Housing Transformations and Financialised Urbanism:

The Case of Military Dependents’ Villages in Taipei

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Abstract

As a developing concept, financialisation discourses circulating outside Anglophone countries are still lacking empirical underpinnings. In terms of the inconsistent and diverse grounded patterns of financialisation in spaces (Aalbers, 2020), Christophers (2015: 187) proposes capturing everyday life to improve the 'analytical and communicative clarity' of financialisation. In response to these gaps, this research aims to deepen the geographical understanding of housing financialisation in Taiwan and shed new light on international debates by analysing the financialised housing landscape, specifically, the everyday life in Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs). Systematic MDVs emerged as a unique spatial formation in the 1940s, accommodating hundreds of thousands of Chinese refugees. Since the end of the 1970s, they have been extensively reconstructed and privatised. Based on secondary documentary analysis, semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and residents, and visualising spatial transformations conducted from 2021 to 2022, this research demonstrates the transformations of MDVs from housing infrastructure as welfare to a strategic resource serving policy objects and political interests through the interventions of a developmental state. Constrained by the existing fiscal framework familiar to the technical bureaucrats, privatisation employing financial measures was introduced to facilitate the MDV reconstruction. As a form of parallel institutionalism closely intertwined with military governance, the everyday lives within the MDVs were significantly influenced during the process of de-militarisation. The state simplified the lifestyle and informality existing in the MDVs, determining residents' relocations through fiscal frameworks and regulatory systems. The visualisation of spatial transformations resulting from the two phases of reconstruction illustrates the extent of relocation from the city centre to areas with lower land prices. The reconstruction mechanisms have also reinforced an ownership-oriented housing environment and indirectly shaped opportunities for speculative activities. This research situates MDV housing within international debates and conceptualises the relations between MDVs, space, urbanisation, and de-militarisation.

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List of Acronyms

CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CWACL	Chinese Women Anti-Communist League
DHPC	Armed Forces Dependents Housing Public Cooperative
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KMT	Kuomintang
MDV	Military Dependents' Village
MND	The Ministry of National Defense
NP	New Party
NTD	New Taiwan Dollar
PFP	People First Party
PIR	housing price to income ratio
QNNT	Qing-nian New Town
REIT	Real Estate Investment Trust
R.O.C.	Republic of China
SPV	special purpose vehicles
SSNT	Song-shan New Town
TDR	Transferable Developmental Rights
TIF	tax increment financing
USD	US Dollar

Chapter I: Introduction

In 2006, the housing price to income ratio (PIR) was 8.08 in Taipei City. Fifteen years later, the ratio has increased by 78 per cent, reaching 14.39 in 2020 (Q2). The exacerbating imbalance between real estate prices and housing affordability, starting after the wave of neoliberalism in the 1980s, seems to be endless in Taiwan (Chen, Y. L., 2020). It is the epitome of the nationwide housing crisis. To understand the housing crisis of Taiwan, it is necessary to examine how the current housing environment is embedded in the new paradigm of global financialisation. Financialisation refers to the multifaceted process of financial innovation, such as mortgage lending and securitisation, taking part in and changing daily life (Aalbers, 2015a; Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016; Fernandez & Aalbers, 2019). Although Taiwan is known as one of the 'Four Asian Tigers' and is a post-industrialising country like South Korea (Davis, 2004), the context of housing is significantly different from Singapore, Hong Kong and South Korea, or the adjunct country Japan. The ownership-oriented housing policy in Taiwan has been forged by the unique historical background and unintentional, or sometimes intentional, institutional impetus.

This introduction sets the scene by first introducing the housing history of Taiwan, and how it has been neoliberalised and financialised. Next follows a brief history of a unique form of housing, the Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs), which are often neglected in the extant housing studies literature, but played a crucial role in Taiwanese housing history. The third section provides an overview of housing studies focusing on Taiwan and the MDV-relevant research, unpicking the knowledge gaps, which lead us to the three major research questions. Research questions and contributions are presented in the fourth section, as well as the explanation of the choice of the MDVs in Taipei City as research objectives. The final section outlines the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Financialisation and Taiwan's housing environment

Between the 1940s and 1970s, the urban areas, population, and economic structure of Taiwan underwent significant shifts, and housing demand in cities increased rapidly. A series of rural land reforms from the late 1940s to the early 1950s accelerated the inflow of accumulated rural wealth to investment in the processing and manufacturing industries promoted by the KMT government, leading to rapid industrial development (Davis, 2004). After the onset of industrialisation in the 1950s, a large number of domestic immigrants from rural areas flocked into urban areas, which were the hubs of manufacturing industries (Hsu, 1988; Shi, Chen & Huang, 2011; Song, 2006). For instance, the non-local population of Taipei County only accounted for 7 per cent in 1950, but in 1985, the number rose to 65 per cent (Hsu, 1988).

Alongside the Chinese immigrants who retreated from Mainland China after the defeat of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the growth in the urban population confronted serious issues of inadequate housing. Many immigrants occupied vacant public-owned land preserved for the development of future public facilities and built informal dwellings (Chen & Li, 2010), or accommodated themselves in urban peripheries, riverbeds outside the embankment, and sandbanks in the river (Hsu, 1988). Some residents deliberately set up informal constructions before spatial plans or land use zoning was promulgated and implemented (ibid). It was challenging for the government to regularise the housing sector since it had limited capability and willingness to intervene in the issues. In response to the continuing confrontation between China and Taiwan and the beginning of the Cold War, the KMT authoritarian government concentrated most of its resources on national defence (Mii, 1988). Moreover, economic development and consolidating political stability became imperatives to this adventive regime due to the severely damaged basic infrastructure and economy during the Second World War (Chang, 1993; Zeng, 1994). Without an adequate underpinning of governmental resources, housing welfare and living quality were relatively overlooked (Chen & Li, 2010). The financial system for housing then was not common and easily accessible. The government set up a fund for public housing loans in accordance with the recommendations of the US counsellors in 1958,

but it could not sustain it because the funds originated from international aid were limited and temporary (Mii, 1988). Only state-owned enterprises and a few huge private companies could apply for limited credit loans. Small and medium-sized enterprises and the general population could only obtain loans through the informal housing credit market of the private sector (Chen, Y. L., 2020). The absence of the government in the general housing sector and the shortage of housing in urban areas had enabled developers and the private sector to gain a dominant position in housing supply before the middle of the 1970s, and this consolidated the ideology of homeownership (Chen & Li, 2010).

The mid-1970s and the mid-1980s were the crucial watersheds for Taiwan's housing development. The first time point marks the beginning of the significant attempt from the state to tackle the housing issues with considerable resources and legal underpinning. The second time point inaugurated a series of financial deregulations, which changed the momentum of the real estate market. When the oil crisis hit the global economy in the 1970s, it was difficult for the government to prevent Taiwan, which had entered the international supply chain, from impacts. It led to record-breaking hikes in house prices at that time (Chen, Tsai & Chang, 2003; Mii, 1988), which forced the authoritarian government to intervene in the market to maintain stability. Besides some measures conditionally constraining the market, financing, and the prices of construction materials (Mii, 1988), the government promulgated the *Public Housing Act* in 1975, and adopted Keynesianism to build public housing on a large scale[1], enhancing the supply directly to tackle high housing prices (Chen & Li, 2010; Mii, 1988). The intervention also had political significance while Taiwan was forced to

[1] The first national public housing initiative based on the Public Housing Act was the Six-Year Public Housing Construction Programme from 1976 to 1982, with an estimated construction of 100 thousand dwellings (Chen & Li, 2010; Hsu, 1988; Mii, 1988). However, the actually built public housing dwellings only accounted for 67.83 per cent of the target, and just 29.31 per cent of dwellings were completed before the deadline (Hsu, 1988; Mii, 1988). The number of public housing built by the government accounted for only a small portion of the domestic housing supply, and the private sector was still the main source of housing (Hsu, 1988). Most of the public housing was used to resettle the Chinese immigrants, residents of informal settlements, as well as public servants. The public housing released for private lease and purchase only accounted for 22.39 per cent of the total completion in Taipei City (Mii, 1988), and accounted for 44 per cent of aggregate public housing in the whole country before 1985 (Chen & Li, 2010).

forfeit its seat at the United Nations and Japan severed diplomatic relations with Taiwan, which demonstrated the state's concern and actions for people's livelihood and improved the political stability (Mii, 1988). As the housing prices were suppressed due to the government's intervention, the private developers were hampered and the excessive housing supply ushered in sluggish sales[2] (Mii, 1988). To bail out real estate developers, the government reduced the housing it built and allowed the private developers to join as another supplier of public housing through the amendment to the *Public Housing Act* in 1982. Liao (2022) coined this governmental initiative aimed at promoting the public interest as the "publicisation (公共化)" of the housing sector, which ungraded the previously fragmented and non-widespread small-scale endeavours.

Unlike the increase in housing prices of the 1970s caused by rapid urbanisation, economic growth, and the oil crisis (Chen, Tsai & Chang, 2003; Liao, 2022; Mii, 1988), the surge in the 1980s originated from the price hikes brought by the second oil crisis and the *inflow of international capital after a series of financial deregulations* (Chen et al., 2021; Chen & Li, 2010). The export surplus of Taiwan kept growing in the trading between Taiwan and the US in the 1980s. Taiwan's total trade with the US reached USD 23.7 billion, and the export surplus exceeded USD 16 billion in 1987. Hence, the US government put pressure on Taiwan's authoritarian government to implement financial deregulations and alleviate intervention (Chen et al., 2021: 90–93; Wu, 2023: 477–485). In response, according to the ex-Governor of the Central Bank, the state embarked on the direction of neoliberalism through financial deregulation in multiple aspects (Peng, 2007). The Taiwanese government reduced the deposit interest rates to maintain the advantage of exported products (Chen et al., 2021), which intensified

[2] Constrained by the deadline of the public housing programme during the authoritarian period, the public housing authorities purchased many cheaper lands in remote areas to build public housing, leading to low occupancy rates because of poor locations (Chen & Li, 2010; Mii, 1988). In addition, the public housing for sale built in the city centre was too expensive to be sold effectively, and some public housing had problems such as poor quality, improper management, and increased management fees (Lin, 2003; Mii, 1988). The lack of rational planning and excessive supply caused the sluggish sales of public housing in the early 1980s (Mii, 1988). These problems prompted the government to amend the act to include private developers in the supply channels of public housing, relax the purchase qualifications, and reduce the number of houses directly built by the government.

real estate investment activities because the return on investment was higher (Chen & Li, 2010). Shih's (2009) research on Taiwan Business Bank reveals certain indications, illustrating a substantial decrease in deposit ratios during the 1990s. Foreign exchange control was deregulated in 1989 (Chen et al., 2021), and a large amount of international capital entered Taiwan's financial and real estate market (Hsiao & Liu, 1993), further accelerating real estate appreciation: house prices in 1992 were three times as high as in 1986 (Chang, 1995). The research conducted by Chang et al. (2009) on the housing bubble in Taipei City speculates that during the period from 1988 to 1990, when housing prices reached their peak, the bubble prices accounted for a high proportion of housing prices and rents, 47 and 54 per cent respectively. In 1987, the Taiwan stock index stood at approximately 1,000 points, soaring to 12,000 points by February 1990 (Liao, 2022: 68). The system of financial products and housing loans gradually became common during this period and the threshold of access was lowered, i.e., borrowing became easier. Loan subsidies were mainly provided to public servants before the 1990s and gradually opened to the general population after the 1990s (Chen & Li, 2010). This brought more and more households into a housing system increasingly centred on financial logics and imperatives, which contributed to shifting housing orientations and practices, i.e., housing as an asset and the internalisation of homeownership as a normative aspiration (see Aalbers, 2016).

Tseng (2014) argues that the enormous profits generated by skyrocketing real estate prices in the late 1980s served as an incentive for further development. Government and state-owned enterprises lacked consideration for long-term public interests, leading to the massive sale of public properties and the pursuit of maximum real estate returns. These returns were then partially used to develop public housing for sale. This drives speculation in private land surrounding public properties and contributes to rising market prices. The existing tax system mandates local governments to rely on land value tax and property tax as sources of revenue for local development, providing incentives for local governments to participate in the speculation of public properties (Tseng, 2014: 92). Urban structural disruptions are justified by authorities as "activating" the utilisation of public land and increasing public benefits, which actually lack long-term considerations and increase the benefits of certain actors to the

detriment of others (Huang, 2012).

The rise in housing prices initiated during the 1980s was also facilitated by the power-interest coalitions. The dynamics of these coalitions represent the reconfiguration of Taiwan's patron-clientelism following democratisation, which can be traced back to the coexistence of power and interests after land commodification in the authoritarian era (Chen, 1995). As an adventive regime, the KMT government nurtured a bi-factionalism system, using one faction to balance the influence of another in each region, aiming to dismantle the faction's control over localities since the Japanese colonial period to consolidate its rule over Taiwan (Ding, 1999). Apart from the factional balancing, the KMT, by manipulating benefits allocated to factions, formed a patron-client relationship, primarily concentrated in regional monopoly businesses. The authoritarian government protected factional economic interests, while factions pledged loyalty to the authoritarian government, providing political and economic support (Chen, 1995). However, limited benefits have driven patron-clientelism to evolve towards the growing and highly lucrative realms of land development and speculation (ibid). After democratisation and the increasing need for urban development, this symbiotic structure infiltrated the electoral system (Liao, 2022: 95–98). Members or supporters of local factions, armed with significant resources, enter government decision-making circles after winning elections, and then provide resources and protections to factions. Real estate or urban development interests became the coveted objectives of factions or tools for exchanging and securing voter support.

In response to the issues of high housing prices, the government once again accelerated the construction of public housing to tackle the housing crisis. More public housing was built in the 1990s than in the 1980s (Chen & Li, 2010). Influenced by neoliberalism, the government was inclined to provide preferential policies for the private sector and let the market mechanism strike a balance of the housing market, avoiding reproducing the past inefficiency that couldn't be adjusted in response to market changes (Chen, 2004; Chen & Li, 2010). The government gradually stepped back from providing housing directly and has shifted to strengthen a homeownership-

oriented agenda through loan subsidies and other subsidies, which is referred to as the "*de*-publicisation" of housing by Liao (2022), signifying the process of the state's withdrawal from large-scale housing provision. The trend of a smaller government has been continuously reinforced during the development of urban areas and basic infrastructure, particularly in the practice of urban renewal. Multiple legal amendments starting in the late 1990s have granted developers more power (Huang, 2012). Simultaneously, the government sees real estate as a critical industry, offering resources in terms of tax rates, financing, development rights, and releases of public land to accelerate the development of the real estate industry (ibid). The revival of the national economy from the Asian financial crisis has prompted a rise in housing prices since the turn of the Millennium.

1.2 The brief history of Military Dependents' Villages

In the context of Taiwan's housing history, there have been multiple references to the population impact and housing needs of post-war Chinese immigrants. However, research on this specific group within the housing area remains inadequate, often treated as a peripheral or subsidiary category of core housing policies. The actual influence of this group's housing and related policies involves hundreds of thousands of Chinese immigrants and land development in urban areas. By the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, about 1 million people had retreated to Taiwan from Mainland China after the Kuomintang (KMT) government was defeated, leading to an increase of approximately 15 to 20 per cent in the total population (Li, 2015). About 0.582 million of the immigrants were military personnel (ibid). The **Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs)** appeared as collective settlements accommodating partial military personnel and their dependents among these immigrants and refugees. By the 1990s, more than nine hundred MDVs had been built, scattered around Taiwan and the surrounding islands. About 20 per cent of villages were located in Taipei City, making it the city with the most MDVs in number (Kuo, 2005: 385). The form of MDVs have varied over time. Apart from taking over the dormitories left over by the Japanese colonial government, which accounted for a smaller proportion (Kuo, 2005; Huo, 2015), before the mid-1950s, the majority of MDVs were crude one-storey dwellings built by residents using

simple and makeshift materials. Some troops and military dependents were accommodated in public facilities or buildings with large interior spaces, including warehouses, factories, stables, stadiums and temples (Hu, 2008; Ma, 2010; Yang, 2009). This notion of temporariness was largely driven by the fact that many immigrants believed that sooner or later the government would launch a counterattack, and returning to the Mainland was expected (Chao, 2009: 22; Deng & Chiu, 2007: 14). These villages were located around the military bases or scattered on vacant public or private land in the cities (Li, 2015). This type of adventive, temporary and crude urban living environment emerged in the context of a turbulent post-war era.

In 1956, as the feasibility of counterattacks decreased, the government began to gradually regulate MDVs and intervene in the improvement of the living environment (Chang, 2010; Chen et al., 2009), levying funds from the private sector to build more villages (Chang, G. H., 1990; Kuo, 2005; Liao, 2017). Each MDV was occupied by the military personnel from the same branch (e.g., Army, Air Forces, Navy) and their dependents; and each village was governed and managed by the branch to which it belonged (Chen et al., 2009; Peh, 2009). In most cases, people with higher military ranks would be assigned to larger houses (Ma, 2010). The MDV residents only have residence permits rather than actual homeownership or tenure security (Li, 2015). As large-scale public-owned settlements for Chinese immigrants, MDVs fundamentally differ from contemporary European public housing in terms of ethnic segregation. Verdugo and Toma (2018) discuss the factors influencing the influx of non-European immigrants into public housing, but the Taiwan case involves immigrant segregation initiated by the government, while the European context is a complex social phenomenon not (usually) directly orchestrated by the state. It is important to note that although the MDV residents were war immigrants and refugees from Mainland China, they are distinctly different from the commonly understood concept of refugees in Western countries today. The KMT government, which also originated from Mainland China and governed Taiwan, provided significant resources to MDV residents, including daily supplies, education, and housing (see Chapter 5). Under the governance of the military and government, some Chinese immigrants received living

conditions superior to many local Taiwanese post-war (see Section 7.2.2). However, the differences (or similarities) under KMT rule in resources, job opportunities, and socio-economic status between local Taiwanese and Chinese immigrants are complex issues. Limited by the scope and length of this research, this study will not delve further into this aspect and will focus on the housing provided to military immigrants and their dependents by the state.

This housing for the cohorts of specific roles and occupations began to be regenerated and privatised in the late 1970s. The gradually deteriorating MDVs were engulfed by rapidly modernised and expanding cities (Lin, 1995), turning into the spots with potentially high rent gaps (see Smith, 1979) scattered across the urban area. In 1977, considering the high land price and dilapidated living environment, the KMT authoritarian government commenced the *large-scale reconstruction of MDVs* (Chao, 2009: 40; Kuo, 2005: 11). The reconstruction is divided into two intervals from 1979 to 1996 and from 1996 to 2016 according to different statutes, with different fiscal frameworks, policies, execution units, and approaches (Chang, 2015; Chen et al., 2009; Kuo, 2005). Partial MDVs were integrated into the public housing projects during the first-phase reconstruction, and the rebuilt housing were allocated to the MDV residents and used as the public housing for sale. *In these two phases of reconstruction, restricted by its financial capacity, the government borrowed money from banks to implement reconstruction, and brought the residents into the fiscal balance scheme by providing household loans* (Chen, 2004; Hsieh, 2019). *The government also sold many public properties to private developers to raise funding or afford the turnover borrowed from banks* (Hsieh, 2019). *Some of the MDVs were rebuilt in situ, but a considerable number of residents were also displaced. Almost all the MDVs have been transformed into high-rises with high residential density* (Figure 1.1).

It is important to note that the majority of the rebuilt residences are rebranded instead of being called “MDVs” officially. However, to avoid confusion in the following parts, we will still use the term “reconstructed MDVs” to represent the relocated and/or rebuilt MDVs and residents. Due to the changes in the form of living space, and the more significant heterogeneity and diversity of resident compositions in the

neighbourhoods created by privatisation and open trading of housing, the original sense of place, living habits, and culture have gradually dissipated (Deng & Chiu, 2007: 98; Ma, 2008: 8). MDV reconstruction overlapped with the large-scale public housing construction starting in the mid-1970s, and was put into practice continuously after the financial deregulations. Chapters 5 and 6 will explain this process and internal mechanisms in more detail. After the reconstruction, the improvement in living quality and the advantage of location have driven up the potential real estate values, making the newly privatised MDVs the targets of speculative activities (The Reporter, 2021)[3].

Figure 1.1: Song-shan New Village before and after the reconstruction in the 1990s
(Above: Chang, L. G., 1990[4]; Below: Author's own)

[3] The relevant controversies have continued to be exposed and discussed in recent years. For example, the Gan-cheng 2nd Village land development project, which garnered extensive media coverage due to disclosures made by the former legislator Dr Kuo-chang Huang, remains a subject of ongoing scrutiny (see Liberty Times Net, 2022; UDN.com, 2022a; UDN.com, 2022b; Up Media, 2022).
[4] The author was granted permission to use this source on the 18th of August, 2022.

1.3 Research rationale

At present, only a few studies employ the concepts of neoliberalism and financialisation to probe Taiwan's housing transformation (see Chen & Li, 2010; Chen, Y. L., 2020). Chen and Li (2010) conducted a historical review of Taiwan's housing market and policies. They analysed the shifts in institutional functions related to housing provision and the housing market, before and after the trend of neoliberalism took hold. They emphasise that although the government at that time relinquished its role as a direct housing market supplier, it remained involved in housing through rulemaking, regulation, and market subsidies. Y. L. Chen (2020) offers a macro-level analysis of how financial liberalisation and the spread of neoliberal ideology since the 1980s have accelerated the development of Taiwan's real estate market. The government adopted mortgage programmes and tax deductions to sustain property market prices during economic slowdowns. Y. L. Chen (2020) further highlights that Taiwan's housing financialisation was primarily driven by abundant domestic capital rather than foreign capital due to low rental yields. Yet, low relevant tax rates still make real estate attractive to domestic capital. Some studies delve into the financialisation of specific areas, such as Chiang (2016), who explores the reasons for Taiwanese firms issuing Euro-dollar bonds and their mechanisms based on financial geography. Yang and Chang (2018) investigate the Transferable Developmental Rights (TDR) in the process of urban renewal in Taiwan, which substantiates potential ground rent into exchangeable real estate quasi-currencies. Nevertheless, mainstream research on financialisation largely stems from Western (or "Global North") countries and may not fully apply to practices in Taiwan at the micro-level. This calls for further attention to explore mechanisms, logics, and impacts within specific contexts and their relationship to local discourses and trajectories. Although some East Asian countries and regions share similar patterns of development in terms of being developmental states, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore differ in details (see Chen, Y. L., 2020; Chen & Li, 2010; Evans, 1995). Existing gaps encompass types of financial means, their backgrounds and reasons for use, actual mechanisms, decision-making processes, interest distribution, inherent politics, and how these trends engage (or intervene)

with everyday life. The work of Y. L. Chen (2020), Liao (2022), and Mii (1988) lays the foundation for understanding macroscopic changes in Taiwan's housing environment, policies, and markets, while Yang and Chang's (2018) research on TDR in urban renewal serves as an example for examining the details and impacts of specific system within the broader neoliberal trends in specific contexts.

Not only does international literature rarely focus on Taiwan's housing issues, but existing housing research in Taiwan tends toward quantitative methods based on large datasets and statistical models, often rooted in economic principles. Hsueh and Chen (1997) employ the "probit model" to analyse factors influencing Taiwan's homeownership rate and found that, apart from household income, age, and household size, the growth in rate was correlated with declining interest rates. The positive effect of expected appreciation in house prices on the homeownership rate is offset in the model by the negative effect of increasing prices. Hsueh and Tseng (2000) adopt the "polynomial distributed-lagged model" and the "error correction model" to analyse the correlation between intra-urban mobility rates and local housing markets, discovering that intra-urban mobility rates and housing supply mutually influenced each other, with long-term effects being more pronounced than short-term effects. They point out that when housing supply-demand imbalances arise due to housing supply, different cities automatically enter a state of supply-demand equilibrium in the long run, with Taipei City adjusting faster than the other three cities. Conversely, when imbalances arise because of housing demand, Taipei does not automatically adjust to equilibrium the quickest in the long run, as it has limited space for new housing construction and development, leading to a shift in demand towards existing homes. Lin and Chang (2016) employ the "survival analysis" to examine the mutual influence between decisions to have children and buy a house, confirming the relationship of resource competition between housing and children in Taiwan. Among them, tenant couples are the cohort most affected by high housing costs. Statistically, they tend to regard a house as a prerequisite for raising children, and therefore make the decision not to have children without a house. Studies adopting similar methods are common in Taiwan, analysing correlations between one or some specific objects and several related variables, or trying to find factors that affect housing trends, demand, and

supply. For instance, Peng and Tsai (2012) use the “panel cointegration model” to search for the long-run equilibrium relationship between homeownership rates and household income, the percentage of married couples, the percentage of elderly people, mobility rates, house prices, changes in the number of households, and rental costs; Chen et al. (2013) examined the long-term relationships among housing price to income ratio, female labour force participation rate, female rate of attaining advanced education, and total fertility rate. These studies undeniably provide valuable empirical foundations for interpreting socioeconomic trends and the housing market, but the practical implications of "correlation" or "influence" need to be captured through other means and integrated with local historical and cultural contexts to comprehensively understand elements that are challenging to quantify, such as logics, perspectives, and sentiments.

Urbanisation and urban development drive capital accumulation (Soederberg & Walks, 2018) due to the inflow of population and capital that has expanded the potential rent gap concealed in the urban built environment (Smith, 1996; Shatkin, 2016). These urban built environments are often financialised through public development projects and financial mechanisms (see Klink & Stroher, 2017). The privatisation and renewal of MDVs promoted by the state represent the occasion for introducing new financial instruments and mechanisms, while financialisation reconstructs power dynamics and institutional structure in the process of urban development. MDVs have played a significant role in the post-war housing development process in Taiwan, providing an opportunity to examine changes in state and institutional functions, the underlying politics, and the actual influences on residents' lives caused by the shifting socioeconomic context and policies, which are embedded in the trends of neoliberalism and financialisation. These aspects are often neglected in many quantitative studies, and this research aims to reflect on these socioeconomic trends through the transformation of practices, including policy implementation and residents' lives. MDV residents who retreated from Mainland China to Taiwan, leaving behind their social networks and family support, arrived in an unfamiliar land with limited inherited wealth and life experiences, heavily reliant on state support. This implies that this group of people had remained long-term recipients of state policies

from the beginning, and their lives and residences were closely clamped onto the government and changing policies, unlike native Taiwanese who, while also affected by policies, had their own existing living and housing patterns rooted in spaces. The exploration of the changing geography of the MDVs fills the gaps in the discussion of housing policies and environments for Chinese military immigrant communities, which have been less explored in existing macro-level housing research. This exploration resonates with the critique presented in Section 1.1, highlighting that current concepts of neoliberalism and housing financialisation are often rooted in the experiences of Western countries and are in need of refinement and reworking in interpreting the situation in Taiwan.

Simultaneously, there are hundreds of extant academic studies on the MDVs in Taiwan. When searching for the keyword "Military Dependents' Villages" in Chinese on the National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan, 259 relevant degree theses can be found (accessed on the 31st of December, 2022). Similarly, searching in Taiwan's Chinese-language database, Airiti Library (華藝線上圖書館), yields 111 journal articles (accessed on the 31st of December, 2022). Conducting a precise search on Google Scholar using both "Military Dependents' Villages" and "Taiwan" as specific keywords, there are fewer than 200 English-language articles available (accessed on the 1st of January, 2023). However, these studies are dispersed across variegated and often unrelated topics, resulting in relatively few studies in each specific sub-area. Following Wang's (2007) classification, Li (2011) notes that the existing MDV-related studies can be divided into four thematic areas: literature (the written work relevant to or stemming from the MDVs), history, reconstruction, and social structure and interaction. Among these, discussions on reconstruction can encompass multiple dimensions or perspectives, including the formulation and content of regulations and policies, policy implementation, and its impacts and consequences, with some existing research outcomes in each area. Tang and Wang (2008) explore the political dynamics within the legislative process of these regulations in the central government, such as confrontations between political parties, the legislators' changes of position, the purposes of promoting the bills, and their conversation in Legislative Yuan. Li (2011)

teases out the transformation in the positions and actions of different stakeholders (the central government, the city government, and MDV residents) during the MDV reconstruction process in Hsinchu City. These two studies focus on the concerns and decision-making logic of different political parties or stakeholders without delving into policy implementation. Chen (2004) and Chang (2015) provide detailed descriptions and introductions to the content and differences in regulations and reconstruction policies at various phases. However, their discussions regarding the actual implementation process and its influence are limited, considering that regulations and policies face many unforeseen circumstances when put into practice in real spaces. Chen (2002) and Yang (2017) interview MDV residents about the changes in living habits before and after reconstruction and their perceptions on policies, their interpretation only displays the conditions of individual villages (Ming-jian New Village and Chong-shih New Village) instead of reflecting on the systematic issues of the laws and policies. Nevertheless, a comprehensive review of existing research exposes many unknowns to explore, particularly concerning the historical obscurity of MDVs due to their relevance to the military – yet to be unearthed and pieced together by researchers. These gaps related to reconstruction encompass numerous ambiguous descriptions in the regulations and policies, the actual implementation process and its impacts, unexpected encounters not in line with the estimations of policies, as well as the interrelationships between financial mechanisms, land, reconstruction, and relocation.

Other research fields include spatial issues and unique cultures of the MDVs, depicting the changing use of public or household spaces, and the ambience, conventions, and customs within the villages (see Ma, 2010; Peh, 2009; Tang, 2004). The complexity of issues in the MDVs makes it difficult for researchers to discuss only a single field (Ma, 2010); each field is often highly relevant. For instance, Ma (2010), Peh (2009), and Tang (2004) conduct case studies on individual villages and capture a thorough life history through interviews, and they also probe the implementation of reconstruction and social structure of these MDVs; Yang (2009) studies the spatial morphology of Lyudong East Village, but discusses the reconstruction policies as well; although the main concern of Chang (2017), Huang (2013), Ma (2008), and Yeh (2020) is cultural

conservation, they simultaneously involve the discussion on other fields. In addition to academic research, there is relevant government-published literature (see Chang, 1997; Chao, 2009; Deng & Chiu, 2007; Gu, 1999; Kuo, 2005; Pan, 1997), including field surveys, oral history, pictorial history, and official-led research, which provide additional sources of information regarding the collective or individual memories of local MDVs. Apart from the gaps in the reconstruction process mentioned earlier, current MDV-related research has significant deficiencies in the narratives and exploration of MDVs in the housing field, let alone housing financialisation or neoliberalism. There has been no relevant systematic documentary and historical analysis of MDVs in the academic literature. This research fills that gap and provides an opportunity to deepen this understanding through a systematic review and through a focus on narrating the spatial biographies of MDVs.

Additionally, this study explores the housing conditions across different generations, which remains a gap in the literature concerning MDVs. Spanning approximately 70 years from their inception to demolition, MDVs accommodated multiple generations of Chinese military immigrants and their families. A qualitative investigation into intergenerational housing can enhance our understanding of the evolution of housing quality and living environments over time, as well as their relationships with broader socio-economic trends, such as urbanisation and housing financialisation. This entry point also offers new insights into the long-term impacts of state intervention in housing and relevant policies. For instance, in Taiwan, where the proportion of public housing is relatively low, some military personnel and their dependents could access public-owned housing, and subsequently acquire homeownership at a low cost during MDV reconstruction and privatisation. What are the specific influences on the second or third generation of Chinese immigrants? This direction extends beyond the intended recipients of specific policies, providing an understanding of the long-term direct or indirect effects of these policies.

In summary, this research approaches the grounded experiences within the MDVs and related practices, which have been incorporated into the trends of neoliberalism and housing financialisation since its integration with the large-scale public housing

programme from the 1970s (Department of Housing and Urban Development, 1998; Housing Department of Taipei City Government, 1980, 1990). Nevertheless, MDVs, as a form of housing in Taiwan, have received relatively little research attention. This study aims to conceptualise the actual conditions and move beyond the mainstream discourses of financialisation which are rooted in western experiences. This research aims to fill these gaps by bringing the two together: to explore the changing nature of MDVs through the lens of financialisation and to connect a micro perspective of everyday experiences in MDVs and the actual policy implementation to wider systemic shifts in the housing system. This contributes to countering the common tendency within urban theory to abstract financialisation from everyday realities (Christophers, 2015a).

1.4 Research project

More than 900 MDVs were scattered around Taiwan and the surrounding islands, and the MDVs of Taipei City are chosen as the research focus for three reasons. First, according to the Q4 data from 2002 to 2019, in six municipalities it can be seen that the housing price to income ratio (PIR) of Taipei City is much higher than that of the other five municipalities (Figure 1.2). The total population of Taipei City is about 2.646 million, which indicates that about 11.2 per cent of Taiwan's population lives in the area with the highest PIR. This phenomenon has aroused the interest of this research, including the housing mobility and patterns there, and how the residents adapt themselves to the housing market that is statistically “unaffordable”. Second, Taipei City is the city with the most MDVs in number (see Appendix 1), and the reconstruction of MDVs was closely interwoven with the housing provision in Taipei City during between the 1970s and 1990s. Third, Taipei has been a critical destination for domestic immigrants since industrialisation (Liu, 1986; Shi et al., 2011), and the flows of people had driven its urbanisation, thereby increasing housing demand and accelerating the market value of the land on which some MDVs were located in new urban areas. The potential economic value became one of the reasons for the developmental state in the 1970s to promote MDV reconstruction. We are able to capture the interdependence between the dynamics of the MDVs, migration, urbanisation and

financialisation in the spatial scope of Taipei City.

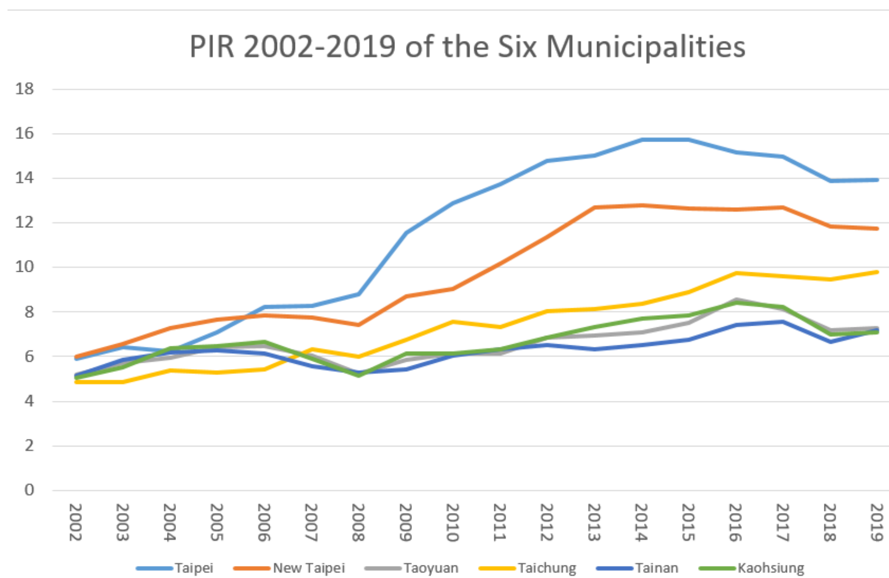

Figure 1.2: PIR of the six municipalities
(Source: adapted from Real Estate Information Platform, 2019)

1.4.1 Research aims and questions

To understand how the perceived form, role, and function of MDVs in the Taipei housing system have changed alongside the deepening influence of neoliberalism and financialisation in the housing system since the late 1970s, three research questions were formulated as follows:

(1) *How have MDVs been managed, governed, and regulated over time?*

The aim is to systematically integrate the focuses of different studies, planning documents, publications, maps, and censuses to comprehensively articulate the history and spatial changes of MDVs, constituting the spatial biographies of the MDVs in Taipei. The exploration and analysis of MDVs aim to understand how they have been managed and governed over time, encompassing different stages of policies and their implementation outcomes or derived informal governance, as well as an overview of changes in residents' lives. The functions and significance of the MDVs to the government over time will be discussed as well, to demonstrate the changing approaches of governance and the implications

beyond housing in accordance with the socio-economic and political backgrounds and their influence. This question seeks to shed light on how MDVs have been (and are) made and remade over time.

(2) *How has the MDV reconstruction been financialised and what are the mechanisms and influences?*

This question allows exploration of the aforementioned gaps in the understanding of MDV reconstruction, which was a critical watershed for the MDVs marking the transition from a public-backed housing and living system to privatised properties. We aim to develop more on the structural and institutional aspects, covering decision-making processes and political contexts of enacting regulations and policies, the detailed mechanisms of the systems, the actual implementation of policies, and the structural and wider spatial influences, on the basis of the overall changing processes explored by the first question. The second question also serves as the intermediate connecting the general history and conditions of the MDVs to the practices, providing some fundamental works and understanding for subsequent exploration and analysis on the residents' grounded experiences and everyday life explored by the third question.

(3) *How has everyday life within MDVs been shaped over time and how have the MDV residents responded to privatisation and displacement?*

This question adopts the human-centred perspective on the MDVs and financialised reconstruction, which can connect financialisation with daily life, filling the gap of a lack of grounded experiences in current related literature (Christophers, 2015a; Jacobs & Manzi, 2020). By exploring how the MDV residents of different generations adjust themselves (or not) to the shifting housing environment over time, we can theorise the actual financialisation in Taipei through the case of the MDVs. This question seeks to show how perspectives from those living within MDVs (rather than from afar) can aid understanding of urban transformation under the trends of neoliberalism and financialisation and its everyday effects in Taiwan.

These three research questions each focus on different aspects and subjects, but together they are able to establish a relatively comprehensive knowledge regarding the MDVs. The subsequent three empirical chapters respond to these research questions in sequence, with the involved spatial scales ranging from large to small. Two specific cases are narrowed down from the development history of MDVs in Taiwan and Taipei. The thesis framed by this structure from a large to small scale will progressively provide readers with a clearer understanding of MDV housing and its residents, beginning with macro and urban history, embedded socio-economic factors, and institutional changes, moving on to the decision-making logic of policies and the mechanisms and circumstances during the implementation, and finally delving into individual daily life and urban living spaces.

1.4.2 Study contributions

The ambition of this study is to broaden the geographical understanding of housing financialisation, and build an empirical understanding of the evolution and role of MDV housing. The mainstream discourses surrounding housing financialisation are rooted in western experiences, and many relevant studies merely link finance to urban issues, which might exaggerate the utility of the concept financialisation (Christophers, 2015a). Therefore, it is necessary to recognise the limitations of the mainstream Anglophone concept of housing financialisation, and substantiate "actual financialisation" in different urban contexts in developing it theoretically. This research conceptualises the uniqueness of the MDVs in Taipei within the processes of financialisation, privatisation and urbanisation, contributing to international debates on theorising financialisation through the lens of practices and everyday urbanism. The mechanisms and actual implementation of policies and the grounded experiences within MDVs provide an opportunity for us to conceptualise how the trend of neoliberalism and financialisation is reflected in everyday life and how it has influenced the housing environment, which led to the changes in housing patterns of individual households and socio-spatial composition. Furthermore, in terms of methodology, this study captures the MDV housing and histories from different angles through mixed methods, offering a comprehensive and critical re-examination of

policy mechanisms and impacts, institutions, and the everyday lives of residents. This provides interpretations beyond the current state-driven and policy-centered literature. Another contribution is the adoption of housing biographies, which allows this research to collect and analyse cross-generational housing data and everyday life from a bottom-up perspective (see Chapter 7). This approach presents the complex internal dynamics and encompasses individual perceptions and considerations.

This study makes four major empirical contributions. First, this research integrates academic literature, official publications, reliable online data, interview material, and relevant maps and figures, providing a comprehensive and detailed introduction and analysis of MDVs, as demonstrated in Chapters 4 and 5. We do not solely rely on official versions of MDV history and records, nor do we consider related policies, especially the processes of MDV reconstruction, as mere appendages to public housing development in Taiwan. MDVs are not only partially related to public housing; their spatial and virtual influences extend beyond MDVs themselves. Instead, we critically review the evolution of MDVs, discuss them in conjunction with the overall socioeconomic and political context, and deconstruct the functions and meanings of MDVs at different periods of time. This helps interpret the motivations and actions of institutions and residents in accordance with what roles the MDVs played in their experiences and what they explicitly or implicitly meant. Second, this study collected and organised critical yet uncirculated data during fieldwork, which forms the basis for Chapter 6. This chapter elaborates on the detailed mechanisms and actual implementation of policies that existing research has only touched upon. It explains the reasons, considerations, and impacts of incorporating financial tools into MDV reconstruction and privatisation. Third, Chapter 6 unravels the empirical evidence of the tangible effects on urban space driven by the financial design of MDV reconstruction. The spatial distribution, relocation paths, and the dispersed or concentrated transition of nearly 200 MDVs in Taipei after reconstruction are visualised for the first time, along with an exploration of the causes behind these spatial phenomena. Fourth, this research contributes to historicising housing financialisation in Taipei and bringing together financialisation, privatisation and urbanisation in a single analytical frame through residents’ everyday experiences and

housing biographies, which will be elaborated in Chapter 7. Considering socio-spatial transformation is a long-term pattern that encompasses several generations, intergenerational housing dynamics are also probed and included. Several nuanced empirical findings – including the interplay between the changes in daily life and urban space, the roles of the military in the emergence of a "parallel institutionalism" (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a; Powell, 2013), the shifting significance of MDV housing, the ideology of homeownership embedded in the financialising and privatising processes, and the individual strategies of asset and resource utilisation on the intergenerational level – constitute a multifaceted understanding of the influences and complexity of actual financialisation, conceptualising Taipei's local financialised urbanism shaped by the entanglement between international prevailing trends and the specificity of local culture, history, and politics.

1.5 Thesis structure

This study comprises eight chapters. Chapter 1 (this chapter) provides an overview of the history of the housing environment and market in Taiwan, along with the rising trends of neoliberalism and financialisation since the 1970s. Additionally, it has offered a brief introduction to the history of MDVs, an area often neglected or situated on the periphery of mainstream housing policies. Currently, research in Taiwan's housing field regarding neoliberalism and/or financialisation is limited, with most studies focusing on macro trends based on statistical data and correlation between different variables, rather than delving into the actual daily life. MDVs, rarely discussed from a housing perspective, offer an opportunity to bridge the practices of relevant policies with residents' everyday lives, as well as connect them to the broader housing market and socioeconomic and political background. This sheds new light on mainstream Western-based concepts of financialisation. After discussing the gaps in the existing understanding, this research proposes three research questions at different spatial scales, guiding a comprehensive, multi-layered, and in-depth exploration.

Chapter 2 establishes the conceptual framework for this study. After a discussion of neoliberalism, this chapter critically discusses the concept of financialisation and its

limitations, including potentially exaggerated conceptual utility in academic applications. In response to arguments by Christophers (2015a) and Peck (2017), it is necessary to delve into actual financialisation in specific cases to enhance our understanding of the concept's essence and its application, and to connect abstract neoliberalism with local grounded experiences through an exploration of mid-level concepts or mechanisms. We propose capturing and analysing actual financialisation from structural and institutional aspects, as well as the micro-level perspective (i.e., bringing humans back in). The former frames the direction of Chapters 5 and 6, while the latter frames the direction of Chapter 7. These three empirical chapters jointly construct a comprehensive understanding of MDV housing embedded in privatisation and financialisation. The concept of everyday urbanism is employed and synthesised with financialisation in moving beyond the abstract and grounding shifts and experiences.

Chapter 3 explains the methodological design. This chapter details the use of mixed methods to answer the three questions posed in Chapter 1. The adopted mixed methods encompass secondary documentary analysis, semi-structured stakeholder interviews and resident interviews, and observations. The rationale for selecting these four methods and implementation are explained. This design corresponds to the aim to establish a comprehensive and longer-term understanding, gathering data from various forms and positions, including secondary data from varied sources, experts, scholars, and stakeholders familiar with MDV policies or history, and residents at two locations, enabling mutual corroboration.

Chapter 4 initially presents the precursors and brief history of MDVs, which can be considered a general overview of nationwide MDVs. It then introduces the spatial development history of Taipei and analyses the reasons and logic behind the emergence, growth, and expansion of MDVs in Taipei City. This background information allows readers to have a clearer understanding of the history and spatial context of MDVs, including what MDVs are, why the history of MDVs is divided into four periods, and the types and locations of MDVs in Taipei. Finally, we introduce the basic details of two fieldwork sites, including their past and present, spatial patterns,

and activities within these spaces.

Chapter 5 primarily addresses the first research question and elaborates on the emergence (after the late-1940s), regulation (after the mid-1950s), full reconstruction (after the late-1970s), and privatisation of MDVs, based on secondary literature and data from various sources. This elaboration covers the spatial aspects of neighbourhoods and households, early residents' lives, state governance and management, and the content of reconstruction regulations and policies. We analyse how the significance and functions of MDV housing changed for different sectors during different periods of time, and employ the concept of “parallel institutionalism” (Wacquant, 2004; 2008a) to depict the MDV system.

Chapter 6, guided by the second research question, further discusses under-researched policy mechanisms, actual implementation, and the relevant political and decision-making processes based on stakeholders’ interviews and secondary data. Through these interviews and documentary analysis, these policies and policy decision-making processes can be opportunities to understand how the trend of financialisation reconfigures urban governance and intervenes in urban and housing development. This research is also able to define and analyse how the shifting geography and nature of MDVs are embedded in the logic of policy decisions over time. Moreover, we examine how political informality embedded in parallel institutionalism has been simplified in the transformation process of governance systems through the actual implementation of policies. The influence of these policy mechanisms on urban space is visualised and analysed in this chapter as well.

Chapter 7 is guided by the third research question and employs residents' interviews and observations. It focuses on two reconstructed MDVs, Qing-nian New Town and Song-shan New Town. We first introduce the concepts of space and place from human geography adopted in this chapter and explain the proposed "housing biographies" and their functions. After presenting five residents’ housing biographies, the analysis focuses on three aspects: everyday life, housing mobility, and intergenerational dynamics. The first aspect highlights changes in residents' lifestyles and spatial

practices before and after MDV reconstruction and privatisation. The second aspect, based on a longer time scale, explores housing mobility among neighbourhood residents, enhancing understanding of current resident composition in the reconstructed neighbourhoods and housing decision-making processes. The third aspect extends the time scale to discuss intergenerational dynamics among Chinese immigrant MDV residents in terms of the resources or housing support provided to the children generation. Through this exploration, we aim to understand the long-term influence of housing policies, particularly low-cost privatisation of public properties. The influence encompasses the shifting housing ideology, the reinforcement of an ownership-oriented housing market, and the speculative opportunities caused by state simplifications (Scott, 1998). The insights provide a potential direction for future policy reviews. Chapter 8 concludes the study and centres on the contribution of the thesis, the implications for international debates, and the new discussions and lines of inquiry it opens up.

Chapter II: Conceptual Framing

Since Giovanni Arrighi first proposed the concept of **financialisation** in 1994 (Coq-Huelva, 2013), it has received growing academic attention (Klink & Stroher, 2017), especially after the mid-2000s and the Global Financial Crisis (Christophers, 2015a). To comprehensively address the daily practices and enduring influences of MDV housing before and after the trends of neoliberalism and financialisation, it is crucial to begin by elucidating the key debates related to the financialisation of housing. This chapter sets out the key concepts and related debates that are synthesised and underpin analysis of the empirical material that follows in Chapters 5 to 7.

Comprising four sections, the chapter begins with a discussion of the concept(s) of financialisation situated within the backdrop of neoliberal urbanism. The second section engages critical debates with regard to financialisation. It responds to Peck's (2017: 8–10) call to construct mid-level concepts or cases that bridge the abstract notions of neoliberalism with grounded practices and phenomena. Drawing on the framework proposed by Jacobs and Manzi (2020), which analyses *actual* financialisation through structural, organisational, and individual scales, this study seeks to conceptualise the transformations of MDVs within broader socioeconomic and urban trends, emphasising institutional and micro level aspects. In addition, the concept of "parallel institutionalism" (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a) was employed to understand the histories and socio-spatial dynamics of MDVs, providing a framework for the processes and details of MDVs in subsequent chapters. The third part introduces the concept of everyday urbanism, delving into a micro-level orientation that incorporates residents' everyday experiences of MDVs to guide the conceptualisation and historicisation of local cases and their potential contributions. The fourth section concludes.

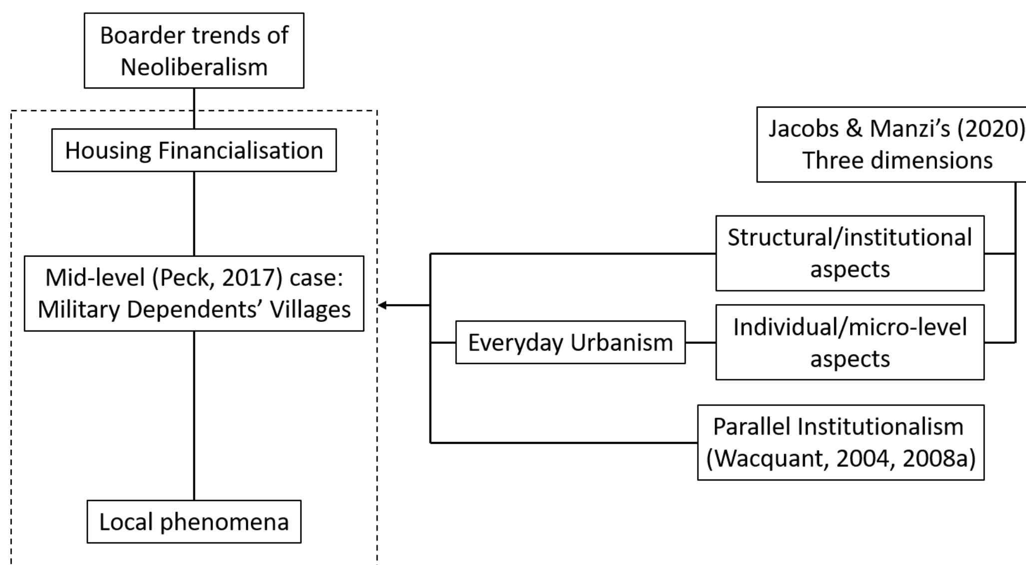

Figure 2.1: Diagram of the concepts employed to explore the MDVs and housing financialisation
(Source: Author's own)

2.1 Neoliberalism and financialisation

Before delving into financialisation and key international debates, here we briefly review the trends of neoliberalism and the relationship between the principle of capital accumulation and financialisation. Before the oil crisis of the 1970s, the development of Western capital markets had gradually slackened, and the Fordist excessive production made profitability decline (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Rolnik, 2019). When the global economy was struck hard by the oil crisis, leading to simultaneous growth in unemployment and inflation ("stagflation"), Western economies promoted the reform of the international system to restart the process of capital accumulation (Harvey, 2007). The initiatives of neoliberalism, which valorises individual and economic freedom and advocates for a free market, deregulation, and reducing state intervention, have become the mainstream international political consciousness (Chen & Li, 2010; Forrest & Hirayama, 2009). This doctrine was propelled by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and other international institutions which are dominated by the US and other Western countries (Brenner & Theodore, 2002a; Harvey, 2005).

There are four common elements in the practices of neoliberalised countries (Harvey, 2007: 35–39):

(a) Privatisation: entailing the liberalisation of profit-oriented activities in new domains, encompassing the transfer of management and operation authority for public services, social welfare, national defence, and public institutions to the private sector.

(b) Financialisation: a phenomenon characterised by the pursuit of economic benefits through innovative financial instruments.

(c) Crisis management and manipulation: involving orchestrated, controlled, and directed debt crises to mitigate conflicts in recipient countries, ensuring stability and rationalising the financial system while facilitating asset redistribution.

(d) State-led redistributions: entailing the restructuring of resource allocation processes and proportions through comprehensive institutional and structural realignments (e.g., welfare cuts and austerity).

Not confined to the aforementioned four common elements, neoliberalism manifests in diverse forms based on various reasons across different contexts, exemplifying distinct actual existing forms and patterns (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b; Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018). For example, in East Asian countries like Japan, there was less demand for social housing compared to European countries like the UK, which has led to a lack of incentives for the government to promote social housing (Forrest & Hirayama, 2009). The economic crisis in the 1990s led to a devaluation of real estate prices in Japan, prompting the government to deregulate market economics fundamentally and embark on the path of neoliberalism (Hirayama and Ronald, 2007). This, in turn, fuelled an overheated real estate market, causing rapid increases in property prices (Forrest & Hirayama, 2009). The case of Japan demonstrates a different story from Taiwan's experience (described in Section 1.1 above).

Peck et al. (2010: 104–105) broadly interpret neoliberalism as a hegemonic restructuring spirit that dominates regulatory and governance transformations. For Peck, at its core, neoliberalism is characterised by the state-facilitated mobilisation of

financialised accumulation, the rolling back of social (class) redistribution, and social repression. One driving force behind this global tendency is the pursuit initiated by both private and public financial structures to navigate through capital accumulation crises, seeking an outlet for revenue extraction for surplus value (Harvey, 1985). A system that can break through physical frameworks such as territory to avoid the restrictions of the capital circulation cycle was therefore gradually built (Christophers, 2010; Harvey, 1982). This would facilitate the capital surplus accumulated by the original Fordist production and consumption model to enter the lower-risk secondary circuit (Baccaro & Pontusson, 2016; Coq-Huelva, 2013; Harvey, 1978). Faster capital liquidity and a new round of capital circulation based on the built environment rely on innovative financial measures to make profits (Krippner, 2005). The mortgage systems continue to evolve and 'have increasingly become standardised, securitised, packaged, and commercialised' (Coq-Huelva, 2013: 1217). The increasing and variegated patterns of capital accumulation shifting from traditional economic activities to financial channels and markets (Krippner, 2005, 2011) – alongside the incremental influence of financial logics in different social sectors such as economy and politics (Aalbers, 2017; Blackburn, 2006) – can be understood as financialisation.

Although more restrictions have been lifted from private corporations and organisations after the trends of neoliberalism, the financial market is still intensely entangled with the norms and systems stipulated and managed by governments and international institutions. States have become an important force in the deregulation and reconfiguration of the market (Tickell & Peck, 2003). Leitner, Peck and Sheppard (2007) enumerate two characteristics of governmentality under neoliberalism, which are (a) government policies guiding and adjusting the principles of the market, and (b) empowering private sectors but maintaining indirect influence and manipulation through measurable indicators. The private sector not only serves as a recipient of neoliberalisation and financialisation but also stands as a co-constitutor of economic restructuring (Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018). Macro-policy shifts facilitate and propel the private sector's self-positioning and strategies. Their tactics for participating in land assetisation, along with organisational formations under the background of financialisation, continue to evolve and develop (ibid). Interactions and power

dynamics among actors influence the reconfiguration of social spaces (Harvey, 2005) and the assetisation of the built environment (Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018) within processes of urban transformation and capital accumulation. Nevertheless, attention to mid-level dynamics within the context of neoliberal governance remains scarce, including how its logic systematically infiltrates the grounded practices (ibid). Exploring trends of financialisation via the lens of socioeconomic structural changes can aid in clarifying the localised manifestations of neoliberalism.

2.2 Conceptualising housing financialisation

Academic discussion on the financialisation of housing covers a range of changes involving variegated fields (van der Zwan, 2012). In most scenarios, financialisation is researched alongside specific thematic areas (e.g., housing, land, basic infrastructures, etc.) or geographical regions, or the adopted financial instruments within the process of financialisation. Themes and areas of investigation include (but are not limited to) loans, securitisation, mortgages, credit scoring, land use planning, housing rights, subsidised housing, financial actors, stock exchanges, student housing, financialisation interdependencies across the Global South or Global North, social housing, mortgages in foreign currencies, and resistance to financialisation (see García-Lamarca, 2022; Halawa, 2015; Pósfai & Nagy, 2017). We can refer to Aalbers (2020), Fernandez and Aalbers (2016: 71–72), and Fernandez and Aalbers (2019: 680–681), which fully enumerate and collate a very helpful index-like literature review on financialisation. Van der Zwan (2014) synthesises three research dimensions prevalent in the existing literature. The first one is the political economy and its derivative theories which underscore the accumulation system of capital, shifts, and adjustments within capital markets and the global economic structure, along with state regulation and intervention. The second is the "critical accountancy" that centres on corporate governance and finance. This notion emphasises the dynamic relationship between management and shareholders, seeks to enhance planning and management efficiency, and optimises investment strategies through calculative practices under contemporary capitalism. The third dimension accentuates the expansion of diverse financial services and means into everyday life.

This study focuses on the financialisation of housing. Within financialised and assetised economic structures, the use value of housing and land is transformed into exchange value, which is accumulated in the form of assets through financial products and leverage (Madden & Marcuse, 2016; Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018), rendering housing and land a vital vehicle for capital accumulation in the secondary circuit (Aalbers, 2016; Rolnik, 2019). Housing's storage of value and absorption of capital deepen the 'vast pools of capital' through mortgage debt and commodification (Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016: 75). The substantial value and profit conceived in the real estate market has led to the growing dependence between real estate development and economic development (or "economic growth") (Aalbers, 2016; Byrne, 2016a). While the speculation surrounding inflated asset values has accelerated rapid expansion in global financial markets (Turner, 2015), thereby propelling real estate to become one of the fastest developed industries in many countries (Shatkin, 2010). Certain cities, constrained by austerity, increasingly rely on assetised land and infrastructure, including housing, embarking on neoliberal trajectories to approach capital injection. In this process, the built environment plays a pivotal role (Peck & Whiteside, 2016; Savini & Aalbers, 2016).

Here, we briefly differentiate four processes and how they relate conceptually to housing financialisation: commodification, privatisation, capitalisation, and assetisation. This clarification aids readers in discerning the nuanced (and sometimes contradictory) academic applications of financialisation, given that these concepts are often conflated with each other. While these processes often coexist in various circumstances, they possess distinct definitions. First, *commodification*, a more intuitive concept, describes the transformation of housing from a social good into purchasable commodities (see Wang & Murie, 2011). On the other hand, financialisation encompasses a broader scope, discussing not only whether and how housing can be traded but also emphasising the mechanisms and logics of capital accumulation within the built environment. Housing commodification and the trading of homeownership doesn't necessarily occur within a financialised housing environment; however, the logics of financialisation often emerges within a context

where housing can be more freely exchanged (i.e., where commodification is dominant).

Second, *privatisation* and financialisation exhibit apparent distinctions, yet their entanglement is discernible in practical cases. Government interventions in the housing market through privatisation can be driven by financial means (Waldron, 2018: 207). For instance, the establishment of a comprehensive loan system can assist residents in purchasing public housing units for sale. The process of privatisation itself can also become financialised, as real estate and infrastructure are bundled into investment portfolio assets and sold to private equity investors. This phenomenon is termed 'financialised privatisation' by Aalbers (2016: 3). An example receiving significant attention is the Real Estate Investment Trust (REIT), a type of publicly listed company that enables investors to hold profitable real estate owned or managed by it through shares rather than direct ownership (Chan, Erickson & Wang, 2003). However, the interrelation of privatisation and financialisation within variegated financial mechanisms depends on specific socioeconomic and political contexts. Financialisation policies are not always directly related to privatisation, such as in the case of tax increment financing (TIF) in the United States. TIF is a local government financing strategy, which is developed in an era of fiscal austerity, issued as bonds based on projected tax revenues, creating municipal bonds 'using this hypothetical revenue stream' to raise funds for urban development projects (Pacewicz, 2013: 422).

Third, as discussed by Birch (2017: 465), *capitalisation* refers to endowing 'material things (e.g., a commodity) and/or discursive claims (e.g., hope)' with the notion of value through valuation practices and calculative tools. The practice and organisational structure of capitalisation is entwined with governance and management of monetary and physical assets within financialised business models. In essence, under the trend of financialisation, the influences in everyday life are amplified by the market for capital accumulation through financial channels and intermediaries (Pike & Pollard, 2010). Capitalisation accentuates calculation techniques and future valuation (Muniesa, 2014), and facilitates the redirection of future income streams into current circulations through debt (Harvey, 1982). The explanation of capitalisation leads to the

final point, *assetisation*. In political economy, the value of assets originates from the postulated future income flow of capitalisation, with assets generating income without being sold (Birch, 2015: 122; Birch, 2017: 468; Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018: 1080). Assetisation converts hypothetical value into tradable or revenue-generating assets, serving as a supply side in financialisation (Botzem & Dobusch, 2017). Using the real estate market as an example, real estate as a vehicle of capital is subject to appreciation or depreciation based on future valuation. When financial means, such as securitisation, are introduced, assetised capital vehicles need not be sold; valuation practices can attract capital streams through financial channels. This highlights the distinction between assets and commodities. Although both are tradable, commodities' income derives from exchanges, while assets are a resource of monopoly rents which can generate income without being sold (Birch, 2017). This elucidation clarifies the relationship between financialisation and the other four concepts: commodification, privatisation, capitalisation, and assetisation. By juxtaposing them, readers can better comprehend the contours of the application of the financialisation concept and the reasons these terms are frequently situated within the same socioeconomic context.

2.2.1 Critiquing and navigating financialisation

However, the concept of financialisation still remains intricate and contested and is liable to be expanded and transmuted (Christophers, 2015a; Pike & Pollard, 2010). Christophers (2015a) argues that many relevant discourses on financialisation merely broaden or emphasise the importance of “finance” to life, economy, and capitalism. Stretching outward the concept of financialisation endures the risk of exaggerating the influence of financialisation, and makes the concept equivocal and discrete (ibid). Therefore, it is necessary to: recognise the limitations of the prevailing Anglophone literature on financialisation; substantiate the “actual financialisation” in different contexts empirically (Aalbers, 2015a; Krippner, 2005); and understand how it is shaped and identified in practical lives to improve ‘analytical and communicative clarity’ (Christophers, 2015a: 187). Different possible debates and opportunities for research on different scales can be created in the meantime (Aalbers, 2015b).

The pursuit of actual financialisation and grounded experiences of this research is, in part, inspired by the post-colonial perspective and the advocacy of Southern planning theory. That is, decentring the "Global North", and particularly the UK, US and Australia within theorisations in the fields of housing and urban studies (Lawhon & Truelove, 2020; Powell & Simone, 2022). Within urban studies, post-colonial perspectives contend that prevailing theories concerning spatial patterns and urban forms are largely rooted in Western experiences and research. This is related to the fact that scholars predominantly reside and work in Europe and North America, and the narrow nature of these interpretations and paradigms has raised numerous issues in other regions (Healey, 2012; Roy, 2011; Watson, 2002). This critique resonates effectively with numerous empirical studies across diverse global regions (see Goodfellow, 2017; Leaf, 1992; McGillivray, Duignan & Mielke, 2019; Roy, 2009). While mainstream ideas and practices have achieved notable success in many locales, planning and urban studies inevitably needs to be grounded in the distinctive conditions of social, economic, environmental, and political systems (Watson, 2014). The conceptualisation and implementation of local planning require a preliminary understanding of underlying theoretical assumptions and limitations, and considerations of their applicability to specific contexts and reasons (ibid). Even though many mainstream planning discourses and practices, influenced by factors such as colonialism or globalisation, have been carried out in other cultural and socioeconomic settings, their implementation and integration involve complicated politicisation processes and logics, which goes beyond mere dissemination and transplantation of existing models (see Tait & Jensen, 2007; Healey & Upton, 2010). Roy (2016) points out the need to differentiate between the global and the universal – global phenomena, like neoliberalism, do not account universality across various contexts. These non-universal complexities and heterogeneities that are embedded in space, along with the wider connections and flows within local socioeconomic dynamics, require innovative urban thinking patterns and methodologies (Robinson & Roy, 2016).

Healey (2012) suggests that connecting travelling ideas (e.g., financialisation in

Western countries) to specific contexts requires an "origin narrative" to depict the background and prerequisites of the objectives rather than seeking potentially concise appropriation. Alongside a comprehensive narration of cases, systematic debates (or integration) between existing discourses and cases can be realised. It is worth noting that Aalbers (2022: 3–4) reminds us that the post-colonial perspective is not about creating artificial binaries, or asserting the uniqueness of specific phenomena in particular contexts. Instead, it is about understanding "common trajectories" proposed by Hay (2004), encompassing 'the wide variety *and* the mutual developments'. Aalbers adopts Norbert Elias' (1994) long-term sociological perspective that observes how, at a higher abstract level, integrative, or unifying, social forces within societies also result in those societies becoming more differentiated and stratified. A process of "diminishing contrasts, increasing varieties" is discernible over the long-term in all manner of fields (Elias, 2000). Applied to this research, it refers to exploring the local specificities within the trends of neoliberalism or financialisation and how they are shaped, connected, and influenced.

Drawing inspiration from post-colonial perspectives to explore the actual financialisation embedded in the neoliberalism trends, not only resonates with the argument put forth by Ward and Swyngedouw (2018) regarding the relative absence of mid-level theorising neoliberalism, but also contributes to the limited understanding of housing financialisation in Taiwan. Taking into account the divergence of neoliberalisation processes derived from different geographical contexts (Brenner & Theodore, 2002b; Brenner, Peck & Theodore, 2010; Coq-Huelva, 2013), Peck (2017: 8–10) argues that the mid-level concepts and cases can be appropriated as dialogic connections between abstract neoliberalism and the specific situations of local cases. In Peck's (2017) study, which centres on Atlantic City, New Jersey, the mid-level concept refers to the concept of the entrepreneurial city, which connects wider neoliberalism and austerity with a specific context and local dynamics. According to Waldron (2018: 216), in terms of mid-level politics, knowledge about the interests of the finance and development sectors, how they influence urban policy-making and the economy, how they gain power or influence in the political field, and how financial principles, logics, and methods are integrated into public policy remains

‘underdeveloped’.

Jacobs and Manzi (2020) further propose that based on the ideological background of neoliberalism for financialisation, the manifestation and expansion of financialisation can be analysed through three dimensions: governance, housing organisations, and housing and social interaction. Applying the analysis of the structural, organisational, and individual scales to refine the conceptualisation of MDV housing requires adjustments based on the historical context. In terms of MDV histories, the construction, distribution, and management of housing lack the involvement of the type of housing organisations prevalent in the UK, for example. While several quasi-private organisations have participated in the construction and reconstruction of MDV housing, they were mostly affiliated with government authorities and functioned as extensions of the state. Chapter 5 will provide more detailed explanations on this matter. This study adapts the three scales into the structural/institutional aspects and individual/micro-level aspects. Where the former covers the logics, development, planning, management and governance of MDVs over time (state, government, relevant authorities), and the latter is based on residents' grounded, relational experiences.

Christophers (2015a) argues that invoking everyday life is an innovative way to probe the existing conceptualisation of financialisation: focusing solely on macro changes – encompassing overall societal, spatial, economic, and environmental dynamics – is insufficient. However, foregoing macro-environmental exploration and context, and directly delving into smaller spatial scales focused on individual blocks to capture residents' everyday life, might result in an equally insufficient coherency in the development of theorisations. Therefore, these two aspects can mutually validate each other, integrating the understanding of the wider context and grounded experiences to provide a more profound and comprehensive interpretation. This echoes Norbert Elias' (2000) processual and relational approach to sociological theory, which recognises the interdependence between wider social and urban development (sociogenesis) and individual orientations and behaviours (psychogenesis) over the long term. Sensitivity to this processual approach, also evident in Arrighi (1994), leads

to the incorporation of wider contexts with structural and institutional knowledge and the probing of the social and spatial relationship between socioeconomic contexts, institutions, and individuals over time. A relational and processual understanding of housing financialisation also connects to the first and third of the three existing research dimensions synthesised by van der Zwan (2014) (with deeper explanations in the following sub-sections below).

2.2.2 Probing financialisation through the structural and institutional aspect

In terms of structural and institutional scales, processes of neoliberalism and financialisation have changed the urban and housing governance structure and the organisations and stakeholders involved (Aalbers, 2020). The boundaries between state and market have shifted as 'new public management rationales and the rescaling of the state are transforming the institutional framework' (Adisson, 2018: 386). Financialisation decentralises the powers of urban governance, development and planning (Langley, 2009), 'reconfiguring the governance of municipal entities into private or public-private partnerships' (Aalbers, 2020: 597). Some local governments take the initiative to integrate financial instruments with the practices of urban governance and development, and cooperate with international enterprises, private agents, financial institutions and other interest groups (Aalbers, 2020). In different contexts and different types of markets, the mode and degree of public-private partnership are also differentiated (ibid), and the distribution of power among these actors and agencies varies (Araujo, 2007). But it can be said that the multiple forms of entanglement between finance, its internationalisation, and municipalities, transforms the organisational culture, institutional frameworks, urban governance and land and public facilities management (Hendrikse & Sidaway, 2014; Pike et al., 2019; Aalbers, 2020), influencing urban development directly.

In order to unravel the urban patterns and dynamics associated with the trend of financialisation within specific contexts, we must delve deeper and progress beyond the contours of the state and institutions, as well as advance beyond mere descriptions of macro-level socioeconomic factors. It echoes Adisson's (2018: 387) accounts that

we should pay attention to not only the transformations in the macro background (such as the reconfiguration of the state) but also the aspects of related systems, policies, laws, infrastructure, actors and ownership structure. This enables exploration of the logics and rationales for urban restructuring in accordance with local contexts.

Explorations on more nuanced lines and scales resonate with Christophers' (2015a) assertion that we should avoid filtering with the existing limited understanding framework and applying it to various cases that are actually distinctive. This distinctiveness pertains to aspects such as the use of financial means, grounded patterns of financialisation, political relevance, and public-private relationships, which exhibit significant heterogeneity and variety across different circumstances (Aalbers, 2009, 2020; Christophers, 2015b). Instead of extending the identification of financialisation, Fernandez and Aalbers (2016: 85) propose exploring inwardly how specific cases are (or are not) financialised and their implications. For instance, Fields (2014) investigates how community-based organisations creatively confront neoliberal financial restructuring, as well as residents' strategies for responding to predatory assets. The intervention of professional financial institutions has strengthened the profit-oriented market structure and stimulated the development of strategic positivism. Adisson (2018) adopts the case of land in the French railway sectors to study how the dynamics of national and local government reconfigurations change the ownership structure of public properties management and strategically influence the shaping of urban development norms and procedures. Empirical understanding sorts out the reconfigurations of institutional functions over time and the interdependent relationships and impacts under financialisation, providing new grounded insights for re-thinking and extending financialisation conceptually.

This research explores urban complexity within a specific context in terms of structure and institution, aiming to establish an understanding of the internal power and political dynamics underlying MDV governance. It also seeks to unpick the coherent and multi-layered knowledge concerning the decision-making processes of relevant policies and the mechanisms. This provides an empirical contribution to understanding the governance of East Asian “developmental states” (see Dicken, 1998; Evans, 1995).

Prior to exploring the roles and functions of the state in the trends of neoliberalism and financialisation, a preliminary discussion of the concept of the state is presented. In resonance with post-colonial perspectives, constructing a local understanding of the state and governance through institutional mechanisms and daily practices – rather than perpetuating discourses built upon concepts from other contexts – can more effectively capture everyday specificity and complexity. However, this research does not intend to establish an alternative concept of the state, government, or governance, nor does it aim to categorise MDVs or cases in Taiwan. It aims to (re-)articulate, showcase and analyse local dynamics and patterns in nuancing international debates. While comprehending the imaginaries and designs of contemporary Asian states, we should neither forsake the influences brought by Western European forms of governance and sovereignty throughout historical development, nor regard local ideologies and patterns as deficient imitations of Western forms. Instead, it is necessary to deconstruct and historicise local notions to clarify the patterns and reasons for contest, transformation, or integration between the travelling and grounded ideologies (Dean, 2001). Thus, existing academic discussions on the state and urban governance can, to a certain extent, help us understand the significance of governing measures and practices operationalised in relation to MDVs.

2.2.2.1 The concepts of state governance

The concept of the state does not adhere to a fixed academic framework (Abrams, 1988), and its re-conceptualisation is ongoing (Blom Hansen & Stepputat, 2001). It encompasses not only the government but also administrative, legal, bureaucratic, and coercive systems that persist within the polity to construct relations between civil society and public authorities (Stepan, 1978), with its power of control covering specific territories (Das & Poole, 2004). Simultaneously, the state remains an under-explored social actor (Blom Hansen & Stepputat, 2001: 3), shaping and shaped by society – 'The transformation of people as they adopt the symbols of the state and the transformation of the state as it incorporates symbols from society' (Migdal 1994: 15). State power's intervention in specific groups, the continuous redefinition of legal claims and order amidst instability, and self-establishment are influenced by the governed (Das & Poole, 2004). Concurrently, people's daily practices, including desires,

hopes, fears, and experiences, participate in the shaping of the state through their actions (Asad, 2004). This interrelation is applicable to either understanding of the state as presented by Drubig (2006): (a) the separation of those being governed from the governing entities living independently, and (b) the state as an expression of people's power, which cannot detach from the existence of the community. The everyday forms of state power are always imbued with politics and political mediation (Blom Hansen & Stepputat, 2001).

While the everyday forms of state governance are influenced by locality and specific conditions, Migdal (1994: 17) disagrees with regarding the state as ‘an organic, undifferentiated actor’. Migdal (1994), in line with the transmission of governing power, deconstructs state governance into four levels, including state officials executing state directives (e.g., police), local or regional institutions modifying and organising state policies (e.g., courts and police stations), institutions formulating and promulgating state policies (e.g., parliament), and top executive leadership. Blom Hansen and Stepputat (2001: 7) have identified three practical “languages of governance” denoted as ‘(1) the assertion of territorial sovereignty by the monopolisation of violence by permanent and visible military and police forces; (2) the gathering and control of knowledge of the population its size, occupations, production, and well-being of this territory; and (3) the generation of resources and ensuring the reproduction and well-being of the population: in brief, development and management of the "national economy"’. These languages of governance are disseminated, exchanged, and transplanted globally, including in the non-Western world (ibid). However, the categorisation of these levels and the languages of governance have notable differences with the conditions of MDVs, which emerged as informal housing forms in response to wars and refugees, and were the urban margins replete with spatial and managerial uncertainties and independent of central government jurisdiction. The ways in which the state intervenes and governs, as well as the significance and functions of MDVs for each sector, have undergone adjustments during the processes of privatisation and normalisation that began in the 1980s. Here, 'margins' do not refer to urban spatial margins, but rather to the margins of state power capable of reaching, and Asad (2004: 279) accounts that the margins are the spaces where the state law

and order are continuously reconstructed. Faced with the instability existing in marginal areas, the power of state governance intervenes in the margins in specific forms, upholding and establishing the state's position (Das & Poole, 2004). In this research, the state is understood as a centralised coalescence of systems and networks capable of controlling a specific spatial range and exercising power, which remains in constant flux and is shaped by specific (urban) configurations. Power and control can be exercised by the central government, local governments, or relevant authorities, but these units do not solely represent the state.

2.2.2.2 State processes and politics in urban and housing financialisation

As mentioned above, the roles and functions of the state and government undergo distinct urban reconfigurations in different contexts after neoliberalism and financialisation. As a major facilitator of financialisation and the expansion of the financial market and innovations (Fligstein, 2001), the state directly or indirectly reinforces the built environment as a tool for capital accumulation through legislative and regulatory systems and interventions through financial instruments (Aalbers, 2016; Byrne, 2016b; Christophers, 2017; Waldron, 2018). Using the example of REITs being incorporated into the urban structure of Paris, France, following amendments in relevant legislation that opened up opportunities for REITs to engage in real estate investment and development, various domestic REITs were established and closely collaborated with the state in spatial development (Wijburg, 2019). REITs were endowed with autonomy and decision-making power after deregulation, enabling them not only to possess properties but also to engage in development (ibid). Despite the government owns their stakes, its influence on REITs' decision-making is limited (ibid). These governmental interventions encompass a range of financial *de*regulations, including ’eliminating capital controls, regulatory stop valves, statutes governing bank activity and impediments to unrestrained innovation’ (Pacewicz, 2013: 416), as well as manipulating urban space through land requisition and acquisition, urban planning, land use regulation, and privatisation of public properties (Çelik, 2023: 1008–1009). These measures contribute to the creation of the mortgage loan market and the reconfiguration of the housing market (ibid). This process involves different levels or types of institutions and organisations, complex interactive relationships, and

purposes (Klink & Stroher, 2017: 527).

Political elements are key fragments constituting this network, contributing to the interpretation of system adoption, maintenance, operation, and the decision-making process. Some scholars have noted that the current literature often emphasises macro-level data, trends, impacts, and the complexity of mechanisms, but obscures political relevance (Christophers, 2015b; Mader, Mertens & van der Zwan, 2020). Pacewicz (2013) suggests that despite appearing to be supported by supply-demand principles and a market economy, the urban development employing financial instruments is essentially driven by dominant and incentive measures from urban growth coalitions (see Logan & Molotch, 1987; Mollenkopf, 1983; Molotch, 1976). Hence, the necessity of focusing on urban politics, particularly in Taiwan as a developmental state, where urban development and the real estate market have been closely intertwined with political factors in the long term (Chen, 1995; Hsu, 1988). On the other hand, the social development and reproduction shape an environment suitable for the flow of tradable capital, creating significant market value for the built environment, along with competition, cooperation, coordination, and redistribution of resources and opportunities (see Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018).

Drawing on Karl Polanyi's (1944) interpretation of the state and the market, Hoole and Hincks (2020: 1586–1587) account that 'pure markets or states never existed, for both markets and states are constituted through cultural, social, institutional and political relations and situated as dynamic and variegated hybrids of multiple modes of coordination, resources, power and interventions involving competition, exchange, redistribution and reciprocity (Haughton et al., 2016: 357)'. Exploring the political factors of motives, processes, and choices can provide a more coherent panoramic view. The aims of this research in terms of structural and institutional aspects are to probe the changes in the role and functions of the state in MDV history, as well as the levels at which institutions intervened in MDV housing, through what governance means, and how these means were influenced by the specificities of MDVs. Simultaneously, we seek to unveil the internal power and political dynamics and the decision-making process of relevant policies.

Furthermore, this research also investigates the actual operation of the fiscal mechanism within the MDV reconstruction process (see Klink & Stroher, 2017), whose details remain unclear. Many studies on housing financialisation highlight the impact of financial mechanisms and policies but fail to fully explain its essence and inner workings (Christophers, 2015b). This is not to claim that the exploration of the impact caused by financialisation is not important, but to emphasise that understanding the logics and details of the local mechanisms is a critical basis for probing the financialisation embedded in specific contexts. The preliminary analysis of this aspect can lay the foundation and shed new light on the under-researched histories, processes and relations of the MDV reconstruction process(es). For example, in the context of austerity London, Beswick and Penny (2018) explore how local councils use special purpose vehicles (SPVs) to promote mixed-tenure developments, creating ambiguous public/private tenancies as financing channels in order to avoid top-down political and financial constraints (see also Hodkinson, 2019). Beswick and Penny (2018) connect the extensive socioeconomic environment of prevalent economic competitiveness, privatisation, and austerity localism derived from the Thatcher government with the adoption, characteristics, potential, and limitations of SPVs. They elucidate the role of Lambeth Council and its utilisation of SPVs, including the operations of its subsidiaries, capital flows, and regulatory approaches. Subsequently, they delve into the potential risks associated with financialised municipal entrepreneurialism. While introducing the management logics and practices of the private sector, the local council situates the tenants of the new model of public housing within the risk of market price fluctuations. Analysis of political-economic dynamics can contribute to clarifying the transformations in urban development and real estate markets (Byrne, 2016a).

2.2.3 Probing financialisation and micro-level relations through the individual aspect

In terms of the micro-scale of MDVs, the significance of local history and cultural

context can be traced through everyday practices. The schools of practice theory[5] argue that social practices encompass specific forms of knowledge that reflect ways of understanding the world, including the ways of understanding, knowing, wanting, and feeling that interconnect in practice, rather than just "knowing" things (Reckwitz, 2002: 253–254). This knowledge, which is often implicit and influenced by history and culture, includes an understanding of objects, humans, and oneself, reflected in the physical and psychological behaviours of individuals and groups (ibid). In practice theory, knowledge transcends the constraints of time, space, and individuality; it is collective, shared, and capable of continuity and transmission (ibid). This moves beyond the attempts to generalise individual behaviour into patterns and their connections to certain socioeconomic trends. For instance, Sheiner (1995) empirically demonstrates that increasing housing prices can influence the savings behaviour of younger generations, or lead to an upward trend in the age of first-time homebuyers (see also Cole, Powell & Sanderson, 2016; Forrest & Hirayama, 2009). In view of this, in addition to understanding the changing practices that housing financialisation and shifting urban governance facilitate, it is also necessary to introduce new parameters for subjectivity to explore context-based interactions, modalities, and social relationships (Simone, 2016: 150), and unveil the changes in individual (or group) orientations and attitudes towards housing, from which we might understand the shifts in the meaning of home to commodity, for example (see Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

Although Aalbers (2016: 2) defines financialisation as ‘the increasing dominance of financial actors, markets, practices, measurements and narratives, at various scales, resulting in a structural transformation of economies, firms (including financial institutions), states and households’, we should not neglect transformation in the perceptions and orientations of residents and households. Such as when they start to regard housing as an asset, or how they take loan interest rates into consideration.

[5] Practice theory is a subset of cultural theories. Cultural theories explain or understand actions and social order by referencing symbols and cognitive structures and their social constructions in reality. They delve into the details of ’the ideas of body, mind, things, knowledge, discourse, structure/ process and the agent’ (Reckwitz, 2002: 245).

Transformation in these views and feelings often changes housing patterns and daily habits of consumption at different rates for different groups. Based on qualitative information derived from everyday practices and individual perspectives, a nuanced narrative with multi-dimensional and multifaceted considerations can be provided, which serves to underscore residents' experiences of MDV transformations and wider urban developments.

The idea of linking the everyday world with financialisation is also advocated by other scholars across disciplines (see Crosby & Henneberry, 2016; French, Leyshon & Wainwright, 2011; Hall, 2013; Pike & Pollard, 2010). The exploration of micro-level and neighbourhood scales can also connect to the everyday financialisation precipitated by structural and organisational forces, enhancing the coherence of conceptualising financialisation on different levels. Section 2.3 introduces the concept of everyday urbanism and its application in more detail. The discussions concerning individuals, groups, scales and everyday urbanism lay the conceptual foundation for the empirical analysis in Chapter 7.

It is noteworthy that in most of the aforementioned cases, whether they focus on the institutional or individual level, financialisation and urban space development are regarded as an interdependent systemic process, rather than simply understanding the operation of a specific financial mechanism. The built environment is not merely the background of financialisation, but is the core entangled with capital circulation (Moreno, 2014). In numerous circumstances, the diffusion of financial commodities has intensified capital liquidity and, in various forms, exacerbated and accelerated the creative destruction of urban space (Byrne, 2016a; Christophers, 2010; Gotham, 2006). Therefore, in the process of studying financialisation and the cases of MDVs, we focus on the grounded mechanism and logics, alongside analysis of the development of urban space and the built environment over time.

2.2.4 Parallel institutionalism and the MDVs

Based on the aforementioned aspects, this study effectively explores MDVs as a type

of parallel institution and situates the concept of financialisation within this context. It introduces the concept of parallel institutionalism to clarify the historical realities of MDVs, conceptualising their uniqueness at both institutional and everyday life levels, which facilitates understanding of their relationship with financialisation processes.

The concept of "parallel institutionalism", as proposed by Wacquant (2004, 2008a), originates from Drake and Cayton's (1993[1945]) work, Black Metropolis. This work discusses the "communal ghetto" in 1950s America, depicting a parallel world with a significant labour force and complex social organisations and networks within a predominantly white city (Wacquant, 2008b: 114). It is a descriptive concept that provides a framework for understanding specific social dynamics and lifestyles. The mechanisms, systems, and customs of parallel institutions may involve, but are not limited to, culture, ethnicity, lifestyle, identity, and economic activities (see Wacquant, 2008a; Powell, 2013). Historicising the cases is particularly important for clarifying and defining the scope of analysis, given the varying actual conditions and contexts of different cases (Wacquant, 2008b). Wacquant (2008a, 2008b) compares ghettos in the United States with lower-class boroughs in France, analysing the histories and internal dynamics of two types of parallel institutions in different contexts. Agier (2009: 857) considers Wacquant's concept and analytical approach highly valuable for studies aimed at ‘understanding the formation of new spaces that have been built up on the frontier, at the edges or other limits of the social and the national’. The 'historically and spatially informed' framework of parallel institutionalism is quite practical for this study, which investigates minorities and the evolution of their spaces (Powell, 2013: 130–131). Powell (2013) employs Wacquant’s concept and several key features of ghettos to examine the living spaces, perceptions, and cultures of Gypsy-Travellers in the UK, demonstrating the asymmetric power relations that have produced these marginal and ambivalent spaces. MDVs were post-war new-emerging spaces that accommodate immigrants with diverse dialects and cultures. Occupational and historical factors had led these neighbourhoods to employ governance and management systems that differ from those of the majority population. Over decades, MDVs had evolved into urban enclaves that, despite being closely linked to the economy and society outside of parallel institutions, maintained governance systems,

ownership structure, the everyday life, and spatial morphology akin to a parallel world. Parallel institutionalism provides a suitable analytical framework to conceptualise the specificities of MDVs.

This study enhances the relational and processual understanding of MDVs by exploring the long-term urban processes from both structural/institutional aspects and individual/micro-level aspects, discussing the local specificities of the parallel institution at different scales. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 respectively explore governance and management, policy mechanisms, and the everyday life of parallel institutionalism and the post-reconstruction transformations. The introduction of the concept, alongside the analysis proposed by Jacobs and Manzi (2020), which contribute to a clearer analysis of MDVs' internal dynamics, are imperatives for understanding the role and relationships of financialisation processes within this context, as well as their actual impacts and causes.

2.3 Everyday urbanism

Everyday life can be understood as 'how people make their lives in the city' (McFarlane & Silver, 2016: 458), and McFarlane and Silver (2016) conceptualise everyday life in cities as **everyday urbanism**. Using everyday life as the entry point can aid the development and explanatory potential of the financialisation of housing. Much of the research related to housing financialisation has tended to come from Western countries, often inspired by the phenomenon of domestic capital accumulation rather than actual international capital flows (Christophers, 2015a). It implies that the initial perspective of much extant research is limited geographically. We are therefore able to extend and nuance housing financialisation by shifting research scales and capturing the influences on the everyday in other places. The inconsistency and variety of grounded patterns are some of the characteristics of financialisation (French et al., 2011; Aalbers, 2020). Fernandez and Aalbers (2019) use practical experience to distinguish the patterns of financialisation in both Global North and Global South. But in addition to roughly discerning the divergence between Global North and South, capturing and theorising everyday life at a smaller geographical scale can contribute

to re-framing financialisation and can ‘draw attention to the variegated ways in which the city becomes a site of navigation for urban dwellers across multiple topographies’ (McFarlane & Silver, 2016: 469). For example, Sharma (2021) conceptualises how financialisation leads to displacement in Bangladesh through capturing the daily life of the working poor, and McFarlane and Silver (2016) conceptualise the interaction between residents and social infrastructures through the observation and investigation of everyday life. These studies decentre theorising from Western Anglophone countries, situating local experiences within the ongoing conversations about financialisation (Sharma, 2021).

Everyday urbanism reverberates with Bhambra's (2014) alternative initiative of "connected sociologies”. Drawing on Habermas' (1988) perspective, Bhambra (2016a: 964) categorises existing social science as an amalgamation of politics and economics, which interprets the state and market on individual and systemic levels, as well as sociology and economics, which resolves the issues that are unsolved by policies. Classical sociology, which is constituted by politics, economics, and culture, has focused on today's diversity and heterogeneity in accordance with a Eurocentric framework (see Eisenstadt, 2000). Concepts of "state" and "modernity" disseminated from Europe and the variations that emerged in other contexts often occurred through colonisation and slavery. Likewise, Dean (2001) accounts that Foucault's understanding of the state and governmentality is predominantly rooted in European states and neglects other cultures and colonial processes. Bhambra (2016a) criticises the theoretical (re)production classical sociological thinkers like Max Weber, heavily influenced by prevalent imperialist and nation-state perspectives. However, the processes of diffusion and dissemination have exceeded the limitations of existing theories yet remain confined within established frameworks, underpinned by post-theoretical patches, tethering race, ethnicity, and modernity to existing social sciences (see Bhambra, 2016a, 2016b; Dean, 2001). Bhambra (2016a) criticised this as a reshaping rather than a restructuring. In light of this, Bhambra (2014) presents the concept of "connected sociologies" to ’reconstruct theoretical categories – their relations and objects – to create new understandings that incorporate and transform previous ones’ (Bhambra, 2016b: 347). Their core is to shed new light on the formation

of sociology and how it conceives, imagines, and represents the modern world, through extensive, interconnected histories (Bhambra & Santos, 2017: 5). This perspective resonates with the previously mentioned post-colonial perspectives and Southern planning theory, which can be put into practice and to work during explorations of everyday life, local histories, and interactive processes connecting individuals, activities, and spaces. The fragments of grounded experiences and local histories can be stitched together to project complex social structures embedded in specific historical and cultural backgrounds.

Yet, because the focus of each specific research project is never the same, we consider that the conceptualised “urban everyday life” is highly research question-dependent. For instance, the concern of McFarlane and Silver (2016: 458) is ‘how people cope, work together, deal with threats and develop opportunities, and invest their energies in the making of urban life, often in conditions of poverty and marginality’. The truncated everyday life involves the interplay between actors and urban spaces in shifting time (or relative flux), and these complex dynamics are challenging to capture, categorise and measure comprehensively. Individual perceptions, decisions, and behaviours may hinge on numerous detectable or undetectable, active or passive factors, threading seemingly endless networks of causal relationships. The designated context of MDVs and research questions set up pragmatic boundaries for this everyday life-based endeavour. Building upon the academic gaps mentioned in the previous chapter, and in order to examine the state and policy at the neighbourhood scale, this study seeks to approach and unpick (a) the actual implementation of state policies and their short- and long-term influences, and; (b) the variations in the interaction between everyday life and space through everyday experiences, and further explore the political informality inherent in both processes.

2.3.1 Framing the scope of micro-level perspective discussion

A micro-level perspective offers an alternative lens to interpret urban issues, analysing internal power dynamics and political trajectories within states through the prism of everyday practices in space. This framework diverges from using state-centric

governance models and policy’s intended outcomes, which are constructed through sketchy urban contours, to comprehend actual situations (Kihato, 2011), and to observe the processes of simplification and flattening of state-centred governance and how people adapt or resist it. Scott (1998: 2–5) contends that, in comparison to premodern states, the high modernist state exercises greater control and knowledge over various information such as people, wealth, land ownership, production, location, and identity, and it maintains firm beliefs in an administrative ordering of nature and society, and the ideology of reason and virtue. This state holds an arrogance in projecting a better future for "the people," potentially leading to hazardous or unforeseen outcomes resulting from the state's intervention of simplification (ibid). State-centric governance models possess limited capacity for inclusiveness, tending to flatten and assimilate cultural diversity and vitality that deviate from the state’s beliefs. Burgum, Jones and Powell (2022) in their study of policies and regulations for inhibiting trespassing which affect nomadic communities, emphasise that the issue identification and solutions of policy-making are contingent upon the narratives that construct social problems (O'Mahony & O'Mahony, 2014: 47). However, governments often are not interested in nuanced evidence and the complexity of social reality because the complexity is limited by a small number of objectives (Scott, 1998: 23). Their research illustrates that under the European liberal ideology toward property, the expansions of efficiency-driven and market-oriented property models and institutions, which are separated from practical use of space, simplify and exclude other unregulated social practices; abstract property rights are further enhanced as tradable and liquid financial assets, regardless of their moral or economic implications (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). To conceptualise the actual influences of state policies and governance, Corbridge et al. (2004) advocate for a micro-level perspective[6], namely the sight in spatial and temporal dimensions to "see" the state. ’Sightings are always complex and take shape against the sightings of other individuals, communities and institutions. They also take place over the airwaves and on computer screens, as well as in paper copy, memory, speech and other direct interactions’ (ibid, 2004: 45).

[6] However, Corbridge et al. (2004: 87) also admit that the macro and the micro are relative and difficult to distinguish concepts. This study initially interprets the micro perspective as one that focuses on the details, differences in people's daily lives, practices, and interactions.

Through these individual, communal, and institutional sightings, Corbridge et al. (2004) construct an understanding of the livelihoods and social networks of impoverished populations in specific Indian regions under state governance. This approach doesn't negate the state's role as a primary manager; instead, it comprehensively documents diverse modes of residence, unveiling ‘the contradictions, complexities and ambivalences at the intersection of policy, housing processes and everyday life’ to reflect on the impacts of state simplifications (Powell & Simone, 2022: 841).

Everyday practices entail various systems and intricate social dynamics that defy binary categorisation into formal and informal, governed and ungoverned (Kihato, 2011), thereby Powell and Simone (2022: 841) propose to 'move beyond normativity’. Kihato's (2011) study on the everyday lives of migrant women in Johannesburg, South Africa, illuminates the multidirectional flow of power inside the state. Despite local governments enacting regulations to intervene in spatial activities, a balance of informal order persists between immigrants and police. Street vendors provide mutual cover and assistance, paying protection fees to the police, who, in turn, avoid eradicating vendors from the streets. As agents of state power delineated by Migdal (1994) (see Section 2.2.1), police also utilise state power for personal gain, demonstrating the coexistence of alternative centres of power and authority power within the state (Kihato, 2011: 360), in accordance with the reality that the strategies adopted by immigrants mutually influence the state governance in a unique way. Lindell and Ampaire (2016) deconstruct multi-layered organisations with different goals and strategies respectively in Kampala, Uganda, in their study of marketers and vendors negotiating for the government's acceptance of informal activities. This research illustrates the interweaving of street vending activities with elections and political engagement and how marketer resistance groups combine formal and informal strategies, and differentiates between vendor’s companies and smaller-scale marketers, which are both marketers yet engage in protest for distinct and pragmatic objectives. Kampala's everyday practices underscore the complexity that defies simplistic classification of social dynamics, and the local marketers who are governed by the same state policies actually cover different types of organisations with respective goals and strategies. It again justifies the potential and efficacy of

understanding state simplifications and political and power dynamics through a micro-level perspective, showcasing the discrepancy between the actual influences and feedback of policy execution and the intended objectives and purposes of policies.

In the above cases, the entanglement between state policies, everyday life, and urban spaces creates a complex tapestry. Considering the changes experienced by MDV residents in their daily lives due to significant spatial adjustments of reconstruction, a micro-perspective offers an effective framework for interpreting and analysing the mutual relationship between everyday life and spatial changes from a bottom-up approach. Moving beyond describing the activities and patterns, this perspective aids in understanding the significance of specific social dynamics. Simone (2008), through observations of activities in various corners of the city, explores how impoverished residents in Phnom Penh, Cambodia, navigate an environment riddled with uncertainty, characterised by a chaotic land management system, and the presence of foreign capital, to seek resources and opportunities for survival via social networks in the contemporary context of the post-Khmer Rouge era. Simone (2008) argues that, besides exploring the form of social networks and how they are maintained, it is essential to examine their functions; as well as what connections and opportunities networks offer to individuals. This understanding reveals the genuine reasons behind the relatively close bonds commonly formed between poor residents within stigmatised urban neighbourhoods (see also Wacquant, 2008a). In this case, social networks provide anticipated opportunities for unstable lives in this specific developmental context and urban environment. As carriers, disseminators, and exchangers of information, residents' actions are integrated into the urban system, taking on a form of infrastructure (Simone, 2004). Residents are not mere recipients of state power and policies. A micro-perspective effectively uncovers residents' diverse histories, mechanisms of adaptation and response; encompassing their capability to address and resolve inequalities within certain conditions, such as managing resource distribution, reshaping materiality, and exploring multiple potential pathways (Silver, 2014: 792). Silver (2014) observes that in informal settlements in Accra, Ghana, residents gradually build shared roofs, walls, and electricity systems through social collaboration. Confronting authorities' interventions, community members display

resilience in maintaining informal power networks. The interpretations of these social dynamics within specific spaces through a micro-level perspective demonstrate the intricate combinatory capabilities between individuals, spaces, objects, and practices (Simone, 2004: 407–408).

Moreover, a micro-level perspective can capture affective dimensions and be invoked to discuss individual or collective feelings, as the practical performance of actors involves physical and mental habits (Reckwitz, 2002). Pain (2019) delves into chronic urban trauma within the realm of housing through residents' viewpoints. The industrial region in the northeast of England, impacted by austerity policies, witnessed rapid dispossession and auctions of social housing in specific areas during the 2010s. Pain (2019: 394) argues that this rapid material deprivation deconstructs 'not just of the material fabric of previously publicly owned assets (Pain et al., 2016), but of the foundation of a community's belonging and way of life (Fullilove, 2004; Till, 2012)'. The landscape and the living experiences shaped by the unstable living conditions and the deteriorating living environment and local moral ecology continue to traumatise the local population through changes and impacts in scenery and habits. Over time, varying forms, instigators, scales, and recipients of trauma have interwoven into the complexes of collective traumas specific to particular spaces (Pain, 2019: 392). Nevertheless, many residents continue to support each other, sustain the spirit of community, and uphold voluntarism (ibid: 396–397), constituting location-centred emotional reconstruction (see Anguelovski, 2013). Mining communities in the UK, due to factors such as single industry dependence, geographical isolation (sometimes caused by terrains), or cultural uniqueness, are equipped with strong shared culture and history, as well as robust community cohesion (see also Hincks & Powell, 2022), mirroring the similar conditions of the MDVs. Urban scholars have demonstrated the effectiveness and adaptability of employing a micro-level perspective to explore everyday urban life and changes in residents' experiences, which provide inspiration for subsequent empirical analyses.

2.3.2 Political informality and MDV processes

In the aforementioned cases, both the governing processes of authorities and the daily practices of residents involve political informality. As a generic concept political informality has been defined in various ways over the past few years (Goodfellow, 2020: 280). Alfaro d'Alençon et al. (2018: 60) broadly define informality as 'a set of functional urban operations that counter and transgress imposed political boundaries and hierarchic economic models'. This study follows the conception of political informality established by Lindell (2010a: 5), as adopted by Goodfellow (2020), which signifies activities that 'lie beyond or circumvent state regulation' (see also Lindell, 2010b).

Goodfellow (2020: 282–287) proposes a classification framework for abstract political informality with four dimensions: pro-formal, anti-formal, para-formal, and a-formal. First, pro-formal political informality refers to informal systems widely accepted and existing to support and assist the formal system's functioning. These mechanisms serve as supplements to the formal system (see Helmke & Levitsky, 2004) or means of improvement (see Azari & Smith, 2012) or coordinate with informal practices conflicting with or overlapping the formal system. Secondly, the anti-formal type covers the practices that 'deliberately challenge or weaken formal institutions' (Goodfellow, 2020: 283). Thirdly, the para-formal type includes practices that coexist with the formal political system without seeking to change it, including clientelism and corruption. These mechanisms are subject to regulation and norms of the formal system but operate within it. Fourthly, the a-formal type refers to piecemeal, fluid, and unpredictable informal practices lacking clear rules, such as urban residents' ad hoc and occasional methods and temporary social connections for improving their living conditions (see Simone, 2004, 2005). Goodfellow (2020) notes that this classification is a tool for understanding the relationships between different systems and organisations and does not rigidly categorise practices, and practices may span different dimensions.

However, this concept participates in this study as an auxiliary without rigidly confining itself to the conceptual framework of politics as set by Goodfellow (2020: 280) in his

research, i.e., ’the organisation of political interests and bargaining within (and between) societies, including through elections, political organisations, demonstrations, local community mobilisation, and practices of government (national or local) in general’. Beyond political informality in decision-making processes concerning policy and regulations, this research also attends to informal forms in residents' everyday life, activities that emerge to evade official oversight, and the informality within policy implementation processes. This research responds to Goodfellow’s arguments that (a) a more targeted and nuanced analysis and comparison of political informality is necessary in discussions of political science, avoiding its depiction as the failure or byproduct of formal systems, and (b) while it is evident that the emerges of many public issues and economic opportunities occurs under informal processes, it is essential to clarify the transitions, causes, and meanings within the society, which still remain unclear (Goodfellow, 2020: 279–280). The relationship between effective official rules and development should not be equated with them being sound rules (Goodfellow, 2020: 280).

A micro-level perspective centred on everyday relations practices serves as an effective tool for examining local informality and official regulations, identifying why the effective official rules coexisted with other rules, and for each sector, what and why the specific rules were more effective or sound. This project seeks to integrate these considerations with the macro account.

2.4 Conclusions

The first section of this chapter explained neoliberalism and its common elements, financialisation, as well as its deficiency in mid-level analyses. The subsequent section introduced post-colonial perspectives from East Asia, amalgamating debates pertinent to financialisation and addressing conceptual limitations. It discussed the feasibility and utility of establishing an understanding of *actual financialisation* within specific contexts through structural/institutional and individual scales. The third section incorporated the notion of *everyday urbanism* and the micro scale and delved deeper demonstrations of the utility of micro-perspectives in exploring the actual influence of

state governance, residents' everyday practices and perceptions, and the *political informality* embedded in these processes.

Inspired by post-colonial perspectives (see Robinson & Roy, 2016; Watson, 2014) and Christophers' (2015a) critique of existing research on financialisation, this study employs a range of analytical frameworks that account for local uncertainties and urban fragments, eschewing the temptation of seeking a universally applicable and concrete solution on a theoretical level (Peck, 2017; Zeiderman et al., 2015). However, the aim is not to negate or refute the validity of existing concepts, but to re-situate these concepts within different contexts (Powell & Simone, 2022); and to uncover the common trajectories of urban transformations brought by state interventions in 'other geographical contexts and national-urban jurisdictions' (Aalbers, 2022; Wijburg, 2019: 217).

While delineating the disparities between local conditions and existing assumptions and orientations is an essential component of re-conceptualisation, we also focus on the process by which these disparities emerge. For instance, in McFarlane, Desai and Graham's (2014: 996) ethnographic research on two informal settlements in Mumbai, India, their objective was not to compare differences in sanitation conditions, but to comprehend how sanitation facilities are generated, maintained, altered, and subject to competition over time. Conceptualising the intertwining processes of diverse individuals and groups, the built environment, financial mobilisation, and state policies, and responding to existing conceptual debates, form the kernel of this study. The introduction of the extant concepts of urban neoliberalism and financialisation into the analyses aims to provide conceptual and processual tools for exploring complexity within the research on Taipei and MDVs, rather than offering explicit and rigid theoretical guidelines, or criteria (see Powell & Simone, 2022).

State interventions and everyday life under the trends of neoliberalism and financialisation diversify and bifurcate based on different contexts. This study investigates, integrates and analyses across scales. This encompasses different urban participants, including the state, government, and MDV inhabitants, along with their

actions, logics, and rationales, and the political relevancy intertwined in these dynamics. Various sectors are endowed with distinct capital resources, strategies, and techniques due to their unique positioning and empowerment, yield differing forms of response in individual encounters and derived considerations (Zeiderman et al., 2015). These interdependent scales, and the relations and experiences produced, collectively weave the urban landscape within a specific socioeconomic tendency, elucidating how urban networks and processes intersect with community and household spaces (see Harts-Broekuis, 1997; Silver, 2014; Simone, 2004).

In what follows, Chapters 5 and 6 focus on synthesising the local context and history, and analyse the logics, networks and actions of urban governance – primarily the state and government. Additionally, they explore the mechanisms and decision-making processes of interventions, providing insights into the relationship between the trend of financialisation and its concretisation in the city (Byrne, 2016b). The third empirical chapter (Chapter 7), centres on specific MDVs and investigates the changing everyday experiences and perceptions of residents, resonating with Klink and Stroher's (2017: 527) suggestion. They propose that current research on financialisation needs to probe "non-financial actors", such as planners, labourers, residents, housing movements, etc., and their transformations concerning urban policies and issues before and after the trends of financialisation. This entails examining how they adapt or respond to (or not) higher-level socioeconomic dynamics and state policies, including non-financial alternative approaches.

Chapter III: Methodology

Mixed methods are adopted to explore the long-term MDV histories and their changes from structural and institutional aspects and micro perspectives. These methods include the secondary documentary analysis which is sensitive to the institutional and socio-spatial dynamics in the past, and the semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders and residents, along with observations, which unveil the actual processes and perceptions embedded in spaces. Through the integration of the methods and data collected, this research establishes a multi-scaled, comprehensive understanding and analysis framed by the concepts. This chapter consists of five sections. The first section is the preface of the research design, which justifies the choice of qualitative methodology, and outlines the narrative arrangement of the chapter. The second, third, and fourth sections explain in sequence according to the three research methods and justify the reasons for the selection, as well as the respective limitations. The conducting procedures, including the actual approaches of data collection, processing, and analysis, the solutions for the confronted concerns, research rationales, and how each method and its expected outputs fit in this research will be elaborated. The final section discusses the conceptual basis of the adopted methods.

3.1 Research design

In this research with a philosophical stance of pragmatism, the selection of methodology depends on the research aims and research questions. Pragmatists emphasise the research problems and all the available solutions to them, and commit to applicable methods rather than one system of philosophy and qualitative or quantitative methods particularly (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 1990; Rossman & Wilson, 1985). Mixed methods are considered when social problems require pluralistic approaches to understand them (Creswell, 2009; Morgan, 2007; Patton, 1990; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). This research seeks to understand the relationship between the longer-term development of MDVs and housing financialisation. It connects financialisation conceptually to the practical cases of Taipei’s everyday life and individual perspectives, yet at the same time constructs 'midlevel formulations

and connective concepts' through local cases (Peck, 2017: 9). Considering the diversity and heterogeneity involved in the changing socio-spatial contexts and policies of the MDVs, and the encompassing possibilities of everyday experiences, qualitative mixed methods can substantively resonate with the research questions.

In terms of the selection of research design, Creswell (2009: 3) accounts that it is 'based on the nature of the research problem or issue being addressed, the researchers' personal experiences, and the audiences for the study'. Maxwell (2013: 220) argues that the choice of methodology depends on whether the actual activities involved in the method are compatible with the research aims and research questions; more specifically, it depends on whether the research aims and the proposed research questions can be effectively and logically achieved. Maxwell (2013) suggests that qualitative research is conducive to five conditions, which can help clarify the selection of methodology. These five conditions are that the research aims (a) are not only interested in the specific course of events and/or the physical behaviour of the research participants but also interested in the underlying significances and the perceptions and feelings of the participants, seek to (b) understand the influence caused by specific external contexts to participants, (c) 'identif[y] unanticipated phenomena and influences and generating new, "grounded" theories about the latter', (d) comprehend the process of events and behaviours rather than just the outcomes, (e) understand in-depth of causality 'rather than simply demonstrating regularities in the relationships between variables' (Maxwell, 2004; Maxwell, 2013: 221). These strengths of the qualitative methods echo the interests of this study, which can also undoubtedly aid the lesser-known cohort of housing research in Taiwan. Interestingly, looking at the literature bodies of Mandarin journals related to housing in Taiwan, quantitative research is the main component, while qualitative research is mostly constrained in the field of policy analysis (see Chen & Li, 2010; Chen, Y. L., 2020; Lin, 2003; Mii, 1988) or auxiliary to verify the results of quantitative analysis (see Chang, 2018). Examining housing issues cannot rely solely on economic principles, statistical data, and trends because housing involves psychological aspects, such as self-actualisation and stable family status, beyond the function of providing private and physical living space (Lin & Chang, 2016). Elsigna and Hoekstra (2005) conduct a study

on the satisfaction of homeowners and tenants in Southern Europe with their living conditions and find that homeownership is associated with higher satisfaction than renting. It is not implying that other countries and cultural contexts have the same phenomenon, but underscores that housing involves more than just economic data or physical functions. Of course, the functions of quantitative and qualitative research are not the same and there is no clear distinction between good and bad (Bryman, 2007). In terms of difficulty, although quantitative research involves the use of mathematics and equations in many cases, or relies on assistance from computer science, it does not mean that qualitative research is easier (Locke, Spirduso & Silverman, 1993: 107–110) or has no corresponding technological tools. It is not intended here to perpetuate the details of the differences between quantitative and qualitative research, which has been extensively and deeply probed by academics.

Qualitative-oriented mixed methods will be used to answer three research questions respectively, and the detailed composition of the adopted mixed methods for each question is not exactly the same, which can be found in Table 3.1. Using a single method to find the answer to each has been carefully considered, but we argue that practically a single method is insufficient to answer any one question. The indisputable fact is that the information obtained by more than one research method can be used to answer the same question, and their conflation can reach greater strength (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007). Whether the information obtained is directly related to the kernel of the problem or provides more indirect assistance, it can help researchers and readers understand the embedded entanglement within the context. This does not indicate the information contributed by all the methods in each combined mixed-methods is equal. Instead, each research question still has a primary research method, supplemented by other methods. The primary methods for the three research questions will be described in sequence in the following. While clarifying the third research method, we will also explain the matching "observations". The reason for distinguishing and narrating by the types of methods rather than sequentially introducing the explorations of the three research questions is that the same method is used to answer two to three research questions, but these methods are the same and stem from the same data sources. Such an arrangement of explanations can avoid

confusion and repetition. Taking secondary documentary analysis as an example, this method is used to answer all research questions. If the discussion undergoes based on the sequence of research questions, this method needs to be explained several times, which may generate doubts about whether the secondary documentary analysis to answer the first question is different from that used to answer the second/third question.

Table 3.1: Research questions and their methods

Research Questions	Primary Research Method	Secondary Research Methods
Q1: How have MDVs been managed, governed, and regulated over time?	Secondary documentary analysis	Stakeholders' interviews Residents' interviews
Q2: How has the MDV reconstruction been financialised and what are the mechanisms and influences?	Stakeholders' interviews	Secondary documentary analysis Residents' interviews
Q3: How has everyday life within MDVs been shaped over time and how have the MDV residents responded to privatisation and displacement?	Residents' interviews	Observations Secondary documentary analysis

(Source: Author's own)

This PhD research commenced on the 25th of October, 2020. Ethics approval for the project and for fieldwork was granted in February, 2022, and it was put into practice between the 29th of March and 29th of August, 2022, which involved dozens of semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and residents, observations and partial collection of the secondary documents. Collecting and analysing secondary documents had started before the fieldwork. During the five months of fieldwork, we completed sixty-two in-depth interviews with forty-nine stakeholders and residents (Appendix 2).

3.2 Secondary documentary analysis

Secondary documentary analysis is the primary method in responding to the first research question but is also a crucial step underpinning and making sense of the broader questions. This fundamental method is the first step in data collection for this research. For me, a researcher who was born and raised in Taiwan, this phase transfers the "Military Dependents' Villages" from a name of an objective that I have heard in everyday contexts in Taipei, to a more profound level of knowledge; building a relatively more comprehensive cognition on whether their changing spatial patterns, systems, and related stakeholders or the current academic understanding of MDVs. That is, a shift toward a more analytical understanding of MDVs and their relationship to the city.

For a form of housing that has existed for more than six decades throughout Formosa Island, and once accommodated hundreds of thousands of immigrants, it has received relatively little academic attention. Existing MDV studies and narratives have shown a relative neglect of housing financialisation, and a relative aversion to qualitative understandings that can potentially connect to significant changes in everyday life. In addition, the collation or descriptive data of MDV history in Taiwan tends to treat the changes in government policies as overall system changes, namely to introduce the history of MDVs with the evolving government policies as the core. However, perspectives from non-government sectors are therefore dwindled or ignored, and there is also a lack of integrated, systematic, and multi-perspective literature analysis. Through secondary literature analysis, we are able to lay the foundation for constructing basic and contextual knowledge and identify gaps where our research can contribute.

3.2.1 Data collection

The secondary data used in this research is not limited to specific categories or sources for the purpose of presenting integral information. At the same time, we retain a critical attitude towards the contents of any sources, and avoid the subsequent outputs as an extension of a specific point of view, which is not unusual in the existing

literature. We roughly separate the secondary documents into five categories: First, officially published books are vital materials, including Kuo (2005), the history book published by the Ministry of National Defense, the competent authority of MDVs, Chen et al. (2009), integrated records published by the Ministry of Culture, and historical records published by local governments such as Chao (2009), Chang (1997), Deng and Chiu (2007), Gu (1999) and Pan (1997). These books and other non-governmental publications are accessible in libraries. Secondly, most dissertations and journal papers come from the Taiwanese digital archives National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan[7] and Airiti Library[8], among which the number of Master's theses accounts for the largest proportion of MDV-related research. Third, since part of the MDVs reconstruction programmes were merged with the public housing construction plans in the late 1970s, hundreds of relevant documents, reports, official announcements, plans, books, maps, Compilations of statutes and regulations can also be found in the online database of the Construction and Planning Agency, the Ministry of the Interior, the competent authority of public housing[9]. Fourth, in terms of the regulations for the management and governance of MDVs, the minutes of the legislative process can be found in the official Legislative Yuan Gazette Retrieval System (立法院公報影像檢索系統)[10], which provides the key information to the reasons and considerations held by policymakers. Finally, non-academic online materials such as news and websites are also information sources, the latter including "Veterans Culture Net" (榮民文化網) of the Veterans Affairs Council (2019), "Military Kindred Village" of the Ministry of Culture (2020), the "Cultural and Historical Map of Xinyi District" established by Taipei City Archives (n.d.), and the blogs of the NGO, Association for Taiwanese Mainlanders (2008).

The aforementioned secondary data provide information in various timeframes and formats. After collation and analysis, they were critically transformed into the basic knowledge and building blocks of this thesis. We started with official history and policy

[7] Available at https://ndltd.ncl.edu.tw/cgi-bin/gs32/gsweb.cgi?o=d [Accessed 18 January 2023].
[8] Available at https://www.airitilibrary.com/ [Accessed 18 January 2023].
[9] Available at http://publichousing.cpami.gov.tw/files/11-1000-9-1.php [Accessed 18 January 2023].
[10] Available at https://lis.ly.gov.tw/lygazettec/gazettetp?@@0.10164682577831363 [Accessed 18 January 2023].

sources to understand how government units, as policymakers, have documented and evaluated the evolution of MDVs over the decades. Then, we observed and analysed the information, innovative viewpoints, or critical introductions compiled by academic researchers and commentators in theses and journal papers, and imported them into the timeline which was built in our memory based on official histories. These two categories of literature set up the core discourses of MDVs' geographic biographies that run through the first empirical chapter. The other three categories of documents are mainly used to explore particular issues. For instance, if we want to know how the statutes which manipulate the reconstruction of more than one hundred MDVs were formulated, or the elected officials' rationales and considerations behind fiscal operations and MDV privatisation, the minutes we are able to query in the Legislative Yuan Gazette Retrieval System are pertinent sources; or if we are interested in the renewal process and spatial configuration of reconstructed MDVs at specific sites, the Construction and Planning Agency's digital database retains a large number of relevant documents from the 1980s and 1990s. Others like digitised photographic archives (e.g., the Ministry of Culture’s website “Military Kindred Village”) or oral histories recording residents’ memories, in addition to helping to simulate the living conditions of the year virtually, can also be mutually evinced and compared with official written records. It is worth noting that each type of data is not constrained to answer a specific issue, but one document or information source often provides rich and multifaceted materials in building a picture.

3.2.2 Data analysis

The problems encountered in the process of data analysis include (a) secondary data from different sources and periods having different annotations over the same issues, or (b) oversimplified descriptions lacking further explanatory narrations. It is difficult for us to accurately trace the roots to social problems, which may include recording errors, specific information being ignored, the authors' writing habits, discrepancies caused by writers' different understandings, etc. For the first case, the compatibility of two or more data was examined. We could preclude the ostensible distinctions caused by different villages, time points, and positionalities of the recorders, which were

essentially non-conflicting. However, if there was indeed contradicting information, its credibility was considered according to the context, and at the same time, judgments were supported by massive reading and searching for relevant information. Official records were not necessarily accurate, and we encountered cases in which the official accounts were defective, or were too brief to be understood. Furthermore, we also verified unresolved information conflicts by consulting experts, scholars, or people with relevant experiences through stakeholders' interviews. The way to deal with the second situation was similar, relying on considerable reading and searching for relevant information, and querying stakeholders to acquire the answer. This situation was mostly encountered in understanding the procedures of institutional implementation. Most of the literature substitutes the detailed explication of the procedures with the content of laws and regulations, but there are practical differences between the two. The implementation, such as the relocation and reconstruction of MDVs, was certainly carried out in accordance with the laws, but various informal outcomes emerged according to different circumstances during the actual operations, which went beyond the contents of the laws. At present, there is only very little literature focusing on the details of policy implementation (see Chen, 2004), and these mutations derived from the actual conditions need to be supplemented by the stakeholders or residents who actually participated in the year. Details about the stakeholders' and residents’ interviews will be introduced later.

In addition, the collection and translation of temporal-spatial data require further explanation. Spatial mapping is an effective visualisation tool in addition to textual descriptions and photos to help analyse and display data. Of the hundreds of MDVs that ever existed in Taiwan, 187 of them were in Taipei City, and due to the MDV redevelopment from the late 1970s, a large number of villages have been relocated. There are maps for the past spatial distribution of MDVs at present (Chen et al., 2009; Li, Chen & Chou, 2009), but they are all on large scale and cannot be zoomed in or out. At the same time, these extant maps do not have accessible underpinning datasets to obtain detailed coordinate data of previous MDVs. Moreover, taking Taipei City as an example, there is still no complete written records of where nearly two hundred villages were relocated and the path of relocations, let alone a two-dimensional

mapping. To map out the locations and routes, we need to find the information by ourselves and plant the locations on the map and generate the SHP files through the software. Currently, the only compilation data comes from Kuo (2005: 387–434), which lists various categories of information on 886 MDVs, including village name, address, construction starting date, unit in charge of construction, materials, number of households, competent authority, the site name after relocation, and brief introduction of the village. We used the online application MAPBOX to mark each village one by one on the map of Taipei City based on the addresses, manually filled in multiple attributes, and the spatial distribution of MDVs in Taipei City before reconstruction was produced. To produce the map for MDVs after displacement, we used the site names after relocation as keywords to search for addresses, construction starting and ending dates, and other information. Then repeatedly, we marked these addresses on another blank map to generate a layer for the spatial distribution of MDVs after reconstruction. As for the relocation route, it could also be marked directly on the map. Three maps with different information (sites before and after reconstruction and the routes) were generated in MAPBOX, and we downloaded them as the GEOJSON file and converted them to SHP, which could be imported into the computer software Arc GIS as three layers. Through the above chronological operations, we established a database belonging to this research and displayed the seminal and unprecedented data on relocation paths.

3.2.3 Challenges in secondary documentary analysis

However, many predicaments were confronted while mapping. The most serious of these was that the only compiled data[11] contained many errors and omissions. One of the interviewed scholars, Respondent A1, accounts that this compilation was not completed by one person, but was organised by the chief editor after several people collected data. It also caused inconsistency in the vocabulary used between cells or in

[11] Although some books published by other government agencies include the list of these 886 MDVs, they are found to be consistent with Kuo's (2005) version after comparison, which is the earliest published compilation.

the ways of filling in the fields[12]. After checking one after another, we found that the errors mainly occurred in the "Address" column. Besides, blank cells happened constantly in various columns. We tried to fill in the vacant information by searching online or in the literature. But if the information of "materials", "number of households" and "brief introduction" could not be found after investigation, pragmatically they would remain unfilled because they were not the most crucial information in this research, which was "address" and "name of the rebuilt site" that determines the mapping. Another circumstance was that the residents of certain MDVs were relocated to two or more reconstruction sites, but only one was recorded in the initial source of Kuo (2005). The missing ones were added after the examination.

Finally, we discuss some methodological viewpoints that underpin this secondary documentary analysis. Some key questions are, given the intention of constructing systematically integrated information with substantial and intermingled secondary documents in our hands, how can we ensure that the outputs for the first question adequately cover enough points of view? And what are the expected external roles in the wider knowledge, other than its functions of laying the foundation and constructing the contextual framework in the narratives of this research? Considering dynamic, complex and contested urban realities, we must accept that a truly comprehensive discourse of the urban does not exist. Here we borrow Aalbers' (2022: 7) viewpoint that ‘any academic paper or presentation is always a reduction of the empirical richness that exists in places’. Any attempt to capture and describe urban phenomena is a kind of extraction, and even if multiple discourses are collected, there will be others left out, depending on the degree of relevance or constraints of word count. The opinions, feelings, and information provided vary from person to person even though they are in the same field. Based on this reality, the intention of integrating information is a relative concept, compared with what has been achieved

[12] In the process of sorting out the secondary documents, we had such doubts and later found Respondent A1's answer consistent with our speculations. In addition, one of the cases of "inconsistency in the ways of filling in the fields" is as follows: the first to the eighth cells of the column "materials" has data, but from the ninth to the forty-fifth cells are blank. Another more obvious case is the column "brief introduction". Some of the cells are detailed, some are only one-sentence descriptions, and most of them are blank.

in the extant literature. By analysing secondary documents and seeking to shed light on the first research question, we aim to establish a historically informed narrative for understanding specific phenomena and interests, and to avoid the retreat into presentism (Elias, 1987; Mattingly, 1991).

3.3 Stakeholders' interviews

The relatively neglected views and experiences of key actors in MDV policy and development are the primary means in exploring the second research question. These perspectives also assist in the exploration of the first research question however. After Chapter 5 unveils the evolution of MDVs embedded in the macroscopic trend of neoliberalism, urbanisation, and financial deregulations, stakeholders' interviews are employed to understand how MDV housing is de-militarised and financialised – the actual mechanisms and implementation, the politics involved, and macro influence.

Only scant MDV-relevant literature discusses the details of the mechanisms of financialisation (see Section 3.2). The analogous discussions of others remain rudimentary and implicit, tending to present the simplified contents of laws and policies as the actual mechanism itself to readers, and equivocally conflate the formulated policy goals with the actual results of implementation. However, there is a perceptible gap between regulations and government policies and the reality at the implementation level, as well as the informal mutations[13] or casual mechanisms that arise in response to the unfolding reality. Therefore, this study attempted to unfold the unknown within policy implementation through expert insights from semi-structured interviews, and these policies and policy decision-making processes can be opportunities to understand how the trend of financialisation reconfigures urban governance and intervenes in urban and housing development. This research is also able to define and analyse how the shifting geography and nature of MDVs became embedded in the logics of financialising policy decisions over time.

[13] The "informal" here adopts the intuitive dualist discourses (see Chen, 2006) of informality, which refers to those derivative patterns that do not meet legal regulations and policy goals.

To clarify the ambiguity within the formulation and implementation of the policy, as well as the causal relationships between the known status quo and the initial policy goals, inspired by Goodfellow (2012: 75–77; 2013: 86), the logic of process-tracing is mobilised in the second phase. It is an approach to analyse causal mechanisms by accrued massive observations and collection of various forms of evidence (George & Bennett, 2005; George & McKeown, 1985; Gerring, 2007). It is also suitable for studying path dependence and institutional functions and reconfigurations over time (Pierson & Skocpol, 2002). Because government officials are involved in policy formulation and implementation processes as well as institutional dynamics, elite interviewing is conducive to process tracing (Tansey, 2007), and these decision-makers account for half of the invited interviewees. But we insist that the discussion of causal relationships is not limited to capturing those unknown mechanisms. Establishing knowledge of causal relationships is a means rather than an end in the study of cultural phenomena, which helps to understand and generalise causes, and explores the possibility of local urban phenomena being heuristic to other explanations or broader knowledge (Chen, 1995: 380; Weber, 1949: 78–79).

3.3.1 Interviewee recruitment

Coming from different sectors, the invited stakeholders are experts in MDVs-relevant fields. Experts are regarded as people who have profound knowledge and skilled abilities in a specific field or are proficient in key terms (Kvale, 2010). We conducted thirteen interviews with twelve experts, including scholars, staff of NGOs, central and local government officials, military officials, and one independent researcher (see Table 3.2), who have participated in the shifting process of MDVs and/or who specialise in the development and implementation of housing policies involving MDVs. We expect diverse stakeholders to provide different viewpoints on the same objectives. Instead of interviewing dozens of decision-makers and government officials, we are more interested in the feedback based on different positions, which may reveal blind spots bound up with limited experiences.

Table 3.2: List of interviewed stakeholders

No.	Date	Type	Age
A1	12/4	Academic	59
A2	13/4	Academic/NGO	69
A3	14/4	NGO	About 40
A4	14/4	Independent researcher	About 40
A5	18/4	Academic/ Politician	57
A6	21/4	Politician/NGO	68
A7	27/4	Academic	67
A8	4/5	Politician	65
A9	6/5	Academic	62
A10	10/5, 28/8	Military	60
A11	22/6	NGO	67
A12	29/8	Military	About 50

(Source: Author's own)

Most of the stakeholders were identified through the extant academic or non-academic literature. The rest of them were identified through snowball sampling, i.e., recommended by previous interviewees, or others approached to participate. They were recruited via e-mails or personal lines that were acquired online, from journal articles, or from their references. In terms of academics, respondents A1 and A2 are senior scholars focusing on MDVs and Chinese immigrants, and A5 is a scholar excelling in national defence. A7 is a housing professional with decades of academic experience and A9 worked on the sociology of urban development, specialising in the political interaction patterns beneath land development. Among the private sectors, A3 works in an NGO striving for housing equality and A11 works for an NGO dedicated to running the community of former-MDV residents. Respondent A4 is a civil independent researcher who keeps tracking MDV policies for more than ten years. Finally, both A6 and A8 are former officials who have personally handled reconstruction or the culture preservation affairs of MDVs, while A10 and A12 are officials of the MDVs competent authority, the Ministry of National Defense, who directly dealt with MDVs reconstruction and its conjunctural programmes with public housing construction

plans. Respondent A2 is not only a scholar but was once a senior staff member of an NGO concerned with Chinese immigrant culture. Respondent A5 was originally in academia but is currently employed by the central government. Respondent A6 was a local government official in the past but presently works for an NGO related to MDVs. Based on these circumstances, the above three respondents were categorised into two sectors in Table 3.2. Apart from these twelve respondents, four potential respondents declined to interview, and four did not respond to any invitations.

3.3.2 Data collection

The interviews were anonymous to protect the privacy of the interviewees and to prevent identified security issues, and all interviewees were informed that they would not be named in the research, and in the supplemented data stored in the repository system. Yeh and Yeh (1999) account that the anonymous expert interview method has wide applicability in a particular field, and the information obtained is more accurate. These advantages were also the reasons we chose to conduct interviews in this way. The duration of each in-depth interview ranged from forty minutes to over two hours. More than two dozen questions focusing on different topics were prepared before the interviews as a tool to guide interviews (see Appendix 3). The questions were divided into two categories: one was the doubts and confusions that emerged after the secondary literature analysis, and the other required the stakeholders to provide comprehensive perspectives on some issues based on their professional experience. The content of the interview was not limited to the topics prepared in advance but was extended and deepened according to the progress of the discussion. Six of the thirteen interviews were conducted face-to-face in the morning or afternoon in public places near the respondents' homes or their offices. Except for the interview with Respondent A12, which was conducted in a place not appropriate for recording and notes were taken instead, the remaining twelve interviews were all recorded and subsequently transcribed, altogether reaching about 145 thousand words. Coding of transcripts was carried out (Cope, 2003), alongside secondary documentary analysis and grounded experiences (introduced in the next section) to answer the second research question. The transcripts were examined and coded repeatedly to scrutinise

and extract some potential themes that may contribute to the research aims and questions. The analysis and conceptualisation of these themes form the elements of the second empirical chapter.

The data obtained from stakeholders' interviews are rich and in-depth in different aspects related to MDV development, even though much of the data is indirectly related or irrelevant to the research aims. Here we introduce the situations and contents of interviews with respondents A1, A10, and A12 in detail, whose materials directly illuminate this study. As an MDV sociology researcher with about 30 years of experience, Respondent A1 answered many of our confusions that were still unclear after reviewing and analysing secondary materials, including the living patterns within the villages, the mechanisms of MDVs management, the actual operations of reconstruction, the influence of the political environment on the reconstruction, the logics behind the government's decision to privatisation, and the contradictions between different documents, etc. Respondent A10 is the interviewee who had the greatest impact on this phase. He was a senior military officer who personally participated in planning and implementing the reconstruction of MDVs. He is familiar with the actual procedures in the 1990s and shared a large number of details that are not recorded in existing documents or studies. He has participated in the discussion of policy enactment and financial affairs, coordinated with local governments in the early stages of policy implementation, and visited many reconstruction sites in Taiwan during spatial planning. After interviewing A10 on the 10th of May, at the end of the fieldwork with sixty interviews completed, a second interview with A10 was conducted on the 28th of August to clarify the remaining doubts. Respondent A12, as a military official, also provided details of the policy implementation. What is worth noting and which was rarely raised by other commentators in the past is the condition of the storage, maintenance, and retrieval of MDVs-related data at the Ministry of National Defense, the competent authority. The reason why the literature review of MDVs is heavily reliant on academic literature and information from the private sector is that the Ministry of National Defense does not possess much publicly available information. A12 mentioned that MDVs have a long history and therefore have accumulated gigantic documentation, especially since the overall reconstruction started in the late

1970s. However, from the perspective of the Ministry of National Defense, their mission was to complete the reconstruction of each village rather than sorted out historical materials. Therefore, hundreds of villages were like hundreds of cases waiting to be processed, gradually shifting from pending to completion but without any organised compilation or review. With the disappearance of MDVs and the end of the reconstruction programmes in the 2010s, the manpower of the units responsible for MDVs in the Ministry is limited, and they don't have the actual ability to manage a large amount of data. Sometimes it's difficult for the current staff to understand the documents left by colleagues a long time ago and their rationales for setting specific frameworks. Unless it is requested by the legislators or the Control Yuan, they are unlikely to sort out these old materials.

Although the information provided by other respondents is partly indirectly relevant, it still helps to construct knowledge and provides varying degrees of contribution and inspiration. Respondent A2 is not only an MDV researcher but also a former resident of MDVs. He provided both a comprehensive view as a scholar and reflections on the reconstruction in the past from the resident's first-hand angle of view. Respondent A3 provided a review and reverberated the changes in Taiwan's housing environment, including the public housing construction plans that started in the 1970s which were closely related to MDV housing. Respondent A4 critically examined the MDVs' policies from a perspective of legal and procedural justice, while also generously providing multiple pages of notes. Based on the familiarity with the national defence infrastructures, Respondent A5 analysed the rationales of the spatial distribution of nearly two hundred MDVs in Taipei, and also expressed an argument on the influence of political factors within the reconstruction of MDVs. Respondent A6, a former local government official, reviewed the negotiation and cooperation with the central government in the process of the MDVs cultural preservation movement and provided one's personal views on the political factors embedded in the policy formulation. The contribution of Respondent A7 was similar to that of A3 except for tending to share ideas from a macro perspective as a quantitative methods advocator. Respondent A8 took part in the establishment of the MDV reconstruction system in the central government, and provided many political inside stories unknown to outsiders,

especially within the legislative procedures. Respondent A9 discussed the political transactions and relationships behind land development from a sociological understanding. Respondent A11, who is the leader of the community for MDV residents, shared his past living experience in MDVs and residents' feelings about the impacts caused by relevant policies.

3.4 Residents' interviews and observations

The method of semi-structured residents' interviews is the primary method for the third research question and assists in answering the first and second research questions. Observations were used to obtain objective information apart from residents' statements to explore local daily life. Based on the previous comprehensive socio-spatial knowledge and the analysis and understanding of the actual mechanisms of MDV financialisation, the top-down perspective shifts to grounded experiences incurring in two specific cases of a smaller spatial scale, employed by everyday urbanism, one of the core concepts, to reveal the hidden understanding and experiences under the changing milieus. The choices of methods capturing everyday experiences draw inspiration from other studies. Cole et al. (2016) used in-depth qualitative interviews to explore the impact of housing policies on the housing patterns of specific groups. Sharma (2021) explores the conditions of land displacement through interviews. McFarlane and Silver (2016) adopt mixed methods composed of "follow-along" observations, interviews, focus groups, workshops, and exhibitions to explore everyday life in Uganda. Simone (2008), for instance, combines census data, interviews with one hundred respondents, and observations and records of space and activities to investigate the life patterns in impoverished communities. Residents' perceptions and their trajectories of daily activities reflect the interaction between people and social infrastructures, as well as the influence of politics, economy, and institutions on people. There is no fixed way of capturing everyday practices, and the choices of combining semi-structured interviews and observations depend on the feasibility and our research goals and the questions we ask.

Led by the research aims and questions, the strategy of probing grounded theory

within two cases is suitable for this phase because we aim to understand events that are closer to reality rather than looking for macro trends through statistics with a large number of samples, and the process of absorbing knowledge and learning through cases constitutes a prerequisite for advanced understanding (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 236), leading to further theorising data of intensive observations and interviews. The combination between the grounded theory, which stems from theorising the 'process, action, or interaction grounded in the views of participants' (Creswell, 2009: 13), and the variegated forms of data collection in the previous phases at two specific locations during a certain period of time constitute in-depth case studies (Stake, 1995), answering the third research question.

We agree with the suggestion of Flyvbjerg (2006) and Peattie (2001) that the researcher should not be a summariser or narrator when conducting a case study, which would omit the valuable and in-depth complexes, comprehensive or contradictory interactions in the case. But Flyvbjerg (2006: 238) also accounts that cases should be linked to broader philosophical positions rather than academic professional theories and the diversity of cases should be presented from multi facets, allowing interviewees to interpret themselves and stimulating readers to discover their own paths. Does this contradict the aim of this research to explore the actual influences of MDV financialisation by means of individual everyday life and housing biographies? We think there is no conflict between the two, and after the sequential guide of research design and planned narratives, this methodological perspective of Flyvbjerg (2006) is synthesised with financialisation theories. The first two research questions apply financialisation theory, on the other hand, the third research question is based on the established context of MDVs experiencing financialisation, whose outcomes are not subjectively linked with financialisation in advance. The stories and experiences interpreted by the residents take place against the background of the financialisation of MDVs, but it does not mean that their diverse housing biographies or personal views are the outputs of financialisation or reflect its impacts. Whether residents' everyday life and housing histories resonate with the existing context of financialisation or contribute new concepts to the theory, depends on residents' interpretations. As Aalbers (2022: 8) argues that researchers should 'work with a

theory' instead of identifying or manipulating a specific theory as the only way to explain the urban phenomenon in the case.

3.4.1 Case selection

The choices of the cases are Qing-nian New Town in Wanhua District and Song-shan New Town in Songshan District (Figure 3.1), justified by the following reasons. First, the mapping layouts show that the MDVs' relocation paths after reconstruction are explicitly concentrated toward Wanhua District and Songshan District (see Figure 6.2). Therefore, we choose one site from each of the two regions as a research case. Although these two cases are neither representative of all MDVs in Taipei City nor fully representative of MDVs in this particular region, as a significant relocation typicalness, we can work *with* the cases profoundly to comprehend the embedded specific living habits and forming process, and can appropriate the spawned insights and significances to promote a wider dialogue with other cases (Robinson, 2016). Secondly, it is a pragmatic strategy to choose the two sites with the largest land area and population in the region. Facing the unavoidable rejection from residents during the fieldwork, a larger population provides a larger base of latent interviewees. Third, both sites are the destinations for the relocations of multiple MDVs, which makes them stand out. They are two of the few reconstruction sites in Taipei that have gathered former residents from more than five MDVs, which implies the potential existence of more diverse and heterogeneous daily experiences. Fourth, the spatial distribution of MDVs is germane to the urban development history of Taipei City, which will be explored in the first empirical chapter. Wanhua District, where Qing-nian New Town is located, was a part of the inherent city centre in the 1940s when MDVs were first established; while Songshan District, where Song-shan New Town is located, is an area with desolate farmland and an airfield. However, Wanhua District has gradually declined after increasing urban development, becoming one of the fringes of Taipei City[14] and one of the administrative districts with the lowest average housing prices, but Songshan District has become part of the new urban area, and it is among regions

[14] Although Wanhua District is one of the fringes of Taipei City and one of the areas with the lowest housing prices, it is still the kernel relative to the entire Taipei Metropolitan Area.

with the highest average house prices. The differences between urban development and housing prices might also be expected to cause a different socio-spatial composition, which becomes another angle to examine the actual influences of policies. Fifth, these two sites are the outcomes of the cooperation between the military and the central government's public housing plans. These two cases can reverberate the aforementioned policy of integration between MDVs and public housing, which is one of the major MDV redevelopment pathways. We will introduce these two sites in detail in the subsequent Context chapters.

Figure 3.1: Locations of two fieldwork sites in Taipei City
(Source: Author's own)

3.4.2 Interviewee recruitment

Fifteen to twenty residents were interviewed at each site. The initial plan was to contact the autonomous management committees of each MDV apartment and recruit interviewees through the committees' networks or neighbourhoods' bulletin

boards. The management systems of the two sites are different. At Qing-nian New Town, there's one autonomous management committee responsible for the whole neighbourhoods with thirty-five high-density buildings. At Song-shan New Town, each block has its own autonomous management committee. The committee of Qing-nian New Town was enthusiastic and assisted in posting flyers on the bulletin boards of the elevators in each building, but on the other hand, the committees of Song-shan New Town were reluctant to offer further help, except for letting us put some flyers at the offices. However, the tactics were adjusted because either way, we didn't recruit any interviewees. I visited each site at least three times a week to talk to anyone in the public spaces who was willing to have a chat. These conversations were not initiated to obtain the required information, but to get to know the local residents and let them get used to my occasional existence. The formal recruitment commenced after the local people started to know who I was and that I was not hostile, and would be happy to say hello or initiate small talk when I showed up. At Qing-nian New Town, thirteen and two interviewees were recruited at the central square in the neighbourhood and the Youth Park nearby, alongside five interviewees (B16–B20) invited by the autonomous management committee (Table 3.3). Seventeen participants were recruited at the central square of Song-shan New Town neighbourhood (Table 3.4). Most of the interviews were conducted face-to-face except two at Song-shan New Town were altered to online mode due to the interviewees did not have time to participate at the moment of receiving my invitation. The duration of each interview was between thirty minutes and ninety minutes.

Table 3.3: List of interviewed residents at Qing-nian New Town (with locations)

No.	Date	Location	Age	Sex
B1	29/5	Park	71	M
B2	6/6	Plaza	60	M
B3	28/6, 30/6	Plaza	91	F
B4	28/6, 30/6	Plaza	93	F
B5	28/6, 30/6	Plaza	84	F
B6	29/6	Plaza	81	M
B7	30/6	Plaza	84	F
B8	3/7	Plaza	34	M
B9	3/7	Plaza	38	F
B10	8/7	Plaza	65–70	M
B11	9/7	Plaza	80–85	M
B12	11/7	Plaza	81	M
B13	12/7	Park	71	M
B14	12/7	Plaza	77	M
B15	16/7	Plaza	74	F
B16	22/7	Conference room	50	F
B17	22/7	Conference room	80–85	F
B18	22/7	Conference room	66	F
B19	22/7	Conference room	61	M
B20	22/7	Conference room	67	M

(Source: Author's own)

Table 3.4: List of interviewed residents at Song-shan New Town (with locations)

No.	Date	Location	Age	Sex
C1	24/5, 30/5, 3/6, 9/6, 10/6	Plaza	85–90	F
C2	1/6	Plaza	55	F
C3	3/6	Restaurant	58	M
C4	3/6	Plaza	60–65	F
C5	4/6	Online	60–65	F
C6	5/6	Office	70	M
C7	5/6, 9/6, 10/6	Plaza	71	F
C8	5/6, 9/6, 10/6	Plaza	65–70	F
C9	5/6, 10/6	Plaza	60–65	F
C10	5/6	Plaza	81	F
C11	7/6	Plaza	68	M
C12	9/6	Plaza	72	F
C13	10/6	Plaza	27	M
C14	10/6	Plaza	72	F
C15	12/6	Plaza	30	M
C16	26/6	Online	24	F
C17	26/6	Plaza	27	F

(Source: Author’s own)

The realistic interviews were almost impossible to follow the expected patterns: leaving their contact information and going to their homes or jointly decided public places to conduct the interviews. Most of these respondents were recruited during their daily leisure activities in public spaces, such as chatting with neighbours, strolling, walking the dog, breathing fresh air, etc., or on the way home from work. The presence and invitation from we researchers was to some extent a disturbance to their lives, although many interviewees may not think so and were happy to share their stories (we cannot force people to accept interviews, and we would be rejected outright if they considered taking part in interviews disturbing). However, in order to avoid further inconvenience, most of the interviews were conducted during or after their daily activities with their consent, rather than at their places. For instance, Respondent C1 appeared in the gazebo of the square to relax almost every morning and afternoon,

and the interviews with her were conducted in the gazebo during those periods of time; Respondent C15 was used to exercise in the central square, and the interview with him underwent somewhere with a table and chairs nearby after his exercise. Although the recruitment took place in public spaces, a small number of interviews were conducted at a designated time and place at the request of the interviewee, such as C3 and C6. Those with the interviewees invited by the autonomous management committee (B16–B20) were carried out in the conference room of the committee office at time slots arranged by the committee.

3.4.3 Data collection

The construction of grounded theory is comprised of multi-stage data collection, as well as the deconstruction and refinement of information on different themes (Charmaz, 2006; Strauss & Corbin, 1990, 1998). Seven respondents were interviewed more than once because the length of the interview depended on the interviewee's itinerary for that day, sometimes the interview had to be interrupted before asking all the questions. Also, we were able to clarify the new questions that emerged after transcribing audio files and analysing interview notes. After the interviews, coding was carried out among all the notes or transcripts of audio recordings (Cope, 2003). Nineteen of the thirty-seven interviewees were not audio recorded due to their personal will or the noisy environment, but their answers were made into notes during interviews. The themes discerned and extracted from the coding, based on the interpretation of the interviewees and our analysis, shape the individual understanding and interpretative elements of each theme, which together assemble the whole of the case (Ragin, 1987: 83). As for which topics are eventually retained in the discourses of this research, it depends on the filtering threshold set by "theoretical priors" (Bennett, 2006), which will be introduced in the last section.

In fact, it is difficult to completely exclude the subjective factors of researchers in the selection of recruited interviewees, so we use this subjectivity as reasonably as possible to achieve effectiveness. Recruiting interviewees was a conundrum. Sometimes we couldn't even successfully invite someone after standing in the square

for four to five hours, which forced us to have few choices and took the initiative to ask almost everyone around or passing by. However, due to reasons of ethics and courtesy, the following subjects were not taken into consideration, including minors, adults accompanying children, people who were actively engaged in specific activities (e.g., chatting, chess, badminton), people who were apparently in a hurry, people who were returning home from shopping with bags in their hands, people who had mobility impairments and relied on other people's care. People who were not residents of these two sites were also excluded. As the number of completed interviews accumulated, respondents were subjectively selected according to their age and gender in order to render more heterogeneous collected data. To be more particular, when the proportion of elderly female respondents was high, we deliberately looked for elderly men and young or middle-aged men and women in the crowd and invited them[15]. This method is not to set control variables and accumulate a sufficient number of samples, but to understand how perceptions and behaviours are embedded in the wider context, so whether the subjects can provide in-depth, rich, and effective data for this study is more critical (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Furthermore, we initiate Robinson's (2016) concepts of comparative urbanism to explain why we embark on diverse selection on purpose. When undergoing comparisons, choosing those with diversity and heterogeneity instead of setting conditions to explore specific elements is able to understand the interconnection and coherence of urban outcomes in the cases (Robinson, 2016). Here we temporarily use the "cases" referred to by Robinson as a metaphor for the respondents of this study, even though this study is not intended to compare the views and experiences of different respondents. This argument of Robinson (2016) explicates the utility of diversity in ascertaining complicated and entwined interactions. The differences in the data provided by multiple respondents, and the significance and implications of the emergence of these differences can jointly foster a bottom-up understanding of the interactive dynamics among policy, space, and people. Here is not to postulate that “the city as a case” and “the individual as a case” are directly equivalent in urban studies – there is no doubt that the difference

[15] Sex identification during the interviewee searching process refers to physical appearances instead of residents' self-gender identity.

between the two is obvious and substantive. Instead, we emphasise how to exert diversity and heterogeneity among cases to advance research.

A wide range of questions are prepared for the in-depth interviews of this phase (see Appendix 3), covering the everyday lives in the previous and reconstructed MDVs, the detailed housing patterns and mobility, and the reasons that affect the housing choices. If the interviewee had previous experience living in the old MDVs, they would also be asked about the process and their experiences of displacement and reconstruction. Apart from housing patterns (including intergenerational transfers, saving patterns, housing loans, housing mobility, and other factors) and daily lives, we also collected their perceptions on housing policies, such as housing subsidies or MDV replacement, and those on the housing environment, such as trends of housing price fluctuation. Since housing financialisation is a long-term process that affects many different generations, we interviewed residents of different age groups and asked the respondents about their parents' and/or children's housing statuses and brief patterns to obtain cross-generation data. Dozens of questions were previously prepared and questions were asked differently in accordance with the respondents' housing status. For example, the questions for tenants, middle-aged children living with parents, and homeowners were partially different. Other questions were asked impromptu based on the progress of the interviews to clarify or deepen the understanding of the information mentioned by the interviewees. Besides everyday life and mundane, we tried to build their “housing biographies”: who are they? Where did they live? Why did they move here? How did they access their housing and afford the rents or prices? As part of the extensive everyday data, housing biographies play a crucial role in the third empirical chapter. We seek to understand how people with different backgrounds and experiences end up living in the same locations through their individual housing histories.

3.4.4 Observations

In addition to the main residents’ interviews in this phase, we introduce the process of observations here, which was designed to obtain objective data by exploring the

daily activities within the public spaces of the two sites and to aid the narration of the current living mode as a supplement. The content of observation includes the use of public facilities and open spaces and the surrounding commercial, cultural or social activities. A total of twenty observations at different points in time were carried out on the two sites (Table 3.5), and after each observation, a note was written to record crowd activities at different time slots, the way the space was used, the weather, and the emotions perceived by the observer. Similar methods are used as supplements in different urban and geographical studies (see Gadd, 2016; Hall, 2015; Simone, 2008), and it is one of the important approaches to ethnographic research (see Lancione, 2014; McFarlane, Desai & Graham, 2014; Silver, 2014). Simone (2008) combines a review of secondary literature introducing local cultural and socioeconomic contexts, qualitative interviews with residents, and observations of spaces and activities to explore how the city serves as a resource for residents of Phnom Penh, Cambodia, to organise their daily lives. Gadd (2016) utilises a variety of approaches, including observations, interviews, poems, walkabouts, and drawings, to capture the street-children phenomenon in Pelotas, Brazil. In these two studies, observations provide part of the information, and together with other methods, they can describe the comprehensive appearance of everyday life. The particular observation-relevant methods of the walking interview (see Jones & Evans, 2012) or follow-along participant observation (see McFarlane & Silver, 2016) have been considered, but may not be practical enough for this research. Because of the unique context of the reconstructed MDVs, many residents are elderly, and they appear in public spaces to sit, rest, exercise, and socialise. Both the walking interview and the follow-along participant observation will more intensely interfere with their habits and diminish their willingness to participate, thus worsening the inherent difficulty of recruitment. Ethnographic research can also contribute to this issue, but we did not choose it after considering our goals and research questions, as well as the limited time for fieldwork and the characteristics of residents' living habits.

Table 3.5: Records for observations

No.	Location(s)	Date	Time	Weather
1	Qing-nian New Town	18/5	Afternoon	Sunny
2	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park and the surrounding area	23/5	Afternoon	Rainy
3	Song-shan New Town and the surrounding area	24/5	Afternoon	Rainy
4	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park, Guoguang Market	29/5	Morning	Sunny
5	Song-shan New Town	30/5	Afternoon	Cloudy
6	Qing-nian New Town, Guoguang Market, Youth Park	31/5	Afternoon	Rainy
7	Song-shan New Town, Longcheng Market	1/6	Morning	Sunny
8	Song-shan New Town, Longcheng Market	3/6	Afternoon	Sunny/ Cloudy
9	Song-shan New Town	5/6	Afternoon	Sunny
10	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park	6/6	Morning	Sunny
11	Song-shan New Town and the surrounding area	12/6	Afternoon	Rainy
12	Song-shan New Town	24/6	Afternoon	Rainy
13	Song-shan New Town	26/6	Afternoon	Cloudy
14	Qing-nian New Town	28/6	Afternoon	Cloudy
15	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park	30/6	Afternoon	Sunny
16	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park	3/7	Afternoon	Cloudy
17	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park	8/7	Morning	Sunny
18	Song-shan New Town	15/7	Afternoon	Sunny
19	Qing-nian New Town, Youth Park	22/7	Night	-
20	Song-shan New Town	23/7	Night	-

(Source: Author's own)

3.4.5 Reflecting on research design

Finally, we provoke a self-question in research design: Since the third phase has carried out case studies, why don't we adopt the comparative method? Comparative urbanism is prominent in systematically analysing and presenting complex urban phenomena, providing a practical understanding approach, and its application in

international and post-colonial urban studies is gradually increasing (see Aalbers, 2022; McFarlane, 2010; Robinson, 2011). Undoubtedly, exploring housing financialisation and MDVs in Taipei with a comparative approach is one of the feasible options, but housing financialisation in Taiwan has hardly been explored, and little literature has probed MDVs from a housing perspective. From a wider context to grounded practices, this study chooses a relatively in-depth and comprehensive approach to narration, laying the foundation for future related research, and providing another case that can be examined for international discourses. The main purpose of the two representative cases in this phase is to establish knowledge of MDVs in Taiwan, especially in terms of housing financialisation, rather than a comparison between the two. But it does not mean that the concept of comparative research does not exist in the theorising cases; on the contrary, the attempt and manifestation of constructing urbanism cannot break away from the comparative gesture (Robinson, 2011). Our perspectives are influenced by concepts invented and circulated elsewhere (Robinson, 2016: 5), and it is common and inevitable for researchers to compare and corroborate with previously read literature and known information while thinking and learning new things. Comparative thinking affects the shaping of current knowledge intentionally or unintentionally, directly or indirectly. Even though this is not a comparative study, '[t]hinking comparatively can highlight the differentiation of outcomes; it can bring into view the distinctive (or shared) processes shaping a certain urban outcome; it can put to work theoretical insights drawn from other instances or cases; it can insist on the incompleteness of analytical insights brought to attention from different contexts' (Robinson, 2016: 5), which impels the thinking and critiques during analysing data. The comparative thinking inspired by the heterogeneity among different interviewees, different MDVs, different reconstructed sites, and even the heterogeneity of housing financialisation paradigms in different countries can contribute to the filtering, shaping, and innovative application of concepts.

3.5 Conceptual basis

In this section, we will discuss the philosophical framework applied in qualitative interviewing, and how to decide which themes of the data collected from residents'

interviews need to be left for empirical discussion. First, the design of stakeholders' and residents' interviews holds a philosophical standpoint of interpretivism[16]. Interpretivists account that in addition to explicit social phenomena and human behaviour, it is necessary to understand the latent intentions and purposes (Taylor, 1971). Yoshida (2014) proposes that some human behaviours are generated as solutions to problems, but to comprehend the generation of solutions, we need to understand human intentions and purposes. This understanding relies on the expressions of the actors (Taylor, 1971). The review by Yoshida (2014) points out that human is a species capable of defining and interpreting themselves, and the formed understanding also reversely shapes our self-cognition and definition (Taylor, 1983), and when human beings describe and interpret their own actions, at the same time are defining themselves (Taylor, 1985). Therefore, interpretivism refers to the strategies of 'interpret[ing] the meaning and actions of actors according to their own subjective frame of reference' (Williams, 2000: 210) while studying social phenomena, and it avoids the biases imposed by researcher's own views that inevitably hybridise with the externally objective interpretation (Yoshida, 2014). A study with small sample size and endeavouring to understand a specific phenomenon or object requires the researcher to place oneself in the context of the other to learn the behaviour and perspective (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 236). Researchers shall record the interviewee's perceptions and seek to understand the cultures rather than assertively interpret social phenomena (Yoshida, 2014). Interpretivism is one of the methodological frameworks of this study, and the description here helps readers understand our position. We won't go further into the details of the concepts and debates, which were well discussed by several theorists (see Mölder, 2010; Yoshida, 2014). The limited available documents and objective data as well as undocumented internal mechanisms and policy decision-making rationales prompt this research to rely on interviewees' interpretations which 'bring[s] to light an underlying coherence and sense' (Taylor, 1971: 3). These "intentions and purposes" that wait to be discovered, combined with the first research question, can also provide insights into future policy

[16] This idea was inspired by an academic conversation with Inken Oldsen-thor Straten on the 1st of December, 2022.

formulation (Flanagan & Jacobs, 2019: 199). Pragmatically speaking, we are not the people who were involved in the MDVs reconstruction or policy-making, nor were the (reconstructed) MDVs residents, so we need these respondents to share their experiences, whose credibility comes from their expert status in this field, or the identity of first-hand participants who made up this history.

On the other hand, adopting interpretivism maintains and improves the rigour of qualitative research and interviewing. Some scholars consider that qualitative research ostensibly leaves more space for the researcher's subjectivity and arbitrariness, making it less rigorous than quantitative research or deductive methods (see Diamond, 1996). However, Flyvbjerg (2006: 235) summarises the views of many researchers and argues that even if the researchers' initial views and assumptions are erroneous, the collected materials will force the researchers to revise their assumptions. In the meantime, we do not directly believe respondents' apparently unfounded speculations or information that goes beyond the respondents' experiences. For instance, we will believe the story shared by a local resident who has never been a government official about his efforts to save money for the down payment, rather than this person's gossip about the government's decision-making process without evidence. Despite this, Goodfellow (2012: 75) accounts that interviews with decision-makers alone are insufficient, especially in cases full of diversity, it is necessary to seek as many sources as possible to acquire evidence and present specific supporting facts. We practice the rigour of this research based on conditional trust in the information provided by the respondents, as well as other forms of data that can be mutually verified.

Secondly, we discuss how the conceptual framework decides which themes will be retained during the coding process. Influenced by the pragmatist point of view, the research aims and questions, as well as the important element, the theory of housing financialisation, are instructive in this study. Different from the first and second research questions, although we avoid the biases caused by linking theory with collected data in advance in the third, it does not mean the absence of the theory. In the third phase, the theory of housing financialisation and the previous conceptual

framework are more like to be put on the shelf temporarily. After the completion of coding, we examined which contents are closer to the main concerns of this research, and it's when the conceptual framework of this study served as "theoretical priors" (Bennett, 2006), facilitating further empirical discussion. This way of thinking enables collected materials to be verified during the analysis process to see if the materials invalidate the specific theory. Researchers can also evaluate which collected patterns or themes are most effective for the conceptual framework based on theoretical priors, and inductively select the suitable ones (Goodfellow, 2012: 77).

3.6 Ethics

All the interviews were conducted with the respondents' consent, and the consent forms were distributed and collected either face-to-face or via e-mails, depending on feasibility and respondents' preferences. Consent forms contained the explanations of the data management and storage plan, and gave interviewees the opportunity to withdraw the information provided before a certain period of time. To avoid physical and/or psychological harm/distress to the researcher, participants, and others, all the actions were taken under supervision and followed the University's Preventing Harm in Research & Innovation (Safeguarding) Policy. Our Fieldwork Risk Assessment, Student Overseas Travel Risk Assessment, and Safeguarding Plan were approved by the Department of Urban Studies and Planning, University of Sheffield.

During the fieldwork, the data was collected in the form of audio recordings, images, and transcripts. It was not feasible to avoid collecting personal data during interviews and observations, but several actions were conducted to protect participants' privacy and rights. Audio files have been transformed into anonymised textual transcripts by the author himself – personal data and the information that made the addresses, contacts, or identities of participants recognisable were replaced by codenames/pseudonyms in the transcripts. In terms of taking photographs during observations in neighbourhoods and facilities nearby, including the open spaces, parking lots, and parks, it was not practical to ask all the featured individuals for consent, so their faces were blurred in the photos presented in this thesis. This

procedure has also been adopted for license plates and doorplates.

After the thesis and related research are published, some data will be open to the public through the data repository system of the University of Sheffield, ORDA. However, the transcripts of interviews will only be open to the public with interviewees' consent, and interviewees will be informed of the risks of being identified, even though the chance may be small. Audio recordings will not be available in order to protect personal privacy and the identity of participants.

Chapter IV: Historicising MDVs in Taipei: Processes, relations, and urban transformation

4.1 Introduction

In Taiwan, the Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs), or "Chuan-Tsun" in Mandarin, emerged as a unique form of housing landscape based on a specific historical context (Chen et al., 2009; Li, K. C., 2019). By the end of the Chinese Civil War in 1949, approximately one million people had retreated to Taiwan from Mainland China after the Kuomintang (KMT) government was defeated (Li, 2015: 137–138). The collective settlements that military personnel and their dependents among these immigrants and refugees accommodated in were the MDVs. These MDVs were scattered around Taiwan and the surrounding islands under the jurisdiction of the KMT government.

The continually incremental provision of the MDVs proceeded between the late 1940s and the beginning of the 1980s. In order to improve the dilapidated condition of many old MDVs and the efficiency of urban land utilisation, the central government's reconstruction programmes have replaced the MDVs with new privatised military dependents' apartments or public housing since 1979 (Kuo, 2005). MDV reconstruction was initiated to intensify homeownership and was interwoven with the trends of housing financialisation in Taiwan. The dynamics of financialisation within the changing MDVs are the focus of this research, but before that, it is necessary to trace the emergence and shifting context of MDVs.

In Section 4.2, we will discuss the definition of MDVs adopted here, and sequentially introduce the prototype of MDVs as well as the four different periods of MDV history. Section 4.3 zooms out to focus on the research scope of this study, the MDVs in Taipei City. The spatial distribution and the development tendency of MDVs were directly concerned with the urban development of Taipei. Therefore, the history of Taipei City will be introduced first, followed by the logic of the spatial distribution of MDVs. The history, space, development, and current conditions of the two research sites, Qing-nian New Town and Song-shan New Town, will be discussed in Section 4.4. This chapter

lays the foundation for the next three chapters in capturing the processual nature of MDVs, demonstrating the early history of MDVs, the brief introduction of the four periods, and the ways in which MDVs became embedded within urban space and development trajectories.

4.2 Evolution of the MDVs: From past to present

The colloquial "Chuan-Tsun" can encompass a great variety of housing forms accommodating Chinese immigrants and refugees in government-related occupations, including military personnel, public servants, teachers and staff of public-owned corporations (Chang, 2010: 264; Li, K. C., 2019: 24). In this research, I focus specifically on those regulated and managed by the Ministry of National Defense, namely Military Dependents' Villages (MDVs), in view of their considerable scale and long-term influence on the urban landscape. In the publication of the Ministry of National Defense, the MDVs are defined loosely as 'the settlements built by the Republic of China Military to stabilise the military's morale and accommodate their dependents' by Kuo (2005: 1). A more precise statutory definition is formulated based on the intricate evolution of MDVs over the past few decades in the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* promulgated in 1996 (Chen et al., 2009: 9; Kuo, 2005: 1–2). The Act has delineated which forms of military dependents' housing can be officially categorised as MDVs. It will be more evident if I come back to the Act later in Section 5.3 and first discuss the evolution of MDVs chronologically in Chapter 5.

Complete MDVs should be regarded as the combination of spatial landscapes and the mechanisms that governed residents' lives. The prototype of MDVs can be traced back to the 1930s in Mainland China, which shows the emergence of the link between militarisation and specific accommodation for the armed forces. While General Tsung-nan Hu's (胡宗南) division, which was based in Zhengzhou, Henan Province, was hastily deployed to Shanghai after the January 28th Incident in 1932, he instructed his subordinates to arrange the centralised residences for military dependents left in Zhengzhou, including renting private housing, to relieve the mental burden of frontline soldiers (Hsu, 2014). At the same time, he encouraged military dependents to engage

in handicraft manufacturing and provided education at public expense (ibid). These became the earliest form of the MDVs. A military welfare committee was established in 1945 and he requisitioned part of the soldiers' wages and the productive incomes of military dependents as the committee's mutual aid fund (Kuo, 2005: 2–3)[17]. There were other generals who introduced similar mechanics into their troops. General En-bo Tang (湯恩伯) utilised his troops' provident fund to build military villages in Sichuan and Shaanxi (ibid); General Ta-wei Yu (俞大維) set up collective housing and elementary schools for military dependents in several arsenals during his tenure as the Director of the Arsenal Division (1933–1945) (Chen & Lou, 2015; Kuo, 2005: 2–3)[18]. In addition, there were mechanisms that provided concentrated accommodation in a military academy for those with special status, such as senior officials, foreign consultants and instructors (Ma, 2010: 26) or established food provision systems for military dependents (Chen et al., 2009: 18; Kuo, 2005: 3). The operation of these mechanisms depended on the commander of each troop, and only a few well-funded units could provide dependents with better welfare measures to stabilise morale (Kuo, 2005: 2; Yang, 2009: 26). The MDVs explored in this study were not developed in Taiwan until the end of World War II (Chao, 2009: 18–19), and both the number and scale increased substantially in that period after the war.

After the end of World War II, Taiwan ushered in the third great population migration in its modern history after the end of the Ming Dynasty and the Qing Dynasty (Hu, 2008: 195). Troops and public servants were sent by the government of the Republic

[17] According to General Tsung-nan Hu's diaries (Tsai & Chen, 2015), he personally valued the friendly ambience between the leader and subordinates and had his troops carry out infrastructure constructions in several regions to facilitate public welfare. What had been done in Zhengzhou was not the first time he promoted the welfare system in the unit he led. His troops were sent to counter the local warlord during the Central Plains War in 1930, and the dumdum bullets used by the enemy had caused great lasting pain to many soldiers, which could no longer serve in the army (Hsu, 2014; Yu et al., 2014). General Hu held annual reunions to distribute grants to retired soldiers wounded by dumdum bullets and to subsidise their children's educations until 1938 (ibid). During his tenure as the Commander of the Penghu Islands, he led the construction of MDVs and aided the local communities by building basic amenities (ibid).

[18] The welfare system provided in military arsenals originated from General Ta-wei Yu's educational background. Before joining the Army, General Yu continued his research of mathematical logic as a postdoctoral fellow at the Humboldt University of Berlin after being awarded a PhD degree at Harvard University, where he got to know the socialism in Europe (Li, 1992: 56–61). The concept was then introduced by General Yu to the arsenals during his tenure as the Director (ibid).

of China (R.O.C.), which was led by the KMT, to take over control of the island of Formosa and its annexed islands from the Japanese colonial government. After the outbreak of the Second Chinese Civil War, the incrementally adverse conditions of war aggravated the evacuation of Chinese immigrants and refugees to Taiwan. When the KMT government officially moved to Taiwan in 1949, about one million people had retreated to Taiwan from Mainland China. However, the total number of immigrants lacked accurate statistics in turbulent times and still remain contentious (Li, 2015). Li (1969: 245–249) suggests that this figure was about 0.91 million. Li (2015: 137) mentions that there are other commentators who think this figure should be 1.12 million or 1.25 million. This is why, as mentioned earlier, the growth rate of Taiwan's total population is discerned as the range of 15 to 20 per cent after 1949. The wave of immigration continued after the relocation of the central government. Some troops were reorganised on the coastal islands of Mainland China and the Burmese border as the frontiers for the counterattack after 1949. These troops were withdrawn to Taiwan after a series of defeated campaigns, including the Battle of Zhoushan Archipelago, the Battle of Hainan Island in 1950, and the Battle of Yijiangshan in 1955 (Chao, 2009: 22). The defeat at Yijiangshan made the KMT government implement Operation Jin-Gang (金剛計畫) in 1955 to abandon the stronghold of Dachen Archipelago, evacuating all the soldiers and residents to Taiwan (Gu, 1999: 61–63). In addition, tens of thousands of soldiers and their dependents retreated from Vietnam in 1953 and from Myanmar in the 1950s and 1960s (Chao, 2009; Deng & Chiu, 2007; Yang & Chuang, 2006). Most of the Chinese immigrants and refugees that arrived in Taiwan in these decades were military personnel and their dependents (Ma, 2010: 19). Among Chinese immigrants, about 0.6 million of them were military personnel (Hu, 1990: 111); Li (2015: 137–138) proposed a more precise number of 0.582 million based on secondary data. The number of military dependents was 152,356 in 1951 (Kuo, 2005: 34).

Housing about one million people was a huge conundrum. However, before and after the civil war, confronting the potential invasion of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the complex post-war international situation, the central government had no time to deal with the issues in immigration and refugee in the rear. The responsibility of

temporary resettlement and military dependents management was dispersed to each military branch or unit to coordinate and deal with on its own (Gu, 1999). In addition, the government and the military had no way of obtaining enough land and budget in a short period of time to solve the housing problem of immigrants. In the 1950s, 85 per cent of the government budget was appropriated to national defence (Mii, 1988). As a result, the construction of MDVs became an incremental process that lasted for decades, and the forms of MDVs have varied and become more differentiated over time, based on changes in authorities' attitudes, funding and urban development. The evolution of MDVs during these decades is divided into four periods by the Ministry of National Defense's publication (see Kuo, 2005):

(a) The period of old MDVs (1945–1956)
(b) The period of regulated and systematised MDVs (1957–1980)
(c) First-phase MDV reconstruction (1980–1996)
(d) Second-phase MDV reconstruction (1997–2016)

These four periods are distinguished by disparate housing supply mechanisms and pertinent stipulations. Due to a lack of resources, the earliest form of MDVs in the first period were the official and military dormitories left by the Japanese colonial government and informal settlements or compartments made of crude and simple materials. In the second period of time, the outbreak of the Korean War incentivised the US government to alter its neutrality among the conflict between the Taiwan Strait and to subsume Taiwan into the anti-communist bloc (Chen et al., 2009: 37). The US resumed military and economic aid to the KMT government[19] and established a joint decision-making group, the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development (行政院國際經濟合作發展委員會), with the Taiwanese government in 1965. The US government pressured the KMT with international aid in exchange for giving up its attempt to actively counterattack Mainland China (Chang, 2010; Chao, 2009). In addition to a high percentage of military aid, international aid in the 1950s

[19] The US Government provided loans of USD 1.48 billion as financial aid between 1951 and 1965 (Kang, 2015: 29).

and 1960s was a far-reaching impetus for the economy, infrastructure development and education systems (Lin & Gao, 2015; Wang & Huang, 2019). With the assistance of the US technical team, the Taiwanese government introduced new urban planning systems and began to interpose the urban problems created by migration and the rapid industrialisation of the 1950s and 1960s (Lin & Gao, 2015), such as the inflow of rural people into cities, which resulted in insufficient housing services and basic infrastructures, and growing informal housing as well (Hsu, 1988; Liu, 2012). In addition, urbanisation was accelerated by the implementation of the air defence evacuation plan and the Regional Plan, which decentralised urban populations to the fringes in response to the risk of war (Chang, 1993). Based on this context, the quality of life in MDVs and the lack of housing for Chinese immigrant soldiers received attention from the authority in the late 1950s. In the meantime, many immigrant soldiers and their dependents had resided in crude housing for more than five years. Therefore, the central government and its affiliated private organisation initiated the large-scale construction and improvement of MDVs to stabilise morale (Chen et al., 2009: 37).

Decades after the MDVs were built, the state initiated the reconstruction programmes by privatising the MDV housing due to various economic, living-environmental, and political reasons, which will be elaborated on in the next three chapters. The distinction between the third and fourth periods of time depends on the legal and policy frameworks the MDV reconstruction of each stage abided by. In essence, the first and second time intervals were when the MDVs were mostly built. The third and fourth periods were when most of the MDVs were reconstructed and privatised, and financial mechanisms were integrated into the processes. The development and reconstruction of MDVs, as well as the identification of qualifications, are led by the institutions. We account that inheriting this classification of four periods can make the intricate development of MDVs unequivocal and understandable through institutionalist retrospectives.

4.3 The MDVs in Taipei City

After the brief introduction of the MDV history and its socioeconomic background, we connect the MDVs with space and explore the logic of spatial distribution of MDVs in Taipei in this section. In order to facilitate military mobilisation and material supply, the original MDVs were mostly distributed in administrative centres or around military bases (Chen et al., 2009). The MDVs built after the 1950s were mostly located in urban peripheries due to insufficient central urban space (Gu, 1999). However, the actual distribution is more intricate and is related to the sequence of retreat, the military branches' expertise and characteristics, as well as the development history of Taipei City. This explains why the earliest MDVs appeared in specific locations and the reasons for the MDVs built in the large-scale construction period being constructed in specific sites. First of all, we will introduce the terrain and urban development history of Taipei City, which is one of the important factors in determining where the MDVs were initially established. Next, we will nuance the military branch distinctions in probing the logic of distributions of MDVs (of different military branches, i.e., army, navy, air force) and the subsequent spatial shifts[20].

4.3.1 The early history and development of Taipei City

Taipei City, which is located in the north of Formosa Island, is the capital of Taiwan and the administrative and economic centre. The area of Taipei is 271.8 square kilometres, with a total population of about 2.646 million, which makes it the fourth most populous city in Taiwan. Together with part of New Taipei City, Taipei is located in the Taipei Basin, surrounded by mountains on the north, east and south sides, separated from New Taipei City by Tamsui River on the west side (Figure 4.1). However, the original Taipei was smaller, and the boundary has expanded over the decades into what is now composed of twelve districts (Figure 4.2[21]). The changes in the administrative boundary reprise the history of the city developing from west to east, to which the terrains have been a pivotal cause. Before the Chinese immigrants

[20] MDVs were distinguished by military branch, and the residents living in the same MDV were usually the military personnel of the same military branch and unit and their dependents.
[21] Xinyi District was a part of Songshan District until 1990.

cultivated Taipei, the inhabitants of this area were the indigenous people of the Ketagalan (凱達格蘭族). At the end of the 17th century, the Han Chinese people from Fujian Province in Mainland China entered the Taipei Basin for reclamation (Huang, 1995: 5). Three places by the river – Dalongdong (大龍峒) (north of the present-day Datong District), Wanhua and Xikou (錫口) (present-day Songshan) – were the earliest collective residences of immigrants (Huang, 2004: 22–23) (Figure 4.1).

By the end of the 18th century, the main exports from Taiwan to Mainland China were rice and sugar, and Bangka Wharf (艋舺) in Wanhua became the third-largest port in Taiwan (Huang, 1995: 12). The Treaty of Tientsin (天津條約) signed in 1858 after the Qing Dynasty was defeated by Great Britain and France in the Second Opium War demanded an opening of treaty ports. Tamsui, Anping, Keelung, and Takao (present-day Kaohsiung) in Taiwan consequently became commercial ports for international trade (Huang, 1995: 13; Huang, 2009). The international demands prompted changes in Taiwan's economic structure, and tea and camphor had replaced rice as the major exports alongside sugar (ibid). Because tea and camphor were mostly produced in the northern part of Formosa, Tamsui Port, which was located at the mouth of the Tamsui River, developed quickly due to its locational advantage. The Bangka Wharf in Wanhua and the Dadaocheng Wharf (大稻埕) on the west side of Dalongdong, which were both on the upper reaches of Tamsui River, became the hubs for goods (Chang, 2022: 203; Lin & Gao, 2015: 217). The export cargo was dispatched to these two wharves before being transported to the Tamsui Port on the lower reaches of the river. The economic centre of Taiwan tilted toward the north from Tainan due to the prosperous business in Taipei.

Table 4.1: Timeline for key urban development and the MDVs in Taipei

Year	Events
1945	End of the Second World War
1949	The KMT government retreated to Taiwan after the defeat in the civil war
1945–1956	The emergence and increase of the initial MDVs
1950s	The beginning of industrialisation
1956	Commencement of the CWACL Movement, and the MDVs were regulated and systematised
1973	The first Oil Crisis
1975	Promulgation of the *Public Housing Act*
1978	Floating exchange rate system (with government controls) began in 1978
1979	(a) The beginning of the first-phase MDV reconstruction and privatisation (b) The second Oil Crisis
1987	End of the authoritarian period
1988	Taiwan (R.O.C.) was listed as a currency manipulator state by the US
1989	Foreign exchange control was deregulated
1995	End of the CWACL Movement
1996	(a) End of the first-stage reconstruction (b) Promulgation of the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* (c) First direct presidential election, and was won by the KMT
1997	The second-phase MDV reconstruction and privatisation was launched to rebuild all the MDVs completed before 1980
2016	End of the MDV reconstruction

(Source: Author's own)

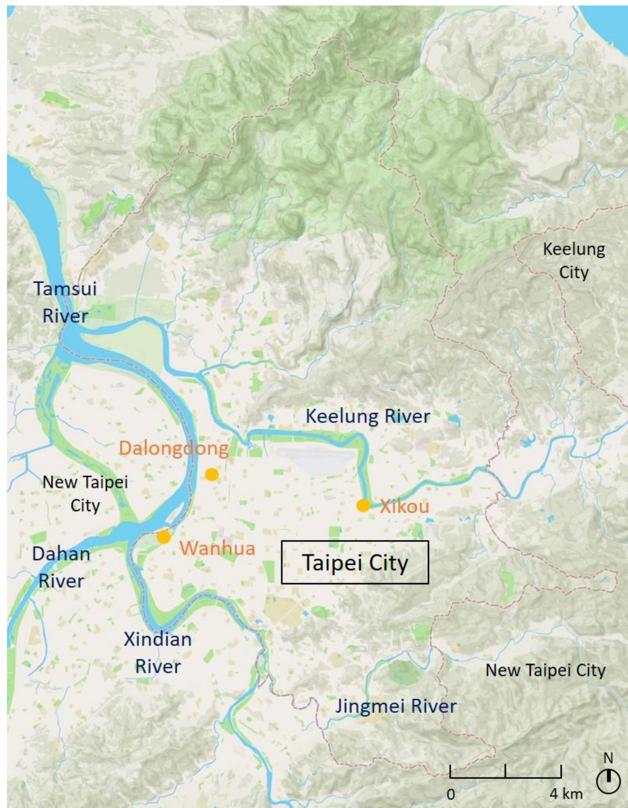

Figure 4.1: The terrain of Taipei City
(Source: Author's own)

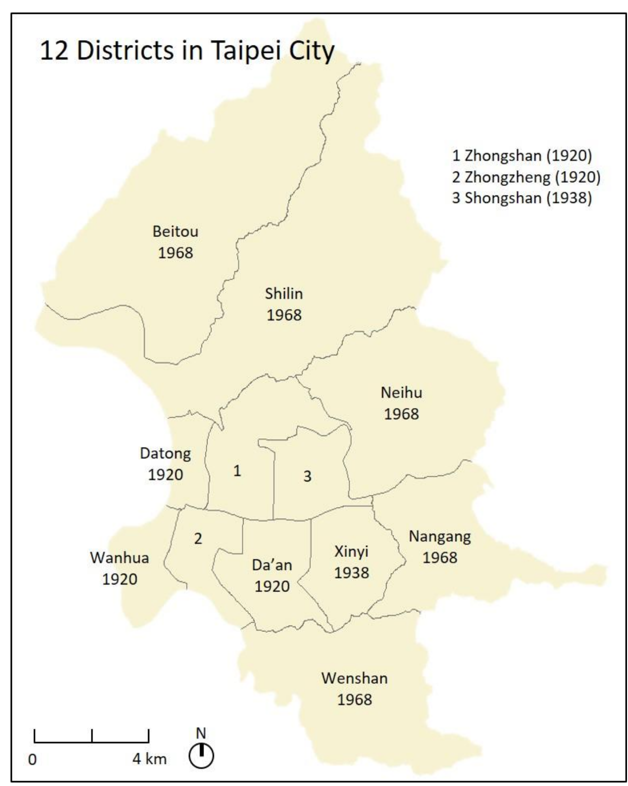

Figure 4.2: The twelve districts of Taipei City
(Source: Author's own)

In 1884, the Walls of Taipei were constructed by the Qing regime (Huang, 1995), and it was the last city built according to Feng Shui and surrounded by stone walls before the fall of the Qing Dynasty (Hsing, 2015). The old Taipei City was located in the rectangle area surrounded by the current Section 1, Zhongxiao West Road, Zhongshan South Road, Aiguo West Road and Section 1, Zhonghua Road (Huang, 1995), which lay in the southeast of Dadaocheng and the northwest of Bangka (Figure 4.3). These four roads were paved after the walls were demolished by the Japanese colonial government, which took over Taiwan in 1895. Dadaocheng, Wanhua, and the old Taipei City which was known as 'Chengnei' Area (城內區) or the 'Inner-City' Area in English constituted the most developed areas in Taipei that were also referred to as the ‘Three Streets’ (Chuang, 2011: 64). The Japanese colonial government set up the administrative centre in the 'Inner-City' Area, established a large residential area in the southeast (Chuang, 2011), and developed basic infrastructures. The 'Three Streets' gradually merged into a larger city due to population growth in the 1920s (Lin & Gao, 2015). Datong District, Wanhua District, Zhongzheng District, Zhongshan District and Da’an District of the current twelve districts were designated as Taipei City by the colonial government.

In 1932, the Japanese colonial government proposed the Great Taipei City Plan (Figure 4.4), which aimed to transform Taipei into a metropolis that was able to accommodate 600,000 people (Chuang, 2011). Land was re-zoned as multiple rectangular blocks, many of which were reserved for parks and green spaces. In 1938, Shongshan in the east of the basin, that is, the area around Xikou mentioned earlier, was integrated into the area of Taipei City (Taipei City Archives Commission, 1988). Meanwhile, the population was concentrated on the west side of Taipei Basin, and the east side was mostly farmland or undeveloped land (Chuang, 2011). The northeast side of Taipei Basin was Songshan Airport, and a wartime backup airfield known as the South Airfield (南機場), which was converted from a military training ground, was located in southern Wanhua (Lin & Gao, 2015). Neihu District and Nangang District in the east of Songshan, Wenshan District in the south of the basin, and Shilin District and Beitou

District in the north had not been included in the scope of Taipei City at the end of the colonial period. Although the colonial urban planning system was still incomplete, it laid the foundation for the urban planning of post-war Taiwan (Wu, 2015). Furthermore, the status of urban development at that time also influenced the spatial distribution of the subsequent MDVs.

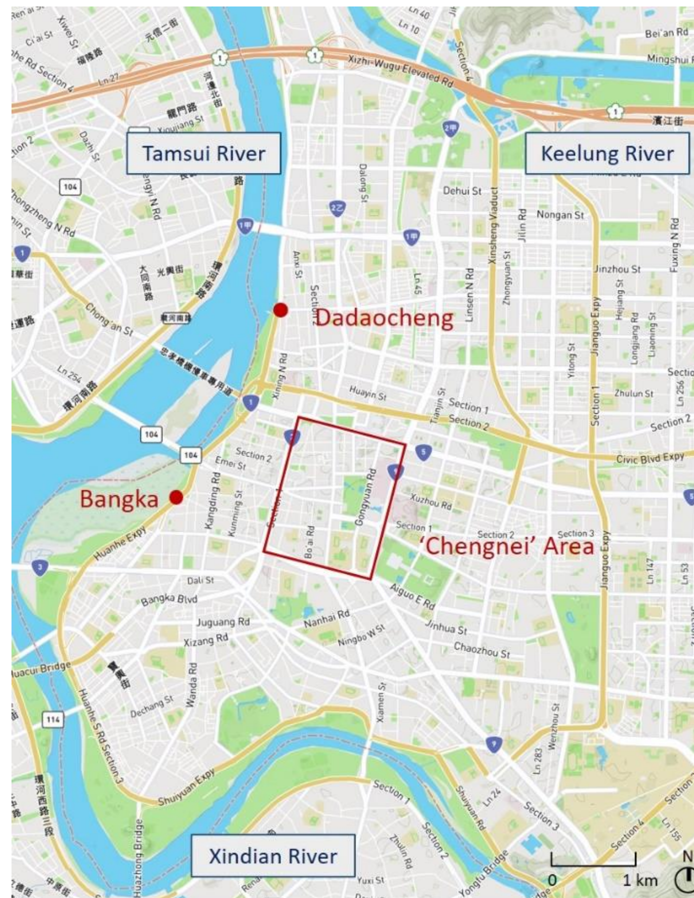

Figure 4.3: The 'Three Streets' Area in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

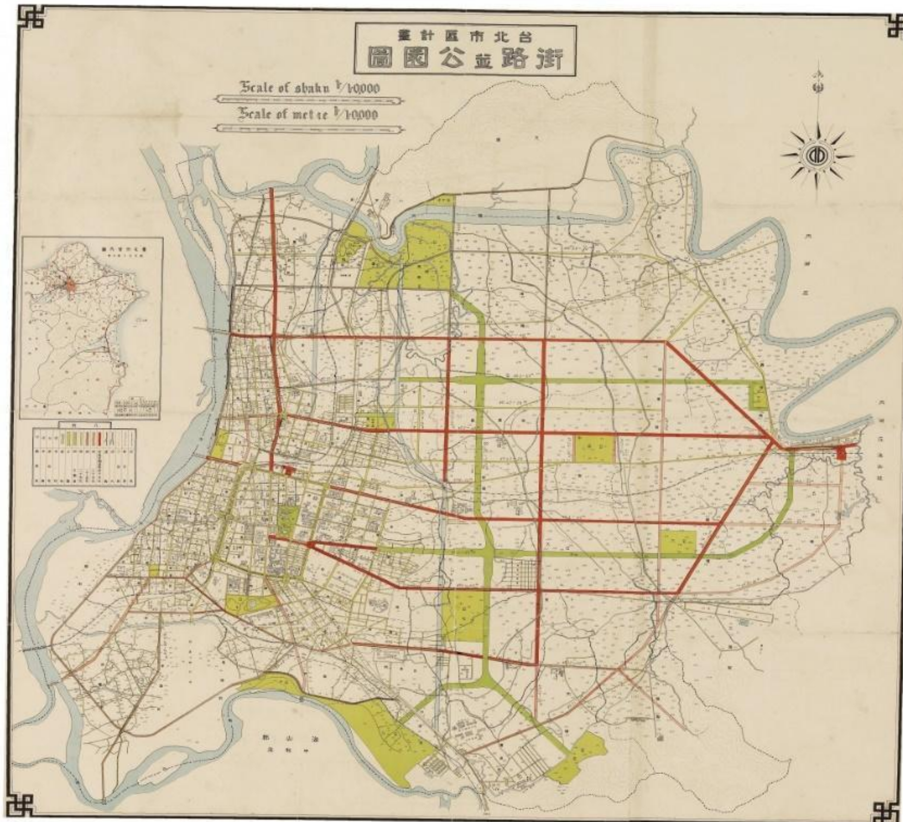

Figure 4.4: The Great Taipei City Plan 1932
(Source: The Map and Remote Sensing Imagery Digital Archive Project, 2014)

4.3.2 The emergence and transformation of MDVs in Taipei

After the end of World War II, the troops that were first sent by the KMT government to take over Formosa Island from the Japanese colonial government did not have to bear the urgency of war, so many military personnel brought their families to Taiwan (Kuo, 2005: 5). These officers and soldiers accommodated themselves in the dormitories and military bases left by the Japanese. When the downturn of the war situation became clear, the KMT government started to consider the possibility of retreating to Taiwan (Chuang, 2011). In mid-1948, the Air Force Command dispatched personnel to Taiwan to investigate airports and locations for stationing troops (Lin et al., 2007). A retreat plan was drawn up and the Air Force was the first military branch to implement the relocation (ibid). Most of the non-combat units of the Air Force began to retreat at the end of 1948, including Communication School, Air Force Academy, Air Defense School, Paratrooper School, Air Force Reserve School, Shanghai Air Force Hospital and Air Force Supply Command (Chen, 2005). Important

apparatuses and critical researchers were also evacuated, but the general staff were abandoned and equipment that could not be carried was sold (ibid). The transport air groups and combat air groups retreated from the Mainland or the coastal islands to the airports (developed by the Japanese) in Taiwan between 1949 and May 1950 (ibid). The units that arrived first tended to occupy the most comfortable dwellings, which were the Japanese dormitories, and in some cases, disputes arose between different units due to the allocation of dwellings (Lin et al., 2007). Since the Air Force had its own transportations (the Army could only rely on the assistance of the Navy and Air Force) and the retreat started earlier, many military personnel of the Air Force migrated with their dependents (Ma, 2010).

The Navy was the second military branch to initiate a mass retreat. The Navy Command formulated a retreat plan in late 1948 (Lin, 2009) and implemented it in early 1949 (Chuang, 2011). In February, non-combat units were evacuated from Qingdao, including the shipyard, hospital and supply depots, along with important equipment and some members of various headquarters (ibid). Ships that could not leave together were sunk in port (ibid). The fleets successively retreated to Zuoying and Keelung, which were the two largest ports in Taiwan. The Navy Command also retreated to Zuoying in May 1949 (Chen, 2005). As for the Marine Corps, they were dispersed and stationed on the coastal islands of the Mainland and were withdrawn to Zuoying between February and May 1950 (Sun, 2010). Most of the military personnel of the Navy were stationed in Zuoying and Keelung (Chen et al., 2009), temporarily living in Japanese-left dormitories and warehouses (Chuang, 2011). The Army was the last branch to prosecute a large-scale retreat. In November 1948, Army Training Command was relocated from Nanjing to Kaohsiung, and General Li-jen Sun (孫立人) was in charge of training soldiers to strengthen the defence of Taiwan. Part of the armoured force shifted to Taiwan in mid-1949 (Chen, 2005). However, the Army, the military branch with the largest personnel, ensnared in a chaotic and procrastinated retreat from mid-1949 to early 1950 (Chuang, 2011). Troops still retreated from the coastal islands of the Mainland, as well as from Vietnam and Myanmar in the 1950s and 1960s. Most of the soldiers (mostly serving in the Army)

who arrived before and after the end of the civil war could only temporarily live in buildings with large interior space or private houses, or build their own simple informal settlements because of the limited housing provision (Deng & Chiu, 2007; Ma, 2010). Generally speaking, the Air Force and Navy had relatively better housing quality and standards than the Army. Most Air Force personnel lived near airports, while Navy personnel were stationed around ports. Many settlements for the Army personnel and their dependents were in urban areas or urban peripheries (Chen et al., 2009).

The spatial distribution, logics and dynamics of MDVs of different military branches in Taipei must be understood in conjunction with this military history and the unfolding spatial development of Taipei. The troops retreating to Taiwan needed to remain operational in response to the potential attack from CCP. The spatial distribution of MDVs was directly correlated with military missions, as many villages were located around military bases, whose locations depended on the assigned missions and the functions of the units. Nearly 20 per cent of the MDVs were located in Taipei City (Table 4.2). More than half of the MDVs of intelligence agencies and those of the General Affairs Management Division and more than one-third of those of Military Police were in the capital. On the other hand, only 6.35 per cent of Navy MDVs were located in Taipei. The spatial distribution of MDVs of different military branches is worth detailing here in articulating and nuancing the significance of military organisation and the threat of conflict in the emergence and subsequent development of MDVs.

(a) Army MDVs: Many of these MDVs were located at the fringes of Taipei City from the 1940s to the 1960s (Figure 4.6) because the army retreated to Taiwan later than the other branches. Moreover, with a large number of people requiring bigger villages for accommodation, it was more difficult to find suitable places in the urban centre to house these troops and their dependents (Chuang, 2011: 75–76).

(b) Navy MDVs: Because Taipei Basin is not by the sea, there were only five Navy MDVs located in Taipei. The largest of the four MDVs, Li-xing New Village, was located near Navy Command in Dazhi (大直), Zhongshan District (Figure 4.7)[22].

[22] Navy Command was moved from Zuoying to Taipei City in 1954.

(c) Air Force MDVs: These MDVs were mainly distributed around Songshan Airport, South Airfield, and Chanchu Hill (蟾蜍山) which was on the south side of Da'an District (Figure 4.8). Songshan Airport was located in the east of Taipei Basin, surrounded by farmland or undeveloped land, which could be provided as spaces for MDVs. Air Force Communication Squad and Weather Squad were stationed on the higher ground at Chanchu Hill, so some Air Force MDVs were built there (Chuang, 2011: 76).

(d) Combined Logistics Force MDVs: The working environment of Combined Logistics Force required a large hinterland to accommodate warehouses and factories, so Combined Logistics Force MDVs were the same as Army MDVs, which were located on urban peripheries (Figure 4.9). Some of these MDVs were built near Songshan Airport or South Airfield in order to facilitate the supply of specific branches (Chuang, 2011: 77). Some were converted from Japanese war-remained arsenals, such as Four-four South, West and East Villages administered by the 44th Arsenal (Gu, 1999; Yang & Chuang, 2006). In addition, it was easier to acquire the land around the rivers, so some MDVs were located around the river in Nangang District (Chuang, 2011: 77). However, some exceptions to the general Combined Logistics Force MDVs were established near the Finance School in Wenshan District, which was affiliated with Combined Logistics Command (Liu, 2008).

(e) Garrison Force MDVs: Garrison Force was the predecessor of the current Reserve Force. Its mission and organisational structure have been adjusted many times, but initially, it was responsible for regional defence, surveillance, communication inspection, immigration control, and countering espionage. The total number of MDVs of this service in Taipei was less than ten, and much related data was not recorded (see Kuo, 2005: 385–434). Chuang (2011) speculates that many materials are difficult to access due to the classified nature of Garrison Force during the authoritarian period. Many Garrison Force MDVs were located along main roads entering and exiting downtown Taipei or connecting urban and mountainous areas (Figure 4.10), based on the special missions of Garrison Force (Chuang, 2011).

(f) Military Police MDVs: The Military Police was responsible for the defence of the city centre, so there were many Military Police MDVs in the old city of Taipei (Figure 4.11). Some MDVs were located near Songshan Airport and arsenals, and Chuang (2011) speculates that the purpose may be to protect important military installations (Chuang, 2011: 78).

(g) The intelligence units' MDVs: The intelligence institutions, including Military Intelligence Bureau (MIB)[23] and National Security Bureau (NSB), were re-established around the presidential residence in Shilin District after the KMT government retreated to Taiwan. Therefore, the intelligence units' MDVs were concentrated in Shilin District (Du, 2013; Fan, 2013) (Figure 4.12). Because Shilin District was the location of the presidential residence and intelligence agencies, in addition to strict access control (Gu, 1999: 111), security had also been strengthened, with regular patrols by police, military police and intelligence officers (Du, 2013). Besides, some MDVs of NSB were located near Songshan Airport (Chuang, 2011: 80).

(h) General Affairs Management Division MDVs: MDVs administered by General Affairs Management Division (GAMD) were scattered throughout Taipei. The sources of this type of MDVs were complex, and some of them were not constructed under the leadership of GAMD but were handed over for management after completion. These MDVs included but were not limited to those dominated by National Defense University, FHK College and Paidan, a Japanese military counselling group (Chuang, 2011: 79; Kuo, 2005: 385–434). The MDVs of GAMD could be found in every district of Taipei except for Neihu District and Nangang District (Figure 4.13).

[23] MIB was formerly known as the Bureau of Investigation and Statistics (軍統局). After World War II, it was renamed Security Agency (保密局). After several organisational adjustments, it was eventually rebranded as MIB in 1985. Here I use MIB to represent its multiple precursors.

Table 4.2: The number of MDVs of different military branches in Taipei City

Military branch	1945–1956	1957–1980	1981–	The total MDVs of each branch in Taipei	The total MDVs of each branch in Taiwan	Proportion
Army	9	25	1	35	299	11.71%
Navy	2	2	0	4	63	6.35%
Air Force	18	20	4	42	251	16.73%
Combined Logistics Force	8	13	6	27	93	29.03%
Garrison Force	0	7	1	8	42	19.05%
Military Police	3	4	0	7	19	36.84%
MIB & NSB	1	12	2	15	25	60.00%
GAMD	13	9	5	27	45	60.00%
Total	54	92	19	165[24]	837	19.71%

(Source: Chen et al.,2009: 155–173)

[24] According to my calculation, there were at least 185 MDVs in Taipei. But the number of MDVs is contentious, which will be explained in Section 5.2.3.

Figure 4.5: The auxiliary figure for Figures 4.6 to 4.13
(Source: Author's own)

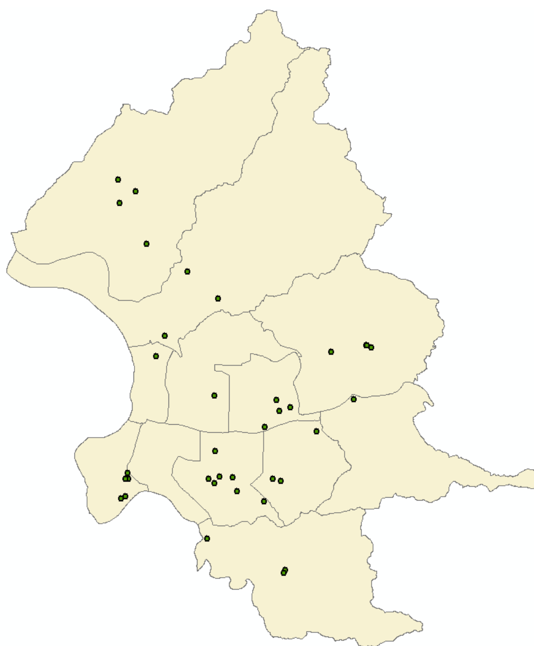

Figure 4.6: The Army MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

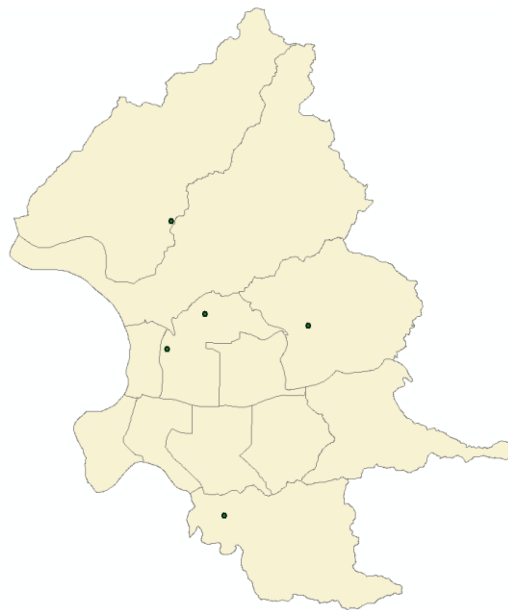

Figure 4.7: The Navy MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

Figure 4.8: The Air Force MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

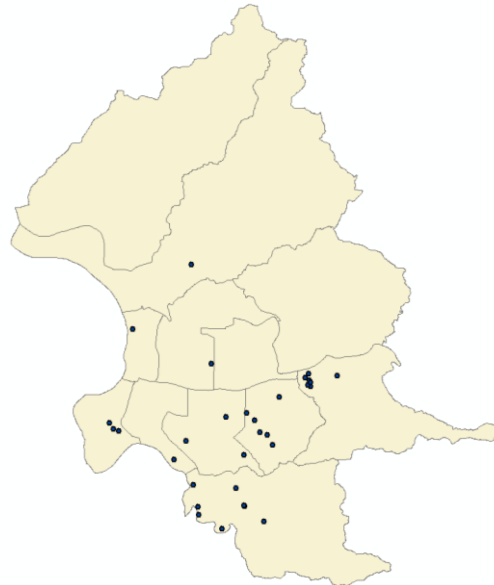

Figure 4.9: The Combined Logistics Force MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

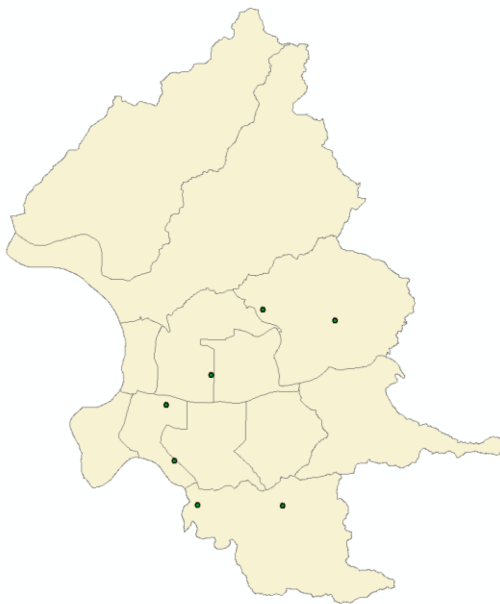

Figure 4.10: The Garrison Force MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

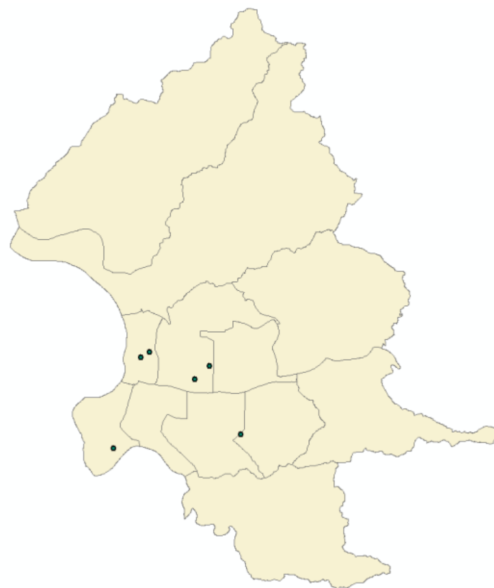

Figure 4.11: The Military Police MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

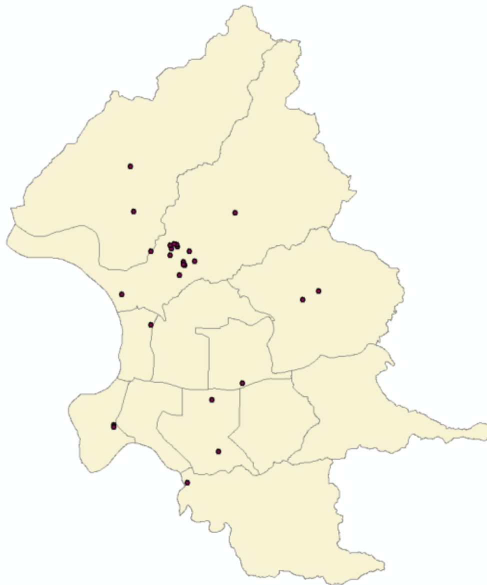

Figure 4.12: The intelligence agencies' MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

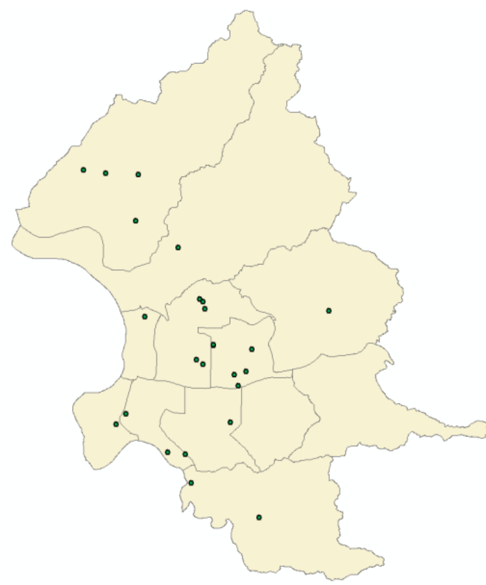

Figure 4.13: The GAMD MDVs in Taipei
(Source: Author's own)

The above introduction of MDVs of each military branch is based on the spatial retrospect from post-development conditions. However, the growth in the number of MDVs was a changing process that has lasted over decades, and the spatial distribution has evolved according to the period of time in which MDVs were established. Therefore, the time factor will be supplemented in the following to explore the spatio-temporal changes in the distribution of MDVs.

Most of the MDVs constructed between 1945 and 1956 were located around military bases or in the 'Three Streets' Area or its peripheries. Between 1957 and 1980, when the number of MDVs increased most rapidly, the locations of new MDVs extended outward (Figure 4.14). First, the demolition of the South Airfield generated more public vacant land on the southern side of Wanhua, and more than ten MDVs were built there (Chuang, 2011; Lin & Gao, 2015). Secondly, many MDVs emerged in Neihu District, from which moving westward along the north bank of Keelung River could directly access Dazhi in Zhongshan District, which was the location of many critical military units (Chuang, 2011). For instance, the guerrillas, soldiers and their dependents who were evacuated from Dachen Island in 1955 (Operation Jin-Gang mentioned in Section 4.2) were relocated to Qing-bai New Village in Neihu (Gu, 1999).

Thirdly, since the railway connected Taipei with Keelung City and Keelung Port via Nangang District, the vicinity of Nangang Railway Station became an important base for the Combined Logistics Force which was responsible for maintenance and supply (Chuang, 2011). Fourthly, many MDVs were built in Liuzhangli (六張犁) (ibid). This area was originally a less-developed hilly region straddling the edge of the plain and the mountains, so the vacant land here provided an option for the military to accommodate dependents. The fifth was the riverside land by Jingmei River in Wenshan District. Initially, the settlements in Wenshan District were located in the valleys among the hills around Xinglong Road. Riverside land had more open space due to frequent flooding and its remote location (Chuang, 2011; Wang, W., 2020). Finally, the MDVs of Beitou District and Shilin District increased around the existing MDVs. After this phase of expansion, according to my calculation, there were at least 185 MDVs in Taipei City. Songshan District, Da'an District and Wanhua District have the most MDVs in number (Figure 4.15). The original residents who chose to be relocated to reconstructed apartments rather than to buy housing on their own have been relocated to 88 sites across Taipei City from these 185 plus MDVs since 1979 (Figure 4.16).

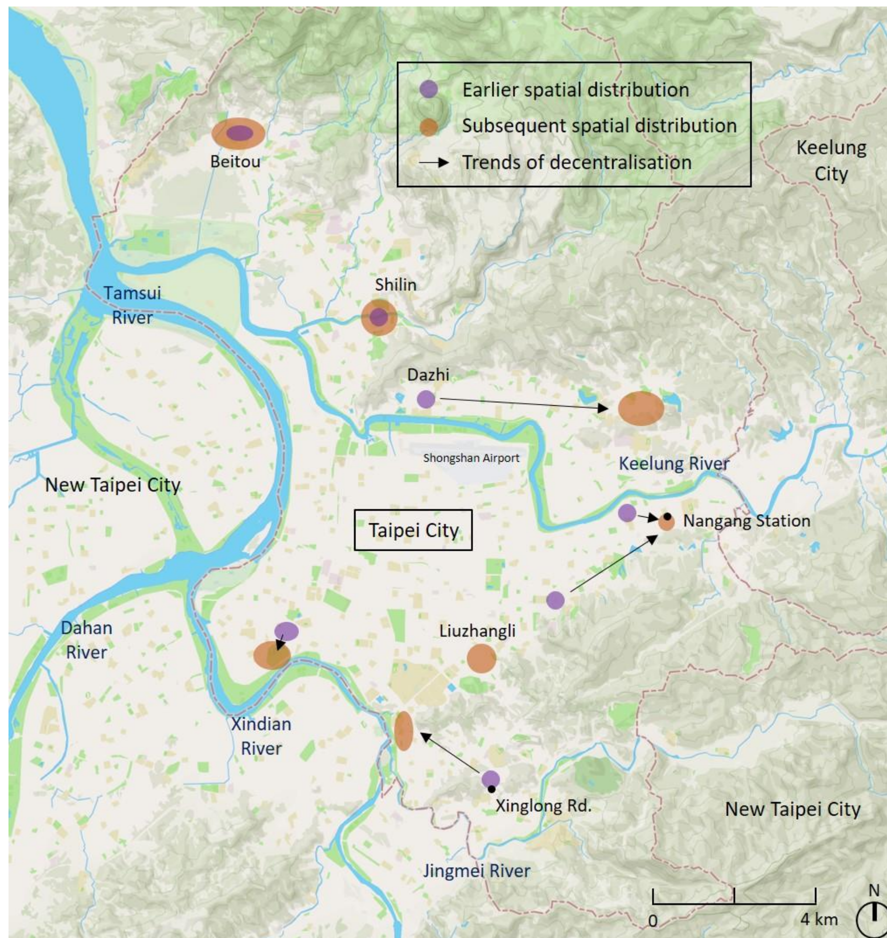

Figure 4.14: Evolutions of the spatial distribution of MDVs
(Source: Author's own)

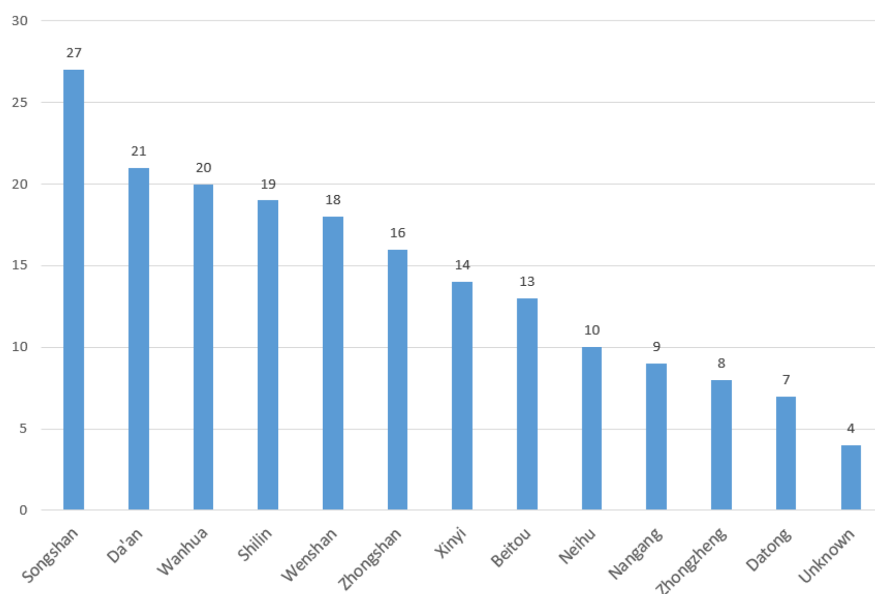

Figure 4.15: The number of MDVs in each district
(Source: Author's own)

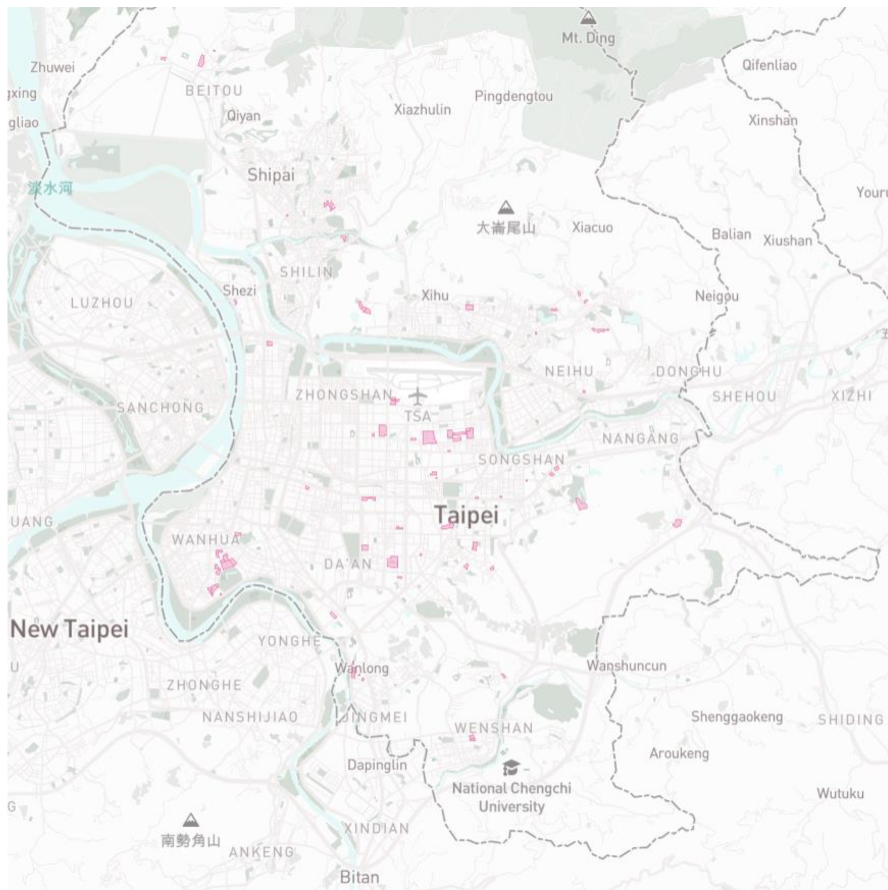

Figure 4.16: The relocation sites of MDVs
(Source: Author's own)

The preceding sections have provided an overview of the antecedents of MDVs and have connected the spatial distribution of MDVs to the urban development history of Taipei and the characteristics of different military branches. As collective settlements established to accommodate a large number of immigrants, MDVs were initially located on the outskirts of the old city centre or on hilly slopes and riverbanks with ample available land. This explains why MDVs, prior to their reconstruction, were concentrated in specific areas within Taipei City, which cannot be understood without acknowledging the militarised history of Taipei. This understanding lays the foundation for a more in-depth exploration of MDV socio-spatial and institutional transformation in Chapter 5. The next section will introduce the two specific fieldwork sites selected for this study, examining the spatial changes of MDVs at the neighbourhood scale and providing knowledge of detailed spatial transformation and patterns, which contributes to the discussion in Chapter 7.

4.4 Introduction of Qing-nian New Town and Song-shan New Town

4.4.1 Qing-nian New Town

Qing-nian New Town (QQNT) is located on the southern side of Wanhua District in Taipei City, covering an area of approximately 4.27 hectares bounded by Qingnian Road, Guoxing Road, Lane 416 of Zhonghua Road Section 2, and Lane 125 of Xizang Road (Figure 4.17). It is one of the largest reconstructed residential areas in Taipei City, accommodating previous MDV residents from at least 16 MDVs, including An-kang 1st Village, Da-de 1st Village, Da-de 2nd Village, Da-de New Village, Four-four East Village, Guang-fu West Village, Hang-jian 1st Village, Hang-jian New Village, Hu-fong New Village, Jun-an New Village, Mei-yuan 1st Village, Min-quan New Village (Air Force), Min-quan New Village (General Affairs Management Division), Tong-de New Village (Air Force), Zhan-feng New Village, and Zi-qiang 1st Village. Seven of these villages were originally situated in Wanhua District, while the residents of the remaining nine villages were relocated from other administrative districts within Taipei City (Table 4.3). Based on Long and Fan's (1967) survey, along with aerial photographs and interviews with residents, we can determine that the MDVs originally located in this block included Da-de New Village and Mei-yuan 1st Village. Hang-jian New Village, Hu-fong New Village, Zhan-feng New Village, and Zi-qiang 1st Village were located at the boundary of this block and the Youth Park.

Figure 4.17: Location of Qing-nian New Town
(Source: Author's own)

Table 4.3: List of the MDVs relocated to QNNT

No.	Village name	Branch	Original location
1	An-kang 1st Village	Garrison	Wenshan Dist.
2	Da-de 1st Village	Army	Da'an Dist.
3	Da-de 2nd Village	Army	Da'an Dist.
4	Da-de New Village	Army	On this site
5	Four-four East Village	Combined Logistics Command	Xinyi Dist.
6	Guang-fu West Village	Air Force	Zhongshan Dist.
7	Hang-jian 1st Village	Air Force	Xinyi Dist.
8	Hang-jian New Village	Air Force	On this site
9	Hu-fong New Village	Air Force	On this site
10	Jun-an New Village	Army	Wanhua Dist.
11	Mei-yuan 1st Village	Army	On this site
12	Min-quan New Village	Air Force	Songshan Dist.
13	Min-quan New Village	General Affairs Management Division	Songshan Dist.
14	Tong-de New Village	Air Force	Wenshan Dist.
15	Zhan-feng New Village	Army	On this site
16	Zi-qiang 1st Village	Air Force	On this site

(Source: organised by the author based on interview data; Gu, 1999; Long & Fan, 1967; Public Housing Department, 1987)

During the Japanese colonial era, this area was used for farming and as a military training ground for the Japanese armed forces. It was later developed into a backup airfield of Taipei known as the South Airfield. Prior to the completion of the Songshan Airport in the north, it served as a training ground for Japanese aircrafts (Public Housing Department, 1987). After World War II, when the KMT government took control of Taiwan, much of the land south of Xizang Road and east of Wanda Road was registered as public properties. The majority of the former airfield area was designated for the exclusive use of the Ministry of National Defense as a golf course, while some land was allocated for accommodating immigrant military personnel and their dependents (Figure 4.18). In 1974, the Taipei City government took over the golf course, as directed by the Executive Yuan, and transformed it into the new Youth Park, which was completed in 1977 and covers an area of 24.44 hectares (Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government, 2023). Due to the susceptibility of this area to flooding and the presence of residential areas without robust building materials and fire lanes (see Figure 4.19), as well as informal settlements inside and outside the river embankments, the government initiated multiple urban renewal projects across the entire extended area to improve housing conditions (Figure 4.20). Since 1963, numerous newly constructed high-density housing units and wide roads have gradually replaced the low-density informal settlements. Over an 18-year period, 10,448 new dwellings were built, serving as public housing or housing for military dependents (Public Housing Department, 1987).

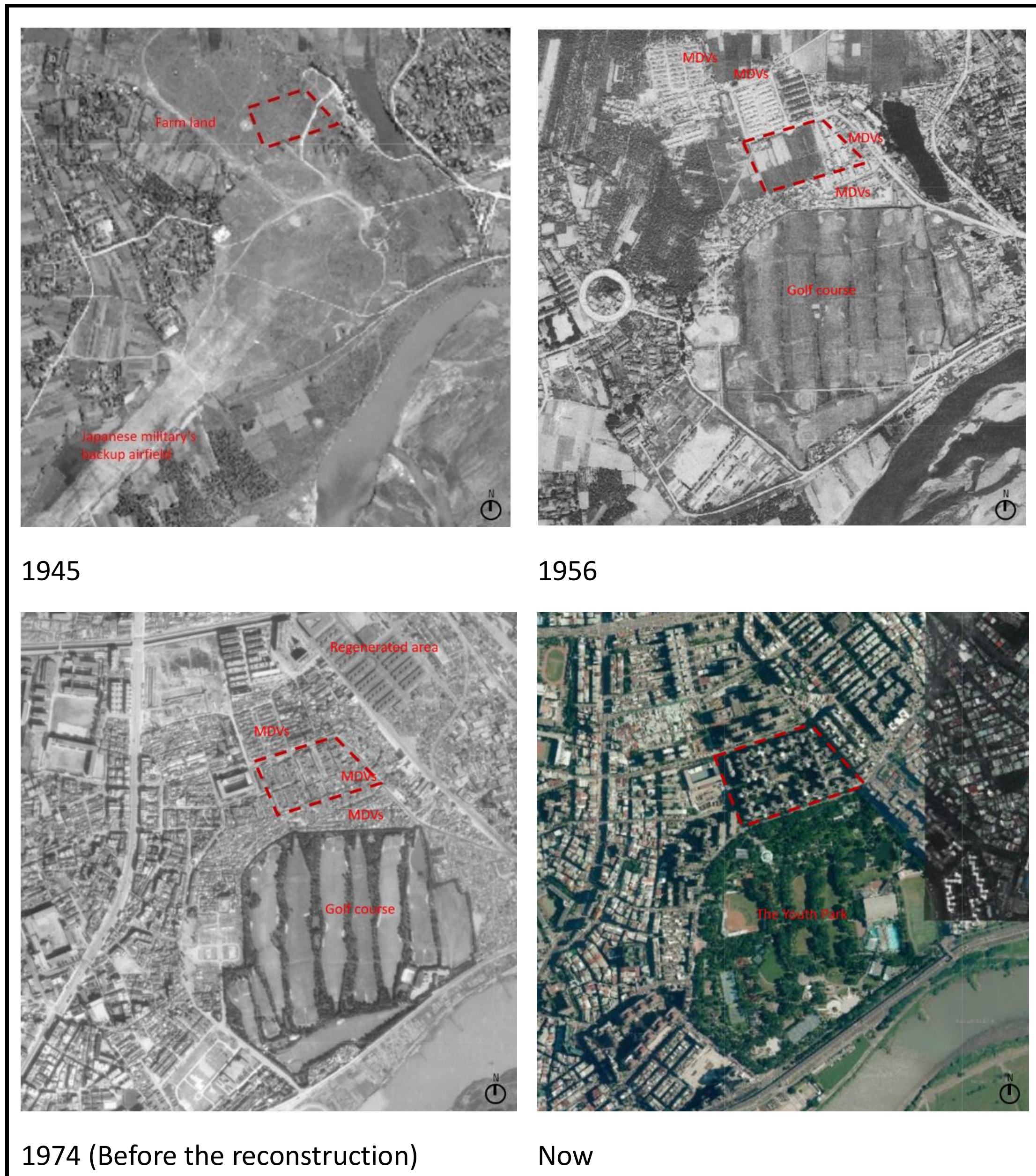

Figure 4.18: Historic aerial photographs of the southern Wanhua District
(Source: adapted from Center for GIS, RCHSS, Academia Sinica, n.d.)

Figure 4.19: Old MDVs in the southern Wanhua District
(Source: CTWANT.com, 2022[25])

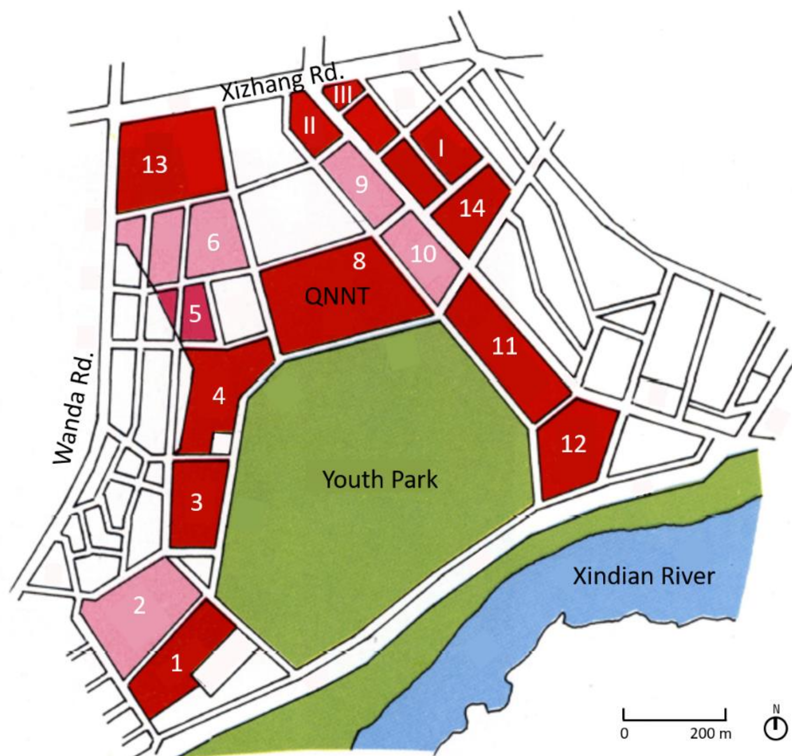

Figure 4.20: Locations and numbers of the urban renewal sites in the southern Wanhua District
(Source: adapted from Public Housing Department, 1987: 2)

QNNT, as one of the many reconstructed MDV residences in this area (Figure 4.20), was constructed between 1984 and 1985. It consists of 35 twelve-storey buildings,

[25] The author was granted permission to use this source on the 8th of August, 2022.

comprising a total of 1,769 dwellings. In addition to 27 ground-floor shops on the south side and 4 dwellings used for neighbourhood management and operational affairs (Public Housing Department, 1987), buildings number one to nineteen on the south side of the block were allocated for military use to accommodate previous MDV residents. The north side, consisting of buildings number twenty to thirty-five, with a total of 817 dwellings, was sold by the city government as public housing to low- and middle-income households or those affiliated with state-owned enterprises (B3) (Figure 4.21). According to relevant stipulations, dwellings allocated for military use come in four different size specifications: 79.34, 85.95, 99.17, and 112.4 square metres (Figure 4.22). Housing units sold as public housing to the general public were not required to adhere to these standard specifications, resulting in three more different sizes: 52.89, 66.12, and 92.56 square metres, lacking the 112.4-square-metre one (Figure 4.22). The largest, 112.4-square-metre units, are concentrated in buildings number one and two, allocated to generals and their families.

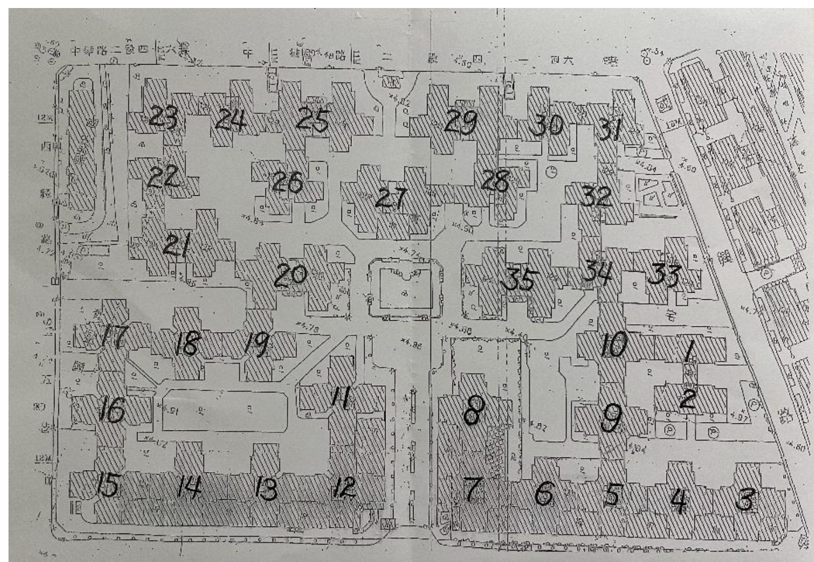

Figure 4.21: Numbers of buildings in the QNNT block
(Source: provided by the autonomous committee of QNNT in May, 2022)

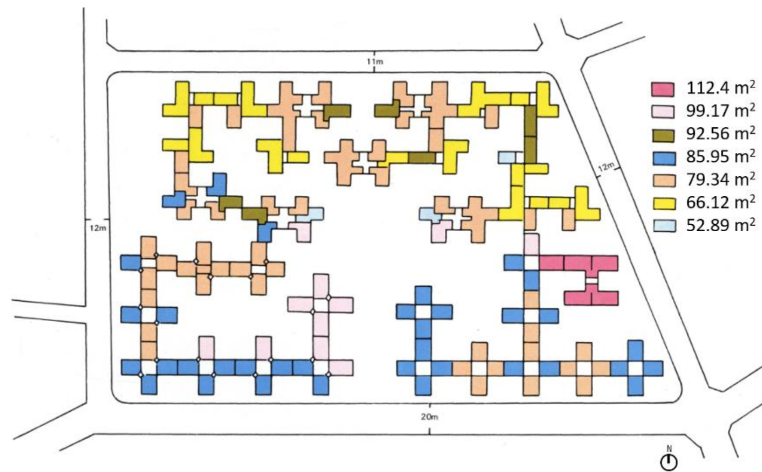

Figure 4.22: Spatial distribution of different housing specifications in the QNNT block

(Source: adapted from Public Housing Department, 1987: 10)

The open spaces within QNNT comprise a large irregular central plaza, several smaller plazas, parking areas, green spaces, and children's playgrounds. Visually, the block exhibits a sense of enclosure due to the presence of buildings, gates, and pillars, and the neighbourhood's main gate is decorated in a patriotic style (Figure 4.23). Neighbourhood affairs are managed by the autonomous committee, whose predecessor was the MDV's autonomous council (B20). In addition to the Youth Park, the neighbourhood 's surroundings include an elementary school and two traditional markets: Guoguang Market and Shuanghe Market. Facilities around the block consist mainly of restaurants, eateries, and medical services, each occupying nearly a quarter of the amount.

Figure 4.23: Scenes in the QNNT neighbourhood
(Source: Author's own)

4.4.2 Song-shan New Town

Song-shan New Town (SSNT) is situated in the Songshan District of Taipei City, encompassing approximately 8.73 hectares of multiple blocks bounded by Jiankang Road, Lane 15 of Jiankang Road, Lane 230 of Guangfu North Road, and Guangfu North Road (Figure 4.24). It stands as one of the largest reconstructed MDV areas in Taipei, accommodating residents from six MDVs, including Da-an New Village, Fu-yuan New Village, Jian-hua New Village, Ping-an New Village, Song-shan New Village, and Zi-li New Village (Table 4.4). The residents of Songshan New Village previously resided on the land within this block.

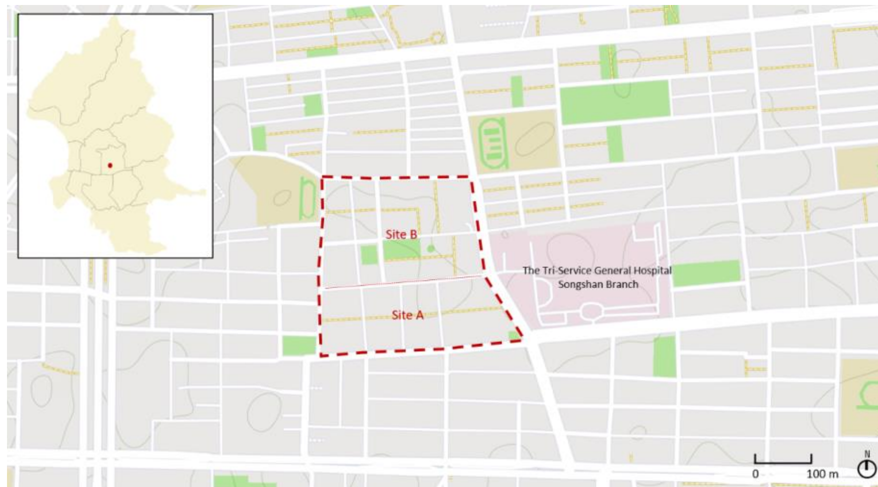

Figure 4.24: Location of Song-shan New Town
(Source: Author's own)

Table 4.4: List of the MDVs relocated to SSNT

No.	Village name	Branch	Original location
1	Da-an New Village	Air Force	Da'an Dist.
2	Fu-yuan New Village	Air Force	Songshan Dist.
3	Jian-hua New Village	Air Force	Da'an Dist.
4	Ping-an New Village	Air Force	Songshan Dist.
5	Song-shan New Village	Air Force	On this site
6	Zi-li New Village	Air Force	Da'an Dist.

(Source: Kuo, 2005; Longtian Village, Songshan District of Taipei City, n.d.)

During the Japanese colonial period, this area served as the western end of the backup runway of the Songshan Airport (Figure 4.25). At that time, some of the land in the village was purchased from local landlords under the leadership of President's wife Soong May-ling at prices ranging from TWD 30 to 60 per square metre (C1). The earliest MDV housing units were primarily allocated to higher-ranking officials, with the generals' residences concentrated in the southeast corner of SSNT. The village's scale gradually expanded later (C1). Initially, there were three crude MDVs in this area: Song-ji New Village to the north, serving as the pilot's village, and Song-shan New Village to the southwest, under the jurisdiction of the Air Force Headquarters (C11). Additionally, due to the relocation of the Air Force General Hospital (now the Tri-Service General Hospital Songshan Branch), Xie-yuan New Village was constructed to accommodate hospital staff and their families in the eastern part of this area. It wasn't

until around 1958 that these three villages were integrated into the larger Songshan New Village (Figure 4.26). When the village was first established, the surrounding areas were paddy fields, sweet potato fields, and vegetable farms, with a wide, two-metre-plus ditch to the south that has now been replaced by roads (C1; C3; C6). The village's plaza featured traditional markets, as well as public toilets and a barbershop, but has since been replaced by a modern five-storey market.

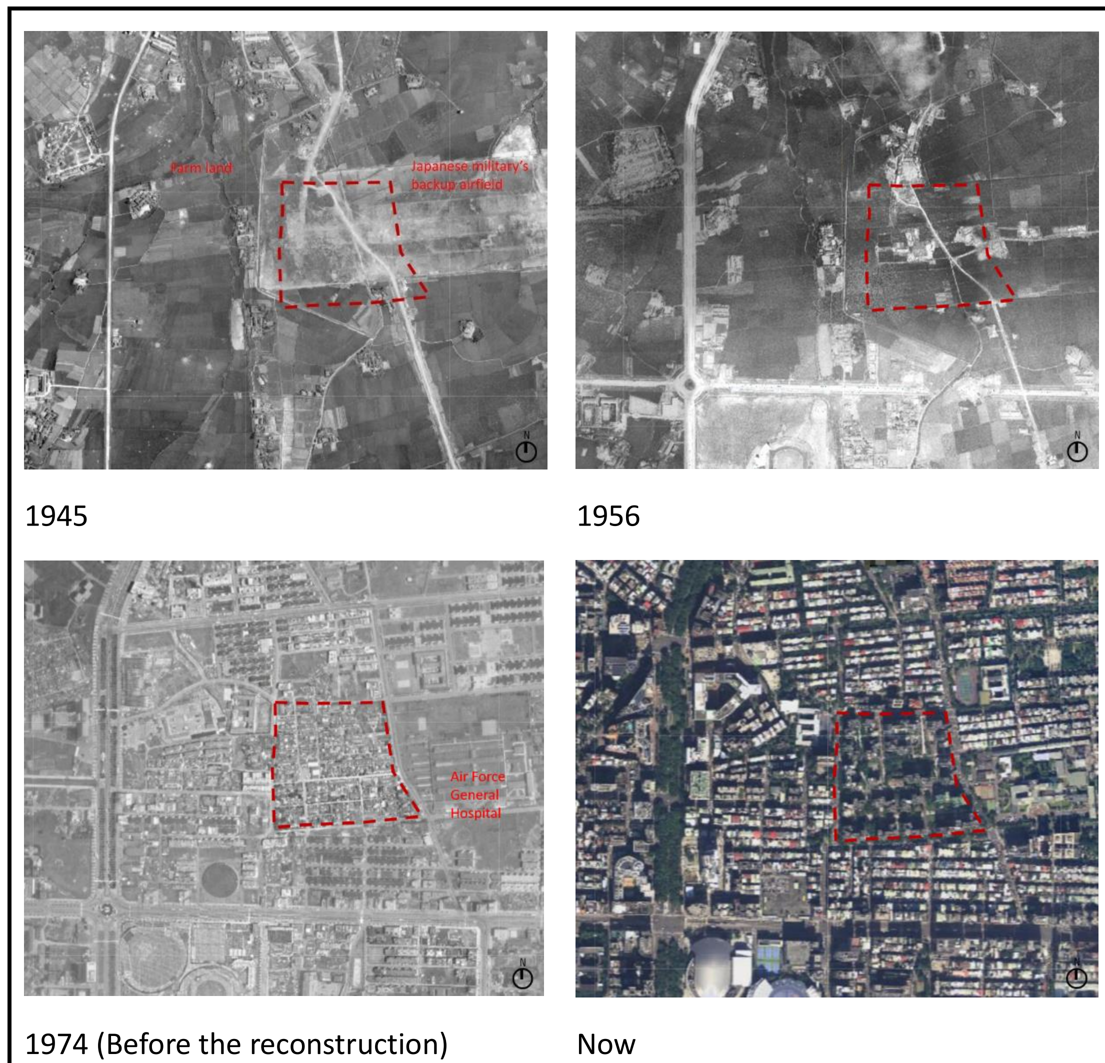

Figure 4.25: Historic aerial photographs of the region around Song-shan New Town
(Source: adapted from Center for GIS, RCHSS, Academia Sinica, n.d.)

Figure 4.26: Song-shan New Village before the reconstruction
(Source: Chang, L. G., 1990[26])

SSNT, designated as public housing, was subject to regulations requiring that half of the dwellings be sold to eligible individuals of the general public, in addition to being allocated to previous MDV residents. The construction project commenced in 1992 and was divided into Site A to the south and Site B to the north. Site A was completed in 1997, comprising six zones (Figure 4.27). Zones one, two, and three were allocated to the original residents of Song-shan New Village, while zones four, five, and six were allocated to Air Force MDV residents relocated from other locations (Public Housing Department, 2001). North of Lane 190 of Guangfu North Road, Site B was entirely sold as public housing by the city government (ibid). There are a total of 763 dwellings in Site A, with 1 unit repurposed as the autonomous committee's office and 24 units unsold to be subsequently sold to the general public. According to relevant stipulations, dwellings allocated for military use come in four different size specifications: 79.34, 85.95, 99.17, and 112.4 square metres. Depending on their rank, the original MDV residents could purchase residences with a larger floor area if they had a greater number of household members. The largest units, with an area of 112.4 square metres, are concentrated in zones one and three and were allocated to retired generals and their families.

[26] The author was granted permission to use this source on the 18th of August, 2022.

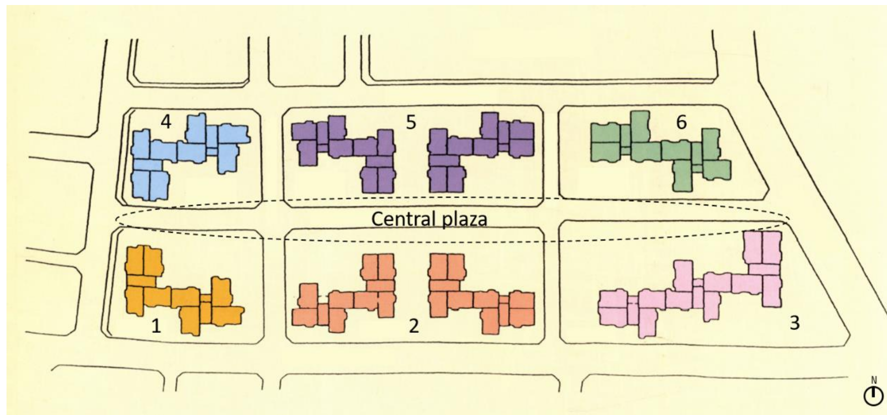

Figure 4.27: Locations of six zones in SSNT
(Source: adapted from Public Housing Department, 2001: 13)

Following the reconstruction, Site A of SSNT features an east-west elongated central plaza with green spaces and several pavilions. There are spacious pedestrian walkways between the central plaza and the buildings. Due to its non-adjacency to major roads and the presence of numerous trees and plantings in the vicinity, the central plaza imparts a degree of visual and psychological enclosure, making it a popular space for various daily activities (Figure 4.28). Each of the six zones has its own autonomous committee to handle daily affairs. In the surroundings of the neighbourhood, in addition to the Tri-Service General Hospital Songshan Branch, there are two other notable hospitals, an elementary school, a junior high school, and several traditional markets. The facilities surrounding the blocks are predominantly comprised of restaurants and eateries, accounting for approximately 20 per cent of the amount.

Figure 4.28: Scenes in the SSNT neighbourhood
(Source: Author's own)

The spatial transformation of these two sites further brings the discussion on the spatial distribution of MDVs and their relations to urbanisation in previous sections closer to the neighbourhood scale. The cases of QNNT and SSNT demonstrate how MDVs in specific locations have participated in the process of urban landscape changes. These sites, initially situated on the peripheries of Taipei, were gradually engulfed by modernised urban landscapes. Orderly open spaces and high-rise buildings replaced the MDV landscape after the reconstruction. The presentation of the post-reconstruction conditions sets the stage for the subsequent chapter's in-depth exploration of the spaces and lifestyles within the MDVs, highlighting the significant differences before and after the reconstruction.

Chapter V: Governance, management, changes of the Military Dependents' Villages

Building on MDV histories in Chapter 1 and 4, this chapter delves deeply into the presentation and discussion of four periods within the context of MDVs. The first four sections encompass the spatial forms and interior configurations, the corresponding management systems, the residents and their daily lives of MDVs before reconstruction, as well as the policies and regulations related to the reconstruction process. Two types of housing for Chinese immigrants and refugees resembling MDVs that were excluded from the official definition will be supplemented in Section 5.5, which will allow an appreciation of the exclusionary nature of MDVs and will distinctly delineate the framework for this study. Section 5.6 introduces the concept of "parallel institutionalism" (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a; Powell, 2013), emphasising the necessity of separating the military from the government when examining MDV histories. Prior to the reconstruction, MDVs were situated in the margins of government power, but under military governance – independent, or partially independent, systems operated across various aspects, including housing, daily life, and infrastructure. In this chapter, the history of MDVs and relevant institutions will be discussed comprehensively. The dynamics of definition, regulation, emergence, and transformation of MDVs have been synthetically documented here for the first time.

5.1 The period of old MDVs (1945–1956)

The official and military dormitories left by the Japanese colonial government after the Second World War were the earliest form of MDVs, which were occupied by the KMT troops dispatched to territory recovering after the war as residences (Kuo, 2005). Most of the Japanese military dormitories remaining from colonialism were built of high-grade *hinoki* and were spacious and well-equipped with living rooms, dining rooms, study rooms, kitchens, bathrooms, front and rear yards (ibid), and some with fire fighting facilities (Huo, 2015). Japanese-style dormitories were mostly reserved for higher-ranking officers or non-commissioned officers. Sometimes, the large space of one dwelling was divided among two or three families (Kuo, 2005: 6; Ma, 2010: 38).

However, the living space was so insufficient that many public facilities or buildings with large interior spaces, including warehouses, factories, stables, stadiums and temples, were also used to accommodate troops and military dependents (Hu, 2008: 196; Ma, 2010: 38; Yang, 2009: 26). Residents used blankets, planks or bricks to divide larger space into smaller compartments of 5.67 to 8.1 square metres (Ma, 2010: 38) and allocated them to each household for years of residence (Luo, 1991; Ma, 2010; Yang, 2009). Some troops stayed at private housing (Deng & Chiu, 2007: 9). Another form of housing was simple one-storey dwellings with poor quality on vacant public or private lands near military bases or scattered in the cities built by military engineers and/or immigrants (sometimes informally) (Li, 2015; Ma, 2010; Peh, 2009). Building structures were mostly based on bricks and/or stones, with bamboo, clay and lime as walls, and roofs made of thatch or tiles, which usually suffered from water leakage, flooding and damaged structure during typhoons (Gu, 1999; Ma, 2010). The Four-four South Village in Taipei was the first MDV fully constructed by the military engineers (Chao, 2009; Gu, 1999). The MDVs were initially constructed as temporary informal residences (Chen et al., 2009), and neither the quality of the initial MDVs nor the public facilities within villages had been well planned because most immigrants believed that it was a matter of time until the government launched a counterattack and sooner or later they would return to the Mainland (Chao, 2009: 22; Deng & Chiu, 2007: 14). Luo (1991) argues that the establishment of MDVs was a political investment in exchange for the residents' loyal services in the future war. This type of adventive, temporary and crude living environment was fostered as a unique spatial landscape in the context of a turbulent post-war era by the KMT government, an immigrant regime, with state resources to consolidate state power and maintain its legitimacy (Luo, 1991).

The principles of systematic management for military dependents were not formulated by the Southeast Stratocracy Executive Office (東南軍政長官公署) until 1950 when a particular unit was established to govern the relevant affairs (Kuo, 2005: 33). These principles entailed housing, food allotment, subsidies and education: (a) the local governments shall look for public land and fundraise to build collective

housing for military dependents; (b) food was rationed based on the household size; (c) the subsidy equal to 50 per cent of the military personnel's salary was provided for those who chose to live in official collective housing, and if the military personnel of one household was killed or injured, one's family shall be subsidised continually; (d) if the military personnel of one household was killed or injured, the education cost of one's children until the middle school would be in public expense (ibid). After April 1950, these tasks were transferred to Combined Logistics Command, which not only established a more consummate organisational structure and more exhaustive services, but also allocated funds to each branch of the military to build larger MDVs on their own (Kuo, 2005: 35). The housing format for this period included Japanese dormitories remaining from colonialism, private housing, facilities with considerable indoor spaces, and settlements built with simple materials. Each MDV is mostly inhabited by soldiers from the same branch and their dependents (Peh, 2009; Yang, 2009), so there emerge clear distinctions such as Air Force villages, Army villages, and Naval villages. In terms of spatial distribution, most MDVs were located around the administrative centre and military bases in order to facilitate effective military mobilisation and material supply (Chen et al., 2009: 58; Yang, 2009: 31), or in urban peripheries because of the better accessibility to vacant land (Chuang, 2011; Gu, 1999: 13).

5.2 The period of regulated and systematised MDVs (1957–1980)

With the aid and professional support from the US government, alongside growing demand for housing services and the basic infrastructure after the rapid industrialisation, the KMT government started to put more effort on improving the living environment of the simple MDVs (Chen et al., 2009: 37) (see Section 4.2). The government promulgated the *Regulations for the Affairs of Military Dependents* in 1956 (Kuo, 2005)[27], which was the legal basis of a systematic and nuanced policy for military dependents' management.

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[27] These regulations were abolished in 2002 after 24 amendments (Kuo, 2005).

The commencement of the period of new MDVs (1957–1980) was the 'Military Dependents' Housing Preparatory Movement' promoted by the Chinese Women Anti-Communist League of the R.O.C. (CWACL) in 1956 (Chang, 2010; Chen et al., 2009)[28]. This movement aimed to ameliorate the enduring inadequate housing provision for military dependents and to improve the living environment of existing MDVs (Kuo, 2005; Yang, 2009). Funding for the construction came from the private sector's donations, while the land was enumerated by the government. CWACL solicited donations from industries, commercial entities and countries with diplomatic relations, and part of the fund came from mandatory additional donations (Kuo, 2005). 'Additional donation' was more like an embellished extra mandatory tax (Liao, 2017). Companies were required to pay a certain proportion of mandatory donations for every US dollar of goods imported. General people were required to pay donations as additional fees applied to movie tickets for example (Chang, G. H., 1990; Ma, 2010). The land was provided by the government and the military, or was purchased or requisitioned from the private sector (Kuo, 2005). After the Military Construction Section (軍事工程局) solicited developers to build, a committee composed of the National Audit Office, KMT, the Ministry of National Defense and the Provincial Government was responsible for monitoring the progress (Deng & Chiu, 2007: 10; He, 2001: 21). It took decades for the authorities and CWACL to build new MDVs and formalise and regulate the old ones. The residents of some scattered coarse small MDVs were relocated to bigger new MDVs (Chao, 2009). Up to the end of this movement in 1992, a total of eighteen phases of construction projects had been carried out (Table 5.1). The purpose of the first ten phases was to enhance housing provision for immigrant military personnel and their dependents (Figure 5.1), these military personnel and their families could keep living in the MDVs after they were discharged (Kuo, 2005). The MDVs promoted by CWACL after phase eleven were built as dormitories open for those in active service to apply (Figure 5.2), and the residents

[28] CWACL was a political organisation founded by the President's wife Soong May-ling in 1950, originally named "Chinese Women Anti-Communist and Opposing-Russia League". The name was first changed in 1964 and then changed into "National Women's League of the R.O.C." in 1996 (Chen et al., 2009: 37). The decision-making group of CWACL constituted the First Lady, some high-ranking officials and generals' wives. CWACL also built facilities like nursery schools, and provided scholarships and movie services for military dependents and veterans (Chao, 2009: 75; Gu, 1999: 108).

had to move away after being discharged (A1). The applicants were limited to specific positions, such as Air Force pilots (Jiao, 1995; Kuo, 2005).

Table 5.1: The MDV construction projects organised by CWACL

<table>
<tr><th>Phase</th><th>Completion</th><th>Villages built</th><th>Dwellings built</th><th>Materials</th><th>Storey</th></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>1957</td><td>13</td><td>4,000</td><td rowspan="10">Wood, bricks, stones</td><td rowspan="10">1</td></tr>
<tr><td>2</td><td>1958</td><td>8</td><td>1,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>3</td><td>1959</td><td>6</td><td>3,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>4</td><td>1960</td><td>13</td><td>2,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>5</td><td>1961</td><td>20</td><td>4,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>6</td><td>1962</td><td>18</td><td>3,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>7</td><td>1962</td><td>10</td><td>3,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>8</td><td>1964</td><td>8</td><td>3,000</td></tr>
<tr><td>9</td><td>1965</td><td>27</td><td>11,620</td></tr>
<tr><td>10</td><td>1967</td><td>18</td><td>3,500</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Total</td><td>141</td><td>38,120</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td>11</td><td>1975</td><td>-</td><td>2,080</td><td rowspan="8">RC</td><td rowspan="6">4</td></tr>
<tr><td>12</td><td>1977</td><td>-</td><td>1,264</td></tr>
<tr><td>13</td><td>1979</td><td>-</td><td>260</td></tr>
<tr><td>14</td><td>1980</td><td>-</td><td>1,650</td></tr>
<tr><td>15</td><td>1983</td><td>-</td><td>1,184</td></tr>
<tr><td>16</td><td>1984</td><td>-</td><td>2,472</td></tr>
<tr><td>17</td><td>1989</td><td>-</td><td>2,500</td><td rowspan="2">5</td></tr>
<tr><td>18</td><td>1992</td><td>-</td><td>2,030</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Total</td><td>-</td><td>13,440</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

(Source: Feng, 2014: 10; Ma, 2010: 30; National Women League, 2005)

Figure 5.1: Un-demolished old MDV dwellings
(Source: Author's own)

Figure 5.2: An MDV for specific positions "Ci-en 7th Village" in Taipei City
(Source: Author's own)

Besides those MDVs donated by CWACL, the military also built new MDVs on their own during the "Military Dependents' Housing Preparatory Movement". Another hybridised form of housing emerged in the meantime. By the end of the eleventh construction project by CWACL, the Ministry of National Defense started the Hua-Xia Programme, providing low-interest loans for the military personnel who chose to buy land and built houses themselves, or those who bought the housing provided by the local governments that were in cooperation with the Ministry under this programme (Tang, 2004: 18; Chao, 2009: 36). These housing types were often located collectively as villages, which were named after the Hua-Xia Programme, such as Hua-xia New Village, Hua-xia 1st Village, Hua-xia 2nd Village, Hua-xia 5th Village and Hua-xia 6th Village

in Taipei City (see Kuo, 2005). Some commentators claim that the Hua-Xia Programme was the inauguration of the privatisation of MDVs (see Chao, 2009; Chen et al., 2009) or a trial of privatisation (Li, 2015), but this is highly questionable. Except that the residents of these villages were military personnel and their dependents, these villages had little similarity to the other MDVs. Some of the land for construction was not provided by the government, and the housing of the Hua-Xia Programme was totally privatised and could be traded back onto the market in the 1970s. Furthermore, they were excluded from the reconstruction after 1979 because they were not public assets. The housing of the Hua-xia Programme was more like the products of private development except the "private developers" were the Ministry of National Defense and the local governments. It should therefore be understood as a new form of privatised public housing exclusive to the military personnel rather than a bifurcation of the MDVs.

By the end of 1992, there were 102,408 dwellings of MDVs (Table 5.2), and the housing of the Hua-Xia Programme and the MDVs for specific positions promoted by CWACL is included. Although the MDVs had been rebuilt on a large scale since 1979 when the development of MDVs entered the third officially defined stage (1980–1997) (Kuo, 2005), the MDVs built by CWACL from phase eleven to phase eighteen were newly built, which are essentially different from the reconstruction of MDVs after 1979. Thus, these CWACL-built MDVs should also be included in Table 5.2 even if they were built in the third stage (the MDVs that were reconstructed after 1979 will be discussed in Section 5.3).

Table 5.2: Sources of MDVs 1945–1992

<table>
<tr><th>Type</th><th>Year</th><th>Quantity</th><th>Ownership</th></tr>
<tr><td>Japanese dormitories</td><td rowspan="3">1945–1956</td><td>2,161</td><td rowspan="6">Public-owned</td></tr>
<tr><td>Built by Chinese immigrants/residents</td><td>7,785</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Built by the military</td><td>32,188</td></tr>
<tr><td>1957–1966</td><td>7,204</td></tr>
<tr><td>CWACL’s donations</td><td>1957–1967</td><td>38,120</td></tr>
<tr><td>CWACL’s donations for specific positions</td><td>1975–1992</td><td>13,440</td></tr>
<tr><td>Hua-Xia Programme</td><td>1967–1978</td><td>1,510</td><td>Private</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td></td><td colspan="2">102,408 (All)
100,898 (Excluding Hua-Xia Programme)</td></tr>
</table>

(Source: Chang, 2008; Chao, 2009; Chen et al., 2009)

5.2.1 Spatial forms

The settlement morphology of newly constructed MDVs between 1957 and 1967 was mostly checkerboard-like villages (Figure 5.3), consisting of rows of strip-shaped (Yang, 2009) or fishbone-shaped (Gu, 1999) buildings. But the actual conditions were diverse, some villages rendered organic spatial textures (Chen, J. Y., 2020; Peh, 2009), and there were some low-density MDVs in Pingtung County (Yang & Chuang, 2006). These newly-built dwellings could basically be divided into four levels according to the size of indoor space, and each dwelling was equipped with a living room, a kitchen, a toilet and one or two bedrooms (Figure 5.4). Only the military personnel with two or more family members were eligible to apply for places in MDVs (Chao, 2009:32). Military personnel with higher ranks could be assigned to larger dwellings (Ma, 2010). However, the interior configurations and the mechanisms of allocation were not necessarily consistent in each village. There were villages that had less than four types of housing. For instance, Zheng-yi New Village in Taipei had only one type of uniform housing (Gu, 1999), while Chi-kai New Village in Tainan had three types of dwellings (Figure 5.5). In terms of allocation of housing, it was based on the number of family members rather than military ranks in Chong-ren New Village (Gu, 1999). There were MDVs that only resided by military personnel with the same ranks, such as Long-sheng New Village, so

the way of allocation was different (Wang, W., 2020). As for interior configurations, some of the dwellings only had public toilets but no private toilets (Ma, 2010), and some dwellings substituted a multi-functional room for a living room and a bedroom (Wang, W., 2020).

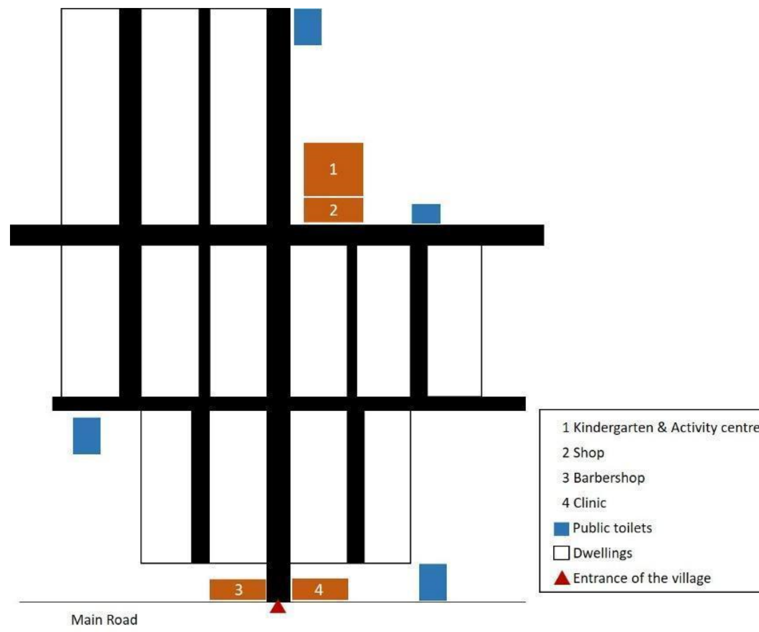

Figure 5.3: The spatial texture of Air Force 10th Village in Hsinchu City
(Source: adapted from Chao, 2009: 64)

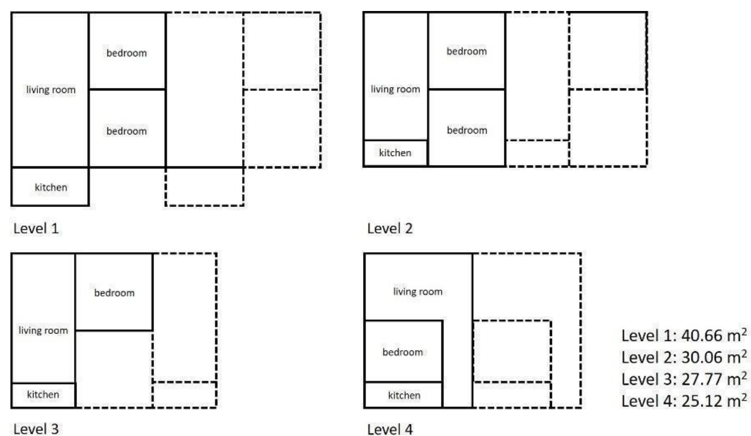

Figure 5.4: The dwellings of Level 1 to 4
(Source: adapted from Chao, 2009: 33–35)

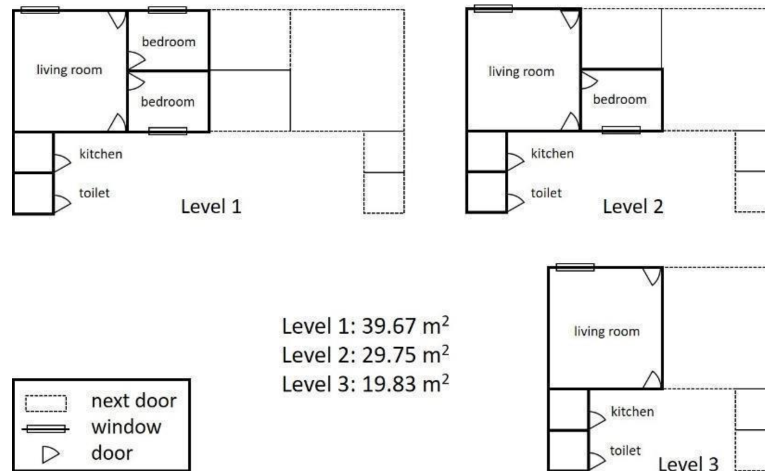

Figure 5.5: The dwellings of Level 1 to 3 in Chi-Kai New Village
(Source: adapted from Ma, 2010: 41)

However, while the population of the second generation of Chinese immigrants increased, the living space was no longer large enough for the whole family to use. Therefore, many MDV residents expanded their houses informally on their own, step-by-step (Figure 5.6). For example, plunging bamboo fences outside the house to create the front and back yards for hanging clothes and raising chickens, or using bricks and/or planks to increase indoor compartments, or to expand kitchens or bathrooms (Ma, 2010). The number of added rooms varied depending on the size of the family, with some opting for a complete restructuring of the layout while others partitioning existing rooms. Another phenomenon was the addition of a patio (Figure 5.7). Since these MDV units were connected on the sides, they only received light from the front and back, and too many partitions sometimes led to lighting and ventilation issues. The addition of these patios not only enhanced indoor lighting and ventilation but also provided a suitable location for the installation of window-type air conditioners (C7). Over the course of several decades, building materials had gradually been replaced with more durable alternatives based on the available funds of each household. Due to the different times of construction and materials used, there was a discrepancy in the roof heights of each dwelling (Peh, 2009). Some households built their own attics to expand the living space vertically (Gu, 1999). Although the *Regulations for the Affairs of Military Dependents* prohibited residents from building additional informal structures, the government actually took a *laissez-faire* approach to informal housing

issues (Chang, 2010). For many residents, spontaneous creative endeavours served as a means of altering material conditions and had emerged as a vital component of broader community mobilisation and empowerment efforts. This highlights that, within the informal consensus between military administrators and residents, individuals engaged in autonomous innovations to approach and articulate their aspirations for future livelihoods (see Silver, 2014). Informal structures were a common grounded spatial strategy in MDVs, while bamboo fences became the symbolic image representing the early MDVs (ibid). Housing experiences in the informal living environment demonstrate cities' capability of 'refigure[ing] complex ecologies with complex adoptions and insulate[ing] themselves from adverse surroundings' (Simone, 2016: 139).

The MDVs built between phase eleven to phase eighteen were 'more modernised' (Kuo, 2005: 10). These four- or five-storey buildings were constructed with steel reinforced cement, and each dwelling was equipped with bedrooms, a living room, a kitchen and a toilet. Two types of housing units with an interior area of 33.06 square metres and 42.98 square metres were provided for the military personnel with specific positions to apply (Kuo, 2005).

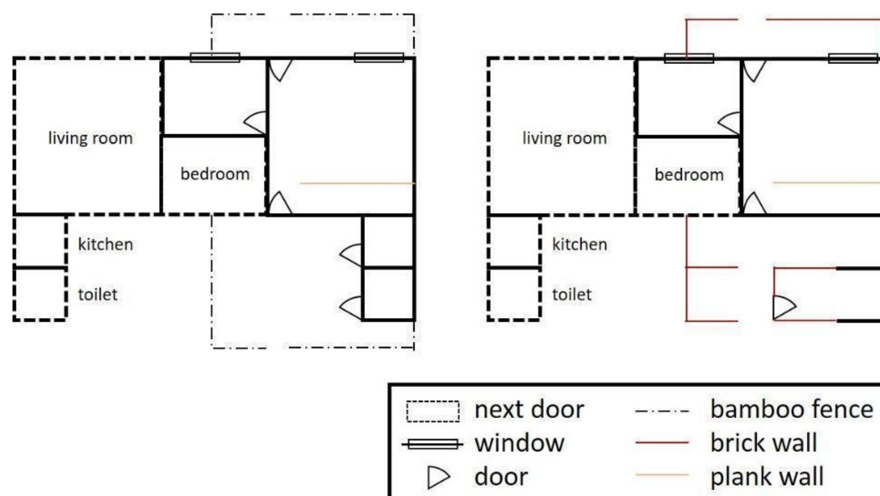

Figure 5.6: Different stages of informal structure of the same dwelling
(Source: adapted from Ma, 2010: 61–62)

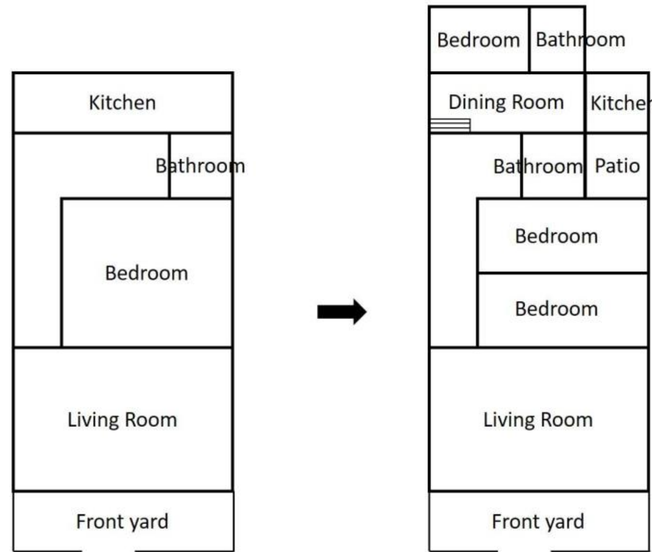

Figure 5.7: Respondent C7's house before and after the additions
(Source: Author's own)

5.2.2 Life in the early MDVs

Having dependents was the necessary conditionality to apply for a position in MDVs (Gu, 1999; Li, 2015). Due to the dormitory nature of MDVs, residents only had residence permits rather than homeownership (Li, 2015). Due to the lack of supplies in the post-war period, all food and necessities were rationed by the military (Kuo, 2005). The military issued food coupons for residents to frequently exchange for grain, groceries and fuel (Ma, 2010: 69–70). Since 1950, the military had regularly dispensed rice, oil, salt and coal, as well as subsistence allowances (Kuo, 2005: 36), according to the household size and the age of family members (Table 5.3). Other regularly rationed necessities included flour, cloth, towels, soaps, cotton and toothbrushes, which were controlled items from 1951 to 1956 (Kuo, 2005: 47). When Taiwan's economic environment gradually improved, vouchers issued to residents to exchange for necessities became the alternatives (Gu, 1999). Military insurance, medical care, education and pension systems were institutionalised progressively (Kuo, 2005). Although the residents of MDVs were paid low wages (£5.26 to £7.89 per month, see Fan, 2013), their standard of living was better than that of most Taiwanese natives at that time because of the rationing system and the free healthcare and education provided by the military, which saved considerable expense (Li, P. L., 2019: 84–85).

GDP per capita in Taiwan in the 1950s was only USD 151, and labour-intensive agriculture was still one of the major industries (Council for Economic Planning and Development, Executive Yuan, 2013).

Table 5.3: Necessities rationed per month in 1950

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Age</td><td colspan="4">Necessities rationed per month</td></tr>
<tr><td>Rice</td><td>Oil</td><td>Salt</td><td>Coal</td></tr>
<tr><td>0–5</td><td>5 kg</td><td rowspan="2">312.5 g</td><td rowspan="2">250 g</td><td rowspan="2">12.5 kg</td></tr>
<tr><td>6–10</td><td>10 kg</td></tr>
<tr><td>10+</td><td>14 kg</td><td>625 g</td><td>500 g</td><td>25 kg</td></tr>
</table>

(Source: Kuo, 2005: 36; Ma, 2010: 69–70)

The MDVs improved and built after 1956 had some or all of these public facilities, including coal placing fields, public toilets, water wells, water towers, squares, broadcasting facilities, laundry spaces, welfare shops, and medical clinics (Chao, 2009; Yang & Chuang, 2006). In addition, the military's roving medical vehicles regularly provided treatment and medical care, and specific personnel were dispatched to constantly disinfect the living environment (Yang & Chuang, 2006); and CWACL Movie Squads regularly played movies in the inner plazas of MDVs as entertainment at night (Chao, 2009; Wang, W., 2020). In some villages, the military would send vehicles to take children to school (Li, P. L., 2019: 101), and residents would be evacuated to safe locations by the military during floods or typhoons (Gu, 1999). However, there was also some collective informal response to public services. For instance, residents of Long-sheng New Village in Taipei at first couldn't access commercial facilities without long-distance travel, so the autonomous committee and residents decided to build a wet market near the village for vendors to station (Wang, W., 2020).

In terms of individual financial capacity, the meagre salary that the military personnel (mostly male) in a family earned alongside the allowance for every month was still not enough to support household expenses, so many residents (mostly female) would develop sidelines to make their subsistence better (Chao, 2009: 83; Li, P. L., 2019: 77). The qualitative data collected by Gu (1999) in fourteen MDVs in Taipei City displays the diverse sidelines: villagers who lived beside roads set up informal stalls to sell cuisines

of their hometowns, such as beef noodles or Sichuan dishes. Some residents peddled steamed buns on bicycles or sold vegetables or processed food products in front of the railway station. There were also residents who engaged in contracted handmade manufacturing or processing (e.g., assembling Christmas decorations, garment processing, knitting yarn, making dolls or chair cushions, sewing gloves or embroidered shoes or leather shoes, processing ribbon or hat or scarf), haircut or tailor business at home. Leasing small compartments to outsiders was also a way to gain additional income. Some residents raised and sold chickens, ducks, birds and rabbits. Children were not absent from household productive activities in their spare time. Partial savings were spent on renovating houses or expanding the interior area.

During the rapid industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s (Hsu, 1988), some residents who were not military personnel chose to work in the recently-opened factories nearby (Gu, 1999). As for entertainment, neighbours sat at the front door chatting in the narrow streets or drank and ate snacks at the vendors around villages at night. *Mahjong* (a tile-based game that originated in China) was an indispensable daily leisure. When a family bought a television, several households would watch it together. Children from different families played traditional games or toys such as tops, marbles, rope skipping and shuttlecock kicking together in open spaces, or caught fireflies by the river. They also collected metal cans and sold them to recyclers in exchange for sweets (Gu, 1999).

From necessities rationing to the welfare system provided by the military, life in the MDVs was closely entangled with the military (Li, P. L., 2019). The residents of MDVs coming from several provinces of Mainland China were severed from their previous living networks and settled down in a completely unfamiliar environment. They brought their own cultures here in Taiwan, where people spoke disparate dialects. Shared experience, collective memory and similar occupations allowed the ambience of cohesion to reverberate in the MDVs, and it was common for neighbours to take care of each other (Li, P. L., 2019; Tang, 2004). Adult males in the MDVs were mostly military personnel, while, according to Li, females rarely left villages except for shopping and working (Li, P. L., 2019). There were elementary schools and

kindergartens in MDVs, so most children were less likely to leave the villages and reach peers from other backgrounds before going to junior high school (Chen, J. Y., 2020). The MDVs were fostered as a relatively closed environment, in which the military management system and the culture of different provinces in Mainland entwined into a distinct nexus. Chang (2010: 282–284) describes this phenomenon in terms of the world inside and outside the bamboo fences: the bamboo fences enclosed a "big family", while outside the fences were a different world. Rapidly growing settlements in a new environment and unique “cultural spaces” (Gao, 2011; see also Tuan, 1977) made the MDVs become hundreds of enclaves.

5.2.3 Spatial distribution, the quantity of MDVs and population

In the development history of MDVs, about half of the villages were built in the second time interval of 1957–1980 (Table 5.4). Most of the housing, except those built under the Hua-Xia Programme, were government-led housing development which had the characteristic of official dormitories. Some commentators posit that the “Military Dependents’ Housing Preparatory Movement” promoted by CWACL was a series of private-led developments (see Chen et al.,2009). We should be careful with this demarcation and examine the background of CWACL. Even though public-private partnerships for land development were nothing special, we shall notice that the “private” sector, CWACL in this case, was an organisation led by the First Lady and several high-ranking officials and generals' wives and could fundraise through “mandatory” additional donations (Liao, 2017: 135). CWACL may be categorised as the private sector ostensibly, but its power revealed the essence of an ancillary political group connected to the KMT authoritarian government. We should be wary of discerning the CWACL-promoted housing as some private-led development based on its nominal identity.

Table 5.4: MDVs built in three different stages

Time interval	Period of new constructions	Dwellings of MDVs built	Proportion (%)
1st (1945–1956)	1945–1956	42,134	41.14%
2nd (1957–1980)	1957–1979	50,438	49.25%
3rd (1980–1996)	1980–1992	9,836	9.61%
Total		102,408	100%

(Source: organised based on Table 5.2)

Roughly speaking, the first (1945–1956) and the second (1957–1980) time intervals were the emergence and growth period of MDVs. Due to the deteriorating housing environment and the purposes of facilitating economic development (Kuo, 2005), the third (1980–1996) and the fourth (1997–2016) time intervals were the reconstruction period, which will be discussed in Section 5.3 and 5.4.

Before entering the discussion of the reconstruction period of MDVs, let's come back to the legal definition that was initially shelved. A more precise statutory definition of MDVs formulated in 1996 was based on the existing forms of MDVs because the authority had to clarify what types of military-related villages should be included in the reconstruction. In the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents*, the MDVs are defined as '[t]he old military dependents' villages referred to in the Statute mean the military dependents' residences built before December 31, 1980, which meet either of the following circumstances:

(1) Where they were built and distributed by the government;

(2) Where they were built upon the contributions made by Chinese Women Anti-Aggression League[29];

(3) Where they were built by the military householders at their own costs on the land provided by the government;

(4) Other residences approved by the competent authority.' (Act for Rebuilding

[29] Chinese Women Anti-Aggression League is the legal term for Chinese Women Anti-Communist League (CWACL). However, 'Anti-Aggression' is not accurate enough because the original name in Chinese is literally 'Anti-Communist'. Using 'Anti-Aggression' may overlook the historical context of the political confrontation between the Taiwan Strait, so CWACL will still be adopted in the remaining content.

Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 3).

These MDVs are also defined as the 'registered' MDVs by Li (2015: 130), and there were a total of 886 MDVs in Taiwan (Kuo, 2005), which is dubitable. For defence and intelligence purposes, the locations and the aggregate number of MDVs remained classified before the 2000s (Gu, 1999: 11). Kuo (2005: 385–434) compiles a list of 886 villages with reference to internal military data and a survey conducted by the Military Dependents' Villages Association of R.O.C. (中華民國國軍眷村協進會) in 2001. But some commentators support different statistics, such as 888 (Wang, 2007) or "nearly 900" (Li, 2015). The relocations, mergers and disappearance of MDVs over decades have made calculating totals a difficult task (Kuo, 2005). The chairman of the Military Dependents' Villages Association of R.O.C. stated in a forum that the total number of MDVs should be 1,134 according to his survey (National Central University, 2007). After scrutinising each MDV on the list published by the Ministry of Defense (see Kuo, 2005), I found dozens of errors and omissions, as did Li (2015: 139) previously as well, and that at least 11 MDVs in Taipei City have not been recorded[30]. In addition, many MDVs that did exist disappeared and became subsumed within other villages (Chuang, 2011), such as 14 MDVs in Wanhua District that appeared in a survey of 1963 (Long & Fan, 1967) but that cannot be found on the official list[31]. Therefore, the total number of MDVs in Taiwan is most likely more than 900, which were distributed all over Taiwan but mostly located in and around big cities (Chen et al., 2009), with the largest number of those in Taipei, Taichung and Kaohsiung (Figure 5.8). About half of these 900 plus MDVs were inhabited by fewer than 100 households (Table 5.5). The number of MDVs with more than 200 households was relatively small (Li, 1988). Many MDVs constructed after the 1960s, were located in urban peripheries because the land in urban areas was no longer sufficient after urbanisation and land development (Chuang, 2011; Deng & Chiu, 2007).

[30] These 11 MDVs are Zhong-yi 1st Village, Zhong-yi 3rd Village, Zhong-cheng New Town, Zhi-pan New Village, Long-hua 3rd Villlage, Four-four West Village, Qin-gong New Village, Ai-shi 3rd Village, Cheng-gong New Village, Long-hua 2nd Village, and Zhang-fong New Village.

[31] These 14 MDVs are Zi-qiang 2nd Village, Kong-nan 2nd Village, Li-xing New Village, Zi-qiang 3rd Village, Kai-yuan New Village, Ming-xiang New Village, Zhong-zheng New Village, Fu-de New Village, Ai-shi 1st Village, Ai-shi 2nd Village, Mei-yuan 2nd Village, Liao-ping New Village, Zi-li New Village, and Yong-xing New Village.

Table 5.5: The statistics of MDVs of different sizes

Size (households)	Quantity	Proportion
1–50	349	39.75%
51–100	235	26.77%
101–200	164	18.68%
201–300	65	7.40%
300+	51	5.81%
No data	14	1.59%
Total	878	100%

(Source: Chen et al., 2009: 76–81)

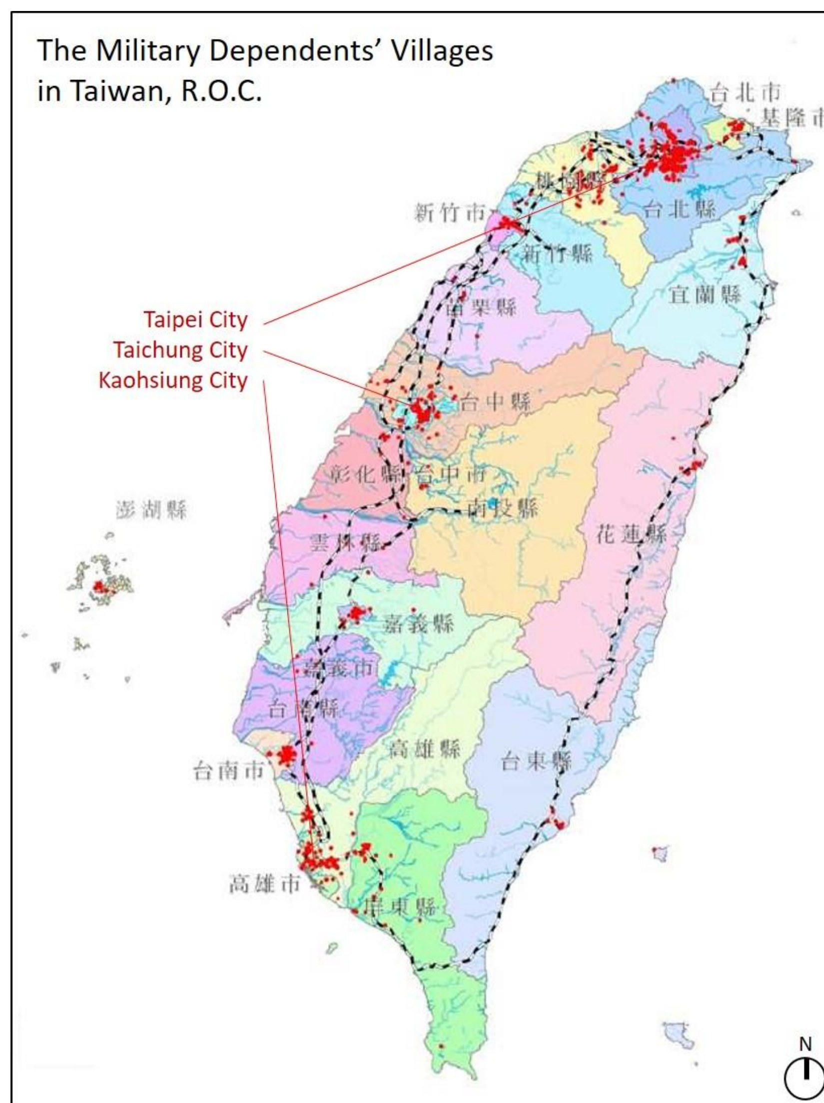

Figure 5.8: Distribution of MDVs in Taiwan
(Source: adapted from Li, Chen & Chou, 2009: 11)

However, how many people have lived in the registered MDVs over time? Constant personnel changes and the classified nature of military information make this data less precise. K. C. Li (2019) multiplies the number of households in MDVs by the average household size to infer the total number of people living in the registered MDVs (Table 5.5). The census before 1991 kept recording people's hometowns. For example, the hometown of an immigrant from Sichuan Province in Mainland China and his children's hometown would be registered as Sichuan Province in the census, even though the children were born in Taiwan. Children's hometowns depended on fathers' hometowns rather than mothers' (Li, 2008). This resulted in the phenomenon that the number of Mainlanders in Taiwan continued to increase even though the immigration across the Taiwan Strait had ceased (see Table 5.6). Conversely, the hometown of native Taiwanese was registered as Taiwan Province. The population living in the MDVs peaked in 1971 (477,272 people), but the number of Chinese immigrants who did not live in the MDVs remained above 70 per cent for decades. The direct reason was the limited provision of MDVs and their strict conditionality: a successful application depended on the rank, temporal length of service, special credit and household size (Li, 2015: 153). Furthermore, there were various special causes during the turbulent epochs. First, as mentioned earlier, the MDVs were limited to military personnel with dependents. In the early 1950s, in order to prevent the distraction of soldiers and retain morale, the KMT government issued a ban on marriage, allowing only a few high-ranking officers, cadets and technical sergeants to apply for getting married (Presidential Office Gazette, 1952). Many soldiers were disqualified from applying for positions in the MDVs in the early post-war period because they could not start families. The ban was not lifted until the late 1950s, permitting men over 25, women over 20, or soldiers who had served three years to apply for marriage. Secondly, US military counsellors were worried that the KMT government may insist on launching a counterattack and interrupted the international balance in East Asia, so they facilitated the disarmament plan (Wen, 1990). The plan that ostensibly ameliorated the government's financial burden enabled 80,000 to 100,000 military personnel to be discharged earlier without receiving pensions or lifetime payment (Hu, 1989). Thirdly, some soldiers who were not satisfied with the treatment decided to leave the military (Li, 2015). For these reasons, less than a quarter of Chinese immigrants settled down

in the registered MDVs. Those who lost their eligibility for the MDVs, or those in the queue waiting for someone's retirement had to find their way in the private housing market. In Section 5.5, I will introduce two forms of alternatives that resemble the MDVs but are not included in the official definition: Development Squads and Veterans' Houses (Li, 1988; Liao, 2006), and the self-supported MDVs (Li, 2015). In the following section, we will discuss the commencement of reconstruction of the MDVs.

Table 5.6: The population of the Mainlander in Taiwan and in the MDVs

Year	Total population in Taiwan	Total population of the Mainlander	Proportion of the Mainlander	The accrued number of MDVs	The accrued number of households in MDVs	Average household size	Inferred population living in the MDVs[32]	Proportion of the Mainlander living in MDVs
1951	7,869,247	600,690	7.63	172	21,342	5.46	116,527	19.40
1956	9,390,381	945,416	10.07	336	39,997	5.54	221,583	23.44
1961	11,149,139	1,360,663	12.20	484	56,560	5.57	315,039	23.15
1966	12,992,763	1,798,788	13.84	638	81,698	5.60	457,508	25.43
1971	14,994,823	2,388,611	15.93	697	85,995	5.55	477,272	19.98
1976	16,508,190	2,522,627	15.28	745	90,614	5.19	470,286	18.64
1981	18,135,508	2,636,192	14.54	787	97,020	4.66	452,113	17.15
1986	19,454,610	2,738,721	14.08	825	102,233	4.34	443,691	16.20
1991	20,556,842	2,805,825	13.65	831	102,774	4.00	411,096	14.65

(Source: Li, K. C., 2019: 23)

5.3 First-phase MDV reconstruction (1980–1996)

Although this stage was fully launched in 1980, some preliminary reconstructions of MDVs were carried out in various locations in 1979 as trials (Kuo, 2005). The reconstructions mainly aimed at improving the living environment and enhancing economic development. First, because the general residents of MDVs extended their

[32] Before 1968, the Chinese immigrant soldiers without dependents only possessed Military ID rather than National ID, so these people were not registered in the Household Registration System (Lin, 2005). In 1968, Executive Yuan revised the Regulations for Household Registration Survey and Recording of Active Servicemen of the Armed Forces (陸海空軍現役軍人戶口查記辦法) and integrated these military personnel into the Household Registration System, leading to a huge increase in the population of Chinese immigrant in the census 1971 (Li, K. C., 2019: 23).

housing informally in the late 1970s, the roads and alleys in villages were narrower than the incipient width, impeding fire trucks from passing during fire accidents. Moreover, the attrited architectural structures and dilapidated housing environment of the decades-old MDVs were more vulnerable while confronting natural disasters (Kuo, 2005).

Secondly, the urban scale has broadened due to the growing population and urbanisation. The peripheral areas where the MDVs had been located were no longer on the edge of the city (Chuang, 2011), but increasingly enfolded within it and the potential economic benefits of the land increased rapidly (Kuo, 2005). Similar situations have also occurred in industrial buildings and land, prompting the authorities to consider the relocation of industrial equipment and facilities to other areas, and the new uses of land (Wang, 2013: 94). Decayed MDVs and their inefficient utilisation of land had turned these villages into fault lines within developing and modernising cities (Lin, 1995), becoming intricate enclaves with high potential, which further motivated the developmental state to enhance land utilisation efficiency. This was "inefficiency" in a marketised, abstract, financialised context. But in reality, MDVs were performing a function "on the ground". In the 1970s, the reconstruction programme prepared by the Ministry of National Defense stagnated due to a lack of funds and legal basis (Kuo, 2005). On 30th of May, 1977, the Premier of Executive Yuan Chiang Ching-Kuo, who was the elder son of the authoritarian President Chiang Kai-shek and the future President, instructed in a meeting:

> *‘[m]ost of the military dependents' dormitories were built in the early days and are now dilapidated. I have instructed the Taipei City Government and Taiwan Provincial Government to cooperate with the military to conduct reconstruction on Military Dependents' Villages' land, especially since the land of Military Dependents' Villages in Taipei is expensive. The (Taipei) City Government is eager to cooperate with the military to demolish the villages and rebuild them as high buildings, and distribute (the dwellings) to the original residents preferentially, so as to obtain better benefits; based on this preferential condition, the social status of the military can also be improved. I hope that the Ministry of National Defense*

will actively coordinate with the provincial and municipal governments. As for the legal issues, Executive Yuan shall make reasonable amendments to the scope of state-owned property' (Chao, 2009: 40; Kuo, 2005: 11)[33].

After receiving the instruction of the future supreme leader, the Ministry of National Defense formulated a plan in July and issued the *Working Guidelines for Trial Renewal of Old Military Dependents Quarters* in July 1978 as the basis for implementation (Kuo, 2005: 11). These guidelines were only unilateral executive orders of the Ministry rather than regulations deliberated and approved by the legislature. Since procedures and stipulations for reconstruction are quite complicated, they will be explained in a different way from other studies (e.g., Chang, 2015; Chen, 2002; Kuo, 2005) in the following. The reconstruction at this stage was implemented through two pathways (Chen, 2002; Kuo, 2005):

(a) Renewal through the public/private juridical association (社團法人) Armed Forces Dependents Housing Public Cooperatives (DHPC): In order to reduce legal and funding constraints to efficiently advance progress, DHPC, a private sector founded and supervised by the Ministry of National Defense, had more flexibility and freedom in policy implementation (Chang, 2015: 20; DHPC, 2018: 16), while the construction funds mainly came from the government budget (Military Personnel Housing Mortgage Fund Revenues and Expenditures, Safekeeping, and Utilization Regulations, 1977, Article 3).

(b) Co-construction of public housing with the provincial or city government: the oil crises of the 1970s led to skyrocketing hikes in housing prices at that time (Chen, Tsai & Chang, 2003; Mii, 1988), which forced the authoritarian government to intervene in the market to maintain stability. From the mid-1970s to the mid-

[33] The original text in Chinese is '國軍眷舍大多係早期興建，現已破舊不堪，本人曾指示台北市政府及台灣省政府與軍方合作，就眷村土地改建，尤以台北市眷村土地昂貴，市政府亟願與軍方合作，將眷村拆除改建大樓，並從優分配原住戶，使獲得更佳之利益；在此優惠條件下，亦可提高軍人社會地位，希國防部與省市政府積極協商，至於涉及法令問題，行政院就國有財產範圍合理修改' (Chao, 2009: 40; Kuo, 2005: 11).

1980s, in addition to market control, Taiwan's government built public housing on a large scale, enhancing the supply directly to tackle high housing prices (Chen & Li, 2010; Mii, 1988). The government launched the *Public Housing Act* in 1975 and the 'Six-Year Public Housing Construction Programme' in 1976, planning to complete 100,000 public housing in six years (ibid)[34]. However, because the land price was too expensive and it was difficult to acquire enough land in a short period of time to achieve the goals, the authority of public housing could only ask the Ministry of National Defense for help, hoping that the counterpart could release the land of MDVs in the urban areas for the construction of public housing (Kang, 2015). In the meantime, as mentioned in the previous paragraph, the military also had stagnated plans to rebuild the MDVs, so this juncture mobilised the two units to sign an agreement in 1978, cooperating in the construction of public housing. The provincial or the local government was in the charge of funding and construction techniques, while the Ministry of National Defense provided the land (Kuo, 2005).

Regardless of the pathway, the execution procedure was approximately the same. One MDV could be rebuilt in situ (or be relocated to the reconstruction site) only with the consent of all villagers (Chang, 2015). Reconstruction of the MDVs or construction of public housing took place in cities with higher land prices, such as Taipei, Hsinchu, Taichung, Tainan and Kaohsiung (Kuo, 2005: 12). Lands with an area of more than 0.2 hectares in municipalities, lands larger than 0.4 hectares in provincial cities and lands larger than 0.5 hectares in other areas were given priority as construction sites (Enforcement Rules of the Public Housing Act, 1978, Article 10)[35].

The land on which the MDVs were located was not necessarily military-owned land, but also the state-owned land and the local government-owned land, as well as a small

[34] The government built a total of 71,942 dwellings in the "Six-Year Public Housing Construction Programme". Later, the government launched the "Four-Year Public Housing Construction Programme" in 1982 and completed another 45,281 dwellings (Chen & Li, 2010: 114).

[35] I speculate that the standard for the municipality was lower because of its higher land value (e.g., Taipei City). Even a small area of land could be rebuilt to strengthen the efficiency of space utilisation based on the lower standard.

proportion of private land[36] (Chen, 2002; Chen, 2004). There were procedures for transferring different types of land ownership to the provincial/local government before construction (see Table 5.7). After the construction started, residents were decanted and subsidised to rent at other places by the government. The original "old" MDVs were levelled and rebuilt into apartments with six to fourteen storeys (some were three- to five-storey or eighteen- to nineteen-storey buildings) (Gu, 1999; Kuo, 2005; Mii, 1988) (Figure 5.9). Four room types were allocated according to military ranks (see Table 5.9); the residents could apply for a larger condo if the household size was more than six people (Kuo, 2005: 12–13).

Table 5.7: Procedures for the transfers of different land titles before reconstruction

Land ownership	Procedures for transferring land titles
State-owned or military-owned land	The National Property Administration (國有財產局) changed the selected land to non-public use property (Table 5.8) and then transferred the ownership to the provincial or the local government. Reconstruction was promoted by the Ministry of National Defense, while funds were prepared by the provincial or the local government.
Provincial- or local government-owned land	Reconstruction was promoted by the Ministry of National Defense, while funds were prepared by the provincial or the local government.
Private land	Purchased by the provincial or the local government after coordination with the owners.

(Source: Kuo, 2005: 11–14)

[36] The reasons why some MDVs still were located on private land after decades of changes include: (a) the Japanese facilities taken over by the military were initially located on private land; (b) the military had expropriated or purchased private land a long time ago, but the transfer of ownership had not been processed; (c) the private owners rent the land to the military; (d) the military used the land for free with the private owners' permission (Chen, 2004: 14).

Table 5.8: The definitions and distinctions of the national properties

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">National Property</th><th>Definition</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Public use properties</td><td>Office use property</td><td>National property used by government authorities, military offices, public schools, official operations and dormitories.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Public use property</td><td>National property used for public facilities directly offered by the nation.</td></tr>
<tr><td>Enterprises property</td><td>National property used by state-owned enterprises. But if the state-owned enterprise is a company, the national property is only referred to its shares.</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Non-public use property</td><td>All national properties aside from public use property is non-public use property such property may be benefited or sold.</td></tr>
</table>

(Source: National Property Act, 1969, Article 4)

Table 5.9: Apartment allocation according to military ranks, 1980–1996

Area of a dwelling (m^2)	Military rank
79.34	Soldiers
85.95	From non-commissioned officers to Captain
99.17	From Major to Colonel
112.40	General

(Source: B2; Working Guidelines for Trial Renewal of Old Military Dependents Quarters, 1978, Article 5)

Figure 5.9: Reconstructed MDV housing of the first phase
(Source: Author's own)

The densification of MDVs enabled more residents to be accommodated on the same land area, on which the reconstructed apartment was inhabited by not only the original residents on that specific site but residents of other MDVs. In other words, the residents of many demolished villages were concentrated in one place, and the released lands that were not used for reconstructing apartments would be converted into public facilities or public housing. For instance, after Jian-hua New Village and Yue-lu New Village in Taipei were demolished, the original site was developed into Da'an Forest Park by the City Government in line with land use planning (Lin & Gao, 2015). The completed apartments and public housing were sold to the residents of MDVs, and these residents could get 69.3 per cent of the assessed land value (rather than the land market value or house price) as the purchase subsidy (Kuo, 2005). Because it was politically and practically unfeasible and hundreds of thousands of people were involved in the reconstruction (and also the reconstruction of the next phase), the government subsidised the original villagers' house purchase costs instead of directly taking back public-owned houses and land.

To illustrate this, let's say the residents of Village A and Village B were relocated to the reconstructed apartment on Land A. The amount of the housing purchase subsidy received by the original residents of Village A was 69.3 per cent of Land A's assessed

land value before the government completed the transfer of land ownership (see Table 5.7), and the housing purchase subsidy received by the residents of Village B was 69.3 per cent of Land B's assessed land value. As a result, the residents of Village A and Village B living in the same reconstructed apartment received different purchase subsidies because of the different locations of original residences. It is worth noting that the assessed land value adopted as the calculation benchmark is the value evaluated by the government (The Equalization of Land Rights Act, 1954, Article 46), which is often lower than the actual land market value. If the subsidy was insufficient to cover the reconstructed housing, the residents could meet the shortfall through applying for low-interest loans or general loans (Kuo, 2005), thereby bringing residents and households into debt and financialised logics. Under two circumstances, the purchase subsidy could be insufficient: (a) generally, the sale price after completion, when added to the construction costs, was ineluctably higher than the assessed land value, and (b) if Land B was in the peripheral lower value area and Land A was in the more expensive city centre, the purchase subsidy received by the residents of Village B was insufficient. On the contrary, if the residents of Village A in the city centre were relocated to peripheral Land B, the subsidy received by the residents of Village A may be enough to pay for the new condos on Land B, so they only had to prepare low budgets, or even no budgets by themselves. (Li, K. C., 2019).

There were two exceptions that did not apply to the rules of this housing purchase subsidy. First, if the land where the original MDVs were located was state-owned land or land reserved for public facilities, the land price couldn't be calculated due to its special virtue. The purchase subsidy was regarded as the construction cost price of the room type of 79.34 square metres of the five-storey public housing in that city (Kuo, 2005). The second condition of exception was that the original MDVs were too far away, resulting in negligible subsidy calculated by the assessed land value. In such cases the Ministry of National Defense rather than the local government would subsidise residents with NTD 400,000 to rebuild their housing in situ (ibid).

After the completion of reconstructed apartments, there were different ways of allocation depending on the pathways. The dwellings built through the pathway of

DHPC were all left to the military (Kuo, 2005). New apartments were preferentially sold to original residents of MDVs. The remaining dwellings due to densification would be released to the military personnel with dependents but no homeownership to apply for purchase. They couldn't get the purchase subsidy, but 70 per cent of the sale price was allowed to be paid via low-interest loans or general loans (ibid). The public housing built through the cooperation between the provincial/city government and the military was divided equally between these two authorities (ibid). The dwellings left to the Ministry of National Defense were executed in the same way as the first pathway (ibid); the dwellings handed over to the local government as public housing allowed the low- and middle-income families, or soldiers, faculty or public servants to purchase with low-interest loans (Public Housing Act, 1975, Article 10), whose loan term shall be more than fifteen years (Regulations for Loans of the Public Housing, 1978, Article 4). In addition, some dwellings of public housing were used to “temporarily” resettle the residents after demolitions (Chen & Li, 2010).

If the selected sites for reconstruction were private land (the last row of Table 5.7), the procedure for allocation was perceptibly different. The local government would negotiate with the landlords to determine the government's compensation and how many dwellings the landlords could get back after the completion of construction. sale. The dwellings acquired by the military were allocated to the original inhabitants of MDVs according to the first pathway and sold to military personnel with dependents but no homeownership (Kuo, 2005). Table 5.10 displays the number of dwellings built through different renewal pathways. The aggregate of 15,577 dwellings completed via the second pathway of 'co-construction of public housing with the provincial or city government' only includes the share allocated to the military, leaving out that allocated to the local government as public housing.

Table 5.10: The number of completed dwellings through different renewal pathways

The pathways of MDV renewal	Duration	Number of the completed dwellings	Ownership after reconstruction
Renewal through Armed Forces Dependents Housing Public Cooperatives (DHPC)	1979–1996	11,055	Private
Co-construction of public housing with the provincial or city government	1979–1996	15,577	
Reconstruction in cooperation with the private landowners	1986–1991	100	
Total		26,732	

(Source: Ma, 2010: 31)

Housing relocation and densification brought drastic oscillation to social networks attached to the MDVs. The old MDVs were:

> '*the extension of the concept of hometown in Taiwan for the Chinese immigrants, and were also the extraction of the state. They were regarded as a place to live temporarily, a neighbourhood with high homogeneity, special culture, community awareness, and a strong sense of domain'* (Huang, 2008: 46).

Life experiences were intently entangled with relatively closed spaces. A unique sense of place, that is, people's subjective and emotional attachment to places (Creswell, 2006), and robust social cohesion generated among the original residents, especially those Chinese immigrants of the first generation (Gao, 2011). But these vertical and layered reconstructed apartments, in lieu of the horizontal living space in which these social networks were embedded, undermined the living habits and daily rhythms that have existed for many years. The reconstructed MDVs now house residents from different MDVs, non-MDV residents, or others who did not have the same life

experiences (Kuo, 2005: 17). The ambiences of taking care of each other dissipated in view of unfamiliar interpersonal relationships and living environments (Deng & Chiu, 2007: 98). According to Ma, the sense of place, relationships between neighbours, and distinct spatial identity gradually disappeared as well (2008: 8).

Additionally, the MDVs transformed from public-owned housing with the characteristic of dormitories to privatised housing during reconstruction. The government facilitated homeownership by selling national properties on a large scale to a specific group of people (Chinese immigrants and military personnel). The original residents of MDVs can sell their dwellings to anyone five years after purchasing DHPC housing (Regulations Governing Remaining Housing of Rebuilt Old Military Dependents Quarters, 2012). As for the residents who were assigned to public housing and acquired ownership, although they could not sell their dwellings initially (Public Housing Act, 1975, Article 12), the limitations had been lifted later by the government after the sluggish sale of public housing (Chen & Li, 2010; Mii, 1988). So, over time neighbourhoods could become more diverse and heterogeneous.

The actual influence of MDVs on homeownership is more persistent and broader than it appears because the reconstruction of MDVs was intensely entangled with the large-scale public housing provision of Taiwan from the 1970s to the 90s (for the evolution of Taiwan's housing environment and public housing policies, please refer to Section 1.1). It is also because the release of public properties during the reconstruction process provided land sources for private developers. The influence of the conversion of MDVs to promote homeownership did not weaken as the government reduced direct construction of public housing, but only turned into an indirect effect. Although only 15,577 dwellings of public housing were allocated to the military (Table 5.10), most of the land released after dismantling MDVs was developed as public housing or basic amenities. To understand the mechanism, let’s envisage that there were four MDVs – A, B, C and D. After demolition and reconstruction of the pathway “co-construction of public housing with the provincial or city government”, the villagers of MDV A to D were relocated to Site A, and the dwellings on Site A should be allocated equally to the local government and the military. However, the land ownership of Sites

B, C and D after demolition was transferred to the local government for public housing development or basic infrastructures, or sold to private developers. These public housing belonged to the local government before the sale. The land that used to be MDVs was converted into privatised public housing due to the cooperation of the Ministry of National Defense. In Taipei City alone, between 1976 and 1998, 28,935 dwellings of public housing were built on the land released by MDVs. Even though much of the public housing was not sold to the original residents of MDVs, the existence and *transformation of MDVs was entangled with the privatisation of public housing, which contributed to the growth of homeownership in urban areas*. In short, MDV transformations also drove transformation of the wider housing system: development, deregulation, and tenure change proceeded interdependently. Further in-depth analysis and discussion regarding the mechanisms and impacts of MDV reconstruction and privatisation can be found in Chapter 6.

5.4 Second-phase MDV reconstruction (1997–2016)

The MDVs renewal system of the fourth period (1997–2016) was an updated version of the third. The renewal mechanisms of the third stage (1980–1997) were separated into two main pathways with different supportive welfare and complex procedures of enforcement. The process often lacked comprehensive and integrated evaluation and planning and couldn't effectively respond to the wider context and individual demand. The unsalable public housing caused by the remote locations, high prices, inconsistent quality and downturn in the housing market (Lin, 2003; Mii, 1988) bedevilled the progress of reconstruction of the MDVs (Kuo, 2005). The assessed land value adopted to calculate the housing purchase subsidy was lower than the real market value, making it difficult for some of the subsidised residents to afford the house prices after reconstruction. Moreover, since the basis of implementation, *Working Guidelines for Trial Renewal of Old Military Dependents Quarters*, was not a formal regulation, the military lacked legitimacy while dealing with MDVs located on private land (ibid) and confronting the stagnated reconstruction without full support from all villagers (Chang, 2015). Therefore, the central government formulated the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* in 1996 to replace the previous executive order

(Chang, 2015; Chen, 2004; Kuo, 2005), carrying out an integrated renewal plan for the MDVs with authorised power, inaugurating the fourth stage of MDV development.

The principles of reconstruction for this period was "build big villages, relocate small villages, built before demolish, rebuild all" (建大村，遷小村，先建後拆，全面改建) (Chang, 2015: 52; Kuo, 2005: 18). The Ministry of National Defense planned to reconstruct all MDVs completed before 31 December 1980 (Kuo, 2005). As long as more than three-quarters of the residents of a village agreed with the reconstruction, that the MDV would be subsumed into the reconstruction scheme, and those residents who did not agree would face forced relocation and reconstruction (Ma, 2010). If the number of residents who agreed was not enough, the military would keep negotiating; however, if these stakeholders failed to reach an agreement before the end of the scheme, repossession of land would be enforced and the military would evict the residents (Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 22). After the military investigated all the lands where the MDVs were located and the military camp-used lands, the lands with a larger area that could accommodate more residents of MDVs were registered in the reconstruction plans (Chen, 2004; Chuang, 2011), which relieved the land from the necessity of national defence and permitted the land for other use. These lands became the sites for building new high-rise apartments accommodating the original residents of MDVs. After completion, the military sold the dwellings to the original residents with the purchase subsidy of 69.3 per cent of the total costs of the new dwellings, which was slightly different from the stipulation in the last stage (Hsieh, 2019). The calculation of total costs encompassed both the housing component and the land component: the former included essential expenses incurred during the construction process, such as construction costs, processing fees, military loan interest, and related taxes, while the latter was contingent upon the assessed land value at the time of completion (Enforcement Rules of the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 18). Furthermore, this time a new rule was added: if the purchase subsidy was not sufficient to buy new condos, the residents had to pay for the rest, which must not surpass 20 per cent of the house price. If the subsidy and the maximum self-prepared

funds remained inadequate, the shortfall would be paid by the Reconstruction Foundation established by the military (Kuo, 2005). The house price of a completed dwelling is the combination of construction cost (construction fees and relevant taxes) and the price of the land share of ownership per household (Enforcement Rules of the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 18), so the house price itself is lower than the market value, especially when the market value undergoes continuous appreciation, and the maximum self-prepared funds of 20 per cent of this price is, therefore, way lower than the market value. The Reconstruction Foundation also subsidised residents' relocation costs and rent payments while waiting for the completion of their new homes (Hsu, 2013; Kuo, 2005)[37]. Further discussion regarding the mechanisms and impacts of the second-phase MDV reconstruction can be found in Chapter 6.

There are five room types (Table 5.11), which are allocated to residents based on the military ranks. Residents were allowed to spend more money so as to be upgraded to more advanced housing types (Kuo, 2005). If the original residents of MDVs were more willing to buy houses on their own in the private housing market rather than moving into rebuilt apartments, three types of housing subsidies were provided by the government for these residents to choose from, including 80 per cent of the construction cost, 80 per cent of the estimated construction cost, or a fixed amount of subsidy (Chang, 2015: 54; Hsu, 2013: 229–230). The new regulations reduced the financial burden of purchasing rebuilt housing (Chen, 2004; Kuo, 2005). The remaining dwellings after allocation/sale were released to the military personnel with dependents who were not homeowners, as well as the low- and middle-income households (Kuo, 2005). However, Hu (2008: 208) argues that without the considerable purchase subsidy, it was difficult for the general low-income households to afford this housing. In addition to the low- and middle-income households, to

[37] Households that moved directly into the newly reconstructed apartments from the old MDVs can receive a one-time relocation subsidy. Households that move out of the old MDVs and move in after the completion of the new apartments can receive two-time relocation subsidies. The subsidy for each relocation is NTD 10,000 (about then £234.74). Before the reconstruction is completed, the households residing temporarily in the private rental sector can receive a monthly rental subsidy of NTD 6,000 (about then £140.85).

promote military recruitment and increase the welfare for military personnel, those active have been allowed to buy the remaining dwellings as incentives since 2011 (Chang, 2015: 75; Hsieh, 2019: 114–115).

Table 5.11: Apartment allocation according to military ranks, 1997–2016

<table>
<tr><th>Area of a dwelling (m^2)</th><th>Military rank</th><th>Interior configurations</th></tr>
<tr><td>112.40</td><td>General</td><td>4 bedrooms, 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms</td></tr>
<tr><td>99.17</td><td>From Major to Colonel</td><td rowspan="3">3 bedrooms, 1 living room, 1 kitchen, 2 bathrooms</td></tr>
<tr><td>85.95</td><td>From non-commissioned officers to captain</td></tr>
<tr><td>79.34</td><td>Troopers and households without registration and living in the MDVs informally[38]</td></tr>
<tr><td>39.67</td><td>Some exceptions or single person</td><td>1 bedroom, 1 living room/kitchen, 1 bathroom</td></tr>
</table>

(Source: Chang, 2015: 54; Kuo, 2005: 24)

During this stage, a total of 1,628 hectares of land were included in the reconstruction scheme (Table 5.12), of which 103 hectares were registered as "not camps-fitting land", becoming 52 sites for new apartments that resettled residents of MDVs. Hundreds hectares of land were released and sold to private developers (Chang, 2015; Chen, 2004: 13–17), and 256 hectares of land were restored as basic infrastructures (e.g., parks or roads) according to the land use planning (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012: 37[39]). The new apartments for the residents of MDVs were built either via the mode of public-private cooperation or via contracting to private developers alongside government incentives (Chen, 2004: 42). 549 MDVs composed of nearly 70,000 households in Taiwan were involved in the reconstruction

[38] Because the number of dwellings in MDVs was limited, some Chinese immigrants who could not apply for places in MDVs would build informal settlements without possessing residence permits on the unoccupied land in the villages. For instance, Jian-Hua New Village and Yue-lu New Village had 526 registered households in total (Kuo, 2005), which lived together with more than 2,000 informal households (Lin & Gao, 2015). These households were also included in the resettlement scheme with the condition of full payment without purchase subsidies.

[39] This uncirculated military internal document is provided by Respondent A12 with one's confirmation that it does not contain confidential information.

scheme of 1997 (Table 5.13). Apart from being relocated to 52 reconstruction sites, some of these households were moved to 34 public housing, which was also applied to the purchase regulations of newly-reconstructed apartments (Chang, 2015).

To put this massive scale of housing construction and relocation into practice, a considerable budget was required. The central government set up a budget of NTD 516.7 billion (about £13.6 billion) in 1997 as the Reconstruction Foundation with an orchestrated renewal plan (Kuo, 2005). This budget came from the sale of released land of MDVs and the agreement with private developers that obtain the right to develop the land in cooperation with the government (Chen, 2004; Hsieh, 2019). These incomes constituted the budget and were primarily spent on construction costs, the working funds, residents' purchase subsidy and processing fees (Chang, 2015; Chen, 2004). These expenditures technically originated from government-led selling of public-owned land, and about 700 hectares of land were transformed into privatised housing. The reconstruction scheme that was originally scheduled to be completed in 2009 (Kuo, 2005) was delayed and ended up being seven years late. This was due to:

(a) the delayed approval of the budgets by the Legislative Yuan,

(b) the delays in the planning process,

(c) the sluggish real estate market in the early 2000s which made many private developers relinquish the cooperation with the government, and

(d) the massive sale of public-owned land for fiscal balance, which disrupted the dynamics of the real estate market.

Table 5.12: The area of each type of land ownership

Ownership	Area (ha)	Proportion
State-owned or military-owned land	1,350	82.97%
Co-owned by the state and the province government	1	0.06%
Local government-owned land	201	12.35%
Private land	75	4.62%
Total	1,628	100%

(Source: Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012)

Table 5.13: The statistics of MDVs covered in the reconstruction scheme of 1997

Administration [40]	Number of the MDVs	Number of the households	Number of the scattered households [41]	Number of the informal settlements	Total
Keelung City	13	782	0	5	787
New Taipei City	50	3,889	40	110	4,039
Taipei City	57	3,402	883	446	4,731
Taoyuan City	62	8,146	0	657	8,803
Hsinchu County and City	42	3,700	28	685	4,413
Miaoli County	6	436	0	27	463
Taichung City	83	8,224	39	516	8,779
Changhua County	7	540	7	2	549
Nantou County	4	157	13	3	173
Yunlin County	6	315	0	10	325
Chiayi County	26	3,123	0	137	3,260
Tainan City	33	6,419	32	608	7,359
Kaohsiung City	95	16,112	51	2,554	18,717
Pingtung County	28	4,250	15	384	4,649
Penghu County	8	544	19	1	564
Yilan County	11	754	0	11	765
Hualien County	12	645	2	105	752
Taitung County	6	351	2	36	389
Total	549	61,789	1,131	6,597	69,517

(Source: Chang, 2015: 65)

Although many original residents needed to be relocated away from the social networks and homes where they have lived for decades after the reconstruction,

[40] Before 2010, Taoyuan City was a county, and Taichung, Tainan and Kaohsiung are composed of six different administrative areas. The integration of these administrative areas was carried out in 2010. We used the current partition to avoid confusion.

[41] These were the households scattered on the vacant public or private lands in the urban areas.

Chen's (2002) fieldwork found that in Ming-jian New Village, Kaohsiung, 82 per cent of residents hoped that they could be included in the reconstruction scheme, and 71 per cent of residents were willing to participate in the reconstruction planning personally. For many residents, the MDVs were just dilapidated houses with hard-earned memories (Yang, 2014). A small number of residents refused to relocate due to specific reasons, which include the sense of familiarity in regard to their old houses, the feeling of powerlessness to bear the burden of self-prepared funds as an elderly person, or being reluctant to relocate because a lot of money had been invested in repairing and maintaining their houses (Kuo, 2005: 250; Yang, 2017: 67–68).

Like the mechanism of the third stage, residents of different MDVs were concentrated in high-rises (Figure 5.10) and mixed with each other alongside residents of the general population who did not share the same experiences of everyday life within the MDVs. The households buying the reconstructed apartments were restricted from selling their dwellings for five years after they obtained the ownership (Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 24). However, after the limitation is lifted, the residents can sell their dwellings to anyone, which makes the resident composition of the MDVs-reconstructed apartments dynamic and more diverse than the original MDVs (Kuo, 2005: 17). The wider population who aren't Chinese immigrants or their offspring can access the rebuilt MDV units through the housing market (Chen, 2004; Chang, 2015).

Figure 5.10: Reconstructed MDV housing of the second phase
(Source: Author's own)

However, the transfers of homeownership have become a means of *housing speculation*. With a considerable purchase subsidy, the original residents of MDVs could buy the reconstructed apartments at relatively low prices. The improvement in living quality and the advantage of location (the old peripheries are the current city centre, see Chen et al., 2009: 98) has driven up the potential real estate values, making the privatised reconstructed MDVs the targets of speculative activities (The Reporter, 2021). We can take a glimpse of the extent of profit through the following cases: a retired general bought a reconstructed dwelling at He-ping New Village with a house price of NTD 10.43 million and sold that dwelling for nearly NTD 100 million just five years later (Liberty Times Net, 2011; TVBS News, 2015a). Yang (2014) accounts that some reconstructed MDVs had a similar situation, such as the Tian-mu-Huai-de neighbourhood in Shilin District. The reconstructed MDVs have shifted from their pre-reconstruction function as the welfare housing provided for Chinese immigrants to

general housing with the essence of real estate (Kang, 2015).

Due to the aims of improving the living environment, promoting economic and land development, and the changes in the political environment, the MDVs have shifted from temporary residences for Chinese immigrants and refugees in the beginning to privatised and normalised general housing. The spatial textures and lifestyles of the traditional MDVs are almost wiped out, except 47 old MDVs (see Appendix 4) retained in accordance with the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* and the *Cultural Heritage Preservation Act* (Chen, J. Y., 2020; Li, K. C., 2019). The targets of MDV preservation are mostly the old architecture structure, specific facilities or spatial forms (Li, K. C., 2019), but the lifestyle and social network carried by the old MDVs have disappeared with housing displacement and the fading of older immigrants (Li, 2015).

5.5 The exceptional: Housing akin to the registered MDVs

There are two forms of housing resembling MDVs that are not officially defined and formally registered as the MDVs. Some of the military personnel who couldn't apply for places in the MDVs because they had no dependents, or those who were retired, tended to occupy these types of housing (Li, 2015). The first type of the exceptional were Development Squads and Veterans' Houses. Development Squads, which were assembled by Veterans Affairs Council, were the units composed of retirement pending soldiers with lower ranks from the Mainland and were dispatched to develop high altitude farms, excavate tunnels, pave roads and engage in other infrastructure projects or agricultural production. They lived on farms that were not in the category of the registered MDVs (Li, 1998). Veterans' Houses, which were also managed by the Veterans Affairs Council, were also the places where soldiers with disabilities were accommodated (Liao, 2006). Development Squads and Veterans' Houses were established and regulated by the authority, but should not be subsumed into the registered MDVs due to their essentially different functions (Li, 2015).

The second type was the "self-supported MDVs", a term proposed by Li (2015) to

distinguish some obscured MDV-like collective settlements from the registered MDVs. Informal settlements built by Chinese immigrants in various places during the post-war period were gradually regulated in the 1950s as the government began to pay more attention to the living environment of military personnel and their dependents (Chen et al., 2009). However, many Chinese immigrants who couldn't live in the MDVs accommodated themselves in some non-regulated informal settlements, or kept building their own housing informally. These settlements were scattered and located on vacant public or private lands in the cities, or were built right in or around the registered MDVs or around the military bases (Li, 2015). For those who lived in or around the registered MDVs informally, in many cases, they were tolerated (Gu, 1999) but were not entitled to most of the rations and welfare by the stipulations. For example, as mentioned in Section 5.3, the present Da'an Forest Park used to be the site of Yue-lu New Village and Jian-hua New Village, and these two MDVs had about 500 registered households (Kuo, 2005), but it was also the site of a self-supported MDV with 2,000 households, merged with the registered MDVs (Lin & Gao, 2015). About 200 registered households lived in Qin-bai New Village in Neihu District together with another 300 informal households (Gu, 1999: 63). Some self-supported MDVs were scattered across urban areas or peripheries, such as the well-known Treasure Hill Neighbourhood (Figure 5.11) in Zhongzheng District, Taipei, and the collective residences that were once located on the current No. 14 and No. 15 Parks in Taipei (Lin & Gao, 2015). Li (2015) considers that these self-supported MDVs were located around the registered MDVs, being close to the Chinese immigrant community because they shared the common background of occupations, culture and language – echoing the notion of migrant enclaves (Wacquant, 2008a). The common experiences of war and migration became a firm nexus connecting two types of MDVs, which would not be severed after retirement or discharge. This view can be empirically confirmed by Gu (1999)'s fieldwork in Qing-bai New Village. The KMT government evacuated all the soldiers and residents of the Dachen Archipelago to Taiwan in 1955. These immigrants were scattered in fifteen different MDVs in Taiwan, and those intelligence agents and guerrillas among them were relocated to Qing-bai New Village. But hundreds of Dachen people living in other places of Taiwan gradually moved to Qing-bai New Village in the next few decades and lived with their brethren informally. Bolt, Burgers

& Kempen (1998) account that it is easier to maintain ethnic networks through which people can benefit and support each other, and the similar tendency of the concentration (or enclavisation) of minorities happens in the Netherlands as well (Bolt, Kempen & Ham, 2007). From a macro perspective, Deng and Chiu (2007) and Li (2015) both consider that the population of Mainlanders in Taiwan after the 1960s flew into the cities with a higher proportion of Mainlanders.

Figure 5.11: Treasure Hill International Artist Village
(Source: Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, n.d.)

However, informal settlements were not rare in the 1950s and 1960s, and many of the residents living there were not Chinese immigrants or refugees. After rapid industrialisation in the 1950s and 1960s, a large number of rural people flowed into urban areas to make a living in manufacturing and processing industries (Hsu, 1988; Song, 2006), and these domestic immigrants accelerated the growth of the number of informal settlements due to the limited housing provision (Hsu, 1988). In the 1960s, approximately ten thousand people lived in the informal settlements on the riverbeds or sandbars outside the embankment in the Taipei metropolitan area (Hsu, 1988: 194–195). Both internal rural migrants and Chinese immigrants or refugees built informal settlements on both sides of the railway (Chang, 2022; Lin & Gao, 2015). A survey conducted by the Taipei City Government in 1963 indicated that 31.5 per cent of the households lived in informal housing (Research, Development and Evaluation

Commission, Taipei City Government, 1977)[42], which included the self-supported MDVs. Besides veterans, military personnel and their dependents, many rural migrants were also the residents of these self-supported MDVs. Without the management and regulation of the authorities and the social closure similar to the registered MDVs, the residents of the self-supported MDVs were more diverse, but the villages lacked community cohesion (Li, 2015). The self-supported MDVs were difficult to get attention from the authority, which tended to treat the self-supported MDVs as the informal settlements to be demolished and regenerated rather than investigated and collected data, so it is difficult to conduct more in-depth research (ibid). Only a few small self-supported MDVs scattered on vacant urban lands were listed as cultural assets by the government for subsequent conservation after receiving public attention, such as Treasure Hill Village. The self-supported MDVs without a clear definition are only distinguished from the registered MDVs by the extant literature. Section 5.5 briefly introduces this form of housing that is derived from the MDVs and domestic migration after industrialisation, but this study will focus on the registered MDVs particularly.

5.6 Discussion: Parallel institutionalism of the MDVs

The first two sections and Section 5.5 demonstrate the housing, spatial, and living characteristics of MDVs before the reconstructions, as well as their subsequent transformations. Sections 5.3 and 5.4 introduce the policies and plans of the two-phase reconstruction from the standpoint of the state. This chapter reveals: (a) how the transformation of MDVs became embedded within the socioeconomic contexts under the dominance of the developmental state of Taiwan; and (b) the "parallel institutionalism" of MDVs.

5.6.1 The functions of MDVs from the state perspectives

To comprehend the reasons behind the transformation of military-governed MDVs during particular periods, we first discuss the political positioning and significance of

[42] The total population of Taipei City in 1963 was about one million people (Chuang, 2011).

MDVs to the authorities. This research proposes that the authorities' political understanding and cognition toward what MDVs are is fluid, prompting the authorities to generate corresponding dispositions and formulate rules at different times. We divide the timeline into three stages and explain them sequentially, including before the mid-1950s, from the mid-1950s to the reconstruction, and after the reconstruction.

After the great retreat, rearranging troops, detecting potential rebels, and stabilising Taiwan's defence were the authorities' priorities. The housing problems of more than 700,000 military personnel and their dependents, who mainly gathered around the ports and military airports, were delegated to various military branches and even sub-units to solve by themselves. It had become a common occurrence for these residents to move with troops from the Second World War to the Chinese Civil War (see Yu et al., 2014). The retreat of KMT to Taiwan was a strategic deployment and adjustment during the war for both the authorities and the military, and launching a counter-offensive was expected within a few years. In the case of a lack of resources, except for a few units that could access building materials, such as arsenals, which could build stronger settlements, different military units built simple informal settlements by themselves. For instance, the original Long-shen New Village in Taipei City was built by military personnel and their dependents with the remaining materials of the reservoir project (Wang, W., 2020); before Qi-hu New Village was regulated, the army transportation units were temporarily resettled in the local elementary school (Gao, 2011). In addition to the crude housing environment, the instability and turmoil during this period were also reflected in the frequent relocation. It was not uncommon for soldiers and their families to move around due to adjustments of troops and tasks within the first few years of their arrival in Taiwan. Respondent C7, a resident of Song-shan New Town, mentioned that her father, who was an air force officer, took a boat with his family to Kaohsiung Port in 1949, and was immediately transferred to the air force base in Pingtung, and to Hsinchu Air Force Base soon after. Due to some personal reasons, he was again transferred to the air force supply unit in Yilan, which was later deployed to Gangshan, Kaohsiung. During this process, until they settled in Gangshan, the whole family moved around within the Air Force without a fixed place to stay. These experiences of relocation and mobility within Taipei were just a microcosm of

the initial form of settlements before they were regulated in 1956. The residence of soldiers and their families was akin to the trivial affairs that needed to be dealt with by each unit during the process of war mobilisation, excluded from the core business of the state administration.

Starting in 1956, the previously informal living environment was gradually regulated, and under the impetus of the affiliated organisation CWACL of the authoritarian government, more solid and standardised MDVs were built on a large scale. The improvement embodied on not only the optimised quality of living but also the more comprehensive governance and management mechanisms of the villages, including daily supply, entertainment, village administration and supervision systems. This shift was embedded in the background of the Western bloc's support for development since the Korean War, in addition to the diminishing possibility of a counterattack. Accompanying the US aid were the dissemination of American spatial planning theories and practices, intervening in and "modernising" urban spaces under the guidance of American professionals. However, due to the lack of funds from the central government, the funds for the construction of MDVs were levied from the private sector. Due to limited resources, some soldiers and dependents who had not yet accessed the regular MDVs needed to seek help from the generals who held power, and obtained resources to build or renovate villages through the intervention of high-level officials. Therefore, some villages were named after specific generals, such as Shou-yuan 2nd Village in Taipei City or Shou-de New Village in New Taipei City (Kuo, 2005: 388, 391). The establishment of certain villages relied on the coordination efforts of the authoritarian president's wife, Soong May-ling, and the CWACL to mobilise various sectors for land allocation and funding preparation. For example, Soong May-ling borrowed land from the state-owned Chinese Petroleum Corporation for the construction of Zi-qiang New Village in New Taipei City (Kuo, 2005: 391); the land where Song-shan New Village in Taipei City was located was purchased by Soong May-ling after coordinating with the landowners (C1). In the early stages of Taiwan's post-war economic development, there was no immediate urgency in land acquisition and utilisation. This afforded the Ministry of National Defense the opportunity to utilise lands from other government agencies and state-owned enterprises

(sometimes for free) for the construction of MDVs. Especially during the authoritarian period, it was challenging for other entities to deny the military's requisition requests in this context (A4, independent researcher). The MDVs tended to be institutionalised in management, but the allocation of housing resources was governed by negotiations among power holders in a non-fixed pattern.

On the other hand, the MDVs were not simply physical housing and its management system, but also a kind of reward, or interest that can be exchanged. A limited number of dwellings were retained for married officers or non-commissioned officers with excellent performance records, and low-level soldiers rarely received such housing and living material guarantees. Luo (1991) accounts that the MDVs were used by the authoritarian government as benefits in exchange for the military's loyalty and service. The experienced scholar Respondent A2 put forward a critical point of view on similar patron-clientelism discussions, he believed that the reinterpretation of behavioural functions after the occurrence did not necessarily represent the real thinking of the military and the authorities at the time. However, tracing back to the purpose of the establishment of the prototype of MDVs in Mainland China, the systematic care of military families could make the frontline soldiers have no worries, and it undoubtedly built up the individual or collective morale and national solidarity of the troops to a certain extent. It is undeniable that in the authoritarian period, the logic and phenomena of different types of benefit exchange under the nepotism of the authorities were common (see Chen, 1995; Shatkin, 2000). During this period, the governance of the villages and the allocation of housing resources were dominated by a strong military regime, which determined how and to whom the MDV housing built with private funds was allocated, and shaped the MDVs and their institutions as supportive infrastructure systems.

In the late 1970s, to improve the economy through land development and to “benefit” the MDV residents, the old MDVs were reconstructed and relocated to accelerate the “national economy” (“economic growth”) by the developmental state (Blom Hansen & Stepputat, 2001). During the first phase of reconstruction, in addition to the reconstruction through DHPC, the land where the MDVs were located was also used

to build public housing in order to serve the central government's prioritised public housing policy. The oil crisis in the 1970s prompted the central government to launch a series of infrastructure projects in order to improve the economy. At the same time, the large-scale construction of public housing was regarded by the authorities as an effective tool to combat rising housing prices. Under the policy objectives of revitalising the economy and reducing the people's housing burden, the public-owned land of MDVs were extracted from their connection with housing services as a resource for economic development at the cost of sacrificing the stability of MDV housing services. On the other hand, the existence of housing services implied maintaining non-defence and combat missions, which would consume manpower and resources to manage hundreds of villages covering housing repairs and administrative affairs. Promoting reconstruction through privatisation was not only more feasible and practical in terms of finance, but also could relieve the Ministry of National Defense from 'an extra burden' due to the accumulation of various historical factors (A1, academic). The same logic continued to the second phase of reconstruction. The difference was that in order to improve the efficiency of the reconstruction and solve the problems arising from the first phase, the discretionary power of the second phase was withdrawn from each service to the Ministry of National Defense (A10, former military official), and the policy and regulation were adjusted.

Historicising local contexts demonstrates the adoption and application of travelling Western ideology of development and neoliberalism in Taiwan (Dean, 2001), which involves complex local politics and logics (Tait & Jensen, 2007; Healey & Upton, 2010). The aforementioned analysis of MDVs shows that the identification and positioning of MDV housing were actually fluid and ambiguous, depending on different temporal, spatial, and political backgrounds. This explains the relations between the wider contexts and the shifting MDV policies that had shaped the uniqueness of the MDVs and privatised and de-militarised them after the reconstruction. Authorities did not pay much attention to the MDVs before the mid-1950s when the residence was simply about "having a place to live". Housing provision that was decentralised to each military unit was similar to food rationing and salary, focusing on maintaining the simplest living requirements. The spreading of Western ideology and means during the

Cold War prompted the state to regulate and modernise the informal MDV housing in the mid-1950s. MDVs had been transformed into a more complete infrastructure system, which had limited positions provided as rewards or benefit exchanges while demand exceeded limited supply. While the national economy was hampered due to the oil crises, alongside the capital flows after financial deregulations, the land of MDVs was used as a resource to serve national public housing policies in the late 1970s, and maintaining the MDV housing system became a burden for the military after entering the reconstruction stage.

5.6.2 The “Parallel institutionalism”

However, how to understand the aforementioned "authorities" or “state”? We account that when discussing the actor that had direct power reigning MDV housing, it is necessary to separate the military from the government. During the nearly five decades of the authoritarian period, the military has had a unique status and power. Chiang Kai-shek, the president of KMT, served as the president of the Republic of China from 1948 to 1975. As a soldier, he also led the National Revolutionary Army (the current Republic of China Armed Forces) through the first and second civil wars against the Chinese Communist Party. He served as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Forces in China during World War II. This previous authoritarian government evolved from the KMT military junta, and the military had long served as, or was closely associated with, the ruling class. Until now, the military faction "*Huang Fu Xing* (黃復興)" within the KMT still has strong political influence inside.

The MDVs could be considered spaces independent of the government and ruled by the military, while the MDV residents were not only citizens of the Republic of China but also citizens of this “military regime”. The "parallel institutionalism" (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a) covered various categories, including daily supplies, work, housing, education, and entertainment. For example, the children of Four-four South Village were educated at the elementary school established by the 44th Arsenal (Gu, 1999); the children of Song-shan New Village of the Air Force were transported to the Air Force Elementary School by the Air Force's trucks (C6). This independence was also

embodied legally. Prior to 1968, active-duty military personnel did not possess R.O.C. citizen identity cards and were not covered in the census (Li, 2015). In the spaces of MDVs, residents' housing was regulated and managed by the military administrators in a unique way, and different rules and actual "languages of governance" were employed (Blom & Stepputat, 2001). For instance, residents' housing areas were directly determined based on military ranks, and the residents could communicate with the military administrators via the autonomous councils of each village (Kuo, 2005). Under the parallel institutionalism of the military, the MDVs became the margins of the government (not including the military) power, and some informal tacit understanding between the residents and the military administrators was formed and sheltered in these spaces of MDVs until its elimination after the reconstruction. This informality will be discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, demonstrating the daily patterns of state mutually forged by actors with power and people's actions (Asad, 2004; Blom & Stepputat, 2001).

The preceding sections have demonstrated the various levels and functions of government entities involved in MDV histories and reconstruction processes. These entities include the central government responsible for formulating regulations and allocating budgets, the National Property Bureau implementing the sale of public properties, local governments directly involved in land acquisition and public housing construction, as well as various engineering and spatial planning units. Further details on their involvement in implementation will be discussed in Chapter 6. Understanding the roles of the state or authorities in the evolutionary history of MDVs requires the delineation of the relevant authorities in each context, as these distinct inner-sectors intersected horizontally and vertically to create complex mechanisms in the privatisation process of MDVs. It is noteworthy that the military, institutionally belonging to the central government, cannot be simply viewed as a small part of the central government or as an agent of central policies in this matter. Before the de-militarisation of the MDVs, parallel institutionalism was apparent across many aspects of the villages, their militarised institutions, and everyday life.

Chapter VI: Processes, mechanisms, and influences of MDV de-militarisation

This section aims to enhance the processual understanding of MDV reconstruction, with a focus on decision-making logics, embedded politics, actual implementation, as well as the relational knowledge connecting these urban dynamics and wider social developments in Taipei (Elias, 2000). The chapter responds to the second research question raised in Section 1.4: *How has the MDV reconstruction been financialised and what are the mechanisms and influences?* Our curiosity and profound analysis of behind turning points, watersheds, and decisions have shaped this research to distinguish, understand, and define the connections between financialisation and specific cases or contexts. We underscore that the regulatory framework for redevelopment, as well as the policies and plans impelled by the authorities, were subject to numerous unforeseen factors and established conventions, which may not necessarily align with actual implementation. This chapter delves into the practical fiscal mechanisms and policy implementation details, as well as their macro impacts on the housing market and urban space, while connecting them with the embedded ideology.

This calls for the tracing and analysis of the historical and political rationales for the adoption of privatisation as a means to advance MDV reconstruction. The fiscal framework designed to ensure a stable financial basis for the reconstruction is elaborated, unpicking how financial logic permeates and influences the decision-making of authorities and urban spatial development (see Klink & Stroher, 2017). During the reconstruction process, the prior parallel institutionalism under military governance was simplified by national policies that abided by financial calculations and quantifiable indicators, disregarding the past conventions, tacit understandings, and informality within MDVs (Scott, 1998). Furthermore, the examination of actual policy implementation uncovers various types of political informality (Goodfellow, 2020), some of which supported the state in achieving policy objectives, while others became unacceptable during the transition from old to new systems. MDV

reconstruction policies infused with financial logic and tools strengthen the expansion of an ownership-oriented housing market (see Aalber, 2016), aligning with the state's objective of promoting the national economy through urban land development.

There are five parts in this chapter. The historical and political dynamics underlying the decision-making process of the privatisation route are discussed in the first section. In the second and third sections, we respectively present and analyse the multi-faceted details of fiscal mechanisms and the implementation of reconstruction. The fourth section adopts a top-down perspective to discuss the extensive impacts of policies on the housing market, urban space, and resource allocation. The final part is the conclusions.

6.1 Political relations in the transition towards MDV privatisation

The previous two chapters presented a comprehensive overview of the historical development of MDVs. However, the retrospective organisation and analysis inevitably tends to centre on outcomes to the neglect of dynamic processes and their social, economic, political dimensions. As such this analysis overlooked the interactive dynamics between different sectors and *how* pivotal decisions and turning points were generated. After discussing the relationship between changes in MDV housing policies and socioeconomic context, and the governance characteristics of the parallel institutionalism, the following section will examine the underlying political dynamics that have shaped the known history of MDVs. Official publications indicate that in the 1970s, due to the expiration of planned economy-based public housing policies, the public housing authorities turned their attention to the low-density urban land where MDVs were located, seeking collaborations with the military to jointly develop public housing. However, the deteriorating living conditions of MDVs also required improvement, and the juncture for cooperation between the public housing authorities and the military should not be seen as a one-sided request for assistance or cooperation, but rather as the formation of a 'mutually beneficial' relationship (A1). The connection between these two sectors can be understood in the following context: the KMT government from Mainland China was clearly familiar with the available

number of villages for accommodating mainlanders, and their political and economic value. Moreover, many government officials had military backgrounds and were therefore acquainted with the residential challenges faced in MDVs. For instance, the first director of the Public Housing Department of Taipei City Government was former Air Force Major General Yuan He (袁和) (Public Housing Department of Taipei City Government, 2004: 6).

However, this is not the origin of Taiwan's social housing, which can be traced back to the 1950s when the concept of post-war Western housing provision was introduced by American consultants. The ruling party at that time lacked an understanding of housing welfare systems, but with the guidance of American experts, relevant systems were accepted and established (Mii, 1988: 107). The practices of caring for people's daily lives also resonated with the political ideology and the Three Principles of the People proposed by Dr Sun Yat-sen, which was advocated by the KMT, as exemplified by his mention of 'the government and the people shall jointly construct various types of planned housing to ensure the wellbeing of the people' (Public Housing Department, 1975: 1). Nonetheless, the unique post-war context in Taiwan differed significantly from that of the United States, making it impractical to address housing issues solely through loans and market mechanisms. Moreover, there was a lack of sufficient resources to promote public housing supply, resulting in a scarcity of public housing stock and incomplete laws, regulations, and institutions prior to the 1970s (Mii, 1988). The authoritarian government lacked the capacity and willingness to address housing issues. After the retreat, most of the limited resources were given precedence to national defence (Mii, 1988: 107) with many MDVs initially built by refugees and various military units.

The construction of MDVs after 1956 was mostly led by a private organisation affiliated with the authoritarian government, whose funds came from nongovernmental solicited donations or mandatory additional donations (Kuo, 2005; Liao, 2017). The state's role was akin to regulating and managing these villages rather than building them directly. Although the overall economy improved after the industrialisation of

the 1950s, housing infrastructure was still haunted by the lack of government willingness and funds. The state tended to invest in economic development rather than housing improvement (Chen & Li, 2010: 115; Liao, 2022: 64). Even the politically prioritised historic "Ten Major Construction Projects" of the 1970s, which were promoted by the authoritarian government to consolidate the ruling legitimacy and revitalise the post-oil crisis economic slump, relied on borrowing from other countries due to insufficient funds (Wang & Huang, 2019: 166–167). Highly constrained by the low priority of housing measures and the lack of official funding, large-scale public housing projects in the 1970s and the MDV reconstruction of two phases embraced privatisation to reduce the government's future financial burden and maintenance and management costs.

6.1.1 The origin of privatisation as a means to support government finances

The privatisation of public property has often been employed since the post-war period as a means to overcome fiscal difficulties and serve policy objectives or political needs. Established in 1946, the state-owned Land Bank of Taiwan took over the management and liquidation of scattered properties left by the Japanese throughout Taiwan the following year. The reason for this transfer of disposal tasks was that the bank, established by the military government to financially assist farmers, lacked funding. As a result, the military government entrusted the Land Bank of Taiwan with the responsibility of issuing land bonds to raise funds (Office of Governor-General of Taiwan, 1947). The task of disposing of properties came to an end with the establishment of the National Property Bureau in 1960. He (2014: 129–132) accounts that during this period, the KMT government was not capable of addressing the inflationary issues left by the Japanese colonial government due to the war. It enhanced currency issuance after retreating to Taiwan, due to financial pressures. To alleviate inflation, the military government expedited the sale of state-owned properties to increase revenue. The authorities budgeted the income from auctions and set profit targets for the Land Bank of Taiwan, which served as a substitute for managing state properties, and the bank conducted extensive auctions of public-owned housing, land, and commercial facilities. These methods employed since the

1940s gradually formed a set of logic for addressing problems, becoming an 'institutional dependence' (A3), which was familiarised by the technical bureaucrats in the governments as the mechanism to achieve policy objectives in times of fiscal distress.

> '*When discussing the issue of MDV reconstruction by 1996, I felt that it was quite institutionally dependent because this model was known among all bureaucratic officials in the administrative departments, and they were highly skilled with profound experience. Everyone knew how to proceed.*' (A3, high-ranking staff of a housing-related NGO)

6.1.2 Elections and adopting privatisation

Other influencing factors for embarking on privatisation include political reasons, especially in the 1990s when the second phase was launched. The privatisation of MDVs benefited specific groups by granting them housing ownership as a welfare policy in exchange for electoral support. In the early days of democratisation, the New Party (NP), which split from KMT in 1993, sought to challenge the political advantage held by the ruling party KMT. Many years ago, some residents had already hoped for the government's intervention in improving the deteriorating living conditions of MDVs (A2; C8). However, it frequently happened that some KMT candidates made promises before elections to take the lead in renovating the living environment, only to backtrack on these promises after being elected. One such case was:

> *'before the 1993 Provincial Governor election, when the KMT fervently declared that they would start the reconstruction within three years. However, after the election, they changed their stance, stating that it would definitely take six years to prepare'* (Tang & Wang, 2008: 130).

This inconsistency in KMT's attitude was most evident in the lack of putting the policy proposal into practice. Actually implementing a proposal that solely benefited specific groups might be detrimental for the KMT to obtain support from the majority of the

population and would require an extremely large amount of funding (ibid). In contrast, the NP proposed the "Granting MDV Land (眷地放領)" as its main initiative, advocating that MDV residents, regardless of military rank, could obtain new privatised housing of the same size (A2; Tang & Wang, 2008). The appeal made the NP, the third-largest party at the time after the KMT and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), an attractive choice for the voters of MDVs, who were composed mainly of mainlanders and their descendants and usually KMT supporters.

> '*Every time during elections, the KMT promised that they would renovate [MDVs]. Before 1996, the KMT always came, every election, but there was no news afterward. So, everyone felt that the KMT was deceiving people... So, no one believed them anymore. Then, the New Party came and said, "Vote for us, and you can have the MDV land"'* (A2, academic and former high-ranking staff of an MDV-related NGO).

To consolidate electoral support from the villages and due to the pressure exerted by the KMT's military faction "*Huang Fu Xing* (黃復興)", particularly from the younger generation of faction members who were potentially shifting their support to the NP, the KMT government passed an Act in 1996 to initiate the second phase of MDV reconstruction, officially privatising the majority of MDVs with a purchase subsidy equivalent to at least 80 per cent of the housing cost (A2; A8). Respondent A8, a former DPP legislator who participated in the formulation of this law, mentioned that the Legislative Yuan had several sessions each year, and the KMT deliberately scheduled discussions and reviews of related legislation during the session following the election. Losing the opportunity to influence election outcomes, the DPP, then the second-largest party in the parliament, lost momentum as they had fewer seats than the KMT. Moreover, their fierce resistance in the post-election period in the Legislative Yuan would not yield corresponding political dividends, such as attracting more public attention to this issue or increasing support for the opposition party or individual.

> '*Another factor is that the DPP itself had a problem, that they didn't … you could*

say they let it happen, they didn't have the fighting spirit. Because after the election … after the election, some people didn't want to deal with it anymore because they lost, so they didn't want to deal with it. Some didn't even come to attend the sessions' (A8, politician).

Despite some DPP legislators holding the stance of preserving public ownership of public-owned property or advocating for adjustments to provide rental-only new housing for MDV residents in order to increase the limited stock of public housing (A8), or opposing the formulation of welfare policies that solely benefited specific groups (Tang & Wang, 2008), they were unable to influence the expansion of homeownership. Built on the perspective put forth by Luo (1991) that MDVs were a welfare policy aimed at obtaining the loyalty of immigrant military personnel, the allegiance became electoral support after democratisation. The KMT, facing political threats from the NP, enacted policies favouring specific groups in exchange for the voter's loyalty in that particular election.

6.2 The fiscal frameworks of MDV reconstruction

With limited government funding, financial viability was of paramount importance for the MDV privatisation and reconstruction. In order to balance the books, complex inter-departmental fiscal frameworks were designed. In the first stage, apart from the reconstruction carried out by DHPC, which was managed by the military directly, the government and the military cooperated to regenerate MDVs and to develop new public housing on the land where the MDVs were located. However, the initial siting and establishment of MDVs became an intricate issue for the authorities decades later because not all of the lands on which they were located were held by the military. Many were registered under different agencies of the central government, state-owned enterprises, or local governments, and even a small portion of the land was privately held (Chen, 2002; Chen, 2004). In terms of the lands possessed by the provincial government or the municipal government, after obtaining consent from these local governments, and demolishing constructions and relocating residents by the Ministry of National Defense (MND), the public housing authority was responsible

for funding and building public housing. The privately held lands were expropriated by the local government after negotiation with landowners (Kuo, 2005: 11–14; Ministry of National Defense, 1980).

The lands owned by the military were first entrusted to the National Property Bureau to convert the land attribute into non-public use property[43], and then sold to the public housing authority (Kuo, 2005: 11–14). Most of the military's revenue from this process was paid (back) to the public housing authority, the construction leading unit, as the housing subsidy for the original MDV residents when they were allocated to the reconstructed dwellings and obtained ownership. Residents could apply for housing loans through the public housing authority from the state-owned Land Bank of Taiwan for required expenses (Ministry of National Defense, 1980). The required expenses were backfilled to the Public Housing Foundation as part of construction and operating funds (Central Public Housing Foundation Revenues and Expenditures, Safekeeping, and Utilization Regulations, 1978, Article 4). The densification of rebuilt housing concentrated the residents of different villages on the same sites, releasing many cleared lands. In addition to the construction of public housing, some of these lands were opened up for public facilities such as parks (see Lin & Gao, 2015). Some lands were sold to the private sector after the National Property Bureau converted the attribute into non-public use property, and the revenue was subsumed into the military's funds for regenerating MDVs (A10).

The concept of auctioning public property to obtain funds was carried over to the fiscal framework of the second phase, and at the same time, cooperation with the public housing authority was excluded because the central government gradually diminished the construction of public housing, stepping back from the free market (Chen & Li, 2010). Initiated by the MND (A12), the central government set up a budget of NTD 516.7 billion (then about £11.23 billion) for the Reconstruction Foundation in 1997

[43] Non-public use property is a type of national property classification in Taiwan law. It differs from the public use properties, which include office use property, public use property, and enterprises property, and can be used by the government for profit or sale (National Property Act, 1969, Article 4).

(Kuo, 2005). Only NTD 60.6 billion of this budget came from the central government's allocation (Hsieh, 2019), while others were prepared by the MND through public land auctions. The lands to be auctioned include (a) those where MDVs were located, and (b) the "National Land Not Fitting the Use of Military Camps" (referred to as "not camps-fitting land"). The former has a total area of 1,525 hectares, while the latter has a total area of 103 hectares (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012: 5[44]). The principle of the former was the same as that of the first phase, while the latter was the lands no longer suitable for military use, which were selected by the military's internal inventory and evaluation according to national defence strategy and disarmament policy (A5; A10). Respondent A10 mentioned that when they internally decided the function of each MDV land, there was an evaluation scale to score many different items. About half of all the land subsumed into the reconstruction plan was developed for public facilities and was used as reconstruction sites, and the other half was put up for public auction after the adjustment of land attributes by the National Property Bureau (Chen, 2004: 13–17). Part of the proceeds from the MDV land auctions and the required expenses paid by residents were used to pay for the constructions, which include the costs of construction and processing fees for land disposal, and the rest was calculated as treasury revenue (A10; Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012).

The particular emphasis on the financial balance of the book in the fiscal designs manifests in the military’s attitude toward the MDV cultural preservation movement. Although the demolition and reconstruction of MDVs began in the 1970s, it was not until the 1990s that residents and teams started systematically collecting and organising pertinent historical artefacts and information (Li, 2019). During the accelerated second phase of reconstruction, more people began to recognise the uniqueness of MDVs, particularly after the controversies surrounding the demolition of Treasure Hill settlements and Four-four South Village, which sparked broader debates related to cultural preservation (ibid). Through the efforts of various civil

[44] This uncirculated military internal document is provided by Respondent A12 with one’s confirmation that it does not contain confidential information.

community organisations, such as the Military Kindred Village Cultural Preservation Alliance (眷村文化保存串聯同盟) and the Mainlander-Taiwanese Association (外省台灣人協會), the amendment to the *Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents* was successfully promoted in 2007, formally incorporating the preservation of MDVs into legislation. Starting from 2009, local governments were allowed to apply for the preservation of the original condition of MDVs, and 13 military community cultural parks that passed the review were announced in 2012 (Li, 2019: 36–39). However, the amendment disrupted the military's original intent because the retention of any building meant that the corresponding land could not be used according to the reconstruction plan, further impacting financial sustainability. Therefore, the MND initially opposed the amendment to uphold the reconstruction plan. Civil groups continued to lobby legislators from different parties, and the opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), also recognised that showing gestures of valuing MDV culture could help them gain the support of MDVs, which had traditionally been a stronghold of the pan-Kuomintang (KMT) coalition. In the end, with the agreement of KMT, DPP, and People First Party (PFP) legislators, the legality of cultural and spatial preservation was confirmed, with the condition of providing equal compensation to the MND. The MND requested that all MDV lands taken by county and city governments for preservation be returned to the MND through other public lands or in the form of the development rights of floor area ratio with equal value. Below is a quote from Respondent A6, a former politician and a high-ranking staff of an MDV-related NGO, that articulates the situation back then:

> *'The Ministry of National Defense, of course, opposed it. In 1996, they argued that it was their land. If you took it and applied for preservation, it would certainly affect their income, it did affect their income, so they of course opposed it. But we persuaded legislators from both the Blue* (KMT) *and the Green* (DPP) *...... Of course, the pan-Blue coalition was in favour, right? They wanted to preserve the MDV culture and amend the MDV reconstruction regulations. Why did the Green support it? Li Wen-chung* (李文忠) *and the Greens used to think that the MDVs were entirely the Kuomintang's iron vote. But if they supported it, they could enter*

the MDVs. The Democratic Progressive Party was willing to care about the MDVs because they felt that the iron vote needed to be broken, you know, the bamboo fences. They, they thought it was a great opportunity, and from the perspective of culture, they also considered it part of Taiwan, part of Taiwanese culture, part of Taiwanese history, right? So, the most important thing was the DPP legislators, under the leadership of Li Wen-chung, they all supported it. He was a member of the Legislative Yuan's National Defense Committee. Just think about it, if he, as a member of the National Defense Committee, went to talk to the Ministry of National Defense, how could the ministry oppose it? They dare not. Legislators of all three parties coordinated and reached an agreement …… So, within a year, the amendment was passed …... In fact, they later added a condition in the MDV reconstruction regulations that local governments must use the equivalent value of local governments' land in exchange for the Ministry of National Defense's MDV land. They, they, they use the transfer of development rights (TDR) *of floor area ratio, the transfer of development rights of the land, land's urban planning, and stuff*' (A6, high-ranking staff of an MDV-related NGO and former government official).

Respondent A6's lobbying experience demonstrates the military's insistence on the fiscal framework. The military did not fully yield to the public interest objectives and the amendment by the Legislative Yuan but reached a compromise with alternative solutions. The alternatives ensured sufficient funding for the ongoing reconstruction and the timely repayment of the turnover borrowed from banks (A3). In terms of public interest, civil groups underscored that the amendment could preserve the interpersonal networks, lifestyles, and collective memory of MDVs, which were about to disappear with the reconstruction. It also documented the trajectory of community and unique landscapes along of urban development and social change, providing significant data for exploring policy discourses (Chen et al., 2009: 48). At the same time, the preserved buildings and affiliated open spaces provide attractions and public facilities for the locals (A6), such as Chih-Kai New Village in Tainan, where the accompanying open space has been developed into a park, or Four-four South Village in Taipei, which has shops and fairs, becoming a space that integrates historical and

cultural attractions with commercial services. Since there have been numerous studies focusing on MDV cultural preservation (see Chang, 2017; Li, 2019; Ma, 2008; Tung, 2016), we adopt it to present how the pursuit of financial balance influenced the military's attitude toward the preservation movement, without delving into the implementation of cultural preservation. In the face of the dominant and decisive financial logics of the military, the adoption of alternative means to sustain fiscal viability becomes a crucial factor in successfully preserving MDV spaces.

In addition, the budget of NTD 516.7 billion for the Reconstruction Foundation, as documented in many sources (see Kuo, 2005: 17), was actually an early version of the plan. Due to delays in resident relocation, building demolition, and construction, as well as the unattractive bidding prices set by the government due to rising construction material costs (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012), the sustainability of the fund was affected. The budget and plan underwent three revisions in 2004, 2009, and 2012 (Hsieh, 2019: 79–84). The initial plan aimed to complete the construction of 161 new residential sites and land sales with a total budget of NTD 516.7 billion by 2005. In 2004, it was revised to complete the construction of 53 sites by 2009 and accomplish land disposal by 2013 with an expected income of NTD 362 billion. In the final version of the plan, it was adjusted again to complete the construction of 52 sites by 2013 and accomplish land sales and financial settlement by 2035 with an expected income of NTD 313.8 billion from sales (Appendix 5). This reconstruction plan aimed to accommodate 69,547 households, with 30,778 households being placed in newly built housing, 17,574 households being placed in completed 34 public housing sites, and 21,195 households provided with subsidies for purchasing homes in the private housing market (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012). The multiple channels of resettlement were proposed in the 2004 plan, considering feasibility, efficiency, and financial balance, as the military did not need to spend a large amount of funds to build so many houses.

Respondent A12 mentioned that the initial figure of NTD 516.7 billion was a rough estimate based on the central government's request and a simple assessment of the value of all land available for sale at the time of proposing the reconstruction plan,

which was not rigorous enough in calculations and had not been tested in actual implementation. In the 2012 reconstruction plan, the chapter explaining the disparity between the estimated and actual revenue and expenditure explicitly stated that specific categories of funds had differences due to ‘omitted items’ or ‘estimated amounts lower than actual’ (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012: 26–29). Initially, the military's strategy was to simultaneously sell unoccupied lands and put the funds into the use of reconstructing the MDVs. However, in order to maintain the financial chain while the reconstruction progress lagged, bank mortgages were introduced as the turnover based on the public lands the military held, and the majority of revenue from selling the not camps-fitting land was used to repay these turnovers (A10). By 2011, the military acquired a total of NTD 67.1 billion from financing, including NTD 3.4 billion from the Farmers Bank of China, 22.7 billion from the First Commercial Bank, 13 billion from the Armed Forces Special Funds (國軍各特種基金), and 28 billion from the Taiwan Business Bank (Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012: 33). Even so, the actual implementation still deviated from the latest revised plan, with the last completion of the new construction site in the country postponed until 2016 (TVBS News, 2015b). Figure 6.1 illustrates the first-phase collaboration between the military and the government in constructing public housing and the operational mechanism of the second phase.

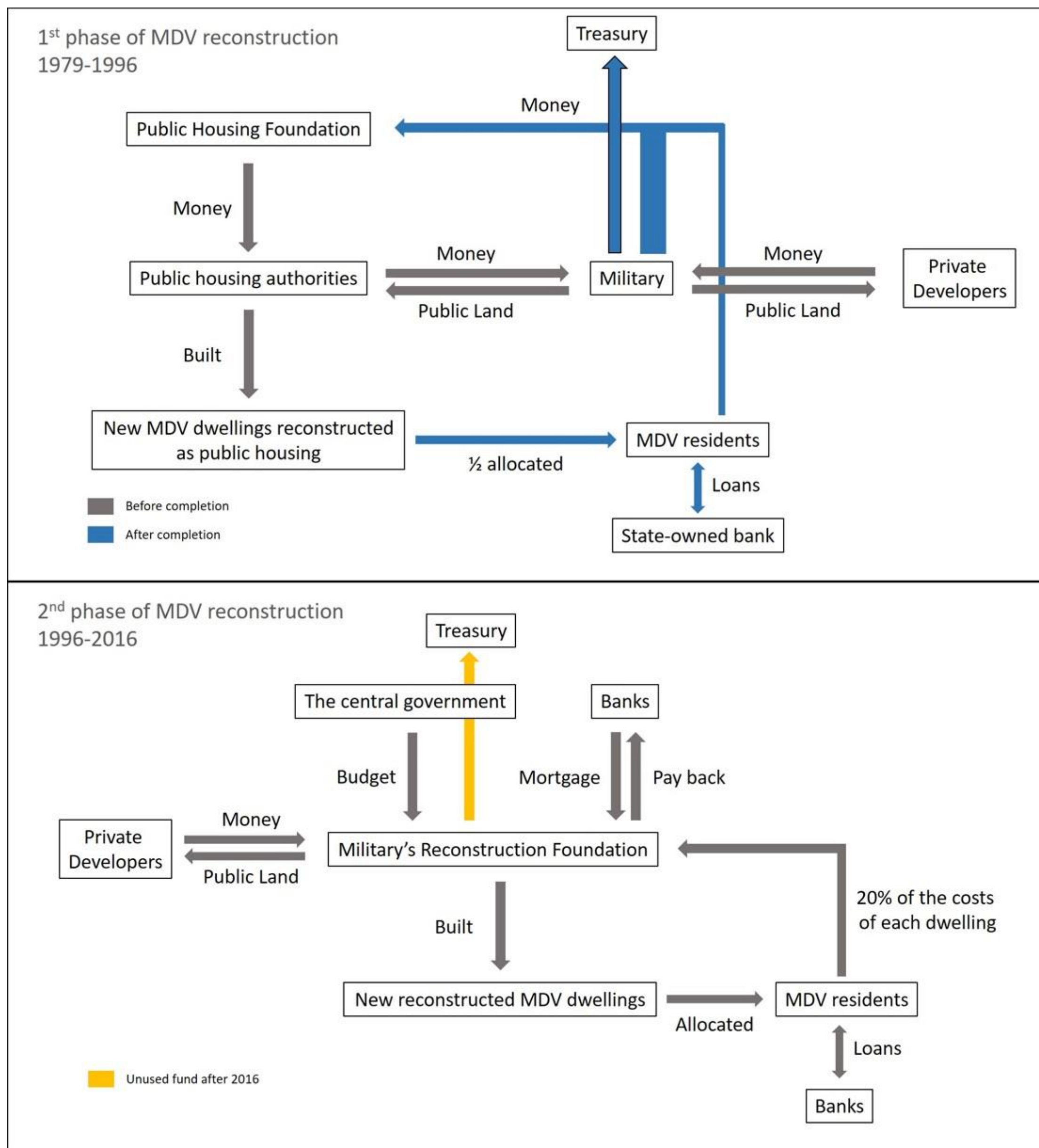

Figure 6.1: Mechanisms of the first- and second-phase MDV reconstruction
(Source: Author's own)

The capitalisation and financialisation of the real estate market after neoliberalism not only became the destination for privatised MDV housing and released public properties but also participated in the privatisation process through bank mortgages as turnover. In the 1980s, the Taiwanese government implemented a series of financial deregulations to increase the efficiency of capital liquidity. The government's shareholding in state-owned banks declined, and foreign banks and capital invested in or acquired Taiwanese banks after 1991, resulting in foreign capital entering Taiwan's financial industry (Shih, 2009). Due to time constraints and data sources, we cannot

be sure about the profitability and proportion of foreign capital in the MDV reconstruction, but we can confirm that given the military's normative and persistent debt repayment, financing the MDV reconstruction would not be high-risk. The introduction of financial tools and capital was not overly complex, but they facilitated the efficient integration of reconstructed MDV housing into the rapidly growing real estate market after financial deregulations. Some of these privatised residences, which were indistinguishable from general housing, became speculative commodities (see Section 6.4 and the next chapter).

6.3 The practical implementations of MDV reconstruction

After discussing the fiscal mechanisms, we now present the details of the actual implementation of the reconstruction, which is rarely documented or discussed in the existing literature and represents a significant evidence gap. We will sequentially discuss (a) the decision-making of relocation destinations and reconstruction sites, (b) the handling of violating stipulations, (c) the handling of residents opposing the reconstruction, and (d) a range of other controversies.

(a) *The decision-making of relocation destinations and reconstruction sites*:

In the first phase, many reconstructions led by the DHPC were implemented in individual villages *in situ*, which had relatively smaller areas. The public housing constructed in collaboration with the government occupied larger areas and accommodated residents from surrounding or even farther MDVs, and the selection of sites depended on whether they were public land (Chen et al., 2009: 28) and their locations and areas. Since the decision-making power for the reconstruction in this phase was still decentralised among different military branches, the MDVs accommodated through the latter mostly came from the same military branch. However, there was no consistent standard for determining the relocation destinations of villages, and it often relied on the social connections of villagers and officials. During fieldwork in Qing-nian New Town (QNNT), several former residents of Four-four East Village were encountered, which was unusual, compared with many other residents who had lived in MDVs around the location of QNNT before the reconstruction, (Four-

four East Village used to be six kilometres away). Respondent B12, 81 years old, mentioned that when the buildings in Four-four East Village were aging and suffering severe water leakage, the villagers sought help from the village chief, and the village chief learned from a city council member that there were vacant dwellings in QNNT. They were able to move to QNNT with the connections and permission provided by General Hau Pei-tsun (郝柏村). At that time, the military gave the residents of Four-four East Village the option to relocate to a reconstructed MDV in Songshan District or QNNT, and the residents were transported to both locations to observe before individually choosing their destination (B7).

Moreover, the aforementioned principles of site selection were not concrete in practice. Comparing two research sites, QNNT and Song-shan New Town (SSNT), we can observe that while both are public housing, the former accommodates residents from at least five different military branches, while the latter consists entirely of residents from the Air Force. Although the first phase had established subsidy guidelines for residents' homeownership acquisition, as well as rules for rental and relocation subsidies and loans, there was a lack of consistent standards for site selection and relocation destinations due to the multiple channels of reconstruction.

Excluding the collaboration with the government in constructing public housing, the second phase had clearer principles and a more equitable distribution approach under the Act. The reconstruction principles recorded in official publications were ‘No more MDVs, build large villages, relocate small villages, build before demolition, and carry out comprehensive reconstruction (不建餘屋，建大村，遷小村，先建後拆，全面改建)’ (Kuo, 2005: 18). As the decision-making power was centralised to the MND, new housing distribution was no longer based on military branches. One of the main criteria for selecting reconstruction sites was that the area should be large enough to accommodate residents from surrounding "small villages". In most cases, the distance of relocation for MDV residents was not too far, limited by land pricing and the convening of meetings (A10). Since the land price of the original MDVs still determined the subsidy for the purchase of new homes, relocating residents to sites with similar

land prices was easier to calculate the finance. Relocations mostly occurred within the same district and did not involve moving across counties or cities. Secondly, during the reconstruction process at each site, representatives of the village residents participated in joint construction teams (聯建小組)[45] to monitor the progress of the construction and pass on their opinions. Sites closer to the original MDVs were more convenient for the representatives to attend regular meetings without having to commute long distances. According to Respondent A10's experience, the military would calculate in advance the number of households and populations that needed to be relocated to specific bases, as well as the expected financial reimbursement amount, and submit them as conditions to the local government for planning. Many lands where MDVs were located were not adjusted or classified, and after the clearance of ground facilities, the military and the local government negotiated over the spatial planning and design based on the urban development goals and the military's requirements. The local government would carry out public amenity development and spatial configuration based on the number and trends of the surrounding and incoming population.

> '*The setting up of areas, roads, and schools for the original MDVs were all based on the conditions of the MDV residents at that time. After you take them back, tens of hectares, like in Location A*[46]*, tens of hectares of land, we told the city government that you can re-plan the space, and what facilities should be in this area, such as education, elementary schools, transportation facilities, roads, and how should you develop it. After that, the corresponding revenue from this land shall be returned to the Reconstruction Foundation. You can achieve … the city government can achieve their goals and obtain the land, including the chance to develop public facilities ……*' (A10, former military offical).

The released lands provided local governments with an opportunity to realise their

[45] The members of the joint construction teams include representatives from the MND, specific military branch(es), Construction and Planning Agency, the architectural and design units, and the villages (Yang & Chuang, 2006: 223).

[46] This location name has been anonymised because A10 was the leading representative of the military in this case.

development visions and readjust the spatial configuration of public facilities, housing, and land use zoning. As mentioned by Respondent A10, ‘after the adjustment, the entire … entire cityscape changes. The metro can also extend to that area because the metro also needs land. It [the government] can open up roads, transportation hubs for the metro, and undergo overall planning’. If there were urban renewal projects in the vicinity, they would also be taken into consideration to be included in the existing urban plan, expanding the scope of spatial intervention beyond the reconstruction sites (A10). If the plans proposed by the military adopted excessively high building densities, the local government would interpose and provide suggestions. Considering fiscal plans, the number of households to be accommodated, land use zoning, as well as building and land regulations, the actual number of viable sites for selection was limited (ibid).

However, analysing the new empirical, spatial data collected by this research reveals that in the case of Taipei City, for example, the *average* relocation distance for residents in thirteen reconstruction sites during the second phase is greater than one kilometre for three sites and greater than two kilometres for six sites (Table 6.1). These averages indicate that many villages were relocated even farther away from original MDVs, but were still deemed "sufficiently close to the original residence" by the MND under their guideline. The standards used for evaluating the selection of reconstruction sites have been narrowed down to quantifiable and dichotomous indicators such as financial balance and compliance with building and land use zoning regulations, emphasising efficiency and meeting fiscal plan. This has resulted in the *neglect of relational and affective factors such as neighbourhood identifications and sense of belonging*, which are difficult to quantify or monetise, leaving only criteria that effectively serve policy goals and plans. In this sense, the predominance of present-centred, quantitative approaches have meant the neglect of everyday experiences and longer-term perspectives.

Table 6.1: The average relocation distance of the second-phase MDV reconstruction in Taipei City

Reconstruction site	MDVs accommodated	Average relocation distance (km)
FHK Logistics Area	4	1.62
Jian-an New Town	8	3.11
Jin-cheng-chun-xiao	3	0.87
Chong-ren Garden	1	0.79
Yu-non Manor	2	0.07
Ping-an New Town	9	2.56
Wan-long Base Public Housing	5	3.06
Long-de-tian-xia	7	1.14
Xin-he Public Housing	3	1.63
Fu-hua-pu-yuan	2	2.53
Tian-mu-huai-de	2	0.29
Le-qun Garden New Town	1	2.73
Mu-zha Base	2	8.16

(Source: Author’s own)

This subsection provides a processual understanding that reveals the institutional framework through which financial logics intervene in public policy (Adisson, 2018), impacting urban spatial development. Although the decision-making authority for MDV residents' relocations was centralised to the military, the military's decisions were constrained by fiscal frameworks, taking into account financial balance and the repayment of funds borrowed from banks, which influenced the choice of reconstruction sites. This process was framed within the marketised national vision of economic growth, improvement of living quality, and enhancing the efficiency of land utilisation, which simplifies the societal complexity within MDVs (Scott, 1998). Furthermore, the relocation of Four-four East Village residents to QNNT through an informal process demonstrates that the actual implementation of reconstruction policies seeking to generalise and de-militarise MDVs still sometimes relied on political informality of parallel institutionalism to bridge information gaps (Goodfellow, 2020), facilitating the matching of villages in need with vacant newly reconstructed dwellings.

(b) *Regulation, non-enforcement and informality*

The military set up stipulations for the spatial utilisation of MDVs, which included guidelines for dealing with existing violations during the reconstruction. This section explicates three situations that affected the rights and interests of residents: unauthorised additions, unauthorised usage, and illegal occupation. Firstly, as mentioned in Chapter 5, unauthorised additions of premises were a common spatial phenomenon in MDVs. In addition to common expansions of indoor space forward and backward, residents also self-constructed lofts or second storey. Gu (1999) mentions that in Li-xing New Village in Taipei City, residents originally had only one bedroom and one living room, but later they self-built kitchens and bathrooms. In Cheng-gong New Village, as the villagers' financial capacity improved, they gradually replaced the earliest bamboo walls with brick walls and expanded the living space horizontally and vertically. Respondent C11 recalled that some pilots in SSNT were able to afford building second storey because of their higher income. However, self-construction was actually a violation, but the management of the military almost deliberately ignore it because the original interior space was indeed not sufficient for a family to live in. In this sense, *processes of housing informalisation of MDVs can be said to be accompanied by a political informality*. Over time, when everyone did the same, the additions of premises became an implicitly tolerated informal convention. In the first stage, the allocation of new housing depended on military rank and household size, rather than previous living space. In the second phase of reconstruction, in order to increase residents' willingness to agree to reconstruction, the government formulated compensation measures for these added spaces, taking into account that these spaces were self-built and used by residents for many years (A10). Relevant regulations point out that ’the competent authority shall reimburse the household subject to the local government's guidelines governing reimbursement for the public work of tear-down as available at the time when the additions of premises are torn down’ (Enforcement Rules of the Act for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 1996, Article 14). The compensation obtained was calculated based on the indoor area before the reconstruction minus the living area allocated after the reconstruction, and the area of yard(s) was excluded.

Secondly, “unauthorised usage” refers to residents registered in MDVs who concealed ownership of other housing elsewhere and retained the right to live in MDVs, or who lent or rented MDV dwellings to others (A2; A10). This is similar to the sub-letting of social housing in other welfare state contexts. The purpose of providing a limited number of MDVs was to guarantee the housing rights of immigrant military personnel and their families. Therefore, owning property in other parts of Taiwan means that the person did not have an urgent need for housing provided by the military (A10). If the military became aware of such cases, they would cancel the residents' eligibility to live in MDVs, and of course, these individuals would not be allocated new housing after reconstruction (ibid). However, this kind of violation was a quite common phenomenon and was hardly cracked down upon (A1; A8). In both research sites, SSNT and QNNT, we met several interviewees who simultaneously possessed MDV residence permits and ownership of other properties. Respondent A1 accounts that this was because the KMT government at the time placed special emphasis on providing benefits to the military. MDVs, as a type of public housing provided to specific occupations and statuses, were not the only ones. The KMT government also provided similar housing benefits to immigrant civil servants, police officers, teachers, etc. However, the government considered that:

> *‘the loyalty of the military was the most important. It was basically political control. In other words, in sociology we teach that political control means if I treat you well, provide you with good treatment, and good living conditions, you shall be loyal to me, you shall not stage a coup, and you shall not cause trouble casually’* (A1, academic).

In short, the military took a *laissez-faire* approach towards the phenomenon of MDV informality and densification driven by political logics. Another form of unauthorised usage occurred when *residents let or lent MDV dwellings to others* due to studying, working, or settling away from home. Some residents living on the outskirts of the village or in the dwellings facing the street even rented their houses to a McDonald's restaurant (A10).

However, unless reported, the military turned a blind eye to this, which was a demonstration of cohesion and tacit agreement between immigrants and the military. These immigrants had long-term residences in the same village, taking care of each other in a place away from Mainland China, and most of the men in the village worked in the same military branch or unit, forming strong community bonds and a sense of collective identification. The management units understood the challenges of each household in the village and did not deliberately create difficulties for residents who engage in unauthorised usage.

> '*Did the neighbours know? They knew, but they didn't report it because they might be doing something similar in the future. Did the chairs of the autonomous association know? They knew too, but because they used to be colleagues and neighbours, they didn't report it. Unless someone wanted to threaten or seek revenge, one would report it. There were also some reports, but not many, because there was a sense of camaraderie in MDVs. Everyone worked together and knew that someone was going to Taipei for studies, work, or settling*' (A1, academic).

In the case of the *McDonald's* incident, the military required residents to rectify unauthorised usage within a specified period and sought improper gains retrospectively for the past five years under the *National Property Act* (A10). The majority of MDV residents who have not been punished hold registered quotas until the implementation of reconstruction, and in addition to their existing property ownership, they secured another post-reconstruction housing unit.

Thirdly, illegal occupation refers to the *construction of informal settlements* on MDV land without obtaining residence permits. These individuals included mainlanders who were unable to access formal MDVs or Taiwanese people who migrated from rural areas to urban areas seeking job opportunities after industrialisation. Li (2015) argues that while not every immigrant military personnel and their dependents could live in MDVs, the distribution of Mainlanders in Taiwan generally overlapped with the spatial distribution of MDVs, indicating the clustering effect of immigrants. During the post-

war period when the official language was not widely spoken, refugees from different regions with different dialects and local cultures may have a psychological inclination to live with people who had similar experiences or the same hometown – what de Swaan (1995) terms circles of identification (see also Bolt et al., 1998; Bolt et al., 2007). Many of them settled in the vacant land within MDVs, constructing informal buildings and gradually improving them with more sturdy materials, integrating them into other regulated dwellings. Here, Gu (1999: 58–64) records an interesting story about Qing-Bai New Village in Taipei City and the Dachen people:

> After the retreat in 1949, parts of the troops were reorganised on the coastal islands of Mainland China. Dachen Archipelago in the southeast of Shanghai was one of them. Many soldiers and guerrillas from the Mainland, intelligence agents and troops sent from Taiwan, and the locals gathered at the frontline, preparing for the counterattack. However, after the defeat of the Battle of Yijiangshan, the KMT government implemented Operation Jin-Gang in 1955 to abandon the stronghold of Dachen Archipelago, evacuating all the soldiers and residents to Taiwan. These immigrants were scattered in fifteen different MDVs in Taiwan, and those intelligence agents and guerrillas among them were relocated to Qing-bai New Village. In 1960, the military rebuilt the huts into 214 housing units with bricks and mortar, but many Dachen people living in other places in Taiwan moved here, and calculating both the formal and informal housing, the number of households once reached more than 1,000.

Similar situations occurred in other villages. When the military planned to relocate the legal 500 households in Yue-lu New Village and Jian-hua New Village, which were located in the current area of Da'an Forest Park, they faced the challenging issue of dealing with 2,000 informal households (Lin & Gao, 2015). The second phase of the legislation incorporated this issue by allowing these informal households to access the government-led reconstructed MDVs, but only in the smallest unit size of approximately 79.34 square metres, without any government subsidies (A10). The aforementioned three violations of spatial usage originated from their initial temporary nature, which the government was unable to manage and regulate (see

also Durst & Wegmann, 2017). But due to the military's tolerance towards variegated forms of informality based on the sense of community and camaraderie, shared experiences, and the mutual tacit understandings between the administrators and residents, these informal phenomena were gradually accepted as the norm once the temporary nature dissipated. When MDVs were being formalised as part of a broader property-based national housing system, the ambiguity that was tolerated under military jurisdiction was eliminated.

(c) *Resistances to reconstruction*

As mentioned in Chapter 5, residents who were unwilling to move into reconstructed MDVs could choose to purchase their preferred housing in the private housing market with the same government subsidies. Typically, these individuals would need to bear a higher cost as choosing reconstructed MDVs involves subtracting the subsidy from the cost price, while self-purchasing a house entails subtracting the subsidy from the market price. However, there were still *a small number of residents who were reluctant to leave their original homes*. Reasons included having already invested considerable funds over the past few decades to decorate and improve the quality of their housing, making it financially challenging to afford the required amount (Yang, 2017), or not being able to obtain housing of equal size and retain their own courtyard, especially for some higher-ranking military households who lived in a bigger unit before being reconstructed (B12). Moreover, emotional attachment formed over several decades to specific spaces, lifestyles, social interactions, memories and visual landscapes also made it uncomfortable for individuals to undergo significant adjustments in their later years.

> *'They have lived their entire lives in the old MDVs. Although those old villages were very simple, they had a sense of community, with neighbours living next to each other, right? It had a strong sense of camaraderie, with trees and a small garden. But in these new buildings, you can't see this kind of living environment and camaraderie anymore. The living environment and the sense of camaraderie between people that existed before completely disappear in the new buildings. Many elderly people who lived in the MDVs would often come out before*

> *reconstruction, chatting with their neighbours, spending their twilight years, playing chess, and helping take care of children. In their later years, they could go to nearby places to buy groceries and cook. But in the new high-rises, they live in small rooms on the tenth or twentieth floor …… they don't know their neighbours, and they rarely go out. They don't know where to go, and everyone around them is a stranger*' (A6, high-ranking staff of an MDV-related NGO and former government official).

During the first phase, the MDV would only be included in the reconstruction if all households agreed. After the 1996 legislation, in the second phase, if two-thirds of the village's households agreed, the village would be included. Households that disagreed faced the choice of accepting government conditions or having nothing, which meant being sued by the military if they refused reconstruction and relocation (A10). In a situation where both housing and land were owned by the government, the chances of success in a legal battle against the military were minimal, so most residents chose to accept the military's conditions. In the initial reconstruction plan, two of the designated reconstruction sites, Huai-ren New Village and Site No.9 (九號基地) in Taipei City, according to the MND, were directly revoked and the rights of these villagers were excluded due to opposition from residents (Executive Yuan Administrative Appeal Decision Yuan-Tai-Su-Zi No. 1090170767, 2020; Executive Yuan Administrative Appeal Decision Yuan-Tai-Su-Zi No. 1110195638, 2022).

(d) Other controversies:

Lastly, the controversies that arose during the transition of systems governing MDVs will be discussed. In particular, two cases are used to illustrate the complexities that go beyond policy and regulatory guidelines in the reconstruction process: (i) the Huai-ren New Village and Ci-xaing New Village reconstruction incidents, and (ii) the legal litigation involving residents of Songshan Airport and Nanjichang. The former case draws information from administrative documents and news, while the latter was learnt of through fieldwork.

As described in paragraph (c) above, the initial site for rebuilding new housing to accommodate residents of Huai-ren New Village and Ci-xaing New Village was revoked by the MND due to insufficient consent from two-thirds of the residents, thus cancelling their rights to access reconstructed housing. However, according to the residents' grounds, more than three-quarters of them had already agreed to the reconstruction as early as 2003, following a statutory public briefing by the military. Due to the military's inability to resolve illegal occupancies within the village, the project's contracting was repeatedly delayed, impeding the progress of reconstruction. As a result, the military removed the reconstruction site for Huai-ren New Village in 2013 and decided to relocate the residents to Mu-zha Base, which was over ten kilometres away. This caused dissatisfaction among the residents, who argued that the military should not unilaterally decide to move them so far from their original living area, leading to a legal dispute between the two parties. In 2017, the court adjudicated that the military should maintain the Huai-ren New Village reconstruction site as the relocation destination for the residents of both villages. The military began collecting consent forms from residents in May 2019 following another statutory public briefing. However, within three months, consent forms were only collected from 18 out of 37 households, with 17 households explicitly expressing disagreement with the reconstruction. Consequently, the residents of these two villages were notified in November that their eligibility for reconstruction was revoked (Executive Yuan Administrative Appeal Decision Yuan-Tai-Su-Zi No. 1090170767, 2020; UDN.com, 2016). The military could not and would not forcibly evict illegal occupants or unwilling residents, but their direct proposal in 2013 to relocate the consenting residents to a location over ten kilometres away due to unresolved issues with occupiers arguably demonstrates that the *military prioritised efficiency of execution over its commitment to residents* – the version the residents initially agreed upon was reconstruction at the current site (Huai-ren New Village reconstruction site). However, due to the lack of land and housing ownership, the residents effectively had no choice and struggled to gain an advantage in the legal battle.

In the other case, the legal litigation involving residents of Songshan Airport and Nanjichang originated from 16 households near Songshan Airport and 10 households

in Nanjichang. In the 1980s, these households acquired permission from the public housing authority to construct housing classified as public housing through a government allocation of land and self-financing. After completion, they obtained building permits and homeownership. Yet, during the comprehensive reconstruction, the MND did not recognise these dwellings as privatised public housing and classified them as illegal occupants of public land, filing lawsuits against them (National Legally Self-built Military Dependent Households Against Forced Eviction Alliance, 2017). We didn't find the final outcome of the litigation, but according to the explanation provided by Respondent A8, similar contradictory events occurred in MDVs across Taiwan. Another case involves a resident who agreed to the reconstruction but was omitted from the list. The military promised to allocate a dwelling to that resident after the completion of another site. However, the resident was once again omitted after the completion of the second site, and was offered a subsidy to purchase a house in the private housing market as an alternative, which meant a higher personal expense (A8) (i.e., they had to pay the difference between the subsidy and the market cost).

Respondent B20, who served as a high-ranking military officer and was responsible for MDV affairs and was also an MDV resident, stated that these seemingly unreasonable and contradictory events may be attributed to the fact that MDVs were previously managed solely by the military before reconstruction. Many commitments were only handwritten on paper and sealed with fingerprints or stamps. In the past, older generations of immigrant soldiers adhered to a spirit of mutual care and were familiar with each household, so these documents might be accepted. However, as these individuals gradually retired, the new generation of administrators does not recognise documents outside formal paperwork, even if they bear handwritten signatures. This once again highlights that the various juxtaposed types of informality tolerated by the military's governance were simplified and neglected during *a process of MDV de-militarisation* (Scott, 1998), with these individuals becoming marginalised in the integration of two different systems of the general and the military.

> '*The official said they acknowledged it and would admit it to you, I mean to them* (the residents)*. But when the next official came, when they came, no, they would*

> *say it was not acceptable because it didn't comply with regulations, and they wouldn't grant it. They would be dismissed, basically kicked out ...... if the competent unit said fine, and they acknowledged that the house was transferred to you, and if you have the official document to prove it, you won't lose [the lawsuit against the Ministry of National Defense]. The problem is, they all did these transfers privately. You might sign some transfer papers, but they don't care, they won't admit it. The managing authority can't acknowledge it either. They won't let you sell the house [that you obtain the ownership informally]'* (B20, former military official and MDV resident).

The preceding paragraphs of this section explore operational details and means of dealing with specific conditions that are not addressed in the majority of the MDVs literature. The spatial development policies centred round efficiency and economic growth have flattened the unquantifiable societal complexity and various forms of informal dynamics that exist within parallel institutionalism (see Burgum et al., 2022; Scott, 1998). The military adopted quantifiable and dichotomous indicators to formulate reconstruction plans, leading to the institutionalisation and elimination of those spontaneous conventions and mechanisms during the process of aligning the old system with the new institutional structure. Simultaneously, the process of demilitarisation had relationships of interactions, coordination, and conflicts with various coexisting forms of political informality under the military's governance (Goodfellow, 2020). Some types of political informality assisted MDV residents in gaining access to newly reconstructed housing through their connections with military officials, while other types were not accepted by the new management system. For example, the legitimacy of informal documents that were previously accepted by military administrators was not recognised during the implementation of reconstruction. This section unveils the political informality and state simplifications within the transition of systems governing MDVs.

6.4 MDVs, financialised urbanism and its discontents

This final section of the chapter explores the overall macro influences of MDV policies

on the housing market and urban space. The long-term and short-term influences on households or individuals will be addressed in the next chapter. The macro influences include:

(a) ***the continuous expansion of an ownership-oriented housing market***

(b) ***the concentration and marginalisation of MDV households in urban space, and***

(c) ***the internal structural inequality caused by the interdependence between MDV culture and informality on the one hand, and the military system and its identifications on the other.***

Firstly, the privatisation of MDVs since the 1980s has fostered real estate speculation. From the government and military's perspective, the financial design of the two phases of reconstruction was to achieve a balance on the books as much as possible, and to allow the original residents of the MDVs to obtain new dwellings and homeownership at prices well below market prices. The government's ruling powers continued patron-clientelism within the limits of the national finance's capacity, resonating with the policy orientation of urban developmentalism.

However, it is the loss of public property that lurks in the shadow of reducing the current and future financial burden on the state and providing a certain group of people with housing welfare. The impact of the reconstruction of MDVs is not only the privatisation of nearly 100,000 housing units, but the privatisation of public housing built on the previous MDV lands, selling to low- and middle-income households and public servants. As shown in Table 6.2, 54 per cent of public housing in Taipei City was built on the released MDV lands (Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, 2004). A large number of housing entered the market during this period and became tradable commodities. On the other hand, it was often developers who participated in military land auctions, and these lands sold for financial balance went directly into the fast-growing real estate market, which was in line with the authoritarian government's expectation of releasing the MDV lands to accelerate economic reproduction (Blom Hansen & Stepputat, 2001).

Table 6.2: Sources of the public housing construction in Taipei City

Channel	Number of dwellings built	Proportion
General	23,817	44.6%
Built through MDV reconstruction	28,935	54.1%
Incentives for private investment in public housing construction	710	1.3%
Total	53,462	100%

(Source: Organised based on Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of the Interior, 2004)

It is difficult to comprehensively assess or quantify the impact of MDV policies on the overall housing market and economy. However, we can still understand the reality and influence of speculation through several cases. Although the government's public housing projects faced sluggish sales, starting from the mid-1980s – due to financial deregulations, promotional sales led by the public housing authority, relaxed purchase qualifications, and reduced housing prices – public housing still became very popular. People knew that as long as they could qualify for a purchase, they could earn substantial profits by reselling in the rapidly expanding real estate market at that time (Public Housing Department, 2004). In Taipei City, the qualifications for public housing were determined through a lottery held in a crowded public gym because of the overwhelming number of applicants. According to the recollection of staff members from the Public Housing Department of the Taipei City Government at that time:

> '*I heard that the sale of public housing borrowed the lottery machine of the Patriotic Tickets and took place in the Chien Kuo High School's gym. In front of so many applicants, the household numbers and doorplate numbers were drawn one by one publicly. The applicants drawn were all extremely ecstatic as if they had won a lottery ticket. This shows the extremely high popularity of public housing at that time*' (Public Housing Department, 2004: 18).

> '*Later, as the economy improved and housing values soared, public housing also became very popular, with people rushing to buy. Every day, there were large numbers of people wanting to make a purchase, and soon, all the unsold public*

housing was sold out one by one' (Public Housing Department, 2004: 39).

In Taipei City, many of these public housing units that entered the market were constructed on the land of MDVs, in consonance with the reconstructed MDVs. Speculative activities were not uncommon, and the amount of profit depended on the location and housing conditions of the dwellings. The reconstructed He-ping New Village, located in a high-priced area in the city centre, was allocated to First Generals and Generals in 1993, who only had to bear a cost significantly lower than the market value, around NTD 9.58 million (then approximately £241,900) to 10.43 million (then approximately £263,400) for ownership of a housing unit of approximately 225 square metres. One of the generals sold the property in 2011 for around NTD 100 million (then approximately £2.105 million), making a profit of approximately NTD 90.42 million (Liberty Times Net, 2011; TVBS News, 2015a). In our research site, QNNT, Respondent B18 mentioned that in 1988, she purchased an apartment from a Chinese immigrant for NTD 2.6 million and sold it for NTD 4.75 million in 2003. Currently, the market price for a unit in that neighbourhood is around NTD 18 million.

During the 1980s, when real estate prices rapidly increased, the government continued to release privatised public housing into the market, knowing that some of them would become speculative commodities. This was done to maintain a stable cash flow for the Public Housing Foundation to repay loans and interest incurred during the construction process (Public Housing Agency, 2004). Similarly, MDVs also faced severe financial challenges compared to public housing projects since the government could gradually phase out public housing projects if the finances became unsustainable (see Liao, 2022; Lin, 2003), but MDVs still needed to be regenerated to address the longstanding housing issues. The political objectives and financial realities led to the privatisation of MDVs, incorporating the use of financial instruments to ensure implementation progress and efficiency, which also affected housing and markets beyond MDVs. *Ultimately, MDV policies contributed to the formation of a financialised built environment by providing more commodified housing.*

Secondly, this financial calculation approach directly affected urban spaces. In order to

raise construction funds and afford bank mortgages, the military tended to sell high-value MDV lands or “not camps-fitting lands” in the city centre, and actually relocated residents to locations with lower land value (A10). This strategy of retaining lands with room for future price increases and using their commercial value to attract the private sector's capital implies the logics of capitalisation (see Birch, 2017). Real estate with the characteristics of capital pools has become the target of speculative activities (Aalbers, 2016). Respondent A10, a former senior military official with many years of practical experience in MDV reconstruction, explained that in addition to land area and traffic locations, the financial balance was also a factor that affected the selection of the reconstruction sites in the second phase.

> '*The locations of some villages were relatively bad. When they came, it became a burden for the Ministry of National Defense because they only paid twenty per cent. The Ministry ...... the Ministry of National Defense would have a heavier burden, so the Ministry would balance considerations …… Some places with extremely high land prices are not suitable for be chosen as sites. The first is that the area may not be that large, and the second is that when you build it, the financial balance is quite quite quite not worthwhile*' (A10, former military official).

We account that the first phase of reconstruction has a similar mechanism and the same considerations. Since the 1970s, the spatial evolution of MDVs in Taipei over time has shown that the reconstructed MDVs tend to concentrate in Wanhua District, Wenshan District, and Songshan District (Figure 6.2), which to some extent affirms the respondent's statement from the overall spatial relationship. The concentrations of Wanhua District and Wenshan District are located in the riverside area of Xindian River, where flooding occurred occasionally in history (Taiwan Cultural Memory Bank, n.d.), and both sites were on the edge of Taipei City during the Japanese colonial period and after the war. However, the reason for simpler land acquisition cannot be overlooked. During the Japanese colonial period, the southern Wanhua District and Songshan District were the airfields, and the surrounding area was mostly farmland or vacant land. After the KMT government took over Taiwan, the previous Japanese official facilities were registered as public properties, and these large areas of land were

suitable for accommodating a considerable population and became a land source for MDV reconstruction. Taking into account factors including land area, financial balance, and ease of land acquisition, *many of the post-reconstruction MDV households were concentrated in spaces of relative marginalisation*.

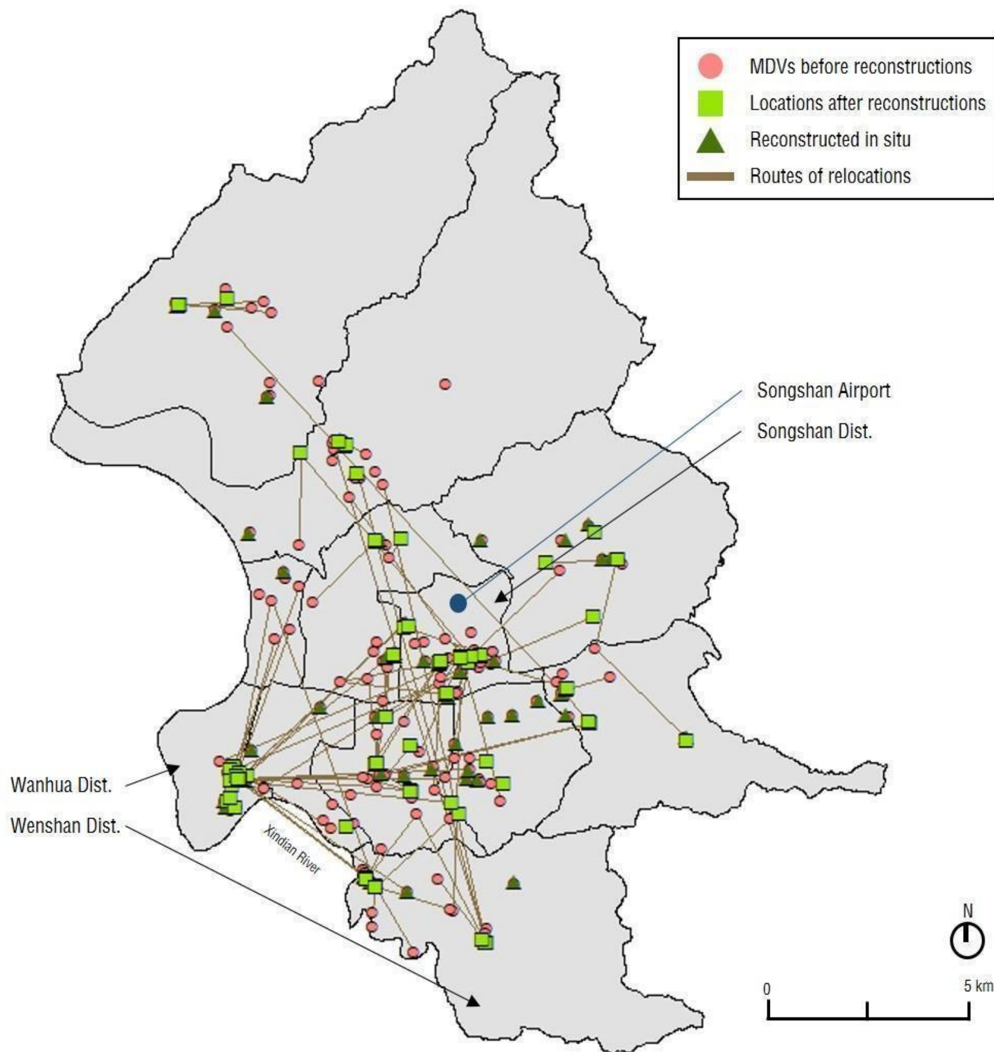

Figure 6.2: The temporal-spatial patterns of MDVs in Taipei before and after the reconstructions
(Source: Author's own)

Finally, during the period of burgeoning real estate market growth, the *reconstruction policies transformed the differences in military ranks into differences in assets*, symbolising the last continuation of state-led housing welfare with the military culture. As housing infrastructure serving a specific group, MDV housing allocation has always

been influenced by a strong military culture, lacking equal opportunities for access. Constrained by limited housing supply, the welfare meant to benefit immigrant military personnel rejected a large number of lower-ranking (single) soldiers based on military ranks and the presence of dependents. Meanwhile, higher-ranking officers enjoyed larger living spaces. At least within MDVs, residents no matter their military ranks did not have to worry about their housing status, and the management's disregard for informal adjustments to housing space allowed lower-ranking officers to make their families more comfortable according to their needs. However, *the privatisation of the reconstructed MDVs shifted this difference in dispensation to the realm of assets*. The KMT did not adopt the proposal by the NP to allocate dwellings of the same size regardless of military rank, but instead maintained a distribution based on ranks. This meant that after reconstruction, within the same area, generals owned assets with larger sizes and higher market values than lower-ranking officers. The independence of the military and the influence of high-ranking officers on MDVs made this culture untouchable, and it represented the last act of a hierarchical, or class culture, in housing allocation after MDVs were separated from military governance. As stated by Respondent A6: '*You can do nothing. The military is all about ranks, isn't it? …... If you've been a soldier, you know that it's definitely about ranks because it* (the military) *can't function without considering them. So, those single veterans* (those immigrant military personnel who could not initially access MDVs)*, if they didn't have higher ranks or something like that, they would receive very few national resources in the end*'.

This privilege is also reflected in the case of the reconstructed He-ping New Village. During the second phase of reconstruction, only First Generals and Generals who had not been allocated to the reconstructed housing were allowed to apply for purchase. However, three generals who preferred the relatively newer and larger area of He-ping New Village made an exception by selling the already allocated housing back to the military and applying to purchase a unit in He-ping New Village (TVBS News, 2015a). In an asset-driven, financialised housing environment, higher-ranking officers generally not only receive larger and more valuable housing allocations, but they can also bypass general official rules to choose higher-value housing. On the other hand,

MDV residents with lower military ranks receive inferior treatment, but many residents still support these MDV policies because compared to the general public, lower-cost homeownership in cities remains an immense privilege.

But what are the actual, micro impacts of reconstruction and property acquisition on MDV residents and their descendants? Does this privilege provide them with specific advantages? The effects of MDV privatisation and financialisation on daily life will be discussed in the next chapter.

6.5 Conclusions

The privatisation of MDVs was not only intended to align with the central government's initiatives of large-scale public housing for sales starting from the 1970s but also stemmed from the need to improve the dilapidations within MDVs. Constrained by the historically lower priority given to housing issues and the lack of public funds, privatisation had a smaller financial burden on the government than building a large number of new dwellings and continuing to maintain the system of residents holding residence permits instead of ownership. The pragmatic strategy of privatisation was more financially feasible and provided the military with the opportunity to detach itself from the governance of MDVs and return to its functional essence – national defence and war (A1).

Moreover, following democratisation, public welfare matters related to daily life and residence gained more significant political influence, directly shaping election outcomes. The game and coordination within the institution strengthened the direction of MDV policies, and the thorough reconstruction of MDVs became a tool for the KMT to exchange for the support of specific voter groups. Providing substantial housing purchase subsidies to assist MDV residents in acquiring homeownership to some extent consolidated corresponding political support (A3).

The military obtained funds for housing development and subsidising residents' home purchases by selling public assets, but simultaneously the general MDV households

were included to bear the government's financial balance. The fund preparation for financial balance within these intricate mechanisms of privatisation involved linking funds from various departments and sectors (see Aalbers, 2020; Adisson, 2018), including the public, public/private (e.g., DHPC), and private sectors. Public properties served as intermediaries for introducing funds, leading to interventions in the development of urban spaces and the release of massive land into the real estate market. The limited public fund and subsidy prompted MDV residents to share the financial burden of the public housing authority and the military respectively in two phases. The introduction of these commonly seen financial instruments aimed to ensure sustainable progress in privatisation. Simultaneously, when the state seeks to enhance the efficiency of capital flow through debt, it fosters institutional promotion and shaping that encourages societal reliance on loans (Rolnik, 2019; Soederberg, 2014).

This chapter provides a clearer demonstration of the historical association between Taiwan's neoliberalism and MDV housing, a very specific form of financialised urbanism. Based on the incremental entanglement with international trade, embarking on financial deregulations strengthened international capital liquidity and facilitated the development of Taiwan's real estate market. However, the privatisation and commodification of public assets, along with the accompanying logic of financial calculation, can be traced back to the post-World War II and the Chinese Civil War period. In addition to selling and leasing public properties to increase government revenue, since the 1960s, the Republic of China (Taiwan) pursued economic development as its primary goal, transforming into a poor authoritarian, developmentalist state (Chang, 1988; Chen & Li, 2010). Official policies heavily absorbed agricultural surplus and invested in infrastructure such as transportation, energy, and state-owned enterprises to promote export-oriented industrialisation (Chang, 1988). Confronting the economic impact of the oil crises, the authoritarian government, in its attitude of the omnipotent, implemented the planned economy to promote public housing projects and kept sight of the potential benefits of the urban land where MDVs were located.

The merging of public housing and MDV reconstruction aimed to strengthen multi-aspect interests, including promoting public housing construction, improving the living quality of MDVs, and stimulating the national economy through land development and urban renewal. MDVs were recognised by the government as resources that could be diverted to serve policy objectives when necessary. After democratisation, as the commitments made by the political parties regarding the general public's livelihood became intertwined with electoral considerations, the expansion of ownership further became a tool for winning votes/elections. For MDV residents, privatisation led to a transition from housing as a home to housing as an asset (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). The emergence and evolution of MDVs as a form of infrastructure service initially aimed to provide shelters and a sense of security to these displaced immigrants. However, privatisation brought the individual households into the debt system, and the economic and social reproduction of everyday life was now interdependent with the state fiscal framework and balance. Financial instruments were more widely used to assist in the privatisation of MDVs, directly and indirectly releasing more residential commodities into the market. This also responds to Liao's (2022) concept of housing publicisation (公共化), which remarks on the large-scale public housing projects initiated by the government in the 1970s. In fact, this represented the *de*-publicisation of MDV housing. MDVs moved towards privatisation due to the juncture offered by public housing projects, thereby ending their function as housing infrastructure services connected to military organisation.

The independence of the military in governing MDVs pivoted during the process of privatisation. The multifaceted informality that originally emerged due to the unique and temporary nature of MDVs stabilised within this system and coexisted with military management. When this closed system had to integrate into a mainstream system centred round homeownership, unregistered households that were tolerated, and to some extent safeguarded, within MDVs had to pay a higher cost to acquire newly constructed dwellings by the government or be excluded. Constrained by the deadlines and funding of reconstruction plans, the military relied on legitimacy, quantifiable standards, and financial calculations to determine reconstruction sites

and the relocations of residents i.e., “state simplifications” (Scott, 1998). Furthermore, the top-level power holders, through the ambiguous space of the law, benefited specific individuals in this redistribution of properties, replacing power/military rank with asset differences and perpetuating military culture in housing for the last time. These illustrate the inequalities facilitated by the new governance system, whether being the previously tolerated informality or the entrenched stratification practices of the existing military culture.

Pfeiffer and Chapman (2010: 159), citing Rowden (2009), argue that the mechanics of these structural adjustments are significant as they indicate the sites and points where struggle, engagement, and resistance occur. The varieties of struggle, engagement, and resistance that were accrued and forged by the socioeconomic evolutions are distinguished by nuanced differences within the MDV community. Not only does the overall economic background continue to change, but the ways in which individual households were privatised and relocated also vary due to different applicable systems or channels, as well as discrepancies in their own identities, such as military ranks and household population size, resulting in very different experiences of MDV reconstruction. Building upon the macro influences explored in this chapter, the next chapter will discuss how the privatisation of MDVs intervened in residents' everyday lives in terms of personal experiences, housing mobility, urban encounters and inter-generational influences.

Chapter VII: Life and residential dynamics before, during, and after MDV de-militarisation

The third empirical chapter builds upon the previous discussion, delving into the actual influences of MDV privatisation and financialisation on the everyday lives of MDV residents from a micro perspective. Existing literature on housing financialisation and neoliberalisation in Taiwan still has various gaps (see Chapter 1).

Most studies focus on the overall influence of the political and economic environment on the housing market, which is presented through various indicators such as housing prices to income ratio or the average age of first-time homebuyers. However, the interpretation of national policies, especially affordability, is often influenced by mainstream economic models and econometric analyses, which have their technical limitations and can obfuscate nuances within the housing system (Bramley, 2013; Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Although evaluating accessibility to housing is useful for assessing the housing environment, the actual influence is also manifested by the changes in housing quality, in toleration of informality, family support, personal perception, and asset allocation strategies, which are often difficult to quantify.

On the other hand, while a small number of studies on the MDVs concentrate on residents' life histories and experiences before and after redevelopment (see Ma, 2010; Peh, 2009), they have rarely been discussed in relation to financialisation (see Section 1.3). Therefore, drawing on debates within urban studies on financialised urbanisms and post-colonial contexts, we seek to conceptualise specific housing phenomena through the grounded experiences of MDV residents, exploring the divergences from Anglophone mainstream discourses that predominate. This can enrich the conceptualisation of financialisation from a more global perspective.

The MDVs and their residents are interesting subjects of study because, unlike local Taiwanese with land or property ownership, they have always been recipients of state/military policies and a unique and relatively closed management system in terms

of housing (at least until privatisation). Their housing mobility was also intensely influenced by the authority's decision-making. This makes the MDVs a unique and fruitful field for observing how state policies and the overall political and economic environment have shaped specific housing processes. Furthermore, despite most of the MDV residents being immigrants, the channels through which they accessed MDV housing, and the ways they endured reconstruction, were characterised by heterogeneity and diversity due to different backgrounds and positions. This piques our curiosity: after the intervention of the state/military policies, how have these residents with different backgrounds experienced the reconstruction process? What kinds of influence have these experiences and the subsequent changes in living conditions had on them and their families?

This chapter focuses on the two reconstructed MDVs, Qing-nian New Town (QNNT) and Song-shan New Town (SSNT) in Taipei City, retracing the influences of the adjustment in ownership structure and exploring the differences in residents' daily experiences. It also aims to understand how the resident composition of neighbourhoods has changed over the two to three decades after the normalisation and privatisation of MDVs, and how these residents end up living in the same blocks.

This study does not aim to produce an account of the post-war housing history of Taiwan, rather to analyse the systemic influence of the adjustment in ownership structure through the housing histories of this specific cohort. In light of this, "housing biographies" are drawn upon, which involves organising and analysing the long-term daily experiences related to housing for different residents in order to construct their individual housing histories. Besides the decisions they made and the actions they took, we care about their reasons and logics (Simone, 2008). These memories and stories shift the focus from economic data to real-life experiences and perceptions. Exploring diverse residential patterns can '[expose] the contradictions, complexities and ambivalences at the intersection of policy, housing processes and everyday life' (Powell & Simone, 2022: 841). Although residents may not fully understand the (often contradictory) decision-making processes of those in power, piecing together their housing biographies, and comparing and analysing similarities and differences, can

help *reveal the long-term entanglement between urban change, housing financialisation, intergenerational dynamics, and MDV residents*.

We first present five housing biographies from residents of Qing-nian New Town (QNNT) and Song-shan New Town (SSNT). Three residents from QNNT, Chao, Qian, and Sun, and two from SSNT, Li and Chou, were selected from a pool of twenty QNNT and seventeen SSNT interviewees. We use pseudonyms to represent these five residents in the housing biographies in Section 7.1 (Table 7.1). Each resident's experience represents various common channels for accessing the reconstructed MDV housing. Of course, the channels for accessing the reconstructed MDV housing are not limited to these five cases. The purpose of these five housing biographies is to provide readers with a clearer understanding of the diversity embedded in the MDVs and to gain further insight into the interviewees' experiences.

Table 7.1: Pseudonyms used in Section 7.1

Respondent	Pseudonym	Age	Sex
B4	**Chao**	93	Female
B12	**Qian**	81	Male
B13	**Sun**	71	Male
C1	**Li**	Around 90	Female
C7	**Chou**	71	Female

(Source: Author's own)

7.1 Housing biographies

Housing biographies encompass residents' living experiences and perceptions, housing mobility, past and current lifestyles, as well as intergenerational housing dynamics, before becoming the residents of reconstructed MDVs. These data also elucidate residents' capacity and decisions to improve their lives under specific conditions (Silver, 2014), including both material and emotional aspects. Following these five housing biographies, the empirical insights from these and other housing biographies serve as a foundation for discussions in subsequent sections.

a. Chao (93 years old, female):

Chao was born in Shandong Province, China. In 1948, at the age of 19, Chao evacuated to Taiwan from Yantai, Shandong, along with her husband who was serving in the Air Force. They initially lived in an informal shelter made of improvised wooden boards in a building, enduring a difficult period of time. After moving from several temporary residences to another, they eventually settled in the dormitory of the 5th Air Group of the Air Force at Taoyuan Airport, where they had a son and a daughter. However, after her husband retired and lost eligibility to use the Air Force dormitories, they purchased an informal housing unit near the current Xinhe Elementary School (within 100 metres of QNNT) for NTD 1,000. They opened a restaurant in the Datong District until they moved to the current unit in QNNT, which was bought from a Chinese immigrant who wanted to move in with his daughter, who lived elsewhere and had a larger residence. As a result, the previous informal dwelling they lived in was sold for a few thousand NT dollars after moving into this 99.17-square-metre housing unit and retiring. In these nearly forty years, they spend their time strolling in the park, engaging in stock trading, or chatting with neighbours in the open space of QNNT in the afternoons. Their son currently lives in Taiwan, but their daughter settled in the US after completing an undergraduate degree with a scholarship and limited support from them. The couple did not provide any financial housing support to their children.

b. Qian (81 years old, male):

Qian was born in Henan Province, China. His father worked as a junior technician in an arsenal in Shandong Province. In early 1949, when Qian was eight years old, his grandfather believed that the situation would deteriorate rapidly and asked Qian's father to bring the whole family to escape. To solve the problem of not having travel permits, Qian's father obtained permits through a friend's connections in the black market and managed to make their way through checkpoints, travelling by carriage to the coastal city Qingdao. There, the entire family of nine, including Qian's grandparents, parents, and four siblings, boarded a ship assigned to the arsenal, which carried many machines, supervisors and foremen. Due to the limited seats on the ship, those left for lower-rank staff like

junior technicians were scant. The whole family was sent to the current location of the 44th Arsenal in Xinyi District after disembarking. Initially, they settled in a large warehouse left by the Japanese colonial government, where different households used wire and cloth partitions. They lived there for over three years. In 1951, the military completed Four-four East Village, a rudimentary collective settlement. One-metre-high walls were the foundation of the building structure, with bamboo walls coated with mud mixed with straw on the higher parts. The roofs were tiled, and the beds consisted of wide wooden boards underpinned by two long wooden stools. Food supplies provided by the military were not enough to feed the entire family, so they had to purchase additional food from the market at the intersection of Guangfu South Road and Wenchang Street (approximately 800 metres away, a 13-minute walk).

In the 1980s, due to widespread and severe roof leakage in Four-four East Village, the village chief sought help from a city councillor, who mentioned the availability of undistributed dwellings in QNNT. With the approval of General Hau Pei-tsun (郝柏村), many residents from Four-four East Village relocated to QNNT. Qian's father accounted that ‘the house must be rebuilt because it was no longer suitable to live in’ and supported the relocation. He was not worried about the military not allocating a new dwelling to them because the residents' consent was based on the military's promise. Qian's father paid NTD 300,000 to obtain ownership of this approximately 86-square-metre apartment in QNNT, which initially accommodated eight people, including Qian's parents, Qian's family (spouse and two children), and two sisters. They converted the balcony into Qian's daughter's bedroom, and the living room became another additional bedroom. Qian did not feel the space was inadequate and took pride in the modifications made to create these informal interior spaces, as each family member gained their own personal space. Over time Qian's two sisters got married and moved out; Qian's parents passed away; and Qian's two children got married and left. Qian and his wife are the only residents now. If they had chosen to rebuild on the original site without accepting relocation, the value of

their housing would have been much higher, but Qian prefers the current location near the Youth Park.

Qian joined the military at the age of 18 and was a former Army captain, serving as the main economic provider for his family. However, after his retirement from the military, the family faced financial difficulties. Qian considered it embarrassing if the husband and father of the family were unable to provide financial support. This reflects the male role in traditional Taiwanese society (see Lu, Chang & Kao, 2021; Wang, 1999). He went through several jobs, including taxi driver, before becoming a bus driver until his complete retirement in 2002. Qian did not provide any financial housing support for his children when they bought their houses.

c. Sun (71 years old, male):
Sun was born in a self-built hut next to the current location of Kong-nan 3rd Village. His father served in the Air Force and was from Anhui Province, China. He evacuated to Keelung, Taiwan, with his wife by ship. The thatched hut they lived in would leak when it rained, and it remained as the residence for the whole family of seven. Several years later, the Air Force assigned their family to a small warehouse abandoned by the Japanese colonial government, which eventually became part of Kong-nan 3rd Village. This housing unit had two small bedrooms for the parents and five children. One of the children slept on the floor, while the other four slept in bunk beds that were approximately 1.1 metres wide. Although the housing materials were more sturdy than the hut, they still endured regular flooding. During Tropical Depression 081 in 1959, the water of the flood rose to the height of the first floor.

As the five children gradually left home, Sun's parents bought an apartment in Zhonghe District, New Taipei City, and moved there due to the small living space of their home in Kong-nan 3rd Village. In terms of housing for the five children, Sun's parents did not provide financial support. Sun's parents were allocated a new housing unit in situ after the MDV reconstruction. The house in Zhonghe

District was sold by Sun in 2003, and the proceeds were used to purchase a new apartment in Banqiao District, New Taipei City, for his own son. After the passing of his parents, Sun and his siblings were not comfortable discussing the distribution of the parents' assets, so they jointly decided to rent out the apartment, which is currently valued at around NTD 20 million. On the other hand, Sun entered a military academy in 1980 and became an Air Force officer. In 1987, with an outstanding service record, he applied for the Hua-Xia loan offered by the military, which provided a low-interest loan of NTD 480,000. With this loan, Sun purchased an apartment in QNNT for a total of NTD 1.62 million. After retiring from the Air Force as a senior officer, Sun spends almost every afternoon chatting or exercising in the park with others.

d. Li (about 90 years old, female):
Li was born in Kaohsiung, Taiwan, while her husband was from Sichuan Province, China, and was evacuated to Taiwan in 1949 as a student at the Air Force Medical School. After her husband became a doctor, he worked at the Air Force Hospital at Lanzhou Street, Datong District, Taipei City. In 1958, the hospital was relocated to its current location, the Tri-Service General Hospital Songshan Branch. Adjacent to the hospital, the MDV for Air Force medical personnel was established, merging with two other villages, one for the staff of Air Force headquarters and the other for pilots, to form Song-shan New Village. Li was one of the earliest residents in the village. In the beginning, the surrounding area was mainly farmland and large drainage ditches. Li's most vivid impression is that due to limited resources, they had to do everything themselves, so she learnt to cook various dishes and even engaged in handicrafts to supplement the household income.

In the 1960s, the whole family moved to Hsinchu after her husband was transferred from Songshan Air Force Hospital to Hsinchu Air Force Hospital. They bought a house for NTD 25,000 and also purchased a piece of land near National Chiao Tung University for NTD 150,000. However, they did not give up their residence permits in Song-shan New Village. Several years later, the university

wanted to expand its campus and offered them NTD 250,000 to buy the land. A friend of her husband, who worked in the Forestry Bureau, informed them about a large piece of land for sale in Shilin District, Taipei City. They were convinced to join the investment. Considering they had four children and wanted to solve their housing needs in advance, Li used the NTD 250,000 to purchase the land. This investment coincided with an adjacent American school wanting to expand their campus, and they purchased the land from Li for NTD 450,000. In 1976, after her husband retired from the military, he took a position at a private hospital in Taoyuan and bought an apartment for NTD 600,000. They sold the house in Hsinchu for NTD 30,000. Through the introduction of their friend working in the Forestry Bureau again, they learnt about a piece of land near the current Dazhi Park that was available for sale. Li used the proceeds of NTD 450,000 from the land investment to purchase this new piece of land. In the 2000s, the government initiated a land acquisition project for road expansion near Dazhi Park and acquired their land for NTD 36 million. The actual proceeds were NTD 12 million after taxes and fines.

Li's husband also joined a medical team to provide healthcare in an African country and earned NTD 1 million within three years. The couple used this 1 million to purchase an apartment near Songshan Railway Station for their eldest son (approximately 2 kilometres from Song-shan New Village) and spent an additional NTD 200,000 to buy another apartment on Keelung Road for their second son. After SSNT was completed in 1997, Li and her husband were allocated a new apartment measuring 86 square metres free of charge. Li used the proceeds of NTD 12 million from previous investment to buy the SSNT unit allocated to a high-ranking officer they knew, and then gifted this apartment to their eldest son and his family. At that time, Taipei's railway was not yet underground, and because they were concerned about their second son having to cross the railway each time he visited them, they had him sell the apartment on Keelung Road. Li and her husband contributed an additional 2 million, combined with the 6 million from the sale of the apartment, and purchased an unallocated SSNT dwelling from the Public Housing Department for their second

son at a price of 8 million. Their third child (daughter) went to Canada for undergraduate education and later immigrated there. They also supported her living expenses in the beginning. Their fourth son bought an apartment in Taoyuan on his own. The apartment near Songshan Railway Station remained vacant after their eldest son moved out, and Li additionally purchased land in Nangang District, Taipei City, for long-term investment.

Due to her strong emphasis on children's education, Li stayed at home as a homemaker to take care of their four children after getting married. From her previous rejection of her husband's land investment proposal, it can be observed that she had significant decision-making power regarding family assets. From Song-shan New Village to Song-shan New Town, Li has been living in the same location for decades and shopping at the same few markets. Despite losing her own garden after the reconstruction, Li treats the public spaces with flowers and trees as if they were her own garden, regularly watering and cleaning them. Every morning and evening, she can be found chatting with neighbours at the pavilions in the public spaces. Now in her 90s, Li rarely goes to the market or travels around. Occasionally, she relies on the assistance of her two sons who live in the same community for daily needs.

e. Chou (71 years old, female):

Chou was born in Henan Province, China. Before turning one year old, her whole family escaped to Kaohsiung with her father, who was serving in the Air Force. Initially, they were settled near Pingtung Airport and later transferred to the Hsinchu Air Force Base. Because of some personal reasons of her mother, her father applied for another transfer to Yilan. Eventually, the 1st Logistics Division of the Air Force was relocated from Yilan to Gangshan, Kaohsiung, and military personnel and their families moved together with the unit. It was in an MDV in Gangshan that Chou and her family finally settled. In 1982, her parents purchased a small apartment in the Wenshan District of Taipei City for NTD 870,000 and moved there.

Before 1985, Chou lived with her husband, who served in the Army and was also a Chinese immigrant, in an MDV for specific positions in Longtan, Taoyuan. Since these MDVs had dormitory-like characteristics and had to be returned after retirement, Chou and her husband purchased the right of residence from another Chinese immigrant for NTD 650,000 in 1985. When they first moved in, the walls of the front yard were made of bricks, and the walls of the building were made of bamboo with yellow mud plastered on them. Chou and her husband spent around NTD 300,000 to 400,000 on renovation and decoration, as well as adding two bedrooms, one bathroom, one kitchen, one dining room, and a patio. Starting from the end of 1991, all the village residents were temporarily relocated to facilitate the reconstruction as required by the military. Despite investing a significant amount of their savings into renovating the house, the structure of the house was extremely old. They could hear the sound of termites eroding the wooden pillars at night, and there were mice running around on the ceiling. There was even an incident where a mouse killed by rat poison died in the ceiling, and the corpse water penetrated the wooden ceiling. Therefore, Chou strongly supported the reconstruction. They were not concerned about the military reneging on its promise to allocate new housing because there were too many villagers across Taiwan facing the same situation, which the authorities had to address. Moreover, there was coordination between the military and the autonomous committees of the villages. In July 1997, the military notified the residents to return and draw lots for their new homes. Based on Chou's husband's military rank, they should have been allocated an 85.95-square-metre apartment. However, because their household size met the criteria for a larger unit, they paid an additional NTD 1.057 million to obtain a 99.17-square-metre apartment. They applied for a loan from the Taipei Bank (the current Taipei Fubon Bank), with NTD 7,000 as the down payment. Chou was satisfied with the living environment in SSNT after the reconstruction. In terms of daily necessities, she usually goes to the same markets as she did before the reconstruction. Apart from chatting with neighbours in the open spaces of the neighbourhood, she occasionally travelled to neighbouring countries like Japan and South Korea or visited relatives in China when there was no pandemic.

> Since settling in Song-shan New Village, Chou worked at Tri-Service General Hospital Songshan Branch until her retirement. Reflecting on her life in the pre-reconstruction MDV, she did not consider it particularly difficult because the environment continued to improve, and she was satisfied with the salary from her work at the hospital. Her eldest son has immigrated to Australia, while her younger son lives in another reconstructed MDV, Cheng-gong New Town, in Da'an District, Taipei. They purchased the apartment for approximately NTD 9.7 million in 2005 or 2006. Chou contributed to the down payment, and the remaining mortgage is shared by her two sons. Chou considered that owning a house is better than paying rent, as at least the house becomes their own once the mortgage is paid off.

The housing biographies of Chao, Qian, and Sun from QNNT, and Li and Chou from SSNT demonstrate that even though they (or their family members) are all Chinese immigrants within the MDV system, they have distinct ways of accessing the MDVs and experiences of the reconstruction process. For example, Chao purchased a completed reconstructed housing unit from an MDV household after its completion, Qian was relocated from another village to the current location, and Sun purchased a reconstructed unit as an outstanding military officer. Li underwent reconstruction in situ and was allocated new housing almost free, while Chou purchased the right of residence in advance and obtained eligibility for housing allocation after reconstruction. Marking the MDV residents with the same label would overlook the differences in their backgrounds and personal experiences. In practice, the action of the field of individuation creates differences and uniqueness (Deleuze, 1995: 247), resulting in diverse housing dynamics.

The above stories reveal several interesting entry points. Firstly, we can see that both Qian and Chou supported the reconstruction policies, despite Qian facing a relocation of over six kilometres. During the field survey, we frequently encountered residents with such positive sentiments, which is different from the substantial Western body of literature that extensively studies contestations of displacement and forced migration

resulting from urban renewal (Wang, Z., 2020, 2022). Secondly, we observe inconsistencies in residents' attitudes toward housing. Some residents prioritise the economic benefits that real estate investment can bring, while others place greater importance on whether the living environment suits their needs – housing understood primarily as an investment or financial asset is internalised more for some then others. Thirdly, most interviewees have experience in changing residences, including displacement or moving by choice, and some have purchased additional properties outside of their allocated housing. What are the reasons and considerations behind their decisions to move or buy/invest in additional properties, as well as their strategies for capital accumulation? Housing is a necessity but requires significant capital investment. Exploring the elements behind residents' housing mobility can shed light on how residents orientate themselves within a changing urban housing system, the dilemmas they face within their specific contexts and positions, and the extent to which financialisation is internalised within individuals (i.e., an understanding of housing as an asset that drives behaviours and decisions). Fourthly, the housing patterns of Chinese immigrants and their descendants demonstrate the limited intergenerational extension of benefits that the government's sale of housing to the MDV residents at prices far below market value in urban areas may bring. The wealth in assets does not appear to directly impact the current assets available to residents.

Informed by these observations and the full sample of detailed housing biographies, this chapter analyses and depicts the influences of MDV policies and governance on housing and residents' daily lives across three dimensions:

- ***experiences before and after the MDV reconstructions***
- ***housing mobility***
- ***intergenerational support and transfer.***

Firstly, residents' experiences encompass their perceptions of the reconstruction process, changes in their lives before and after reconstruction, and their (in)ability to adapt to the new living environment. Secondly, housing mobility illustrates the

changes in residents' housing demand and perspectives under policy interventions, reflecting the integration of capital accumulation and the financial instruments in individual housing choices. We also have the opportunity to understand the factors determining households' housing choices, at least to some extent, and how these factors are embedded in the overall socioeconomic context. Thirdly, we aim to understand the differences in the influence of reconstruction on different generations of Chinese immigrants. Would the initially landless and houseless immigrants provide financial support to their children when they had housing needs? How was it provided? How has housing sales at low prices provided by the military affected residents' lives and the next generation in terms of orientating themselves and gaining a foothold within an increasingly privatised and financialised urban housing system? These three aspects sequentially extend on the temporal scale, from residents' early housing statuses to the next generation's housing, to study the grounded effects of privatisation and financialisation over time.

7.2 Experiences before and after the MDV reconstructions

The pre-reconstruction living conditions of the MDVs have received significant attention in related studies (see Fan, 2013; Ma, 2010; Tang, 2004). However, this does not hinder us from documenting the memories and perspectives of QNNT and SSNT residents because there is always some heterogeneity and discrepancy between the MDVs. These perspectives are particularly valuable as first-hand accounts for conceptualising the actual influences of housing policies and understanding local history. We avoid seeking a concise and clear definitional framework and embrace these differences, embracing the layered complexity and spatiality of MDVs (Aalbers, 2022; Healey, 2012). In addition to the evolution of residents' actual activities in daily lives, this research also emphasises the relationship between activities and spaces through individual experiences, as ‘one’s history and those of others become[ing] bound up in place and the embodied spatiality' (Degnen, 2016: 1663), further analysing how space reconfigurations and adjustments have been covered in these processes of change. Here, space refers not only to individual dwellings or specific blocks but also includes the various facilities, amenities and infrastructures within the

living circle. This analysis combines human experience and spatial rearrangements to shed new light on how state-led policies intervene in space and affect places.

This study adopts the understanding of space and place from human geography scholars. Tuan (1977) accounts that space can be derived from the relative positions of objects and places, while the place is a space that generates a sense of familiarity. The transformation from space to place is iteratively shaped through the mutual influence of individual consciousness and society in processes of socialisation and social reproduction. Pred (1983: 45) accounts, cited by Chang (2017: 7), that the interaction and coexistence of the material entities in space were generated consciously or unconsciously, while the taking place of processes is based on shared ideological goals and intentions, shaping, maintaining, approaching, and transforming space and nature. Houses, neighbourhood environments, and towns constitute the "clashing heterogeneity", the external and internal, constructing the concepts of ourselves and others through the connections between individuals or groups, which are products of anchoring our self-identity to the physical space (Tuan, 1977). In this process, 'people construct their perception and recognition of the external environment from a sensory and cognitive level, and expect memorial and anticipated outcomes from these experiences, and project them onto the inhabited space, endowing it with meaning' (Li, 2019: 36); and when humans attend to and attach meaning to physical space, space becomes place (Creswell, 2004). The familiarity and identification with space, the pleasant living experiences, and the cohesion among individuals generated within it constitute the sense of place (Tuan, 1977; see also Massey, 1994). Doreen Massey (1994), on the other hand, approaches the concept of place through the lens of social relations. Built on the notion that a certain spatial form necessarily exists in the interactions between social relations, 'one way of thinking about place is as particular moments in such intersecting social relations, nets of which have over time been constructed, laid down, interacted with one another, decayed and renewed' (Massey, 1994: 120). Some relations are internal to the place, and some connect to wider relations and processes and involve other places, so Massey argues that 'the fortunes of a place can only be explained by setting that locality within a broader context' (1994: 120). In the case of the MDVs, a relatively closed institutional

and governing system has delineated the internal and external spaces, and the unique sense of place is formed by the shared experiences of fleeing and military culture, the residents' familiarity with this temporary yet standardised living space, and the interpersonal connections embedded within it. The emergence, shifts, and transformations of these relations have been shaped by the wider socio-political and economic background. Building on this theoretical understanding, this section conceptualises the influences of reconstruction on place by analysing residents' everyday experience and their perspectives on the reconstruction process.

7.2.1 Changes in residents' everyday lives before and after the reconstruction, Qing-nian New Town (QNNT)

A series of governmental urban renewal projects in the wider area of southern Wanhua District (see Chapter 4) and the construction of QNNT have reset the urban landscape, creating a rupture in spatial usage patterns and memories between the old and the new. QNNT is the reconstructed neighbourhood accommodating the highest number of MDVs in Taipei City. Some former MDV households had their living habits rooted in the old MDVs of other locations and may not have developed a strong connection to this particular space. At the same time, due to its contemporary function as public housing, QNNT has a diverse range of residents from different backgrounds, including middle- and low-income households. Exploring the perspectives of residents before and after the reconstruction requires distinguishing between two types of residents:

- ***those who were the MDV residents that underwent reconstruction in situ and;***
- ***those who were relocated from elsewhere.***

In addition to reflecting the influence of military-led relocations on daily lives, the memories and biographies of those relocated from elsewhere also enrich understanding of the relational development of the local context and MDVs.

The block of QNNT used to be the locations of two large MDVs, Mei-yuan 1st Village and Da-de New Village, as well as several smaller MDVs. The housing experiences of the former residents of Mei-yuan 1st Village manifests in improving housing conditions. B17 mentioned that initially, Mei-yuan 1st Village consisted of rows of neatly arranged houses. Each row consisted of several sets of four units, with a shared bathroom and a kitchen in the middle of each set (B20). The roofs were made of tiles and wood, while the walls were made of cement (B17; B20). The sewage facilities at that time were quite rudimentary, with no sewers or drainage channels. Whenever heavy rain or typhoons happened, the village would flood, and excrement would float and spread throughout the entire village (B17). It was not until many years later that residents could no longer tolerate the inadequate infrastructure. Every two units paid for the installation of a shared septic tank together, resolving the sanitation issues (B17). As mentioned in Section 5.2.1, the means of improving indoor spaces, roofs, housing materials, and living conditions did not rely on state investments. Instead, residents achieve their visions of a better future through community collaboration and individual initiatives.

Although the initial housing conditions in the MDVs were crude with many aspects in need of improvement, to some extent they allowed residents to concentrate on working and improving their financial capabilities without worrying about housing needs. During the interviews, *there were several mentions of the hardships of early life, but no mentions and concerns about access to housing were expressed by former MDV residents*. In the early years of living in the village, B5, a former resident of Da-de New Village, not only worked at an electronics company but also earned a full-time salary about twice the amount of her husband's income, who served as an army officer. She also had to knit sweaters for the factory to supplement the household income during being off her primary work. On the other hand, her husband took on the household chores. Despite housing being guaranteed, many residents continued working after retiring from their military positions in their forties or fifties. The reasons for this included earning money, passing the time, maintaining social relationships, or pursuing personal hobbies. After retiring from the Air Force, B4's (Chao) husband opened a restaurant and ran it with B4; B5's husband worked as a staff in the village's

autonomous committee after retiring from the Army; B15's husband opened a small shop related to his hobbies. The autonomous committees [47] provided job opportunities for the residents who retired from the military to continue serving their own communities.

Based on similar backgrounds, experiences, and living conditions, immigrant communities generated interactions of mutual care and support among each other. These collective identifications, along with the narrow physical space, blur the boundaries between private and public domains, placing them on the same plane. The narrow alleys and public spaces enhanced residents' interactions and brought them psychologically and emotionally closer to one another. B17 mentioned that each row of housing was back-to-back, with the back doors of the two rows situated close together. The narrow rear alleys were occupied by the additional backyards of the two households. B17 and their neighbour did not lock their back doors, allowing the children from both households to freely enter and play. Whenever one set of parents had to go out for something, the other set would help take care of the children. This kind of interaction – an informal and mutual exchange of care and support – was common in Mei-yuan 1st Village. The shaping of a community of care was fostered by shared experiences and spatial patterns. The shared kitchen and bathroom, shared sanitation issues, limited financial resources (jointly funding the construction of septic tanks), and proximity of backyards and back doors all contributed to increased interpersonal interactions and provided numerous opportunities for cooperation and collective support. The atmosphere of ‘in the old days, it was full of friendliness and warmth. Really good. We were all neighbours, living in such such such a small alley. I lived here and you lived there, we took care of each other’ described by B17 neatly captures these sentiments.

However, the existing space and spatial usage patterns have been erased after a series

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[47] Before reconstruction, the autonomous committees acted as a bridge between the residents and the military, managing the daily affairs of the neighbourhoods and fostering cohesion. B20, who was deeply involved in autonomous committee affairs, mentioned that Mei-yuan 1st Village's committee operated its own grocery store, using the income for the committee's operational expenses and organising birthday parties for residents.

of urban renewals and MDV reconstructions, and the morphology of roads and streets has been re-configured. Many settlements have been demolished during road widening works. Influenced by the globalisation of Western ideology, concepts of efficiency, zoning, and car-oriented urban planning have been employed in urban regeneration projects in Taiwan. The diverse and mixed uses that once existed on streets have been transformed into "cleaned" and homogenised urban landscapes (Chu, 2013: 85). B3, who used to run a grocery store and noodle shop with her husband on the former "Ke-nan Street (克難街)", can only roughly indicate the location of the noodle shop, which is now around Guoxing Road. The pathway of Ke-nan Street and the shape and spatial distribution of the surrounding streets and blocks are completely different from the current urban texture, and the road names have been changed to Guoxing Road and Qingnian Road.

Most interviewees expressed satisfaction with the newly built environment, and several residents (e.g., B7, B10) cited the convenience of commercial facilities and three traditional markets nearby, comfortable plazas, and the large park on the southern side. A few residents were reluctant to accept the reconstruction because they preferred to have their own front and backyards but had no choice due to legal requirements (B17; B20), neither did some higher-ranking military officials who had larger interior spaces in the old villages (B12). Moreover, three former MDV residents expressed their approval of the rebranding of the area's name. The previously famous Ke-nan Street (克難街), which in Chinese means overcoming difficulties and has connotations of simplicity and making do, has undergone road re-planning and rebranding. B7 argued that

> '*the previous name was Ke-nan Street, which sounded unpleasant. Ke-nan means overcoming difficulties, and the name would decrease the market prices of properties. Who would want to buy here?*' (B7).

Perhaps some villagers still cherish the community infrastructures of care and support in the past, but the previous name is associated with a broader impression of a

dilapidated residential area full of informal additions and narrow alleys, linked to the difficult years they experienced. This connection, based on the negative effects that may arise from the current housing market, is something that residents are unwilling to see.

Although the Youth Park is adjacent to QNNT, as a large green space in the Taipei metropolitan area, its users come from surrounding residential areas, and the majority are elderly people. According to observations, there are groups of middle-aged and elderly people dancing in the open plaza or practising traditional martial arts among the trees. Elderly people gather together to chat, play cards, chess, or engage in gambling in the covered plazas and pavilions. Some informal vendors conduct business in these areas, such as playing music on a radio and teaching people to dance, or providing a chair for customers to sit on and giving them head, neck, back, or foot massages. Many elderly people simply sit quietly on benches doing nothing. Other common activities include walking dogs, strolling, or jogging, spanning different ages and genders. The northeast corner of the park, where the children's playground is located, becomes more lively in the evening or on weekends, with grandparents or parents watching children play in the sandpit or on the equipment. B12 (Qian), who walks and exercises in the park every day, does not feel regretful about being relocated from Four-four East Village, which has higher housing prices now. If he had not accepted the relocation, the reconstructed Four-four East Village is located near the hill park "Xiangshan (象山)" and his physical condition would not allow him to climb the hill every day. In contrast, he prefers the flat Youth Park beside the river, with good air quality outside the riverbank according to his experience. Another space frequently used by QNNT residents is the central plaza in the neighbourhood. Sidewalks, fences, pillars inscribed with the name "Qing-nian New Town", and the entrance gate with a guard booth seem to draw invisible boundaries for the central plaza, providing a visually and perceptually reserved open space for QNNT (Figure 7.1). In the evening, elderly former residents from different MDVs gather together to chat or simply sit quietly. In terms of daily consumption practices, besides the roadside shops on the southern side of QNNT, the two traditional markets, Guoguang Market and Shuanghe

Market, are places where residents usually buy daily necessities and food, as well as the vegetable and fruit stalls located below the Xinhe Public Housing. These markets and commercial facilities gradually formed and emerged after the reconstruction and urban renewal.

Figure 7.1: The entrance of QNNT
(Source: Author's own)

7.2.2 Changes in residents' everyday lives before and after the reconstruction, Song-shan New Town (SSNT)

The grounded experiences from the predecessor of SSNT, the pre-reconstruction Song-shan New Village, reflect the process of stabilising residents' lives and improving living conditions. Not only did housing needs receive military protection during the transitions of housing status for immigrants, but the quality of housing and village environment and the households' economic conditions have improved since settling down due to the assistance of the military and household capital accumulation. Song-shan New Village, regulated in 1958, could be considered a systematic housing infrastructure along with supplies of necessities, children's education, and entertainment. Compared with residents in local rural areas in Taiwan at the same time, the MDVs, which provided welfare and housing security at a national level, actually offered a more secure life (C7). C1 (Li) mentioned that her childhood in the rural area of Kaohsiung was very poor, and she couldn't even afford shoes. However, her living

conditions improved significantly after marrying a military officer and moving to Taipei. Reflecting on the initial simple and crude living environment and lack of resources in the newly constructed village in the 1950s, C1 (Li) didn't find life particularly difficult. What left the deepest impression on her was 'hav[ing] to do everything on my own' whether it was cooking, engaging in handicrafts to supplement the household income, or making homemade food for sale, which were common phenomena in the village. C7 (Chou) and C8, who moved to SSNT in the 1980s and 1970s respectively, were about ten years younger than C1 (Li). They accounted that 'the living environment was gradually improving'. A significant part of their positive attitudes towards living conditions stemmed from the increasing salaries of their husbands (military personnel) and themselves (C7; C8), which echoed the overall economic growth of Taiwan. C12, who was once a resident of a neighbouring MDV, said 'at that time, one person did the work of three, [we] really toughed it out'. Although life was exhausting in the village during childhood, having to handle multiple tasks alone, including assisting parents with household chores and earning money, she didn't feel it was difficult. Looking back now, she realises that she 'was good at enduring hardship' during that period. As war refugees or immigrants, the early years of struggling were a shared norm among the entire village population, and it was only when comparing it to the better economic and living conditions in later years that they became aware of the hardships they had faced.

Similar backgrounds, occupations, and dialects forged a particular sense of place (Massey, 1994) in the village. Everyone knew each other instilling a sense of community and collective identification, and the local accents or dialects from Mainland China permeated the entire village. During the Chinese New Year, a festive atmosphere hung over the village, with firecrackers being set off (C1). Many families hung sausages and cured meat made in traditional ways under the eaves of their houses to dry (C1; C3). Furthermore, the limited privacy due to the building materials (e.g., lack of soundproofed dwellings) somewhat deepened the interpersonal connections among residents. When C3 was a child, he sometimes chatted with a neighbour boy across thin bamboo walls, or would sometimes knock on the walls to communicate and discuss going out to play together. C3 specifically mentioned that

the second generation had more interactions than the previous generation because they grew up together in the village. Whether it was the physically narrow alleys or the feeling toward interpersonal relationships, 'the distance between people was very close' (C11).

> '*The distance between people was very close, and neighbours were very friendly to each other. But after the renovation into high-rises, the distance between people increased, and that sense of warmth and closeness disappeared. Also, the new generation doesn't have that feeling anymore; it's all fragmented. In the past, every household had a courtyard, and the houses were bigger with gardens and space. The atmosphere during Chinese New Year, with firecrackers and all, was so great*' (C11).

In terms of education, the military provided exclusive primary and junior high schools for children in the village initially until the public schools nearby were established, and their own education system aligned with the general public one. Every morning, military trucks from the Air Force with added protective railings would stop at the plaza to pick up children and take them to school (C11). After the establishment of Min-Sheng Elementary School and Jie-Shou Junior High School, children started studying near the village (C1; C3). Although some existing records and interviews mention that MDV families placed a greater emphasis on the education of the next generation (e.g., C2), there were families that either did not value or did not prioritise children's education in different environments, and the exact proportions are difficult to determine. However, these claims are not without foundation, which will be explained in the section on intergenerational support (Section 7.4).

As for daily activities, on occasion, when the film squadron came, households gathered in the plaza and watched movies projected on a cloth screen supported by two bamboo poles in the evening (C11). Such collective and public activities gradually disappeared with technological developments and the prevalence of television. Some high-ranking officials went dancing at clubs on weekends (C1). For adults, other non-official-provided leisure activities were commonly playing *mahjong* or chatting with

neighbours (C3). The childhood experience of the second-generation residents was much more enriched given the improved living environment and opportunities for play. In addition to common games such as skipping rope, marbles, hopscotch, and dodgeball, children played baseball in the plaza or play games with round cards. Coins were also used as toys – children competed rolling them to see who could reach the furthest. Another game involved playing with mud, where children grabbed a handful of mud, pressed a dent in the middle of the mud ball, and flicked the dent downwards onto the ground, competing with whose mud would splash the highest. Other forms of entertainment included digging for loaches in the river ditches, fishing by nearby ponds, or riding bicycles (C3; C6; C11).

> '*Across from us, the locals were the landlords. They had this piece of land where they grew vegetables, all sorts of vegetables, including lots of Chinese cabbage. We were mischievous kids, sometimes when we found the Chinese cabbage was ripe, we'd sneak over and stomp on it just for fun. Looking back now, it's quite... So, we had a, our childhood was filled with playful moments. Us kids would play with round cards, like circular playing cards. We laid them out on the ground, he put down twenty cards, I put down twenty cards, and we'd look for the "king card". We'd use techniques, like drawing cards or different card-throwing methods, to flip over the king card. Whoever managed to reveal the king card would win the whole stack of cards. We also played this game where we'd throw things as far as we could, and another game with copper coins, which involved a bit of gambling. We'd see whose coin could roll the farthest. Oh, back then, it was just a few cents, or a nickel or dime, something like that. Whoever could roll their coin the farthest would win the money. We also played marbles, play them on the ground – you've probably seen those round glass balls before. And, and we played with mud. You see, because there were construction sites, there was this kind of bluish-grayish mud underneath – not yellow mud. We'd make, make these round holes in it – dig a bit in the middle. When you hit it on the ground, it would create a bit of air pressure, and the mud would "bang" and pop to create a hole. We'd see who created the biggest hole*' (C6).

The village's surrounding facilities multiplied as urbanisation extended and gathered pace with Taipei's development and rural-urban migration. Stalls selling clay oven rolls, fried bread sticks, steamed buns, and rice noodle soup gradually appeared in the village plaza, which was also the location for public toilets and barber shops (C3; C11). Chunglun Market and Wuchang Market (previously referred to as Wuchang New Village) on the south side of the village were the common places for residents to purchase necessities. After the improvement of each household's financial capability, the residents internalised public facilities (e.g., public toilets, public kitchens, and public bathrooms) through informal expansions or additions, building their own bathrooms and kitchens, and partitioning front and back yards with fences or walls. The military administrators did not intervene in these activities. Residents planted potted plants and flowers, and raised chickens or pets in their yards (C3; C7; C8; C11). For instance, C8 used to grow flowers and luffa gourds in the front yard, allowing the luffa vines to cover the entire wall. Residents living on corner lots with larger yards would even grow trees (C3). Figure 7.2 records the greenery in SSNT before the reconstruction.

Figure 7.2: The greenery in SSNT
(Source: Chang, L. G., 1990)

After the reconstruction, one-third of the land in the southern part of Song-shan New Village was built as housing for the residents from the original and neighbouring MDVs, while the northern part was designated for public housing. The high-rise residential

buildings in the southeast corner of the site were still allocated to the high-ranking military officials who originally lived in that area. However, it is unknown whether the fact that they previously resided there was taken into consideration in this distribution. The village plaza, which used to have many stalls, had its land use zoned as a market area, and a two-storey modern market with air conditioning, escalators, and elevators was constructed. In the post-reconstruction days, the habits of daily grocery shopping or seeking medical care did not undergo significant changes because residents from Song-shan New Village and neighbouring MDVs still had the markets inside Song-shan New Village, Chunglun Market (9 minutes on foot), or Wuchang Market (9 minutes on foot). Only a few interviewees chose to shop at more distant markets for personal preferences or better prices, such as Hulin Market (25 minutes by bus), Nanjing East Road Section 5 (2 bus stops away), Wanhua Fruit and Vegetable Market (20 minutes by car), and Binjiang Market (approximately 10 minutes by car). In terms of healthcare, besides the Tri-Service General Hospital Songshan Branch (5 minutes on foot), which has a close relationship with Song-shan New Village in history, prestigious hospitals such as Chang Gung Hospital and Pojen General Hospital are also accessible within a 10-minute walk. In other words, the impact of the reconstruction on access to medical care and daily necessities is relatively minor for former MDV residents.

However, some residents were opposed to the reconstruction, especially those living in larger houses with usually larger yards (C12), many of whom were high-ranking military officials (C8). They enjoyed having their own yards and the feeling of stepping on the ground as they stepped out of the doors. Some interviewees who agreed with the reconstruction cited reasons such as the deteriorated condition of the old building structures, with roofs even collapsing in some individual households (B15; C7; C8), or a preference for new high-rise residential buildings with elevators (C3). There are also residents, like C1 (Li), who maintain a neutral attitude, and consider that military personnel must follow orders, and whether they like or dislike the dwellings allocated to them, they still have to live in them – a signifier of the ongoing influence of militaristic ideas. However, it can be observed that C1 (Li) still retains the habits of living in the old MDV. She goes downstairs every day to tend to the public flower beds and green spaces and water the fruit trees and expresses enjoyment in doing so.

According to ethnographic observations (see Section 3.4), many former MDV residents still gather in the pavilions of the square within the reconfigured block after the reconstruction. It was regularly observed that – from dawn until around ten o'clock in the morning and from late afternoon until a little past five in the evening (unless the rain was too heavy or the temperature was excessively hot) – the elderly would gather in the pavilions to chat or engage in activities such as walking along the elongated open space. They would sometimes join in the daily conversations happening within the pavilions. Some elderly individuals with mobility difficulties or health issues were assisted by a son, daughter, or an international caregiver, and sat next to other elderly people. Not everyone actively participated in the discussions, and a few elderly individuals simply listened to others. C5 mentioned that these gatherings, atmosphere, and interpersonal interactions instilled in her a sense and feeling of the older MDV life and culture, and this feeling was even stronger when she first became a resident of SSNT twelve years ago. As several former MDV residents passed away, this ambience gradually diminished over a short span of ten years.

> '*Because I live around here, even though I originally came from somewhere else, I've been here for twelve years. When I first arrived, during the first few years, I really, really noticed that there was that sense of Military Dependents' Villages. It's not about the overall environment, it's more about the interactions between people ...... Everyone, you see, in the afternoons or evenings, you would often see many folks sitting [in pavilions] chatting. Kids would come out to play, ride bikes, and there were plenty of older people too. But now, you see, slowly slowly over the twelve years, there's been a change. So, if you ask me if there's still that sense of the Military Dependents' Village atmosphere, well, I'd say there was in the early years, but it's gradually fading. Why? Because people have changed over several cycles. Those old uncles and aunties have passed away. In our building, for instance, since I moved in, you know, I sometimes wonder, "Where's that uncle gone again?" "Oh, he passed away." "Where's that grandma?" "She passed away, too." Now the new residents, some are renters, you see, and some belong to the younger generation, the younger people*' (C5).

The new forms of space and resident composition also brought different users and activities to this space. It was observed that in the afternoon and evening, many middle-aged or elderly individuals walk or jog back and forth along the east-west elongated open space, some with the aid of assistive equipment. Some individuals walk their dogs or ride bicycles. On the sidewalks between the square and the buildings, some residents play badminton. Many pedestrians passing through the open space in the north-south direction carry food on their way home. On weekend afternoons and evenings, many users are not residents of SSNT but live nearby. Some parents bring their children to this area for exercise or playing because the open space in SSNT is enclosed between buildings, has fewer adjacent roads, and is abundant with trees and plants. The activities at night are similar to those in the afternoon and evening, but there are fewer users in the pavilions. Whether in the afternoon or at night, the majority of users are elderly, followed by middle-aged individuals, with fewer children. C5 mentioned that one of the important reasons for choosing to purchase an apartment in SSNT twelve years ago was the lush trees in the open spaces. From the words of both the former MDV residents and the interviewees who moved in later, we can sense their satisfaction with the post-reconstruction public spaces (C4; C8; C15). This satisfaction also stems from the richness and diversity of surrounding facilities, including easy accessibility to bus stops and metro stations, several traditional markets, modern supermarkets, and convenience stores, as well as multiple hospitals and clinics.

7.2.3 Discussion: Parallel institutionalism in everyday life

The following analysis and discussion are divided into two parts. First, we address the continuity, adjustment, or alteration of residents' daily lives and perceptions before and after the reconstruction, as well as their strategies for adapting to the new built environment. The second part entails an analysis of how the past traumatic experiences of Chinese immigrants, parallel institutionalism, and the comparison of quality of life between China and Taiwan have enhanced residents' resilience in the face of significant life changes.

7.2.3.1 Shifting places and adaption to new spaces

After the MDV reconstruction, the elimination of the existing spatial configurations directly affected the activities and social interactions affiliated with these spaces, leading to a dissipating or transforming sense of place, especially for more elderly residents. In QNNT, former MDV residents are situated in spatial layouts changed comprehensively, encompassing street and road positions, building types, public facilities, and commercial services. Even though some residents preferred to retain their private yards, the reconstruction policies left them with few choices – they had to either accept the reconstruction or lose the opportunity to acquire homeownership at a low cost and face lawsuits. According to observations, new habits and a sense of place form in the new built environment. Residents from different MDVs retain similar habits as when they lived in the MDVs, gathering and chatting downstairs in the plaza every evening. In the new environment, interpersonal interactions occur in more open public spaces, and participants have to undergo vertical movement between floors to reach the central plaza. There is now a higher level of initiative in engaging in interpersonal interactions because, in the past, interpersonal interactions among villagers not only occurred actively but often happened randomly or passively as they walked through narrow alleys, passing by their neighbours' yards and catching glimpses of what they were doing. When they met a neighbour hanging clothes or feeding chickens, greetings and spontaneous conversations happened, sometimes with the other neighbours joining in from the other side of the low fences or walls along the alleys. Formerly closely-knit residents were subsequently scattered among several high-rises within the same reconstructed block, and new prosocial habits are required to sustain such encounters. The adjustment of space diminished the feasibility of specific patterns and partially changed the nature and spatiality of interpersonal interactions. Yet a sense of place also manifested in familiarity and adaptation to the new environment. B12 (Qian), who regularly goes to the Youth Park and the southern riverbank for exercise every day, proudly shared his observation that there is a drain in the park, and the air is better on the southern side before 5:30 PM and on the northern side after 5:30 PM. B7 praised the convenience of the Guoguang Market and mentioned her preference for crossing the road to take a walk in the Youth

Park after shopping at this market. These inconsistent feelings and dynamics from the pre-reconstruction period have already been established.

In SSNT, the situation is different. The high density and verticality of residential spaces alter the chances of random, spontaneous interpersonal interactions, but the habits of residents accessing surrounding facilities do not change significantly due to the similarity in block shapes and road positions. The three nearby hospitals and two traditional markets remain frequent locations for residents to purchase daily supplies before and after the reconstruction. The market that used to be in the village plaza has transformed into a modern market. Some pathways entering the blocks are still preserved. C3, along one of the preserved pathways, pointed out the landscape of the village before the reconstruction and could even identify the location of his previous home, which now became part of the sidewalk within the block.

> ‘*We were on the east side of Lane 133... It used to be this lane, then turned right at the end of the lane, and our house was inside this lane. There were two rows of houses after entering the lane, and our house was a corner house there ...... The big open space used to be there, and we used to play there when I was a child*’ (C3).

C3's thoughts extended along the preserved parts of space, navigating the development of urban space and the changes of the embedded activities for us. After decades, he could still point out the previous landscapes. We also observed that some activities, which have become an important part of life after existing in the old MDVs for decades, persist in a different way. For example, appearing in the pavilions of the central plaza every day to chat with neighbours, greetings with someone passing by, or maintaining the public flowerbeds and green spaces as their own yards.

QNNT and SSNT demonstrate the diverse strategies of adaption and resilience of former MDV residents. In QNNT, significant spatial changes disrupt the continuity of residents' lives after the reconstruction. In SSNT, the impact of reconstruction primarily occurs within the blocks, while access to surrounding facilities remains

consistent before and after the reconstruction. The cases in SSNT indicate that, within the limited space modifications, the living patterns accumulated by MDV residents over decades could continue for many more years. In contrast, former MDV residents in QNNT needed to readjust to the new space, where the same settings of the field might not be provided to serve their past relations, habits and activities.

7.2.3.2 Traumatic experiences and residents' resilience to changes

Among the dozens of interviewed residents who experienced large-scale demolitions and reconstructions of their familiar living spaces and/or long-distance relocations, the majority held more positive attitudes toward the MDV policies than negative ones. Besides the disadvantage in lawsuits against the military due to the lack of housing and land ownership, as well as the actual deterioration of housing conditions, the reasons for supporting the MDV policies can trace back to the MDV residents' life experiences. The traumatic experiences of displacement, homelessness, and unstable inhabiting have increased residents' endurance and adaptability in facing changes in their living environment. To list just a few, these experiences include:

> leaving their hometowns and loved ones during the war,
> illegally crossing checkpoints (B12),
> climbing up rope ladders onto cargo ships from a small boat in raging sea water (B13's parents),
> residing in various rudimentary dwellings after arrival in Taiwan, including partitions made of wire and cloth in warehouses (B12), wooden partitions (B4), or self-built small thatched huts (B12),
> facing unsanitary, overcrowded, leaking, and flooding housing conditions,
> a lack of basic urban infrastructure.

When asked about the process of evacuation, even though it has been 74 years, B4 (Chao) couldn't help but shed tears[48]. These speak to the affective dimensions and

[48] In compliance with the research ethics protocol, the interview was immediately stopped at this moment, and was resumed after some time on a different topic once the interviewee had steadied themselves and expressed a desire to continue.

ongoing nature of trauma that is bound up in space. In both fieldwork sites, residents have experienced a continuous improvement in living conditions and housing environments, and they no longer needed to flee or be separated from their families. Compared to past traumas, forced relocation and reconstruction with military subsidies were also part of the trend of improvement.

Another reason is the legacy of militarism which emerges as discernible obedience to the military and trust in the KMT government. C1's (Li) discourse demonstrates the compliance of military personnel and their dependents to the arrangements and orders given by the military. C1 (Li) said ‘even if we were dissatisfied, there was nothing we could do. The houses were provided by the military, and soldiers had to follow orders. We didn’t have much savings. Whether we liked it or not, we had to continue living here’. This attitude of obedience is related to both the professional characteristics of being military personnel and the political identification of this wave of immigrants who tended to trust the KMT government. Due to distrust of the Communist Party or loyalty to the KMT, the immigrant soldiers who later settled in the MDVs voluntarily followed the KMT or obeyed the military's orders to retreat to Taiwan[49]. These immigrant soldiers believed it was a more favourable choice and held the vision that the KMT would eventually counterattack. As outsiders of Taiwan, MDV residents lost the social network and financial support of their hometowns, and various aspects of their lives were closely intertwined with military governance. From the residents' perspective, their lives and living environments continued to improve through the military's arrangements, care, judgment, and management over the decades. This long period deepened residents' trust in the KMT government and the military. In the eyes of present-day researchers, MDVs without housing and land ownership may imply a sense of housing insecurity in a governance system lacking a comprehensive concept of social housing and dominated by the ideology of homeownership, as it is unpredictable whether the military would permanently accept

[49] Numerous soldiers were forcefully taken and enlisted into the military by the KMT regime. Given that the military personnel who could obtain residence permits for the MDVs were predominantly non-low-ranking soldiers, the discussion does not encompass those soldiers who were forcibly conscripted.

the use of public properties for private housing or sell new housing to the MDV residents at unaffordable prices. However, immigrant families at that time believed that the military would not proceed with reconstruction without the full consent of the residents; and all relocations and reconstructions had the autonomous committees and representatives from the resident side serving as mediators between the residents and the military (C7). They firmly believed that the military would propose a solution to protect their accessibility to housing. It is therefore not difficult to understand why the MDV residents were the iron votes of the KMT. As B15 stated, 'we should thank President Chiang Kai-shek and President Chiang Ching-kuo[50]; otherwise, we wouldn't have such a life. At least they let us live in stability'. The residents' tolerance of the reconstruction policies stemmed from their shared military past, trust in the KMT government and the long-standing habit of accepting the military's arrangements.

This acceptance and positive perception are also generated by comparisons. In 1987, the KMT government allowed Mainland immigrants to visit Mainland China, ending the four-decade ban on cross-strait official and private exchanges after the civil war[51]. Taiwan's economic level at that time was much higher than that of Mainland China. In 1987, Taiwan's Gross National Income (GNI) per capita was USD 5,468 (Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, n.d.), while China's GNI per capita was only USD 320 (The World Bank, n.d.). Many interviewees mentioned that their family members and relatives in Mainland China considered their Taiwanese family members as important sources of financial support, and many immigrants were willing to support them, resulting in the convention of giving "three major appliances and five small items (三大件，五小件)" as gifts. The three major appliances refer to the television, refrigerator, and laundry machine, while the five small items refer to golden jewellery such as earrings, necklaces, and rings (B15; C7). These household appliances which were unaffordable for their relatives in China and the gold

[50] Chiang Ching-kuo, the eldest son of President Chiang Kai-shek, served as the President of the Republic of China from 1978 to 1988 and as the Chairman of the KMT from 1975 to 1988.

[51] Civilian exchanges had already begun years before the lifting of the ban. Relatives from Mainland China and Taiwan established communication through intermediary locations. Direct and legal exchanges commenced in 1987.

significantly improved their living quality. In some cases, the relatives in Mainland China hoped the immigrant family members contribute money (remittances) to build or renovate houses or ancestors' tombs (C8). However, some people confronted tragedies after returning to visit their relatives. C11 mentioned that after his father, who was a military officer in the Air Force's communication unit, retreated to Taiwan, his entire family remaining in Jiangsu Province went through Struggle Sessions[52] conducted by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), and his grandfather was forced to hang himself. The economic development and disparity in living quality, as well as the political persecution suffered by their relatives who remained in Mainland China under the CCP, to some extent, strengthened MDV residents' identifications and positive views of the KMT government's governance. C7 (Chou) accounted that looking back from the present standpoint, she was grateful that her parents brought her, as an infant, to Taiwan when they evacuated by ship.

In conclusion, the MDVs were gradually regulated in the 1950s to provide physical security in terms of housing, and the military administrators' disregard and tolerance for violations of regulations, such as informal additions or illegal occupations, enhanced the psychological security of MDV residents. Parallel institutionalism was not only manifested within governance and management systems (see Chapter 5) but also was reflected (and forged) in the sense of community and collective identity in everyday life (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a). The foundation of indulgence and interpersonal relationships within the villages was based on shared experiences, accents or dialects, and cultures. The habits, activities, and emotions attached to this landscape collectively shaped a unique sense of place (Massey, 1994). MDV residents served as social infrastructure supporting each other in physical and emotional aspects, and recreating the ambience of hometowns (Simone, 2004). Despite the potential insecurity of not having homeownership, for many villagers, trust in and obedience to the KMT government and the military outweighed this sense of insecurity, which also

[52] Struggle Sessions were the violent political activities in Maoist China, especially during the Cultural Revolution. People who were accused of being "class enemies" were publicly humiliated, beaten, and tortured. Some of them were forced to commit suicide. These people included but were not limited to people with different political views, intellectuals, people associated with the KMT, religious figures, landowners, and these people's family members or friends.

made many of them not opposed to government arrangements when facing the destruction of their familiar sense of place and reliance on specific space. At the same time, decades of relevant policies and overall economic development had created positive prospects for the MDVs. This led the traumatised residents to develop a form of emotional resilience, enabling them to adapt to drastic and fundamental changes in their surroundings. In contrast to accounts of resettlement in other places and contexts, they were willing to accept displacement along with accompanying compensation and homeownership. This new reality has accelerated the emergence of a new sense of place and lifestyle in the new spatial configurations.

7.3 Housing mobility

The previous section focuses on the interviewees who were the MDV residents before the reconstruction and currently reside in the reconstructed MDV neighbourhoods. This section further includes the interviewees who were not the MDV residents before the reconstruction but became part of the current resident population through various channels. Divided into three parts based on identities, we first discuss the housing mobility of individuals who were the MDV residents before the reconstruction, followed by an analysis of the housing mobility of individuals who were not the MDV residents before the reconstruction. Finally, a comprehensive analysis is conducted to further explore residents' choices and the shifting ideology toward MDV housing.

The housing mobility of residents forms an important underpinning of the housing biographies proposed in this research, and probing it, along with the related experiences and perceptions, can provide an effective policy examination from a micro perspective, particularly in the context of public-owned housing entering the housing market after privatisation. The investigated grounded experiences encompass who and why individuals choose to become MDV or reconstructed MDV residents, as well as the nuanced experiences and perceptions regarding their previous preparations and channels for accessing housing. Understanding residents' decision-making patterns, changes in the resident composition after privatisation, and the influence of policy and financial instruments on housing swapping strategies or psychological factors. In

Taiwan, where homeownership is the mainstream and the homeownership rate is high, housing is the most expensive single commodity in many people's lives (as it is elsewhere). Preparing for homeownership requires longer periods of time and massive capital investment and may crowd out expenditures in other aspects (see Lin & Chang, 2016)[53]. Therefore, when most people choose to buy or change homes, there are usually perceived necessities or specific reasons behind their decisions. Unlike existing research that focuses on the exclusionary effects of homeownership, and housing mobility in Taiwan from a macro-quantitative perspective (see Chen & Chang, 2002; Lin, 2015; Lin & Chang, 2016; Yang & Chang, 2001), we aim to unfold their considerations through the intertwined relationships in residents' stories. These empirical pieces of evidence contribute to advancing our knowledge of the actual impacts of the overall economic environment and relevant policies on residents (i.e., housing commodification and financialisation of urban space), which is still insufficient in existing research.

7.3.1 Housing mobility of those becoming MDV residents before the reconstruction

Those who were registered MDV residents before the reconstruction had two main channels to access the MDV housing: (a) through formal application and allocation by the military, and (b) through informal but widely accepted replacement of residence permits. The former required applicants to be married and have an excellent service record, and each MDV was often associated with specific military branches and units. However, acquiring residence permits did not necessarily mean settling in the same location. Since the mid-1950s, the phenomenon of moving from one MDV to another had gradually decreased (see the story of C7 Chou). However, due to the association of MDV residence permits with military employment, many interviewees still relocated

[53] There is some other literature focusing on this topic: Lo (2012) uses the crowding-out effect to explain the negative relationship between homeownership rates and total fertility rates in Taiwan, due to the significant consumption of family resources required for both home buying and child-rearing. Yi and Zhang (2010) find that the soaring housing prices depleted a significant portion of parents' income, leading to a decline in fertility rates. Chen et al. (2013) observe that rising housing prices drove an increase in rents, causing young couples to lower their willingness to have children due to affordability issues. Even relatively affluent couples could only afford smaller houses due to the escalating housing costs, resulting in reduced space for raising children, further diminishing their fertility intentions.

between MDVs due to changes in their positions or orders from higher military authorities. For example, after C6's family obtained the residence permit, they initially lived in An-dong New Village but moved to Song-shan New Village when he was around 7 or 8 years old. C11 was born in Jian-hua New Village but moved to Song-shan New Village when he was around 5 or 6 years old because his father was promoted to Colonel Commander of the Air Force Communications Group.

Various cases demonstrate that after leaving the initially self-built, simple huts or partitioned spaces in warehouses, or privately rented houses, occasional relocations were still required after entering the regular MDVs. The registered MDV residents here specifically refer to the first-generation immigrant couples, excluding their children, as the residence permits of MDV housing are registered under their names, and so are the ownership of reconstructed dwellings if they were still alive during the reconstruction. This distinction will make the following discussion clearer, as some of the second-generation immigrants bought apartments in the same blocks as their parents – these children live in the reconstructed neighbourhoods but they didn't get their housing from the military's allocation. Families during that era usually had multiple children. When the parents were still alive, most children needed to find separate accommodations. Some adult second-generation immigrants would live with their parents or continue living in the reconstructed dwellings left by their parents after their parents passed away, but this was usually limited to one of the multiple children (with their families).

The latter, namely accessing the MDV housing through the informal method of replacing residence permits, known as "*ding* (頂)" in Chinese, refers to taking over the rights of a registered person. Typically, if a resident gave up one's residence permit, the military notified the person on the waiting list to fill the spot. However, the MDVs gradually developed the informal mode of *ding*, which involved the person relinquishing self-matching with the replacer and signing informal contracts before informing the military administrators of the transfer of qualifications to the replacer (A1). The replacer would privately compensate the person relinquishing with a fee. The

military tacitly allowed this informal channel (i.e., a form of political informality), breaking the convention of residents in the same villages coming from the same military branches and units, and circumventing some of the military's qualification reviews. For example, even though C7's (Chou) husband served in the Army, he obtained the right to live in Song-shan New Village, an Air Force village, through the replacement of a residence permit.

> '*The original houses were in pretty bad shape, you know, leaking roofs and not enough space. When they lived there, they spent their own money to redo the shitty walls, or added an extension kitchen on the side, or even built, built an attic above with steel and concrete. Who paid for all that? Them. ...... I can pass on the house to you, but we need to negotiate a price because I spent a lot on building that attic, spent a lot on extending the kitchen, spent a lot on putting in those beautiful floors. You'll have to pay me fifty or a hundred thousand to take it over. If you'd like to, okay we can go to the autonomous council, register it at the Military Dependents Service Department* (眷服處) *...... Privately, one or maybe two hundred thousand is transferred. In private. The service department pretended they had no clues about our deal. But did they actually know? Of course they knew*' (A1, academic).

The channels for matching relinquished and replacers were not fixed and involved mutual acquaintances or information circulated within interpersonal networks about upcoming opportunities. These informal mechanisms relied on not only the connections between residents, but also between military administrators and residents, forming a tacit understanding in a specific cultural background.

Due to the greater number of immigrant military families than the supply of MDV housing, it was not difficult to find immigrant households willing to take over the positions. This situation decreased as the possibility of granting homeownership rose in the later stages before the reconstruction, as retaining residence permits equated to acquiring housing well below market value (A1). The money privately paid by the

replacer to the relinquisher was usually paid in full. The amount depended on the economic status of the relinquisher, the money invested by the relinquisher in the MDV housing, and the negotiation between the two parties.

Since the maintenance subsidies provided by the military were limited, MDV residents often had to bear the cost of internal and external additions, repairs, or renovations, and this money served as the basis for determining the transfer price of residence permits. The value was the right to usage and the value of the components borne by the previous householders, not the ownership of the house or land. In 1985, C7 (Chou) and her husband obtained a residence permit for Song-shan New Village for NTD 650,000, while the GNI per capita that year was NTD 134,548 (Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, n.d.). Both C7 (Chou) and her husband had incomes, and the latter served as a well-paid army pilot and lived in low-rent military dormitories before moving to Song-shan New Village, accumulating certain financial resources to afford this price.

These villagers transferred their residence permits due to various reasons. However, because of the limitation of this study only interviewing residents living in the reconstructed MDVs, we can only infer the possible reasons for the transfer from the unilateral answers of the interviewees. B5 mentioned that the previous occupants, despite holding a residence permit, lived with their daughter in a non-MDV house with a larger interior space and rented the MDV dwelling to B5's family for NTD 1,500 per month. Years later, the previous occupants chose to sell them the residence permit because they didn’t need it. In another case, the previous occupant, an officer in the Air Force Comptroller Division, chose to transfer the housing in the village because they already owned a house outside the village (C7).

The military stipulated that MDV residents were not allowed to own properties outside, in order to meet the purpose of setting up the MDVs, which was to take care of immigrant military personnel with dependents but without housing; however, it is observed that several interviewees themselves or their relatives purchased additional non-owner-occupied housing in the private housing market before or after becoming

MDV residents. Non-owner-occupied housing here means possessing homeownership without actually residing in it. Such violations were deliberately ignored by the military and were quite common (A1; A10). Among them, some interviewees had clear intentions for purchasing other houses, while others did not articulate specific reasons. In the housing biographies of Section 7.1, we present the housing investment decisions of C1 (Li). She decided to solve the housing needs for her four children when they were young, so the subsequent real estate investment process was built on a strong purpose. This case demonstrated an internalised combination of the ideology of homeownership and the logics of financialisation (Aalbers, 2016). The housing choices were primarily based on futurity and calculability in which she could accumulate wealth for her children's "home".

C3's father, on the other hand, bought an apartment in the vicinity after the demolition of Song-shan New Village, waiting for the completion of SSNT. Even though the military provided a monthly rental subsidy of NTD 600 (Chen et al., 2009), C3's father chose to buy another housing due to personal considerations. C3 mentioned, 'we have never rented a house from others', suggesting that C3's father may prefer living in a self-owned home. However, there are also cases like B2's father and B5's husband, whose reasons for purchasing housing outside were having some extra money. Although neither of these interviewees was directly involved in the house purchase at the time, and both purchasers are deceased, we can still infer the possible intentions of B2's father based on the current usage of the dwellings. B2's parents also bought two additional apartments, which are now left to B2's two siblings. B2 himself lives in the allocated reconstructed dwelling. It is highly likely that B2's parents, like C1 (Li), may have purchased the housing to resolve the future housing needs of the next generation.

Yet, the majority of interviewed immigrants or their spouses or parents lacked the financial means to purchase additional housing in full. Among the four interviewees mentioned above (B2, B5, C1, C3), their or their families' financial resources came from long-term purposeful capital accumulation, high-paying occupations, or short-term substantial wealth (e.g., pension). C1's (Li) husband was a high-income doctor and she accumulated capital through real estate investment based on her financial literacy and

personal judgment. C3's father was a professional aircraft engineer who, after retiring from the military in the late 1960s, worked in a private aviation company and also provided aircraft maintenance services to the US military. He was sent to the United States for technical training. Both C1's (Li) husband and C3's father were engaged in high-skilled occupations with relatively high salaries.

After the reconstruction, residents with residence permits could acquire ownership of the reconstructed dwellings at significantly lower prices than the market value. The amount residents needed to pay ranged from almost none to several hundred thousand NTD. C1 (Li) and C8, who originally lived in Song-shan New Village, were allocated to SSNT at the same location after the reconstruction and only needed to pay processing fees. The families of B7 and B12 (Qian), who were relocated from Four-four East Village to QNNT, were charged NTD 150,000 and 300,000 respectively. B2's family, who was relocated from Jun-an New Village to QNNT, paid an additional NTD 800,000. B2 mentioned that at that time, very few households could afford to pay the entire amount at once, so it was common to apply for bank loans. In comparison to the passive acceptance of loan schemes by these QNNT residents, C7's (Chou) family in SSNT applied to pay additional money to exchange for a larger dwelling, and they paid an extra fee of NTD 1.057 million. C7 (Chou) considered that since there was a loan scheme available and the monthly payments were within their affordable range, they could gradually pay it off in case of any sudden need for a large sum of money. At the time the parents of B2 and B12 (Qian), among others, accepted the military's reconstruction, they lost the choice of whether to become in debt. Even in their later years, they still needed to deal with loan repayments, and the burden of debt may fall on second-generation immigrants like B2 and B12 (Qian). This partially overlaps with the empirical evidence from existing studies. Yang's (2017) fieldwork found that some first-generation immigrants were reluctant to undergo reconstruction because they had already spent a considerable amount of money on repairing and renovating their previous old MDV houses, knowing that they would not be able to afford the full amount after reconstruction, and their ages constrained them to have a fixed income to repay monthly loans. In contrast, as mentioned earlier, C7's (Chou) husband, being a higher-paid army pilot, was capable of affording loans monthly.

7.3.2 Housing mobility of those becoming the residents of reconstructed neighbourhoods after the reconstruction

Those who purchased housing in the reconstructed neighbourhoods after the reconstruction can be broadly divided into two types: (a) second-generation immigrants who grew up in the MDVs, and (b) individuals with no direct connection to the MDVs. It is observed that many of those who purchased reconstructed dwellings after privatisation were second-generation immigrants. B18's parents were allocated to a new apartment located in QNNT. In order to be closer to her parents for convenience in taking care of them, B18 purchased an apartment in QNNT from a former neighbour of Four-four East Village. The reason for their willingness to sell was that they might already own another place to stay (B18). According to regulations, the reconstructed dwellings were forbidden from being resold within the prohibition period. However, B18 purchased the apartment from that neighbour in 1988, just over a year after the allocation, and signed an informal contract that required an immediate upfront payment in exchange for the transfer of ownership registration after the prohibition period to circumvent government supervision. B13 (Sun) and B20 also purchased the reconstructed MDV housing in close proximity to their parents. The parents of the former were allocated housing in Kong-nan 3rd Village, which was 500 metres away from QNNT. B20 purchased an apartment in QNNT to take care of his parents as well. B19, who has lived in QNNT for 27 years and is familiar with many neighbours, mentioned that in the southern half of QNNT, which was allocated to former MDV residents, *around 70 per cent of the households still have a connection to the MDVs after privatisation*. Many families in this neighbourhood own two units, possibly for parents and children or siblings, choosing to purchase units sold by others in order to live closer to each other.

> '*So, generally, you will find many families, they own more than one unit, they own two units. They may be sister and brother or something like that. Yes, there are many situations like this, and the proportion is very high, that's right*' (B19).

The latter refers to individuals who have no direct connection to the MDVs but purchase or rent reconstructed housing after the MDV privatisation. QNNT and SSNT were public housing projects built in collaboration between the military and the public housing authority, accommodating both the former MDV residents and citizens who qualified for public housing. Apart from those who obtained the qualification to purchase public housing through a lottery or were allocated public housing due to special circumstances, others who purchase housing from residents rather than the government do so in diverse ways and routes. B4's (Chao) family is an immigrant military family that was never allocated to the MDVs. As mentioned in the housing biographies in Section 7.1, they initially lived in the Air Force base dormitories and later purchased an informal housing unit, where they lived until QNNT was completed and then bought a unit sold by a former MDV resident. B1 is a local resident of Wanhua District. Around 1992, at the age of 40, he spent NTD 2 million to purchase a housing unit in QNNT from a former MDV resident who sold the property and moved back to Mainland China. Others mostly made their purchases after the 2000s. C4, C5, and C14 all purchased housing in SSNT after retiring. C4 previously worked in central Taiwan and spent NTD 3 million to purchase an owner-occupied residence in 1996, which was sold after retirement. In 2016, the proceeds from the sale of that house, 6 million, along with other savings, totalling 22.2 million, were used to fully purchase a housing unit in SSNT. C4 chose this location because their daughter's family lives nearby. C5 had similar considerations as C4. After retiring from work in southern Taiwan, C5 decided to buy an apartment in Taipei for her retirement life because her daughter and son-in-law work in Taipei. She sold the owner-occupied residence she bought in Kaohsiung for over 5 million and purchased a housing unit in SSNT for less than 25 million in 2010. C5 applied for a bank mortgage with a low-interest rate, which was only slightly above one per cent. Apart from the close distance to their daughter, the decision to choose this location was also based on the accessibility of transportation, medical services, and green spaces in the surrounding area.

7.3.3 Discussion: Confronting financialisation and the shfiting housing ideologies

The data analysis presented above demonstrates that the current residents of QNNT

and SSNT encompass a diverse group of individuals, including:

- former MDV residents who accessed the MDV housing through both formal and informal channels
- descendants of immigrants
- immigrants who never obtained MDV residence permits
- individuals who obtained eligibility to purchase public housing through an official lottery
- individuals allocated public housing due to special circumstances, and
- individuals who purchased housing without any direct connection to the MDVs based on personal purposes and preferences.

These individuals and their families became residents of these two neighbourhoods at different times and through different means, driven by their diverse objectives. While the original, resettled MDV residents obtained homeownership at significantly lower prices than the market value, for many interviewees, this still constituted an amount that they could not afford without a loan (B2; B12). However, second-generation immigrants who chose to purchase housing in these neighbourhoods to live closer to their parents faced a larger and more challenging mortgage burden. When B18 initially purchased a unit in QNNT from a neighbour for NTD 2.6 million in 1988, they had to bear an interest rate range of 10 to 11 per cent because the Central Bank had raised it in the late 1980s. For B18 and her husband, the 15-year mortgage payment period was extremely difficult, but they had to 'tough it out'. B18 worked as an accountant in a private company, while her husband had a part-time job in addition to his regular job. Although it was tough, B18 did not think too much about it at that time – 'We had a family to take care of after getting married and having children, so we'd like to have a home. Errr, I don't know, I felt like it was a home we devoted our whole life' as she said. B20, on the other hand, adopted a different strategy to cope with the high-interest rates at that time. As a military officer who had a family but did not have homeownership, B20 had the priority access right to the remaining vacant unit in QNNT but did not receive any preferential prices or interest rates. Due to the relatively low salary of military officers in 1986 and to avoid the high-interest rates of banks, B20

borrowed money from relatives and friends instead of from the banks.

> '*Hey, the interest rates were high. Look, when I just graduated* (from the military academy)*, my salary was only fucking 2,900* (per month)*, as a lieutenant. Why would I apply for a mortgage? If I paid back the mortgage, I wouldn't have a life anymore. How could I sustain a marriage and raise children? Right? So, borrowing money from relatives and friends wouldn't come with that kind of pressure, or the interest rate was not that...pressuring, not that stressful... That's one way to put it. Everyone had to find their ways out because our country wasn't really helping you*' (B20).

Consumers who need to invoke future income for current consumption require effective capital markets, but some may not have access to it or may find it challenging to enter the credit market (Guiso & Jappelli, 1991: 104). Liquidity constraints play a significant role in macroeconomic and economic stability policies, as these constraints reduce return risks and ensure financial stability and growth (Cox, 1990; Isengard, König, & Szydlik, 2018; Ronald & Lennartz, 2018). However, in labour markets, government financial policies, tax systems, and insurance systems characterised by pervasive financial calculations, those with imperfect information and a lack of relevant reputations are constrained within these financial logics. Intergenerational transfers serve as loans for them, overcoming liquidity constraints (ibid). Cox and Jappelli (1990) find that many liquidity-constrained individuals accept intergenerational transfers, with a potentially large number of people using interpersonal transfers to evade credit loans. In the case of this study, while the respondents did not belong to the group unable to obtain loans, high interest rates and low salaries deterred them from accessing the financial system, making low-interest or interest-free transfers from family members, relatives, and friends serve as institutional loans. Private transfers of wealth help offset capital market imperfections, serving as alternatives to some people in need (Guiso & Jappelli, 1991: 119).

The payment made by the former MDV residents, or their voluntarily charged replacement of smaller reconstructed dwellings with larger ones, marked the end of

the public-owned housing model of MDVs. After this transition, the money spent on maintenance, decorations, and renovations went towards their own properties rather than towards deteriorating one-storey houses that could not provide future security. The *foundation of housing security shifted from the special guarantees provided by the military and the KMT government to individual homeownership*. They were stable housing, a better environment and facilities, and the resolution of long-standing issues related to the deteriorating conditions of their housing that brought the residents positive feelings. Furthermore, it can be observed that the residents' ideology has undergone some changes and has been influenced by the development of the real estate market. B7, an 84-year-old former MDV resident, did not own any other houses and had been living in QNNT for almost 40 years, but she was happy that the value of her apartment increased to NTD 18 million in 2022. She was not the only elderly resident who held this perspective. As a "latecomer" who became an SSNT resident only in 2010, when asked about the reasons for her current satisfaction with the housing in SSNT, C5's answer went to the significantly increased value of her unit, which had served as her only residence after retirement for the past 12 years. Although they did not own any other properties and the likelihood of selling in the short term was not high, the growing value of assets facilitated by the continuous growth of the real estate market since the financial deregulations in the 1980s became one of the standards by which these residents assessed the value of their housing. This is not to say that housing speculation did not exist in the 1980s; B18's experience demonstrates that the selling price set by the former homeowner, NTD 2.6 million, was a huge amount that was difficult to afford at that time and conversely, represented significant income for that former homeowner. However, when discussing their perceptions and feelings about the reconstruction policies, ***none** of the former MDV residents mentioned "housing as an asset" as a benefit of the reconstruction*. The emphasis on asset growth came from the feedback regarding their current housing and from the "latecomers" who were not former MDV residents, which suggests the new housing orientations tied to urbanisation. Alongside housing commodification, the residents' ideology regarding housing has shifted from homes that provide a stable life to homes that are seen as assets (Madden & Marcuse, 2016).

On the other hand, the interview data indicates that due to lax scrutiny by the military, some MDV residents own multiple properties. In contrast, some of the individuals who moved into QNNT and SSNT at a later stage bought the apartments in these two locations as their only and most expensive residences for their later years in favour of the regenerated living environment with high quality. In today's thriving housing market, the former MDV residents indeed acquired high-value assets at a lower financial cost. The influence of these high-value homes on the descendants of immigrants in this assetised and financialised housing market will be explored in the next section.

7.4 Intergenerational support

After analysing and discussing the influences of reconstruction on former MDV residents, this section focuses on intergenerational dynamics. By investigating the support provided to offspring in different forms and their housing positions, this research attempts to reveal the relationships between intergenerational support, MDV policies, and the identity of being descendants of MDV residents. This can aid understanding of the long-term effects after the obliteration of the original physical and social space of MDVs. The housing security and services provided by the military during the pre-reconstruction period, as well as the privatisation of state-owned properties during the post-reconstruction period, may influence the strategies of immigrant families' employing assets. This directly impacts parents' ability to support subsequent generations. However, in the current housing field in Taiwan, research related to intergenerational influences and transfers is scarce. The intergenerational dynamics of MDVs here sheds new empirical light on the long-term and extensive influences of MDV policies. This section is divided into two parts: *immigration and housing*. These parts respectively examine the phenomenon of re-migration among the younger generations and the relationship between the housing positions of second and third-generation immigrants and MDV policies.

7.4.1 Parents-supported “re-migration”

The phenomenon of “re-migration” refers to the trend of second or third-generation offspring emigrating to Anglophone countries, primarily led by the United States, after attending college. This term and trend, “re-migration”, was often referred to during fieldwork (observations and interviews). Previous analyses covered many residents who were second-generation immigrants, but it is necessary to discuss the international migrants, who were also the offspring of immigrants. Our understanding of these individuals primarily comes from the descriptions provided by their family members. C3 has already immigrated to the United States, but his return to SSNT during the fieldwork period allowed us to collect first-hand data from this re-migrant.

Since the 1970s, many second or third-generation immigrants have pursued education and emigrated to Anglophone countries, including the United States, Canada, and Australia, with the support of their parents. After these individuals completed undergraduate or Master's degrees, they settled down and formed families. Some first-generation immigrants also chose to move aboard in their later years to live near their children and grandchildren (relatives of B16). However, in the 1970s and 1980s, compared to Anglophone countries, economic indicators showed limited income for Taiwanese people (Figure 7.3), implying that supporting their children's overseas education could be a financial burden. Most of these interviewees, their family members, relatives, or themselves did not have scholarships during that time. Motivations driving the next generation to “re-migrate” at high costs and leave their existing status include the potential risks of political conflicts, parents’ emphasis on children's education, and future career opportunities. Some immigrants who experienced war and escaped while losing their homes and land in their homeland, considered supporting their children's education as a channel to secure a more stable and better quality of life. Therefore, they were willing to invest significant capital to allow their children to study and settle in economically prosperous countries with well-developed living environments (A11; C2). Furthermore, C3 mentioned that his father believed there was hostility toward Mainlanders from the pro-Taiwan independence factions. Not wanting his children to live in a future where they might face exclusion

by local political forces, the political risks were a reason why his father encouraged C3 to move to the United States. The KMT, as a foreign authoritarian regime, has been involved in political conflicts and frictions with native Taiwanese for decades since the end of World War II, accompanied by violent suppression. This has given rise to the Taiwan independence movement and political confrontations between local Taiwanese and Mainlanders. There are many relevant studies focusing on this reality, but this is not the focus here (see Lee, 2006; Wu, 2002; Wu & Tsui, 2010; You, 2020).

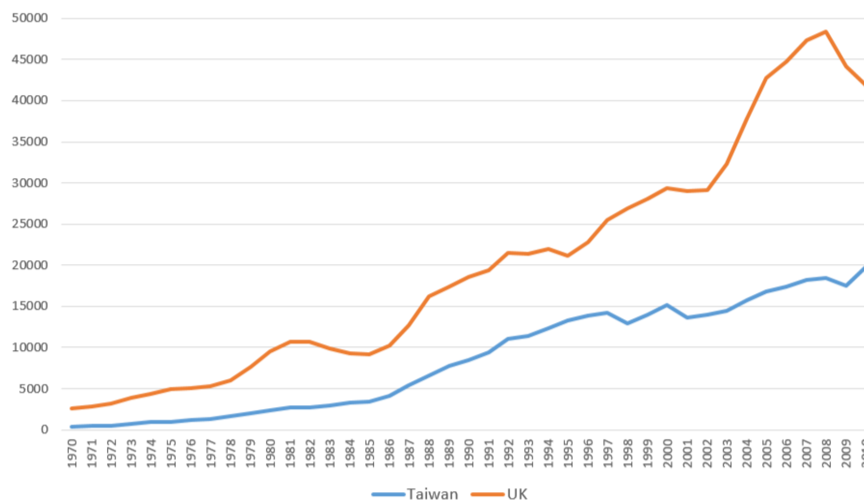

Figure 7.3: The Gross National Income per capita of Taiwan and the UK in USD (1970–2010)

(Source: Directorate General of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Executive Yuan, n.d.; The World Bank, n.d.)

Interestingly, during the fieldwork, it was found that among the interviewees, there were more cases of family members or neighbours emigrating to Anglophone countries in SSNT (8 out of 11), which accommodates more Air Force families, compared to QNNT (4 out of 14), which accommodates more Army families. C2 mentioned that in SSNT, the children of many elderly people accompanied by international caregivers seen in open spaces have been in the United States. C3 and two out of three of his siblings have already emigrated to the United States, as have the older siblings of his neighbour and close friend. Due to the limited sample size, we are not asserting that the phenomenon of re-migration was more significant in the Air Force villages compared to the Army villages. This research, instead, attempts to provide contextual interpretations based on interview data. Taking C3 as an example,

his father, a former Air Force officer with professional technical skills who had been sent to the United States to learn aircraft maintenance, was deeply immersed in international information and technology, particularly in English. Due to his experience in the United States, he encouraged C3 to pursue education there (C3). Both aircraft maintenance and piloting belong to high-paying, high-skilled professions that frequently involve interactions with Western countries, especially the United States. The experiences and knowledge of this group themselves could provide their children with more effective, detailed, and credible information because they actually had a better understanding of the situation abroad. At the same time, their advantages in income level provided financial support for their children's overseas education.

In contrast, the Army generally had lower technical requirements (excluding high-skilled positions such as Army pilots), and after middle-age retirement, they were unable to continue high-paying jobs like aircraft maintenance engineers or pilots. Consequently, they were less capable of providing their children with the corresponding information and financial support as Air Force immigrants. The re-migration of younger people demonstrates that many MDV residents still had a certain financial ability to support their children's overseas education and settlement even after two or more relocations.

7.4.2 Intergenerational housing dynamics

This study also helps understand the housing positon and status of second and third-generation immigrants and their receipt of housing support from the parent generation in relation to the MDV policies and the broader socioeconomic context. In 1996, during the legislative process of the second-phase reconstruction, different political parties had debates regarding the fairness of privatising state-owned properties and granting housing ownership to specific ethnic groups (A4; A8; Tang & Wang, 2008). After experiencing rapid growth in the real estate market in the 1980s, the privatisation of urban areas did indeed shape a new class of asset owners. Immigrants who acquired housing ownership at significantly lower costs compared to market value were beneficiaries in terms of assets, but does this benefit translate into

intergenerational transfers of wealth and assets? And in what ways is it transmitted? The intergenerational support and transfers of wealth have been probed by various quantitative methods-based studies. Helderman and Mudler (2007), in their study in the Netherlands, found that children's housing patterns might be influenced by their parents' housing patterns and attitudes toward housing, such as praise for homeownership or the demonstration effect of using financial tools like housing loans. Forrest and Hirayama (2009) account that letting children living with parents involves reciprocal dynamics within families and serving as a degree of social stability. Previous works highlight the societal complexity involved in intergenerational housing dynamics, requiring more nuanced exploration along multiple dimensions. This research seeks to understand how the people other than the recipients of the policies, namely the offspring of the registered MDV residents in this case, have been influenced after housing privatisation, and to provide an empirical assessment of the long-term effects of these policies.

Li and Shin (2013) account that intergenerational support is bidirectional, and various models of providing support can coexist simultaneously. They classify support relations into four categories: traditional (based on filial piety), children dependent on parents, mutual relations, and none. They further differentiate support patterns into four types: material, care, emotional, and none. Material support encompasses the provision of financial resources and housing (gifts of housing or co-residence with parents or children). A similar categorisation is also made by Sun (2002), distinguishing intergenerational support into three forms: financial aid, in-kind gifts, and assistance in daily activities. Gale and Scholz (1994) distinguish between inheritances and intended transfers before death according to Kotlikoff and Summers' (1981) approach in their study on intergenerational financial support using the life-cycle model[54], as they could not ascertain whether the inheritance was intentionally left for the recipients. Though this research mainly focuses on phenomena in the housing domain rather than money transfers, the discussion on various forms of intergenerational

[54] Life-circle model is an approach that is 'useful for showing, in a particular model, how the shares of life-cycle and transfer wealth in total wealth depend on assumptions concerning behavioral elasticities, credit market constraints, and other factors (Gale & Scholz, 1994: 146).

support shedding light on how to understand intergenerational support and its pathways and types. This section discusses the financial aid provided by parents to their children in terms of housing. During the fieldwork, the forms of financial aid observed were helping to purchase furniture, providing financial support equal to or below the down payment, or fully funding the purchase of a housing unit. However, these forms were not commonly observed among the interviewees. In QNNT, five residents received financial support from their parents, equal to or below the down payment, while in SSNT, this number was three. Additionally, in QNNT and SSNT, one and two families, respectively, had parents who provided the support of full payment for the purchase of a housing unit. B2's father purchased two apartments as residences for B2's two siblings, while B2 lived in the reconstructed housing left by his father. C1 (Li) and her husband fully funded the purchase of housing for two out of their four children and supported one child's immigration to Canada. C17 and her siblings each received an apartment as a gift from their parents. In these three cases, B2's father purchased additional housing during the period with relatively low housing prices in the early 1970s, while the other two families made purchases in the late 1990s and mid-2000s. Both C1's (Li) husband and C17's father were high-income doctors who had served as military doctors. Among the parents who provided support of down payment or furniture purchases for their children, none of them made additional purchases of properties beyond their own residences. Conversely, among the parents who made additional property purchases, none of them provided full or partial down payment support for their children or assisted with furniture purchases.

As for the considerable number of residents who neither made additional property purchases nor provided financial aid for their children's housing, when asked about the reasons for not taking such actions, many individuals cited a lack of money. Here, children can be divided into two groups: second-generation immigrants and third-generation immigrants. The former implies that even if the military sold state-owned properties to first-generation immigrants at significantly lower prices than the market value, it did not mean they saved enough money to cover the down payment for their children or the costs of purchasing another housing unit. Decades ago in Taiwan, the average national income was generally low (see Figure 7.3), and military officers'

salaries were not necessarily higher than those working in the private sector (B5). Their income may have been largely spent on daily expenses, childcare, education for their children, and the maintenance and decoration of their houses. Some second-generation immigrants live in reconstructed housing allocated to their parents by the military, but the majority of second-generation immigrants aged between 50 and 80 have purchased their own houses.

The third-generation immigrants face different circumstances. Many of those who did not receive financial aid are already middle-aged but choose to live with their parents because housing prices are too high. Some families do not have the means to provide financial aid to their children, and there are cases where the children refuse to purchase a housing unit with their parents' assistance (C15). Although they are aware of the difficulties of buying a dwelling, they still hold aspirations of owning one (B9; C15). B9 mentioned that despite living frugally, the money saved is still far from enough to afford an apartment in the expensive city of Taipei. However, she also argues that the price differences across Taiwan are not significant, and since her work and social circle are in Taipei, living in her parents' house (which was inherited from her military immigrant grandfather) allows her to save on housing expenses, making it unnecessary to move away from Taipei.

> '*Basically, unless I win the lottery or become very knowledgeable in choosing investment projects, it* (buying an apartment) *is probably very difficult ...... I think this is a problem that most young people encounter. Honestly, I feel like I'm already living very frugally, but the money I save is probably only just enough for living in Taipei. I think the prices have risen too quickly...*' (B9).

Second-generation immigrant B20 expressed a clear view that since his children cannot afford it, they can just wait to inherit his apartments. B20's situation is not the only case observed in the interviews. In fact, the positive influence of apartments sold by the military at low prices to immigrant parents on the assets of their descendants is limited within the housing environment where ownership can be inherited. This is due to factors such as larger household sizes at the time and the continuous rise in

housing prices. Second-generation immigrants, now that most of the first-generation immigrants have passed away, can often possess at least two houses, including one they bought and one they inherited. However, the dwellings allocated by the military to each first-generation immigrant household were limited to one, and since they often have multiple children, only one child became the actual beneficiary in terms of residence. Taking B20 as an example, he plans to leave the house inherited from his parents to one child and keeps the one he purchased for another child. B20 is among the second-generation immigrants who inherited their parents' homes, as is B12 (Qian). However, B12's other seven siblings must and have sought their own path in the private housing market, and their children have no connection to the reconstructed housing allocated by the military - they neither live in it nor have ownership. Although past bank mortgage interest rates were much higher and the terms were shorter, the lower housing price-to-income ratio provided second-generation immigrants with more possibility than third-generation immigrants to access housing in a shorter period of time.

In the long run, the privatisation of MDVs has benefited a small group of post-war Chinese immigrants and their descendants in terms of residence rather than assets, giving them a similar starting point to many native Taiwanese who possess land and houses left by their ancestors. In a situation where the government was not practically and financially capable of balancing the MDV residents' living quality and housing rights, the privatisation of MDVs prevented these individuals from losing their homes. Whether former MDV residents can become significant asset holders or profit through real estate speculation after privatisation depends on their individual occupations, military rank of ancestors, positions of power, social networks, and encountered opportunities, rather than being a general phenomenon happening in the MDV community. The houses sold at low prices by the military to the first-generation MDV residents could not be converted into actual liquid assets as long as their descendants have housing needs, despite the continuous increase in market value. Although A1, an academic, encountered various cases where interviewees sold centrally located housing allocated by the military after retirement and bought cheaper and larger apartments in the suburbs, receiving a substantial amount of cash simultaneously,

cases like B9's demonstrate that it is practically and emotionally challenging for probably many second and third-generation immigrants living in inherited houses, restricted by their location of work and long-established social networks and habits, to cash out the housing in the city centre through relocation to the suburbs. This means that for many high-value housing remains a *home* rather than a disposable asset.

Of course, there were also exceptions where housing units allocated to individuals were cashed out for significant profits. These cases were understood through secondary data, such as a few high-ranking generals who profited from the reconstruction mentioned in the previous chapter; or through accounts from interviewees, such as first-generation immigrants purchasing other residences outside the villages and selling the housing allocated by the military. The latter was a result of the military's long-term tolerance: non-enforcement, non-compulsion and non-regulation as a particular informality (Durst and Wegman, 2017). Another scenario was moving in with the children's families. The channel for it may be similar to the former case, where first-generation immigrants purchased a house and let their children live in it, but it may also resonate with the previously mentioned majority of second-generation immigrants aged between 50 and 80 who have purchased their own houses. These individuals transformed the housing units sold at low prices by the military to MDV residents into liquid assets, which was not the intention of the policies.

In conclusion, based on the phenomenon of "re-migration" among the second and third generations and the housing financial support received by immigrant descendants, there was a certain relationship between MDV parents' high capital support for their children, their identity as immigrants, and their military professions. Having experienced the hardships of fleeing and relocations, the first-generation immigrants encouraged their descendants to leave the unfamiliar territory (Taiwan) and pursue education and settlement in economically developed Anglophone countries. These initiatives were mobilised based on their own professional and learning experiences. In our limited number of interviewees, we found that the phenomenon of re-migration was more common in military branches with generally

high-skill requirements, and some interviewees were indeed encouraged by their fathers who had received training in Western countries and experienced life there to pursue different opportunities overseas. Furthermore, their professions in the military also influenced their capital accumulation after retirement. C1's (Li) husband and C17's father were the only two interviewees who continued to work as high-income doctors after retiring from military hospitals, and they were the only two families who were able to purchase apartments for their children with full payment after the rapid rise in housing prices from the 1980s. On the contrary, the majority of MDV households provide limited financial aid to their children in terms of housing. It is also observed that even in today's housing market with high housing prices, expensive properties on the book in the city centre cannot be converted into disposable liquid assets because immigrant descendants still have a demand for them. The former MDV residents and/or their descendants who profited through speculation after privatisation benefited from the tolerance of non-compliant behaviours and activities during the military's long-term governance and management, rather than the reconstruction policies themselves.

7.5 Conclusions

These four sections provide innovative and nuanced long-term explorations of the MDV policies and governance. The housing biographies, existing resident composition, and intergenerational support repeatedly display the complexities within the MDVs, which should not be simply reduced to a few simple categorisations and classifications such as MDV residents or MDV reconstruction.

This chapter offers relational knowledge of daily life, financialised policies, and urban development and seeks to unify micro and individual perspectives within the wider context of MDV transformation (Elias, 2000). *The cases of QNNT and SSNT reveal the impact of simplifications of the parallel institutionalism led by the developmental state, altering the interaction patterns between residents and space, and reinforcing an ownership-driven housing market. The neglect of political informality within the parallel system has also turned the reconstructed MDV housing, aimed at housing*

welfare, into speculative tools.

The military and the government, in pursuing ideal spatial designs such as spacious pedestrian areas and symmetrical and square central plazas, have overlooked the embedded habits within the existing spaces. The new spatial design and configurations forced the residents to change their habits of accessing the spaces. However, some of these mundane practices are revived in other forms even after significant spatial changes. Many former MDV residents, especially the first-generation immigrants who had lived in the old villages for a long time, find ways to continue and conduct past activities (such as chatting in open spaces) in the new spaces. Resilience is further demonstrated by the fact that many MDV residents embraced the military's reconstruction and relocation efforts. This embrace is rooted in residents' past traumatic experiences, trust and obedience toward the military and the KMT government nurtured by parallel institutions, as well as the comparison of the quality of life with their Mainland relatives.

Groups defined based on macroeconomic indicators, age, or ethnicity may actually contain great complexity and heterogeneity. State simplifications (Scott, 1998) that apply a one-size-fits-all policy can lead to inequality in resource allocation. Taking the MDV policies as an example, during the first phase of reconstruction, the calculation of the residents' home purchase subsidies depended on the location of their MDVs, while in the second phase, it depended on the post-construction costs. Furthermore, under the influence of military culture, higher-ranking personnel were allocated larger-sized new apartments. The government's financial feasibility and the continuation of military culture became the standards for resource allocation, which ignored differences in actual needs, military branches, units, ranks, and household sizes. Some people in different military branches or with lower ranks could not afford the self-payment quota for new housing but had to pay the same amount for quasi-mandated relocations, and they couldn't choose which price range of reconstructed neighbourhoods they would be assigned to (A10). Some families had bigger household sizes but could only live in apartments with smaller spaces than those allocated to high-ranking officials because they couldn't afford the cost of replacing larger-sized

units. The latter could improve their living quality through informal additions in the old MDVs, but it became challenging in the new housing. Many unquantifiable differences were overlooked within the financial framework. Even though the military claimed to consider residents' social networks and tried to minimise the relocation distance in the second phase of reconstruction, approximately 30 per cent of the MDVs ended up being relocated beyond a distance of 2 kilometres. The claim that keeping the relocation distance within a certain range would have less impact on social networks was merely an intuitive notion without evidence to support it. The actual utility was more about the convenience of implementation and the feasibility of financial plans.

In the scenario where residents had to choose between accepting the reconstruction, or entering the judicial process, accepting bank loans was the limited option for MDV residents to avoid losing their homes. Some residents, due to insufficient savings and reaching an age where they could no longer work to repay the loans, would likely pass on the burden of the loan to their children. However, acquiring homeownership meant liberation from the uncertainty of future housing needs, and the investment in house maintenance and decoration was directed toward oneself. This liberation refers to obtaining final answers and disposal methods, preventing the possibility of being uprooted again.

The state simplifications implemented through privatisation have reinforced an ownership-driven housing market and released a significant number of public properties into the private housing market. With the booming real estate market, the market value of housing has become one of the factors that contribute to the satisfaction with the housing environment for former MDV residents, which was not considered when reflecting on and assessing the reconstruction policies. This implies that the development of the real estate market has introduced the new ideology of housing as an asset into these former publicly-owned neighbourhoods. Moreover, the disregard for political informality has transformed reconstructed units into speculative instruments. The state treated rules and stipulations as ground realities while overlooking the fact that a substantial number of MDV residents owned additional

properties externally. This oversight has allowed many residents to profit by selling reconstructed housing obtained at a low cost.

The parallel institutionalism that evolved based on specific historical and socioeconomic contexts has consistently sustained the management and daily life of MDVs over several decades. Under military governance, MDVs became an infrastructure system that supported residents in various aspects of their lives, and political informality provided residents with opportunities to improve their living quality (e.g., informal additions). This form of urban heterogeneity and governance that was closer to the needs and lifestyles of MDV residents has been simplified and flattened in policy implementation, which prioritised the core ideology of promoting national economic development and pursuing efficiency. The emergence of a built environment that aligns with the logic of neoliberal financialisation is facilitated in this process. The reconstruction policies seemed to endow MDV residents with homeownership, but in reality, they transformed the homes that were previously guaranteed by the military/public welfare system, with their unique sense of community and the tolerated informality and violations of stipulations, into homes protected by private property rights or, for some individuals, opportunities for substantial profits.

Chapter VIII: Conclusions

This research has comprehensively examined the transformation of MDVs utilising a relational and processual approach. It conceptualised the involvement of financialisation in the shifting housing ideology and the reinforcement of an ownership-oriented and commodified housing market through probing local practices. The case of MDVs demonstrates that within the contexts of neoliberalisation and financial deregulations, financial instruments were mobilised as an auxiliary by the developmental state to facilitate the privatisation of public properties and economic development. The financial logic was integrated into the design of national policies, fostering greater interdependencies between public institutions, the military, banks, and developers. Constrained by limited financial capacity, the government raised funds for MDV reconstruction through the sale of public lands, while securing cash flows through mortgage loans. Simultaneously, a new legal regulatory system replaced military governance, incorporating MDV residents into an ownership-oriented debt system. The structural adjustments in MDVs have had profound implications for residents' daily lives and experiences, for urban spatial development, and for the real estate market. The design of densified collective residences often disregards the previously embedded habits and experiences within the unique MDV spaces, and many villages in city centres were relocated to the outskirts of Taipei, severing ties with their past way of life. The research has also revealed that during the transition of governance systems, the state's neglect of the once-tolerated informal practices indirectly contributes to real estate speculation. The lack of consideration for the fact that many MDV residents held property rights outside the villages in violation has provided them with the opportunity to profit from the resale of surplus housing units after acquiring ownership of reconstructed housing at a low cost (see Section 8.3). Moreover, with the growth of the wider real estate market, the concept of housing as an asset has gradually emerged.

The above findings and discussions are situated within a specific context (Aalbers, 2022; Healey, 2012), linking local practices to the travelling discourses of neoliberalism

and financialisation (Aalbers, 2015a). Christophers (2015a) argues for the necessity of drawing upon grounded experiences to enhance the clarity of analysis and communication of the financialisation concept, as well as recognising the limitations of Western mainstream discourses in other socioeconomic and cultural contexts. Investigating the cases of MDVs and the actual financialisation on the ground in Taipei provides conceptual contributions to the current western-centred financialisation discourses (Aalbers, 2015a; Krippner, 2005). Unveiling the significances of financialisation, and its role within specific political-economic contexts, state governance strategies, and transformations in ownership structures clarifies the practical patterns and impacts of this concept. This provides a mid-level discourse connecting grounded everyday practices with abstract neoliberalism (Peck, 2017; Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018). The capture of practices is based on the aspects of exploring financialisation dynamics proposed by Jacobs and Manzi (2020) and the processual and relational approaches of Elias (2000) in sociological theory, which provide an effective framework for understanding the dynamic relationship between broader social and urban development and individual experiences and behaviours over time.

This research employed a mixed methods approach, consisting of secondary documentary analysis, stakeholder interviews, residents' interviews, and observations, to collect data from diverse perspectives, thereby enhancing the processual and relational understanding. Aiming to explore the localised actual influence of neoliberalism and financialisation trends, the choice of this methodological framework was sensitive to history, urban transformations under neoliberal logics, changing spatial arrangements and displacement, and shifting social relations. This innovative "portfolio" of research methods demonstrates an effective attempt at an in-depth case study. Unlike many existing studies that rely solely on government publications or policy content as the history of MDVs, or discuss only a single theme, this research integrates a wide range of data and perspectives to examine the mechanisms and impacts of housing financialisation. This approach takes into account the realities of complex factors involved and how financialisation and government policies comprehensively affect MDVs and their residents. It contributed to a comprehensive

understanding of MDVs and financialisation in Taiwan, which remains relatively scarce. Considering Taiwan's unique post-war historical trajectories, conceptualising MDV histories and financialisation in Taiwan can shed new light on the developmental state's housing policies and implementations, as well as their relationship with (de-)militarisation. In addition, the adoption of housing biographies allows for the capture and analysis of more coherent long-term housing patterns, actions, and complex decision-making considerations and feelings (Creswell, 2009), based on the concept of everyday urbanism. This resonates with Flyvbjerg's (2006) argument of letting the respondents speak for themselves to avoid omitting the in-depth complexes, contradictions, and details. Through the stories of residents, it effectively examines and reflects on the wider socio-spatial changes.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 analysed MDV histories systematically, explored the processes of institutions and how they were embedded in specific socioeconomic and political contexts, and examined the relationships between urban context, institutions, and individuals. These three chapters transition from a macro perspective to a micro perspective, synthesising a comprehensive understanding of the interactions between MDV housing dynamics and the macro background. The following sections summarise this research and its empirical contribution into three parts: (a) parallel institutionalism of the MDVs, (b) mechanisms of de-militarisation and financialisation and the macro impacts, and (c) shifting housing dynamics and actual influence in everyday life.

8.1 Military Dependents' Villages and parallel institutionalism

This study has sought to historicise MDVs and their governance, conceptualising internal dynamics and their militaristic interdependence as a form of parallel institutionalism (Wacquant, 2004, 2008a). That is, the emergence of particular institutions, codes and expectations specific to the internal organisation of MDVs and their residents. Initially, MDVs were established by various military branches to meet the most basic housing needs of immigrant soldiers and their families. The central government lacked the funding, capacity, and willingness to address immigrant

housing issues. In the mid-1950s, international political developments and immigrant living needs prompted the military and the central government to start regulating informal MDV housing systematically and constructing new MDVs on a large scale. The relatively closed living environment generated a unique sense of place (Massey, 1994; Tuan, 1977), with residents providing each other with informal material and psychological support. Until the reconstruction, MDVs constituted an infrastructure system that encompassed housing, education, and entertainment, involving shared materialities and fostering collective identifications for particular immigrant communities. Parallel institutionalism, shaped by military administrators and MDV residents, evolved to accommodate the specificity of MDVs, maintaining the functioning of interpersonal relationships and spatial functionality. Therefore, we employ the term "de-militarisation" to describe the subsequent process of MDVs' relative disappearance after reconstruction. The overall shifts went beyond the privatisation of public properties, the renovation of old houses, and the adoption of financial tools, and signified the demise of a system formerly dominated by the military.

Parallel institutionalism was not only evident in the regulations and stipulations applicable to the MDVs, the unique military management system, and daily life closely intertwined with the military but also manifested in tacit understandings between residents and military administrators. Tacit understandings, based on shared experiences, similar occupations, and a sense of camaraderie, were materialised as informal institutions. Many informal practices were tolerated by military administrators for convenience and empathy, becoming widely accepted (though largely unwritten) rules. These practices included informal additions, informal occupation of public land within MDVs for housing construction, the informal transfer and sale of MDV housing registration, and the use of informal contracts. During the reconstruction process, previously tolerated informal settlements and informal documents were rejected in the transition of the governance system, resulting in higher costs for some residents to obtain housing in the post-reconstruction period.

However, military culture continued to influence housing allocation until the completion of reconstruction. In the vast majority of villages, the allocation of

dwellings was based on military ranks, where higher-ranking immigrant soldiers could obtain larger houses. As expressed by Respondent A6, the notion of rank is intrinsic to the military, making it challenging for military personnel not to factor rank into policies. Under the governance of the "military regime", high-ranking military officers wielded significant influence in the MDVs. From the early days of MDVs' regularisation, many units and military personnel needed to seek support from high-ranking military officers to obtain resources for constructing their units' villages (see Section 5.6.1). During the reconstruction period, the case of the residents of Four-four East Village demonstrates how they gained access to new housing through connections with military officials, highlighting the power dynamics within the military: decision-making authority centralised at the top of the chain of command, with grassroots residents' lives depending on military's arrangements. This dependency to some extent shapes residents' general acceptance of relocation (see Section 8.3 below).

8.2 Exploring the mechanisms of de-militarisation and financialisation during MDV reconstruction

The parallel system of MDVs was phased out during the two-stage reconstruction that integrated and embraced financialised logics. Because of the law, most residents had no choice but to be incorporated into the debt system to ensure their accessibility to housing. They could either accept the proposals put forth by the military or face legal proceedings and lose their right to acquire housing. The debt system was utilised by the state to lower the threshold for residents to acquire ownership of privatised reconstructed housing, increasing the feasibility of residents being included in the government's fiscal framework. MDV residents themselves bore part of the reconstruction costs to reduce the government's financial burden. The financial mechanisms of the two-phase reconstruction and housing privatisation were not entirely the same:

(a) In the first phase of reconstruction, funds for construction primarily came from governments (rather than the military) and the sale of public lands due to the collaboration with the public housing authorities (A10). MDV residents still had

to bear part of the reconstruction costs, but they could apply for low-interest loans from banks through the public housing authorities (Ministry of National Defense, 1980).

(b) In the second-phase reconstruction, the military sold a large amount of public lands to raise funds for reconstruction (Chen, 2004; Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012). To prevent a shortage of funds resulting from delayed land sales, the military also used public lands to apply for mortgage loans from banks (A10). The state tended to sell high-value land located in the city centre to reduce the government's burden (A10). MDV residents and households had to bear part of the reconstruction costs, and in many interview cases, residents took out loans from banks as a result, thereby contributing to the financialisation of everyday decision-making (García-Lamarca, 2022).

The financial instruments involved in these two phases of reconstruction included mortgage loans applied for by the government from banks and housing loans for residents. Their operations are more commonly known to the general public than other financial tools such as REITs (Chan et al., 2003), TIF (Pacewicz, 2013), and SPV (Beswick & Penny, 2018) (see Section 2.2). Financialised-driven logics in the policy-making process and the use of new financial instruments were primarily based on the government's limited financial capacity, its long-term reliance on the privatisation of public properties to meet fiscal needs (A3), and the pursuit of economic development and efficiency. The design of the reconstruction mechanisms has led to more public lands being sold to developers, alongside MDV privatisation, strengthening the ownership-oriented market and providing vehicles for the capital influx, starting in the mid-1980s, and enabled by financial deregulations (Chen & Li, 2010). This *processual* understanding exposes the ambiguities within the existing literature, revealing how different sectors within the detailed mechanisms were interconnected. But also showing how these dynamics were embedded in the overall international trends and domestic politics. The implementation strategy of de-militarisation was not coincidental – it was perceived by the military and the government as the disposal of a "historical burden" (A1), and privatisation was used as a bargaining chip to gain the

support of specific groups in elections.

With the goal of promoting economic development and being constrained by financial balance, financial feasibility was prioritised in the execution of the reconstruction. The financial logics and calculations within the reconstruction process simplified the heterogeneity, habits, and unquantifiable elements embedded in MDV spaces (Scott, 1998). The destinations for residents' relocations were determined by overall financial calculations and land use regulations that, in Scott's terms, reduced everyday life and practices to an abstract grid. There was little consideration for unquantifiable elements such as actual living arrangements, emotions, quality of life and social networks. Military decision-makers intuitively believed that short-distance relocation could minimise the impact on residents' lives, but in practice, financial(ised) imperatives took precedence, and many villages in Taipei were relocated to sites several kilometres away. This is also reflected in the overall spatial distribution trends: the preceding empirical and spatial analyses shows that the military tended to sell the MDV lands in the city centre with higher value and relocate residents to the peripheries of the same city (see Figure 6.2).

8.3 Shifting housing dynamics and influence of MDV de-militarisation

Government authority entered regions previously controlled by the military, establishing a new state dominance and status through the legal system. In the porocess, it erases the sense of community present in the parallel system, and eliminates the commonly accepted informality (Das & Poole, 2004). This process severed the relationships between residents and urban space (MDVs). The spaces and facilities familiar to residents for decades underwent a complete transformation. Narrow alleyways, private courtyards, and low-density housing were replaced by the verticality of high-rise buildings, spacious plazas, and neatly arranged trees and parterre. Neighbours who had been together for many years and immigrants from different MDVs were randomly assigned to new and reconstructed buildings. However, fieldwork revealed residents' adaptability, which gave rise to a *new* sense of place, or the continuation of old activities in new ways. This adaptability is also reflected in the

support and/or tolerance of many MDV residents for demolition and relocation. As noted above (see Section 8.1), residents' psychological acceptance of drastic changes is not only due to the upgrade in housing quality (here referring to the quality of building structure and increased space standards), but it also stems from the emotional resilience shaped and supported by parallel institutionalism over the years. Military governance was understood as *for* MDV residents and created a positive and progressive outlook for decades. Rapid economic growth in Taiwan after industrialisation – along with the security provided by the military in terms of housing, living, and education – reinforced the trust of war refugees in the military's orders and the state's housing and spatial (re-)arrangements.

Although MDV reconstruction endowed residents with property ownership, *not one single person mentioned housing as an asset as a benefit of reconstruction* in the interviews. Instead, ownership was an element that constituted the sense of security in the ideology of housing as home, for some interviewees (e.g., B18). Among the numerous respondents, Respondent C1 had been involved in real estate investment for decades to help resolve housing problems for her children and secure their "homes". However, the new housing ideology has also been introduced into reconstructed MDV neighbourhoods with the robust growth of Taiwan's real estate market. Even those who had no intention of selling their homes were happy due to the increasing market value of their residences, indicating that the new housing ideology was related to urbanisation and the development of the wider housing market (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). Some MDV residents who profited from cashing in on allocated reconstructed dwellings were in violation of regulations before reconstruction and possessed ownership of other properties. The original intention of the reconstruction policy was to provide housing welfare for MDV households to prevent them from losing their shelters due to demolition: the provision of home. This means that the military treated rules as facts and incorporated these "facts" into policy-making, overlooking the widely accepted political informality in the MDVs, which creates opportunities for real estate speculation for these particular people.

This research also explores the intergenerational dynamics to understand whether the

military's provision of property ownership to MDV residents at low prices would result in significant benefits for their descendants in the asset-driven housing market. For the majority of respondents, the answer is negative. As mentioned, some residents who could cash out allocated housing already owned other properties outside MDVs, but most respondents lacked the financial capacity to purchase additional homes. With rapidly rising property prices, the offspring of MDV residents cannot afford to purchase homes and end up living with their parents. Parents cannot sell the only housing allocated by the military to help their children buy homes. Therefore, MDV reconstruction policies, in these cases, bring benefits in terms of residing for the next generation, rather than in terms of assets: the housing allocated by the military allows the children to have a place to live when they cannot afford their own houses. Some MDV residents who were capable of increasing their assets through real estate transactions were those with specialised skills, such as Air Force or military hospital personnel. The government provided these individuals with housing security before the reconstruction, enabling them to allocate their high incomes to other areas, such as buying more houses, both during their military service and after retirement, as confirmed in the investigation of "re-migration" for the next generation.

This research has connected the de-militarisation of MDVs with financialisation trends, shedding new light on financialisation discourses through the specific, and historically informed, geographical lens of Taipei and Taiwan. This study is not intended to set a boundary or frame around financialisation theorisations, but to provide an opportunity to stimulate thinking on the precise nature of financialisation through juxtaposing Taipei, which has its own history different from (though connected to) the West. This research operationalises the neoliberalism and financialisation concepts largely theorised in Western contexts through the processual and relational understanding of MDV housing and de-militarisation framework. We focus on the emergence, maintenance, adjustment, and utilisation of specific mechanisms and systems (McFarlane et al., 2014), understanding how changing MDVs were embedded in socioeconomic and political backgrounds, as well as the decision-making logics of relevant policies and their actual influence. As a mid-level concept in this study, the parallel institutionalism that emerged in the MDVs connects the abstract trends of

neoliberalism and financialisation and the domestic politics of Taiwan with everyday life and grounded practices (see Peck, 2017; Ward & Swyngedouw, 2018). Treating MDVs as a parallel (yet incorporated) system can explain the internal contradictions and market failures that have arisen during the transitions of systems, which represent significant gaps in existing research. These conclusions explain how processes of privatisation and state laws intervened in the MDVs, which were at the margins of government power (Asad, 2004) in response to several policy objectives: promoting urban land utilisation, accelerating public housing construction, and resolving the long-standing deterioration of MDV living environments. The reconstruction integrating financial logics and tools has led to the relocation and concentration of MDV residents, the reinforcement of ownership-oriented markets, and the elimination of a specific sense of community. State simplifications treated regulations and policies as actual occurrences and ignored the contextual complexity of the parallel system (Scott, 1998), resulting in unfair resource allocation and structurally transforming privatised reconstructed housing into commodities in a speculative real estate market. By connecting massive literature and discourses to the everyday lives of MDV residents, the ambitious project adopts a micro-level perspective to examine structural adjustments. It provides practical insights for public services and policy implementation, and delves into the challenges that institutions and policy execution may encounter, empirically (Pfeiffer & Chapman, 2010).

8.4 Research limitations and paths for future research

Due to the difficulties of data acquisition and constraints of the research timeframe, this study did not explore the differences (or similarities) in housing quality, accessibility, and mobility between MDV residents among Chinese immigrants, other Chinese immigrants without this status, and local Taiwanese during the same period. The detailed historical background discussion and empirical analysis in three chapters illustrate the Chinese immigrants and refugees which are significantly different from the refugees or war immigrants recognised in Western countries currently. However, whether these differences exist among the aforementioned groups, or among more nuanced and theoretically informed categorisations, is a direction worthy of further

exploration in future housing or urban studies. This further exploration could clarify whether and how the KMT government, a regime from the Mainland, induced housing disparities based on status or ethnicity.

Furthermore, this research did not obtain relevant data on the locations of public lands sold by the military and governments. This data could reveal the spatial distribution trends of publicly sold lands in Taipei City, and their current actual usage, and thereby estimate how much privately developed housing is situated on land previously occupied by MDVs or military camps. Mapping out this data could also mutually verify and compare with the relocation distribution map in this study (Figure 6.2).

Moreover, as MDV reconstruction was initiated in 1979, many of the residents who experienced it are now of advanced age. Recruiting interviewees who personally experienced the pre-reconstruction era is not a straightforward process. Housing biographies rely on the recall of previous MDV residents about events that occurred twenty to forty years ago, making the obtained information not necessarily very accurate or detailed. In contrast to requesting them to describe their recent daily lives in the reconstructed neighbourhoods, information about daily life in the pre-reconstruction period is more fragmented and often reflects events that left a strong impression on the interviewees. They tended to provide straightforward narratives to depict the mundane aspects of that time. This research conducted interviews with multiple first-generation and second-generation Chinese immigrants, complemented by the use of secondary documents, in order to mitigate the difficulties in data collection.

This research can also only ever aspire to a partial understanding, but it does also point to further profitable lines of inquiry. Future research might focus on two main themes which represent sizeable gaps in the current evidence base: (a) MDVs in other administrative regions and (b) financialisation of other areas of Taiwanese housing. First, this study focuses on Taipei City, which has a different environment in the real estate market from those of other municipalities or counties. This implies that under the same fiscal logic, the spatial distribution patterns of MDV relocation paths in other

administrative regions may differ from those in Taipei City. For example, if the land value in the city centre of a county was only slightly higher than that in the outskirts, would the military allow MDVs to be reconstructed in their original location in the city centre to reduce the distance of residents' relocation, even when land proceeds were lower? Further lines of inquiry might include MDVs in other administrative regions, entering similar discussions and analysis. Second, as mentioned in Section 1.3, research related to financialisation in Taiwan is still sparse. Besides housing and real estate, the financialisation of other infrastructure (e.g., power systems), covering detailed mechanisms (Klink & Stroher, 2017), and actual everyday influences (Aalbers, 2015a; Christophers, 2015a), are worth exploring. This contributes to establishing an understanding of how Taiwan's built environment and residents' lives have changed (or remained unchanged) under the influence of complex financialisation trends.

Future similar studies can employ novel methodological approaches. This study engaged with a substantial amount of qualitative data in diverse forms, and it is a challenge to connect locational information to these different forms of qualitative data to develop spatial biographies and increase understanding. Qualitative data includes but isn't limited to perceptions and experiences, and different artefacts that capture interventions that have led to change (e.g., policy documents) or representations of change (e.g., photographs, films, or maps). As such, ***Qualitative GIS*** (Cope & Elwood, 2009) has great potential in facing this challenge, considering its analytical and visualisation/representation capabilities that challenge the inherently positivist assumptions about the way in which GIS and mapping (as a software) "fixes" knowledge in place. *Qualitative GIS* recognises the technological, methodological, and situated social practices that govern, shape and challenge understandings of space and place in ways that take the form of "more-than" positivist epistemologies (ibid). *Qualitative GIS* offers an opportunity to present and represent new socio-spatial interpretations through the integration of different forms of data (quantitative and qualitative) but perhaps more importantly, allowing different types of narratives to emerge, recognising social relations (and the embedded power dynamics) at play, in how spatial knowledge is represented and providing ways of asking questions of data that go beyond traditional techniques of geospatial analysis. *Qualitative GIS* can be

employed to process diverse and multiple forms of data over time, and provides a way of combining "traditional" metrics (e.g., demographics, annual income, living space, etc.) with contextual data including maps, policy documents, narrative information, biographical data and experiential data alongside footages, images, and textual documents, rather than simply quantitative data (Kwan & Knigge, 2006). Visualisation is the strength of *Qualitative GIS* because it can be 'used to tease out the situated contextual meanings' (Cope & Elwood, 2009: 19). The integrative and representative capabilities of *Qualitative GIS* provide a means for connecting spatial biographies, traditional mapping (locational) analysis and qualitative data in novel ways that will help shed new light on studies with similar focuses.

Appendices

Appendix 1: The number of MDVs in each administration area

Ranking	Administration	The number of MDVs	The number of MDV households	Proportion (MDVs)
1	Taipei City	176	17,317	19.9%
2	Kaohsiung City	127	22,455	14.3%
3	Taichung City	112	12,876	13.8%
4	New Taipei City	89	8,761	10%
5	Taoyuan City	86	13,461	9.8%
6	Tainan City	58	10,926	6.6%
7	Hsinchu County	48	6,831	5.4%
8	Pingtung County	32	5,282	3.6%
9	Chiayi City	24	2,756	2.7%
10	Keelung City	22	1,443	2.5%
	Yilan County	22	1,387	2.5%
12	Hualien County	17	904	1.9%
13	Penghu County	13	992	1.5%
14	Changhua County	10	684	1.1%
	Taitung County	10	649	1.1%
16	Yunlin County	8	403	0.9%
17	Chiayi County	7	811	0.8%
	Miaoli County	7	519	0.8%
19	Nantou County	5	188	0.6%
20	Hsinchu City	2	236	0.2%
Total		885[55]	108,881	100%

(Source: Kou, 2005: 385)

[55] Although Kuo (2005) counted a total of 886 MDVs before 1980, the author only recorded 885 in this table. Some information of MDVs such as location or number of households may be lost, leaving only the names of the villages.

Appendix 2: List of interviewees

(a) Stakeholders' interviews

No.	Date	Pattern	Type	Age
A1	12/4	Face-to-face	Academic	59
A2	13/4	Face-to-face	Academic/NGO	69
A3	14/4	Online	NGO	About 40
A4	14/4	Online	Independent researcher	About 40
A5	18/4	Face-to-face	Academic/ Politician	57
A6	21/4	Online	Politician/NGO	68
A7	27/4	Online	Academic	67
A8	4/5	Face-to-face	Politician	65
A9	6/5	Online	Academic	62
A10	10/5, 28/8	Online	Military	60
A11	22/6	Face-to-face	NGO	67
A12	29/8	Face-to-face	Military	About 50

(Source: Author's own)

(b) Interviews at Qing-nian New Town

No.	Date	Type	Age	Sex
B1	29/5	Non-MDV	71	M
B2	6/6	2nd-generation	60	M
B3	28/6, 30/6	2nd-generation	91	F
B4	28/6, 30/6	1st-generation	93	F
B5	28/6, 30/6	1st-generation	84	F
B6	29/6	Non-MDV	81	M
B7	30/6	1st-generation	84	F
B8	3/7	Non-MDV	34	M
B9	3/7	3rd-generation	38	F
B10	8/7	Non-MDV	65–70	M
B11	9/7	Non-MDV	80–85	M
B12	11/7	2nd-generation	81	M
B13	12/7	2nd-generation	71	M
B14	12/7	2nd-generation	77	M
B15	16/7	2nd-generation	74	F
B16	22/7	2nd-generation	50	F
B17	22/7	1st-generation	80–85	F
B18	22/7	2nd-generation	66	F
B19	22/7	Non-MDV	61	M
B20	22/7	2nd-generation	67	M

(Source: Author’s own)

(c) Interviews at Song-shan New Town

No.	Date	Type	Age	Sex
C1	24/5, 30/5, 3/6, 9/6, 10/6	1st-generation	85–90	F
C2	1/6	2nd-generation	55	F
C3	3/6	2nd-generation	58	M
C4	3/6	Non-MDV	60–65	F
C5	4/6	Non-MDV	60–65	F
C6	5/6	2nd-generation	70	M
C7	5/6, 9/6, 10/6	2nd-generation	71	F
C8	5/6, 9/6, 10/6	2nd-generation	65–70	F
C9	5/6, 10/6	2nd-generation	60–65	F
C10	5/6	2nd-generation	81	F
C11	7/6	2nd-generation	68	M
C12	9/6	2nd-generation	72	F
C13	10/6	Tenant	27	M
C14	10/6	Non-MDV	72	F
C15	12/6	3rd-generation	30	M
C16	26/6	Tenant	24	F
C17	26/6	Non-MDV	27	F

(Source: Author’s own)

Appendix 3: Question sets for the stakeholders' and residents' interviews

(a) Question set for the stakeholders' interviews

1. Please introduce your experiences related to MDVs or Taiwan's housing policies.
2. If you have participated in the MDV reconstruction processes in any capacity, could you share your experiences?
3. Between the 1980s and 1990s, many MDV residents from other counties and cities relocated to the northern regions (Chen et al., 2009). Did they move to the MDVs in the north?
4. Some MDVs had the nature of dormitories: once military personnel retired, they must move out. However, some military personnel continued to live in MDVs after retirement and obtained homeownership after reconstruction. What were their military service histories? Were they always military personnel, retired from service, or second-generation immigrants born in Taiwan who joined the military later, or were they still military personnel during the reconstruction? Was there a tendency for those who retired later to be more likely allocated to reconstructed housing?
5. Are there cases where MDVs completed after 1980 were still included in the reconstruction programme? According to Kuo (2005), Fu-hua New Village in Wanhua District, completed in 1981, was included in reconstruction, and its residents were relocated to the newly reconstructed Fu-hua-pu-yuan completed in 2011.
6. When MDVs were relocated and the original site was sold to developers for private housing, was the original name of the MDVs still used for the reconstructed residences?
7. Please explain the details of the Hua-Xia Programme. Which authorities provided low-interest loans to Chinese immigrants for home purchases? Were there any restrictions on eligibility based on identity, military rank, or having dependents? Wasn't the Hua-Xia Programme a government-initiated project offering housing benefits to a specific group? Was construction managed by state-owned enterprises or private developers?
8. Please explain the mechanism of the turnover for "not camps-fitting lands".
9. Many MDVs shared the same name, such as GAMD's Min-quan New Village and Air Force's Min-quan New Village, Navy's Tong-de New Village and Air Force's Tong-de

New Village. The two Min-quan New Villages were originally at the same location near the southwest of Songshan Airport, but they were relocated to different locations after reconstruction. Was this because their competent authorities were different?

10. What is the current status of the MDVs for specific positions? Were they also included in comprehensive reconstruction?

11. How did the military decide which “not camps-fitting lands” to auction and which to reconstruct into public housing?

12. Could you explain the mechanisms and sources of funding for reconstruction?

13. According to historical data published by the MND and other secondary documents, the integration of MDV reconstruction and public housing development was partly because public housing authorities, facing difficulties in acquiring land, sought help from the MND to develop public housing on the lands where the MDVs were located. Were there other reasons for their integration besides this?

14. What role did the military play during and after the integration of MDV reconstruction and public housing development? If they were the main promoters, what were their considerations?

15. Was it common for people who moved out of MDVs before reconstruction and rented their dwellings to others but kept their registrations to obtain the homeownership of reconstructed housing?

16. Many first-generation immigrant veterans were never allocated MDV dwellings, and some Chinese immigrants who left the military early lost the opportunity to live in the MDVs or obtain reconstructed housing. What were the government's initial considerations and their response to these groups' protests for further housing benefits? Weren't the ruling party afraid that these unallocated Chinese immigrants would cease supporting the KMT in elections?

17. How should we interpret the view of Luo (1991) and others that the emergence of MDVs represented a form of clientelism, with the government exchanging housing for the loyalty of first-generation immigrants?

18. According to my GIS mapping, it is apparent that many MDVs have been relocated far from their original sites. What are the reasons for this?

19. What was the rationale or logic behind the government's decision to privatise MDVs? Didn't the government consider that this would lead to the loss of

national/public properties?

20. Some Chinese immigrants living in unregistered MDVs still moved to reconstructed public housing after reconstruction. Did they receive the same housing subsidies as those provided for the registered MDV residents? Were there any restrictions based on their status? If the military did provide subsidies, what were the sources of the funding?

21. Why did the central government agree to let the MND decide independently on the disposal of MDV lands? Was the process supervised by the legislative authority?

(b) Question set for the residents' interviews

1. What is your age?

2. Have you ever lived in the MDVs?

3. Could you describe your daily life in the MDVs (the atmosphere, culture, food, social interactions, education, entertainment, etc.)?

4. What were the occupations of your parents? Were they Chinese immigrants who were military personnel?

5. What was the interior layout of your dwelling in the MDVs like? What changes have been made by your families?

6. How many people lived together in the MDV dwelling?

7. How did you or your parents become resident(s) of the MDVs?

8. What were your past and current occupations?

9. Are you the first owner of this reconstructed public housing or an heir to your parents' property? Did you purchase it from someone else, or are you a tenant?

10. Did your parents have any occupations besides their military service?

11. Have you or your parents purchased any other dwellings, houses, or real estate?

12. If you/your parents were not the MDV residents, how did you/they acquire this dwelling?

13. How much was the purchase price of your/your parents' dwelling? Was there a loan/mortgage involved? What was the interest rate? What was the source of the funds?

14. Please share about your daily life then and now.

15. If you have experienced the MDV reconstruction processes, please share about the

administrative process and how the military negotiated with the MDV residents, as well as your feelings and considerations at the time.

16. Please narrate or compare the living environment and your feelings about the changes in living space and lifestyle before and after the reconstruction.

17. Has the loan/mortgage affected your lifestyle or consumer strategies?

18. Do you know the previous owner of your home? If so, please share why they decided to sell the dwelling.

19. Do you plan to continue buying houses in the future?

20. What is the relationship between your siblings/children’s housing situation and the MDVs?

*Many interview questions are derived from the interviewee's personal experiences or answers and are not listed here.

Appendix 4: The preserved cultural heritages relevant to MDVs

No.	Location	Name of MDV	Preserved objects	The year of registration
1	Kaohsiung City	Zi-zhu New Town	The walls of the Fongshan old city of Qing Dynasty	1985
2	Keelung City	Xian-dong New Village	Baimiweng Fort (白米甕砲台)	1985
3	Taichung City	Mo-fan New Town	General Li-jen Sun's (孫立人) home	2002
4	Taipei City	Four-four New Village	Several old buildings	2003
5	Keelung City	Jian-Shi New Village	Commander's dormitory	2003
6	Taoyuan City	Ma-zu New Village	The village	2004
7	Taoyuan City	Lu-guang 3rd Village	The activity centre	2004
8	Tainan City	Chih-kai New Village	Japanese dormitories	2004
9	Hualien County	Fu-xing New Village	One Japanese dormitory	2005
10	Hualien County	Fu-xing New Village	Six Japanese dormitories	2005
11	Keelung City	Jian-Shi New Village	Officers' dormitories	2006
12	New Taipei City	San-chong 1st Village	The village	2006
13	Taoyuan City	Xian-guang 2nd Village	The village	2006
14	Hsinchu County	Zhuang-jia New Village	The village	2006
15	Taitung County	Mao-yi 6th Village	Japanese dormitories	2007
16	Pingtung County	Chong-ren New Village, Sheng-li New Village	Sheng-li New Village and the Japanese dormitories of Cheng-gong Area (成功區) in Chong-ren New Village	2007
17	Taichung City	Yi-de New Village	Several old buildings	2007
18	Pingtung County	Chong-dao New Village	An air raid bunker	2007
19	Tainan City	Gong-yuan New Village	Previous Japanese Army's common room Xie-xing-she (陸軍偕行社)	2007
20	Penghu County	Du-xing 10th Village	The village	2007
21	Penghu County	Ai-men New Village	The village	2007
22	Tainan City	Zi-zhi New Village	Legacy of Japanese range	2008
23	Taoyuan City	Tai-wu New Village	The village	2009
24	Kaohsiung City	Xing Village	Dormitories of Japanese Navy Air Wing	2009

25	Tainan City	Fei-yan New Village	Two buildings of the previous Communication Station and their outer open spaces	2009
26	Kaohsiung City	Xing-ren New Village	One Japanese building	2010
27	Hsinchu City	Zhong-zhen New Village	Japanese Navy 6th Fuel Plant Hsinchu branch	2010
28	Kaohsiung City	Ming-Jian New Village, He-qun New Village	The villages	2010
29	Kaohsiung City	Le-qun Village	Dormitories number A1 to A16 of Japanese Navy Air Wing	2010
30	Kaohsiung City	Navy Ming-de Training Squad, Feng-shan New Village	Japanese Navy Radio Station	2010
31	Kaohsiung City	Le-qun Village	Dormitories number B1 to B10 of Japanese Navy Air Wing	2010
32	Changhua County	Zhong-xing New Village	The village	2010
33	Taichung City	Xin-yi New Village	The archaeological site of Chong-she (中社遺址)	2011
34	Taipei City	Zhong-xin New Village	The village	2011
35	Kaohsiung City	Huang-pu New Village	The village	2013
36	Hsinchu City	Bei-chi-tu-qi New Village	Legacy Buildings of Japanese Navy 6th Fuel Plant Refinery	2013
37	Yilan County	Hua-long 1st Village	Dormitories	2015
38	Yunlin County	Jian-guo 2nd Village	The village	2015
39	Taipei City	Jia-he New Village	Three buildings and the air raid bunker	2015
40	Hsinchu City	Jin-cheng New Village	The village	2015
41	Taipei City	Yan-shan New Village	The village	2015
42	Tainan City	Er-kong New Village	The monument of Mao-yi 4th Village and the air raid bunker	2016
43	Taipei City	Huan-min New Village	Chanchu Hill settlements	2016
44	Pingtung County	Chong-ren New Village	Japanese officers' dormitories of Tong-hai	2017

			Area (通海區)	
45	Pingtung County	Xian-guang 10th Village	The village	2018
46	Pingtung County	Chong-ren New Village	Kong-xian Area (空翔區)	2018
47	Pingtung County	De-sheng New Village	Army officers' dormitories and their affiliated facilities of Gan-cheng Town (干城町)	2018

(Source: Li, K. C., 2019: 33–35)

Appendix 5: The four versions of MDV reconstruction plans

(a) The 1st and the 2nd versions

Version	1st (1996)	2nd (2004)
Duration	1997–2005	1997–2013
Land sales and financial settlement	1997–2005	1997–2013
Number of construction sites	161	53
Number of dwellings built	93,225	31,661
Households accommodated in completed public housing as an alternative	-	39,154
Households receiving subsidies for home purchase as an alternative		
Total budget	NTD 516.7 billion	NTD 362 billion
Turnover	NTD 93.8 billion	NTD 73.3 billion
Estimated balance	+NTD 158.3 billion	+NTD 74.2 billion

(b) The 3rd and the 4th versions

Version	3rd (2009)	4th (2012)
Duration	1997–2005	1997–2013
Land sales and financial settlement	Submitted later	1997–2035
Number of construction sites	54	52
Number of dwellings built	31019	30778
Households accommodated in completed public housing as an alternative	38,498	17,574
Households receiving subsidies for home purchase as an alternative		21,195
Total budget	NTD 313.8 billion	NTD 313.8 billion
Turnover	NTD 73.3 billion	NTD 67.1 billion
Estimated balance	-NTD 8.2 billion	+NTD 72 billion

(Source: Chen, Lin & Chen, 2013; Plan for Rebuilding Old Quarters for Military Dependents, 2012)

Appendix 6: Consent Form

Consent Form

同意書

Research Project (研究名稱): Housing transformations and financialised urbanism: The case of Military Dependents' Villages in Taipei (住房轉變與金融化都市主義－以臺北市軍眷村為例)

Researcher (研究者): Yu-Tung Wu

Please tick the appropriate boxes *請勾選適用的選項*	**Yes** 是	**No** 否
Taking Part in the Project 研究參與		
I have read and understood the project information sheet dated ___/___/2022 or the project has been fully explained to me. (If you will answer No to this question please do not proceed with this consent form until you are fully aware of what your participation in the project will mean.) 本人已閱讀並清楚於 2022 年____月____日所提供的研究說明，且研究者已詳細介紹此研究的內容。(如果此欄答案為否，請勿接續做答，除非您清楚參與此研究會面臨的情況。)	☐	☐
I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project. 本人有被告知可以提出與此研究相關的疑問。	☐	☐
I agree to take part in the project. I understand that taking part in the project will include being interviewed. Being recorded for video or audio depends on my personal choice. 本人同意參與這項研究。本人了解研究過程會包含訪談。研究過程是否被錄影或錄音會取決於本人的個人意願。	☐	☐
I understand that my taking part is voluntary and that I can withdraw from the study before publication of the thesis; I do not have to give any reasons for why I no longer want to take part and there will be no adverse consequences if I choose to withdraw. 本人自願參與這項研究，並清楚在論文發表前可以退出此研究。本人毋需提供任何有關停止參與研究的理由，也了解選擇退出研究並不會有任何對參與者不利的結果。	☐	☐
I understand that if the content or progress of this research cause any form of harm to me or anyone I know, I can report it to the designated safeguarding contact, which is Ryan Powell, or the alternate safeguarding contact, which is Professor David Robinson. 本人了解若研究內容或過程對本人或任何本人知道的人造成任何形式的傷害，本人得向指定安全維護聯繫人通報，而此研究的聯繫人為指導教授 Ryan Powell，替代聯繫人為 David Robinson 教授。	☐	☐
I can confirm the mechanism of safeguarding contacts has been introduced by the researcher, and I know when and how I can report any harm-causing incidents or concerns. 本人可以確認研究者有解釋過安全維護聯繫人的運作機制，本人也了解在什麼情況下，如何向聯繫人通報任何造成傷害的事件。	☐	☐
How my information will be used during and after the project 研究期間與研究完成後，我的個人資訊會如何被使用		
I understand my personal details such as name, phone number, address and email address etc. will not be revealed to people outside the project.	☐	☐

The template of this consent form has been approved by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee and is available to view here: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/further-guidance/homepage

The University Of Sheffield.

本人了解個人資訊包含姓名、電話、地址和電子郵件等，不會被透露給任何非進行此研究的人(即研究者和指導教授)。		
I understand and agree that my words may be quoted in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs. I understand that I will not be named in these outputs unless I specifically request this. 本人了解並同意本人提供的言詞可能會在出版品、報告、網頁和其他研究發布形式中被引用。除非經由本人同意，本人不會在其中具名。	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. 本人了解並同意，在對方同意本表格所要求的資訊保密的條件下，其他被授權的研究人員才可以接觸此研究收集的資料。	☐	☐
I understand and agree that other authorised researchers may use my data in publications, reports, web pages, and other research outputs, only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form. 本人了解並同意，僅在對方同意本表格所要求的資訊保密的條件下，其他被授權的研究人員可能會在出版品、報告、網頁和其他研究發布形式中引用本人提供的資訊。	☐	☐
I can confirm that the procedures of data storage before publication and data repository after publication have been introduced by the researcher. 本人可以確認，研究者已說明此研究發表前的資料儲存方式，以及發表後存於數據儲存庫的機制。	☐	☐
I understand that after publication, the pseudonymous transcripts of the interview I have participated in can't be kept in the University's data repository system, ORDA, for ten years without my consent. 本人了解在研究發表後，經過化名處理之訪談本人的逐字稿，在沒有本人的同意下，不會被存於雪菲爾大學校方的數據儲存庫 ORDA 中。	☐	☐
So that the information you provide can be used legally by the researchers 使研究者得以合法使用您提供的資訊		
I agree to assign the copyright I hold in any materials generated as part of this project to The University of Sheffield. 本人同意將本人在此研究中所提供產出的任何資訊的版權轉讓給雪菲爾大學。	☐	☐

Name of participant (參與者)	Signature (簽名)	Date (日期) ____/____/2022
Name of Researcher (研究者) Yu-Tung Wu	Signature (簽名)	Date (日期) ____/____/2022

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***There are 2 copies of this consent form: 1 paper copy for the participant, 1 copy for the research data file.**

The template of this consent form has been approved by the University of Sheffield Research Ethics Committee and is available to view here: https://www.sheffield.ac.uk/rs/ethicsandintegrity/ethicspolicy/further-guidance/homepage

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