competition and climate transition are taking place, the space governance of cities worldwide is basing on the discussion regarding the co-reliance of cities and rivers. This element of water is seen as the “blue umbilical cord” of the city and is thus used to create a sustainable and green living environment. Many urban cities that live relying on water are considering how to get closer to water and how water may be “unfolded” through all sorts of aspects as city culture, hazards mitigation, urban reformation, etc.

The massive restoration project of Cheonggyecheon in Seoul, South Korea, shattered the field of urban planning worldwide; in addition, the urban image it created impacted on the government’s imagination to give impetus to constructe the urban water space. The reformation of Liugongjun, Taipei, was set by government divisions to take the steps of Cheonggyecheon. However, the copycat method was rough and followed by more problems of debate regarding the space governance of the city. This was how the case study in this research and the other surrounding landscapes of Liugongjun were forced to be taken apart and moved due to the government’s realization of the Cheonggyecheon blueprint. I thus started not only paying attention to the correlation of the culture and history of the water drainage and its locality, but also took part in an action that went from the preservation of water drainage to the protection of our homeland. I intended to discuss the city value of Liugongjun from a cultural heritage perspective, and hoping, from this perspective, to rethink the relationships between city, water drainage, and human. And with this, discuss “who is to define Liugongjun”.

1.1 City, River, and Liugongjun

Rivers opened up the development of human civilization and that the rise of agriculture was often an important turning point in the history of human development. Water conservancy for agriculture opened up important culture landscapes in the migratory of the Han people in Taiwan. Tracing backward to the origin of human culture landscapes, it is of no doubt indicating the relationship between land and water. It seems too far back to trace the origin of human civilization; however, the land and water are the sum of human living. Looking, from this perspective, at the past historical thread, regardless of whatever subject of debate may be considered, whether from the development of culture to the economic constructions or whatsoever, nothing can be said to be irrelevant to land or water.

If we view the living space of Taiwan from a water drainage¹ perspective, the water drainage played an important part in the storage and irrigation of water, giving birth to the vitality of Taiwan farmlands in the early times of the tradition agricultural society. Not only did water drainage take a non-challenging stand in the development of Taiwan during the past, it also created a synesthesia of the Taiwanese people. In recent years, when the function of water drainage to irrigate for agricultural purposes disappeared as a result of the escalation of the urban economic development, the stand point and function of water drainage was neglected and somehow hidden within the city space. Therefore, the key factor to maintain a balance for land and water in the city surely concerns how water may be unfolded, maintained and defined.

¹ Water drainage network covers all over Taiwan. According to the Department of Irrigation and Engineering, there are almost one hundred thousand waterways in Taiwan, adding up to nearly seventy thousand kilometers long, which can go around Taiwan seven hundred times. Important facilities such as Watergates add up to more than 160 thousand ones.

1.2 “The County of Large River”, Dreaming for a “Cheonggyecheon”

Cheonggyecheon is a 5.8 km creek flowing through downtown Seoul, and eventually connects to the Han River. It has always represented symbolic meanings from political, social, and cultural perspectives in the history of Korea. In July 2003, Lee Myung-bak, the Seoul mayor at then, initiated a restoration project to move the elevated highway and restore the stream. It was a major undertaking since not only did the highway have to be removed, but it had re-introduced its nature to the city. Seoul was taken as the Asian city of landscape creativity and innovation from an international remark, and Lee was elected president by getting high support rate, giving a glimpse of political implication to the miraculous restoration of Cheonggyecheon.

The Taiwanese politic and media circles see the restoration of Cheonggyecheon as a remarkable success, and government divisions were all eager to copy its pattern of success. From the declaration of Taipei City to make alive Liugongjun, to the restoration plan of Jhong-Gang Drainage Channel by Taipei County (which is now reformed as New Taipei City), or even Fong-Shan River and Caogong Waterway in Kaohsiung, all of these coincide to look up to the case of Cheonggyecheon. However, doubtfully enough for people is that with the different and distinct characteristics of each river or canal, can they all fit into one single pattern?

Then-magistrate of Taipei County, Chou Hsi-Wei, claimed Taipei County to be “the county of large river”. He declared in 2007 that with 5 years of time and by investing 1.9 billion dollars, Jhong-Gang Drainage Channel in Sinjhuang, Taipei County, would be turned into Cheonggyecheon in Seoul, South Korea. The idea was to transform Jhong-Gang Drainage Channel, notorious for its stinking smell, into a water-made-friendly park; nevertheless, the heavy rain in the following year after caused Jhong-Gang Drainage Channel to be packed and piled up with silt and sand, deranging its original purpose to control or prevent floods.

As for Liugongjun in New Taipei City, it also took the experience of Cheonggyecheon. A 5-stage watercourse reconstruction work was planned to take place on the 3.8 kilometer watercourse from Bitan to Chingmei River in order to produce a water-made-friendly space that combines flowing water and greeneries. None the less, the low usage rate and a lack of maintenance were caused due to the ill design² of the project. We are compelled to ask whether or not the idea to copy the restoration pattern of Cheonggyecheon lay upon the expectation of its political profits to-be? And as for the so-called landscape reconstruction project, what kind of landscape did it actually reconstructed? And to whom does the landscape belong?



² The NTU Team found by close inspection on the content of design in “Result and Concluding Report on Design and Planning for Reformation of Space Along Liugongjun Waterway, Xindian District in New Taipei City” that the agency that made the design and planning did not have a thorough understanding about Liugongjun and its surroundings, causing energy consumption (ladling water into Liugongjun with motors), pollution (waste discarded and serious mud and sand deposition in the waterway), and the low usage rate in the first section of the water drainage that had been completed. In the second section, the design to tear everything down and re-construct for a new image did not make proper reservation for the cultural landscape of the solid-residential village, and it completely destroyed the historical track marks of prosperous culture on-site. The third section (work completed), which made virtual connection between the Liugong Park and the waterway, was also under a lot of criticism from the residents. In the report, the fourth and fifth sections also ignore the basic problems regarding the reformation of the waterway.

1.3 Tearing and Moving Crisis Faced by Liugongjun “Non-restrained Solider Residential Village”³

Liugongjun, which runs from the head of Bitan to the end of Chingmei Waterway, serves as an important agricultural and cultural landscape to present the historical memory of Taipei. Amongst which, the subject of this study, Liugongjun Village, is located along Liugongjun, around section 2, Lixing Road. It is an illegal urban landscape (informal landscape) that general citizens choose to "not see" or even "unwilling" to see. The Village became the protagonist in a governmental project, "Cultural Asset and Conservation of Liugongjun Cultural Landscape", since it is known for its stilt houses and its distinctiveness construed by the soldier residents and immigrant integration. Inclining to the need of urban development, the government's landscape reformation plan solicited more land for the construction of infrastructures, and torn down the so-called illegal housings to implement the imagination for a water-made-friendly park just like Cheonggyecheon. With the above, the restoration plan not only devaluated the Liugongjun Village as a historical heritage, it also ignored the "historical remaining problems". The historical complications left by the Liugongjun Village include the lack of care for alumni soldiers and the sloution to fulfill the need for residencial space. The long ignored problem regarding the rights of residence for the less privileged groups⁴ in the Taiwanese society may be made prominent from this study.



Fig.3 Liugongjun Village- elevation

2 Methodologies and Literature Review

2.1 Liugongjun from a Historical Perspective

2.1.1 *The Historical Meaning of Water Conservancy Constructions of Liugongjun in the History of Development*

It has been 270 years since Kuo His-Liu started to excavate Liugongjun in the Ching Dynasty. He educed water to the waterway from Chingtian Creek, then reaching the Taipei Basin by crossing through Chingmei River, and thus made it the most important agricultural irrigation waterway. At the initial stage of the excavation, the place could be said as the war-zone for regional preservation between the Han people and the aborigines since people then had to concur the ominous geological environment and also stand against the threats of the mountain aborigines.

During the Japanese Colonial Era in Taiwan, the development of Liugongjun which originally belonged to private industry was taken over by Japanese government agencies. With the refinement of the construction work, the water

3 "Liugongjun Village is one of military dependents' villages which were built either by the KMT government or soldiers themselves after KMT lost the civil war to CPC, the Communist Party of China, and retreated to Taiwan. At that time, the KMT government acquiesced in building villages by the soldiers but today, these villages, such as Liugongjun Village, turn out to be illegal buildings. And thus they can be torn down as the government practices the law and ignores the historical context."

4 Referring to the "Homes in the Cracks of the City-the Cry of the Liugongjun Villagers", the co-work between AMT, Institute of Building and Planning, NTU, and OURs professional urban reformation organization.

flow of the waterway highly increased, causing the square measure of irrigation to escalate by a large margin, and hence lead to the plentiful harvest of crops⁵. Whether taking the perspective from a historical or water conservancy point of view, Kuo's excavation to educe water from Bitan to irrigate the farmlands in Taipei and make Hsindian the base for production had given reasonable symbolic orders to the groups formed around the waterway and farmland areas. The spatial order was gradually formed in Hsindian area. And everything including irrigation, drinking, recreation, bathing and laundering all lay upon the abundant water resource from Liugongjun. The waterway and the lives of local residences were closely linked and inseparable. Liugongjun was as if Mother Earth, and the waterway represented the formation of villages and also the place for the construction of regional group memories.

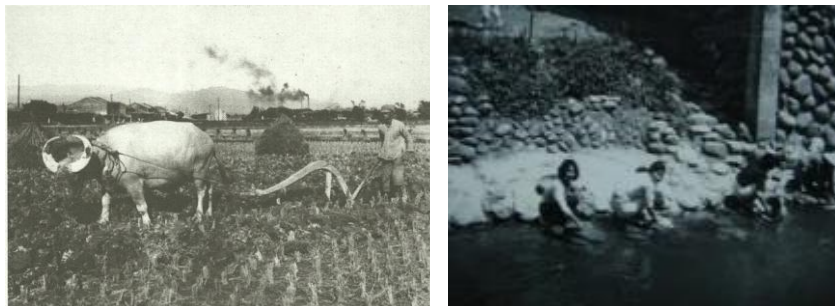


Fig.4~5 Liugongjun lifescape

2.1.2 Waterway made obvious the Historical Meanings of Conflict between Han and Aborigines, Society of Immigrant Settlement, Rural-Urban Migration

Going from the Ching Dynasty to the Han society of China immigrant settlement, and on to the development of fishing groups of Atayal Tribe, followed by the immigrants of mainlander-soldier-residence-village that came into place after Taiwan Restoration, and even on to the recent urban-rural immigrants, Liugongjun bridged the pluralistic ethnical lifestyles and memories and added different layers of historical stages and inter-crossing chasm of ethnic groups onto the spatial structure of modern cities. The continuous accumulation of historical meanings and the linkage of the competition among various ethnic groups were also represented by this waterway. The occurrences of stilt houses in Liugongjun Village located around section 2 of Liugongjun represented the lifestyle in harsh times. The fund-raise for the over-water bridge construction showed the independent construction spirits of the habitants. The value of its cultural heritage lies not only within the buildings, but also within the culture of “human beings”, that is to say the cultural form of daily living space. The pattern of the neighborhood in this special village showed its difference from the non-chalance and indifference of modern cities. It is the “community space” lacked in the detached urban cities. As mentioned above, this 3.8-kilo waterway linked the lifestyles and memories of multiple ethnic groups and formed prosperous lifescape with the communities that gradually came into place throughout different historical stages alongside the waterway.

2.1.3 Symbolic Meaning of Liugongjun in the Process of Urbanization

After 1960s, the necessity of water irrigation diminished as a result of the development in the industrial and commercial circles, and Liugongjun came down to be seen as stinky and dirty ditches. The first stage of construction of Liugongjun was completed in 1972, symbolizing the agriculture culture of water conservancy for irrigation saying its formal farewell to the urban district. With the rapid development of urban expansion, agricultural land was seriously encroached and eliminated. The original farmland and waterway were transformed into construction sites

⁵ Source of Information: Taipei County investigation and research plan on the cultural estate investigation and method of preservation of “Liugongjun cultural landscape”

for business or residential purposes. The irrigation area of the waterway began to narrow year by year. And in the end, the waterway went into history in January, 1984, putting an end to its function for irrigation. The waterway was completely covered and replaced due to plans for road and MRT network development.

With the changing of urban development and social economy structure, government policies determined the spatial structure of urban cities, intervened with the lifescape, decided on who to stay and what to go away. Waterway became the landscape that disappeared amongst the process of urbanization, and the landscape being brought forth was “placelessness”. Accompanied by the transformation process of urban space, the landscape symbol of asphalt roads and concrete covering the waterway stood as one of the features of Taipei during the developing period.

2.2 Initial Discussion on the Non-restrained Soldier Residential Village⁶

The non-restrained soldier residential village is a long ignored phenomena and subject of debate in the Taiwanese society. Generally speaking, soldier residential village refers to the Ministry of Defense restrained soldier residential villages which consist of half a million residents, including soldiers and their families, throughout Taiwan. As for “non-restrained soldier residential villages”, they mainly refer to the spontaneously formed, mostly by “mainlanders”, villages which exist outside any sort of government residential systems, such as that of the Ministry of Defense, provincial government, etc. These villages exist all over Taiwan, mostly in the form of illegal housing (private property built on public land), whilst some may comprise residences with partial ownership of legal land and construction property rights (private property built on private land).

The reason for this is due to the amount of the Ministry of Defense restrained soldier residential villages were very limited, 100 thousand households tops, and they were unable to take in all the soldiers in need of residences at then. Hence, the non-restrained soldier residential villages often came into place with the acquiescing of the party-state authoritarianism and military-political powers. These were living patterns developed from constructing private properties on public lands by mainland alumni soldiers with various identities. Moreover, these villages also inferred a weak and informal system endorsing relationship between the rulers and the followers. With the corruption of the party-state authoritarianism and the further development of capitalism and urbanization of the Taiwanese society, these “non-restrained soldier residential villages” also lost the political ecosystem they long rely upon and went from the originally acquiesced “self-construction households” to the “illegal housings. The “non-restrained soldier residential villages”, therefore, faced the fate of being torn down and forced to move away.

As a whole, the “non-restrained soldier residential villages” has been exploited twice in history. The first was when the government didn’t try and settle them properly and tacitly allowed them to arbitrarily built houses on “government-owned” land so as to construct independently to solve their problems of residences. The second time was when the government and consortium forced them to move away from their homeland in the name of embellishing urban cities when, as a matter of fact, were merely implementing the development of land. If the “non-restrained soldier residential villages” were not ripped out and put into independent inspection, the complete picture and the pluralism of the “broad-sense soldier residential village” may never be viewed upon fully, and nor would the immigration experience of soldiers who came to Taiwan since 1949 ever be understood in completion by

⁶ Information extracted from “Initial Discussion on the Non-restrained Soldier Residential Village, 2011” by Professor K. C. Li, the president of council at AMT.

the Taiwanese society.

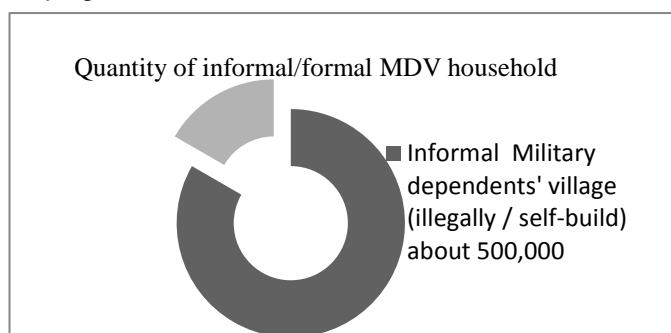
2.3 Historical issue

After World War II, the civil war of China began spread very fast, in 1946, the Truman's Marshall Mission failed, and Civil War resumed. The Mao's Chinese communist army defeated the Chiang's KMT elite army in 1949, forcing Chiang's army and government to retreat to island of Taiwan. During that period, more than one million civilians, soldiers and government officials left their hometown for Taiwan. Especially huge numbers of soldiers, six hundred thousand of soldiers were led to the island, Chiang then declared Taipei as the temporary capital of the Republic of China on December 7th, 1949.

The "new" KMT government of Taiwan was struck with a panic, and there was no plan or project of dwelling migrants. The huge numbers of homeless family were lived in bamboo-made or wood-made shabby shelter which built by themselves or abandoned building like eaves, temple or warehouse left by Japanese, a government's statistics shows that in 1963, more than 1/3 people lived in informal Settlements⁷, in the period, government planned to build houses, to resolve the housing problem of hundred thousands of soldiers and their dependents. A new type of housing: **Military dependents' village (MDV)** is revealed in Taiwan. Almost forty thousand houses were built in early 1960s to early 1980s, and assembled thousands of villages rapidly which originally purpose were to serve as provisional housing for soldiers and their dependents from China. They ended up becoming formal settlements, forming distinct different cultures from their hometown in main Taiwan cities.

Although the government built one hundred thousand of MDV, lots of soldiers and their families still lived in informal MDV, due to the financial difficulties of government and the administration of household control was very chaotic in 1950's to 1960's.

Informal MDV is usually next to the military barrack or camp. The Liugongjun waterway settlement is one of the biggest informal MDV in Taipei metropolitan with 100 households. The first generation of residents work in the military camp next to Liugongjun waterway, they were young farmer at their hometown in China, and be forced to join the KMT army and be led to Taiwan, after their carrier of army, they married local female, and built their houses between the Liugongjun waterway and the military camp without any help by government, the space is not roomy, so they built wooden piles, insert the bottom of waterway, to sustain extension building which is kitchen or bathroom, after fifty years, the settlement become a one hundred household community, The "Liugongjun" is not only waterway, but also community, an informal MDV, where they have their own sharing spirit of overcoming hard-life and spirit of helping each other.



⁷ Mii, Fu-Kuo. (1988). Public Policy of Housing in Taiwan. Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies, 1, 97-147.



Fig.6~8 Liugongjun Waterway (bottom) and community (up), small route cross the community which called informal MDV.

2.4 Preservation Experience of Treasure Hill, Taipei City

This article concerns informal cultural landscape and, therefore, the preservation of Treasure Hill is a case that is worthwhile learning from. It provides the discussion about the correlation between the purlieus space of cities and the history and phenomena of cities. It also tells about the relationship between informal landscape preservation process and urban development. The Treasure Hill Historical Village was a natural village formed through informal construction process and could be seen as a representative of the independently formed housing villages by the less privileged after the war. It formed a unique cultural landscape and was registered by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City, as the first “historical village” that appeared as the form of a village in Taipei. The management of the village is now outsourced and named as “Treasure Hill Artist Village”. As a consequence of the restrictions such as governmental policy interference, social economy, and geographical environment, the residents developed a construction system that existed outside the formal construction agencies in order to self-construct their own housings in the most economical and cheapest way, so as to fulfill their basic needs for living. Chu-Joe Hsia (2003) pointed out that the historical value of the Treasure Hill preservation project lay not in each individual building, but in the uniqueness of its cultural landscape. And for some concepts and the simple criterions to indicate a heritage that some conservative heritage preservers insisted on would need a bit of breakthrough. The successful execution of the Treasure Hill preservation project stands as an inference to the idea that the less privileged suffering under social exclusion in the globalized age are being accepted. It indicates that, finally, urban cities are formally facing the illegally constructed villages formed due to the urban problems in developing countries. It also re-acknowledged the group memories of urban cities and re-uncovered the history of the citizens in the bottom of the social stratum (mainly of those rural-urban immigrants consisted of the poor and the mainland soldiers.)



Fig.9 Preservation Experience of Treasure Hill, Taipei City

3 Preservation of Non-restrained Soldier Residential Village at Section 2 of Liugongjun as Cultural Landscape

“Give back my land! Residential justice!” These were the calls of those residents in the Sanying Tribe and Shisihjhang Tribe in Xindian District in New Taipei City, and the Liugongjun soldier residential village when forced to move. Over a hundred residents gathered in front of the Executive Yuan, “smearing blood to oath” and claiming to fight till the end to get back their land.⁸

In the year of the 100th birthday of ROC, all sorts of regional preservation activities could be seen, through media reports, to take place overwhelmingly. These activities did not focus merely on the preservation of tradition and culture; rather, they were more focused, under the struggles between urban development and preservation, on the strives for the residential and surviving rights and multicultural legitimacy. With the global impact and the Taiwanese society which emphasis on the construction of a pluralistic environment, the appeal for preserving different cultural landscapes should be taken seriously. That is to say that different forms of preservation actions may provide different points of view and perspectives that should not be disregarded.

3.1 The Meaning of Liugongjun as a Cultural Landscape

This current article defines cultural landscape as a group of people that made their correlation with the land over a long period of stay and thus formed a locus of residence with unique culture. And this article focuses on the preservation of cultural landscape which takes the “lives of the ordinaries” as the subject. Liugongjun no doubt contains great cultural value as it consists the history of the space and field for over 270 years. Several experts and scholars also commented on the meaning contained by Liugongjun from various aspects, such as the social aspect, the field of residence perspective, the waterway landscape and its form of housing. “The Liugong Village” located on section2 of Liugongjun contains all the above mentioned aspects and also consists of prosperous historical formation background and the uniqueness in humanity. These all adds on to the reason of the residents’ claim to preserve their homeland.

3.1.1 Liugongjun Made Obvious the Social Meaning Then, Urban immigration

All kind of stories or histories ranging from the conflict between Han and aborigines and agricultural expansion at the initial construction stage of Liugongjun till the rural-urban migration can be gathered to make obvious the history of the New Taipei City immigrants. At the meantime, the living uniqueness of the village/tribe can be constructed through the repeated accumulation of history. The social meanings of different times and the expansion process of the immigrants can also connect the tribal competition processes to add flavor to the migration history. The daily routine alongside the waterway itself is the best classroom for human ecology; therefore, as the linear environment for the migration process, one single waterway is full of various regionalisms.

3.1.2 The Village by the Water, which is Hardly Ever Seen in Northern Taiwan

The construction process of “the Liugong Village” located on section2 of Liugongjun was mainly through building the housings independently with the material on site. Some of the household still preserved the old military equipments and were being transformed to exist in the housing as a different form. The historical uniqueness of Liugongjun caused the residents alongside it to rely on it for living. Therefore, the future function of the waterway should not be a performance of the beautiful city at sight, but it should stand out to make extraordinary the value and

⁸ Source of Information: F. Y. Chu, 2011, Residents of Sanying and Other Tribes “smearing blood as oath” to Fight for Their Land Back, and Self-rescuing Association of Sanying Tribe, Sec. 15, October 28th, China Post

the historical and cultural meanings of the non-restrained soldier village and waterway.

3.2 How to Linger the Profound Times of Liugongjun?

A reconstruction of the Liugongjun waterway and scenery enhancement process took place in 2009, and a self-rescuing team was formed by the residents during the possible crisis of having their house being torn down. With the help of planners, the academic field, and the Building and Planning Team at NTU, the residents spontaneously fought for their rights in 2010; in addition, they also got the help from cross-field professional teams including AMT, Department of Architecture at Tamkang University, and media workers. I, myself, took the post as the teaching assistant in one of the postgraduate programs at the Institute of Building and Planning, NTU, so I got the opportunity to participate in the actions which include registering cultural landscapes, coordination meetings for the tearing constructions, community accompanying plan, on-street protests, etc. The following took place during a two-year period of time,

• Initiating Cultural Estate and Registering “The Liugong Village” as Cultural Landscape

There are many aspects to the urban development, and the preservation of the alley of stilt housing at Liugongjun was a new choice with vision. In 2011, the “Self-rescuing association of residents alongside Liugongjun” presented the complete investigation of the non-restrained soldier village and re-proposed the claim to have it registered as cultural estate. Registering the alley of stilt housing at Liugongjun meant taking the cultural aspect and historical value of the village seriously, and preserving the cultural communal estate of the villagers; nevertheless, it was not being registered after the cultural landscape examination. From the outcome report of the examining committee⁹, the historical value and the interaction of the waterway and its surroundings had been declined from the artistry and esthetics concept of few examiners. It was not being taken into consideration from the whole urban cultural perspective.

• Organizing Cross-field Workshop to Destroy the Blueprint of Cheonggyecheon

The local residents mainly focus on cultural landscape and residential rights which require cross-field professional cooperation. The team thus invited professionals with irrigation, heritage, history and planning backgrounds to hold working meetings and community discussion meetings. Concrete suggestions, such as the mechanism on filing the registration, sustainable management plan for the cooperation between the public and the private, and the environmental plan for water, etc., were given during the meetings in order to get the entire community involved and discuss the vision of development for Liugongjun whilst the expectation and needs of the residents were taken into consideration.

9 The reasons for the registration of “the alley of stilt housing at Liugongjun as cultural landscape” to be turned down were as the followings,

a. Though being a type of post-war soldier-residential village, it was not of completion and the uniqueness of being preserved as a soldier-residential village was not enough. In addition, it affected the Liugongjun landscape as a whole and did not fit with the historical image of Liugongjun, hence the overall value was relatively low.

b. Though the present situation indicated the history or the residents still had interactions with the nature, the level had not reached the standard for registration. And from the artistic perspective, beauty was not found.

c. It did not fit for registration as parts of the soldier-residential village were illegal and did not have the ownership of the land. What's more, it was problematic to the coordination of the safety of water transportation and environmental protection.



Fig.10 ~11 community workshop

• **“Lingering the Picturesque Times” Photo and Image Exhibition, Presenting the Space and Culture of Waterway**

The team held the photo and image exhibition of Liugongjun to make visual the space of the waterway. And through group creation and the process of setting up the exhibition, the team made the local residents gain more confidence in the preservation of local culture. The initial idea on the arrangement of the exhibition content was to make a set of comparisons between new and old photos in the communal space where the villagers generally gather. This was to form a historical atmosphere for the visitors to quickly emerge into the time and space of the local environment. With the media reporting on the exhibition, the expected effects of the exhibition were to make more people come and visit the waterway alongside Liugongjun and make these people get a better understanding about the cultural history of Liugongjun, hoping that the citizens’ knowledge regarding the value of the preservation of Liugongjun.

• **Prompting the Strength of the Public**

First was the movement initiated by a group of university students on the social network. Their claim was to preserve the cultural landscape of Liugongjun and they pursuit public supports through Facebook. There was also another supporting activity, brought forth by a website of Taiwan NPO Campaign, that focused on defining the cultural value of the existence of Liugongjun. Other than these, people also sought for the academics and planners support and expecting them to help through giving cultural value to the waterway and giving voice to the residents so they might be able to stand up against the government agencies.

• **Fighting to be Allocated On-site through Street Protest**

The residents in the Sanying Tribe and Shishihjang Tribe in Xindian District in New Taipei City, and the Liugongjun soldier residential village all gathered to protest in front of the Executive Yan on the morning of October 27th, 2011. They held large signs and called out their pursuit to guard their homeland. Their protesting claims were “Give back my land.” and “Spatial Justice”. After this determined operation and they kept dealing with the City Hall back and forth throughout the next half a year. They finally was able to make the current mayor of New Taipei City, Chu Li-luan, to held back the tearing process and promise that there won’t be a second tearing process during his term of office. Thus, most residents can be allocated on-site without having to be forced to move. There is an ongoing discussion between the City Government and the planning agencies about how the waterway may be dealt with in public space and the village placement.

4. Result Analysis

4.1 Imagination for a Global City brought forth “Creative Destruction”¹⁰ to the Landscape?

Rapid development of cities often contradicts the preserved value from a cultural perspective. The city landscape undergoes fast changes as the urban development speeds up and turned the landscapes upside down due to the development-oriented policies. The new image of the city is to be created with the expansion and construction that certain power controls. The Taiwanese bureaucrats are obsessed with the imagination of modernism and thus ignore and disrespect the local conservation and culture. Building and destroying go on simultaneously. The reformed landscapes ignore the local life, culture and history. As a result, the landscape becomes placeless. From the case of the “Non-restrained solid residential village” alongside section one and two of Liugongjun, we can see the inappropriateness to transplant the pattern of Cheonggyecheon. By satisfying the taste of the estate developers and government officials, and being predominated by the form of global urban esthetics are the superb performances of the “creative destruction” to the urban space. The original living spaces are being disturbed and destroyed. Groups or tribes that are unable to deal with such changes are thus excluded from the power landscape. Their unique cultural assets and environmental justice are forced to be marginalized or sacrificed in the exchange of urban development.

4.2 Who Defines Liugongjun?

Dispute and controversy exist throughout the preservation of cultural landscape under the impact of urban development. From the urban image of Cheonggyecheon in Korea to the professionals’ preservation pursuit of “Liugong Village”, the competition was formed due to the pursuits of different visions. And only those who take action are legitimate to be involved. The cultural preservation actions represent the group action of the resistance to the arbitrary policy of the government. Thought the reorganization, linkage and discussion of different actionists, communication with the government may be formed and, furthermore, the redistribution of resources or impacts on the policies may be made possible. The preservation process of the cultural landscape can be taken as a political process. Take the “Liugong Village” action into consideration, we can see that community organization, preservation group, and local government debate and argue to define Liugongjun with their different visions in mind. However, if being dominated by one single perspective only, it would have been disastrous and that would be enough to support the width and depth of the waterway culture accumulated through the urban developing process. It is only through a bottom-up participation mechanism that takes in the less privileged, breaks down the system, and opens up cross-field dialogue and cooperation will it be possible to encounter the challenges brought forth by the pluralistic and global city.

4.3 With the Local Strength of Liugong Village, Give Meaning to Liugongjun within Public Urban Space

Group memories disappear with the landscape being changed. Local space is a part of the urban landscape. It tides the memories of individuals, groups, and that of the society. Going into the debate of public space through the strength of the local and linking the history in dispute with a specific locus. The process of the “Liugong Village” preservation project provided a public sphere to rethink the pros and cons of public reservation in and out of the

¹⁰ Zukin, Sharon said in Chapter one of *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World*, 1991, that . This is a sort of “creative destruction” which is expressed and realized through the construction of brand new commercial buildings and locus for consummation. This process also reformed the relationship in the social stratum, which was the so-called “gentrification”.

system. Discover that the existing value of the “Non-restrained solid residential village” alongside section two of Liugongjun is to link the urban history with the waterway; in addition, create a public sphere that is more democratic and tolerating using another unique method to link the land and water.



Fig.12 ~13 With the Local Strength of Liugong Village, Give Meaning to Liugongjun within Public Urban Space

5 Conclusion

What this article is trying to say is that the spatial management of urban waterway is no longer the prettifying of space or the visual transformation on the rural-urban style, it is the challenge and opportunity facing the transformation of the city. The local culture preservation of the waterway is not limited to the struggle of traditional esthetics of the culture any more, but it is to strive, under the struggles between urban development and preservation, for the residential and surviving rights and multicultural legitimacy. Nowadays, every city in the world is trying to open up their waterway and consider the historical urban value of the waterway. The waterway itself isn't the only focus from the cultural landscape perspective. The relationship constructed due to human beings identifying themselves with the waterway makes the urban development being presented through actual living landscape. Over and above, I discovered from the “Liugong Village” project that in the preservation of the cultural landscape, it is also necessary to consider the social meaning of the action of preservation, and make specific, in the urban transformation process, for whom exactly is it preserved and for what purpose. The purpose and intention of the cultural landscape preservation should be considered even if it had to be resolved within the system of cultural estate law. Is it to be preserved for the development of the city? Or is it preserved for the residential right of a specific group? Last of all, this article intends to remind that it had been proved by the case of the “Liugong Village” that there existed not only a two-way struggle between urban development and cultural preservation, there might be yet another possibility which was underway.

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