

**The Tension between
Heritage Claims and Cultural Governance:
A Case Study from Taiwan**

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Abstract

This study attempts to explore the issues on the involuntary tension between the heritage claims and cultural governance that follow from the devolution of heritage administration and the inherent contradiction between the universal heritage discourse and the local practical experiences in Taiwan. Through a review of the literature, the author shows the apparent existence of a dominant heritage discourse and the dramatic increase of alternative heritage recently. However, some controversial phenomena between the exclusive heritage legislation and the inclusive trend of heritage policy have been observed. With the help of historical research and Q methodology survey, this study goes on to explore the evolution of heritage concepts in Taiwan and various ways in which different people perceive heritage and the dilemma between the test of authenticity and necessary renovation, comparing the multi-lateral relations between various authorities and social actors in cultural governance.

Finally, this study explores the gaps between the exclusiveness of heritage legislation and the inclusive nature of cultural governance. The exclusiveness derives from the orientation towards historical evidence of the dominant heritage discourse, which is instituted by heritage legislation, government agencies, professionals, international conservation organizations and conservation ethic, but which has no assent from ordinary people. However, this dominant discourse has recently been broadened by alternative heritage claims. After rethinking the meaning of heritage, the author submits that heritage is in fact the result of claim processes aimed at gaining official recognition to counter creative destruction in cultural governance. Furthermore, such processes involve complex, dynamic and multiple interactions which deeply influence the result of heritage claims.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Heritage: an Expanding and Heterogeneous Phenomenon

1.1.1 The Dramatic Growth and Prevalence of Heritage

No matter what definition of heritage is chosen, there has in the past few decades been throughout the world a significant increase in the awareness of heritage. In France, Heinich (2011) observed that only thirteen sites were designated ‘Historical Monuments’ (‘Monuments historiques’) in the first five years (1836-40) after the creation of a cultural heritage administration. However, in 2007 the total was 43,000 monuments and the number of heritage monuments in France has increased steadily by about 140 per year. In the UK, the situation is quite similar. Lowenthal (1985, xv) commented that ‘the landscape...seems saturated with creeping heritage’. Harrison (2012, 6) noted that ‘we have seen a dramatic and exponential growth in the number and range...of heritage’. Gillman (2010, 1) observed that ‘heritage has become a feature of the contemporary cultural landscape in many countries’. In Taiwan, the total number of official heritage sites between 1997 and 2008 also rose steeply, from 68 to 2606 (Lin 2011).

It is worth noting that not only has the quantity of heritage sites risen but the boundary and meaning of heritage has also been expanded. More and more terms incorporating the word are emerging – heritage tourism, the heritage industry, heritage railways, even heritage food, in order to feature or even boast about some special characteristic.

1.1.2 The Dissonance in the Heritage Boom

Nevertheless, a certain dissonance has been felt along with the increase in the perceptions of heritage because the term has gradually been used to refer to a wider and wider range of things related to the past. This may not be a physical thing, but rather an identity, or collective memory, that people think is worth protecting. As such, heritage has steadily grown more popular, a word which is now widely applied at different levels of thinking or when discussing issues from various contexts. This trend has led the meaning of heritage to become increasingly imprecise and disputable. It is doubtful whether people use the term heritage in communicating with each other to refer to the same idea or even share the same understanding of what heritage is. No wonder some critics are worried that ‘heritage... is an idea that is being increasingly loaded with so many different connotations as to be in danger of losing all meaning’ (Graham, Ashworth,

and Tunbridge 2000, 1). Hence, it becomes a critical item on the agenda of heritage studies to explore what heritage is.

1.1.3 Heterogeneous Heritages

To the modern conservation movement, it seems that there was in the past a sense of consensus over the origins, concepts and proper practices of heritage conservation. Heritage scholars such as Jokilehto (2002), Stubbs (2009), Munoz Vinas (2012) and Glendinning (2013) prevalently believed that modern conservation ideas and practices emerged in the West, or more precisely in Western Europe, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Their arguments were usually based on received perceptions of certain Western historical processes and events that were mainly reactions to modernity, such as the first declaration of cultural property rights in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars via the 1815 Congress of Vienna. Furthermore, what is more important is not where the modern heritage conservation originated but the way to define and implement heritage conservation. After years of evolution, it seems that Western ideas and practices have become the orthodoxy in heritage conservation; Smith (2006) and Waterton (2007) found that there is an Authorised Heritage Discourse which dominates the understanding of heritage. Such discourse was further institutionalized by heritage conservation laws and gradually spread throughout the world in the form of a conservation ethos. Western heritage experts seemed to believe the universality of this ethos and confidently exported the so-called appropriate approaches of heritage conservation to other nations and regions where heritage conservation seemed uncertain or absent.

However, such dominant heritage concepts have gradually begun to be questioned in recent years along with the growing dissonance mentioned in the previous section. Winter (2014, 556) advocated debate on the theorisation of heritage studies at the global level: ‘It is important we begin to seriously address the heterogeneous nature of heritage, for both the West and non-West, and explore the conceptualisation of multiple heritages’ (Winter 2014, 556). He pointed out the limitations of the Anglophone studies on heritage and heritage conservation because most of their concepts and analytical points were based on certain favoured histories and geographies, mostly from the Western world. In other words, other heritage conservation experiences in the world are worth exploring to honour the heterogeneous nature of heritage which has so long been ignored. This is the motive of this study, which explores the heterogeneous meanings of heritage to take in non-Western contexts and experiences.

1.2 Thesis Rationale

In the rationale of developing the above observations, the following points should be included:

1.2.1 Exploring Heritage: a Convenient Word with more than One Meaning?

Unsurprisingly, with the diverse and broad use of heritage, the term itself has caused some criticism. Harrison (2012, 5) called it ‘a broad and slippery term’ and it has been accused of being a ‘conveniently ambiguous’ (Fairclough 2008; Lowenthal 1998) or ‘nomadic’ concept (Choay 2001, 1). On the other side, as Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge noted, ‘heritage is a word more widely used than understood...It is often simplistically and singularly applied and pluralized more commonly in rhetoric than reality’ (Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge 2007, 236).

To clarify its theoretical meaning, the content and the implications of this general term should be critically explored, especially in relation to other non-Western experiences and contexts; otherwise, it is easy to be misled or partial when heritage studies are theorised, since the way one treats things mostly depends on how one perceives them. That is to say, if heritage is recognised as an objective, isolated thing, conservation practices will entail professional historical study, preservation techniques to prevent heritage from decay, proper measures to keep heritage safe and so on. In contrast, if heritage is not acknowledged except as something which could inspire subjective and interpretative experiences from the past, the practices followed will be completely different.

1.2.2 An Empirical Case Study in a Non-Western Society: Taiwan

Following the comment of Winter (2014, 556) above, and the general question that comes to mind, one might ask about the experience of heritage studies in non-Western context. For example, Taiwan, a non-Western but highly Westernized, democratic, development-oriented society has no traditional concepts of material conservation in its culture, and most historical buildings were largely constituted of bricks and wood which hardly last for long and need periodical restoration. Studying, on the one hand, can help to verify and rethink the Western theory of heritage studies in a non-Western context. On the other, it can also offer theoretical inspiration if any variation or divergence is observed, since Taiwan, in its special political dilemma – which deeply influences peoples’ heritage identities – has unique heritage conservation experiences which are worth exploring as a

contribution to the knowledge of heritage studies. The development of heritage conservation in Taiwan can be roughly divided into six stages, as follows.

(1) Stage I : A society without the concept of material conservation

Before 1895, Taiwan was governed by the Chinese Qing dynasty. At the time, we can find some writers using the Chinese term ‘guji’ (‘ancient buildings’) when they visited historical structures, but the language offers no collective term for heritage or heritage conservation. This situation changed little until 1895 when Taiwan was ceded to Japan after the First Sino-Japanese War in which the Qing Empire of China was defeated.

(2) Stage II : The imported legislation from Japanese colonizers

According to the study by Lin (2011, 53), the first heritage conservation act in Taiwan was passed by the Japanese colonial government in 1922. He argued that the Act was basically a transplanted version of the Japan’s domestic heritage conservation act, because Taiwan was then an overseas Japanese colony but separately ruled from the office of a Governor-general. After the enactment of the heritage conservation act, institutional heritage conservation practices in the modern sense were launched in Taiwan. However, after World War II such conservation practices disappeared soon after the Japanese colonizers left in 1945.

(3) Stage III : The Imagined national symbol

At this point, Taiwan was placed under the control of the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China ruled by the KMT. Four years later, in 1949, the Nationalist Government was defeated by the Communist Government in the civil war and fled to Taiwan as its last remaining territory. Taiwan was recognized as Free China by the United Nations until Communist China re-positioned itself and claimed membership of the UN in 1979. Under the threat of force from Communist China, the government led by the KMT promulgated an order of martial law from 20 May, 1949 which rigorously controlled Taiwan’s society; this order was lifted by President Chiang Ching-kuo only on 17 July, 1987.

While martial law prevailed, no heritage conservation was undertaken, with one single exception. Even though they were not at the time designated as part of the cultural heritage, the local-style roofs of the gate-houses in the Taipei city wall were made more ‘official’ and elaborate in style to strengthen the symbolic legitimacy of Chinese culture

and governance. These gatehouses had been built in China's Chin era and conserved even during the Japanese colonial period; the KMT government took the decision to adapt them in 1965 to mark the contrast between its regime and the fury of the Cultural Revolution (officially from 1966 to 1977) that was then raging in mainland China.

In fact, the Antiquities Act had already been enacted as long ago as June, 1936 by the Nationalist Government of the Republic of China when it still governed mainland China. But it was ignored for many years after the KMT fled to Taiwan. Lin Hui-Cheng(2011a) commented that, to counter the wholesale destruction of traditional Chinese culture and objects in mainland China during the period of the Cultural Revolution, the KMT started to revise the Antiquities Act in 1968 but the work progressed very slowly and was not completed until May, 1982.

(4) Stage IV : Marginal affairs in the economic development-oriented period

Owing to its successful integration into the new international wave of production starting in the 1960s, Taiwan experienced very rapid economic growth, together with high industrialization and urbanization. The fast modern development or, from the opposite viewpoint, 'creative destruction' (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006) dramatically changed the physical environment and landscape of Taiwan. As in the rise of Romanticism in Western historical experience, some members of the cultural elite began to appreciate the beauty of traditional country houses and pressed the government to pass laws to protect and conserve these buildings as heritage.

(5) Stage V : A historical plan to construct a sense of the community

After years of rule by non-elected presidents, Teng-hui Lee, the first to be voted in, made great efforts to indigenize the KMT regime and publicized the slogan "We belong to the same community" in order to build a new national identity. The international isolation caused by China's "One China policy", had created a severe political situation, given the growing domestic challenge to Lee from the opposition party.

"Community Empowerment" was the policy that embodied his political initiative. The central or local governments provided various incentives and subsidies to encourage local communities to improve their neighbourhood, to establish their own cultural identity or to promote local industries. The response from the grass-roots communities was far beyond anticipation and this policy was soon very successfully implemented. In the projects advanced by the communities, historical buildings or sites of local history

provided very important themes or inspiration. Due to the process of remaking national identity – the “commune of life”, the far-reaching influence of democratization and the “community empowerment movement”, it is now very hard for any politician to ignore community voices, that is to say, diverse, dynamic, bottom-up and grass-roots opinions.

(6) Stage VI : Strategies of social movements to counter creative destruction

Some scholars think that Taiwanese society was controlled by the dominant capitalistic ideology which was mainly based on technical rationality and economic concerns. The mode of capitalistic production avidly accumulates as much surplus as possible without considering other values that contribute no economic profits. All natural resources, artificial things in the environment and even intangible things – such as space, history or social relations – may be destroyed, exploited or used as material to create products to earn profits in the market. This ‘creative destruction’ (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006) process is never satisfied and it is what keeps the system of capitalistic production alive. To protest against and resist the homogeneous influence of such destruction, heritage as a ‘heterogeneous space’ (Foucault 1984) was co-opted.

1.3 Thesis Propositions and the Problematic

1.3.1 Heritage in a Young Society without the Concept of Material Conservation

When heritage practitioners carry out conservation work in Taiwan, the most common questions that are asked by ordinary people are “Why do you want to keep the old stuff instead of replacing it with a new one?” or “Do we really have something ancient enough to deserve conservation?”. Such questions reflect certain special cultural and natural contexts that are different from those in the West. To begin with, the word heritage mainly means ‘inheritance’ in Chinese but scarcely ever refers to something of historical, artistic or cultural importance in the past. This may be the main reason why the authorities in Taiwan officially adopt the term “cultural property” rather than heritage in the Chinese wording of their conservation laws. Their wording reveals the major difference in the concept of heritage between Taiwan and the West.

The West seems to emphasize heritage and its deep influence from or close connection with the past. However, Taiwan seems to regard heritage as some kind of resource which exists and can be used for the present development of the culture but less to imply that it is a legacy from the past. For example, cultural property in Taiwan officially embraces several categories of heritage, such as monuments, historical buildings, settlements, historical sites, cultural landscapes, and so on. Among them, monuments in the conservation law may be the most familiar term to ordinary people. However, the term corresponding to ‘monument’ in the conservation law is “guji (古蹟)” which literally refers to ancient buildings but not to “jinaianbei (紀念碑)” which means memorials that are set up to remind people of a famous person or event. When it comes to heritage, people usually associate it with something ancient, especially something magnificent, such as a palace or temple. Therefore, people often think there are few decent things which deserve to be regarded as “guji” because Taiwan is such a young society and was created by poor Chinese immigrants from mainland China about three hundred years ago.

Second, there is no concept of material conservation in the traditional (Chinese) culture of Taiwan since most Taiwanese are descendants of immigrants from mainland China. In Chinese culture, “tao” which means ‘the way to go’ (Watts 2010, x) is regarded as the fundamental concept. One of the major ideas of the tao is ‘the wisdom of...letting life unfold without interference and without forcing matters when the time is not right’ (Watts 2010, xix) Therefore, there is no idea or practice of material conservation in Chinese culture since all material is held to decay sooner or later, by virtue of natural

forces. What is important is that the spirit or tao can be kept but not the physical signs since all effort to conserve material is useless in the end, especially for China and Taiwan where imperishable materials such as stone are in short supply and most buildings are made of timber or brick. Chinese people believe that the spirit of something can last even when the constituent materials have decayed or been replaced. Accordingly, the advocates of tao such as teachers have higher social status because they are considered to possess wisdom. Craftsmen are deemed inferior since what they create is impermanent and even evil, since the elaborateness of their work might distract people from following the tao.

Third, Taiwan has high humidity all the year round and is subject to the frequent impact of typhoons and earthquakes. High humidity encourages termites, which are a serious danger to the wooden framed buildings. Recurrent typhoons and earthquakes relentlessly attack the physical environment, including of course delicate heritage items. All these natural restrictions strengthen and boost the prevalence of tao, for it is difficult to conserve material in Taiwan. Temples need regular renovation and the periodic replacement of decayed architectural elements is necessary and reasonable. As a result, people tend to believe that maintaining the spirit or tao is more important and practical in a country where conservation of old material is unfeasible.

However, it would be naive to rush to the conclusions that there is no heritage in Taiwan. If heritage is some kind of ‘human condition’ (Harvey 2008, 19), Taiwan should have some cultural possessions which can be regarded as heritage, but they are different from their counterparts in the West. Hence the research problematic may be ‘what are the concepts, forms, contents of heritage and approaches of heritage management in Taiwan?’ Answering this is the research interest and contribution of the present study.

1.3.2 Imported, Authorized and Top-down Heritage Legislation

Under the deep influence of the tao in its culture, Taiwan generally has no custom of conserving material because the belief is rather that things inevitably decay under the law of nature. Furthermore, what is important and eternal is to follow the intangible tao, but not to maintain impermanent materials which are always ruined sooner or later. As a rule, the Taiwanese have no idea of heritage and material conservation in the Western sense. It is no wonder that heritage practitioners are often questioned by lay people when they carry out heritage conservation projects.

As mentioned in 1.2.2, heritage conservation as a set of laws and practices in Taiwan was historically imported from Japan by the Japanese colonial government in 1922. Such

institutional practices soon disappeared after the Japanese government left at the end of World War II since they were not native to the people of Taiwan but were enforced by an external power. At first when the KMT landed in Taiwan in 1945, heritage affairs were its least concern for 37 years, when the first Chinese version of the Cultural Heritage Conservation Act was launched. Again, this Act was deeply influenced by Japanese heritage laws (Han 2001b) (as this study explores in detail below). It was influenced most by agents (scholars or officials) who had graduated from foreign universities, Japanese or Western. The so-called authorized heritage discourse (Smith, 2006) was also unconsciously imported. As a result, the heritage legislation in Taiwan is at heart top-down, centralized, static and professionally-oriented.

In this legal system, guji (or monuments) are regarded as meriting the highest class of protection of all the types of heritage, and, owing to their rarity, monumental features, objects of exceptional interest and timeless value are supposed to be protected in their original condition from change and decay as long as possible. Such an approach, to be honest, is quite new and even strange to lay people because they not only think that few things deserve conservation but in any case do not believe that conservation is beneficial or practical. Faced with such opinions, the state has to adopt compulsory law to force the owners of properties to conserve them once they have been designated as heritage. Otherwise, these owners might pull down their old buildings in order to put up new ones which might be more valuable and suitable for modern living.

The close affiliation between heritage and national identity or legitimacy may be the main reason why the heritage conservation discourse eventually developed into institutional practices and became recognized as a legal part of the government's duty. In other countries, similar government bills ensure the conservation of cultural assets or similar things, which have obliged governments to charge authorized agencies with responsibility for identifying, designating, protecting and managing heritage. As delegated by law, these have the privileged authority to decide whether or not buildings or objects should be designated as heritage, to define the content and boundary of heritage and to regulate its proper treatment. Generally speaking, it is a top-down, exclusive, grand-universal-narrative, object-oriented, value-neutral approach to heritage by government, whereby heritage is regarded as a fixed, unchanging thing, frozen in time.

1.3.3 High Value of Property under Rapid Economic Growth and Sprawling Urbanization

During the Cold War from the 1950 to the 1980s, Taiwan experienced dramatic economic growth as a result of successful development strategies such as import substitution, industrialization and export processing zones which integrated the functions of a free trade area, a duty-free zone, and an industrial park. These policies were able to create the so-called 'Taiwan miracle' in which the results of development simultaneously attained the goals of economic growth and social equity. Taiwan became known as one of the "Four Asian Tigers". Gold (2015, 2) stated that the 'GNP growth rates averaged 8.7 percent from 1953 to 1982, with a peak average of 10.8 percent for the years 1963-1972. The 1982 value of GNP was twelve times that of 1952'.

Accompanying the rapid economic growth was dramatic urbanization. According to the study of Douay (2008), the national population of Taiwan in 1960 was 10,720,700 and in 1970 it had increased to 14,294,600, an augmentation of 33%. In 2005, the total rose to 22,732,010, more than double of the population 45 years before. What is more noteworthy is that the major population of Taiwan was highly concentrated in three metropolises, namely, Taipei, Taichung and Kaoshiung. Douay (2008) indicated that in 2005 almost two thirds of the Taiwanese population, 15,846,400, lived in these vast cities. Most of the increase after 1960s came from the countryside, migrants from the villages who were seeking better lives (Hsia 2002, 81).

The high concentration of population and the prosperous economy led to an intense demand for living space and a corresponding sharp rise in the price of properties. Generally speaking, if an old building is demolished it can bring an enormous fortune to the owners to build a new and bigger one. Therefore, once a property was designated as heritage and thus compulsorily conserved, as the law required, the owners forwent much prospective wealth and were sure to strongly protest against the decision of the heritage committee. In some bitter cases, the owner even resorted to intentional destruction in order to reduce the value of prospective heritage and to stop it from being designated as such.

Because there was no compensatory mechanism in the early stages of the heritage conservation law, the designation of heritage meant that private property owners in particular were deprived of substantial profits. As Chen and Fu (2015, 67) pointed out, the earlier edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in 1982 had the problem of infringing the protection of private property, which is one of Taiwan's constitution principles. Such concerns induced several subsequent modifications of this Act and introduced some financial measures to compensate the private heritage owners, such as

exemption from property tax or inheritance tax, transfer of development rights, renovation subsidies and so on, to lift some of the burden from the private heritage owners. Even so, the lure of tremendous development profits was hard for these forms of compensation to counter. As a result, most of the heritage that was successfully designated consisted of publicly-owned properties because these incurred far less protest.

At the same time, because China had intentionally isolated Taiwan in international politics, the legitimacy of the ruling KMT began to rest on economic development and its main concern was to survive. Thus, after the KMT fled to Taiwan in 1945 other non-economic activities in Taiwan, such as urban planning and cultural heritage conservation, were regarded as marginal for a long time. ‘Planning was formal, simple, and incapable of responding to the urban reality’ (Hsia 2002, 83). Therefore, the goals of urban planning were mainly to facilitate economic development but not to create a sustainable and liveable urban environment. Predictably, the rapid economic development caused serious urban problems such as congestion and a lack of open green spaces and public facilities in cities. The heritage sites, usually spacious and green, appeared very attractive. In addition, the change in physical environment caused by development – not to mention the drastic adaptation required of country people – was so far-reaching and quick that people were unavoidably impacted and tried to hold on to anything that was stable, familiar, full of memories and able to recall the good old days. Heritage gradually became a new agenda item in the citizen movements that pointed to the emergence of a civil society of Taiwan after the 1970s.

1.3.4 Diverse and Bottom-up Heritage Claims

As mentioned in 1.3.2, heritage designation in Taiwan was at first basically a top-down and expert-oriented process. The decision of heritage designation was regarded as professional and authoritative. Nevertheless, disputes over heritage have lately become more and more prevalent in Taiwan and the authority of heritage experts has from time to time been challenged by ordinary people or grassroots communities. Citizens argue with the governmental agencies over the identification of certain examples of heritage, the method of conservation and of interpretation, and so on. Communities have often claimed that what they were concerned about was not appreciated by the heritage agencies.

Facing this question, put with pressure from the grassroots, the traditional discourse of heritage no longer seemed persuasive enough to settle these controversies. The heritage authorities sometimes conceded that particular arguments and complaints might carry some weight and agree to re-evaluate the values of the object put forward by a community.

Eventually, some cases, after vigorous political negotiation, were designated as heritage, notwithstanding professional and other doubts.

Challenges have indeed come not only from the layman: many scholars have pointed out the innate sense of dispute or dissonance of heritage (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Lowenthal 1998; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996) and begun to reflect on the implicit assumptions and ideology behind the traditional heritage discourses. They try to rethink the content of heritage and advance some alternative perceptions which are different from the dominant ones. As a result, the discourses of heritage have gradually stopped being confined to the traditional point of view and become much more diverse. For example, Harvey (2008, 2) indicates ‘the definition of heritage ... as the product of a present-centred process ...’. Smith (2006, 11) even argues ‘There is, really, no such thing as heritage’. These alternative discourses are all in different ways contrary to the traditional approach to what heritage is. They may enshrine various concepts, but, overall, we may roughly summarize their common features: they are bottom-up, inclusive, local-small-narrative, people-oriented, meaning-laden approaches to heritage governance which consider heritage to be an unfixed, changeable, constructed and varied-in-time process.

1.3.5 The Cultural Turn of Politics

As part of the delegated power of government, heritage conservation discourses and practices have always been inherently and deeply influenced by the administration of governments. In recent years, governance has come to be recognized as a critical concept in the analysis of various governmental public policies, in particular in urban planning, cultural affairs and other issues in the public domain. Owing to the simultaneous development of globalization and localization, many public or social issues are no longer confined to the traditional boundaries of individual governments, agencies and organizations and often involve multiple authorities, actors and stakeholders. As public policies have become more complex and interrelated, traditional models of government which rely on a small group of social elite consisting of scholars, professionals and civil servants have seemed less and less effective in tackling the emerging challenges. Traditional government is criticized for being prone to ignore the opinions of grass-roots communities and to neglect the crucial role of external stakeholders in solving problems. This means that public affairs are not decided nowadays by a small group of people, as they are in traditional models of government, but rather that a new way of governance is

gradually replacing them, requiring government agencies, grass-roots communities and academic experts all to work together in a very different way to meet the wholly new situation. This is why the heritage conservation policy has become a critical concept in the public domain, together of course with all other aspects of governance.

Furthermore, there is another important way to interpret the meaning of governance: as ‘the art or rationality of government’ (Foucault 1991, 87 ; Gordon 1991, 2-3). This is derived from the theory of ‘governmentality’ which was advanced by Michel Foucault (1991, 87–104). In his historical investigation into the definition of madness in society at different periods, he argued that the so-called humanism of modern medicine was in fact a specific discourse which defined what madness was and who counted as mad in a specific period in history. Therefore, the definition of madness depended on which discourse it took and in fact it varied over time. Even rationality is itself a historical construction of which science is its most significant form, a dogma which became the most important characteristic of modernism.

To further study the nature of discourse, O’Farrell (2005) pointed out that Foucault adopted archaeology and genealogy as two main approaches to exploring the historical development of discourse (i.e. knowledge, in his argument) and he demonstrated that there usually existed a legitimate and authorized discourse dominating the relationship between men, women and society in a particular era. This discourse judged what was right, what was wrong, who was normal and who was abnormal. This is the reason why discourse often relates to power, because it seeks to suppress the voices of otherness and denies their legitimacy and existence.

Starting from the study of power, Foucault researched further on the disciplinary institutions dependent on power. He argued that there is close, interactive affiliation between discourse (knowledge) and regime. Thus, the control exerted by a regime was reinforced by the assistance of the progress of such disciplines as psychology, sociology, criminology and so on, with more advanced discourse to establish more effective forms of discipline – schools, asylums and prisons – for controlling society. In other words, if knowledge is the provider of refined discourse then discourse is the deviser of improved disciplinary institutions. Dominant discourses are usually approved and circulated by those who hold the power and the control of the nation-machine. Foucault revealed there was a consciousness guiding the act of governance, which he termed ‘governmentality’.

Bennett (1995), Smith (2004), Hetherington (2011), and Witcomb (2015) also pointed out the insight of Foucault in giving us an inspiring perspective from which to think about the relationship between governance and heritage, and helping us to explain why there was an authorized discourse on heritage. As Cooper (2010, 145) argued, ‘the nature of cultural resource management in Britain has been inextricably linked to political philosophy in relation to the role of government and different models of public service delivery’. I argue below that the situation in Britain is quite similar to that in Taiwan because the management of cultural resources in the latter was adapted from the model in the West.

Nevertheless, there is another model of the administration of government which is emerging and gradually being adopted by many countries. Osborne and McLaughlin (2002, 7), drawing upon the related experience of the UK, have suggested a four-stage model of public service. These four stages are ‘the period of the minimal state’, ‘unequal partnership’, ‘the welfare state’ and ‘the plural state’. On this basis, Cooper (2010, 145) has observed the impact of a right-wing political philosophy on heritage administration in the UK, which has resulted in changes such as the privatization of specialist fieldwork, cuts to core grants, the introduction of competition, etc. Generally speaking, the influence may vary in its details from country to country, but one thing seems certain: that it is a shift from government to governance. Heritage or official heritage – strictly speaking – was significantly impacted by this political paradigm shift. With this in mind, this study explores heritage as the product of cultural governance which has different expressions in different societies.

1.3.6 The Problematic: the Antinomy between Heritage Claims and Cultural Governance

In the past, most of the literature on heritage focused on the interests, benefits and techniques or successful campaigns of heritage conservation and it seemed that the concept of heritage was a matter of general consensus without serious dispute. However, such apparent consensus seems increasingly doubtful, for more and more controversies over heritage have been emerging of late. People now tend to argue with the authorities over the designation of something as heritage or otherwise. Sometimes they oppose the method of conserving heritage because what they value is not what concerns the experts. Therefore, it is worth exploring people’s attitudes to heritage in order to find what lies beneath these disputes.

In fact, more and more researchers such as Byrne (1991), Lowenthal (1998), Dicks (2003), Olwig (2005), Smith (2006), Ashworth (2007), Harvey (2008), Macdonald (2009), Karlstrom (2009), Silverman (2010), Winter (2014b), Emerick (2014), Wateron and Watson (2015), and so on have started to explore the nature or constitution of heritage; that is to say, what the concept of heritage involves, and what influence it has on people's perception of heritage. These issues are critical because they fundamentally define the boundaries of heritage, the appropriate ways of undertaking it and the associated methods of managing it.

Such problematic may be more interesting and inspiring in societies such as Taiwan. On the one hand, Taiwan is an Eastern cultural as well as a highly Westernized society. Heritage conservation began as an discourse and concept like other modern disciplines – physics, chemistry, engineering and so on – imported by scholars or officials who had graduated from Western and Japanese educational institutions and exerted strong influence on the legislation and policy-making of the government. On the other, the discourse of conservation has itself developed into an authorized paradigm through the establishment of international heritage organizations that seek to export a so-called general (or Euro-centric?) conservation ethic and related practices from the West to non-Western countries. Accordingly, it seemed in the past that there was an authorized paradigm and dominant discourse of heritage conservation in Taiwan.

However, owing to the radical social, political and cultural changes in Taiwan over the last few decades, the meanings and contents of heritage have been broadened. The trend has resulted from several major transformations in Taiwan, for example, the deepening of democratization, the rise of localism and the perception of modernity as creative destructiveness. As noted above, the successful community-oriented political reform has deepened democracy and encouraged people's awareness of their homeland, former surroundings and identity.

These changes have led to a dramatic shift in the culture of politics and what Foucault calls governmentality, which has also changed in order to respond to the transformation of the social, political and cultural context. The transformations could be characterized by the significant feature of social inclusion, resulting from this successful democratization and severe electoral competition. The politicians and the government will try to satisfy the requirements of citizens as far as they can in order to gain political support from them. Furthermore, several mechanisms have been newly devised in the Cultural Heritage Conservation Act to include the opinions of the public in the process of

identifying the presence of heritage, such as public hearings before its designation, the ease with which ordinary citizens can report potential heritage, and the participation of stakeholders in the process of heritage identification. Gradually, the categories, types and forms of heritage have increased greatly in the past few years and are no longer confined to traditional examples such as palaces, public institutions and temples, but extend instead to the residences of celebrities, derelict brothels, everyday markets and even the temporary shelters of political refugees, and so on.

On one level, this trend to widen the heritage spectrum has enriched the varieties and coverage of the term, while on another level the hasty diversities of heritage have also revealed the unconscious disjuncture between discourse, practice and designation. For example, as previously mentioned, owing to the monumental character of traditional heritage discourse, it always used to emphasize certain main principles in the practice of heritage conservation, such as authenticity, the origin of heritage and the qualification of heritage practitioners. However, since the boundary of heritage has lately been broadened to satisfy the needs of political agendas, it seems that nobody perceives the antinomy between discourse and practice and the consequent need to re-evaluate and revise all the legislative assumptions of the heritage laws, acts and regulations.

The main problematic emerging from the phenomena highlighted in the previous paragraphs is that, in addition to the dissonance of heritage discourse, two opposite political forces seem to coexist regarding heritage management and everything that sets a paradox between national, monumental-heritage legislation and local, diverse-cultural-values inclusion. The problematic is not whether a top-down or bottom-up approach is better but, more importantly, whether the disjuncture is caused by the assumptions of top-down legislation or those of bottom-up inclusion. It is worth analysing the implications for the theory of heritage based on the special experiences in Taiwan.

1.4 Research Issues, Hypothesis and Analytical Methods

1.4.1 The Research Issues:

Borrowing the inspiring ideas of cultural governance of Schmitt (2011), this thesis attempts to analyse heritage, which can be regarded as a cultural object from the perspectives of cultural governance that as Schmitt (2011, 48) indicated ‘in the narrow sense means that set of negotiations, actions and practices, institutions and rules which are explicitly directed towards a certain object in its capacity as a cultural object (e.g. as a historical monument)’ (Schmitt 2011, 48).

On this basis, there are two levels of critical issues for researchers to explore further. The issue on the first level concerns the review of the chronological evolution of heritage concepts under cultural governance in a specific society, such as Taiwan, by exploring the associated set of negotiations, actions and practices, institutions and rules at different time points. Theoretically speaking, this thesis examines whether cultural heritage under cultural governance is more like a static, value-neutral, objective and innate artefact or a dynamic, value-added, interpretative and constructed cultural phenomenon. Through reviewing the chronological evolution of heritage concepts, this study points out the shifts of sets of negotiations, actions and practices, institutions and rules that shaped the features of heritage together in particular social, political and economic contexts.

This thesis argues that the paradigm shift from cultural governing to cultural governance can powerfully explain the interesting phenomena, including the heritage booms and transformations of heritage discourses – social inclusion, for example, and other corresponding antinomies. This political turn in the heritage discourse can be observed most clearly in a rapidly democratised society, such as Taiwan.

The second issue which this study explores is about the synchronic attitudes of people towards heritage. Since there are dissonances in the ideas of heritage, we need to explore the distribution of different attitudes of heritage in a society. Is there any specific concept that dominates or prevails over the others? For example, Smith (2006) and Waterton (2007) pointed out that there was a dominant paradigm of heritage conservation in the West, namely the Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD) which is an inspiring theoretical concept giving researchers insight into the self-referential assumptions and implications of traditional heritage ideas and practices that people are largely unaware of.

In addition, what is the reason that this particular type of heritage concept has become the orthodoxy and supplied the norms on cultural heritage conservation? What are its

perspectives, definitions and approaches to the cultural heritage? Are there other concepts of heritage? Surveying people's attitudes to heritage will help us to better understand the indigenous meaning of heritage to those who possess it.

Furthermore, this thesis wants to explore the emerging antinomy in heritage conservation in Taiwan under its current political trends of social inclusion in heritage or shifts in the paradigm of cultural governance. This antinomy results from the convenient inclusion and designation of new types of heritage that in fact have quite different assumptions, approaches and understanding from the traditional ones. Apparently, the variety of types of heritage have increased and the boundaries of heritage have also been widened, but the innate difference between these various notions of heritage have not in fact been carefully examined and distinguished, which has caused the antinomy in heritage conservation.

1.4.2 Hypothesis: Heritage as the Product under Cultural Governance

Since the cultural governance concept means 'the social steering of the production of sense and meaning' (Schmitt 2011, 30), this study suggests that one can adopt its perspective to analyse the concept of heritage, which is also a producer of social meanings, especially considering the multiple interactions between various social actors after the devolution of the heritage administration in Taiwan. With such an assumption, this study advances a hypothesis that heritage is a cultural object of which the capacity, meanings and concepts were determined by the interactive negotiations, actions and struggles between various social actors during the process of heritage recognition. In this sense, heritage is not a static object which waits for professional identification, but rather the interactive result of struggle between various social actors who act in their own interests or have their own motives for action. The idea of heritage in this analytical hypothesis is quite different from the traditional one in the AHD, owing to the considerations of the special social, political, economic, cultural and environmental contexts in Taiwan, which is demonstrated in the following chapters.

In this hypothesis, if heritage is regarded as the interactive result of a struggle between various social actors, the roles of the social actors who involve themselves in the struggle and the interactions between them are very important. As Schmitt (2011, 26) pointed out:

In any governance analysis, a prominent place must be given to discussion of the actors – collective social actors such as authorities and decision-making

bodies, but also the individual actors working in them, with their perceptions, goals and interests, routine practices, choices and constraints.

Stockinger (2005) provides a definition of a social actor in his study of the relationship between culture and social actors:

A social actor is any (human...) agent such as a group of persons, an individual, an organized group (a company, a union, a party ...) who: possesses a common cognitive reference frame (composed, among others, by a common tradition, common knowledge and values), [and] requires the possession or acquisition of a specific competence for understanding, accepting and dealing with this common cognitive reference frame.

Since social actors are a particular group of agents with common beliefs, values or knowledge, their implicit ideology or explicit concepts are critical dimensions allowing researchers to explore their motives, strategies, approaches and behaviours. However, we have to be aware that all the beliefs, values or knowledge are not static and may be transformed in different contexts, places or times. As Schmitt (2011, 27) noted, 'key concepts and sets of rules in governance processes can be interpreted differently and correspondingly altered over time'. For example, Schmitt (2009; 2011) argued that 'outstanding universal value' (UNESCO 1972), as a critical ideal of the registration of World Heritage (UNESCO 1972), is individually explained case by case even when under the same governance of the World Heritage Convention.

1.4.3 Analytical Methods: Historical Research and Q Methodology

This study explores the different concepts of heritage in Taiwan and tries to decipher them theoretically in order to explain the gaps which may cause disputes over heritage. In addition, since the heritage concept was imported into Taiwan, this study needs to explore its evolution from the first. Otherwise, we might overlook some important conjunctions that significantly influenced the content of heritage, and will not understand the meaningful change of heritage through its gradual development.

Based on such assumptions, this study will first adopt the approach of historical research to review the introduction, development and transformation of the heritage concept in Taiwan by newspapers, documents, other literature, official archives, governmental acts and so on. In fact, if heritage is the product of cultural governance, it will never be static, especially in its relations with societies, people and time. This study

divides the evolution of heritage concept in Taiwan into several stages according to people's reactions to heritage and its conservation.

In each stage, this study particularly explores certain topics, namely, the issues of certain stages such as authenticity and cultural governance among different tiers of governments or the disagreement between experts and community groups, and so on. Through the detailed discussion it is hoped to reveal the special heritage concepts and experiences in Taiwan. Furthermore, as a senior civil servant who has engaged in the designation, conservation and revitalization of heritage in Taipei City Government from 1997 to the present time, the author is familiar with various cases of heritage management in Taiwan and has accumulated much experience in heritage practices and cultural governance. Using these advantages in the methodology of this study, the author wishes to write as both a participant observer and reflective practitioner, even if the resulting narrative or argument largely derives from a personal perspective and professional experience.

This thesis chooses the two following major research methods: historical research and Q methodology.

(1) Historical Research

This thesis adopts historical research as the major research method which 'is a scientific critical inquiry of the whole truth of past events using the critical method in the understanding and interpretation of facts which are applicable to current issues and problems' (Calmorin and Calmorin 2008, 68). In addition, Johnson and Christensen (2013, 466) stated:

Historical research is the process of systematically examining past events to give an account of what has happened in the past. It is not a mere accumulation of facts and dates or even a description of past events. It is a flowing, dynamic account of past events which involves an interpretation of these events in an attempt to recapture the nuances, personalities, and ideas that influenced these events. One of the goals of historical research is to communicate an understanding of past events.

Because there was basically no tradition of material conservation in Taiwan, it needs a historical review of the appearance and process of changes in the idea of heritage to explore its indigenous theoretical meanings and implications.

(2) Q methodology

The reason that this thesis adopts Q methodology as its second methodology is its effectiveness for analysing various human attitudes or so-called subjectivity towards cultural heritage. 'Q methodology, in other words, "fits" those research questions which are concerned to hear 'many voices' (Rogers 1995, 183). Originated by William Stephenson in 1935, Q methodology was inspired by factor analyses and provides an explicit approach to the systemic study of human subjectivity (Henry 1990, 21:1). After years of development, Q methodology is now employed in a number of fields, including psychology (Bracken and Fischel 2006; Peritore 1989; Stenner, Cooper, and Skevington 2003), ecological economics (Barry and Proops 1999; Davies and Hodge 2007), education (Wheeler and Montgomery 2009), health science (Herron-Marx, Williams, and Hicks 2007), geography (Duenckmann 2010), medicine (Kim and Bates 2011; Stellefson et al. 2012), information (Vizcaíno et al. 2013), business (Liu and Chen 2013) and nursing (Barker 2008; Yeun 2005), to name a few. 'What these have in common is that they are socially contested, argued about and debated...' (Rogers 1995, 179). However, the methodology seems just as applicable to heritage studies, as the only case study to date demonstrates (Waterton 2007). Waterton used Q methodology to establish the existence of the AHD and alternative ways of thinking about heritage in the UK in her 2007 and 2008 work.

Owing to the use of the word heritage to refer a wide range of ideas and things, it is criticised as 'a broad and slippery term' (Harrison 2012, 5) or regarded as a 'conveniently ambiguous' concept (Fairclough 2008; Lowenthal 1998). Therefore, it is necessary to further clarify the meaning and implications of people's use of the term heritage to express a concept. Rogers (1995) indicates that regular factor analysis, usually known as the R method, 'measures a population of n individual with m tests' (Robbins and Krueger 2000, 637) and tries to find correlations between variables across a sample of subjects on particular issues. This approach examines common features (say, sexuality or age) among those respondents on specific research topics (say, the habit of smoking) by systematically selecting a certain number of participants from the whole population to respond to a small number of fixed questions, and then analysing their answers and estimating from the sample the general pattern for an entire group. It studies people's general behaviour from an observer standpoint and tries to match 'traits across individuals (atomistically)' (Robbins and Krueger 2000, 637).

However, R methodology has been questioned by William Stephenson, with Brown (1980, 5), too, arguing:

... the correlation of and factor analysis of scale responses leads not to a taxonomy of behavior as commonly thought, but to a taxonomy of tests (Stephenson 1973). This misconception might be compared to that of a physicist, who, if upon discovering a high correlation between the measurement on his (sic) watch and his wall clock, assumes he has measured time. All he has really shown is that his two measuring devices are related, which says nothing about time. There is no underlying dimension, such as time, which is causing the two time pieces to correlate or load heavily on the same factor; it is simply that their mechanisms have been constructed in virtually identical ways.

What Stephenson and Brown criticise is the ontological and epistemological essentialism in the assumption of psychometric tests and their misleading results. Owing to its essentialist tendency, traditional psychometrics has 'led psychology on an eternal quest in search of the universal, deep, innate, and transcendent central processing mechanism from which our thinking, feeling, and action are said to derive' (Sarbin and Kitsuse 1994, 120). As a result, psychometrics does not produce "data" but "create"; that is to say, it invents data but not information about the subjective activities per se because 'where items or scales are similarly created, such as Brown's watches, they correlate ... [reflecting] a repetitive form of interrogation (asking similarly crafted questions again and again), not a transcendent trait or faculty' (Rogers 1995, 179). This means that the focus of traditional psychometrics was misled into selecting the normative responses of the subject and not investigating the psychological mechanisms and characteristics in themselves.

In contrast, inverting the conventional analytic dimensions of the R method, Stephenson (1953, 51) advocates applying 'persons...to a sample of statements or the like' rather than 'tests to a sample of persons' (Rogers 1995, 179), because it is 'the respondents' actions upon the statements that become the focus of the research, not [the actions of] the tests upon the respondents. "Q method"... breaks one away from thinking of any individual datum as a measurement' (Rogers 1995, 180) by sorting data as a whole. 'It is interested in establishing patterns within and across individuals rather than patterns across individual traits, such as gender, age, class, etc.' (Barry and Proops 1999, 339). Furthermore, it 'begins with a population of n different tests measured by m individuals'

(Robbins and Krueger 2000, 637) and looks at correlations (the degree of similarity) across a sample of statements, rather than a sample of persons, to find the main factors that cover the most common attitudes of a group of individuals. ‘Statistically, it will be the “persons”, or, more accurately, their action upon a sampling of elements, which will be correlated and subsequently factored’ (Rogers 1995, 179). In other words, it attempts to find shared opinions – “subjectivities”, “accounts” or “discourses”, as they are called by different researchers.

Q method takes subjectivity – ‘a person’s communication of his or her point of view’ (McKeown and Thomas 1988, 12) – as the internal frame of reference of the subject in making sense of the world and an observable expression of behaviour. ‘It is not, however the “constructors” – the participants – who are the focus of the approach but the “constructions” themselves’ (Rogers 1995, 180). It believes that there is only one way to expose an individual’s subjectivity without any distortion by the researcher or any measurement instruments when he or she expresses his or her own idea directly from a self-referential perspective. Such subjectivity extracted from abstract perceptions, ambiguous concepts, vague comments, implicit images, tricky literature and so on have been clarified and transformed into so-called ‘operant subjectivity’ (McKeown and Thomas 1988) which are easy to analyse. ‘One can start to get an empirical purchase on slippery problems such as the abstractness of attitudes and values’ (Kerlinger 1973, 594). ‘It is, therefore, particularly suited to studying those social phenomena around which there is much debate, conflict and contestation ...’ (Barry and Proops 1999, 339).

In a word, Q methodology ‘can be used to open up new areas, to test preliminary theories, to explore heuristic hunches’ (Kerlinger 1973, 588) and ‘to analyze subjectivity, in all its forms, in a structured and statistically interpretable form’ (Barry and Proops 1999, 338–39). ‘Q methodology permits us to hear muted voices as well as the dominant ones’ (Rogers 1995, 179). As Durning stated, ‘Q methodology can be a useful analytic tool for policy analysts’ (Durning 1999, 405). It is a useful analytical method for solving the research problem of this thesis.

The range of topics which can be studied using this technique is almost unlimited, but typical examples would be: “representations” of social objects (for example, selves, others, objects); understandings (for example, of social issues or cultural artifacts ...); and policies and strategies (for example, towards social issues) (Rogers 1995, 179).

After the implementation of Q methodology in Chapter 4, this study extracted three primary factors. Generally speaking, Factor One is most inclined to see heritage as “a cultural and social process focused on environmental and social conservation”, which was regarded as alternative heritage discourse. Factor Two emphasizes more that the aim of heritage restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of heritage, which relates closely to the AHD. These two apparently contradictory factors, despite the differences between them, share some significant attitudes, for example, statements 8, 27 and 29. The stance of Factor Three reveals great ambiguity and seems to mix together the attitudes of the other two factors. Such phenomena raised concerns in the examiners during the doctoral Viva examination; they pointed out that it was the problematic appearance of some popular statements that caused the paradox. For example, statement 8 seems to be a catch-all and can be read in many ways, but in fact expresses no particular position. Statement 29 involves the issue of racism and respondents seem to express similar attitudes for being politically correct. Statement 27 is criticised for being a red herring unless enough contextual knowledge is provided.

As a result, the selection of appropriate statements to establish an effective concourse becomes a critical test of the use of Q methodology. Over-general or exaggerated statements had best be avoided for fear of confusion or misunderstanding. Such guidelines are relatively easy for the researcher to follow when the study topics generate fairly relatively different opinions. However, if the study issues are controversial or slippery it may be tricky for researchers to judge whether certain statements are appropriate or not. Furthermore, owing to the limited space for each statement on the card of Q methodology, it may not be easy to clearly or effectively express certain ideas about controversial issues in the absence of contextual knowledge –as in the problem with statement 27, above. It is no wonder that Van Exel and de Graaf (2005, 5) commented that ‘according to Brown (1980), the selection of statements from the concourse for inclusion in the Q set is of crucial importance, but remains “more an art than a science”’.

The interpretation of the factors extracted by Q methodology is another issue to consider. Because each extracted factor was constituted from several statements, the interpretation of these statements in combination turns into a distinct and unprecedented step in Q methodology. However, the interpretative process is somehow not as clear as the previous quantitative steps of Q methodology and is even described as ‘black-boxed’ (Eden et al., 2005, 413). In order to clarify the features of the factors, the author systematically reorganized various statements according to their significance within each

factor and re-categorized them along various dimensions. Nevertheless, it seems that the result is still not concise enough. Q methodology is a unique research method, but it includes some steps which still need to become more explicit.

Furthermore, this thesis further explores the significant ideas and preferences of the respondents revealed from Q sorting by interview. Some extreme statements are worth further examination because there are significant preferences in participants' attitudes that can reveal their subjectivity and ideologies. The interviews were normally audio-recorded after receiving written informed consent from the respondents according to the ethical requirements of the study. This research applied for ethical approval from the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee (AHEC) of the University of York via an ethics Lite form because this research topic is quite neutral and not sensitive. It is also a small-scale evaluation involving non-invasive research and does not include vulnerable groups. Before commencing the interviews, this research was approved and the department's Ethics Committee confirmed that the present study met the necessary ethical guidelines. There was only one generic concern from the Committee, which was how to ensure long-term (for example, ten years) the secure storage of the data that the research intended to collect. However, because this is a problem that the Department as a whole needs to address, it was scheduled for discussion at the Departmental Research Committee. Once a solution is found, the present research will follow the necessary agreed procedures.

1.5 The Objectives and Expected Contributions of the Research

1.5.1 Research Objectives

In this study, I want to explore the issues on the involuntary cleavage between the discourse and practice of conservation that have followed from the rapid growth and diversification of the topic of heritage and the inherent contradiction between the universal heritage discourse imported from the West and the local practical experience in a non-Western cultural context. I want also to explore the spectrum of different heritage discourses, comparing their various assumptions, meanings and roles in cultural governance.

To this end, I plan to use the conservation experiences in Taiwan as a case study. Even though it is the experience of a particular society in different historical conjunctions that cannot be replicated exactly elsewhere, it still seems to have the potential to suggest a move towards a more comprehensive heritage discourse.

This research is expected to cover the following research tasks:

1. Explore the meanings of heritage through an understanding of the relationship between the international, Western heritage discourse and the values of local everyday practice in a non-Western society.
2. Analyze the theoretical implication relating to the ideological assumptions between the authorized and alternative heritage discourses and identify the main differences and similarities found in them.
3. Study the ensuing controversial issues relating to the trend of social inclusion in heritage politics and explore the phenomena of and reason for the disjuncture in cultural heritage governance.
4. Reconsider the effect of governance on the existing discourse, practice and framework for evaluating and assessing the cultural heritage, describe and account for the cleavage between top-down legislation and bottom-up identification and suggest some operational strategies relating to the process of heritage conservation.
5. Explore the task for the key actors in heritage management from the standpoint of cultural governance; examine the strategies that governments adopt in answering the challenges from alternative heritage discourse; and investigate the current process, mechanisms, and policy effects of cultural governance

1.5.2 Expected Contributions

It is hoped that this thesis will take the first steps in the following:

1. Providing a perspective from which to study the cultural governance in heritage projects.
2. Suggesting a preliminary spectrum of heritage discourses that can remind people to rethink the heterogeneity of heritage.
3. Tracing the transformation of cultural governance in heritage projects.

1.6 Outline of the Research; its Limitations

Chapter 1 introduces and summarizes the whole study to give the reader a quick résumé of its motivation, rationale, propositions and problematic. Next, it introduces the research issues, hypotheses and analytical methods of the study, including historical study and Q methodology survey and the research design, together with the research objectives and expected contribution.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature and documents on heritage and shows the apparent existence of a dominant heritage discourse which controls the interpretation of the content, boundaries and proper ways to manage heritage. By contrast, alternative heritage discourses are usually ignored and excluded from the recognition of the authorities. After a review of these two kinds of heritage discourse, a theoretical detour introduces governance as an analytical concept in social science, which has recently become important and indicates the deep influence of politics on heritage, to be considered in reflecting on the meanings of the term.

Chapter 3 examines the historical evolution of the heritage concept in the dynamic social, political and economic contexts of Taiwan to learn more about the inner dynamics in which the transition originated. According to this study, the evolution of heritage concepts in Taiwan can be generally divided into five phases with different features.

Chapter 4 is mainly about the conduct of Q methodology, which includes the establishment of a concourse of opinions, the extracting of representative statements, (that is, Q sampling) and the Q sorting conducted by each participant. Next, factor analysis elicits three major factors of the attitudes to heritage conservation and begins to go through the findings of the survey.

Chapters 5, 6 and 7 set out the main arguments in this study.

Chapter 5 first devotes a section to exploring the concept of the authenticity of the World Heritage, which is regarded as the critical condition for inscription and conservation from the standpoint of the international heritage conservation ethic. It then further analyses the theoretical implications of renovation as the necessary evil for a society, Taiwan, which has young and fragile material legacies. Next it rethinks the concept of authenticity and indicates a shift from the static concept of authenticity to the dynamic process of authentication

Chapter 6 argues that it is worth reflecting why the test of authenticity is so critical in the recognition of heritage and points out that what one assumes to be heritage deeply

influences how one defines origin its values. Owing to the long dominance of traditional European perspectives on heritage conservation, one might unconsciously take for granted the understanding of heritage based on European conditions and contexts. It then explores an alternative understanding of heritage and indicates that the Chinese understanding of it seems not to emphasize individual creativity, originality or authenticity in heritage but to focus more on the continuous interpretation of the common vision of life or tao.

In Chapter 7, this study argues that heritage governance has become the new agenda of cultural politics in Taiwan due to the deepening democracy which has caused claims for the recognition of heterogeneous heritage from different geographical or social communities. This chapter demonstrates the interactive processes between various social actors during heritage designation in the particular social and political context of Taiwan, to learn more about the inner dynamics from which heritage governance emerges.

Finally, summarizing the findings of the above chapters, in Chapter 8, this study explores the gaps between the exclusiveness of heritage legislation and the inclusive nature of cultural governance. The exclusiveness derives from the orientation towards historical evidence of the Big Heritage model, which is instituted by heritage legislation, government agencies, professionals, international conservation organizations and the official conservation ethic, but which has no assent from or access for ordinary people. However, this dominant discourse has recently been broadened by small heritages. After rethinking the meaning of heritage, this study argues that heritage in Taiwan is not an artefact or a building with innate outstanding values but rather a result of the process of negotiation or struggle which has been significantly shaped by various actors in particular political, economic, cultural and spatial contexts.

Chapter 2 Literature Reviews

2.1 The Origins and Features of the Authorised Heritage Discourse

Many critics suggest that there is a clear dominant discourse in heritage conservation (Byrne 1991; Smith 2006; Harvey 2008; Waterton 2010) that strictly defines the boundaries, content and meanings of heritage, the conservation practice approaches and the people who are qualified to engage in heritage identification, restoration and interpretation. It is nicknamed the ‘Authorised Heritage Discourse (AHD)’ (Smith 2006) for its predominant status and exclusiveness. Owing to its rigid standards and particular assumptions about heritage, it has two main features: one is its significant exclusiveness and the other its top-down approach. Furthermore, the exclusiveness of this dominant discourse is realised in two ways: one is the enforcement of legislative provisions for heritage conservation based on this discourse and the other is the universalisation of the conservation ethic by international manifestos and charters affiliated to this discourse.

There was a historical process of development that shaped and defined the characteristics of today’s conservation discourse. Concerning the origin of the concept of heritage, one might claim that heritage is an inexorable reaction to the threat of modernity or, in contrast, argue that it is an ‘omnipresent human condition’ (Harvey 2008, 19) in history. Nevertheless, for the development of the concept of heritage, there is a consensus on its close relation to the tradition of antiquarianism (Hunter 1996; Gamble 2000; Smith 2006). This is important to help trace the rise of this particular discourse back to the particular social, economic, political and cultural context that fostered it.

2.1.1 Nationalism, Monuments and Heritage

One of the most important driving forces that have directly affected the historical development process of heritage conservation is nationalism. Trigger (2006) suggests three main types of political stance (nationalists, colonialists and imperialists) that affected the development of archaeology (and of heritage) during the Industrial Revolution period. The Industrial Revolution and consequent urbanisation has deeply impacted upon the social, economic and political structures of European societies ever since the eighteenth century. The new emerging mercantile middle class began to replace the function of the aristocracy in the political structure, as feudalism declined and monarchies rose after the Industrial Revolution. The traditional ideas of local consciousness faded away after the transformation of local economies and life styles into

the capitalistic mode of production and industrial, rootless, alienated urban life. The French Revolution was a watershed in this historic process and significantly changed the European sense of historical consciousness (Anderson 1991; Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Jokilehto 2002), and the idea of the European territorial state formed during this historical period.

Woolf (1996, 25–26) notes that ‘nationalist rhetoric assumes not only that individuals form part of a nation (through language, blood, choice, residence, or some other criterion), but that they identify with the territorial unit of the nation state’. He suggests that ‘a national identity is an abstract concept that sums up the collective expression of a subjective, individual sense of belonging to a socio-political unit: the nation state’ (Woolf 1996, 25–6). Therefore, the ‘one-out-of-many’ meta-narrative of nationalism as part of ‘modernity...attempted to “fix” space through the creation of rigidly territorial nation-states, promulgating ideologies which attempted to subsume differences through representations of homogeneity’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 55). However, ‘space is not an independent given, but a mutable product of economic, social, cultural, and political processes’ (Lefebvre 2011, 454). Since economic, social, cultural and political situations are variable, this implies that space is intrinsically unstable and always heterogeneous in both content and geography. In order to realise ‘the quintessentially modernist concept of nationalism as the defining universalising myth’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 55), ‘new devices [are called for] to ensure or express social cohesion and identity and to structure social relations’ (Hobsbawm and Ranger 2012, 263). Under such a political need and atmosphere, monuments and artefacts became powerful tools to persuade opponents, to perpetually remind people about this national narrative day after day and to naturalise the new discourse of national identity. Therefore, ‘heritage was heavily implicated in these processes as a medium of communication of prevailing myths and counter-claims’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 55).

There were several reasons why heritage became an effective strategy for the creation of nation-states. First, as physical historical evidence, heritage held the authority to prove the discourse of the nation-state and empower its legitimacy to represent ‘imagined communities’ (Anderson 1991). Second, as objective and physical existences in space, heritage, generally in the form of monuments, can be seen from many directions and can unconsciously and continuously influence the perception of people. Furthermore, heritage can also be represented as objective knowledge through school textbooks and can easily instil the national historical discourse into the minds of children generation after

generation. All in all, the comprehensive effect is that ‘it supported the consolidation of this national identification, while absorbing or neutralizing potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 12). While one understands the various influences that heritage can exercise, one understands the multi-faceted affiliations between heritage and nation-state, and realises why heritage conservation is regarded in most countries as the major responsibility or monopolistic power of governments. This is another aspect of the innate exclusiveness and dominance of traditional heritage discourse.

2.1.2 Creative Destruction, Romanticism and Heritage

Another important strand of the development of the AHD came from the influence of Romanticism in the nineteenth century, the major proponents being John Ruskin and his follower, William Morris (Smith 2006). Owing to the relentless, dramatic and overwhelming impacts of massive urbanisation and industrialisation on traditional social classes, all the ‘fixed, fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions’ of spatial structures were ‘swept away...all that is solid melted into air...’ (Marx and Engels 2009, 11), given the mode of production after the Industrial Revolution. These rapid and comprehensive social, economic and political shifts caused a corresponding change to physical space and the landscape. Acres of farmland, forests and fields were transformed into various facilities of the new mode of capitalistic production, such as factories, roads and infrastructure. Hundreds of traditional houses were dismantled to meet the needs of modern cities or metropolitan areas where enormous shopping malls, high-rise offices or transportation hubs replaced them. Lefebvre (2011, 347) provides an insightful and vivid description of this unprecedented experience:

Space in its entirety enters the modernized capitalist mode of production, there to be used for the generation of surplus values. The earth, underground resources, the air and light above the ground— all are part of the forces of production and part of the products of those forces.

The incredible impact of the ‘creative destruction’, in Joseph Alois Schumpeter’s terms (Schumpeter 1975), produced corresponding reactions. Owing to the acute changes caused by the rise of the nation-state and the capitalistic mode of production, people felt perplexed or uneasy about their situation as the traditional customs, fixed social relations and political institutions gradually disappeared in consequence of modernisation (Berman

1983). They tried to find somewhere to anchor themselves in this ever changeable, dynamic and even rootless new world. “The past” naturally became a reasonable reservoir from which to extract some relief for the nervousness and loss brought by these changes. Many cultural commentators, such as John Ruskin and William Morris, were aware of the negative effects of modernisation and began to appreciate the values of ancient monuments and classic architecture. They advocated the conservation of buildings before the seventeenth century and valued ‘anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue at all’ (Morris 1877). Their pastoral nostalgia even extended to the conservation of contemporary common buildings such as country houses and later caused the establishment of the National Trust to provide a legal way for financially embarrassed country house owners to escape heavy taxation by donating their houses to the National Trust and still continue to live in them (Cannadine 1995, 20).

The legacies of these predecessors to heritage conservationists can best be summarised under the following headings. First, they take a pastoral role with their self-expectation and the institutionalisation of heritage conservationists. On the one hand, these leading spirits preached the aesthetic and educational value of pre-modern architecture, taught people to appreciate the meaning and value of historical buildings and monuments, and promoted the ethic of conservation. On the other, they established professional organisations, such as the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB), to encourage the collective consciousness to accept the importance of historical conservation, to lobby Members of Parliament to legalise the protection of heritage, to define the content and boundaries of heritage and to advocate the proper guidelines for conservation practices. Their endeavours gradually gained the recognition of the public and the authorities, establishing the present universal heritage conservation ethic.

Second, their perspective on ethics and heritage conservation standards is the dominant one. Generally speaking, most of their heritage conservation concepts were derived from the protection of monuments and became the most significant features of the AHD. Choay (2001) studied the invention of Patrimoine (“heritage” in French), pointing out that the word ‘monument’ is derived from the Latin monumentum, which came from monere, meaning to warn or to call to memory. Therefore, ‘monument’ often ‘refers to an edifice, constructed either to perpetuate the memory of memorable things, or conceived, erected or placed in such a way as to become an instrument of embellishment

and magnificence in cities' (Choay 2001, 7). Moreover, during the seventeenth century, this term gradually acquired additional implications such as 'power, greatness, beauty: it was explicitly charged with affirming grand public schemes, promoting styles, and addressing itself to aesthetic sensibility' (Choay 2001, 8). Therefore, in the European context, monuments become symbols of the historical or artistic accomplishments of particular civilisations or states, evoking certain political memories or collective identities, and reflecting the crystallisation of the special perspective of European values. These notions of 'monument' restricted the boundaries of heritage and imposed an aesthetic duty on the concept. Under such assumptions, it is the responsibility of present-day people to respect the past and its legacies; that is, to ensure their integrity and pass them on intact to coming generations.

Based on these ideas, derived from the French concept of *patrimoine*, Smith (2006) argues that the sense of heritage has deeply influenced the orientation of heritage conservation in English and promoted the need in heritage conservation practice 'to conserve as found' (Smith 2006, 19), as we can observe in Ruskin's *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849). In this work, Ruskin blames the heritage preservation approach prevalent in the nineteenth century for depending on careless conjecture and the arbitrary restoration of many historical buildings. To Ruskin, the fabric of historical buildings possesses the most important inherent values. They need to be protected from as much decay or alteration as possible, for the sake of their artistic and aesthetic value.

Ruskin strongly opposes the inappropriate practices in the nineteenth century of restoring historic objects to their imagined original appearance and wants to remove later adaptations or changes. He (Ruskin 1989, 197) argues that:

It is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the building of past time or not. We have no right whatever to touch them. They are not ours. They belong partly to those who built them, and partly to all generations of mankind who are to follow us.

The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) faithfully followed and advocated Ruskin's idea of a 'sense of trusteeship' (Burman 1995). Under trusteeship, it is very natural for them to have claimed that the best approach to protecting heritage was conservation repair; namely, to intervene with the fabric of heritage as little as possible, the only justification for repairing a historical building being the prevention of further decay. As Morris (1877) states:

It is for all these buildings, therefore, of all times and styles, that we plead, and call upon those who have to deal with them, to put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care, to prop a perilous wall or mend a leaky roof by such means as are obviously meant for support or covering, and show no pretence of other art, and otherwise to resist all tampering with either the fabric or ornament of the building as it stands; if it has become inconvenient for its present use, to raise another building rather than alter or enlarge the old one; in fine to treat our ancient buildings as monuments of a bygone art, created by bygone manners, that modern art cannot meddle with without destroying.

This attitude has become a central approach for the AHD and has significantly influenced the related public regulations or policies in the field of heritage conservation.

2.1.3 Colonialism and Heritage

From the above development of the history of heritage, one can understand that the origins of the AHD developed in Europe alongside the emergence of the nation-state. However, it is colonialism that spread the AHD around the world, although it may not have done so consciously or on purpose. As Byrne (1991, 269) states, ‘archaeology had developed in Europe and been exported as part of the baggage of colonialism in the nineteenth century. It had then been molded by the unique social conditions of the recipient countries...’. Again, heritage was at this time used as objective evidence and a potent discourse in the era of the emerging nation-states to justify the colonial ambitions of these European imperialists to conquer the rest of the world. After archaeologists had ranked the levels of different civilisations throughout the world, they found the overwhelming superiority of Western societies (Falser 2015). The so-called advanced, prominent achievements in scientific technologies, knowledge and economics in European society were due to Western imperialists reaching the apex of the hierarchy of human civilisation ‘in terms of a continuing process of a unilinear cultural revolution’ (Byrne 1991, 269). Hence, colonialism was not to be regarded as exploitation, but, in contrast, a destined responsibility of the Europeans to enlighten other, backward, nations and guide them to follow the steps of European societies to enhance their civilisations.

If we further explore the relationship between colonialism and the heritage discipline, we see on the one hand, as Byrne argues – since the non-Western world did not experience an ‘Enlightenment shift’ (Byrne 1991, 272) as European societies did – that a similar mindset towards heritage was clearly not generated inside colonised societies but

imported from the outside agency of the coloniser. On the other, archaeology, as a form of knowledge, is also a form of power, supporting colonialism by penetrating the past of the colonised in order to evaluate the appropriate military or colonial strategy. After conquering colonies, the archaeological heritage also became part of colonial legislation and governing institutions; this also explains why the whole heritage discipline, including ideas, attitudes, approaches and management methods, was distributed throughout the non-Western world. However, the views and discipline of heritage conservation legacies left by the coloniser in non-Western societies, unlike the obvious physical dominance of colonialism, seem to have been more unconscious and widely accepted once colonialism ended. Following Cleere's study, Byrne (1991, 269) notes 'a widespread tendency for the new states to use and conserve pre-colonial and even colonial archaeological heritage in the name of national identity'. Cleere (1989) also indicates that the historical gaps from the invasion of previous colonisers in many new independent countries were filled by the use of monuments to manifest 'a continuous cultural identity' (Cleere 1989, 7) and articulate the colonial period. As highlighted in this section, due to the deep influence of antiquarianism, nationalism and colonialism, people usually associate heritage with something ancient, grand, sublime, monumental and of national importance, such as palaces, cathedrals, castles and monuments. Smith (2006) typically notes 'the common sense assumption that heritage can unproblematically be identified as old, grand, monumental and aesthetically pleasing sites, buildings, places, and artifacts' (Smith 2006, 11).

2.2 Alternative Heritage Approaches

According to the frames constructed by Waterton and Watson (2013) through existing and emerging theory, ‘heritage can be viewed in its various guises: theories in, of and for heritage’ (Waterton and Watson 2013, 547). Firstly, theories in heritage focus on the objects of heritage itself and its innate and authentic values. Secondly, theories of heritage that move ‘thinking about heritage away from its objects towards its social and cultural context and significance’ (Waterton and Watson 2013, 550) like the work of Lowenthal (1985, 1998), Wright (1985), Hewison (1987), Samuel (1994), Hall (1997), Graham et al. (2000), Harvey (2001) and Smith (2006). Thirdly, theories for heritage explore ‘questions about the role played by the personal, the ordinary and the everyday’ (Waterton and Watson 2013, 551) like mobilities theory and actor-network theory.

Generally speaking, theories in heritage are dominant, the rest two can be regarded as alternative approaches of which critics are sceptical about the prospects of the conventional theoretically and methodologically correct approach, putting forward different perceptions about the nature, practice and governance of heritage. Some significant features of these various newly emerging concepts of heritage will be further discussed.

2.2.1 An Ambiguous Term

All the disputes and quarrels can be traced to the fundamental question, what is heritage? This thesis suggests that the disagreements largely arose from the fact that people use the same term, heritage, in referring to different things which were not on the same assumptions and grounds. All the possible approaches and perspectives cannot easily be put on display; it is easier to express the limitations and assumptions of the traditional heritage concepts so as to understand why it has of late been severely challenged. Traditional heritage usually refers to objects that are old, monumental and rare. Owing to the unchanging, everlasting values of historical evidence and aesthetic merit, such objects need to be protected, conserved and passed on from generation to generation. There are certain clear assumptions in traditional heritage discourse. The first is the importance of the object itself, which can be designated as heritage or not, and is independent of people in the present; that is, it does not interact with the present and belongs only to the past. Second, the question of whether it is valued as precious, objective, innate and everlasting, frozen in time, as it were, and isolated from the touch of people. This implies that heritage is generally static and alien to daily life. The most

controversial assumption is the generalisation of its perspectives, assumptions and opinions through the so-called “conservation ethic”, which claims its dominant status and imposes its own idea of heritage and approaches in practice as the only approach to heritage conservation.

The traditional heritage discourse, then, seems object-oriented, frozen in the past and isolated from daily life. However, if we can agree that heritage is something which enriches cultural content and which people think they need to value, protect, conserve and pass on to future generations, then the problem changes to whether the traditional heritage paradigm covers all such things. Various discourses have been advanced which provide interesting and reflective ways to think about heritage. Generally speaking, the word heritage is primarily a legal term that means ‘property that descends to an heir or something transmitted by or acquired from a predecessor’ (Merriam-Webster Dictionaries 2012), that is, an inheritance that someone obtained from a defunct ancestor or ‘something inherited at birth, such as personal characteristics, status, and possessions’ or ‘any property, especially land, that by law has descended or may descend to an heir’ (Collins Online Dictionaries 2012). However, its meaning has been broadened and loaded and has many different connotations. We can observe the consequent change in interpretation, such as in the Oxford Advanced American Dictionary (2011), that defines heritage as ‘the history, traditions, and qualities that a country or society has had for many years and that are considered an important part of its character’. Cambridge Dictionaries Online (2011) define heritage as ‘features belonging to the culture of a particular society, such as traditions, languages or buildings, which still exist from the past and which have a historical importance’. Interestingly, the shifts in interpretation in dictionaries to some extent reflect the shift in the connotation of heritage from objective and wealth-oriented to something more abstract, sentimental, political and social. As a result, various authors suggest that heritage is hard to circumscribe (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Harvey 2008; Herbert 1995; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996).

Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 2) argue that heritage has become an adjective and ‘is not only being applied to the provision of goods and services that come from or relate to a past in some way, however vaguely, but is increasingly being used to convey a feeling of generalized quality, continuity or simply familiarity and well-being’. The meaning of heritage has been widened ‘to include almost any sort of intergenerational exchange or relationship, welcome or not, between societies as well as individuals’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2). Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000)

also observe that an increasing number of cultural activities in the Western world have requested sponsorship for something in the name of heritage, whether it is actually related to heritage or not. Owing to the dramatic expansion of the categories of heritage, one can discriminate the mission of heritage from related disciplines or terms to help to clarify the nature of heritage. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 2) compare the differences between three similar terms: the past, history and heritage, remarking that in practice:

the attempt of successive presents to relate and explain selected aspects of a past is the concern of the historical disciplines, while the collection, preservation and documentation of the records and physical remains of the past is a task for archivists and antiquarians. If these concerns, however, focus upon the ways in which we use the past now, or upon the attempts of a present to project aspects of itself into an imagined future, then we are engaged with heritage.

The division of the function of these three terms of Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge might not be agreed by all, and is not the final word on this issue, but it can at least provide us with a temporary perspective to differentiate the focus of related disciplines and be more open-minded to the various conclusions of alternative discourses. In a word, the meaning of heritage is no longer confined to the physical and monumental boundaries of traditional assumptions about heritage; the spectrum of imagination on heritage can thus be dramatically widened.

Generally speaking, these new discourses can be initially subsumed under a series of attributes when compared to the traditional notion, as discussed below.

2.2.2 Do the Future and the Present Matter More Than the Past?

Traditionally, age is a critical attribute when deciding whether an object can be designated as heritage or not. The age of an object implies its unique value, importance and authority due to its intrinsic rarity, authenticity and objectivity. Owing to these attributes, heritage such as monuments has been used to perpetuate the existence of nation-states.

Nevertheless, an increasing number of scholars assert that the age factor is not so significant or that it is unnecessary to help designate heritage. To them, the attribute of time still matters but the word heritage is more associated with the present than the past. Being regarded as a meta-narrative, the past in traditional heritage discourse has been criticised for being ‘perceived and defined’ (Harvey 2001, 327).

In contrast with increasing scepticism about the past, there has been a shift in the emphasis when the importance of the present to heritage is discussed. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 2) refer to ‘the straightforward definition of heritage as the contemporary use of the past’. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996, 20) contend that heritage refers to ‘a contemporary product shaped from history’. Harvey (2008, 19) similarly contends that ‘heritage as a present-centred phenomenon’. These different views provide us with a reflective insight into the nature and social function of heritage. Besides, a similar statement ‘Every true history is contemporary history’ (Croce 1960, 12) reveals the unavoidable interpretation from the present in the production of history. In other words, ‘heritage is a view from the present, either backward to a past or forward to a future. In both cases, the view point cannot be other than now’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2). It is no wonder that one of Orwell’s characters claimed ‘Who controls the past, controls the future: who controls the present controls the past’ (Orwell 2004, 309).

For some people, heritage is more closely related to the future than to the present. ‘If these concerns, however, focus upon the ways in which we use the past now, or upon the attempts of a present to project aspects of itself into an imagined future, then we are engaged with heritage’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2). Therefore, heritage is no longer formed by the past only, but is, even more, produced by the present and the future. Harvey (2008, 20) even advances a temporal scope that suggests overturning ‘the traditional historical concern for imposing a supposedly objective chronology onto a linear past receding behind us, by foregrounding the importance of both contemporary context, and of concern for the future’. He also uses Holtorf’s idea to explain the role of heritage. Holtorf (2009, 2.6) metaphorically asserts that heritage can be described as a vehicle (often, but not only, a site) and that it can transfer ‘cultural memory’ (Holtorf 2009) and other elements contained in ‘history culture’ (Holtorf 2009).

Concerning cultural memory, Holtorf (2009, 2.0) defines it as ‘the collective understandings of the past as they are held by a people in any given social and historical context’. However, cultural memory is always inextricable from politics and has become an arena of power because accounts about the past, to be meaningful, must unavoidably be embedded within a particular cultural and material context of time. This is why people remember the past in order to emphasise the significance of comprehending how people situate themselves with respect to the future. In this perspective, heritage is understood as ‘prospective memory’ (Holtorf 2009, 2.0), a set of symptoms that signify a desired future

– reflecting both future pasts and past futures. ‘It is now largely agreed that most heritage has little intrinsic worth. Rather, values are placed upon artifacts or activities by people who...do so through a whole series of lenses...nationality; religion; ethnicity; class; wealth; gender; personal history; and that strange lens known as “insideness”’(Harvey 2008, 2). ‘In sum, therefore, heritages are present-centred and are created, shaped and managed by, and in response to, the demands of the present’ (Harvey 2008, 2).

2.2.3 Not Objective but Subjective

From the traditional point of view, objects are the most important things in heritage because of their intrinsic value, significance, aesthetic and meaning. Without material, heritage can hardly be called heritage. Nevertheless, the idea of objectivity that is based on physical artefacts has gradually become challenged because the values added to it are also subjective. Therefore, it is not truly objective but illusory because it takes certain assumptions for granted. Once the focus of heritage is not confined to misleading objects but shifts to different meanings, however, the spectrum of heritage naturally widens and many alternative perspectives appear. For example, Harvey (2008, 1) advocates the idea that ‘heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself...’ He observes the complex interaction between objective artefacts and subjective interpretation in the process of producing meaning. Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 2) further argue that ‘the present needs of people’ form the critical defining factor in their concept of heritage. In this respect, the focus of the heritage idea shifts from dead objects to living people. People in the present are no longer mere ‘passive receivers or transmitters’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2) of heritage, but become active ‘creators’ of heritage for ‘a range of contemporary purposes’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2), with heritage not an isolated object but a ‘value-laden concept’ (Harvey 2008, 20). Since people are no longer simply external appreciators and have become positively involved actors, increasingly often ‘heritage is subjective and filtered with reference to the present’ (Harvey 2008, 20) and that ‘the debate concerning the existence of the past as an objective reality is not a precondition for the creation of heritage’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2).

2.2.4 Not Static Objects but Dynamic Processes

If the focus on heritage study shifts away from physical, neutral and static objects, it will inevitably confront more spiritual, subjective and dynamic issues. Smith (2006, 2)

advocates ‘heritage not so much as a “thing”, but as a cultural and social “process”’. She argues that ‘Stonehenge, for instance, is basically a collection of rocks in a field’ (Smith 2006, 3) and that it is the process in which cultural activities are undertaken that contributes values and meanings to these lifeless objects to make them heritage. Under her contention, heritage is no more an isolated object with innate significance or inherent value but rather the dynamic, interactive process by which heritage is constituted. Lowenthal (1998, 226) states that heritage is ‘far from being fatally predetermined or God given, [heritage] is in large measure our own marvellously malleable creation’.

Harvey(2008, 19) also emphasises that ‘heritage is about the process by which people use the past’ and ‘a present-centered process’ (Harvey 2008, 20). From this perspective, heritage is part of the ‘human condition’ (Harvey 2008, 20) which has an inextricable relationship with power, claiming to provide a ‘historical narrative of heritage as a process’ (Harvey 2008, 19). He regards heritage ‘as a process, or a verb, related to human action and agency, and as an instrument of cultural power in whatever period of time one chooses to examine’ (Harvey 2001, 327). In other words, Harvey uses Holtorf’s concept of ‘heritage as a vehicle’ (Holtorf, 2009, 2.6) to show us ‘how cultural memory has developed over time – how collective understandings of the past have reflected changing social and historical contexts – and have been articulated through numerous places, objects...that may be denoted as “heritage”’ (Harvey 2008, 21).

2.2.5 The Democratisation of Heritage

Owing to the emergence of different heritage concepts, the interpretation of heritage has been broadened recently and forms a spectrum. The various contributing authors with differing opinions and features all seem to agree only that ‘heritage is very difficult to define’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Harvey 2008; Lowenthal 1998; Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996), with Lowenthal (1998) and Graham (2000) implying ‘an innate sense of dispute – or dissonance – within heritage’ (Lowenthal 1998, 226) that Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 3) had also noted. However, another thing they have in common is that ‘over time there has been an increase in the level of what might be termed “democracy” within the construction and consumption of heritage’ (Harvey 2008, 22). This feature ironically may be the origin of the innate dissonance in the heritage approach because diversity is a hallmark of democracy. Facing the challenge of alternative viewpoints and approaches, the traditional myth of heritage conservation is not so overwhelming these days, although it may still be dominant and accounted the

major voice in heritage conservation. The alternative approaches are still germinating and need time to develop and be examined. Nevertheless, it would be naïve to ignore these alternative approaches and believe that the AHD can retain the dominance it had in the past.

2.3 A Brief Review of the Expansion of Heritage Concepts Based on International Conservation Documents

Generally regarded as the origin of modern heritage conservation concepts, William Morris's SPAB Manifesto in 1877 is an appropriate place to start, the main reference point for the transformation of international conservation concepts. At the time, social elitist proponents such as Morris were endeavouring to conserve "ancient buildings" or "ancient monuments of art" which they believed should be preserved as nearly intact as possible because these people could and should 'put Protection in the place of Restoration, to stave off decay by daily care...' (Morris 1877). According to Morris, the most important thing for every generation in treating the 'undoubted gains of our time' (Morris 1877b) was to '... protect our ancient buildings, and hand them down instructive and venerable to those that come after us' (Morris 1877). Morris's idea can represent the prototype of the modern concept of heritage as something which is supposed to be treasured and protected by contemporaries in order 'to ensure they are passed on to future generations for their enjoyment' (English Heritage 2013).

In Morris' day, heritage was mostly restricted to ancient buildings or, more precisely, monuments of art or antiquity, to quote his wording in the Manifesto. However, no matter how this venerable manifesto may have contributed to later heritage conservation practices, to some extent it also reflected specific class perspectives and the consciousness of a cultural elite, as Morris' argument reveals: 'over which educated, artistic people would think it worthwhile to argue at all' (Morris 1877). To be frank, what they were mainly concerned with was the 'unmistakable fashion of time', the 'appearance of antiquity', 'most interesting material features' or 'anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial' (Morris 1877). Morris and his thoughts about heritage were beyond the comprehension of ordinary people because they did not have the knowledge or education to appreciate these ancient buildings. From the very outset, heritage was made mysterious as a professional affair which, like the appreciation of antiquities, was beyond the capacity of people in the street. This became a significant characteristic in the following discourse on heritage.

The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments in 1931 and the Venice Charter produced by the Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments (CATHM) in 1964 saw both charters adopt the jargon 'historic monument' to refer to heritage 'in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant

development or an historic event' (ICOMOS1964). Nevertheless, there was one thing worth noting, that the term "ancient" used by Morris (1877) was superseded by the word "historic", which not only included things that occurred a long time ago but also more recent objects, assigning them special importance related to history. At this stage, heritage still belonged to the past though not the very ancient past; but it gradually started to relate to all the important events in history. In addition, the word 'value' became for the first time one of the essential justifications of heritage meanings in documents which are usually associated with artistic, historic or scientific interest.

Shortly after the Venice Charter, the heritage jargon underwent a dramatic change. In 1968, the UNESCO Convention adopted a new term to signify heritage: "cultural property". It was a milestone in both the boundaries and the definition of heritage. On the one hand, it employed a more general wording of cultural property to refer to heritage. At the time, heritage was regarded as property, similar to land, buildings and possessions, with the slightest difference between them being that the latter could be purely real estate, whilst the former held some interest related to culture. Beside the term 'cultural property' a more ambiguous word, 'cultural', was employed (mentioned in Chapter 2.3), with culture being a term with 164 different definitions (Kroeber and Kluckhohn 1952). That is to say, once the meaning of heritage involved the issue of culture, there was an unavoidable explosion in both the boundaries and meanings of the heritage concept, though the people at the conferences did not realise it nor intend to trigger it at the time.

On the other hand, this meeting separated heritage into two major types: one involving the immovable, including archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures and historic quarters in urban or rural built-up areas, ethnological structures and so on; the other involving movable properties such as artefacts found at archaeological or historical sites. The UNESCO Convention of 1968 was a watershed for the redrawing of heritage boundaries because it excluded movable property such as artefacts and made them the focus of museum collections. However, this discrimination may in fact have been the result of a political compromise because it reserved the field for the International Council of Museums (ICOMOS) to deal with. Nevertheless, immovability became a significant feature of heritage.

Nevertheless, the terminology "cultural property" may have sounded somewhat philistine. In 1972, a new phrase "heritage" replaced the term "cultural property" and broadened its content into a new horizon, which even ambitiously included the non-artificial dimension, nature. Again, the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection

of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage expanded the boundaries of heritage into two more general fields: cultural heritage and natural heritage.

The targets of cultural heritage were still mainly aimed at traditional items such as ‘architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features’ (UNESCO 1972), but what is worth noting is that the value of more humble buildings began to be appreciated. Although in a collective form, groups of buildings started to attract the attention of heritage experts because ‘their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science’ (UNESCO 1972). Even though the areas surrounding historic sites or urban settings had been noted in the Athens Charter, they were just an auxiliary background and affiliated only to the main focus, that of historic monuments. Therefore, the objects of conservation were no longer confined to a single building and its sites, as they had been in the past, but gradually extended to groups of buildings or even to a city block that could be regarded as an area of urban conservation.

In addition, value emerged again as the main cause for something to be recognised as heritage because it embodied outstanding universal qualities that were appreciated from a historic, artistic and scientific perspective (UNESCO 1972). However, more or less everything contains some value, so it became an imperative to discriminate their importance and priority. UNESCO naturally came to the conclusion that outstanding universal values had a higher priority than normal local values. It may sound quite reasonable; nevertheless, this thesis argues that it may sometimes be a cover or excuse for the vested interests of a certain class or ideology. This point is discussed in more detail after the expansion of heritage values is reviewed.

Once the scope of heritage was ambitiously extended beyond static and more simple architectural sites, it gradually began to face unexpected controversies that exceeded even the optimistic imagination of previous heritage conservationists. Heritage experts began to face some self-imposed dilemmas that were quite different from the traditional architectural or archaeological topics. For example, the European Charter of Architectural Heritage in 1975 brings up the issue of social problems, such as the impact of gentrification that often occurs after conservation practices, causing concern about breaches of social justice. This was why a more comprehensive conservation approach was immediately proposed; that is, ‘Integrated Conservation’ (Council of Europe 1975), which sensed the undervalued non-material issues of heritage conservation beyond the

traditional emphasis on the physical and material. According to the previous charter, ‘integrated conservation is achieved by the application of sensitive restoration techniques and the correct choice of appropriate functions’ and ‘integrated conservation depends on legal, administrative, financial and technical support’ (Council of Europe 1975).

One may wonder what the undervalued non-material issues of heritage conservation are. This is quite a complex topic, to be explored in more detail later. In this section, it is enough to invoke Henri Lefebvre’s statements to preliminarily explain the issues of space that is inextricably involved in the physical environment but often overlooked by conservation experts.

‘Is space a social relation? Yes, certainly, but it is inherent in the relation of property (the ownership of land, in particular); it is also linked to the productive forces that fashion this land. Space is permeated with social relations; it is not only supported by social relations, but it also is producing and produced by social relations’ (Lefebvre 2009, 186).

Lefebvre’s interpretation of space embraces that which is formed by buildings or architectural heritage. Space is not only an empty area but is the product of social relations. That is to say, on the one hand, it is social relations that result in a particular cultural form, architectural appearance and site planning. On the other, the particular cultural form, architectural appearance and site planning form a reflection of social relations. For example, it is the religious doctrine, the practice of worship, the organisation of clergy and the pietistic followings that together crystallised the forms of churches admired by conservationists. Nevertheless, those conservationists were usually attracted by the physical appearance of heritage and overlooked the social relations that created such a fascinating cultural achievement. This gap may not be particularly significant in a single building or small area heritage case, but when the conservation area reaches a block or shifts to the urban scale, this gap can cause very clear controversy.

In the case of the European Charter of the Architectural Heritage, experts sensed the problem of the expellant effects, or gentrification, caused by heritage conservation practices on the original residences, in terms of the effect of social justice or social issues. One example is the Declaration of Amsterdam by the Congress concerning the European Architectural Heritage (1975), which emphasises that ‘this does not necessitate a major change in the social composition of the resident; all sections of society should share in the benefits of restoration financed by public funds’. Social justice and social problems

then became important issues. Nevertheless, the expulsion from the original residences was not a purely social problem but also a heritage-related issue to do with conservation. In Lefebvre's interpretation, social relations within a space and its associated heritage are inextricable from each other, or two sides of the same coin, so the residences' lives are essential to the maintenance and sustainability of heritage. For instance, some vernacular pieces of architecture were deemed valuable heritage but their erection, maintenance and renovation depended on cooperation by neighbours or collective support from others living in the same village. Therefore, this kind of heritage was in fact a critical part of their way of life and could not be separated from the society and conserved in isolation.

After awareness had been raised about social issues within a heritage space, it was no surprise to find in the following years more insightful and inspiring concepts emerging in the conservation field. For instance, in 1979, the Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance, also known as the Burra Charter, revolutionarily advocated a more integrated concept of heritage; the term "Place" was referred to as a 'site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views' (Australia ICOMOS 1979) with cultural significance. The so-called cultural significance not only included traditional values of aesthetic, historic, or scientific interest but also emphasised 'social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations' (Australia ICOMOS 1979) .

This thesis argues that the Burra Charter widened the horizon of the heritage concept and introduced a more comprehensive and integrated approach, looking at a bigger picture of heritage than traditional Western heritage discourse had done. There are several reasons for this. First, place was deemed a more comprehensive and integrated term expressing multiple meanings and the complexity of a heritage space, and did not narrowly focus on visible physical remains but also considered the value of those invisible dimensions or relations that are essential to the formation, maintenance or sustainability of heritage. The term 'place' broke the traditional boundaries of heritage as a property and perceived other non-traditional elements such as 'components, contents, spaces and views' (Australia ICOMOS 1979). Some people may challenge whether these should be categorised as intangible heritage but this thesis argues later that this kind of view may simplify the depth of heritage and avoid the deeper issues of heritage definitions. Another reason is that the Burra Charter employed the wording 'cultural significance' more often than 'value' to express the reason for conserving heritage. This change in wording reveals the difference in people's understanding or cognition of the issues, so the Burra Charter

emphasises the need for heritage in the accomplishment or sustainability of a particular culture, rather than the isolated worth of heritage itself without its associated cultural context. Cultural significance may exist in various ways and be ‘embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects’ (Australia ICOMOS 1979). What is most important is that ‘Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups’ (Australia ICOMOS 1979), an idea that allows the possibility of interpreting the meanings of heritage in multiple ways and not from one perspective only.

In addition, in 1982, the Deschambault Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage advanced the idea that heritage is ‘the combined creations and products of nature and man, in their entirety, that make up the environment in which we live in space and time’ (ICOMOS 1982). This suggests that heritage ‘is a very comprehensive term that includes three major entities: material culture (cultural properties) and the geographic and human environments’ and that ‘this broad definition of our national heritage includes, then, all the elements of our civilisation...’(ICOMOS 1982). The Deschambault Charter tried to integrate different understandings of heritage in a more comprehensive way, with the scope of heritage potentially including all the necessary parts of a people’s civilisation. Again, heritage serves to expand boundaries and horizons.

The next document is the Washington Charter in 1987, which mainly concerned the conservation of historic towns and urban areas, and claimed to conserve their natural and man-made environment as a single entity. Furthermore, it asserted that the ‘qualities to be preserved include the historic character of the town or urban area and all ...material and spiritual elements’ (ICOMOS 1987). Therefore, not only was it the physical fabric but also the spiritual constituents of the historical character that became the content of heritage and were deemed important to conserve, such as ‘urban patterns, the relationship between the town or urban area, and the various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time’ (ICOMOS 1987). All these elements unavoidably involve social relations which influence conservation practices.

Besides social issues, there was another augmentation in the varieties of heritage. For instance, in the ‘Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore’ in 1989, for the first time, the intangible item ‘folklore (or traditional and popular culture)’ (UNESCO 1989) was recognised as heritage, and was defined as:

‘the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognised as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts’ .

Again, the significances or values did not come from the recognition of nation but from local communities, a group or individuals. The value of “Identity” emerged and became the essential constituent of heritage. What was more important, this Recommendation indicated the various transmissions, containers or forms of intangible heritage that had quite different characteristics from those implied by traditional physical heritage. By 2003, intangible cultural heritage had gained its official status as heritage, as announced at the UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

In addition, in the meantime, Identity, Diversity and Pluralism also gradually became buzzwords that declared the pluralisation of heritage both in its concept and its categories. For example, in the 2005 Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (aka The Faro Convention), it recognised the access of individuals to the cultural heritage of their choice as a human right, as well as its benefits in enhancing ‘sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society’ (Council of Europe 2005).

Table 2.1 : The expansion of the meaning of heritage in international conservation documents

Year	Document	Terminology	Main heritage concepts	Reference
1877	The SPAB Manifesto	Ancient Buildings	Ancient monuments of art Anything that can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique or substantial	The SPAB Manifesto: The Principles of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings as Set Forth upon its Foundation,1877 If, for the rest, it be asked us to specify what kind of amount of art, style, or other interest in a building makes it worth protecting, we answer, anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worth while to argue at all.
1931	The Athens Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments	Historic Monument	Character and historical value Monuments of artistic, historic or scientific interest	The First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments Article 2. Proposed Restoration projects are to be subjected to knowledgeable criticism to prevent mistakes which will cause loss of character and historical values to the structures. 7. Attention should be given to the protection of areas surrounding historic sites. II. The Conference heard the statement of legislative measures devised to protect monuments of artistic, historic or scientific interest and belonging to the different countries.

1964	Venice Charter	Historic monument	Architectural works, including in urban and rural settings	<p>International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites (the Venice Charter), CATHM, 1964</p> <p>Article 1. The concept of an historic monument embraces not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilisation, a significant development or an historic event.</p>
1968	General Conference of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, meeting in Paris from 15 October to 20 November 1968.	Cultural property	<p>(a) Immovables, archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures historic quarters in urban or rural built-up areas...the ethnological structures</p> <p>(b) Movable property</p>	<p>Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private works 19 November 1968</p> <p>I. Definition:</p> <p>1. For the purpose of this recommendation, the term 'cultural property' applies to:</p> <p>(a) Immovables, such as <u>archaeological and historic or scientific sites, structures</u> or other features of historic, scientific, artistic or architectural value, whether religious or secular, including -groups of traditional structures, <u>historic quarters in urban or rural built-up areas</u> and <u>the ethnological structures</u> of previous cultures still extant in valid form. It applies to such immovables constituting ruins existing above the earth as well as to archaeological or historic remains found within the earth. The term cultural property also includes the setting of such property;</p> <p>(b) Movable property of cultural importance including</p>

				that existing in or recovered from immovable property and that concealed in the earth, which -may be found' in archaeological or historical sites or elsewhere.
1972	The UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage	Cultural heritage Natural heritage	Monuments Groups of buildings Sites	<p>I. Definition of the Cultural and Natural Heritage Article 1</p> <p>monuments: architectural works, works of monumental sculpture and painting, elements or structures of an archaeological nature, inscriptions, cave dwellings and combinations of features, which are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;</p> <p>groups of buildings: groups of separate or connected buildings which, because of their architecture, their homogeneity or their place in the landscape, are of outstanding universal value from the point of view of history, art or science;</p> <p>sites: works of man or the combined works of nature and of man, and areas including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological point of view.</p>

1975	Council of Europe's	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Architectural Heritage ·Integrated conservation ·Social justice 	Historic monuments, groups of buildings and surroundings	<p>The European Charter of the Architectural Heritage</p> <p>7. Integrated conservation averts these dangers. Integrated conservation is achieved by the application of sensitive restoration techniques and the correct choice of appropriate functions ... Their deterioration must be undertaken in a spirit of social justice and should not cause the departure of the poorer inhabitants. Because of this, conservation must be one of the first considerations in all urban and regional planning. It should be noted that integrated conservation does not rule out the introduction of modern architecture into areas containing old buildings provided that the existing context, proportions, forms, sizes and scale are fully respected and traditional materials are used.</p> <p>8. Integrated conservation depends on legal, administrative, financial and technical support.</p>
1975	Congress on the European Architectural Heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ·Architectural Heritage ·Integrated conservation ·Social composition 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individual buildings of exceptional quality and their surroundings • All areas of towns or villages of historic or cultural interest. • The heritage of tomorrow (contemporary new buildings) 	<p>The Declaration of Amsterdam</p> <p>b. The architectural heritage includes not only individual buildings of exceptional quality and their surroundings, but also all areas of towns or villages of historic or cultural interest.</p> <p>f. The rehabilitation of old areas should be conceived and carried out in such a way as to ensure that, where possible, this does not necessitate a major change in the social composition of the residents; all sections of</p>

				<p>society should share in the benefits of restoration financed by public funds.</p> <p>k. Since the new buildings of today will be the heritage of tomorrow, every effort must be made to ensure that contemporary architecture is of a high quality.</p>
1979	The Australian ICOMOS charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance	Places of cultural significance (cultural heritage places)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Place Site, area, building...group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views. • Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups. • Fabric All the physical material of the place including components, 	<p>Burra Charter</p> <p>Article 1.1 place, referring to site, area, building or other work, group of buildings or other works, and may include components, contents, spaces and views.</p> <p>Article 1.2 cultural significance means aesthetic, historic, scientific, social or spiritual value for past, present or future generations. Cultural significance is embodied in the place itself, its fabric, setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects. Places may have a range of values for different individuals or groups.</p> <p>Article 1.3 fabric means all the physical material of the place including components, fixtures, contents, and objects.</p> <p>Article 1.4 Conservation means all the processes of looking after a place so as to retain its cultural significance.</p>

			fixtures, contents and objects.	
1982	ICOMOS Canada	<p>1 Heritage: ·The combined creations and products of nature and man ·A reality, a possession of the community and a rich inheritance ·A very comprehensive term</p> <p>2 National heritage</p>	<p>1 Material culture (cultural properties) architecture, archaeological and ethnographical objects, iconography, written archives, furniture, art objects and, in sum, the whole of the material environment in which we live.</p> <p>2 The geographic environments.</p> <p>3 The human environments.</p>	<p>Deschambault Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (1982) DEFINITION OF HERITAGE AND PRESERVATION Heritage is defined as ‘the combined creations and products of nature and man, in their entirety, that make up the environment in which we live in space and time. Heritage is a reality, a possession of the community, and a rich inheritance that may be passed on, which invites our recognition and our participation’.</p> <p>Heritage, in our view, is a very comprehensive term that includes three major entities: material culture (cultural properties) and the geographic and human environments. ‘...that the people in their environment, who have their own customs and traditions, whose memory is furnished with a particular folklore, and whose way of living is adapted to this specific setting...’.</p> <p>‘This broad definition of our national heritage includes, then, all the elements of our civilisation...’.</p>
1987	The ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (to complement the Venice Charter)	Historic Towns and Urban Areas	Historic urban areas, together with their natural and man-made environments, urban cultures and	<p>Washington Charter 1987 (The ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas) PREAMBLE AND DEFINITIONS This charter concerns historic urban areas ... together with their natural and man-made environments.</p>

			<p>historic character (material and spiritual elements that express this character)</p>	<p>2. Qualities to be preserved include the historic character of the town or urban area and all those material and spiritual elements that express this character, especially:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Urban patterns as defined by lots and streets; b) Relationships between buildings and green and open spaces; c) The formal appearance, interior and exterior, of buildings as defined by scale, size, style, construction, materials, colour and decoration; d) The relationship between the town or urban area and its surrounding setting, both natural and man-made; and e) The various functions that the town or urban area has acquired over time. <p>Any threat to these qualities would compromise the authenticity of the historic town or urban area.</p>
1989	UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore	Folklore	Totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community	<p>Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore</p> <p>A. Definition of folklore</p> <p>Folklore (or traditional and popular culture) is the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognised as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language,</p>

				literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture and other arts.
2001	UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity	Cultural diversity	Identity, diversity and pluralism Common heritage of humanity	<p>UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity</p> <p>Identity, Diversity and Pluralism</p> <p>Article 1 – Cultural diversity: the common heritage of humanity</p> <p>Culture takes diverse forms across time and space. This diversity is embodied in the uniqueness and plurality of the identities of the groups and societies making up humankind. As a source of exchange, innovation and creativity, cultural diversity is as necessary for humankind as biodiversity is for nature. In this sense, it is the common heritage of humanity and should be recognised and affirmed for the benefit of present and future generations.</p>
2003	UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage	Intangible cultural heritage	Practices, representations, expressions, knowledge and skills Cultural diversity Sustainable development Human rights Economic, social and cultural rights	<p>Referring to existing international human rights instruments, in particular to the Universal Declaration on Human Rights of 1948, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights of 1966, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966.</p> <p>I. General provisions Article 2 (Definitions)</p> <p>1. The intangible cultural heritage means the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and</p>

			Civil and political Rights	cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognise as part of their cultural heritage.
2005	Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society (aka ‘The Faro convention’)	An enlarged and cross-disciplinary concept of cultural heritage	Human Rights	<p>Preamble Emphasising the value and potential of cultural heritage wisely using a resource for sustainable development and quality of life in a constantly evolving society; Recognising that every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice, while respecting the rights and freedoms of others; Convinced of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage;</p> <p>Section I – Article 1 – The Parties to this Convention agree to: recognise that rights relating to cultural heritage are inherent in the right to participate in cultural life, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights...</p>

2.4 Heritage under the Cultural Turn of Politics

2.4.1 Heritage and Politics

From the historical review of the origins of heritage in 2.1, above, many scholars have pointed out that close relations exist between heritage and politics (Byrne 1991; Cleere 1989; Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000). This section further explores the influence of politics on heritage, governance and the cultural turns on public administration. There are two main reasons for examining the theoretical connection between heritage and politics.

First, as Easton (1960) points out, the effects of the political system can be recognised as ‘the authoritative allocation of values for a society’ (Easton 1960, 129), further explaining that the allocation’s being authoritative means that ‘The people to whom it is intended to apply or who are affected by it consider that they must or ought to obey it.’ (Easton 1960, 132). From this perspective, politics can be regarded as ‘that system of interactions in any society to which...binding or authoritative allocations are made and implemented’ (Easton 1965, 50).

Heritage gained its legal status as heritage only after the recognition by governments that exerted privileged political power to announce that one set of things can be treated as heritage. Based on Easton’s concepts, this thesis argues that the designation of heritage is in fact one of the forms of ‘the authoritative allocation of values for a society’ (Easton 1960, 129), because the state exerts its power to decide what can be regarded as heritage, to be well conserved, and what ought to be treated as worthless, and hence abandoned. In the process of designating or managing heritage, archaeological knowledge plays an important role. On the one hand, archaeologists believe in examining objects that they provide objective, neutral and de-politicised knowledge to help authorities make decisions about whether to designate something as heritage or not. On the other, based on an epistemological shift from modern to postmodern, there are some voices that challenge the objectivity of archaeological knowledge. However, no matter which side one supports, the common strand between them is that archaeology becomes what Rose and Miller (1992) refer to as a ‘technology of government’. It is necessary to further explore the interconnections between politics and heritage.

Second, as Harvey (2008, 22) observes, there has been an emerging turn that can be called democracy on the construction and consumption of heritage. Therefore, the right to interpret what heritage is and how conservation should be practised seems no longer to

be confined to a small group of the cultural elite or heritage professionals, as we can observe from the dissonance in the various heritage discourses revealed in this chapter. Facing these diverse, and sometimes even conflicting, attitudes towards heritage, the analytical concepts from the political perspectives can provide an insightful and inspiring vantage point from which to elucidate all the outwardly controversial attitudes on heritage and reveal the commonalities among them.

2.4.2 From Government to Governance

Many scholars note that a broad wave of public sector reforms has washed over many Western countries since the 1980s (Kjær 2004; Kooiman 2003; Rhodes 2007; Schmitt 2011). These reforms have included the privatisation, and decentralisation of public administration, and an emphasis on enterprise and networking. The term governance is widely used to describe this significant phenomenon in the public domain and to explore its multifaceted influences in such varied fields as politics, economics, urban planning, cultural studies and geography. The term governance is believed to have close relation with neoliberalism as Ives (2015, para. 2) pointed out that ‘A new model of governmental management, namely the concept of governance, has been employed by neoliberals to help achieve their goals’. Ives (2015) further indicates:

it is also important to note that neoliberals have appropriated the term and have managed to impose their own definition. As such, “governance” has come to be understood as a specific form of management, originally used in the private sector but that increasingly has been adopted by government, which recreates the mechanisms of a free market for the decision-making process. (Ives 2015, para. 3)

Although there is still no common definition of governance, generally speaking, it refers to a new type of government that is different from the traditional mode of rule and has become a critical analytical concept in related studies focusing on the public domain. The term governance is derived from the Greek verb *kubernân* which means ‘to pilot or steer’ (Kjær 2004, 3; Schmitt 2011) or ‘steering a boat’ (Peters 2012; Schmitt 2011) and has been used as a synonym for the word government; note the definition of governance in the Concise Oxford Dictionary: ‘the act or manner of governing; the office or function of governing’. ‘To govern is to rule or control with authority; to be in government’ (Kjær 2004, 3). However, according to its use by political scientists nowadays, the new meaning of governance differs to some extent from the word ‘government’ as used in the past,

often implying more than or beyond the official government, and usually including non-government actors such as the third sector, markets and so on. The operation of governance is confined not only to the traditional hierarchical administrative system but also includes more complex horizontal cooperation and network coordination. In this way, the boundaries of public government are gradually blurring because of the involvement of the private sector, markets and civil society.

Theoretically speaking, there is still no consensus among scholars on the definition, content and theories of governance, with Kooiman (2003, 5) stating that ‘we are still in a period of creative disorder concerning governance’. This “creative disorder” may be due to the comprehensiveness and complexity of its conceptual coverage, in which Kjær (2004, 2) explains that ‘the usage of the concept of governance ... is applied in many different contexts and with as many different meanings ... it is difficult to get a clear picture of what governance theory is about’. Here are some illustrative definitions:

Governing can be considered as the totality of interactions in which public as well as private actors participate, aimed at solving societal problems or creating societal opportunities; attending to the institutions as contexts for these governing interactions; and establishing a normative foundation for all those activities. Governance can be seen as the totality of theoretical conceptions on governing (Kooiman 2003, 4).

Governance refers to self-organising, inter-organizational networks characterized by interdependence, resource-exchange, rules of the game, and significant autonomy from the state (Rhodes 2007, 15).

Global governance is conceived to include systems of rule at all levels of human activity – from the family to the international organization – in which the pursuit of goals through the exercise of control has transnational repercussions (Rosenau 1995, 13).

Governance is the stewardship of the formal and informal political rules of the game. Governance refers to those measures that involve setting the rules for the exercise of power and settling conflicts over such rules (Hyden 1999, 185).

The reason why it is difficult to reach a consensus on the definition of governance is that it refers to a range of phenomena that may be derived from similar interactions but appear across different levels from the local, regional, national, and supra-national to the

global, and across various fields of knowledge such as politics, geography, economics and so on. This thesis makes no claim to use an integrated and comprehensive concept of governance but tries to tease out some insightful and helpful ideas by reviewing various concepts of governance to rethink the meaning of heritage. Furthermore, it is also unnecessary, given the time constraints, to include all discourses on governance from various fields such as economics or geography, so this thesis will mainly focus on different perspectives on governance from the field of political science that is theoretically related to cultural government and heritage administration.

According to Kjær's analysis (2004), the various definitions of governance in political science can traditionally be categorised into three sub-fields: the first is public administration and public policy, the second international relations and the last comparative politics. Among the above definitions of governance, Rhodes's can be classified as deriving from the public administration and public policy field, which mainly focuses on the 'tasks, organisation, management and accountability structure of the public sector' and traditionally assumes that 'the public sector functioned best when it was apolitical, structured as a hierarchy, and based on a system of merit-recruitment and promotion' (Kjær 2004, 4). Such an objective, classified, systematic and vertical pyramidal power model in fact reflects the ideological assumption of modern government, based on the epistemology of technological rationality and modern science. Both adopt a realist stance and regard all phenomena in the world as objective and neutral, capable of scientific analysis and understandable by systematic study that features categorisation and division into specialist topics. This is the theoretical basis of the vertical, hierarchical organisation model for modern governments which are constructed from various special agencies and have a pyramidal control system. However, this rational and specialised sort of hierarchy has been increasingly criticised by scholars because it cannot effectively meet emerging challenges. During the 1980s, reforms took place in many Western countries, including the introduction of enterprise management skills into governments; privatisation; and the devolution of power from central government to lower levels such as regional political authorities or local governments. Additionally, third sector (or civil-society) organisations have become more involved in the provision of public services.

All these changes have resulted in the fragmentation of public services and political systems because an increasing number of non-governmental actors or organisations are now involved in public administration. It is also hard to categorise these actors using the traditional distinction between the public and private sectors. The focus of political

studies has started to shift to issues about the way in which these actors interact with each other in networks or ways to steer these autonomic or self-organising actors.

The second subfield is international relations, which is more related to Rosenau's (1995) global approach to the definition of governance. As Kjær (2004) notes, this strand of research on governance adopts the so-called realist paradigm which traditionally asserts that, at the global level, states are the most critical actors, research on international relational systems mainly depending on the relations or interactions between states. However, this approach has since been challenged by the gradual impact of globalisation, which blurs the sharp boundaries between nations, creating issues that need to be trans-nationally governed and that enable other non-state actors to become involved in international affairs. In other words, the state is no longer the only eligible actor to deal with global affairs. This is why new research interested in international relations focuses on the emergence of non-governmental or global organisations, such as the WTO and the World Bank. Regarding heritage, these concerns and approaches in the field of international relations on global governance can also provide some helpful insight into certain heritage issues related to international interactions, such as the designations of UNESCO World Heritage or particular trans-national heritage conservation organisations.

The last subfield concerns comparative politics, which is mainly engaged in the systematic comparison of different political systems (Almond 2000; Mair 1996). Kjær (2004) states that the major research interests in comparative politics before the Second World War mainly centred on comparing 'the constitutions of the various nations'. Then the research focus shifted to the input side of the political system, including political culture, parties and interest groups, and electoral behaviour. The study of the output side of the comparative effects of various state institutions, for instance the results of federal or unitary systems for tax levying, was revived in the 1980s. This time, the interactions between state and society also emerged as the new research agendas that Hyden's (1999) work on governance wanted to explore; it is referred to as the democratisation process approach.

Nevertheless, Kjær (2004) emphasises that the above categorisation of the three political science sub-fields cannot be regarded as completely rigid and mutually exclusive. On the contrary, more and more cases are coming to light that cannot be easily and simply classified into one of the three fields because in most cases two or even all of the subfields may be involved. For example, European integration was traditionally grouped with issues in the international relations field, but was also accompanied by unexpected side

problems such as multi-level governance and nations' policy adjustments under the impact of the EU, both of which fell into the study category of comparative politics. Generally speaking, the blurring of traditional boundaries in the political science sub-fields is a result of several factors, such as the various impacts of globalisation and state sovereignty undermined by the challenge of upper (trans-national organisations) or lower level groups (civil society). National policy-decisions are nowadays no longer purely domestic issues, but usually involve international factors.

Schmitt (2011, 19) argues that the emergence of governance and other items of the new jargon can be ascribed to four possible reasons: (1) the traditional governing models are incapable of explaining new political trends; (2) it is necessary to use a new buzzword to cover this shift in social and political circumstances, from the perspectives of a number of scholars; (3) scholars want to make themselves special, and (4) it arouses the special concerns of non-academic actors to use the term.

In a word, 'the increasing use of the concept of governance can be seen as a reaction to a change in political practices' (Kjær 2004, 6) or 'the fact that the traditional terms of sovereignty and government no longer appeared suitable for describing processes of making binding decisions and enforcing them in the present era' (Schmitt 2011, 19). The changes in political practice include an increasing number of actors being involved in the public domain, emerging networks crossing the boundaries between states, private and civil society, and the increasingly fragmented nature of public services. Despite the different focus of the individual definitions of governance, all 'refer to something broader than government' (Kjær 2004, 7) 'in the form of a legal ruling power that is based on an administrative apparatus' (Schmitt 2011, 19).

2.4.3 Governmentality

There is another important strand of thinking on governing, which uses a more power-oriented approach: governmentality, which challenges the production of knowledge. Knowledge is something that most people see as objective, neutral and universal, like the laws of physics. Nevertheless, after historically reviewing the definitions (discourses) of madness, Foucault (2001) found that so-called insaneness was no more than a statement or, in his word, a discourse. He observes that there is always a range of dominant and legitimate discourses, i.e. underlying conditions of truth, which control the relationship between people and society and that constituted what was acceptable as being scientific and reasonable in all periods of history. According to

Foucault, it is the “discourse” that unconsciously guides people to determine judgments about what is right or wrong, normal or abnormal, virtuous or vicious. For example, in the past, the idea of heterosexuality was prominent in most societies. To not be heterosexual, i.e. be homosexual, was to be evil. Accordingly, voices of otherness were firmly suppressed. In the name of objective knowledge, discourses gain enormous power since they decide whether the behaviour, the belief or even the thinking of people is wrong or right. Therefore, there is a close connection between knowledge, discourse and power; in other words, discourse links knowledge and power together.

Foucault (2001) then uses the method of genealogy and archaeology to trace the historical process of the development of the Enlightenment movement back to the origins of the human sciences, finding that even “Rationality” is also a ‘historical constitution’ (Oksala 2005, 145). Archaeology is the term that Foucault used to characterise his approach during the 1960s to exploring history. Archaeology is about reviewing the discursive traces and orders left by the past in order to write a ‘history of the present’ (Foucault 2012, 31). That is to say, archaeology is a way to examine history by realising the processes that have caused us to be what we are today. In fact, ‘Rationality’ itself also suffered miserable persecution in the past before it became the dominant standard. Nevertheless, after ‘Rationality’ reached the governing status, it also started to suppress alien opinions beyond its own orthodoxy, i.e. reason. One of the most significant examples is scientific knowledge. Scientific knowledge, as the authoritative knowledge paradigm that regulates almost all kinds of knowledge, has become after years of development the supreme truth and the only standard of knowledge. Many humanistic disciplines even lost self-confidence in their own fields and eagerly adopted so-called scientific approaches in their study as far as possible in order to gain kudos as scientific knowledge. However, it is doubtful whether all kinds of knowledge should adopt the paradigm of science.

What is more important is that neutral, objective scientific knowledge may be a cover or excuse for something subjective or biased, and could mislead one’s focus or attention beyond the nature of modern knowledge. Foucault (2001) claims that these conditions of discourse, or ‘episteme’, to use his term, have shifted over from one era to another. As a result, he concludes that modern knowledge is neither science nor the accumulation of man’s understanding of the world, but that knowledge is the distribution or deployment in a particular period of ‘visible’ and ‘articulable’ things which will change with time. From this perspective, Foucault concludes that knowledge is discontinuous and

disconnected and that there is always a disjuncture between different periods because the 'visible' and 'articulable' things vary with time. This is why the definition of madness changes over time and different periods have different standards of judgment, as 'power is exercised by virtue of things being known and people being seen' (Foucault 1980, 154).

Basically, from Foucault's perspective, 'power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared, something one holds on to or allows to slip away' (Foucault 1981, 94). He further argues that:

We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it 'excludes', it 'represses', it 'censors', it 'abstracts', it 'masks', it 'conceals'. In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production' (Foucault 1977, 194).

In a word, knowledge is not as objective or as neutral as it appears. On the contrary, it may contain some unconscious mechanisms of power and produce specific social effects. This will be an insightful perspective from which to review the heritage conservation discourse and to remove its objective and neutral cover. Based on this idea that discourse links knowledge and power together in a specific historical context, Foucault further advances the term 'governmentality', which is used to interpret the close connection between knowledge (discourse) and regime, and to challenge the effectiveness of the discourse of reason for the emancipation of human beings.

2.4.4 Cultural Heritage Governance

After the discussions in the previous sections on the various perspectives of cultural heritage and the emerging concepts of governance (governmentality), this section explores the inner connection between cultural heritage and governance. As its name suggests, the term 'cultural heritage' is regarded as a kind of cultural phenomenon, which implies that a relationship exists between heritage and culture. However, relatively few scholars set out to explore what this relationship is. The relationship between culture and heritage is similar to that between the contents, boundaries and images of heritage, which have been taken for granted, with no need to question it for long. The term 'cultural heritage' implicitly sees heritage as a particular domain of culture but seldom explicitly elucidates the linkage, interaction and influences between these two terms. This thesis argues that there is a critical relationship between heritage and culture that deeply affects the

meanings, boundaries and impact of heritage. Without consideration of this critical relationship, the consequent simplistic discussions on heritage will be de-contextualised and naive.

However, culture is a broader and more dissonant term even than heritage. As Raymond Williams states, 'Culture is one of the two or three most complicated words in the English language' (Williams 1976, 87). There is a long tradition of many academic fields, including 'classic humanities, social and cultural anthropology, cultural studies, the social sciences...cultural geography' (Schmitt 2011, 7) for centuries engaging in the study by various approaches and strands of the meanings and effects of culture. The perceptions of the study of culture by these diverse methods and different disciplines have led to a broad spectrum of the boundaries of culture. According to a report by Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952), there are 164 different definitions of culture. For example, culture has been defined as follows:

the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group from another (Hofstede 2001, 21).

The concept of culture is a value-concept. Empirical reality becomes 'culture' to us because and insofar as we relate it to value ideas (Weber and Shils 1949, 76).

[the culture concept] denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life... (Geertz 1973, 89)

Man is a biological being as well as a social individual. Among the responses which he gives to external stimuli, some are the full product of his nature, and others of his condition... But it is not always easy to distinguish between the two ... Culture is neither simply juxtaposed to nor simply superposed over life. In a way, culture substitutes itself to life, in another way culture uses and transforms life to realise a synthesis of a higher order (Lévi-Strauss 1969, 4).

In order to further concentrate on the accounts of culture, many scholars have tried to group these various explanations into fewer categories. Jenks (1993) advanced a 'four-fold typology' that describes culture as:

(1) a cerebral, or certainly a cognitive category: culture becomes intelligible as a general state of mind ... (2) a more embodied and collective category: culture invokes a state of intellectual and/or moral development in society ... (3) a descriptive and concrete category; culture viewed as the collective body of arts and intellectual work within any one society ... (4) a social category; culture regarded as the whole way of life of a people ... (Jenks 1993, 11–12)

Schmitt (2011) refers to Roper's (1997) summary on the distinction between three major meanings of culture, namely:

(1) culture in the sense of being cultivated, meaning civilized, (2) culture in the sense of creative, artistic activity, and finally (3) culture as a universal system of meaning and orientation typical of societies, organizations and groups (Schmitt 2011, 11).

Even academics devoted to the study of culture in different regions or countries use various titles that clearly reveal their differing perceptions from each other on this elusive topic: for example, *Kulturwissenschaften* (that is, Cultural science) in German, Cultural studies in British or Anglo-American, or Structuralism and Post-structuralism in France.

Owing to the lack of a consensual definition of culture, these diverse definitions or perspectives have resulted in two major outcomes that cultural science researchers have had to face. As Schmitt (2011, 11) points out, on the one hand, researchers to ensure effective communication must explain which understanding of culture they adopt. On the other, cultural science still has to manage other concepts that are not directly related to its study field but also have an important influence within society.

Under such considerations, Schmitt (2011) advocates a general idea to probe into the relations between culture and politics (governance):

If culture is understood as a code, as a reference to overarching sense and meaning relationships in human practices and institutions, then a cultural-governance approach would be the social steering of the production of sense and meaning (Schmitt 2011, 30).

On the basis of his interpretation of cultural governance, Schmitt further advances a general conceptual framework that he argues could suit different concepts and interpretations of culture, from narrow ideas to wide concepts, and supply an approach to this critical issue in social science and culture science research – the diverse

understanding of the definition of culture. In this case, various interpretations of culture, no matter what kind of understanding of culture they may refer to, from traditional high culture (narrow definition) such as fine art, opera or classical music to popular culture (wide definition), such as folk dance, customs, festivals, pop music and even Hollywood movies, could have corresponding interpretations through the same social- science-oriented cultural governance analytical perspective. That is to say, a different pattern of cultural governance evolves according to the kind of cultural concept that it adopts. Schmitt's analytical framework for the reconstruction of processes of cultural governance is presented in Fig. 2.1.

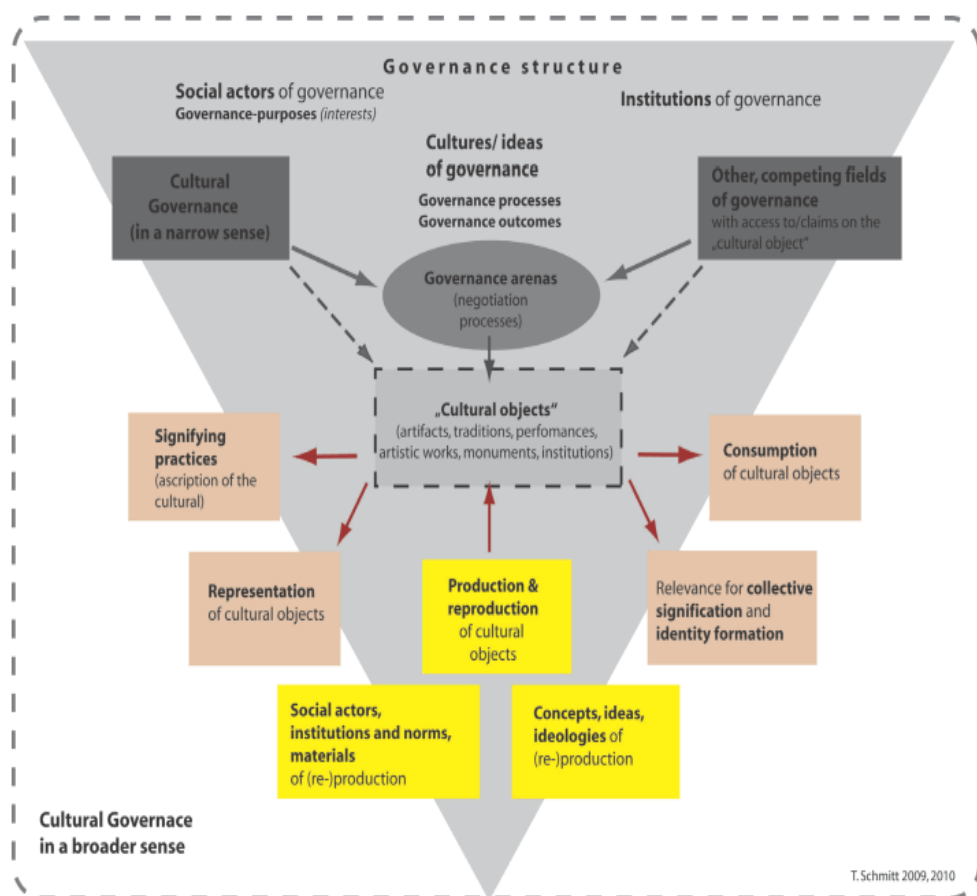


Fig. 2.1 Schmitt's analytical framework for the reconstruction of cultural governance processes (Schmitt 2011, 48)

In Schmitt's concept, 'objects become cultural objects through signifying practices or actions, through debates or standardized decision processes' (Schmitt 2011, 48). This applies also to heritage, if heritage is regarded as a cultural object. Therefore, things become heritage only after their official designation as heritage. In other words, 'Cultural governance in the narrow sense means that set of negotiations, actions and practices,

institutions and rules which are explicitly directed towards a certain object in its capacity as a cultural object (e.g. as a historical monument)' (Schmitt 2011, 48).

However, the affairs, actors or administrative powers related to cultural governance are not confined to cultural authorities or cultural circles alone, and such governance may involve other official authorities, such as space planning or economic development agencies, as actors with jobs in the tourism industry. In this case, cultural governance takes on a broad meaning. In addition to Schmitt, Rhodes and Bevir also advance analytical concepts of cultural governance, which include:

1 The implications of governance

- The boundaries between government, private sectors and the third sector are becoming increasingly blurred (Rhodes 1996, 658).
- Governance means governing with and through networks, with policy decisions the result of interactions between these sectors (Rhodes 1996, 658).
- 'Governance refers to: a new process of governing; or a changed condition of ordered rule; or the new method by which society is governed' (Rhodes 2007, 1246).

2 A decentred theory of governance:

- Arguing that network governance arises from the bottom up and suggesting that 'central intervention will undermine the bottom-up construction of governance' (Rhodes 2007, 1257).
- In contrast to the traditional hierarchical control standpoint, this theory advocates the idea of 'situated agency' (Bevir and Rhodes 2006, 4).
- The behaviour of the actor is a 'contingent individual choice' (Bevir 2007, 194) and is beyond the control of socialisation and institutions. Therefore, 'people's actions are explained by their beliefs ... and these beliefs are explained by traditions and modified by dilemmas' (Bevir 2007, 194).

3 Interpretive political science:

- 'Political science must necessarily be an interpretive art. This is because they hold that the starting point of enquiry must be to unpack the meanings, beliefs, and preferences of actors in order to then make sense of understanding actions, practices, and institutions' (Bevir 2015).
- There are two ways for political researchers to study politics: one is 'ethnography to extract people's beliefs and preferences'; the other is 'history to find traditions invented to respond to a specific dilemma' (Donovan 2006, 195).

- ‘A political scientist may select a part of the governance process, and then explain it by unpicking various political traditions and [showing] how actors within these traditions encounter and act to resolve dilemmas’ (Bevir 2007, 195).

In short, Rhodes (2007) argues that ‘political science is therefore an interpretative discipline underpinned by hermeneutic philosophy rather than positivism’ (Donovan 2006, 194). This interpretive turn has caused a shift in the public administration focus from management techniques and strategies to ‘a practice of learning by telling stories and listening to them’ (Rhodes 2007, 1257). Therefore, Rhodes (2007) argues that ‘storytelling’ has become a critical element in political activities and mainly developed from the collective memory, that is, tradition. ‘It is an organized, selective, retelling of the past to make sense of the present. Advisers explain past practice and events to justify recommendations for the future’ (Rhodes 2007, 1257).

The thesis argues that heritage, as physical evidence connected to the past and a concrete symbol used to interpellate the subjects, thus becomes an appropriate political agenda under the particular conjunction of economic and historical forces.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter first presented differing heritage discourses that could roughly be divided into two groups: the AHD and alternative heritage discourses. It then elucidated further nuances between these two concepts of heritage and introduced a much wider spectrum of heritage discourse with a common analytical scheme. This was followed by an introduction to the emerging concept of governance as a critical and insightful concept to help explain the dissonance in understandings of heritage; it presented a more controversial term than heritage culture, due to the close relationship between heritage and culture. Finally, some developments in the combined concept were discussed, such as cultural governance in the cultural sciences and the use of an analytical perspective. It was argued that it would be useful to understand the meaning and reasons for the dissonance in heritage discourses from the perspective of cultural governance. The change in heritage discourses can thus be understood by considering the corresponding shift in cultural steering, that is, from cultural government to cultural governance.

After a literature review, this study advanced two critical issues to further explore: first, it reviewed the chronological evolution of heritage concepts in a specific society by historical research to explore the associated set of negotiations, actions and practices, institutions and rules that result in the dynamic, value-added, interpretative and constructed dimensions of heritage under cultural governance. The second issue which this study attempts to explore is the synchronic attitudes of people towards heritage by Q methodology in order to understand the indigenous concepts of heritage in Taiwan.

Furthermore, inspired by the concept of cultural governance, this study suggests that one can adopt such a perspective to analyse heritage which can be regarded as a kind of production of social meanings, especially considering the multiple interactions among various social actors after the devolution of heritage administration in Taiwan. Based on this assumption, the study advances a hypothesis that heritage as a cultural object whose capacity, meanings and concepts were determined by the interactive negotiations, actions and struggles between various social actors during the process of heritage recognition. In this sense, heritage is not a static object which waits for professional identification, but rather the interactive result of struggles between various social actors who act from their own interests or motives.

Chapter 3 The Evolution of the Heritage Concept in Taiwan

After the brief review of the associated heritage literature, this study starts by examining the chronological transition of the heritage concept in the social, political and economic context of Taiwan in order to learn more about the inner dynamics in which the transition originated. Otherwise, we may not realise the special implications of so-called heritage at the time. According to the historical evidence, the evolution of heritage concepts in Taiwan can be generally divided into five phases:

3.1 A Society without the Concept of Material Conservation

Taiwan, formerly known as Formosa, is an island lying along the east-south coast of mainland China. Originally inhabited by indigenous people, Taiwan became a Chinese immigrant frontier in the seventeenth century and was ruled successively by several powers, namely the Dutch (1624-61), the Koxinga (1662-83), the Qing dynasty (1683-1895), the Japanese Empire (1895-1945) and the Republic of China (after 1945). Generally speaking, the ancestors of most Taiwanese were immigrants from mainland China between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Therefore, culture and customs in Taiwan have been deeply influenced by China. If one tries to explore the Taiwanese traditional attitudes towards the material heritage of the past, one cannot avoid examining the Chinese ideas on physical legacies first. As the oldest living civilisation on Earth, China was generally supposed to have great material heritage and attracted many foreigners to explore its grand monuments. However, visitors were quite surprised to find the real situation was not what they had previously thought. Du Bose (1911), one of the foreign travellers to visit China at the beginning of twentieth century, wrote his comments on the historic city Soochow:

There were no ancient ruins in the city. The local history tells us of many famous buildings which were the pride of the people in the centuries gone by, yet their walls were not built of hewn stone, as in Athens and Rome, so as to withstand the ravages of ages, but only of crumbling brick and of fancifully carved wood and which after a conflagration has swept away a block, or a destructive rebellion has drawn its plowshare through the streets, preserve nothing to tell the tale of their former glory (Du Bose 1911, 32).

One might think that the situation in Soochow was a special case. Mote (1973) and Ryckmans (2008) had similar observations:

In our tradition, we tend to equate the antique presence with authentically ancient physical objects. China has no ruins comparable to the Roman Forum, or even to Angkor Wat which is a thousand years younger. It has no ancient buildings kept continuously in use such as Rome's Pantheon and Istanbul's Hagia Sophia (Mote 1973, 49).

In the Chinese landscape, there is a material absence of the past that can be most disconcerting for cultivated Western travellers – especially if they approach China with the criteria and standards that are naturally developed in a European environment (Ryckmans 2008, n. p.) .

Ryckmans was not only a curious traveller but also a sinologist whose work particularly focused on the politics and traditional culture of China. Inspired by Victor Segalen (1878-1919), a remarkable poet, sinologist and archaeologist, Ryckmans (2008) further indicated that even though overall it might not be incorrect to state that the Chinese generally ignore the preservation of their physical cultural legacies, such a statement was valid only when it was based on certain premises. He pointed out that:

It seems that there is a paradox at the heart of this remarkable cultural longevity: cultivation of the moral and spiritual values of the Ancients appears to have most often combined with a curious neglect or indifference (even at times downright iconoclasm) towards the material heritage of the past (Ryckmans 2008, n. p.).

It seems confusing for foreigners to understand why the Chinese can extol the values of history and the past on the one hand, but also neglect material legacies on the other. Ryckmans (2008) argued that other civilizations from ancient Egypt, Greece and Rome to the modern West all fundamentally have energetic and offensive attitudes to confront and resist the ravages of age. They all used the most enduring and strongest material to ensure the eternity of their monumental building. Nevertheless, what they did merely deferred the victory of relentless time for a while. He went on,

The Chinese, on the contrary, have realised that - in Segalen's words – “nothing immobile can escape the hungry teeth of the ages”. Thus, the Chinese constructors yielded to the onrush of time, the better to deflect it ... the Chinese had realized that well, so the Chinese actually transferred the problem – eternity should not inhabit the building, it should inhabit the builder (Ryckmans 2008, n. p.).

Furthermore, this study points out that the observations made by Ryckmans and Segalehere were in fact made possible by the special concept of “tao” within Chinese philosophy which caused such a negative attitude to material conservation. As mentioned

in Chapter 1, “tao” which means ‘the way to go’ (Watts 2010, x) is regarded as one of the essential concepts in Chinese culture. One of the major ideas of tao is ‘the wisdom of...letting life unfold without interference and without forcing matters when the time is not right’ (Watts 2010, xix) Therefore, since all material will decay sooner or later through the erosion of time, it would be against tao to conserve material. Only the way of nature or tao can be kept, but not ephemeral material since all efforts to conserve material are useless in the end. The Chinese admired and followed such philosophical principles; therefore, the advocates of tao were regarded as sages who gained higher social status because they had the wisdom of life, which is eternal, comprehensive and theoretical. By contrast, craftsmen were deemed lower-class since what they made was impermanent, limited and technical.

For example, the I Ching or book of changes is the one of the oldest Chinese classics to provide this kind of world view. There is a famous sentence in I Ching: ‘What is above form is called the Tao; what is within form is called a tool’ (Wilhelm 2011, Ch. X II 4), which divides the world into the two major categories of tao and tool. Wilhelm explains that ‘the forces constituting the visible world are transcendent ones. Tao is taken here in the sense of an all-embracing entelechy. It transcends the spatial world, but it acts upon the visible world’ (Wilhelm 2011, Ch. X II 4). In contrast, what is in the category of form is like a tool which is only good for a particular purpose. Confucius had a similar comment: that ‘gentlemen are not [a mere] tool. [It was] combined with the above dichotomy, or hierarchy, of Tao versus tools, and formed the basis of Confucian scholars’ attitudes towards... specialized subjects’ (Kim 2014, 135).

Since what is within form is impermanent, limited and technical, the Chinese adopt an indifferent attitude to the maintenance of their physical environment, which will always decay if not sooner then later. This can explain what Ryckmans (2008) observed – that ‘Chinese architecture is essentially made of perishable and fragile materials; it embodies a sort of “in-built obsolescence”; it decays rapidly and requires frequent rebuilding’. In sum, although there were various customs to do with intangible heritage in China, its people generally did not intend to build eternal or monumental buildings and the traditional culture of China had no concept of material conservation. Since most Taiwanese were descendants of the immigrants from mainland China and were deeply influenced by Chinese culture, the situation in Taiwan was quite similar. The language had the Chinese term ‘guji’ (古蹟) which literally refers to ancient remains. However,

according to the study of Lin (2011) on the heritage practices of Taiwan under the Qing dynasty rule, the conclusion must be that ‘although the authorities and the intellectuals did use the term “guji” to refer to historic buildings or sites, generally they did not care about the remains, nor encouraged any conservation practices’ (Lin 2011, 41).

3.2 The Imported Heritage Legislation from the Japanese Colonisers between 1922 and 1945

As outlined above, basically no heritage conservation concepts and practices could have been found in Taiwan under the Qing dynasty, that is, from 1683 to 1895. But in the first Sino-Japanese war, between 1894 and 1895, the Qing dynasty was defeated by Japan. Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese Empire as its indemnity for the military cost and became a new overseas colony of the Japanese Empire in 1895.

According to the study of Lin (2011, 53) and Chiang (2012, 39), the first heritage conservation act in Taiwan was passed by the Japanese colonial government in 1922 and ‘the systematic conceptualisation and practices of historic preservation [were] first brought to Taiwan’ (Chiang 2012, 39). Lin (2011, 53) further indicated that this Act was basically the domestic heritage conservation act in Japan transplanted to Taiwan, as an overseas Japanese colony separately ruled by the office of the Governor-general of Taiwan.

Inaba (2009, 154) pointed out that Japanese domestic heritage conservation affairs began to prosper as far back as 1871 when the Japanese Empire issued a proclamation for the protection of antiquities. Then in 1880 the Japanese government began to provide subsidies for the management and conservation of Japanese temples. However, the first Japanese official heritage act “The Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law” was not enacted until 1897. It ‘covered both moveable heritage (antiquities) and immovable heritage (architecture)’ (Inaba 2009, 154). In 1919, the protection was further broadened to cover historic sites, resorts and natural heritage besides ancient temples and shrines.

Inaba (2009, 154) argued that ‘it is important to emphasise that the modern concepts of conservation in Japan developed in those early days simultaneously with those in the West’. As for the rise of heritage conservation, Inaba (2009, 154) claimed the reason for it was the reaction to ‘the sudden flow of Western culture into Japan’ which could ‘quickly undermine traditional Japanese culture and endanger its continuity’. From his standpoint, (2009, 153), it seems that the comprehensive modernisation after the collapse of the Tokugawa Shogunate government and the end of Japan’s closed-door isolationist policy provoked the beginning of Japanese heritage conservation.

However, as the overseas colony, Taiwan was then governed separately by an independent colonial government, the office of Taiwan’s governor-general and had its special local laws to suit the needs of a colony. In fact, the proclamation for the protection

of antiquities in 1871 and “The Ancient Temples and Shrines Preservation Law” in 1897 were effective only in the domestic Japan itself, but not in Taiwan. It was in 1922 that Taiwan governor-general office announced that thirty-six domestic laws would be transplanted to Taiwan, including the Act for the Preservation of Historic Sites, Resorts and Natural Heritage (史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法). However, owing to the lack of suitable conservation agencies, surveys and mechanisms, it took eight years, that is to say until 1930, for the Taiwanese colonial government to be ready for the implementation of the heritage act (Lin 2011, 54). Finally, the office of Taiwan’s governor-general collected 323 items which had the potential to be designated as heritage through a comprehensive survey and reports from the various state governments.

According to the Act, there were two tiers of heritage at the time: one was national heritage which was designated by the Governor-General and the other was local heritage which was nominated by the state governments. Before the end of Japanese rule in 1945, the governor-general’s office carried out three bouts of designation in 1933, 1935 and 1941 and designated fifty heritage sites in total, including thirty-one historic sites and nineteen items of natural heritage (Lin 2011, 55). At this time, the authorities also carried out several major archaeological excavations, including one Stone Age ruin about 3,500 to 4,500 years old, two fortress remains built by the Dutch in Tainan and one built by the Spanish in Keelung in the seventeenth century, and so on.

Although the Japanese achieved some heritage conservation in Taiwan, it was worth noting that they also introduced modern urban planning which inflicted a geometrical road system on the organic fabric of cities in Taiwan. As a result, many traditional or historical buildings were destroyed in order to build roads and they to a certain extent caused concern about heritage conservation. The rescue of Taipei City Wall Gates was one of the most important cases of conservation.

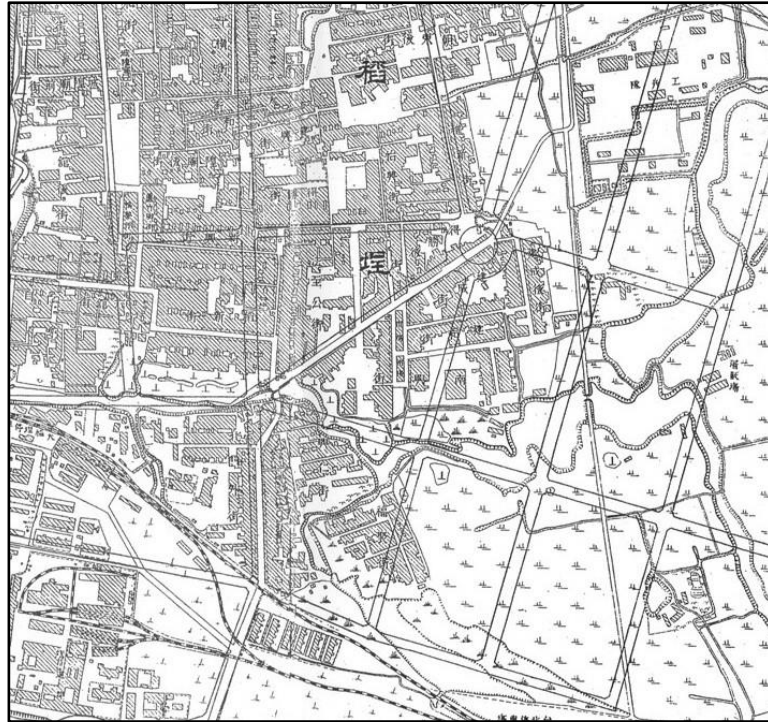


Fig. 3.1 Geometric road planning inflicted on the organic spatial context of a Taiwanese city. (Source: the Office of the Governor-General of Taiwan, Taipei City plan, 1905; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < http://gis.rchss.sinica.edu.tw/mapdap/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/1905_Taipei_Plan.jpg>)

When the Japanese troops landed to take over Taiwan in May 1895, they met sporadic military resistances from the natives. However, most Japanese soldiers did not die in combat but succumbed to disease. Barclay (2015, 136) indicated that ‘the Japanese acknowledged only 154 combat fatalities, but over 4,000 died of disease within the first several months, and 27,000 had to be hospitalized’. After the Japanese colonisers had captured the whole of Taiwan, they were eager to transform the old, shabby, unhealthy, pre-modern Taiwanese cities into modern hygienic ones enhancing the standard of public hygiene by urban planning. Building broad new straight roads with drainage became the major work of urban planning, which first had to deal with the massive City Wall of Taipei. The entire city of Taipei was planned and constructed according to the concepts of “feng-shui” (風水 geomancy) (Allen 2012, 210) and completed in 1884 (Chiang 2012b, 15). According the new city plan, the city wall was no longer needed so in 1904 the authorities started to demolish it (Jones, Macdonald, and McIntyre 2008, 101) and construct four boulevards on its site. The five city gates of Taipei, namely, the north, east, west, south and little south gates, were planned to be demolished at the same time. However, some Japanese cultural elite led by Yamanaka Shō, who was the head of the

library in the Taiwan Governor-General's office, appealed to the authorities (Allen 2012, 78) for the conservation of the wall, and finally, after years of effort, four of these gates were designated as heritage in 1935 and left as the central buildings in four traffic roundabouts. The west gate, however, could not survive the heritage campaign and was demolished in 1905.

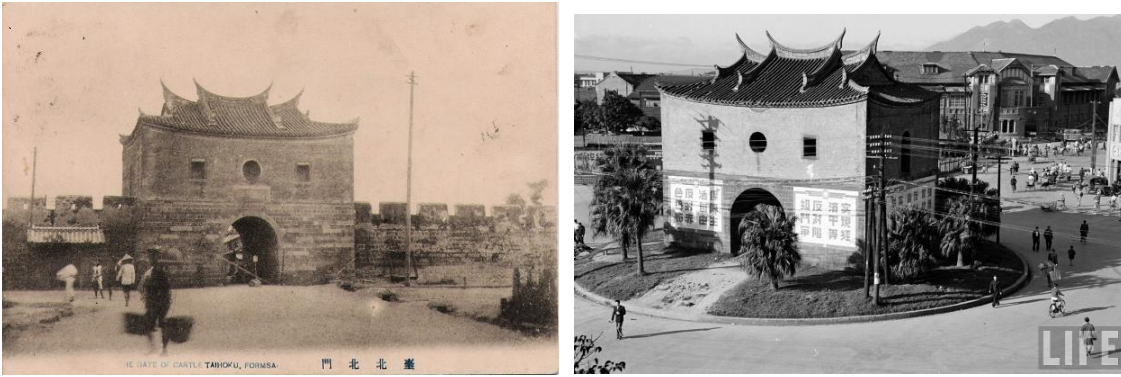


Fig. 3.2 The destruction of Taipei City Wall before (left) and after (right). (Source: [left] no author, no date; [right] Life magazine, no date, Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < <http://www.twmemory.org/?p=345>>)

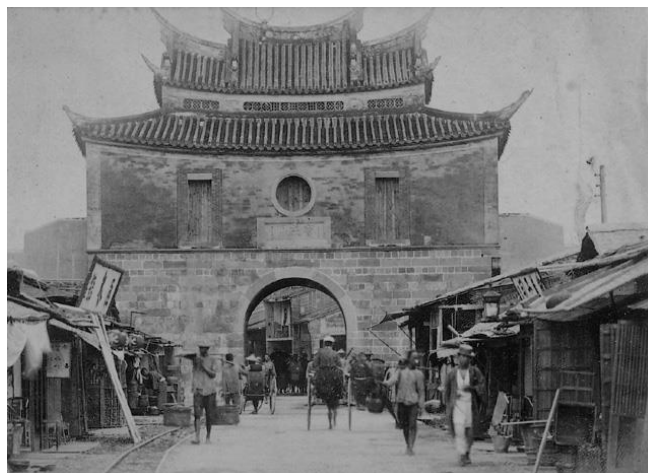


Fig. 3.3 The West Gate of Taipei City Wall before its demolition in the Japanese colonial period. (Source: no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < http://blog.udn.com/article/article_print.jsp?uid=webman&f_ART_ID=9479112>)

Among the designated historical sites in the period of Japanese rule, most of the heritage designated in the earlier phase consisted of archaeological sites or legacies of previous regimes, such as fortress remains from the period of Dutch rule or city gates from the Qing dynasty. Along with the emphasis on patriotism, many cases in the later phase of heritage designation were related to something that celebrated the colonial history of Japan or had been set up to commemorate visits by Japanese royalty.

Generally speaking, the Japanese colonizers introduced systematic heritage concepts and practices to the country between 1895 and 1945, and had a certain achievement in heritage conservation. Nevertheless, the system of heritage practices was basically a top-down, cultural elite-oriented approach and even later was used mainly to manifest the interests, history and values of the Japanese colonisers with little participation or influence from the local people and Taiwanese. As a result, on the one hand, as Lin (2011) indicates, almost all the heritage sites designated during Japanese rule fell into ruin or were totally ignored by the Taiwanese after the Japanese left in 1945. On the other, the succeeding power, the KMT, to eradicate the influence of Japan as much as possible, also deliberately demolished monuments or heritage sites celebrating the colonial achievements of the Japanese or strengthening the ideology that extolled the greatness of the Japanese Empire. This ironic historical experience reveals the innate unsustainability of heritage produced by the top-down approach. Such heritage may have been protected or honoured when the authorities were still in power, but once the political regime vanished, the heritage items were quickly forgotten.

3.3 From Marginal Affairs, the Symbol of Political Encounter Campaign to the Reflection of Nativism between 1945 and 1982

In 1945, after World War II, Taiwan returned to the jurisdiction of China, with the civil war breaking out soon afterwards. Defeated by the Communists in the civil war, Chiang Kai-shek and his Kuo-min Tang (KMT; the National People's Party) fled to Taiwan in 1949. At the time, Chiang deemed Taiwan merely a temporary military base and believed that he soon could fight back and return to mainland China. However, his dream was never realised. In order to secure his regime, Chiang's government announced the imposition of martial law in 1949, governing the island in an authoritarian way, repressing any opposing voices inside and discriminating in favour of the non-native people who had followed him to Taiwan. 'Martial law remained in place for 38 years, until it was lifted on 15 July 1987' (Kuo 2015, 3).

At the time, the KMT was engaging all its energy in consolidating its regime, to discourage an invasion by the Chinese Communists or for the purposes of economic development, whilst completely ignoring the work of heritage conservation. As a matter of fact, while the KMT government still in power in mainland China it had promulgated the Regulations for the Preservation of Relics, Scenic Spots, and Artefacts (名勝古蹟古物保存條例) in 1928 and the Preservation Law of Ancient Artefacts (古物保存法) in 1930. However, Lin (2011, 4) pointed out that there were few reports of these lawstakeing effect. Ironically, the stagnant heritage conservation situation changed only when the Chinese Communists launched the Cultural Revolution in 1966. Schoenhals (2015, 364) noted that one of the major campaigns of the Cultural Revolution was 'the search-and-destroy missions directed at the so-called "four olds" ("old ideas, old culture, old customs, and old habits")'. This meant the complete subversion of everything related to the old social order and Confucian ethics. Intoxicated by Mao's encouragement, 'young and restless Red Guards, out to "destroy the old world and build a new world"', (Schoenhals 2015, 29) vandalized and destroyed numerous temples, historical buildings, and art objects in cities across China during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution.



Fig. 3.4 Red Guards destroying heritage items. (Source: no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < http://blog.sina.com.cn/s/blog_60a2e3a10100pbax.html>)

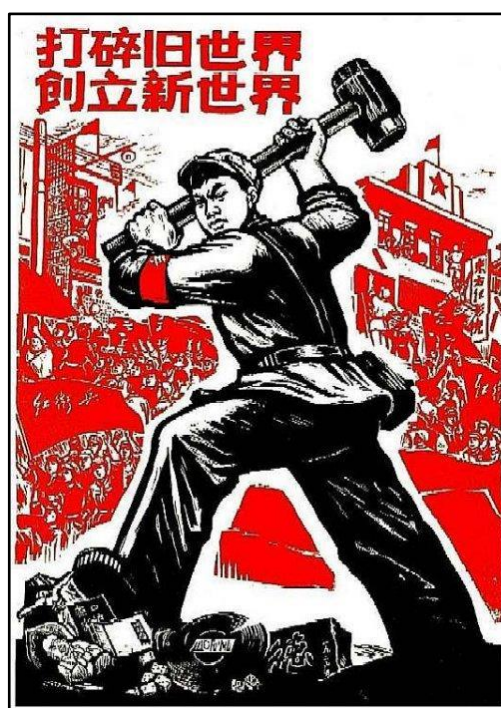


Fig. 3.5 Poster with the slogan “Destroy the old world and build a new world”. (Source: no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < <https://freeweibo.com/weibo/3578487941790961> >)

There is no denying that the Cultural Revolution was a national disaster which caused a massive loss of life, fortune and heritage in China. Most scholars explained the reasons for the Cultural Revolution from a political perspective, for example, a clique struggle within the Chinese Communist Party, or regarded it as an accidental aberration. Nevertheless, Ryckmans (2008, para. 6) analysed it from a cultural viewpoint and interpreted the Cultural Revolution ‘as the latest expression of a very ancient phenomenon

of massive iconoclasm, that was recurrent all through the ages'. Ryckmans gave other examples, such as the Taiping insurrection between 185 and 1864 to indicate 'the periodic destruction of the material heritage of the past, which seems to have characterised Chinese history' (Ryckmans 2008). Again, Ryckmans strengthened his argument of Chinese people's indifference to the material heritage of the past, as mentioned in Chapter 3.1. However, his study reminds us that we should also note that indifference to the material heritage, such as he portrays (2008), has often been combined with a cultivation of the moral and spiritual values of the Ancients. Interestingly, Ryckmans's insight can help us to understand the chain reaction in Taiwan after its political opponent China launched the Cultural Revolution.

It led Chiang Kai-shek to mount the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Campaign in 1966 in order to counter the Chinese Communists' political action and to asserted that he would maintain the nation's heritage, including 'traditional Chinese cultural values, symbols, history, art, handicrafts, Mandarin, the Mainland landscape, and the like' (Hsiau 2000, 66). Wang (2004, 791) indicated that the KMT 'claimed, both domestically and internationally, to be the "true heir" and guardian of traditional Chinese Culture...The KMT took this as an opportunity to promote itself as the guardian of Chinese culture, and hence the genuine heir of the Chinese nation'.

In order to oversee and guide the progress of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Campaign, Chiang organized a special council, which proposed ten fields of activity at its inaugural conference July 28, 1967. Most fields of activity related to the cultivation of traditional moral virtues or Confucian ethics, such as the following:

- 1 Since the family is the cornerstone of Chinese culture, particular attention and guidance should be given to family education and the practice of filial duty and fraternal love;
- 5 All mass communication media should engage in the cultural renaissance movement with a view to encouraging good customs and morals, and should step up efforts to develop research;
- 6 The New Life Movement should be vigorously promoted so as to modernize and rationalize national life under the influence of traditional culture versed in the Four Social Controls and Eight Virtues (referring to *propriety, rectitude, honesty and sense of shame; and to loyalty, filial piety, benevolence, love, faithfulness, justice, harmony and peace*). (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan) 1968, 5)

However, there was only one field of activity, the seventh field, related to conserving the material heritage, which was affiliated to the development of tourism/sightseeing, and was used to illustrate Chinese traditional life;

7 Tourism should be developed with a view to preserving historic sites and relics. Artefacts should be guarded and studied as a measure to improve national culture to demonstrate the Chinese way of life (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Republic of China (Taiwan) 1968, 5).

In fact, the emphasis on the development of tourism did not appear without reason. This was due to the outbreak of war between the United States and the Vietnamese Communists in 1965, 'bringing numerous American soldiers into south-east Asia. Taiwan on the one hand provided military supplies and on the other provided a place for the American troops to rest and take vacation' (Bristow 2010, 210). The need to develop tourism began to soar. As a result, the authorities in Taiwan established the Tourism Industry Committee in 1966, promulgated the Regulations for Tourism Development in 1968 and set up the Bureau of Tourism in 1970 showing its ambition to develop tourism. By contrast, with regard to heritage conservation, even the government for the first time launched a revision of the heritage legislation enacted in 1968. However, this cultural agenda seemed more like a political gesture and the work of revising the legislation surprisingly took 14 years to finish. The first native edition of the Cultural Heritage Conservation Act of Taiwan was passed in 1982. Furthermore, a controversial issue in heritage conservation emerged under the overwhelming promotion of "Chinese culture". This was, in fact, the work of heterogeneous local cultures and became the root of the problem. In the ideology of the KMT regime, the so-called Chinese culture meant to the culture of the Han race which originated in the Central Plain area of Mainland China and the lifestyle of its former political centre – Beijing. Hence, the local dialect and drama of the Beijing area were both promoted as the official language and national opera respectively. By contrast, presenting Taiwanese culture and style was deemed parochial, humble and embarrassing. As a result, when the authorities prepared to preserve the four surviving Taipei city gates referred to above (see 3.2), which had been designated as heritage for foreign tourists to admire in the Japanese colonial period, they felt quite uncomfortable about its local architectural style. Because Taipei had been the centre of the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Campaign, it should have embodied the orthodox style of Chinese culture. Finally, the authorities decide to adapt the roof design of the gates to make them look more decent and official. Bristow (2010, 211) observed that three of the

four gates were finally adapted from their original southern local Fukien idiom and given a legitimate northern palatial design by the architect Hung, Bow-Yu in August 1966. Only the north gate was kept intact because it was planned soon to give way to a new road. Fortunately, some scholars successfully appealed in 1967 to the government to save it and all the four city gates were designated as national heritage monuments in 1998.



Fig. 3.6 The south gate of the Taipei City Wall : before (left) and after (right) adaptation. (Source: [left] no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.wikiwand.com/zh-tw/%E8%87%BA%E5%8C%97%E5%9F%8E>>; [right] Taipei City Government, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.travel.taipei/frontsite/tw/sceneryChineseListAction.do?method=doFindByPk&menuId=2010402&serNo=2011051800000388#subjectImage>>)



Fig. 3.7 The east gate of Taipei City Wall: before (left) and after (right) adaptation. (Source: [left] no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.wikiwand.com/zh-tw/%E8%87%BA%E5%8C%97%E5%9F%8E>>; [right] Taipei City Government, Oct. 1, 2016; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://new.travel.taipei/zh-tw/attraction/details/95>>)

While this was going on, Chiang Kai-shek died (1975) and his son Chiang Ching-kuo succeeded him as leader. The latter gradually adopted a more open and localised political strategy to cope with the ever-worsening international and domestic political conditions,

which included a takeover of Taiwan's membership of the United Nations in 1971 by the People's Republic of China and growing opposition from Taiwan's native people. In order to counter this opposition, Chiang Ching-kuo encouraged more members of the native Taiwanese elites to enter the government and localised the KMT, which was criticised as an alien regime.

Owing to more open and locally inclusive politics from the 1970s, the dominance of Taiwan's literature, arts, humanities and historic preservation by the official narrative of Chinese identity began to weaken. The so-called Taiwan nativist literature which 'initially advocated for the protection of local traditional and agrarian culture in Taiwan as a form of resistance against the assimilation and modernization movement imposed during Japanese occupation' (Wicks 2014, 104) seized this opportunity of revival. Wick (2014, 104) comments that 'Nativist literature conveyed the experience of local Taiwanese whose perception of history and society differed from that of the Mainlanders who arrived in 1949'. Indeed, cultural activities are deeply influenced and inspired by the authors' life experiences as native Taiwanese. After the political separation between China and Taiwan for more than twenty years (1949 to the 1980s), the younger generation, including the second generation of the Mainlanders who arrived in 1949, seemed no longer satisfied with cultural works that recalled the remote, vague, imagined motherland of Mainland China, and began to explore, appreciate and recognize the values of traditional Taiwan where they had grown up,

These young members of the cultural elite, including the famous painters Shiy, De-Jinn, Shih, Tsui-Feng, and the poet Yang, Mu became the native forerunners of heritage conservation in Taiwan. They deeply appreciated the beauty of traditional buildings and asked for public support in a pastoral, romantic and nostalgic appeal in 1970. Finally, they attracted the attention of a wide public and managed to save the Temple of Confucius in Changhua County, which was originally built in 1726. At last, the authorities changed their removal plan in 1975 and even raised funds to commission Professor Han, Pao-teh, a famous architect and museum curator who had graduated from prestigious universities in the United States, to implement the conservation work. This is believed to be the first instance of heritage conservation in Taiwan following the modern principles of conservation ethics since the period of Japanese rule.

According to Han (2013), 'any building, no matter how important it was in history, could be demolished at this time, except that famous sightseeing spots which represented a place and earned money from tourism could be kept ... In this phase, the designation of

heritage was strict. A building could qualify as heritage only because it was public architecture, and it should be more than one hundred years old. Besides, it should be intact and have significant scientific or artistic value' (Han 2013, 195).

After this successful conservation, the cultural elite more and more became aware of the importance of common traditional Taiwanese buildings and joined appeals to save other historical buildings. The Lin An Tai Historical House in Taipei, which was a typical big Taiwanese family residence built in the 1780s, was another case of rescue of heritage, but with a controversial result. According to the simple grid system of the roads in Taipei's urban planning, the Lin An Tai Historical House was at the time scheduled to be replaced by a boulevard. Although the cultural elite forwarded a petition to designate it as heritage, the result was disappointing. It did not qualify as a historic site for two possible reasons. One reason, as Han mentioned, was that the residence was not a public and well-known building, so the campaigners' petitions did not attract much support. Another reason was the authorities could not accept other options such as a road detour because many similar buildings needed to be levelled to preserve the simple grid plan. If the authorities allowed one exception, other similar demands would be made. Since on-site conservation was hopeless, the campaigners finally came to a compromise with the authorities that the building could be taken apart and rebuilt somewhere else. This took place in 1977 and detailed records were kept. However, seven years were needed to decide the relocation site and its reassembly finally began in a public park in 1984. The historical house was opened to the public in 1987, and it was designated a historical building in 2012 (Taipei City Government 2014).

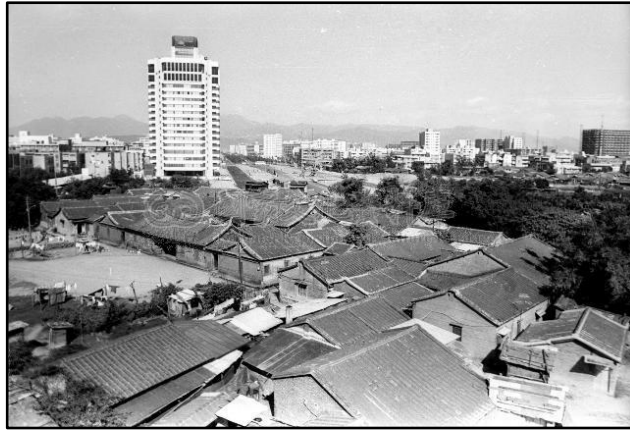


Fig. 3.8 The Lin An Tai Historical House before (top) and during (down) its move. (Source: [top] no author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://http://km.moc.gov.tw/myphoto/gallery.asp?categoryid=67>>; [down] Culture Department, Taiwan , Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < [http:// http://nrch.culture.tw/view.aspx?keyword=%E6%9E%97%E5%AE%89%E6%B3%B0&s=726913&id=0005832615&proj=MOC_IMD_001](http://http://nrch.culture.tw/view.aspx?keyword=%E6%9E%97%E5%AE%89%E6%B3%B0&s=726913&id=0005832615&proj=MOC_IMD_001)>)

Generally speaking, heritage conservation professionals regretted the result in the case of the Lin An Tai Historical House and often referred to it as a lesson which should be avoided in future because it had to be taken away from its original site. However, this was only one of the many similar results of urban planning, that is, the conflict between modernity and the conservation of the historical environment. As mentioned in 3.2, modern geometric road patterns were inflicted on the organic patterns of cities in Taiwan by the Japanese colonisers, with little consideration of the pre-existing buildings. Later the so-called “foreign” KMT regime fled to Taiwan and simply followed Japanese planning without any alteration. In fact, almost all heritage rescue campaigns in Taiwan criticise the “creative destruction” (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006) of

modernity. During this phase, most cases of heritage rescue were led by the cultural elite or initiated by foreigners. For example, the Lin Ben Yuan Family Mansion and Garden in Banqiao District, New Taipei City, was an exquisite building of 1847 and famous as the site of one of the four great gardens in Taiwan in the Qing dynasty. However, it was occupied for decades by numerous political refugees who had no place to settle down in, having followed the KMT government when it fled to Taiwan in 1949. Owing to lack of proper maintenance, it was greatly dilapidated and ultimately fell into ruin.

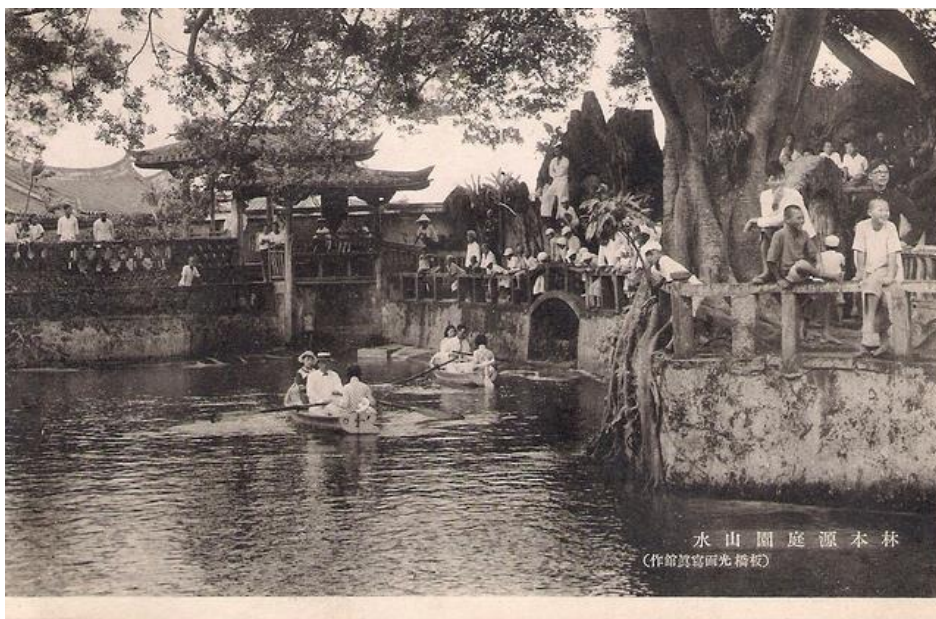


Fig. 3.9 The Lin Ben Yuan Family Garden attracted numerous visitors in the Japanese colonial period. (Source: Guang-mian photographic shop, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://mypaper.pchome.com.tw/yijung/post/1321913018>>)

In 1967, foreign envoys and their families visited this historic garden and were surprised by the deterioration of the garden through its occupation by refugees. They suggested that the authorities should carry out renovations in the interests of tourism. The authorities accordingly (Han 2001a, 171) commissioned Taiwan University to implement the renovation work in 1982. It was the first heritage renovation case that had been based on academic study close to what the international conservation ethic required; even so, many visitors still criticised the kind of renovation that turned the historic garden into a new one and diminished the historical ambience. However, generally speaking, it was seen as a successful and uncontroversial case because Lin's garden was finally opened to the public in order to gain development approval for the Lin house.

Knapp (2000, 17) added that Reed Dillingham and Chang-lin Dillingham, two professors of architecture sponsored by the Asian Foundation, carried out a systematic academic survey of traditional architecture throughout Taiwan and published their findings in 1971. Various traditional farmhouse and other rural buildings were documented at a time when many of them were being destroyed or renovated due to the infrastructural needs of the country's rapid economic growth.

Taiwan's dramatic economic development during 1950s to 1980s was created by successful development strategies such as import substitution, industrialization and export processing zones that integrated the functions of a free trade area, a duty-free zone, and an industrial park. Taiwan became known as one of the "Four Asian Tigers". Gold (2015, 2) notes that the 'GNP growth rates averaged 8.7 percent from 1953 to 1982, with a peak average of 10.8 percent for the years 1963-1972. The 1982 value of GNP was twelve times that of 1952'. Accompanying the rapid economic growth was dramatic urbanization, which led to high concentrations of population. According to the study of Douay (2008), the national population of Taiwan in 1960 was 10,720,700 and in 1970 it increased to 14,294,600, an augmentation of 33%. In 2005, the total rose to 22,732,010 and was more than double the population 45 years before. It is noteworthy that the major population of Taiwan was highly concentrated in three metropolitan areas, namely Taipei, Taichung and Kaoshiung. Douay (2008) indicated that in 2005 these huge cities housed 15,846,400 people, almost two thirds of the Taiwanese population. Most of the increase came from rural-urban migrants who after the 1960s moved from villages to the cities to seek better lives (Hsia 2002, 81).

The high concentration of population and prosperous economies led to a great demand for housing and other spaces and a corresponding rise in the price of property. Generally speaking, if an old building is demolished to build a new and bigger one, it can bring the owners an enormous profit. Therefore, if a property is designated as heritage and thus legally conservable, the owners suffer a huge loss of prospective wealth and will surely protest against the decision of the heritage committee. In some bitter cases, the owner even resorted to intentional destruction or set fire to the area in order to reduce its prospective value as heritage and to stop the heritage designation process.

Unsurprisingly, then one of the most important factors of these successful cases was that the properties all belonged to the government or at least were hard to develop; otherwise, it was very difficult to make them subject to a conservation order. If they had a private owner, heritage designation became very difficult and entailed various issues,

including concern for the infringement of private rights, sharp disagreements between private property owners and heritage experts, conflicts of interests among various stakeholders, and so on. The conservation of Historic Sanxia Street in New Taipei County is an example which displayed the dramatic and dynamic process of heritage conservation, discussed in the second part of section 3.4.

3.4 From the Legitimate Evidences of an Exiled Regime to the Focus of Controversy between 1982 and 1997

As mentioned in section 3.3, the KMT regime launched a revision of heritage legislation in 1968, for which the work surprisingly took fourteen years to finish. After the enactment of the Heritage Conservation Act in 1982, official heritage conservation work began again. The authorities announced a range of heritage sites which were officially designated. However, as in the situation during Japanese rule, the heritage designated by this Act in its early stages had almost to manifest the historical connection between Taiwan and mainland China in order to assert the legitimacy of the exiled KMT regime. In addition, heritage was often designated as such because the authorities chose to promote the orthodox and dominant Han Chinese culture that was compatible with such a political agenda. Typical examples of heritage at the time were government offices or historical sites related to national heroes who defeated foreign invaders or to important historical events of the Qing Dynasty. Some were official stone archways or Confucian temples that helped to promote moral edification. Local Taiwanese culture or heritage, which was deemed inferior to the orthodox culture of the Han Chinese, was deemed not worthy of protection and intentionally ignored and abandoned.



A Confucian Temple



The City Gate of Taipei during the Qing Dynasty

Fig. 3.10 Typical heritage in Taiwan (1). (Source: [left] Taipei City Government, 2011; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.ct.taipei.gov.tw/zh-tw/D/About/Building/7.htm>> ; [right] Tainan City Government, Jan. 23, 2014; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://asc.tnc.gov.tw/index.php/media/place/55/1/#!/prettyPhoto/7/>>>)



The stone archway to celebrate morality



The stronghold against foreign invasion

Fig. 3.11 Typical heritage in Taiwan (2). (Source: [left] Taipei City Government, May 16, 2013; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://btdo.gov.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=39318&ctNode=51504&mp=124081>>); [right] Tainan City Government, Jan. 23, 2014; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://asc.tnc.gov.tw/index.php/media/place/55/1/#!/prettyPhoto/7/>>>)

After the death of Chiang Ching-kuo and the lifting of martial law in 1987, the grip of authoritarian politics relaxed. Various social movements and hostile voices from the labour, agricultural and minority sectors, tightly repressed in the past, now arose. At the time, appeals for a more fair and democratic society were coming increasingly to the fore. Not only were political and social campaigners struggling to make their pleas heard, but so were writers, artists and singers who were searching for the recognition of Taiwanese work that had been intentionally ignored since the KMT arrived. New types of Western cultural influences such as the Little Theatre Movement were burgeoning. All the emerging turbulence in society at the time were piled together, jostling to find a release for the built up frustrations of the past.

Under this pressure, the Japanese colonial legacy and Taiwanese style buildings which had previously been ignored and mistreated gradually became subjects of conservation. From the standpoint of architectural historians, specialist scholars played an important role in heritage discourse, and they believed that various styles of buildings from different periods of Taiwanese history together composed a whole family of architectural typology that was worth regarding as heritage. In 1991, the Japanese colonial monuments such as the Tainan District Court were for the first time designated as heritage after nine years of heritage designation practices, which accumulated over two hundred buildings related to the orthodox culture of the Han Chinese.

In additions to these legacies of the Japanese regime, Taiwanese vernacular building also became a new object of interest. Historic Sanxia Street was one example: it was a

business street broadened in 1916 according to the town planning of the time (Sanxia township office 1993, Ch. 9). The colonial authorities demolished the old crowded and unhealthy street and transformed it into a wide modern one. The historic street had been formed to suit businesses which depended on river transport and featured various shops with elaborate decorations on their brick façades, a hybrid style adopting elements from Taiwanese, Japanese and European design. However, after the heyday of river transport, the business of the street declined and road transport took its place. The authorities announced a new urban plan in 1971, to broaden the historic street from six meters wide to fifteen, in order to solve the intensifying problem of traffic congestion. If the plan had materialised, the historic street and the artistic façades would have been completely destroyed.

However, owing to a lack of funds, the authorities could not carry out land expropriation for the road-widening plan for almost twenty years. At the same time, the cultural elite started to appeal to the authorities to save the street and cooperated with some local residents who would suffer financially if the new road was built. Finally, they successfully pressed the central government to designate Historic Sanxia street as a third grade heritage site in 1991. On the one hand, the heritage designation completely enraged the local township office and residents who would have liked to broaden the road in order to accommodate a new high-rise building; hence, huge controversy arose over the designation. Heritage professionals who had campaigned for conservation suffered serious abuse from the street's residents and put under great stress. On the other hand, the lack of equipment for conservation work caused the conditions of historic houses to deteriorate day after day. Two years later, the central government could no longer sustain the huge political pressure from its opponents and announced the removal of the heritage designation in 1993, which was Taiwan's first case of de-designated heritage.

After this action, several houses on the historic Sanxia street were demolished and replaced by new modern buildings; the remainder were also endangered. From 1997, however, the cultural authority adopted several new strategies which made for progress in conservation. First, the authorities promised that houses with residents would not be designated as heritage because many in the community were worried that their state of their houses would be completely frozen and they would be forbidden to alter them to suit today's needs. Second, the authorities tried various ways to convince the private owners of the value and importance of their historic houses and the reasons for conservation.

Third, the government subsidised local people who wanted to renovate the shabby historic houses properly and even allowed them to modify the back rooms, which could not be seen from the street, in order to create more living space. Fourth, the government spent a great deal on improving public spaces and maintaining their historic style. Last of all, but most importantly, the government established effective mechanisms such as TDR (transfer of development rights) which could compensate people for financial loss from heritage designation by urban planners.



Fig. 3.12 The Historic Sanxia street (Source: Sanxia District Office, no date, 2010; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://btdo.gov.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=39318&ctNode=51504&mp=124081>>)

What was more important was the rise of domestic tourism. In 2000, the Taiwanese government announced a reduction of the working week from six to five days, which caused a dramatic growth in domestic sightseeing (Braden 2001, i) and a great need for tourist spots, especially places like Historic Sanxia street which cost nothing to visit and could be enjoyed by the whole family. Huang, Hsieh and Lin (2011, 1) found that the number of tourists between 2008 and 2010 rose from 618,707 to 1,849,327, almost three times as many. Few residents would nowadays question the tourism values of historic street conservation. However, Historic Sanxia Street does not have an official heritage title now, which to some extent reveals the doubts over such designation. Heritage unavoidably became the focus of controversy once it involved private property. At the time, the causes of heritage designation mainly involved architectural or material value.

3.5 Historical Plan to Construct the Community of Life and Counter Sites to Dominant Ideology after 1997

Lee Teng-hui, one of the native elite who entered the leading ranks of the KMT through the policy of local adaption, gradually after several political struggles seized supreme power, successfully winning the first direct presidential election in Taiwan in 1996. Realising that the ambiguous status of Taiwan as neither an independent country nor a province governed by China was a cause of controversy, President Lee eagerly looked for ways to strengthen the legitimacy of the government and the political identity of this 'state without nationhood' (Liao and Wang 2013, 1).

He adopted the suggestions of Chen Chi-nan, an anthropologist advocating the idea of the 'commune of life of the New Taiwanese' (Luke 2012, 63) to eliminate the political differences between the diverse ethnic groups and to consolidate them as a unity. Chen stated, 'It is also urgent to reconcile the social confrontations caused by the election by stressing civic, community and ethnic consciousness' (Huang 2004, 3). With Lee's support, Chen initiated his 'Community Empowerment Program', also known as 'Holistic Community Building', to foster community spirit and promote local culture by participation through small daily projects to remedy practical problems or enhance the quality of life in the community. He believed that this bottom-up approach could create a new homeland for everyone living in Taiwan, no matter when they had arrived. His cultural policy was unexpectedly popular and widely welcomed by many people in towns and villages, inspiring a wave of grassroots activities to improve the quality of their environment, fostering their sense of community and recognising the distinctiveness of local cultures in the 1990s. It also successfully promoted civic consciousness and established the legitimacy of the government, which had previously been criticised as an alien regime.

More importantly, the cultural policy at the time effectively calmed the turbulence of social change after the lifting of martial law in 1987 and turned it into a constructive force. During such periods of social transition, community empowerment served as a consensus for anxious and restless people who had lately gained their freedom after years of repressive rule and encouraged them to recognise a Taiwanese collective identity through the relationship between human beings and the land. Taiwan was no longer a temporary military base but a homeland in which everyone was willing to live happily together, generation after generation. As Chen stated, 'this is not just a cultural

movement...but even more an attitude to life and a set of values. Simply put, community empowerment is a democratic movement' (Huang 2004, 3).

Since culture was the major item on the political agenda of the time, heritage, in either a narrow or a wide sense, as the major historical resource and cultural legacy of communities, soon became a popular topic in the 'Community Empowerment Program'. In the yearly implementation of the Community Empowerment Program, many projects were planned for the identification, conservation or revitalisation of local heritage. Among them, the experience of the Beitou Hot Spring Baths renovation in Taipei city is quintessential.

The building was originally established in 1913 during the Japanese colonial period to house magnificent public baths but had been derelict for many years before it was noticed again in 1994 by a group of primary students and teachers engaged in off campus classes. Owing to the suspicion of the entire colonial legacy and the mainland-centred ideology of the KMT, the local history and geography of Taiwan had long been intentionally neglected in the school curriculum by the authorities. But these primary school students and teachers were deeply attracted by the mysterious ruin and were later surprised to learn that it was due to be demolished. They decided to petition for the preservation of the old building. Initially, they did not attract much attention until they came to the notice of local celebrities and professional planners. With the help of these key persons, an increasing number of others joined them in the heritage campaign and the issue soon gained the awareness and support of the Taipei City government. Eventually, in January 1997 Beitou Hot Spring Baths was designated by the central government a third-grade historical site. It had scheduled only one monument before: a stone archway set up during the Qing Dynasty in praise of a virtuous woman.

After its scheduling, the Taipei City government allotted a budget to restore the shabby building to its original condition and in 1998 contracted a community volunteer organisation to manage it as a bath museum in a public-private partnership relationship. The community museum soon became a popular destination for cultural tours and the number of visitors to this refurbished historical building reached three million in 2012 when it first opened, recently increasing by 240,000-370,000 per year (Epoch Times 2012). It also significantly benefited the regeneration of the local hot springs industry, which had in the past been the economic engine of this area but had since languished.

There are several features of this case that serve as exemplars.



Fig. 3.13 The Beitou Hot Spring Baths. (Source: Beitou Hot Spring Museum, Dec. 8, 2015; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 < <http://hotspringmuseum.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=50145359&ctNode=44466&mp=11900C> >)

First, the heritage conservation action was initiated by the community and not, as in the past, a top-down designation ordering the local people to accept it as Big Heritage. This was the local people's first opportunity to explore their common past and environment, which was so close to their everyday experience but had long been neglected. Second, the local people treated the hot springs museum as an eco-museum concept, a window through which to introduce local history, culture, sightseeing and the hot springs industry. Therefore, this old building became a vivid symbol of the Beitou area and a valid heritage in the local people's consciousness because it successfully represented the 'genius loci' of Beitou and created many benefits for the locals. Finally, its success encouraged them to be more interested in finding and conserving other possible examples of heritage in the Beitou area. In subsequent campaigns, the number of heritage locations increased by eleven during the next four years. In short, the conservation case of Beitou Hot Spring Baths demonstrated a consensus and power to conserve and use this historical building as the basis for revitalising local industry, to improve their neighbourhood and to strengthen their local identity as people living in a particular location. In this sense, heritage reflects the identity of place and functions as the inspiration of local revitalization.

After the scope of heritage had been emancipated from its boundaries, more and more things which people believed to be worth keeping were claimed to deserve preservation. Such appeals were made especially when the building was at risk of being levelled for development. Campaigners can give the authorities various reasons that are quite different from traditional ones to make something they want to keep eligible to count as heritage. From the newly emerging types of heritage in Taiwan after the end of the 1990s, one can observe a shift in the scope of heritage. In addition to the traditional types of heritage – magnificent palaces, elaborate temples and imposing official buildings that reflect an elevated view of history or upper class achievements or taste – an increasing number of places related to ordinary people or even to a subaltern class are being recognised as heritage, such as the residences of Japanese officers during the colonial period, illegal military veteran settlements and a former brothel, that reflect a quite different image from before.



Fig. 3.14 Official buildings - legacies of the Japanese colonial period. (Source: Office of the President, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.president.gov.tw/Default.aspx?tabid=1202>>; Taipei Guest House, no date, 2012; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.mofa.gov.tw/tgh/cp.aspx?n=4F8ED5441E33EA7B>>)



Fig. 3.15 A Confucian Temple and a Chinese official building. (Source: [left] Taipei City Government, 2011; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<http://www.ct.taipei.gov.tw/zh-tw/D/About/Building/7.htm>>; [right] Taipei Botanical Garden, no date, 2016; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016 <<https://kmweb.coa.gov.tw/subject/ct.asp?xItem=184372&ctNode=5669&mp=317&kpi=0&hashid=>>>)



Fig. 3.16 The residences of Japanese officers during the colonial period. (Source: Taipei City Government, no date, 2015; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, [left] < http://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/county/cultureassets/Building/info_upt.aspx?p0=969&cityId=02 > ; [right] < http://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/county/cultureassets/Building/info_upt.aspx?p0=975&cityId=02 >)



Fig. 3.17 Squatter settlement for war veterans transformed into the Taipei Artist Village. (Source: Taipei Artist Village, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, [left] < <http://www.artistvillage.org/> >; [right] < <http://www.artistvillage.org/about.php> >)



Fig. 3.18 A former brothel. (Source: Taipei City Government, no date, 2015; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, < http://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/county/cultureassets/Building/info_upt.aspx?p0=823&cityId=02 >)

Few of these new examples of heritage were recognised as heritage of any kind before the 1990s but lately they have begun to be seen in this way. It would be misleading to interpret this phenomenon as based on the expansion of heritage values, because there are

fundamental differences between the extremes. Advocates of the traditional heritage discourse could argue that such newly emerging cases do not deserve the status of heritage, and there seemed at first no consensus between professionals with different ideas. However, these new cases are actually the result of interactions between local authorities, heritage designation review committees, social movement campaigners and the community.

To take the Squatter Settlement of War veterans (aka Treasure Hill Settlement) as an example, it was built illegally by low-ranking veterans who followed the KMT's retreat to Taiwan in 1949. After retiring, most of these veterans were isolated and had no family to live with, due to the nearly 40 years of military confrontation between China and Taiwan. In order to maintain their social support network, they gradually squatted together in buildings on Treasure Hill, located beside their former military base. In the 1990s, the local government set out to remodel the Treasure Hill area into a public park and decided to relocate the squatters. However, social campaigners and progressive planners asserted that these squatter settlements merited conservation as historic communities for their architectural and historical value. They stood witness to the special informal housing built individually by socially vulnerable groups during the post-war period. No matter how controversial such heritage discourse is, generally speaking, the Treasure Hill Settlement, which often holds art exhibitions and music events, has been successfully transformed into a popular heritage tourist spot in Taipei and even featured in *The New York Times* as one of Taiwan's must-see places. The cultural significance of Treasure Hill concerns memories, stories and traditions, as observed by the Finnish architect Marco Casagrande:

‘Treasure Hill is the attic of Taipei carrying the memories, stories and traditions of the past generations. In some way it is a reflection of the Taipei mind that the industrial city is not able to reflect. For the stories to surface the industrial city must be turned over: the city must be a compost’ (Casagrande 2008).

Moreover, there were other surprising cross-border impacts and cultural experiences arising from such an alternative heritage designation. For example, the conservation of the residences of Japanese officers during the colonial period encouraged international connection and campaign cooperation between the descendants of the former Japanese residents during the colonial period and the local Taiwanese community. When local

people tried to explore further the history and stories associated with this Japanese style of housing, they happened to connect with the descendants of the former Japanese residents. Most of this younger generation had been born in Taiwan but had returned to Japan soon after the end of World War II. They were stigmatised with the nickname 灣生, to show that they were born in Taiwan and not authentically native Japanese. The local people, in contrast, were mainly the second generation of political immigrants from mainland China in 1949 or native Taiwanese who had moved from a village to Taipei City during the dramatic urbanisation process after the 1970s. All these residents, whether from the past or the present, were involved together, campaigning for the conservation of the wooden Japanese residences; the campaigners were all attached to this piece of common land and shared similar community living experiences. Incredible though it may seem, in this case, the experiences and attachment to the land turned into a common heritage for these people.

Furthermore, even the spaces used by the lowest social classes, such as brothels, were designated heritage in Taiwan. In a word, whether rich or poor, powerful or vulnerable, noble or humble, if it has an interesting story or appealing memories, the place one has lived in has the potential to become heritage. In addition, heritage designation was adopted by underprivileged groups as an effective strategy to resist the prevailing ideas, such as development-orientation, transport priority, hegemonic culture, and so on. Because once the building or space they claimed was designated as heritage, the old social relations, memories or stories could be preserved. In this sense, such items of heritage can be regarded as counter sites against dominant ideologies.

3.6 AHD-Oriented Heritage Legislation in Taiwan

As mentioned in Chapter 2, a dominant, established heritage discourse exists that defines the content, boundaries and practices of heritage conservation. Smith (2006) calls it the AHD and it is principally associated with Western societies. However, this thesis argues that heritage, as a product of cultural governance, is not a neutral, objective and autonomous reality but a partial, subjective and relative cultural concept. This particular concept has spread throughout the world along with the increasing influence of Western civilisation and the historical legacies of colonial imperialism in colonised societies. In Taiwan, the first heritage legislation was established during the Japanese colonial period, when a range of ideas taken from Western culture and modernity were introduced into Taiwan. Generally speaking, in the context of the local society and culture, there was no concept of heritage or anything of the kind. After the departure of the Japanese colonisers in 1945, heritage conservation was a marginal issue on the agenda of the government, oriented as it was to economic development and it was ignored for decades until the 1980s.

The first heritage conservation law, that is the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, hereafter referred to as CHPA, was enacted in Taiwan in 1982, more than thirty years after 1949. The main goals of CHPA at the time were to ‘enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry and promote the Chinese culture,’ which was amended in 2005 by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP, the main anti-KMT party) when in power, to ‘...and promote “diverse” culture’. This was done to weaken Chinese cultural dominance and recognise the cultural diversity in Taiwan. It reveals the political intention of the state to promote the perspective of a nation state and to instil the ideologies in its citizens that would strengthen the legitimacy of the nation.

Such legislation was developed largely from influences within Western heritage discourses imported and introduced by scholars who had studied at Western institutions. Its effect was to foster something similar to the AHD in Taiwan. From a review of the associated articles of the Act, one can detect certain characteristic features of the AHD.

3.6.1 The Definitions and Practices of Heritage Conservation Mainly Controlled by a Unitary Authority

Article 2 of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in Taiwan regulates that all ‘the preservation, maintenance and promotion of cultural heritage, and the transfer of any and all rights thereto should be governed by this Act’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b). Therefore, the definition, boundaries and associated practices are all regulated by one

authority, that is, the nation. It was made critical for the nation to control the definitions and interpretations of heritage due to the primordial view of the nationalists, who believed that nation-states are spontaneous or fundamental expressions of identity and collective life for a particular group of people. From the nationalists' perspective, heritage was used as material evidence for the purpose of asserting these imaginative primordial relations and to strengthen the legitimacy of the nation-state's government. This is a critical feature of the AHD, which represents a single and unitary perspective on the meaning of heritage and intentionally excludes alternative heritage ideas and discourses.

3.6.2 The Requirements for Heritage Designation: its Innate, Independent and Objective Values

From the AHD viewpoint, something can be designated as official heritage by virtue of its national value, as Article 3 in the CHPA describes: 'the cultural heritage referred to in this Act should mean the following designated or registered assets having historic, cultural, artistic and/or scientific value...' Historical, cultural, artistic and scientific values become the justification for particular buildings or archaeological sites that can be privileged under the protection of the nation. At first glance, it seems reasonable and explains everything, but in fact it answers nothing. It seems no more than a self-referential excuse to answer the necessity of heritage conservation. In other words, one might need to explore more fully why a society needs to use the conservation method to preserve these particular values but not other values, a question which is discussed further in Chapter 6.

3.6.3 The Exclusive Nature of Heritage Practices

There are seven categories of cultural heritage in Taiwan:

1. Monuments, historical buildings and settlements
2. Historical (archaeological) sites
3. Cultural landscapes
4. Traditional art
5. Folk customs and related cultural artefacts
6. Antiquities
7. Natural landscapes

Cultural heritage covers a range of fields, but one common element is associated with them all; these various kinds of heritage are all exclusively determined by a particular group of people, namely, the members of cultural heritage review committees.

Article 6 of the CHPA states: ‘the competent authority should establish relevant review committees to review the designation, registration of different items of cultural heritage and other important matters relating to this Act’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b). As the assumption of the AHD is that heritage is a professional field – only experts with special knowledge can decide whether something can be regarded as heritage or not; other people cannot decide. Not only the designation but almost every phase of official recognition depends on experts deciding the appropriate next step to avoid damaging the value of heritage.

Heritage, then, can only become heritage after recognition by the authorities. As Article 14 of the CHPA regulates, ‘monuments should be categorised as national, municipal, or county (city) Monuments; and should be reviewed, designated and publicly declared as such, by the appropriate level of authority’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b). After 1997, the administrative power in this regard largely moved to the local tier of authorities through devolution. Yet central government still retains the final power to decide the legitimacy of heritage designation; as the terms in the same article of CHAP state, ‘where the Monuments are designated by the municipal or county (city) government, it should be reported to the central competent authority for recordation’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b).

Therefore, exclusiveness is possibly the most significant feature of the AHD. Some people think this exclusiveness is necessary for heritage judgement involving expertise that is beyond the capacity of ordinary people. However, if heritage is a purely professional issue, the next question is why in democratic times the judgement of experts and public consensus and by diverse cultural societies can be accorded equal footing.

3.6.4 The Original-oriented Values of Heritage

If heritage is deemed historic evidence, then its intactness and authenticity naturally become the major concern of heritage values and practices. Therefore, Article 21 of CHAP acknowledges that ‘Monuments should be preserved in their original appearance and construction method. In the event that a Monument is destroyed or damaged, but its main structure and materials survive, repairs should be made in accordance with its original appearance’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b). In addition, the repair and reuse scheme cannot be implemented without ‘receiving approval by the competent authority’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b).

The state grants the integrity of heritage the highest priority; hence, ‘no construction or development work should damage the integrity of, obscure or obstruct access to

Monuments’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage Article 30, 2011). Even if artefacts are discovered in the course of a construction project, the construction work would immediately need to be suspended and the discovery reported to the competent authority.

Article 32 of the CHPA also regulates that ‘monuments should not be moved or demolished except for reasons of national security or major national construction projects; provided that the proposals for such moving or demolition should be reviewed and approved by the review committee of the central competent authority’.

3.6.5 Authority and Expert Centred Heritage Conservation

Thus, under the AHD, heritage experts play important and sometimes critical roles in the designation, interpretation and renovation of heritage conservation. The following are examples of the legislation:

Article 39 In order to preserve and maintain Historical Sites, the competent authority may train the relevant professionals, and establish a systematic supervisory and reporting mechanism.

Article 42 The competent authority should implement a management and maintenance plan to supervise and preserve Historical Sites.

Article 45 Any excavation of Historical Sites should be subject to an application by scholars, experts and academic or professional scientific research institutions to the competent authority, and should be reviewed by the review committee and approved by the competent authority respectively.

In fact, the Act regulates the qualification of heritage practitioners, and the restrictions, conditions, review procedures and other matters related to heritage conservation practices. All of the associated work is overseen by the competent authorities. Again, this reveals the exclusiveness and close relations between the AHD and the CHPA in Taiwan.

3.7 Conclusion

After the brief review on the evolution of heritage concept in Taiwan, one can observe the various features in the different phases of heritage conservation:

As an immigrant society from mainland China, the people of Taiwan had ideas, culture and customs which were deeply influenced by China. The latter was basically a society without the concept of material conservation but paradoxically with a cultivation of ancient moral and spiritual values. This study argues that one of the major ways to explain such a paradox is the deep influence of the “tao” embedded in Chinese philosophy, which was indifferent to vain attempts to conserve material things but praised the constant principles of nature.

For this reason, the idea of heritage and heritage conservation was introduced only by actors from outside, that is, the Japanese colonizers in 1922, but such imported ideas and top-down practices soon disappeared after the Japanese left Taiwan in 1945. After the exiled regime of the KMT fled to Taiwan, the affairs of heritage conservation became marginal and then totally ignored since all the resources and energy were spent on defence against possible invasion by Communist China. This situation remained for decades, and then cultural affairs became a timely political counter to the frenzied Cultural Revolution in China in 1966. Ironically, the KMT regime altered the original monuments, Taipei City Gates, which had been designated as heritage during the Japanese colonial period, to bolster assertions that the KMT regime was the “true heir” and guardian of traditional Chinese culture, and hence the real and legitimate heir of the Chinese nation. From the viewpoint of the Western conservation ethic, it seems an offence to change the authentic appearance of a historic building. However, it was interesting to observe that the KMT authorities seemed to express what they recognized as real Chinese culture through a certain kind of “form” rather than the original “material”. Chinese and Taiwanese generally believe the spirit and essence of culture can be revived at any time through the right form but not the original material, a belief which seems to be influenced by the idea of tao.

This seems to be one of the reasons why the progress of the revision of heritage legislation from 1968 was so slow and surprisingly took 14 years to finish in 1982. However, the heritage designated during the early stages by this Act almost manifested the historical connection between Taiwan and mainland China in order to assert the legitimacy of the exiled KMT regime with intentional indifference to the local Taiwanese

heritage. This situation changed along with the democratisation and local adaptation of politics after 1990s. The promotion of the political idea of the ‘commune of life of the New Taiwanese’ (Luke 2012, 63) woke the community consciousness and enhanced the appreciation of local history and identity. Thus, heritage has become an effective means to assert the identity of community in the past twenty years.

In sum, heritage conservation was initially a marginal affair which in the past was ignored by both the authorities and Taiwanese society. There was no denying that some rescue campaigns succeeded, although most of these campaigns were initiated by a cultural elite with pastoral, romantic and nostalgic appeals or by the authorities for political reasons. No matter what these advocates’ motives were, the campaigns were top-down, elite oriented movements in nature without the prevalent participation of local people or communities. Generally speaking, normal people were still quite unfamiliar with the concepts of heritage or material conservation, and most people would think it was quite natural to reduce an old shabby small house to rubble and replace it with a new, tall commodious building.

Such conditions began to change until the consciousness of community was encouraged and heritage became a common topic on the agenda of community development.

In addition, social movement campaigners use heritage designation as an effective strategy to resist the dominant ideologies, power or orders, because from their perspective, social relations, memories or stories, that is, heritage, are deeply embedded in space. However, there was much demand for land for development, so historical houses were often regarded as ideal sites for their good location and low density. However, once the historical houses were demolished, the attached social relations, memories, stories or feelings were also washed away. Since heritage designation can keep a space as it used to be, heritage became a convenient counter site to modernity. However, the heritage regulation in Taiwan, that is CHPA, seem to have quite similar assumptions, understanding and approaches to the AHD discourses in the Western world.

Chapter 4 Exploring People's Attitudes to Heritage

After the brief review of the evolutionary process of heritage concepts and important events of heritage conservation in Taiwan, this study further explores the perceptions of heritage among Taiwanese people nowadays since it is also important to investigate synchronously after a diachronic review. To explore the perceptions of heritage among people, this thesis chooses Q methodology as the research method because it fits those research questions which are concerned to hear 'many voices' (Rogers 1995, 183).

4.1 The Implementation of Q Methodology

Basically, the Q process can be divided into the following main steps for analysis (McKeown and Thomas 1988):

1. Generating a concourse of opinions
2. Extracting representative items from these opinions: Q sampling
3. Carrying out Q-sorting
4. Factor analysis (by person, not by item)
5. Interpretation

Each of these is discussed in turn below.

4.1.1 Stage I Generating a Concourse of Opinions

The first step of Q methodology is to assemble various related commentaries, statements, opinions and descriptions that are as various as possible from different sources, including the literature (academic work, monographs, international charters, government laws), newspaper clippings, magazine reports, ordinary conversations, "persons in the street" interviews, advertising themes, posters, television talk shows and so on (McKeown and Thomas 1988; Schlinger 1969) to generate a concourse of opinions around a special research issue, which in this thesis was heritage conservation. They can be directly collected from primary sources or obtained from secondary data, both being acceptable.

There are a number of ways to distinguish between types of Q-sample. For instance, McKeown and Thomas (1988) claim that Q sampling methods can be conveniently divided into two major categories: the contrast between naturalistic and ready-made samples and the opposition between structured and unstructured ones. The naturalistic way means that opinions are directly gathered from the verbal or written statements of

the respondents. By contrast, the ready-made approach collects sources other than the respondents' own expressions. Furthermore, using a classification scheme to generate the concourse is regarded as a structured method, while otherwise it is regarded as unstructured. McKeown and Thomas (1988, 26–27) also point out that there are some in-between or mixed subtypes, such as 'quasi-naturalistic Q samples', which collect opinions from interviewees but which are then developed with external sources. There are also 'hybrid types' that gather components from both naturalistic and ready-made Q-samples.

McKeown and Thomas (1988) add that in theory, neither is innately better than the other, its appropriateness depending on the conditions and needs of the research. As noted above, this study for several reasons favours the ready-made approach, drawing the concourse of samples mainly from written sources. First, the main goal of this thesis is to test the preliminary hypothesis of a heritage spectrum derived from a review of the relevant cultural heritage literature. Second, owing to the abstract and fugitive characteristics of the term heritage, oral interviewing might face the risk of deviation due to differences in perception and the transformation gap, because the interviewee's more or less loose dialogic expressions have to be translated into exact written statements. Third, interviewing in order to collect hundreds of statements takes a long time, something impractical for this thesis.

4.1.2 Stage II Extracting Representative Items: Q Sampling

After generating a communication database, this research extracted "representative" statements from the concourse to constitute its Q sampling, because it is impossible as well as inefficient to process all statements. In addition, it was also likely that some statements would mean similar or repeated things, making it necessary to sample some quintessential items to facilitate the research process.

Kerlinger (1973) claims that structured sampling is the most critical strength of Q methodology for testing hypotheses, something ignored by most research. He states, 'The main strength of Q is its close affinity to theory. Structured Q sorts, by definition, are theoretically oriented. In order to build a structured sort, one has perforce to enunciate some kind of theory' (Kerlinger 1973, 594). He further notes, 'In a structured Q sort, the variables of a theory, or of a hypothesis or set of hypotheses, are built into a set of items along Fisherian experimental [lines] and an analysis of variance design principles' (Kerlinger 1973, 588). This thesis agrees with Kerlinger's notion to some degree and

structured sampling was adopted as a theoretical strategy to explore the possible patterns of ideas around heritage conservation. However, it was also important to note that Kerlinger's concept attached too much weight to the theoretical function of structured sampling. As Brown (1991) explains,

‘the idea of structuring statements in some hypothetical way is certainly included in Q... but not for hypothesis testing in the way Kerlinger proposes. For Stephenson, much more importance was to be attached to the meanings of the Q sorter (which were contained in the factor analysis) than to the a priori meanings of the investigator as structured into the Q sample’ (Brown. 1991, n.p.)

That is to say, the investigative focuses of Q methodology research mainly lie in the opinions and attitudes of the respondents (Goldman 1999), and not the theories or hypotheses of the researcher. Based on the literature review results, this research used the temporary theoretical matrix derived in Chapter 3 to elicit the various ideals associated with heritage. These four attitudes to heritage conservation derived from the literature were used in a temporary and subsidiary hypothesis. Nevertheless, as Brown (1991) argues, the point is to derive some real types after Q sorting that cannot be anticipated in advance from the researcher's knowledge. The temporary classification in Chapter 3 is simply a subsidiary device to extract human subjectivity, rather than a grand theoretical hypothesis. Theoretically speaking, the unexpected, hybrid types elicited from the Q sorting are the main issues that this thesis aims to explore — people's subjectivity unpolluted by the researcher's prejudice.

This thesis adopted the ‘two-way structured Q sort’ (Kerlinger 1973, 590) to constitute the sampling: the horizontal axis is the way that people think about what heritage is, with four types in the hypothesis of this thesis: Monuments, Artefacts, the values of place and Counter-sites to modernity. The vertical axis contains the main dimensions that constitute the whole conservation system: they are “Values”, “Actors” and “Subjects”, “The nature of heritage”, “The methods of conservation” and “The image of heritage”. Different heritage values followed compatible ideas, definitions and boundaries in heritage conservation. Actors of different social status normally assume a particular ideology and unconscious stand. Furthermore, the relationship between heritage (object) and a human being (subject) is also a noticeable dimension when a researcher wants to explore the meaning of heritage, not to mention the nature of heritage and the approaches to conservation practice. Finally, this research added the image of

heritage as a symbolic interpretation to feature the various orientations of heritage attitudes.

In this way, a 4 × 6 matrix was developed (see Table 4.1). Each row contains two to three statements to extend the coverage of opinions, apart from the last row, “The image of heritage”, which has only one statement. All these can be deemed quintessential statements that can help comprehend the various dimensions surrounding the research topic in a structured way. In fact, this thesis originally tried to increase the number of remarks in each box to three, with the total number of expressions totalling 64. But after a pilot test, the respondents complained that it would take more than half an hour to complete the sorting process. It was therefore not considered workable because it might to some extent reduce the participants’ willingness. They recommended instead that the research would be better conducted by shrinking the volume of statements to enhance the willingness of participants and the rate of return.

Tab. 4.1 The structure of Q sampling

Dimension	Types	Monument	Artefacts	Value of place	Counter-sites to modernity
Values		3	3	3	3
Actors		2	2	2	2
Subjects		3	3	3	3
The nature of heritage		2	2	2	2
The method of conservation		2	2	2	2
The image of heritage conservation		1	1	1	1
Subtotal number of statements		13	13	13	13
Total number of statements		52			

Regarding the appropriate number of statements in Q distribution, experts seem to have no strict requirements nor any theoretical consensus. Kerlinger (1973, 584) claims that the quantity of statements in Q sorting is decided by the expedience of performance and the need of statistics, suggesting that a number between sixty and ninety is sufficient. Rogers (1995, 181) notes that it ‘usually consists of between ten to one hundred items’. He goes on to state, ‘Around 40 to 50 ... should give a good picture of the speciation present’ (Rogers 1995, 182). Mckeown et al. (1999, 254) suggest that the quantity of items can range from 30 to 100 but is normally between 50 and 70. Schlinger (1969, 54)

states, 'the ... items must be enough [in number] for stability and statistical reliability, but not so many as to overwhelm the respondents. Probably from 55 to 75 items are ideal'.

This thesis adopted 52 statements in total as the manageable Q sampling scale to keep the balance between the coverage of opinions from the researcher's side and the return rate from the participant's side. With the sampling structure, I could then scrutinise the concourse and select the statements relating to the corresponding cells to represent particular types of opinion. For example, in the cell artefacts \times value there was 'heritage should be a typical example of buildings, architectures or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in history' which is quoted from a UNESCO World Heritage Centre document; in the value of place \times actor cell was 'People in the present are not just passive receivers or transmitters of heritage but active creators of heritage' (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2); in the counter-site \times actor there was 'Ordinary people are the main actors in heritage conservation' (see Tab. 4.4). This table was presented in both English and Taiwanese, because most of the respondents were Taiwanese.

After the establishment of the Q sample, the next step was to choose sorters from the public to arrange the sample statements according to their preference. However, as Kim and Bates (2011) indicate, Q methodology differentiates one person's attitudes from another's by correlating individuals' responses to Q-sorting but it does not differentiate the relationships between the individuals themselves. Consequently, the number of participants required is not limited. Furthermore, the participants in Q methodology, unlike R methodology (Webler, Danielson, and Tuler 2009, 6), are not probabilistically sampled but are rather selected specifically to facilitate the diversity of potential opinions. In other words, it uses a nonprobability sampling method in which 'subjective judgments play a role in the selection of the sample' (Henry 1990, 21:17). This is called judgmental sampling. Owing to these theoretical limitations, Q methodology does not usually apply to a cross-sectional or large sample study and works with fewer samples than those of R methodology, in particular (Kerlinger 1973; Rogers 1995).

Based on the classification system advanced by Thompson (1966, 7), the participants in a social process can be divided into four major groups: (1) experts: those with special knowledge or techniques; (2) authorities: those with power; (3) special-interest: those with a related interest such as heritage architects or planners or community heritage campaigners; and (4) the general public: those who are not directly involved in the issues,

in order to get some general or un-stereotypical ideas. This research adopted Thompson’s categorisation as a reference and invited people with these four kinds of background to take part in the Q investigation: academics in such heritage-related fields as Architecture, Urban Planning and Archaeology (experts), civil servants who oversee heritage conservation across different governments levels (authorities), people living around and in heritage places (special-interest) and the general public. Therefore, the respondents were approached on the basis of their particular background, some, for instance, having expertise in heritage or being opinion leaders in communities, and not chosen by statistical sampling.

Tab. 4.2 Distribution of the respondents based on Thompson’s classification system

	Number of respondents	%
Experts	14	25.46
Professors involved in heritage conservation, who work at university departments of architecture, urban planning, landscape or spatial design	8	14.55
Undergraduate and graduate students at university departments of architecture, urban planning, landscape or spatial design	6	10.91
Authorities	17	29.09
Central Government Civilian Employees related to heritage	4	7.27
Local Government Civilian Employees related to heritage	13	23.64
Special-interest	9	16.36
Heritage Architects or planners	5	9.09
Community heritage campaigners	4	7.27
The general public	15	27.27
Total	55	100

Concerning the number of required sorters, Brown (1991) argues that ‘even in studies of public opinion samples of persons (P sets) rarely exceed 50’, further explaining:

The factors are qualitative categories of thought in the sense that additional participants would have virtually no impact on the factor scores: Quality is operationally distinct from quantity. Consequently, although we do not know the proportions of factors ... which exist in the general population (a matter of nose-counting best left to surveys) – and although we lack evidence of any other points of view that might also exist – we can nevertheless proceed to compare and contrast the three distinctive ways of thinking which we have located with full confidence that they really do exist

Furthermore, ‘because it is the manifold of discursive diversity that is of interest, not the participants per se, Q methodology aims to find no more than one to five “cases” of each element in that diversity’ (Rogers 1995, 182) .

Three major ways were used to approach the respondents that participated in Q sorting: one was to collect participants by sending survey invitations to governmental agencies, academic institutions and local social organisations, asking them to help circulate the Q questionnaires to their staff or members; another entailed gathering the sorters through direct personal invitation, via email correspondence, regarding a target individual’s special background, for instance, that of being a well-known scholar or heritage architect; the third way was posting advertisements on social networking sites to attract volunteers to join in this research. In total, 55 participants were included in the Q sorting process.


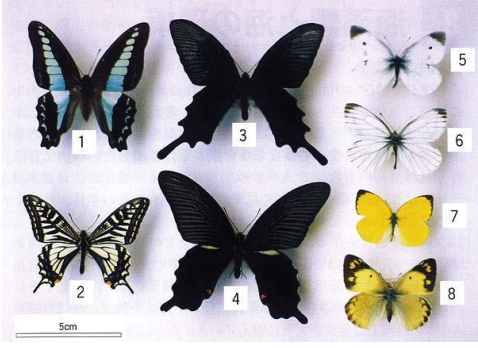


Tab. 4.3 Distribution of respondents by sex and age

Sex	Number	%
Men	28	50.9
Women	27	49.1
Total	55	100.0
Age		
Younger than 22	2	3.64
23-30	11	20.00
31-40	16	29.08
41-50	23	41.82
51-60	2	3.64
Older than 60	1	1.82
Total	55	100

Tab. 4.3 displays the demographic profiles of the respondents in term of gender and age. Despite being random respondents, the spread of the participants in terms of gender was generally uniform, in the hope of reducing the influence of this variable on perceptions of heritage. Concerning age, the distribution seems normal, with the largest proportion being groups between the ages of thirty-one and fifty (i.e. mid-career). Younger and older interested parties were also represented in the survey, even though they account for relatively marginal numbers of participants. However, the strength of Q-methodology is to explore the qualitative depth of an issue, not to estimate the situation in a whole population by sampling. Basically, the backgrounds of the respondents were never the major issue.

Tab. 4.4 Q statement: 52 in total, 4 by 6 Matrix, 48 plus 4 extra statements equals to 52

Type	Type A: Monuments	Type B: Artefacts	Type C: Value of place	Type D: Counter-sites
Value	<p>11·The spirit and history of the Nation are founded upon and reflected in its historic heritage.</p> <p>42·Things which are more elegant, special, huge and intact are more worthy to designate as heritage.</p> <p>44·Palaces or castles are more worthy to designate as heritage than ordinary houses.</p>	<p>36·Styles and typology are the critical designation criteria of the cultural heritage.</p> <p>16·The rareness in constructional technology and feature are both critical designation criteria of heritage.</p> <p>19 · Heritage should be a typical example of buildings, architectures or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in history. (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2014)</p>	<p>12·'Cultural heritage is a value-laden concept' (Harvey 2008, 20).</p> <p>52·'Cultural heritage is about the process by which people use the past' and 'a present-centered process' (Harvey 2008, 20).</p> <p>27·'Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field' (Smith 2006, 3).</p>	<p>2·Cultural heritage conservation is a measure to resist the homogeneity of globalisation.</p> <p>10·Cultural heritage conservation is a means to counter the creative destruction of modernity.</p> <p>35·The goal of cultural heritage conservation is to conserve its social meanings but not aesthetic meanings.</p>
Actor	<p>20·Only governments have the power to designate heritage.</p> <p>1·Only professionals authorised by governments are eligible to carry out the designation and renovation of the cultural heritage.</p>	<p>9·Only scholars and professionals are capable of identifying heritage because they have the expertise.</p> <p>6·It is essential that the principles of the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage should be agreed and be laid down on an international basis. (Preface. The Venice Charter 1964)</p>	<p>18·'Heritage is far from being fatally predetermined or God given but heritage is in large measure our own marvellously malleable creation' (Lowenthal 1998, 226) .</p> <p>49·'People in the present are not just passive receivers or transmitters of heritage but active creators of heritage' (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2).</p>	<p>28·Ordinary people are capable of identifying heritage.</p> <p>34·The purpose of heritage conservation is to foster community identity by community empowerment in order to shape a better environment and rebuild a sense of place.</p>
Subject	<p>3·'Cultural heritage is historic, cultural or artistic objects of national importance' (Article 3. Cultural Heritage Preservation of Taiwan) .</p> <p>46·Things should be reviewed and qualified by authorities and then they can be regarded as heritage.</p> <p>13·Things that existed less than a certain number of years ago (e.g. 50) cannot be designated as cultural heritage.</p>	<p>38·'Cultural Heritage shall be preserved in their original appearance and construction method' (Article 21. Cultural Heritage Preservation of Taiwan) .</p> <p>51·'The aim of cultural heritage restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the heritage and it is based on respect for original material and authentic documents' (Article 9. The Venice Charter 1964) .</p> <p>48·'The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence' (Article 3. The Venice Charter 1964) .</p>	<p>14·Smith argues 'the idea of heritage not so much as a "thing", but as a cultural and social process...' (Smith 2006, 2).</p> <p>4·'The existence of the past as an objective reality is not a precondition for the creation of cultural heritage' (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2).</p> <p>7·Cultural'heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself...' (Harvey 2008, 19).</p>	<p>47·It is necessary to use heritage to conserve everyday landscape and civil memory.</p> <p>22·Heritage is not necessarily elegant or ancient.</p> <p>8·The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architectures but more emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.</p>

Type	Type A: Monuments	Type B: Artefacts	Type C: Value of present/place	Type D: Counter-sites
Nature	<p>29·Aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage because of their relatively backward civilisation.</p> <p>39·The values and meanings of heritage are fixed and eternal.</p>	<p>33·The values and meanings of heritage are objective.</p> <p>26·The values and meanings of heritage are innate and intrinsic.</p>	<p>5·The values of heritage are subjective.</p> <p>40·The values of heritage are variable and could change over time.</p>	<p>24·We should use heritage to conserve the history and collective memory of disadvantaged people.</p> <p>30·Heritage is not found but constructed.</p>
Approach	<p>37·‘The preservation, maintenance and promotion of cultural heritage shall be regulated by law’ (Article 2. Cultural Heritage Preservation of Taiwan).</p> <p>41·Heritage should be protected or monitored by governments.</p>	<p>45·‘Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original’ (Article 12. The Venice Charter 1964).</p> <p>23·Contemporary people are passive receivers of heritage and their responsibility is to protect and transmit heritage to the next generation.</p>	<p>31·The needs and purposes of present people is the critical factor to define heritage.</p> <p>15·‘Heritage is a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups’ (Smith 2004, 4).</p>	<p>25·There could be local approaches and ideas on heritage conservation.</p> <p>21·The participation of the community is the main approach in heritage conservation.</p>
Image	<p>43·Heritage conservation is like protecting antiquities.</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Monument</p>	<p>50·Heritage conservation is like a specimen collection.</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">specimen</p>	<p>17·Heritage conservation is like growing trees.</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">ecology</p>	<p>32·Heritage is like a heterogeneous space. (A different place in the city which could inspire the imagination.)</p>  <p style="text-align: center;">Heterogeneous space</p>

4.1.3 Stage III Carrying out Q – Sorting

In the Q-sorting stage of Q methodology, the participants were asked to arrange all the statements, normally presented as different opinions shown on small cards, into a quasi-normal distribution shaped grid (see Fig. 4.1), composed of an eleven-point scale ranging from +5 to -5 to indicate the continuous extent of their agreement from ‘strongly agree’ to ‘strongly disagree’. Theoretically speaking, the spread of this grid and the number of cells in each column are flexible as long as the distribution remains symmetrical about the middle. The extent and shape of the grid could be arbitrary because they make no difference to the following statistical analysis. Researchers can tailor the pattern of the grid to suit their convenience.

Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Number of Statements in each column:										
1	3	5	6	7	8	7	6	5	3	1
Total Number of Statements: 52										

Fig. 4.1 Quasi-normal distribution shaped grid of Q sorting

The respondents were guided to proceed in accordance with certain instructions. Initially, it was suggested that the sorters should skim all the statements and then roughly group them into three instinctive piles, according to their preliminary attitudes: agreeable, disagreeable or neutral. Then they were asked to rearrange them more thoughtfully into the grid according to various degrees of approval/disapproval between the extremes and

the limited number of cells in each column. Statistically, the sorters had to continuously compare the statements with each other, carefully reconsider the strength of their relative preference for each one and relocate it into the appropriate position from time to time until the sorters were satisfied with the final results of the sorting.

For example, in a Q study of people's cultural heritage views, a subject might be given statements such as 'Cultural heritage is historic, cultural or artistic objects of national importance' and 'Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field' (Smith 2006, 3) and asked to sort them from "most like the way that I think about this statement" to "least like the way I think about this statement". The use of ranking, rather than asking the respondents to rate their attitudes with statements individually, was designed with the idea that people compare opinions with other ideas, rather than considering them in isolation.

Q method forces people to show the differing extent of their agreement/disagreement with these quintessential statements in order to let them clearly distinguish the statements from each other and to avoid ambivalence. This allowed me to elicit their major opinions through the correlation after sorting. Based on the literature survey in Chapter 2, this thesis assumed as a preliminary and temporary hypothesis that there are basically four types of attitude to heritage conservation, and that some new types would theoretically be extracted after the Q sorting that might be hybrids of these preliminary factors. Admittedly, the subjectivity of various individuals would not be as naively simple and pure as the temporary hypothesis used as a temporary device to explore the mystery of the human mind. In fact, this turned out to be the main research issue of this thesis, because these potential hybrids revealed some meaningful data motivating me to explore in greater depth the perception, gaps or transformations of heritage conservation among the respondents. Theoretically speaking, these hybrid types could have arisen from the piecing together of varied ideas on heritage conservation in their minds.

4.1.4 Stage IV Factor Analysis (by Person not by Item)

The fourth phase was to perform the factor analysis to elicit common factors from the data collected from a series of Q sorts conducted by one or more respondents; therefore, what was correlated was persons, rather than Q-sample items. That is, the phase 'determinates which set of people cluster together' (Du Plessis 2005, 161).

Factor analysis is a unique statistical technique originated by Charles Spearman (Brown 2013) and widely employed in the disciplines of psychology and social science

(Kline 1994). Mulaik (2004) states, 'factor analysis refers to any one of a number of similar but distinct multivariate statistical models that model observed variables as linear functions of a set of latent or hypothetical variables that are not directly observed, known as factors'. In other words, factor analysis can effectively compress a large number of observable variables in research to reveal the latent structure or common attributes from a range of variables that seem apparently irrelevant. Kline (1994, 3) also points out that 'factor analysis consists of a number of statistical techniques the aim of which is to simplify complex sets of data. In the social sciences factor analysis is usually applied to correlations between variables'. To sum up, there are two major effects of using factor analysis; one is data reduction and the other summarisation.

All the Q-sorting data were analysed using a statistical programme, the PQ Method (see Fig. 4.2), which is software tailored for the performance of Q method to find the correlation between subjects across a sample of variables (statements) and to extract as few main factors as possible to cover as many respondents' opinions as possible. Basically, the package makes it easier to implement the Q analytic process, which seemed complex to me as a researcher from a non-statistical background. What is more important is that using such tailored software does not reduce the strength or effectiveness of Q's power of analysis. As Brown (1991) describes, a researcher can use a car smoothly and safely to reach her/his destination, without being acquainted with the complex mechanics inside the car, but possessing only some basic knowledge of car use and maintenance. All the user need do is properly use the analytic tool; the detailed theorems and techniques of calculation can be left to mathematicians. 'Q-studies can be readily conducted by anyone with a basic knowledge of research statistics' (McKeown and Thomas 1988, 12).

Therefore, the following discussions focus mainly on the concept of the factor analysis process and avoid too many details that require statistical terminology.

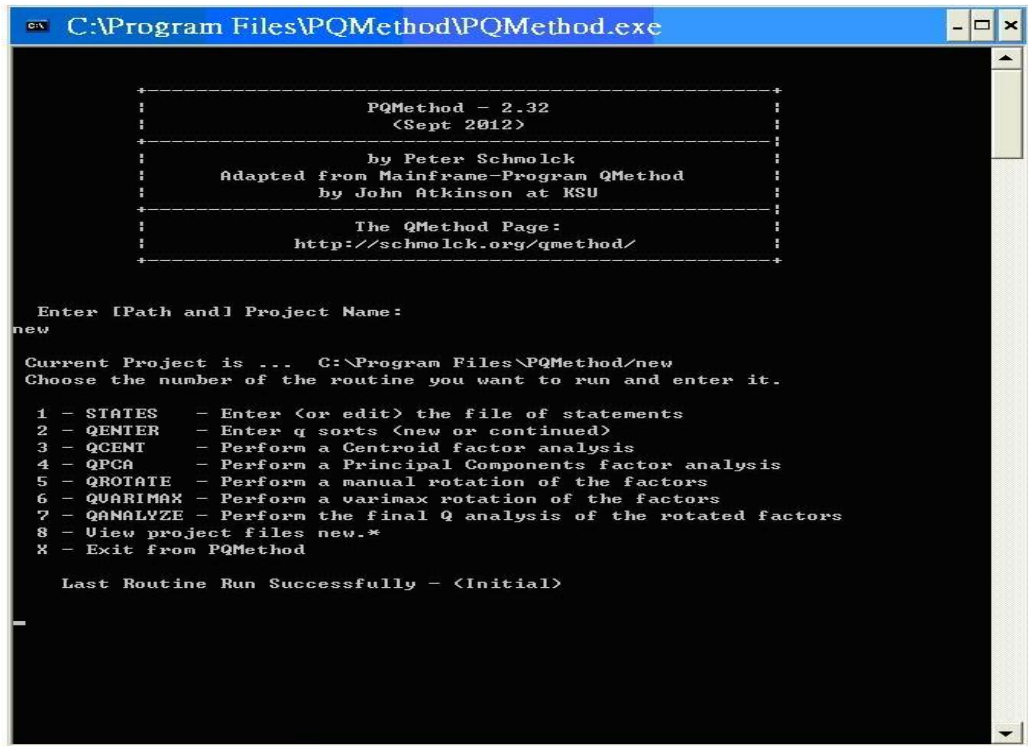


Fig. 4.2 Statistic programme: PQ Method

The first step is to choose number [1] for the routine to create a new data file, create a compatible data format and then enter all the 55 Q-sorting results one by one to establish the primary database for this research (choosing number [2] for the routine). For example, Fig. 4.3 is the finished result.

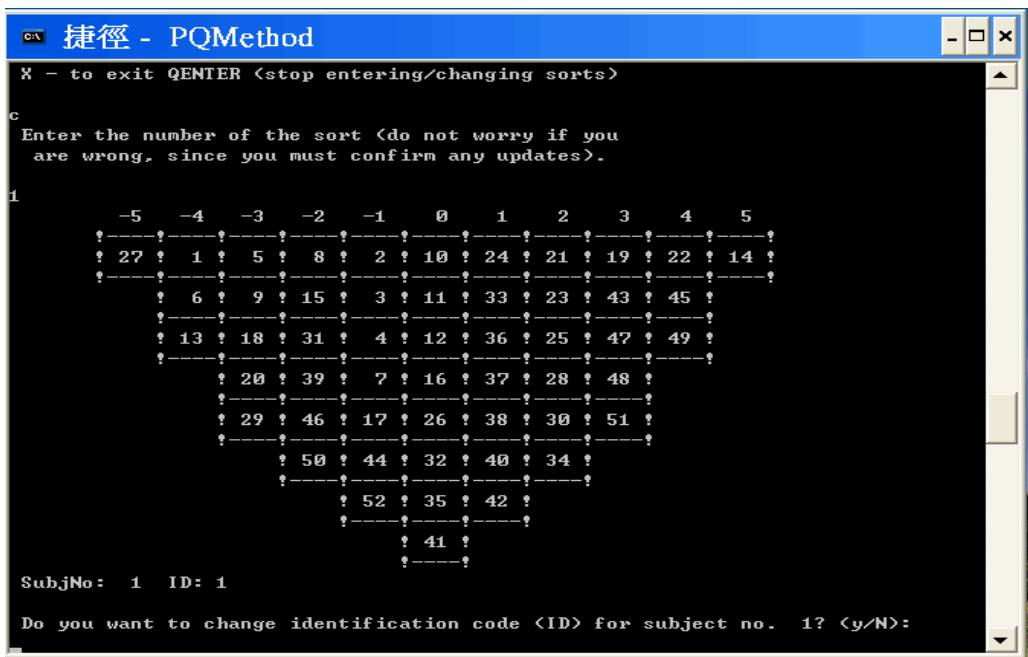


Fig. 4.3 An example of the finished data entry for the Q-sorting

A factor analysis is then performed, either a centroid factor analysis (the method of choice for Stephenson and his followers) or the principal component method (more suited for large samples) to elicit the factors (number [3] or [4] for the routine) among all participants.

The differences between centroid factor analysis and principal component analysis mainly lie in the nuance of mathematical skills. As Thurstone (1947) states, the centroid method of factoring can be considered a convenient way to save many more computational tasks than the principal component method required in the past, but with the development of computers and software, there are no longer problems of this kind. The principal component method has become the default method of factor elicitation in statistical packages such as SPSS and so on, with this thesis also adopting it as the main method for extracting factors.

After performing the principal component analysis (see Fig. 4.4), the researcher must decide on a set of factors to go through to the next step of analysis, since the purpose of factor analysis is to reduce the number of factors as little as possible, to explain the maximum number of variables. Nevertheless, ‘determining the optimal number of factors to extract is not a straightforward task since the decision is ultimately subjective’ (University of Texas at Austin 1995). In practice, factor analysts usually have to choose their own criteria from various empirical guidelines, rather than using an exact quantitative standard to decide on the number of factors to elicit.

	Eigenvalues	As Percentages	Cumul. Percentages
1	24.7112	44.9294	44.9294
2	3.8659	7.0289	51.9583
3	2.2655	4.1192	56.0774
4	2.0072	3.6494	59.7268
5	1.8466	3.3574	63.0843
6	1.7355	3.1554	66.2397
7	1.5705	2.8554	69.0950
8	1.4291	2.5984	71.6934
9	1.3215	2.4028	74.0962
10	1.2879	2.3417	76.4379
11	1.1385	2.0700	78.5079
12	1.0607	1.9285	80.4364
13	0.9935	1.8063	82.2427
14	0.8416	1.5301	83.7728
15	0.7693	1.3987	85.1715
16	0.7521	1.3675	86.5390
17	0.6827	1.2413	87.7804
18	0.6463	1.1750	88.9554
19	0.5993	1.0897	90.0451
20	0.5488	0.9978	91.0429

Press <ENTER> to continue

Fig. 4.4 The results of Principal Component method analysis

There is a range of empirical guidelines to help researchers further. The Kaiser-Guttman Rule is one of the most popular criteria, due to its simple ideas and popularity in different statistical software programs. To judge which factor will be selected, it uses the so-called Eigenvalues (see the top left-hand corner of Fig. 4.4) as a standard that is greater than 1.00. Theoretically speaking, 'Eigenvalues are the sum of squared factor loadings for each factor' (Du Plessis 2005, 162) and are the statistical standard for judging the significance of factors. 'The rationale for choosing this particular value is that a factor must have a variance at least as large as that of a single standardized original variable' (University of Texas at Austin 1995). 'The larger the Eigenvalue the more variance is explained by the factor' (Kline 1994, 30). Those factors with Eigenvalues less than this amount will be neglected because they are insignificant in influencing further analysis. Concerning the percentages, it is the 'total variance accounted for by each factor that is equal to the Eigenvalue divided by the number of variates in the matrix' (Du Plessis 2005, 162). In Q methodology, variates means respondents, so the number of variates in this thesis was 55. Hence, if the first Eigenvalue is 24.71, its value when divided by 55 is 0.4492. There were twelve factors that had Eigenvalues greater than 1.00 in the present research. As a result of the Principal Component method analysis, the cumulative percentage of explanative coverage reached 80.44% (see Fig. 4.4).

Nevertheless, twelve factors are still too many for a compact and efficient factor analysis, because the objective of a principal component analysis is 'to account for the maximum portion of the variance present in the original set of variables with a minimum number of composite variables' (University of Texas at Austin 1995). In this case, the thesis further adopts the second criterion: 'Percentage or portion of the common variance (defined by the sum of communality estimates) that is explained by successive factors' (University of Texas at Austin 1995) to narrow down the number of factors. A researcher can use the percentage of the common variance as an auxiliary guideline to decide how far the coverage of the research will reach. Statistically, setting the bar at 75% is mostly acceptable, so the factors were not selected until the sum of Eigenvalues exceeded a cumulative percentage of 75% of the common variance. Using this guideline, the research was able to reduce the number of factors to nine.

The last criterion that this thesis uses was the Scree test, a method of plotting the Eigenvalues against the corresponding factor numbers. I was able to observe a graph 'that illustrates the rate of change in the magnitude of the Eigenvalues for the factors' (University of Texas at Austin 1995) to decide the cut-off point for factor extraction.

Generally speaking, the diagram often dropped dramatically for the first few factors and then barely changed for the remainder. The “elbow”, or the point at which the curve bends, is considered to indicate the maximum number of factors to extract’ (University of Texas at Austin 1995). It can be observed that the elbow occurred at almost the third factor; after that, the curve gradually levelled off and remained almost the same (see Fig. 4.5).

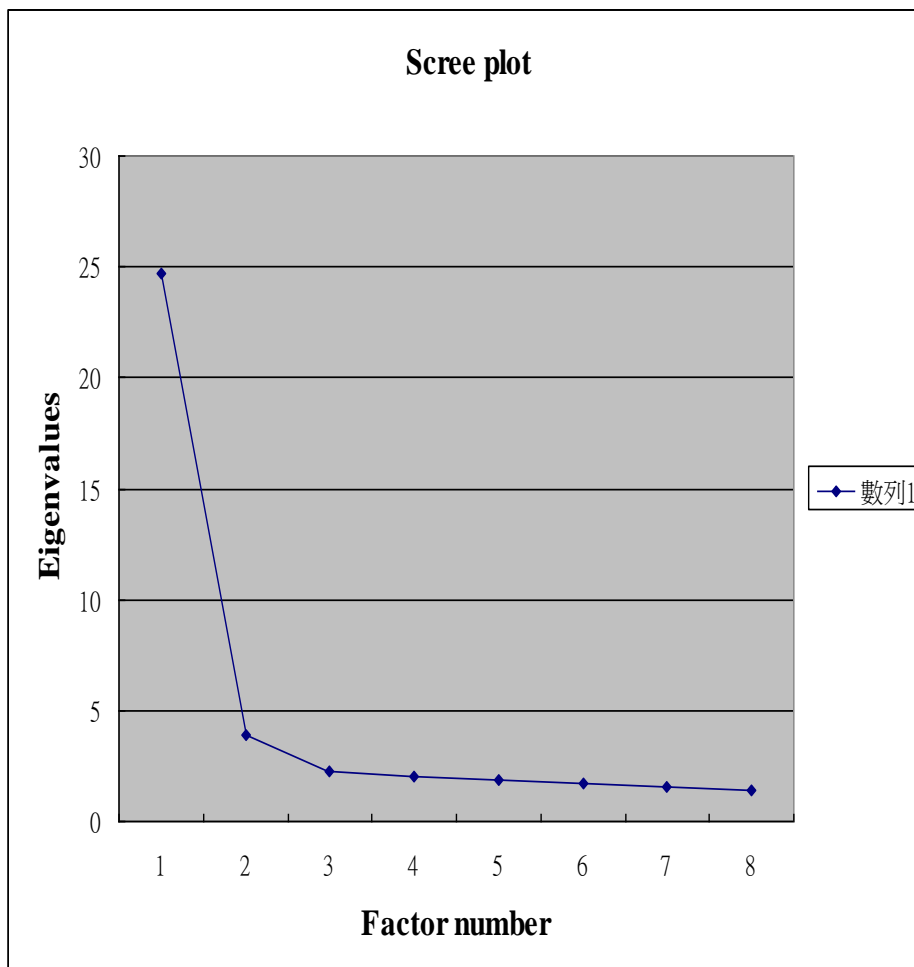


Fig. 4.5 The Scree Test

These three factors usually need to be further processed by a factor rotation to make them easier and more reliable to interpret (Abdi 2007). There are various ways to conduct a factor rotation, but usually ‘the rotation is indeterminate and user-led’ (Rogers 1995, 182) . However, among them, the Varimax criteria (Kaiser 1958) are the most popular. Varimax is a method that can help the researcher reach simplified solutions in which ‘each original variable tends to be associated with one [factor] (or a small number of factors), and each factor represents only a small number of variables’ (Bieri 2013, 161).

For example, Fig. 4.6 shows that variable V1 originally had a correlation coefficient of 0.7 on factor 1 and 0.6 on factor 2. Kline (1994) defines a correlation coefficient as a numerical measure of the degree of agreement between two sets of scores. ‘It runs from +1 to -1: +1 indicates full agreement, 0 no relationship and -1 complete disagreement’ (Kline 1994, 3). After rotating the coordinate, the coefficients changed respectively to 0.9 and 0.2 on the new factors (rotated factor 1 and rotated factor 2), making the relations easier to apprehend and interpret.

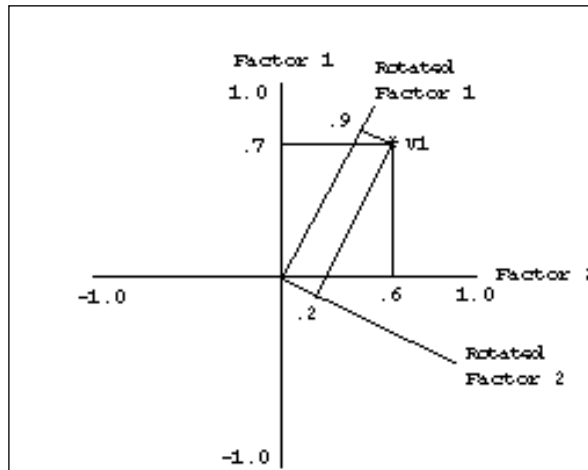


Fig. 4.6 Factor rotation example (University of Texas at Austin 1995)

After factor rotation was performed, the various loadings (correlation coefficient) between the three factors and the 55 sorters are shown in Tab. 4.5. The symbol X indicates that there is a significant enough relation between the factors and the corresponding Q-sorters, that is, the participants. Therefore, the participants are correlated with a particular factor and divided into different groups by sharing similar opinions or subjectivities. Some sorters are neglected because the loadings are not decisive enough to be meaningfully categorised into certain factor groups.

Tab. 4.5 Participants' factor loadings

Q sort	Factor 1	2	3
1	0.4353	0.5160	0.3580
2	0.6690X	0.2930	0.1752
3	0.2668	0.3965	0.4688
4	0.2925	0.4237	0.3630
5	0.7119X	0.3156	0.2483
6	0.4796	0.1555	0.1138
7	0.1429	0.0449	0.4178
8	-0.1660	0.5092X	0.3356
9	0.2672	0.2984	0.3727
10	-0.2583	0.6298X	0.3265

11	0.1702	0.0024	0.7386X
12	0.5715X	0.3489	0.1019
13	0.3984	0.3100	0.1981
14	0.4143	0.3577	0.1148
15	0.5141	0.5218	0.1991
16	0.7670X	0.1412	0.4133
17	0.4338	0.5323	0.1348
18	0.2529	0.5289	0.1994
19	0.4497	0.2549	0.1859
20	0.1416	0.5967X	0.3761
21	0.2670	0.2183	0.5898X
22	0.2393	0.4742	0.6458X
23	0.7848X	0.0510	-0.0007
24	0.5496X	0.3073	0.2828
25	0.6435X	0.3321	0.1840
26	0.4160	0.4445	0.3246
27	0.3480	0.5572X	0.0386
28	0.8079X	0.2003	0.2239
29	0.1260	0.5954X	0.2660
30	0.2510	0.2872	0.4252
31	0.2330	0.2853	0.0522
32	0.1004	0.5447	0.5656X
33	0.6083X	0.0092	0.3494
34	0.0812	0.3994X	-0.1064
35	0.4628X	0.0926	0.2096
36	-0.0192	0.6972X	0.3147
37	0.2703	0.6504X	0.0674
38	0.4204	0.1968	0.2573
39	0.2241	0.1388	0.6503X
40	0.5072	0.0076	0.1688
41	0.4891	0.5248	0.2454
42	0.3606	0.4854	0.0153
43	0.3655	0.0780	0.5016
44	0.5411	0.2510	0.2439
45	0.3503	0.5723	0.1630
46	0.3009	0.6695X	0.2809
47	0.4541	0.3578	0.4116
48	0.7151X	0.0499	0.0360
49	0.7656X	0.3190	0.2354
50	0.3381	0.2951	0.6322X
51	0.4547	0.7370X	0.1076
52	0.3471	0.4494	0.2479
53	0.1902	0.7831X	0.1042
54	0.7111X	0.1688	0.1900
55	0.4262	0.5982X	0.2115
Explained Variance (%)	20	17	11

4.1.5 Stage V Results

Using the PQ Method analysis, three types of factor were extracted that were basically significant enough to present the major attitudes of the respondents, with the accumulated explained variance being 48%. Sorters with similar attitudes defined the same factors. In this section, this thesis introduces only the basic results. The interpretations are expressed in more detail in the next section to reveal the true situations beyond the stereotypical ideas of the researcher; these are also the most interesting part of Q method.

For Factor 1, as the main one, thirteen of the 55 respondents (23.64%) had a significant level of correlation with the sort of statement for this factor, accounting for 20% of the explained variance (see Tab. 4.5). The extreme opinions (those in the +5, +4 and -5, -4 range) in the sorting reveal insights into the attitudes of the respondents grouped in this factor. Tab. 4.6 displays the statements that are most or least favourite. The Z-score means the number of standard deviations by which ‘a raw score falls above or below the mean’ (Randolph and Myers 2013, 47).

Tab. 4.6 Extreme opinions for Factor One

No.	Statement		z-score
8	The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architectures but more emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.	+5	2.01
7	Cultural heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself.	+4	1.61
14	Smith argues ‘the idea of heritage not so much a “thing”, but as a cultural and social process...’.	+4	1.53
47	It is necessary to use heritage to conserve everyday landscape and civil memory.	+4	1.36
29	The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage because of their relatively backward civilisation.	-5	-2.24
13	Things that existed for less than a certain number of years (e.g. 50) cannot be designated as cultural heritage.	-4	-1.51
27	Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field.	-4	-1.58
43	Heritage conservation is like protecting antiquities.	-4	-1.57

Factor two, as the second largest, covered approximately 17% of the explained variance. Twelve participants among the 55 sorters (21.82%) bore a high level of correlation with the distribution of sorting for this factor (see Tab. 4.5). The extreme opinions that are most or least favourite (those in the +5, +4 and -5, -4 range) are shown in Tab. 4.7.

Tab. 4.7 Extreme opinions for Factor Two

No.	Statement		z-score
51	The aim of cultural heritage restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the heritage and it is based on respect for original material and authentic documents.	+5	1.82
8	The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architectures but more emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.	+4	1.77
19	Heritage should be a typical example of buildings, architectures or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in history.	+4	1.40
45	Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original.	+4	1.47
27	Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field.	-5	-2.01
15	Heritage is a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups.	-4	-1.41
20	Only governments can have the power to designate heritage.	-4	-1.46
29	The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage because of their relatively backward civilisation.	-4	-1.77

Factor three, about half of that for Factor One, accounted for 11% of the explained variance. Six of the 55 respondents (10.91%) had a significant level of correlation with the sort of statement for this factor (see Tab. 4.5). The extreme opinions (those in the +5, +4 and -5, -4 range) that most or least agreed with the respondents' (those in the +5, +4 and -5, -4) are presented in Tab. 4.8.

Tab. 4.8 Extreme opinions for Factor Three

No.	Statement		z-score
49	People in the present are not just passive receivers or transmitters of heritage but active creators of heritage.	+5	1.85
8	The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architectures but more emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.	+4	1.58
38	Cultural heritage shall be preserved in their original appearance and construction method.	+4	1.31
48	The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.	+4	1.65
27	Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field.	-5	-2.40
18	Heritage is far from being fatally predetermined or God given, but heritage is in large measure our own marvellously malleable creation.	-4	-1.63
29	The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage because of their relatively backward civilisation.	-4	-2.23
44	Palaces or castles are more worthy to designate as heritage than ordinary houses.	-4	-1.59

4.2 Findings and Interpretations of the Q survey

In Q sampling, this thesis adopts a preliminary structured sampling with four assumed theoretical types of heritage attitude as a strategy for considering the possible patterns of opinion around heritage in Taiwan. The point is to derive some indigenous types of attitude that could not have been perceived or anticipated by the researcher. It is very probable that these three types extracted from Q methodology will not match the preliminary hypothetical types of attitude because the research focus was at first on the theoretical implications of these hybrid compositions. To explain further, on the one hand, it is worth emphasising that the temporary classification was merely a subsidiary device to extract human subjectivity, rather than a formal hypothesis to prove a grand theory advanced as part of the thesis. On the other, those unexpected, hybrid types finally elicited from the Q sorting are the critical issues that this thesis sets out to explore – people’s subjectivity unpolluted and undistorted by the researcher’s prejudice.

Tab. 4.9 Structured Framework of the four types of statement

Types Dimension	A Monument	B Artefacts	C Value of present/place	D Counter-sites
Value	11	36	12	2
	42	16	52	10
	44	19	27	35
Actor	20	9	18	28
	1	6	49	34
Subject	3	38	14	47
	46	51	4	22
	13	48	7	8
Nature	29	33	5	24
	39	26	40	30
Approach	37	45	31	25
	41	23	15	21
Image	43	50	17	32

To make these types and distinctions easier to visualise, they are presented in different colours in Tab. 4.7, to represent the opinions of the four separate groups. As noted in the literature review in Chapter 2, Smith (2006) and Waterton (2010) argued that the AHD exists within Western society. This authorised discourse has been historically developed from rhetoric, theory, practice and ethics taken from ideologies, assumptions and grounds close to Type A (monuments) and Type B (artefacts). Furthermore, the close positioning in the preliminary heritage spectrum also implies ideological affiliations between these two. Generally speaking, Type A is the quintessential or traditional concept of heritage, while the range of Type B attitudes seems wider and more knowledge-oriented than that

of Type A in terms of the so-called authorised perspective. In contrast, Type C appears more inclusive and recognises the values which are important to local communities. Type D seems radical, with some heritage experts possibly not fully recognising the status of heritage. Despite all these disputes, theoretically, the ideal distribution of Q sorting consistent with the AHD attitude might look like Figure 4.7.

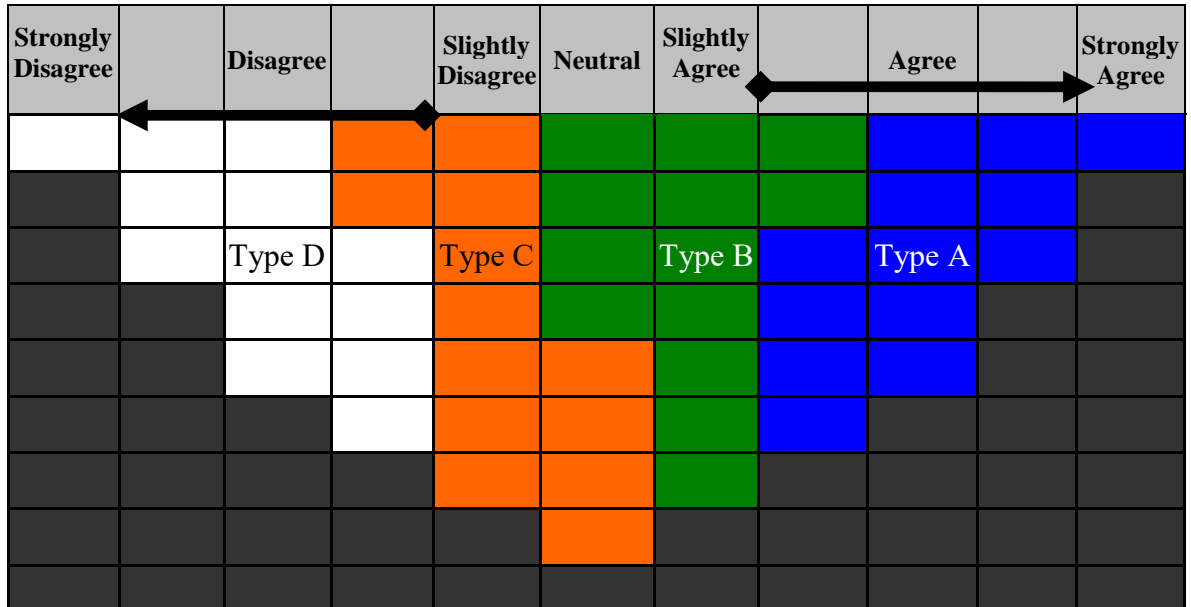


Fig. 4.7 The ideal Q-sorting pattern for Authorised Heritage Discourse

With this ideal distribution of Q sorting of the AHD attitude, we will discuss in the features of each factors in more detail as follows:

4.2.1 The Findings and Interpretations of Factor One

(1) The Attitude Distribution of Factor One

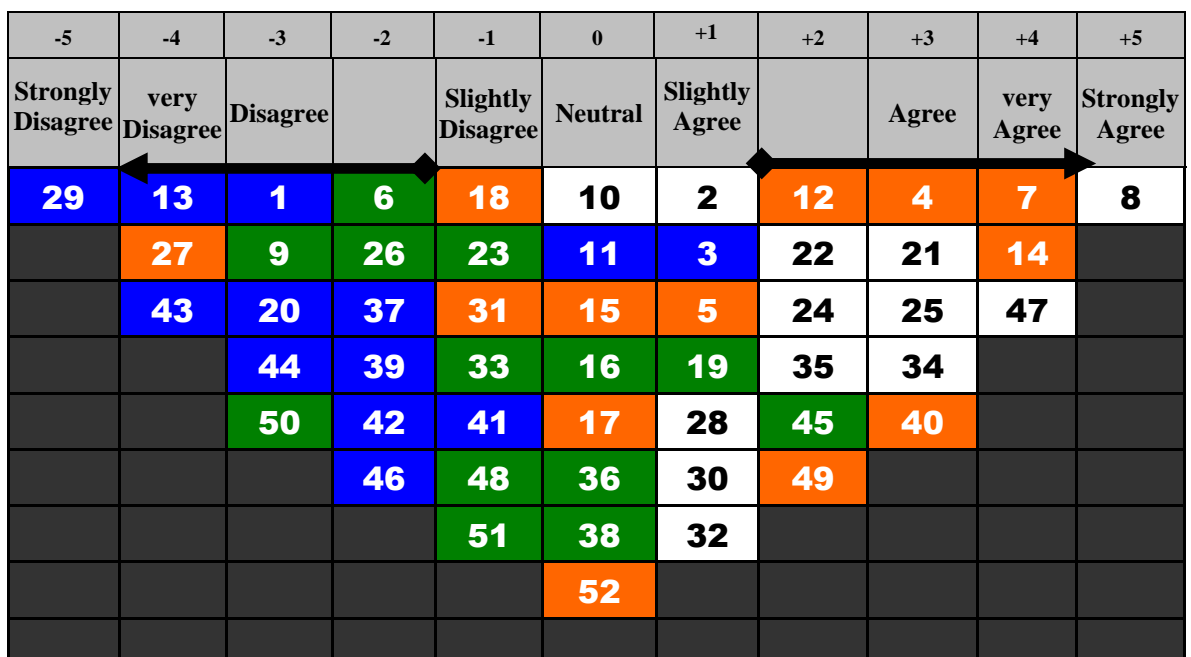


Fig. 4.8 The typical Q-sorting pattern of Factor One

Factor One accounts for the largest portion (20%) of the explained variance in all the fifty-five participants, and includes thirteen respondents (see Tab. 4.5) who are grouped by this factor. Overall, this factor generally reflects the categorisation of the assumptive structure of Q samples, of which the types are A (monument), B (artefact), C (value of present/place) and D (counter-sites) as shown – inversely – in Fig 4.7. Fig 4.8 shows that the distributions of these statements are quite different to the supposed ideal distribution of Q sorting by a sorter with the AHD attitude. As clearly shown, the respondents in this factor mostly agree with statements of type D (counter-sites) and type C (value of present/place), both being more closely related to alternative heritage discourses. In contrast, the attitudes of this factor mainly do not agree with the statements affiliated to the AHD attitude, because they are distributed on the unpopular side.

It seems that the attitudes to Factor One significantly approve the statements that relate to the ‘subject’ dimension of Type C (value of place) and Type D (counter-sites). These statements are:

Statement 8(D) The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architecture, but rather to emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation. (Ranking: +5)

This statement gains the most support in Factor One, and along with statement 47, relates to the interpretation of the ‘subject’ of heritage from the perspective of Type D (counter-sites).

Statement 47(D) It is necessary to use heritage to conserve everyday landscape and civil memory. (Ranking: +4)

With such attitudes to heritage, people believe that the content of heritage concerns not only physical elements but lays more emphasis on the protection of its social and environmental contexts in order to preserve the particular scenery of everyday life and the collective memory that people value. This being the case, the focus of heritage seems to shift from the protection of isolated historical objects to the social and environmental relations of these objects and the perceptions of landscape in people’s everyday experiences; therefore, those choosing this factor consider heritage as something that is important to sustain relations and experiences of this kind. In other words, such cognition is quite different from the understanding of the AHD that basically deems heritage to be something in the past with archaeological or architectural interest. In short, the key

concept here is that the subject of heritage is ‘integrated, oriented to daily life and collective experience’.

Other popular statements in this factor further strengthen such theoretical differences for all the statements located in the cell of the ‘subject’ category of Type C (value of place) that are significantly agreed with, including:

Statement 14(C) Smith argues ‘the idea of heritage not so much as a “thing”, but as a cultural and social process...’ (Smith 2006, 2) (Ranking: +4),

Statement 4(C) ‘The existence of the past as an objective reality is not a precondition for the creation of cultural heritage’. (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2) (Ranking: +3),

Statement 7(C) ‘Cultural heritage itself is not a thing and does not exist by itself’. (Harvey 2008, 19) (Ranking: +4).

All three above statements strongly advocate that heritage is not so much a static and isolated thing but more a dynamic social or cultural process. Therefore, the boundary of heritage conservation should not misleadingly focus on the artefact or physical element in itself but should consider other important dimensions such as social, environmental or experiential issues. Thus, understanding heritage is more like a dynamic process and does not focus on the isolated artefact alone.

The other favourable statements are numbers 25 and 21, both belonging to the Type D (counter-sites) heritage approach.

Statement 25(D) There could be local approaches and ideas to heritage conservation. (Ranking: +3)

Statement 21(D) The participation of the community is the main approach in heritage conservation. (Ranking: +3)

Both advocate a bottom-up approach to heritage conservation. Furthermore, statements 40 and 34 reflect the same values:

Statement 34(D) The purpose of heritage conservation is to foster community identity by community empowerment in order to shape better environment and rebuild sense of place. (Ranking: +3)

Statement 40(D) The values of heritage are variable and could change over time. (Ranking: +3)

In summary, all the popular statements in Factor One substantially emphasise that heritage itself cannot be regarded as a thing but rather needs to be deemed a bottom-up cultural process that can safeguard the conservation of daily life and collective memory.

The most unpopular opinion in Factor One is:

Statement 29(A) The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worthy designating as heritage because of their relatively backward civilisation. (Ranking: -5)

People within this factor think that it inappropriate to judge the need for heritage conservation by the so-called ‘level’ between different civilisations, whether between the dominant and the vulnerable or between the advanced and the primary. Every civilisation, no matter at what level of cultural sophistication, should be recognised and own the right to conserve its own heritage. Therefore, the standard of heritage designation should respect the diverse values and contexts of various civilisations. It could be naïve to think that there should be a universal heritage designation standard because the values might vary and have different meanings within different contexts.

In addition, the other significantly disapproved (Ranking: -4) attitudes are:

Statement 13(A) Things which existed less than (e.g. 50) years ago cannot be designated as cultural heritage. (Ranking: -4)

Statement 27(C) ‘Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field’ (Smith 2006, 3). (Ranking: -4)

Statement 43(A) Heritage conservation is like protecting antiquities. (Ranking: -4)

Except for statement 27, the statements express a certain indifference to the year of heritage and antique-centre conservation concepts. Statement 27, directly quoted from Smith is strongly disagreed with: this may be on the one hand because the statement’s rhetoric adopts an exaggerated way of expressing the critic’s opinion and may run the risk of being misunderstood if explanation and context are not supplied. On the other, because Stonehenge is so famous, even in the Far East, it is not easy for people to deny its heritage value. As a result, even theoretically, statement 27 is close to the perception of the participants belonging to this factor, but it still is not recognised. This misunderstanding may also be a beneficial experience for future Q methodology research not to court misinterpretation by adopting controversial or exaggerated statements.

The rest of the disapproved of statements (Ranking: -3) comprise nos.1, 9, 20, 44 and 50. Among them, statements 20 and 1 both fall into the category of “actors” in Type A,

which mainly approves of the exclusive roles of authorities and professionals in heritage conservation. However, such attitudes are not popular in Factor One, which emphasizes the importance of community and the bottom-up approach.

Statement 20(A) Only governments can have the power to designate heritage. (Ranking: -3)

Statement 1(A) Only professionals authorised by governments are eligible to carry out the designation and renovation of cultural heritage. (Ranking: -3)

Furthermore, people choosing this factor do not approve the image of heritage as a sort of antique that is an exquisite artefact or a specimen frozen in time. These opinions to some extent match their idea of heritage as a dynamic process.

Notwithstanding this, basically, the typical Q-sorting pattern for Factor One shown in Figure 5.2 does reveal a clear distribution that is a contrast to the typical Q-sorting pattern of the AHD. Most statements derived from the AHD and its affiliated discourses are unfavourable, as is easily detectable in the locations represented by the blue or green cells.

In short, Factor One basically reflects a contrary type of attitude to the one affiliated with the AHD and it accounts for 20% of the explained variance. This therefore, is a very interesting phenomenon that reveals an obvious gap between the legislation based on the AHD and the perceptions of people who favour the concept of alternative heritage discourses in Taiwan.

(2) The Theoretical Implications of Factor One

Since the categorisation from Type A to Type D is simply a preliminary framework for the Q sorting study of people's attitudes to heritage, it will be more helpful to describe the features of Factor One using people's attitudes as revealed by the results of this Q survey. In order to explore the features of Factor One, we might use the ranking of each statement in the Q sorting to determine the letter size of the statement so as to express the extent of preference, and rearrange the statements according to different dimensions, for instance, value, subject, nature, etc. Taking the most agreed with statement, as an example, the narrative is "The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architecture but rather to emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation" (statement 8, ranking: +5). Then we can abstract the main concept as "environmental and social conservation" presented in the "subject" dimension, with the largest letter indicating the highest importance. As for the negative attitudes, important

messages will be shown using black shading to indicate that the abstracted concepts are negative opinions. The final results are presented in Tab. 4.10.

Tab. 4.10 The attitudes in Factor One

Type	Factor One : (s8,+5) means statement 8, ranking +5
Value	Community identity, community empowerment and sense of place (S34, +3)
Actor	Governments (S20, -3) Professionals (S1, -3) Scholars (S9, -3)
Subject	Not a thing and does not exist by itself (S7, +4) A cultural and social process (S14, +4) Past is not a precondition (S4, +3) Everyday landscape civil memory (S47, +4) Environmental and social conservation (S8, +5) Rocks in field (S27, -4) Age (S13, -4) Palaces or castles (S44, -3)
Nature	Backward civilisations are less worthy (S29, -5) Variable and change over time (S40, +3)
approach	Local approaches and ideas (S25, +3) Participation of community (S21, +3)
Image	Antiquities (S43, -4) Specimen collection

To summarise, the whole narrative for Factor One is as follows: “Heritage is a cultural and social process towards environmental and social conservation”. This type of attitude holds that heritage is a cultural and social process focused on environmental and social conservation because heritage is not only a thing like an antique and does not exist by itself as a specimen does. Heritage is related to the everyday landscape, civil memory and

the sense of place. Heritage is variable and will change over time, so the past is not a precondition. Community empowerment is the method that it uses to foster community identity by means of local approaches, ideas and community participation. Therefore, heritage conservation practice does not depend on governments, professionals and scholars.

In order to further explore the deeper theoretical implications of each factor, this thesis conducted interviews with Q method respondents to better understand their interpretations and the meanings attached to the various statements they chose that had extreme attitudes (ranking above +3 or -3); that is, the respondents more than agreed or disagreed with them. Some issues that these participants pointed out can help reflect on the possible content, subjects and boundaries in the heritage spectrum; these are shown below.

First, the traditional idea of what makes something become heritage is derived from its historical, artistic and/or archaeological value. However, during the associated interviews after the Q survey, several respondents questioned the validity of values in the heritage designation. They commented:

‘The values of cultural heritage do not come only from archaeological or architectural interests but also from other issues such as the sense of place, the historical particularity’. (R54; 10:53-11:10)

‘Heritage is not inherently valuable or invaluable. Its values depend on the society at that time’. (R48; 06:15-06:25)

‘Whether something is worth conserving depends on a process of negotiation and discussion ... something that at first the public may not think valuable but the situation might change after certain processes like social movement (R48; 03:50-04:26)

Therefore, they suggest some issues like the limitation of traditional heritage values, and the relativity and extrinsic nature of heritage values. This can be observed in the clearly disapproving attitudes to value-related statements, such as the two below, within the “nature” rank of Type A:

Statement 29(A) The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage owing to their relatively backward civilisation. (Ranking: -5)

Statement 39(A) The values and meanings of heritage are fixed and eternal. (Ranking: -2)

Owing to the specific values in traditional heritage discourse, the scope of heritage is restricted within particular boundaries and refers to special objects. However, there are other things which are different from the traditional heritage type but are regarded as heritage by people for their importance to everyday lives, collective memory or identity. Furthermore, some respondents even challenge the reliability of the ‘value’ concept and argue that values are relative and derived from a particular social context, time and place. They are not intrinsic to heritage.

As a result, people begin to question the meanings of heritage and what kind of message the term heritage is used for. As one respondent queried:

‘Why does heritage have to become heritage ... What is heritage really? Is it just a concept? Is it a real or assumed concept? Maybe heritage is just an ideology which comes from the present capitalist market and has grown like a mushroom’. (R16;30:25-30:57)

This respondent doubted the reality or existence of so-called heritage, suggesting that heritage might be just a made-up idea used only to promote a number of things that have some similar features, rather than a clear reference with a definite boundary. Accordingly, owing to the elusiveness of the term heritage, some people gradually came to advocate that the focal point for concern about heritage is “meaning” rather than “value”, as in the following statements:

‘The meaning of heritage is not to conserve something as it was, but what is more important is to stir up its inner meanings before it disappears. To me, everything in the world will decay some day. Since we cannot avoid such a trend, the most important implications of heritage are what kind of meanings or reflections it can inspire in us. If so, no matter whether the item of heritage exists or not, it will be more meaningful’. (R16;34:15-35:30)

‘It is better to review heritage by its meanings. Meanings come from human beings but not objects and can avoid the risk of specimen-like conservation’. (R20;47:45-48:12)

‘The point of heritage is more about its historical or social meanings but not about its aesthetic or architectural interest’. (R35;00:15-00:30)

‘In its nature, heritage relates to historical or life experiences. In other words, heritage is about a social and cultural process; that is, the formation of meanings. As such, it is difficult to categorise them as either tangible or intangible’. (R1;01:55-02:40)

This thesis argues that such differences in the understanding of heritage between value and meaning have very important theoretical implications for the concept of heritage. Since epistemological paradigms orient practices, what we think of as heritage will deeply influence the way that heritage is represented, treated and managed in our society. As noted in previous chapters, there is a long tradition, deriving from Europe, in which the legitimacy of heritage is built on certain values of something, no matter whether these are categorised as archaeological, architectural, artistic or scientific. Such a particular scope of heritage discourse, which significantly focuses on material achievement, was universalised and transferred to other parts of the world in the form of a conservation ethic. It is regarded as a certain form of knowledge that should be applied universally.

However, as Winter (2014) states, the faith of post-enlightenment Europe in the universalism of knowledge is doubtful, with the associated discourses potentially ‘advanced without giving adequate reflection to... historic and cultural specificities’ (Winter 2014a, 560). That is to say, the validity of scientific knowledge may vary because of unavoidable differences in background or context, not to mention other disciplines in such humanistic fields as archaeology. Winter (2014) refers to the criticism by David Livingstone that highlights the problem of modern scientific knowledge as ‘that which largely considers itself a-spatial and of holding universal validity’. Winter (2014) believes that this is the reason why the main approaches in heritage conservation are generally techno-scientifically oriented. As such, value could be the legitimate criterion of heritage because values are regarded as objective and universal standards. Nevertheless, such static, objective, expert-oriented, top-down and universal interpretations of heritage are challenged by the attitudes in Factor One.

Apart from the issue of the validity of value in heritage, other topics that are worth noting are the following. First, heritage is an integrative and dynamic process from present to future, rather than an isolated object in the past, included in Statements 14(C), 4(C) and 7(C). They contribute to one of the main elements in the conceptual framework

of Factor One as “Not a thing”. Further supportive explanations were also found in the follow-up interviews. Among them, some attitudes stress the living quality of culture:

‘Culture can only be recognised as culture because it is still alive. Otherwise, it becomes history if it is inanimate. Like language, it is always progressing. Therefore, English is alive but Latin has died. There is no culture of Latin but there is a history of Latin’. (R33;08:25-08:50)

Such a perspective gives us the insight to discriminate between “living cultural heritage” and “dead historic heritage”. Again, this seems to strengthen my argument that a spectrum of heritage exists that may include a variety of perspectives on heritage. Nevertheless, these heterogeneous opinions were silenced in the past because only privileged types of heritage were authorised. Accordingly, controversies arose when local people with alternative concepts of heritage tried to communicate with experts or authorities with authorised ideas about it.

‘We usually confuse monuments with culture nowadays. Monuments are dead but culture is alive. The protection of monuments can be quantified because they are dead. However, the protection for culture can only be qualitative because it is alive’. (R33;09:17-09:36)

‘If the human is an evolving organism, it will make no sense to deem culture conservation a rigid thing’. (R17;13:00-13:08)

‘Heritage cannot be decided only by its age’. (R7;09:40-09:50)

‘Cultural heritage is regarded and treated as an object. However, what is ignored is that heritage is part of life and attitudes to life’. (R16;01:30-02:00)

‘What we noticed is only property without culture’. (R16;02:50-02:56)

‘Heritage is created both by time and space. It will not exist there without a reason. However, if one only notices objects themselves, then the issues of meanings and time will be diluted ... When one discusses objects, in the first place one has to understand their dynamic existence’. (R16;06:15-06:35)

According to the interview findings, there are two kinds of heritage: cultural heritage is animate and will evolve with people's daily lives, whereas historical heritage is dead and belongs to the past.

The other important ideas found in the follow-up interviews emphasise the importance of everyday life in the formation of heritage. Such opinions include:

‘Heritage has ultimately to be integrated into life’. (R3;01:10-01:15)

‘Except as an object, heritage ought to become part of life...for example, the lifestyle of communities...; therefore, basically heritage is not only an object’.
(R33;0:14-0:30)

‘Heritage is the lifestyle formed by a particular group of people, so it cannot exist alone. That is to say, heritage will vary with different social communities’. (R33;0:40-0:50)

‘Heritage is a part of life and therefore related to society. It belongs to the public memory of all citizens. People live together and produce particular kinds of behaviour, which becomes part of heritage’. (R33;06:30-06:52)

All these views argue that heritage ought to be part of a way of life, rather than an isolated historic object. Such views emphasise that the most important dimension of heritage is its role in people's everyday lives. Since heritage is a kind of public good, people believe that heritage should connect to their ordinary life experience rather than be a spectacular but distant monument. Furthermore, heritage should have an active influence on cultural evolution and the progress of society in the present, rather than be a static artefact from the past. Accordingly, heritage is given a dynamic attribute; it can evolve along with the development of a culture and the civilisation of a particular group of people. Such understanding broadens the horizon of the traditional concept of heritage, from a still object with fixed value into an alternative notion of heritage that can be developed over time.

‘Heritage ought to be part of our lives but not just for its age’. (R15;08:45-08:57)

‘Every heritage has a unique story. However, first, the uniqueness of our heritage is that it is an historic block, that is, a place for living and not only a building. Second, we hope our heritage is alive. Some heritage is protected by

fencing and you are not allowed to get close to it. We hope our heritage can be accessible to and be regularly used by people to maintain its function’.

(R19;16:40-17:30)

All these interviewees advocate the idea that heritage is part of people’s everyday lives and contributes to the enhancement or progress of their culture or civilisation. As a result, the discrimination between tangible and intangible heritage may not matter because the key point of heritage is whether such things can reflect or support people’s everyday lives.

‘Either tangible or intangible cultural heritage is basically the product of people’s lives or activities; therefore, cultural heritage is not only an issue about form but what is more important is that heritage is symbolic of people’s collective lives or activities’. (R49;00:50-01:22)

It seems that the interviewees adopt more essence-oriented than material-oriented perspectives on heritage. Apparently, people care more about the essence or soul of things that can evolve with time and less about retaining the original material. Such a preference may be the main cultural difference between the East and West because Eastern culture is deeply influenced by Buddhism, which regards time as cyclical, the universe being destroyed and remade; therefore, it is vain to preserve physical things – only souls can remain intact throughout. Accordingly, people are more inclined to believe that essence, spirit or soul takes priority over physical, material things.

‘Conserving cultural heritage does not mean keeping it unchanged but preventing it from changing without good reason. For example, Traditional Chinese architecture can fuse with the modern style and become a new Chinese architectural style. This is also some kind of heritage conservation. However, if you only conserve a monument, you only conserve a building without any progress. Therefore, the Lung-Shan Temple (a famous temple in Taipei) can be considered cultural because it is the centre of people’s lives. If it has nothing to do with people’s lives, it is only a building’. (R33;21:40-22:10)

‘Many people wish that the temple will appear like brand new after the renovation. However, heritage experts think the temple will lose its original atmosphere’. (R55;14:00-14:20)

‘The world is inconstant, is always varied. It goes against natural law if you try to keep something unchanged’. (R48;08:15-08:40)

‘For most people, new is good’. (R53;14:58-15:07)

4.2.2 The Findings and Interpretations of Factor Two

(1) The Attitude Distribution of Factor Two

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree
27	15	5	6	10	1	2	37	16	8	51
	20	9	23	17	3	4	38	24	19	
	29	13	30	18	12	7	40	25	45	
		35	31	41	14	11	42	33		
		39	44	43	22	21	47	36		
			50	46	28	26	49			
				52	32	34				
					48					

Fig. 4.9 The typical Q-sorting pattern of Factor Two

Factor Two accounts for approximately 17% of the explained variance and contains eleven participants (see Tab. 4.5) who are closely connected with this factor. Generally speaking, this factor reflects the major characteristics and concepts of type B (artefact-centred), although it may not reveal this as clearly as was shown in the Factor One group. Type B has a close connection with the AHD, which expresses its ideology but stands in a more neutral and objective semblance by using academic or knowledge terms.

The most frequently approved opinion (Ranking: +5) within Factor Two is:

Statement 51(A) ‘The aim of cultural heritage restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the heritage and it is based on respect for

original material and authentic documents'. (Article 9. The Venice Charter 1964)

This statement is quoted from the famous national conservation document, the Venice Charter, which expresses the essential and archetypal perspectives of the AHD. It posits that heritage is value-inherent, independent and material evidence with aesthetic or historic value. Since heritage is regarded as evidence, the original condition of heritage is of great importance. Any alternation may pollute the purity or lessen the authenticity of heritage. This can be deemed the starting point for the AHD, with all the associated later concepts for heritage designation, conservation and management revolving around it. This is also the reason why heritage practices are always connected with conservation but not other methods such as revitalisation.

It is unsurprising that the other preferred statements (Ranking: +4) for the respondents within Factor Two are:

Statement 19(B) Heritage should be a typical 'example of buildings, architectures or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in history' (UNESCO World Heritage Centre 2014) .

Statement 45(B) 'Replacements of missing parts must integrate harmoniously with the whole, but at the same time must be distinguishable from the original' (Article 12. The Venice Charter 1964) .

Again, both statements are part of national conservation documents that constitute the content of the AHD. The only statement that belongs to type D is:

Statement 8 (D) The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architecture but rather to emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.

This statement draws attention to the importance of the environmental and social dimensions of heritage conservation, which are usually ignored by the AHD. For example, although the Venice Charter also points out the significance of the environment, it mainly refers to physical settings and not social relationships. The Australian ICOMOS Charter for the Conservation of Places of Cultural Significance was the first to advocate the social value of heritage.

Statement 8 is favoured in Factor Two mainly due to the special contexts in Taiwan, which deeply influence the starting point of heritage conservation and even to some extent

the attitudes of the supporters of the AHD. This point is discussed in more detail in later chapters.

Since Factor Two reflects the attitude of the AHD followers, it may also be of little surprise that the most disagreeable statement (Ranking: -5) for them is the one radically advanced by Laurajane Smith:

Statement 27(C) ‘Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field’ (Smith 2006, 3)

As Smith (2006) directly challenges the theoretical foundations of the AHD and questions the innate value of heritage, it comes as no surprise that her statement is regarded as the most disapproved one in the Factor Two group. The participants also disapprove of other statements (Ranking: -4) including:

Statement 15(C) ‘Heritage is a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups’ (Smith 2004, 4).

Statement 20(A) Only governments can have the power to designate heritage.

Statement 29(A) The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worth designating as heritage owing to their relatively backward civilisation.

Statement 15, like Statement 27, is one of Laurajane Smith’s radical arguments, and so it is rejected by the people in the Factor Two group. Statement 20 and Statement 29, equally, are supposed to belong to the type with the most conservative attitudes towards heritage. However, they are not supported by the participants within this factor group. It seems that this group is more open-minded and willing to recognise the heritage of minorities than Type A is, with its stance of agreeing with the benefits to the state and excluding other alternative concepts of heritage conservation. There are two possible reasons for this phenomenon. At one level, Factor Two is more academic and knowledge-oriented, so the central perspective of heritage is a typology that tries as far as possible to collect the various patterns or types of heritage. Therefore, the heritage of an aboriginal people can be considered because it can function as one type of heritage and enrich the content of typological collections from the standpoint of knowledge. At another level, it is the shift in the political atmosphere in Taiwan that has led to this transformation in the scope of heritage in the past few decades.

(2) The Theoretical Implications of Factor Two

Here we use the same skills as were used for Tab. 4.10 in the previous section and use the letter size ranking scale again for the statements to express the extent of preferences;

we relocate the statements according to different categories, such as value, subject, nature and so on. The results are presented in Tab. 4.11.

According to the main tendency of the opinions, one can observe the following features, including typology-oriented, inclusive-oriented and anti-authority ones. The strongly negative attitude to the statement ‘Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field’ (Smith 2006, 3) also proves such typology-oriented attitudes because the people in Factor Two prefer the typological values of objects to the meanings of things. For example,

The building conserved should reflect the features of its age which majorly lie in its construction methods and materials. You have to keep these features as much as you can, then in the future people can realise the intentions and meanings of why it was conserved in that way at that time’. (R29;30:35-30:58)

Tab. 4.11 The attitudes in Factor Two

Type	Factor Two
Value	<p>Rareness(S16, +3) Age (S13,-3)</p> <p>Aesthetic meanings social meanings (S35,-3)</p> <p>Objective(S33, +3) Subjective (S5,-3)</p> <p>Rocks in a field(S27, -5)</p> <p>Fixed and eternal values and meanings(S39,-3)</p>
Actor	<p>Governments (S20,-4) Professionals Scholars (S9,-3)</p>
Subject	<p>To preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value respect for original material and authentic documents(S51, +5)</p> <p>Environmental and social conservation (S8, +4)</p> <p>A typical example with historical significance(S19, +4)</p>
Nature	<p>The history and collective memory of disadvantaged people (S24, +3)</p> <p>Styles and typology (S36, +3)</p> <p>Backward civilisations are less worthy(S29,-4)</p>
Approach	<p>Integrate harmoniously with the whole, but distinguishable from the original(S45, +4)</p> <p>Local approaches and ideas (S25, +3)</p> <p>A resource to challenge and redefine received values and identities(S15,-4)</p>
Image	

‘To me, the reason why our society needs to conserve the building is due to its uniqueness like aesthetic fineness or its age’. (R10; 12:00-12:12)

‘Speaking of conservation, it is heritage itself that reveals the values within it but it is not revealed by the interpreter; that is, the values of heritage are constant’. (R53;01:10-01:30)

‘The inherent values of cultural heritage ... are the criteria of the heritage evaluation standard, such as age, rarity, preciousness, and form’. (R53;01:45-02:40)

Therefore, it seems natural for the respondents within this factor to oppose the idea that ‘Heritage is a resource that is used to challenge and redefine received values and identities by a range of subaltern groups’ (Smith 2004, 4). For them, heritage may not be confined to artefacts with national importance and should include the “history and collective memory of disadvantaged people” and “local approaches and ideas”. However, such an inclusive tendency appears to merely focus on the typological diversity of heritage objects because the other major concepts in this factor consider the values of heritage to be objective and not subjective.

‘The values of cultural heritage are objective because they can be rationally discussed’. (R53;05:20-05:40)

They also do not think that social meanings are important to heritage. Generally, the attitudes for Factor Two are academic-oriented and more open-minded than traditional ones. They can accept various types of heritage and are not confined to those which have national importance.

‘There are many stakeholders of heritage who can identify the value of heritage from their own individual perspectives. For architectural historians, they will certainly explore the value of heritage from the viewpoint of architectural history. For local people, they can explore the values of heritage from their own perspectives. The more people participate in the exploring of heritage values, the more rich the values of heritage are; therefore, everyone can participate in the identification of heritage’. (R53;14:40-15:05)

Therefore, Factor Two could be named the type of attitude to heritage which is a typical example with historical significance; and that the aim of cultural heritage

restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the heritage ‘based on respect for original material and authentic documents’ (Article 9. The Venice Charter 1964) because both concepts have the most significant importance and highest levels. The criteria for the designation of heritage are rarity, aesthetic meanings, styles and typology. Basically, the criteria for the selection of heritage are objective and not subjective.

To further examine the implications of the respondents’ preferences, this thesis conducted interviews with the participants of each factor in the Q sorting to explore their perceptions of these significantly preferable or disapproved statements, that is, those ranked above +3 or -3, namely, stronger than agree or disagree. Only in this way can we come near to elucidating the ambiguous connotations of the word heritage in people’s minds. To begin with, there appears to be an interesting common point between Factor One and Factor Two, that is, both factors support Statement 8: the purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architecture but rather to emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation. However, there are nuances in the interpretations of this point between the two sides because their main attitudes are quite different. Based on the results of the follow-up interviews, the respondents supporting Factor Two are not satisfied to conserve heritage merely by focusing on a physical space or some architecture, arguing that there are other characteristics that should be conserved together. The following are comments by the Factor Two respondents.

Most respondents interpret the so-called “environmental and social conservation” as the integrity of heritage items with their physical settings and intangible forms and expressions.

‘Doesn’t heritage include both tangible components like architecture, environment and intangible components like culture together?’ (R27;01:01-01:30)

‘Environmental conservation means integrity, that is what World Heritage has emphasised, and social conservation means that conservation has to integrate with society in two aspects. One aspect is to encourage people in society to become involved in conservation work; the other is that conservation work should not only be confined to physical buildings but also to intangible dimensions like cultural activities or historic connotation, which the Quebec Declaration advocates’. (R46;12:00-13:20)

‘From the perspective of urban development, we often conserve heritage as an isolated building or spot which has no connection to the surroundings’.

(R51; 00:50-01:10)

‘The trend of World Heritage, like the Quebec Declaration, has pointed out that heritage is not only the building but also that it has to combine its setting and intangible values’. (R55; 00:20-00:40)

‘If heritage is solely a building, it is not alive. It is much better to conserve the whole street or community where heritage resides, therefore there can be some social activities related to that heritage’. (R36; 01:10-01:56)

One respondent even believed that literary or poetic works associated with heritage can also be regarded as part of heritage content.

‘Heritage conservation ought to also include literature, documents or stories related to this heritage but not only physical buildings... For example, there was a novel and several poems based on this heritage, by a Japanese writer. They should be part of heritage and inspire the imagination of culture’.

(R20;09:01-10:40)

Many of the respondents emphasise that public support from society is critical. In other words, without the recognition of society, the efforts and achievements of heritage conservation are in vain.

‘With only the enforcement of law, heritage will sooner or later be gone if it does not get the recognition of society’. (R13;09:15-10:00)

‘In the Japanese colonial period, the endeavours to conserve heritage relied heavily on government and intellectuals, but their efforts were totally in vain after the change of regime. Therefore, conservation work cannot be a success without the recognition and support of people in society’. (R46;11:45-12:00)

‘If the conservation of heritage depends on the government, it is obviously vain. As well as legal regulations, heritage conservation should also gain the recognition of society’. (R13;14:40-15:00)

‘If there is heritage in Taiwan, this heritage should be inseparable from the collective lives and the process of social evolution in Taiwan. To me, there should be a broad consensus in society on heritage or culture’. (R16;32:25-32:40)

‘To conserve heritage in a certain place, what is most important is that it can command recognition by the public and not only appreciation from heritage experts’. (R15;03:30-04:00)

‘Heritage conservation cannot be carried out only by governments and experts’. (R15;13:55-14:07)

‘Heritage should be something which commands recognition by the local people’. (R34;26:10-26:20)

‘If the communities around the heritage do not recognise the legitimacy of it or think the heritage is alien to them, there will be a great crisis in the management or conservation of the heritage’. (R55;06:05-06:25)

‘It is easier to designate a historical site than to conserve or maintain it these days’. (R55;06:40-06:50)

4.2.3 The Findings and Interpretations of Factor Three

(1) The Attitude Distribution of Factor Three

	-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
	Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Slightly Disagree	Neutral	Slightly Agree		Agree		Strongly Agree
	27	18	13	1	2	7	5	4	3	8	49
		29	30	6	28	10	12	15	11	38	
		44	31	9	32	20	14	17	40	48	
			39	26	35	21	16	19	47		
			42	41	37	22	25	24	51		
				52	46	23	34	45			
					50	33	43				
						36					

Fig. 4.10 The typical Q-sorting pattern of Factor Three

Factor Three accounts for 11% of the explained variance and is defined by six respondents (see Tab. 4.5) significantly related to this factor. The stance of this factor seems quite ambiguous and mixes the four types together.

The most popular opinion is statement 49 in Type C and the second most popular is statement 8 in Type D. Both are close to the alternative perspective on heritage.

Statement 49(C) ‘People in the present are not just passive receivers or transmitters of heritage but active creators of heritage’ (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2).

Statement 8 (D) The purpose of heritage conservation should not be restricted to physical space or architecture but rather to emphasise integrating environmental and social conservation.

However, the other two statements that are also positively supported are, in contrast:

Statement 38 (B) ‘Cultural heritage shall be preserved in its original appearance and construction method’ (Article 21. Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of Taiwan) .

Statement 48 (B) ‘The intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence’ (Article 3. The Venice Charter 1964).

Both are the quintessential concepts developed from the AHD. One is the provision of the Heritage Conservation Law in Taiwan and the other article comes from an important international heritage conservation document.

It seems paradoxical but these are the genuine opinions of some of the respondents. Owing to the varied and even contentious concepts in heritage conservation in Taiwan nowadays, people do sometimes accept concepts that may oppose each other in nature. This is also one of the theoretical points in this thesis, which argues that a range of perspectives on heritage exists in Taiwan. These various ideas constitute the spectrum of heritage discourses but they are not clearly discriminated from each other. Such differing heritage discourses influence people, whether consciously or unconsciously, to accept their particular concepts without being aware of the differences between the discourses. Therefore, some respondents may easily have paradoxical attitudes that simultaneously support quite different or even contrary ideas about heritage. For example, as noted above, Statements 49, 8, 38 and 48 are the four most popular statements in this group, but in nature they belong to two different types of heritage discourse. Statements 49 and 8 are related to alternative perspectives on heritage. However, Statements 38 and 48 are

affiliated to the AHD, which is clearly different from alternative heritage discourses. These discrepancies have resulted from the coexistence of the exclusiveness of the AHD and the inclusiveness of the trend of heritage democratisation.

If one examines the disapproving statements, the most strongly disagreed statement is Statement 27(C) ‘Stonehenge is basically a collection of rocks in a field’ (Smith 2006, 3) which again conflicts with the stereotype of heritage, such as being like Stonehenge. The other significantly unpopular statements are:

Statement 18(C) ‘Heritage is far from being fatally predetermined or God given, but heritage is in large measure our own marvelously malleable creation’ (Lowenthal 1998, 226).

Statement 29(A) The aboriginals existed even earlier than the Han race in Taiwan, but there are not many things worthy to designate as heritage owing to their relatively backward civilisation.

Statement 44(A) Palaces or castles are more worthy to designate as heritage than ordinary houses.

From the disapproval of Statement 18, it seems that this type of opinion does not agree with the argument that heritage is basically a human creation, but is more inclined to see it as something with innate value, as asserted by the AHD. However, both Statements 29 and 44 reveal the inclusive tendency to cultural diversity or the democratisation of heritage. This tendency theoretically implies the inappropriateness of ranking different types of heritage from different cultures using the standards used by the selection guides in the AHD. Instead they respect the values of other types of heritage. The attitudes for Factor Three appear to relate closely to the opinions for Type B and have a more open or inclusive stance towards alternative types of heritage than they do to the more exclusive standards of those associated with Type A.

(2) The Theoretical Implications of Factor Three

This thesis further employs a letter size ranking scale for the statements to express the extent of agreement or disagreement, and the results are presented in Tab. 4.12.

Tab. 4.12 The attitudes for Factor Three

Type	Factor Three
Value	The spirit and history of the Nation (S11, +3) Of national importance (S3, +3) Variable, Change over time (S40, +3) Age (S13, -3) More elegant, special, huge and intact, more worthy (S42, -3) Fixed and eternal values and meanings (S39, -3)
Actor	People are active creators of heritage not just passive receiver (S49, +5) Our own marvelously malleable creation (S18, -4)
Subject	To preserve original appearance and construction method (S38, +4) Environmental and social conservation (S8, +4) Everyday landscape and civil memory (S47, +3) Rocks in a field (S27, -5) Palaces or castles (S44, -4)
Nature	Not founded but constructed (S30, -3) Backward civilisations are less worthy (S29, -4)
Approach	Be safeguarded as works of art and historic evidence (S48, +4) To preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value Respect for original material and authentic documents (S51, +3) The need and purpose of present people (S31, -3)
Image	

Among these various concepts, “People are active creators of heritage not just passive receivers” is the most strongly approved statement and so gains the highest position. The “rocks in a field” concept is the most negative opinion to claim that heritage is not born but made. These two concepts seem somehow irreconcilable although they belong to the same factor. Nevertheless, if one examines the next major concept, then the attitudes of

Factor Three may be more obvious. The concept is the “Historic evidence” group, which takes in four ideas: “be safeguarded as works of art and historical evidence”, “to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value”, “respect for original material and authentic documents” and “to preserve the original appearance and construction method”. Therefore, the major concern for Factor Three is still over material historic evidence.

During the interview, the respondents explained their perceptions of “People are active creators of heritage not just passive receivers”, suggesting that it means actively exploring the meanings of heritage by themselves and not merely accepting what others have concluded before. Nevertheless, the major concern for them is still focused on the protection of historic evidence. For example,

‘It doesn’t mean people at present need to change the physical appearance of heritage, but to actively interpret the cultural or historic meanings of heritage’.
(R50;15:10-15:35)

This respondent thinks that the interpretative result may strengthen or even challenge the original explanation. Nevertheless, he believes that is an active process for him to interact with heritage. In fact, this sentence is quoted from Graham et al. (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000, 2), who argue that ‘if people in the present are the creators of heritage, and not merely passive receivers or transmitters of it, then the present creates the heritage it requires and manages it for a range of contemporary purposes’. On the one hand, due to the fact that some statements are directly quoted from the related academic heritage literature, it seems that without knowing the context, as was true for most of the participants, the original meanings of these statements may not have been fully conveyed in their Q sorting. In some cases, they may have interpreted these statements using their own imagination and interpretation. On the other, such a situation is also illuminating because it reveals some interesting insights from a self-explanatory perspective. In fact, arguments which recognize that people’s ideas and understandings shift with time are compatible with such attitudes as “The values of heritage are variable and change over time” and disagree with statements such as “The values and meanings of heritage are fixed and eternal”. Many respondents highlight their understanding or feelings about a particular thing, for example, heritage, which may vary with the passage of time. It seems that the respondents in the Factor Three group, like those for Factor One, also agree to some extent that heritage is dynamic, although they also emphasise heritage as material evidence. They assert that they could have different interpretations of the same

heritage at different points in time. At first glance, it may sound contradictory, but after much deliberation I found that it provided me with a certain insight that people's impressions of a certain place or object do change with time.

Apart from this paradox, other similar situations also occur with Factor Three. For example, the next significant concept supports "Everyday landscape, civil memory" and opposes "Backward civilisations are less worthy", whilst at the same time the respondents also emphasise the importance of national values and "The spirit and history of the Nation". When I interviewed a local woman about the apparent paradox between her reasons for choosing Statement 3 ("Cultural heritage is historic, cultural or artistic objects of national importance") as her favourite narrative and for Statement 47 ("It is necessary to use heritage to conserve everyday landscape and civil memory") as her second favourite, she gave an explanation that establishes a weak connection between a local historic building and a nearby national historic site to prove the "national importance" of community heritage. In my view of this thesis, it seems that such paradoxes do arise because ordinary people receive various and even conflicting concepts of heritage in Taiwan today, and as a result, some discrepancy or contradiction often occurs in their expressions, resembling the consciousness shown in Factor Three. The respondents in this group seem to straddle the traditional and radical perspectives of heritage. They are not satisfied that heritage is confined to "Palaces or castles" or the like, or things of a certain "age" or "more elegant, special, huge and intact, more worthy", but still do not recognise the radical interpretation of heritage in which heritage is "our own marvellously malleable creation", which takes account of "The need and purpose of present people" and "Not founded but constructed". To some extent, such paradoxical conditions reflect the contentious nature of heritage and the thesis argues that such inconsistencies are the result of the various and even conflicting concepts of heritage in Taiwan. They lead people to lose touch with coherent logic about heritage discourses and to oscillate between opposing claims. For example, they will accept traditional heritage discourse ideas on certain topics such as the maintenance of authenticity under renovation, but may also in other circumstances agree with the radical strand of heritage ideas, for instance, civil memory in heritage, because of the strong influence of the democratisation of cultural governance in Taiwan, something this thesis goes on to discuss further in Chapter 7.

4.3 Conclusion

In Q methodology, this thesis adopted a preliminary structured sampling with four assumed theoretical types of heritage attitude as a strategy for considering the possible patterns of opinion around heritage in Taiwan. The point is to derive some indigenous types of attitude that could not have been perceived or anticipated by the researcher. After the survey of Q methodology, this study extracted three primary factors which are significant enough to present the major attitudes of the respondents.

Factor One accounts for the largest portion of the explained variance and sees heritage as “a cultural and social process focused on environmental and social conservation because heritage is not only a thing like an antique and does not exist by itself as a specimen does. Heritage is related to the everyday landscape, civil memory and the sense of place. Heritage is variable and will change over time, so the past is not a precondition”.

Factor Two accounts for approximately the second highest portion of the explained variance and reflects the major characteristics and concepts of the AHD. Factor Two emphasizes the historical significance and says that the aim of cultural heritage restoration is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the heritage which ‘is based on respect for original material and authentic documents’ (Article 9. The Venice Charter 1964); both concepts have the most significant importance and highest levels. The criteria for the designation of heritage are rarity, aesthetic meanings, styles and typology.

Factor Three accounts for 11% of the explained variance; its stance seems quite ambiguous and it mixes the preliminary four types together. This study argues that such paradoxical conditions reflect the contentious nature of heritage which is the result of the various and even conflicting concepts of heritage in Taiwan.

Chapter 5 The Issue of Authenticity

After the survey of the various perceptions of heritage in Taiwan using Q methodology, this thesis explores the issue of authenticity, which is regarded as the critical condition for inscription and conservation from the standpoint of the international heritage conservation ethic. Furthermore, for a society with fragile and young material legacies such as Taiwan, it will be interesting to explore what the meaning of the authenticity test is.

5.1 The Evolution of the Concept of Authenticity of the World Heritage

Zancheti, Lira, and Piccolo (2009, 164) point out that the requirement of authenticity for cultural heritage first appeared in the 1964 Venice Charter. However, the term appeared only in the preamble and was not defined later. In the late 1970s, UNESCO (1978) began to adopt “the test of authenticity” as a requirement for the designation of World Heritage Sites. Since then, the requirement of authenticity has become an important criterion and its ideas have started to be discussed and developed.

At first, the concept of authenticity ‘was interpreted from a predominantly European perspective, particularly as it related to monumental architecture. This in essence meant that properties would have to possess material or physical authenticity’ (Cameron 2009, 130). Based on the experiences of the conservation of monuments which were mainly of stone, such a European viewpoint, which showed a strong concern for four fundamental parameters: design, materials, workmanship and setting of heritage, as stated in the 1977 Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage, has for decades dominated the definition of authenticity. However, after more and more non-European countries joined the World Heritage Convention, the dominant European viewpoint gradually began to be challenged.

Cameron (2009) pointed out that Japan joined the World Heritage Convention in 1992 and she was soon aware of ‘a possible conflict between a materials-based definition of authenticity and the Japanese approach to conserving wooden structures’ (Cameron 2009, 134), where replacing the decayed old components with new material was regarded as an unavoidable and necessary means of conserving historic buildings. The Japanese approach to conservation raised concerns to some extent among the European heritage professionals and some of them even thought it was an inappropriate means of conservation. Such concerns finally resulted in the meeting in Nara which put forward ‘a

doctrinal shift towards recognition of the relativity of the concept of authenticity, due to the diversity of cultures and manifestations of heritage' (Cameron 2009, 134).

In contrast to the materials-based European ideas, the Nara Document seems to give more weight to the consideration of individual cultural contexts and the credibility of related information sources, and to broaden conventional thinking on the concept of authenticity. Based on the conservation experiences of the wooden culture of Japan, the Nara Document tries to extend the scope of cultural heritage and to accord full respect to the diverse social and cultural values of all societies. However, such perspective shift seemed not to be accepted immediately at the time, showing why the result of the meeting is called a "document" and not a "Declaration" as Am (2009, 144) pointed out. In fact, it took several years before the Nara conclusion was officially recognized by the World Heritage Committee in the 2005 Operational Guidelines which announced a variety of attributes for authenticity, including:

- form and design;
- materials and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions, techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and
- other internal and external factors

Accordingly, the judgement of authenticity seems no more to be confined to material attributes but also depended on whether the cultural values of properties could be truthfully and credibly expressed through the above-mentioned attributes or not according to the type of cultural heritage and its cultural context. After this brief review of the evolution of the concept of the authenticity of World Heritage, this study examines the test of authenticity through several heritage conservation cases, and explores their implications for heritage management in Taiwan.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it seems better to define the implications of three words in advance; namely, conservation, restoration and renovation, before further discussion. This study adopts the definitions of Petzet (2004, 9-12), in the narrow sense, 'to conserve (conservare) means to keep, to preserve ... to conserve is the supreme preservation principle'; to restore (restaurare) means to re-establish ... it is not to be defined as a term meaning major preservation work in general ... but rather as a measure

that is to be differentiated from conservation and safeguarding as well as from renovation’; ‘to renovate (renovare) means to renew...Renovation aims particularly at achieving aesthetic unity in a monument in the sense of “making new again” (the outer appearance, the visible surface of a monument, etc.)’ Based on these definitions, this study develops the following arguments.

5.2 Renovation: the Necessary Evil for Heritage Conservation?

In Taiwan, most heritage after designation has to undergo renovation more or less often, for two major reasons: first, most buildings were built of wood or brick which is generally perishable in the special natural environment of Taiwan and cannot endure long as stone can. In fact, Taiwanese buildings, like Chinese buildings ‘have a sort of “built-in obsolescence” [in] that the material decays rapidly and requires frequent rebuilding’(Zhu 2015, 597); second, the damage to heritage caused by the natural environment, including high humidity, heavy rainfall and various natural disasters. According to the Central Weather Bureau of Taiwan, the monthly average relative humidity (RH) for the major cities in Taiwan is over 70% with average temperatures about 22°C, which encourages termite damage to wooden architectural elements. Besides, the average amount of rainfall is about 2,500 mm per year (unlike the 1000 mm in the UK), most of which comes in the form of typhoons. At the same time, Taiwan is often subject to natural disasters such as earthquakes and typhoons that cause damage to heritage. As a result, it seems unfeasible to conserve wooden or masonry buildings without frequent renovation because they can easily be damaged by a small earthquake. Besides, high urban density and the shortage of public facilities, accompanied by dramatic urbanization and failed urban planning have induced an importunate demand for public infrastructures such as parks, green spaces and community centres, and the property of heritage can become a mere substitute to mitigate this need.

Owing to the special architectural, environmental and social limits, the means of conservation, the supreme preservation principle, seems seldom to be adopted in practice, except for archaeological sites that do not usually have the opportunity to be used again. The condition of most historical buildings is usually quite shabby for long-term use and they need extensive renovation after they have been designated as heritage. Otherwise, these historical buildings are soon complete ruins. As a result, the conservation of heritage in ruins became impractical and the last option. Furthermore, since the components of heritage easily decay or are easily damaged, recurrent repair, restoration and even replacement are unavoidable, sometimes soon after extensive renovation. Consequently, renovation seems to become a necessity evil for heritage conservation, which involves the replacement, more or less, of worn or missing components.

However, such situations seem to arouse the concern of authenticity. Since most heritage has to undergo extensive renovation for the above reasons, heritage cannot often

be simply conserved as it stands. In fact, most parts of the material, components, elements or structures of heritage, even classified as monuments, have to be replaced after renovation. Although the heritage conservation practitioners try to keep to the original materials as far as possible, as the international conservation ethic asks, controversies often arise after renovation.

The first issue is the appropriateness of extensive renovation. It seems that the conditions of most heritage cases will continue to deteriorate and heritage will in the end be destroyed if renovation work is not carried out to some extent, owing to the conditions of the material and natural environment in Taiwan. Such an embarrassing situation seldom arises in the West, for two reasons; first, because ‘the intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence’ as Article 3 of the Venice Charter sets out: ‘From this basic objective it becomes clear that in certain cases only conservation in the narrow sense is acceptable; restoration or renovation would be possible or desirable only under certain preconditions, or perhaps must be strictly rejected’ (Petzet 2004, 9).

Since heritage is regarded as historical evidence or a work of art, renovation is acceptable only under certain preconditions. The second reason is the innate differences of the material of heritage. Western monuments were usually made of enduring material such as stone or wood which can last for a long time, sometimes hundreds of years, in the natural conditions of the West. ‘From the perspective of the European heritage practices, eternity is constructed through stone material to overcome the erosion of time; however, Chinese architecture inhabits eternity in the immaterial part of heritage’ (Zhu 2015, 597). This is why in Taiwan there is no traditionally concept of heritage as historical evidence or works of art. The corresponding term “guji” (古蹟) literally refers to ancient remains which were not originally supposed to last forever or be built with enduring materials. Hence, most “guji” (古蹟) needs periodic renovation.

From the standpoint of the international heritage ethic, conservation is regarded as the main approach, and renovation can be accepted as exceptional only in certain conditions. However, renovation seems to have become the major approach to heritage management in Taiwan. One might worry about the inappropriateness of such an approach. On the one hand, renovation does cause the same problems as those experienced in the West if the Taiwanese think of heritage in the Western sense. On the other hand, this study has to remind readers that heritage and its management to some extent are relative cultural

phenomena which are deeply embedded in the particular social and natural contexts where they were produced. Heritage reflects the collective consciousness, desire or anxiety of particular societies vis-à-vis the past at a certain period. Moreover, it is worth noting that such a collective tendency was realized through its corresponding approaches to heritage management based on the special characteristics of the local material and natural environment. In other words, heritage in the West mainly expresses something in an eternal form which tries to last as long as possible by being made of enduring material; this made possible the concept that the main means of management is conservation.

Such approaches to heritage conservation mainly developed in the particular historical, social and natural environmental context of the West. Once the Western approach to heritage management was regarded as universal doctrines, to be applied to heterogeneous societies that expressed their heritage through different ideas of the past and different materials, it was no surprise that some gaps and debates arose. For example, having a similar wooden culture to Taiwan's, Japan also faced the similar dilemma over periodic renovation. Soon after it joined the World Heritage Convention, Japan realized the innate discrepancies in heritage management between wood and stone cultures. Accordingly, Japan advanced the associated issues which finally caused the meeting in Nara and the preparation of the Nara Document on Authenticity.

As mentioned in the previous section, the Nara Document broadened the horizons of the attributes for authenticity, which had mainly been confined in the past to 'four parameters: design, material, workmanship and setting' (Jokilehto 2006, 8), heritage experts gradually recognized that there are other ways of truthfully and credibly expressing cultural values through such attributes as traditions, techniques, spirit, feeling or management systems. In other words, it admitted that 'each culture has its own ways of obtaining information and of representing its values' (Jokilehto 2006, 3). From this perspective, Japan justified its approaches to heritage management through other attributes than materials-related factors.

To some extent, based on detailed investigation and preservation plans, it seems that the Taiwanese could have borrowed the Japanese approaches to resolve its issues with unavoidable renovation by adopting the same traditional form, design, materials, techniques and even spirit and feeling in order to safeguard the messages and values of heritage. Nevertheless, the situation in Taiwan seems more complex than such an approach could satisfy. Owing to extensive renovation, the most frequent complaints that heritage conservation practitioners receive from people are the disappearance of the traces

of age and the appearance of heritage after its renovation looks too new to seem like a historical building, since the corresponding term of monument in Taiwan is “guji” (古蹟) which literally refers to ancient remains in Chinese, as noted in Chapter 3. Accordingly, the dilemma between "renovating the old as the old" and "renovating the old as the new" has become a special issue in Taiwan.

Generally speaking, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in Taiwan and its associated regulations follow the principle of the international conservation ethic in all its articles. Before renovation work is undertaken, the authorities will commission experts to investigate and explore the history, architectural features, construction method, and current damage of the historical site for reference during the renovation. In the renovation, heritage practitioners will ask the contractors to preserve the original architectural elements as far as they can. However, such goal is usually hard to attain because the situations are various and the proper way has to be decided case by case. For example, the major part of a main beam in a traditional temple has rotted through an infestation of termites and most of it has had to be cut away, keeping only the sound part. If the remains are long enough and it can still work as a main beam, the contractors may attach a new piece so that it can continue in use it; otherwise, if the remains are too small, it might be used elsewhere to replace other rotten but smaller elements.

In most cases, serviceable original material is quite sparse and intensive renovation is needed. Since intensive renovation usually involves the replacement of components, architectural elements, and even the fabric, before the appearance, colour and texture of different parts in various phases naturally look different. In particular, traditional Taiwanese architecture usually has painted wooden components for added aesthetic appeal and durability. This always makes the contrast between the old and new elements more obvious. Ordinary people and politicians usually cannot accept such a contrast and will ask the heritage practitioners to make it look better. In order to let the elements of “guji” after renovation or replacement still keep the ambience of history, these new elements are sometimes intentionally processed to make them look ancient, called "renovating the old as the old".

However, opponents argue that the original elements should be distinguished from new ones; otherwise, the result of renovation might be misleading. They believe that "renovating the old as the new" would be more proper, since renovation can be regarded as a new phase in the continuous life of heritage and should be distinct from the old part.

However, because the appearance of heritage after renovation might then have patches everywhere, it is not easy to persuade people to accept such an approach. Besides, it is also common to dismantle Taiwanese or Japanese colonial traditional buildings before renovation because they are designed to be easy to renovate or replace decayed elements by new ones. Such architectural features also mark a fundamental difference between Taiwanese heritage and Western stone buildings. As a rule, Taiwanese or Japanese traditional buildings use mortises and tenons in the timber structures; they are, to some extent like Lego structures which can easily be taken apart and reconstructed.

Before renovation, heritage practitioners first, check the condition of every architectural element. If they are in good condition, they are kept and undergo any necessary restoration. However, if they have deteriorated they generally need to be dismantled for intensive renovation. Experts then try to reinsert them in their original position according to detailed records. Unfortunately, these buildings often need to have many decayed or missing parts replaced, since they were not built to last. Although heritage practitioners preserve the old architectural components and try to reuse them in their original places as far as possible, it is not easy to do so because this approach needs meticulous reconstruction and a larger budget; therefore, non-specific architectural elements such as roof tiles, wall tiles or bricks are more often concentrated close to one another for the convenience of construction than returned to their original position. As a result, heritage buildings after intensive renovation generally look newly-made.

Second, it is the issue of change or flexibility that is innate in Taiwanese or Japanese buildings because they are made like Lego constructions as noted above. This flexibility challenges the quest for authenticity far beyond the imagination of the West. For example, consider the dramatic conservation experience of the Xinbeitou railway station.

The Xinbeitou station was built in 1916 during the Japanese colonial period as the terminal of the Xinbeitou train branch line, which was built for the purpose of transporting tourists to the hot spring in the Xinbeitou area of Taipei City. However, in the 1980s the Taipei City Government decided to replace the traditional railway with a mass rapid transit system in order to cope with the rising traffic congestion. The old Japanese style wooden station was closed and its demolition planned. Fortunately, a private amusement park which featured traditional style decided to move the station to the Taiwan Folk Village in Changhua County in 1989 at no public charge.



Fig. 5.1 The Xinbeitou station in the Taiwan Folk Village, Changhua County (Source: Taipei City Government, Aug. 8, 2013; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, <<http://sec.gov.taipei/fp.asp?fpage=cp&xItem=61435640&ctNode=22621&mp=101001>>)

Fourteen years later, in 2003, public consciousness was awoken and encouraged by the historical plan of President Lee Teng-hui to construct a sense of the community of life. The community group started to appreciate the importance of the faraway station and to campaign for its return. At first, it made no progress, even with the help of the Taipei City Government because the Taiwan Folk Village claimed that after moving to the theme park the station had become its private property and it refused to sell the station to Taipei. However, the group did not abandon hope but mounted a campaign to persuade everyone to donate one dollar and build up a fund to get the station back. The resulting deadlock lasted for several years until a dramatic event changed the situation.

The Taiwan Folk Village went bankrupt in 2006, due to poor management, and all its properties including the Xinbeitou station had to be auctioned off. The opportunity inspired the group to try to buy the station back and fulfil its ambition. In fact, six other historical building had been moved to the Taiwan Folk Village from elsewhere. After it went bankrupt, one of the other previous owners of a historical building in the village also asked for the return of his building, the Matsu Temple in Beidou town.

But the situation was more complex than the optimistic community group in Beitou could have imagined. Because the auction included all the properties belonging to the Taiwan Folk Village, the court did not accept the group's proposal to auction the Xinbeitou station without the rest. However, the auction, though it was held several times, did not dispose of the buildings and the situation reached an impasse. Meanwhile, on the

one hand, the village was totally abandoned and its buildings were badly damaged by vandalism or theft. As a result, the condition of all the historical buildings deteriorated rapidly. On the other hand, the heritage campaigners in Changhua County claimed that these historical buildings had become part of their local history and should remain where they were. In order to prevent all seven historical buildings in the village from being sold, dismantled and moved to other places, the Changhua County government announced in 2007 that the whole of Xinbeitou station was designated a “temporary heritage”, a special status accorded by the Cultural Heritage Conservation Act of Taiwan. It meant that the building would be protected by the government for six months in order to evaluate its value for conservation. The asset management company of the Taiwan Folk Village was annoyed by the announcement of the Changhua County government and strongly opposed the suggestion of heritage designation. At this point, the state of heritage resembled a tug of war.

The properties were not auctioned off until 2012. In 2013, the community group and Taipei City Government again requested the new owner of the Taiwan Folk Village to return the station. Surprisingly, the new owner generously promised to do so. In fact, the new owner was not only generous but also wily enough to claim the donation as a deductible expense on which tax could be paid back. In the meantime, three of the seven historical buildings in Taiwan Folk Village were designated as heritage by the Changhua County government and all of them will remain on their present site except for Xinbeitou station and the Matsu Temple in Beidou town, which will both be allowed to move back to their original locations. It seemed a happy ending for all concerned.

Ironically, controversies arose quickly again, tearing to pieces the consolidated community group. After the return of the Xinbeitou station in February 2014, an unexpected problem emerged, that is, the location of the reconstructed station. Heritage campaigners asserted that the station should return exactly to its original place for the sake of authenticity and respect for the spirit of place. However, most of the original space for the station is now occupied by roads. If the station came back to its precise original place (site A) as shown in Fig. 5-2, it would block traffic and the nearby road system would have to undergo significant adjustments in order to make enough space for the station, which seems unfeasible and impracticable. In additions, the context and settings of the Xinbeitou station have also changed. For example, the railway and platform have disappeared and Xinbeitou would not be able to function as a real station.

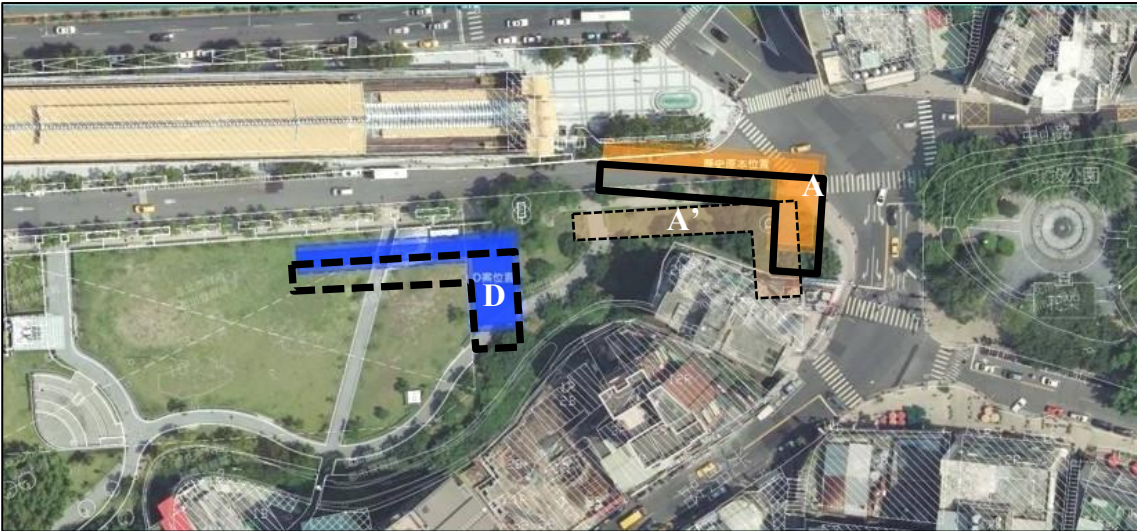


Fig. 5.2 The Reconstruction Sites A, A' and D for the Xinbeitou station (the long wing represents the platform). (Source: Heritage campaigners, Jul. 23, 2015; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, <<http://www.storm.mg/article/58459>>)

Aware of the low feasibility of returning the station to its original site, heritage campaigners presented a compromise location (site A') which was close to the original place; most of this is located in a park and will not impact traffic significantly. However, the community group in Beitou still worried about the traffic safety if the compromise location went ahead and strongly opposed both the suggestions of the heritage campaigners. In the opinion of the community group, the original position was not convenient for sightseeing and traffic, and site D, which was inside a park and only fifty meters away from the original place, seemed preferable. They judged it the best location, offering enough space for sightseeing, taking photographs and other leisure activities.

The Taipei City Government was in a dilemma and was seriously criticized by both sides. The heritage campaigners asserted that the Xinbeitou station could not be said to have returned if the reconstruction site was not site A or A'. They claimed that there was a historical axis connecting the station, the Circle Fountain, the Beitou Hot Spring Museum and Mount Guanyin, and believed the station should be conserved together with its settings and could not be separated from the other elements.

In contrast, the community people seemed more practical in thinking the new location inside a nearby park would be more convenient for traffic, sightseeing and leisure. What annoyed them most was that most of the people supporting the heritage campaigners were not local people and had contributed nothing for the return of the station; and the heritage campaigners from outside had rudely intervened in local affairs that concerned only the people of Beitou. The heritage campaigners refuted the community's argument and

asserted that heritage conservation was a public issue on which anyone had a right to an opinion. The conflict between the two sides became more and more serious. The Taipei City Government faced the dilemma for almost three years and finally in May 2016 decided to choose site D as the place for reconstructing the station. It is no surprise to learn that the official decision annoyed the heritage campaigners and the controversy is still heated.

Some issues of authenticity are exemplified in the case of the dramatic voyages of Xinbeitou station. First, there is the issue of original position and appearance. The innate characteristic of flexibility in Taiwanese or Japanese buildings has already been mentioned. In fact, the Xinbeitou station underwent several adaptations after its original erection in 1916 as a railway terminal. To begin with the station looked like a pavilion which could be used as a shelter by passengers. In 1937, the station was extended by two spans as is obvious in Figs. 5.3 and 5.4 from the extra dormer window on the roof of the station.

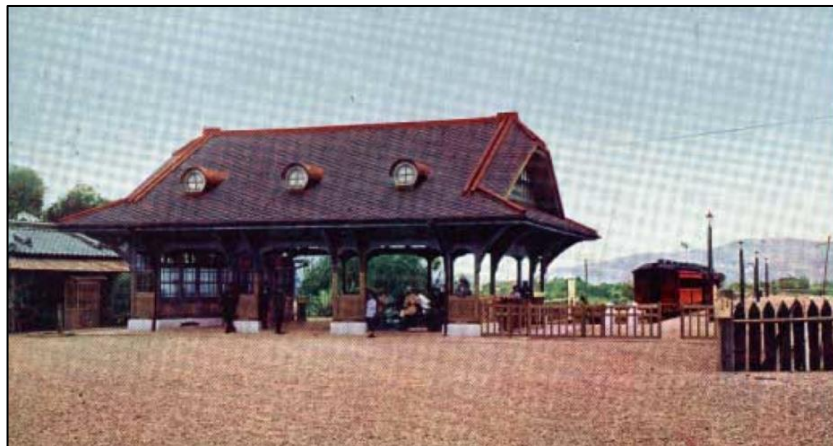


Fig. 5.3 The first generation of the Xinbeitou station (Source: Copyright free images)

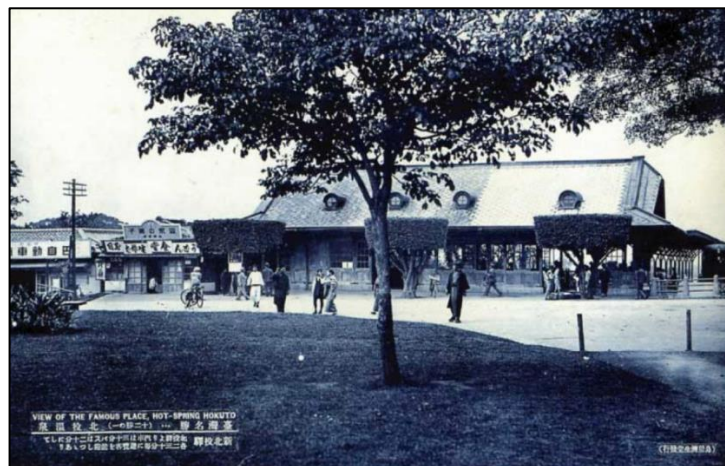


Fig. 5.4 The second generation Xinbeitou station (Source: Copyright free images)



Fig. 5.5 The shabby condition of the Xinbeitou station in the 1970s. The roof has been replaced by corrugated metal roofing sheets. (Source: No author, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, < <http://trstour.com/hsin-pei-tou.htm> >)

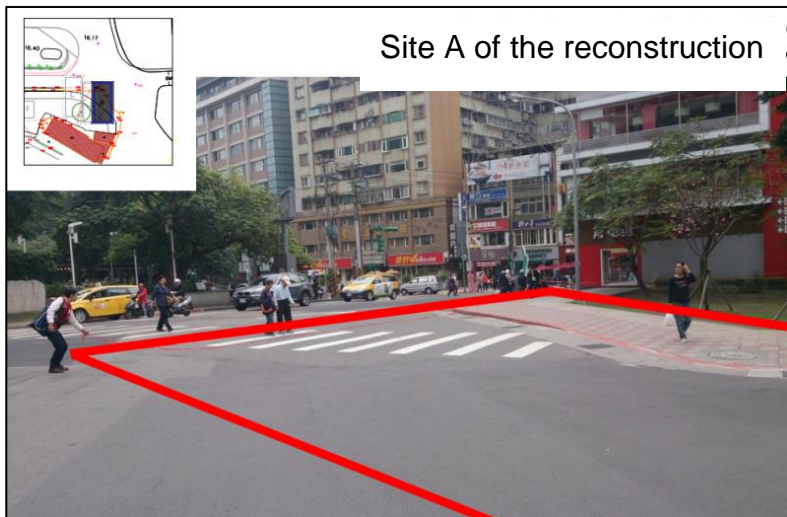


Fig. 5.6 The estimated original position of the Xinbeitou station which has mainly been used for roads. (Source: Taipei City Government, no date)

Regarding the position of its reconstruction, no matter which site one supports, most people can agree that site A is the original position of the Xinbeitou station, as heritage campaigners believe. Dramatically, a railway fan described a historical photo which showed that there was a building highly similar to the Xinbeitou station, that is, the Beimen station which was built in 1915 as an affiliated station of Taipei's Main Station and dramatically disappeared after 1916. He deduced that the Beimen station was moved to Xinbeitou area and reused as the Xinbeitou station which was set up in 1916.



Fig. 5.7 The mysterious Beimen station built in 1915, which disappeared after the opening of the Xinbeitou station in 1916. (Source: Copyright free images)

If the suspicion of the railway fan is accurate, then the original position of the Xinbeitou station is not Site A but in the nearby area of the Main Station. Considering the evolutionary phases and dynamic development of the Xinbeitou station, one might not find it easy to decide what the authentic position and appearance of the station is. In fact, some people did propose reconstructing the station according to its appearance in 1916, but the suggestion was strongly opposed by the community group because its appearance in 1914 did not match their memory of it. Ironically, the younger people, those born after 1989, had no memory of the old rail station but of only the new MRT station, since a building in Taiwan often goes through various phases of use and adaptation. As a result, different stations in various positions and of varying appearance have been called authentic by different generations owing to unavoidably intensive renovation.

The case of the Xinbeitou station may be dramatic, but most conservation cases will inevitably face the issues faced by the ship of Theseus. Since intensive or periodic renovation often occurs, Plutarch's parable comes to mind (Vita Thesei, 22-23).

'The ship wherein Theseus and the youth of Athens returned had thirty oars, and was preserved by the Athenians down even to the time of Demetrius Phalereus, for they took away the old planks as they decayed, putting in new and stronger timber in their place, insomuch that this ship became a standing example among the philosophers, for the logical question of things that grow; one side holding that the ship remained the same, and the other contending that it was not the same'.

Indeed, after a substantial portion of the architectural components has been renovated or even replaced, the question arises whether it remains itself. This may be a critical issue for the conservation of non-enduring items of heritage such as traditional Taiwanese and colonial Japanese buildings in Taiwan, since the changes are more urgent and obvious than Western heritage requires. This may explain why there was a ‘curious neglect or indifference (even at times downright iconoclasm) towards the material heritage of the past’ (Ryckmans 2008, n. p.) in Chinese culture which, as mentioned in Chapter 3, deeply influenced Taiwanese heritage. Ancient Asian philosophies stressed the transience of the material world and the futility of preservation. What they valued is the principle of nature or “tao” which will always endure.

Another dramatic example in central Taiwan can be cited. The Lin Family mansion and garden in Wufen township, designated a monument, was totally destroyed in an earthquake soon after the entire renovation work was finished. A huge controversy arose over the need to rebuild it because most of the original elements had been destroyed and could not be used again. In other words, any monument, after renovation, will be a new one. The opponents of rebuilding argued that it was no longer an historical monument, but a fake. However, owing to its regional importance, this mansion and garden were rebuilt.



Fig. 5.8 The Lin Family mansion and garden in Wufen township after the earthquake in 1999. (Source: National United University, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, < <http://web.nuu.edu.tw/~flhuang/921/a065.html> >)

To tell the truth, this kind of dilemma over heritage items has arisen more than once; it is frequent in Taiwan because of the nature of the materials, generally wood or bricks.

Neither of these lasts long and thus renovation is sooner or later unavoidable. In the long term, almost every part of every heritage item must be replaced. However, such issues in the UK seem much milder because heritage items are mostly made of durable materials. To some extent, this exemplifies the difference between wood- and stone- based civilisations. A stone civilisation can develop value based on the authenticity of the heritage; however, such a basis seems unfeasible for a society such as Taiwan's which is subject to frequent earthquakes, heavy rain and various kinds of natural erosion. Therefore, the conservation ethic may have to be adapted to some extent to the natural and cultural conditions of a specific society, rather than remaining a rigid universal standard applicable throughout the world.

5.3 Rethinking Authenticity

The previous section argues that the conservation ethic may need to be responsive to the natural and cultural conditions of specific societies. As a critical concept in the conservation ethic, authenticity has the same problem. What should be emphasized is that there are no concepts or ideas which are independent of the social, historical or natural contexts which produced them. That is to say, concepts emerge close to the contexts where they first showed. It may be helpful at this point to review the evolution of the concept of authenticity.

According to the etymological dictionary, the word authentic is ‘from Medieval Latin *authenticus*, from Greek *authentikos* "original, genuine, principal," from *authentēs* "one acting on one's own authority,"...’. However, Steiner and Reisinger (2006, 299) pointed out that ‘authenticity is a familiar word but not a stable concept’. They further argued that the meaning of authenticity ‘tends to be a muddled amalgam of philosophical, psychological, and spiritual concepts, which reflects its multifaceted history’ (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 299). Taylor (1992) stated that Descartes at the end of the seventeenth century seems to have been the first person to use the term ‘authenticity’ to describe the effect of an inner moral voice and develop an earlier form of individualism. Cohen (1988, 373) also stated that ‘authenticity is an eminently modern value, whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence’. Taylor (1992a, 25) added that ‘the ethic of authenticity is something relatively new and peculiar to modern culture’. Descartes believed that ‘each person thinks self-responsibly for him- or herself ... which ought to make the person and his or her will prior to social obligation’ (Taylor 1992a, 25). This implies that human beings are endowed with an intuitive feeling for what is right and wrong. ‘Being true to myself means being true to my own originality, and that is something only I can articulate and discover. In articulating it, I am also defining myself’ (Taylor 1992a, 29). It is noteworthy that before Descartes it was assumed that an individual’s morality came from his or her status in society and from external forces, but this from the viewpoint of Descartes was inauthentic.

Rousseau later suggested that this voice was ‘the voice of nature’ (Cooper 2010, 5) inside each of us and used the term ‘to refer the existential condition of being’ (Wang 1999, 350). Søren Kierkegaard indicated the importance of the individual ‘to elevate himself or herself as a subjective individual over the universal’ (Stewart 2012, 54) and believed ‘that authenticity is formed by a kind of correlation between the what of

commitment and the how of committing oneself' (Aylat-Yaguri and Stewart 2014, 4). Due to changes in society, traditional moral virtues such as 'sincerity and honour became obsolescent' (Berger 1970) and were replaced by the new concept of authenticity. 'Being human is understood as being best achieved through being unique and distinctive, even when these collide with certain social norms' (Varga and Guignon 2016, sec. 1.1) . 'Authenticity - in German, *Eigentlichkeit* – names that attitude in which I engage in my projects as my own (*eigen*)' (Crowell 2016, sec. 2.3). Through the verification of themselves, individuals in modern times were authentic and authenticity became one of the principal issues in philosophy, to be applied in the fields of ethics, linguistics, material culture and the arts. The notion of authenticity with its cognate terms is so widespread that Fillitz and Saris (2012, 1) comment that it is difficult for people in Europe or North America not to be involved in debates about authenticity, not only in art, products and organic food, but also regarding certain sorts of experience and ways of being-in-the-world.

It might be asked how authenticity is recognized and whether there is only one approach to authenticity or explanation of it. Xie (2010, 11) reminds us that 'authenticity is... a slippery and contested term'. Straub (2014, 11) extended this: 'there are, of course, different kinds of authenticity' based on her study of the paradoxical persistence of authenticity in contemporary critical discourse. Wang (1999) also suggested that there are different types of authenticity in tourism. Generally speaking, the perspectives on authenticity can be summarized in the following three types of authenticity (Belhassen, Caton, and Stewart 2008) :

First, the objective perspective is the most common; it 'assumes that authenticity emanates from the originality of a toured object' (Belhassen, Caton, and Stewart 2008, 669) and implies the 'genuineness or realness of artifacts or events' (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 299) . Trilling (1972, 93) argued that the term authenticity 'is a word of omnious import. As we use it in reference to human existence, its provenance is in museums, where persons expert in such matters test whether objects of art are what they appear to be or are claimed to be ...' From the objective perspective, authenticity is deemed an innate and unique quality in an object and can be evaluated by professionals. In this sense, something is authentic when it is believed to be the real thing or the original. Accordingly, authenticity can be regarded as indexicality which 'distinguishes "the real thing" from its copies' (Grayson and Martinec 2004, 298); it then refers to an evidence-based reality that provides some verification of what is claimed to be truthful. Hence, this kind of

authenticity is referred to an ‘origin’ (Stewart 1984) which situated in the more traditional past. ‘Judging objects or experiences according to their extent of genuineness assumes that there is an absolute, objective criterion (i.e., a tangible origin) against which to gauge it’ (Leigh, Peters, and Shelton 2006, 483). For example, Greenwood (1977, 131) emphasized the authenticity of culture and asserted, ‘anything that falsifies, disorganizes, or challenges the participants’ belief in the authenticity of their culture threatens it with collapse’ in the commoditization of local culture. The quest for authenticity became a prominent motive in many fields, such as anthropology, tourism and heritage conservation. The ‘test of authenticity’ was significantly emphasized in the World Heritage Operational Guidelines.

However, not all scholars recognize the effectiveness and universality of the objective concept of authenticity. Straub (2014, 10) indicated that ‘critics seem to handle it with a certain amount of unease’. Theodor W. Adorno in his thinking on aesthetics ‘declared authenticity – implying truthfulness, originality and singularity – to be estranged from our reality, a concept no longer to be harnessed for discussions of the artwork and the status of art’ in a world where the conditions for the production of art have radically changed. Adorno sensitively detected the split of the concept of authenticity in an era of mass production. Similarly, if the conditions of heritage need periodic or regular renovation, the meanings of the principle of material-related authenticity may need reflection or adjustment. It seems necessary to re-conceptualize the idea and focus of authenticity in order to effectively explain the special phenomena of heritage conservation in Taiwan, since the foundation of object-related authenticity seems not to exist any longer.

Second comes the constructive perspective. In this approach, authenticity is not an objective judgement but is deemed a socially or personally constructed phenomenon that emerges from people’s experiences (DeLyser 1999; MacCannell 1973; Zhu 2015; Xie and Wall 2002). Such an approach ‘stresses the social or intersubjective process in the construction of knowledge and reality’ (Wang 1999, 354). Its ontological assumption is that ‘there is no unique “real world” that pre-exists and is independent of human mental activity and human symbolic language; that what we call the world is a product of some mind whose symbolic procedures construct the world’ (Bruner 1986, 95). Constructivists believe that ‘what we take to be objective knowledge and truth is the result of [our] perspective. Knowledge and truth are created, not discovered by mind’ (Schwandt 1994, 125).

Accordingly, MacCannell (1973) advanced the concept of ‘staged authenticity’ to analyse the arrangements of social space in tourist settings. He found that ‘tourist settings are arranged to produce the impression that a back region has been entered even when this is not the case’ (MacCannell 1973, 589). He argued that authentic experience ‘is produced through the use of a new kind of social space that is opening up everywhere in our society’ (MacCannell 1973, 596). Cohen (1988) also argued that ‘authenticity is conceived as a negotiable rather than primitive concept’. In addition, rather than discussing authenticity as an objective criterion, Zhu (2015, 594) approached ‘authentication as a social process in the heritage discourse that impacts on local cultural practice’ in China. Zhu (2015) regarded the concept of authenticity as ‘a negotiated and performative process involving emotional, sensory and embodied interaction with the material world’ (Zhu 2015, 597). The concept of performativity, advanced by Judith Butler (1990) is ‘an attempt to find a more embodied way of rethinking the relationships between determining social structures and personal agency’ (Nash 2000, 654). ‘The performative approaches emphasizes the transitional and transformative process inherent in the action of authentication, where meanings and feelings are embodied through the on-going interaction between individual agency and the external world’ (Zhu 2015, 597).

Third, the opposite of the objective viewpoint, is the existential stand, which emphasizes rather the importance of the subject in the formation of authenticity. ‘Rousseau used the word authenticity to refer to the existential condition of being, and he regarded society as the major cause that destroyed it’ (Wang 1999, 350). According to Heidegger, authenticity is possible when someone is being existentially themselves (Heidegger 1996, 246). Therefore, ‘the unique perspective from which every individual views the world and the unique possibilities that flow from that perspective are the bases for authenticity in Heidegger’s framework’ (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 304). Within Heidegger’s theoretical framework, Wang (1999) proposed the concept of ‘existential authenticity’ which suggested a discrimination between objective and experiential authenticity. He argued that ‘existential authenticity is an alternative source in tourism, regardless of whether the toured objects are authentic’ (1999, 349) and went on to advance two different dimensions of this concept, that is, the intra-personal and the inter-personal. Wang’s concept reminds us of the personal dimension of authenticity which is deeply embedded in identity and memory. In other words, authenticity resides in the feeling of the participants rather than the toured objects.

5.4 Conclusion: from Static Concept of Authenticity to Dynamic Process of Authentication

From the brief review of the evolution of the concept of authenticity, it may appear that there is more than one objective perspective from which people may judge the authenticity of things. Furthermore, scholars began to shift their research interest from the conceptual analysis of authenticity to its dynamic formation, that is, the process of authentication. (Cohen and Cohen 2012; Ateljevic and Doorne 2003; Xie 2010). Inspired by Tom Selwyn's (1996, 21–28) seminal distinction between “cool” and “hot” authenticity, Cohen and Cohen (2012, 1298) argued that ‘authentication endows an object, site or event with authenticity’ and they further developed Selwyn's concepts, as follows:

“cool” authenticity is typically a single, explicit, often formal or even official, performative (speech) act, by which the authenticity of an object, site, event, custom, role or person is declared to be original, genuine or real, rather than a copy, fake or spurious. Acts of “cool” authentication may be based on scientific knowledge ... on expertise, on personal knowledge claims or on divine inspiration. But it is important to note that coolly authenticating acts will be effective only if deployed by an identifiable authenticating agent, whether historical or contemporary, who is deemed entitled by her or his personal charisma, institutional position, privileged knowledge or social or religious status to perform such acts (Cohen and Cohen 2012, 1298).

“Hot” authentication is an immanent, reiterative, informal performative process of creating, preserving and reinforcing an object's, site's or event's authenticity. It is typically an anonymous course of action, lacking a well-recognized authenticating agent. The process of “hot” authentication is emotionally loaded, based on belief, rather than proof, and is therefore largely immune to external criticism. “Hot” authentication involves a high degree of commitment and self-investment on the part of the participants. It is an accumulative, self-reinforcing process: the performative practices by and between visitors help to generate, safeguard and amplify the authenticity of the visited site or event (Cohen and Cohen 2012, 1300).

From the perspective of Cohen and Cohen (2012), cool authenticity is produced through a process of certification and accreditation by authoritative experts or institutions and is based on objective knowledge such as conventional heritage authorities possess. In

contrast, hot authenticity is a performative, ‘accumulative and self-reinforcing process’ in which the production of authenticity is based on people’s memory, identity and interaction with the so-called heritage. Ateljevic and Doorne (2003, 133) indicated the importance of ‘deepening our understanding of the dynamics of the process’ in which ‘meanings inform the creation of personal identities’ (Ateljevic and Doorne 2003, 137). Xie (2011) pointed to the exertion of power during the dynamic formation process of authenticity, and then questioned ‘who benefits from authenticity?’ asking ‘how authenticity is constructed and gets decided’ (Xie 2010, 11).

In addition, owing to the deep influence of globalisation and migration and the dramatic development of technology, cultures interact with each other rapidly, easily and significantly and are constantly reformulated. The differences between authenticity and inauthenticity seems gradually to have become blurred and they are no longer easily distinguished. Olsen (2001, 161) indicated that this dichotomy between authenticity and inauthenticity, or asymmetrical dualism (Koselleck 1985, 162), has no meaning nowadays. ‘Authenticity is no longer a property inherit in an object, but a projection from beliefs, context, ideology or even imagination’ (Zhu 2015, 596). Jackson (1999, 101) even proposed ‘to abandon the search for authenticity and to examine the more tractable question of authentication (identifying those who make claims for authenticity and the interests that such claims serve)’. If one is not obsessed with objective authenticity, one may find some perspectives from which to account for the situation of heritage conservation in Taiwan more effectively and inspiringly.

In fact, both constructive or existential perspectives direct the move from objective to humanistic approaches. Such a trend seems more obvious in our postmodern times. Postmodernists, poststructuralists and constructivists have all doubted the existence of an essential, true, genuine concept of authenticity (Steiner and Reisinger 2006, 311). It must be admitted that the age of most architectural heritage in Taiwan may not be above a hundred years, apart from archaeological remains. Such phenomena have become more apparent due to the decentralization of the power of heritage designation as the authorities tried to use indigenous legacies to build a collective identity and to integrate heterogeneous ethnics into society as new Taiwanese. This point is further discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 6 The alternative Understanding of Heritage

Rethinking the issue of authenticity in Chapter 5, it can be seen that there is no single perspective on what is authentic. Approaches to the recognition of heritage focus either on authenticity or authentication as the critical requirement. Indeed, all these different opinions about the issue of authenticity can be viewed as inspiring. However, this study suggests that before we rush into exploring the various concepts of authenticity, it may be also worth reflecting why the test of authenticity is so critical in the recognition of heritage and, more importantly, what assumptions may underlie under this concept of heritage. In other words, what one assumes to be heritage deeply influences how one defines the origin of its values.

However, owing to the long dominance of traditional European perspectives on heritage conservation, for example, the conservation ethic which was declared in the Venice Charter, one may unconsciously accept an understanding of heritage based on European conditions and contexts and may be trapped in the labyrinth of certain concepts such as the test of authenticity. Such arguments are worth exploring further because it seems naïve to suppose that people of different cultures in other societies will share the same assumption or notion of heritage. In fact, several scholars have started to study heritage from this premise. For example, Smith (2006) pointed out the dominance of ‘Authorized Heritage Discourse’ which was claimed to be applicable throughout the world. By reviewing heritage practices in South Korea, Chung (2005) criticized the Venice Charter for being ‘inevitably and fundamentally based on European conditions and attitudes’ and said that it ‘has skewed all conservation thinking towards the concept of the European monument, that emphasizes visual beauty through its material substance’ (Chung 2005, 55). Based on the review of various pieces of architecture in East Asia, he further argued that more appropriate ‘conservation principles in East Asian societies are determined in relation to the spiritual and naturalistic sensibilities of East Asian architecture’ (Chung 2005, 69) and claimed ‘the Venice Charter is strongly based on European cultural values, and thus is not sufficiently universal to be unequivocally deployed in societies outside Europe and European-based cultures’ (Chung 2005, 69). In addition, Winter (2014) pointed to the ‘privileging of Europe in how we think about heritage’ and recommended us ‘to pluralise the scope of this historicization in ways that better reflect events and processes that occurred elsewhere in the world’ (Winter 2014b,

4). With these in mind, this chapter will explore more the effect of the implicit assumptions of various concepts which decide how one thinks of and manages heritage.

6.1 Heritage as Embodiment of “Outstanding Universal Values”

Jokilehto (2006, 1) noted that ‘the World Heritage List is based on the definition of the outstanding universal value (OUV)’ as the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention (2005) and argued that:

‘Outstanding universal values means cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity.’ (art. 49)

Accordingly, something can be recognised as heritage only when it has outstanding universal values which ‘should be interpreted as an outstanding response to issues of a universal nature common to or addressed by all human cultures. In relation to natural heritage, such issues are seen in bio-geographical diversity; in relation to culture in human creativity and resulting cultural diversity’ (Von Droste, Rössler, and Titchen 1998, 221).

Cameron (2009, 127) contended that this kind of ‘search for elements that link us together as human beings’ and ‘our common humanity’ was the reaction to the consequences of the two cataclysmic world wars and the quest to create instruments to bind human beings together. Cameron (2009, 127) further indicated that ‘a vision of “universal” values’ is emphasised in the preamble of the UNESCO’s founding constitution which states that ‘since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that the defences of peace must be constructed’ (UNESCO 1945). According to Cameron (2009), such a search for common values later crystallised into the concept of “Outstanding Universal Values” as it applied to the nomination process for World Cultural Heritage listing.

‘So, it is more the issues or themes that are of universal nature and common to all humanity, while the heritage itself is defined as a response characterised by its creative diversity’ (Jokilehto 2006, 2). From this kind of perspective, it assumes that heritage reflects exceptional and trans-regional values which are genuinely created, represent diverse cultures and deserve to be appreciated by all human beings. Furthermore, Jokilehto (2006) made the point that the decisive judgement for the recognition of the outstanding universal values of a particular property relies on two distinct issues; namely:

‘- the adequacy (or extent) of the relevant “cultural region” or “area of human knowledge” fully justifies representation on the World Heritage List;

-the “intrinsic quality” and cultural-historical genuineness of the nominated property meet the expected level of excellence’ (Jokilehto 2006, 2).

Hence, the notion of authenticity became one of the qualifying conditions for the designation of heritage. Under such assumptions, heritage implies exceptional, genuine, creative, representative, static and intrinsic qualities which wait to be identified and can be objectively evaluated by experts. To some extent, heritage is just like works of art. Jokilehto (2006) suggested that we may trace this connection back through the development of modern philosophy. Heidegger (1993) claimed that there were two basic elements in a work of art, that is, the earth (material) and the world of significances (meaning). The origin of the work of art comes from the essential strife between earth and world (Heidegger 1971, 49). He argued that ‘we could say that the more a work represents a creative and innovative contribution, the more truthful and the more authentic it is. The preservation of the work happens through knowing its truth, and it can occur at different degrees of scope, constancy and lucidity’ (Heidegger 1993, 193). As a result, Heidegger judged the creativeness and innovation of an artwork by the test of authenticity. In other words, authenticity does not only mean truthful but also implies certain unique, rare and significant interests from the Western point of view.

Since the prototypes of heritage were regarded as creative and innovative works, the test of authenticity began to hinge on the judgement of whether certain things can be recognized as heritage or not. According to Zancheti, Lira and Piccolo (2009, 164), the Venice Charter was the first international document in which authenticity was referred to. Its preamble says ‘imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witness of their age-old traditions...It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity’ (International Council on Monuments and Sites[ICOMOS] 1964). This understanding of heritage also unconsciously leads the focus of authenticity only to such physical characteristics as the design, material, workmanship and setting of heritage as with the earlier version of the World Heritage Operational Guidelines before 2005 cited above.

However, after the experts’ meetings on authenticity in Bergen and Nara, the revised Operational Guidelines for the implementation of the World Heritage Convention in 2013 gave a fresh interpretation to the criteria for authenticity:

Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values

(as recognized in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including:

- form and design;
- materials and substance;
- use and function;
- traditions, techniques and management systems;
- location and setting;
- language, and other forms of intangible heritage;
- spirit and feeling; and
- other internal and external factors (par. 82).

Accordingly, in addition to previous more tangibly-oriented parameters such as design, material, workmanship and setting, the test of authenticity was broadened to include the various parameters mentioned above. It seems that the scope of heritage was widened. However, the insistence on authenticity still remains the core concept of these issues and was merely extended to include other resources of significances. Jokilehto (2006, 5) pointed out that ‘conservation of a work therefore is a process of requiring understanding and appreciation of the world of significances, not just limited to the material’. In this sense, heritage still refers to something exceptional or significant and hardly relates to ordinary or everyday experiences.

Furthermore, the focus of thinking still depends on what authenticity is and how it has been produced. As this study mentions, “being authentic” derives etymologically from “being truthful or credible”. Jokilehto (2006, 8) maintained that ‘in terms of human creation, over the past three centuries ... Western thinking has proposed that the truth represented by human creation, i.e. cultural heritage, should be verified in the cultural context where it has been generated’. In this sense, heritage became the creative expression of universally shared values, and the ‘result of the human creative process’ (Jokilehto 2006, 2). As a result, the more creative, the more truthful, that is, the more authentic.

6.2 Heritage as Part of Tao

After reviewing heritage as embodying outstanding universal values, we realize that from the Western perspective there is an implicit connection between heritage and human creativity. In fact, that is, such philosophical understanding reflects the recognition of modern man as the “individual” or “self”. As Jokilehto (2006) suggested, authenticity relates closely to the concept of truth which is the critical subject for philosophy in many ages, places and cultures. Zancheti, Lira and Piccolo (2009, 164) stated ‘until the Middle Ages, truths were pre-established by divine laws and social conventions’ and ‘the rise of modern man broke with previous logic and made him responsible for producing his truth and his own condition of existence. For modern man, the truth is the result of an act of autonomous individual judgment based on reason and an objective knowledge of the world provided by science’, referring to the arguments of Taylor (1992). This attitude is so widespread that it has become one of the main features of Western belief; as Charles Taylor (1992) argued, ‘the sense that human beings are capable of some kind of higher life forms part of the background for our belief that they are fit objects of respect, that their life and integrity is sacred or enjoys immunity, and is not to be attacked’ (Taylor 1992b, 25).

However, not all societies and cultures in the world shared the Western attitudes or values to man or the self. Littrup (2013, 36) argued that ‘for a modern individualist, the “self” has its own and independent value, and this value is also innate, whereas in traditional Chinese philosophy, the “self” has a value only when it is related to the whole’. He illustrates this proposition as follows: ‘for a modern writer, the “self” is like one coin, which is concrete and has value itself, and people can keep it, or spend it, or lose it, or get it back. For a traditional writer, the “self” is just like one side of the coin, which does not have value itself, and only shows a relation to the other side of the coin. One cannot get or lose one side of the coin’ (Littrup 2013, 36). In other words, from the Western point of view, ‘man is the measure of all things’ as the ancient Greek philosopher Protagoras said. However, Littrup (2013, 36-7) proceeded: ‘this may not be the same in Chinese classical philosophy. Tao, for example, would be the measure of all things for a Taoist’. The present study posits that his arguments can give us some inspiring insights into the implicit assumptions underlying various kind of heritage. Modern man in the Western sense is an independent and autonomous individual who acts only from reason and objective knowledge and is not led either by divine laws or social conventions. As such,

for modern man, truth or authenticity only comes from creativity, which is the critical value of heritage in the Western sense.

Nevertheless, it seems that not all societies or cultures share this type of attitude or assumption about heritage. This study argues that this may be one of the major ways to explain why there is no idea in non-Western societies of heritage in the Western sense. For example, there is a famous tower in Yueyang, Hunan Province, China, on the shores of Lake Dongting. The Yueyang tower was first established in 220 A.D. and is regarded as one of three great towers in China. Owing to destruction from decay or warfare, it has been rebuilt many times. That is to say, the materials of the present tower are in no respects the original ones but it still enjoys great fame.



Fig. 6.1 The view from Yueyang Tower in an ancient Chinese painting. (Source: Copyright free images)

The history of Yueyang Tower may be dated to the Three Kingdoms Period in 220 A.D., when Lu Su, a famous general of the Kingdom of Wu, and his men was sent to garrison the area. Lu Su constructed the tower as a fortress in order to train fleets, and located it at the strategic junction for water traffic where he could overlook the whole area connecting the middle stretch of the Yangtze River with Lake Dongting. This fortress was the first incarnation of the Yueyang Tower and later became an attractive spot for travellers. In addition, the impressive view and scenery surrounding the tower are only a small part of the reason for its fame. It owes this mainly to several well-known essays, poems and verse left by famous poets or writers, including Li Bai (701-762), Du Fu (712-770), Bai Juyi (772-846), Lu You (1125-1209), Yu Ji (1272-1348), Yang Weizhen (1296-1370), Li Dongyang (1447-1516), Yuan Mei (1716-1797) and Yao Nai (1731-1815), who ascended the steps of the tower at some point and were inspired by its enchanting scenery and poetic atmosphere. Among them, one of the most prestigious essays is “Yueyang Lou Ji” (On Yueyang Tower) written in 1046 during the Northern Song period by the

prominent politician and litterateur Zhongyan Fan (989-10520). He wrote it in 1045 to celebrate his friend Zijing Teng, the new governor of Yueyang, who had just finished renovating the tower.



Fig. 6.2 Side elevation of the Yueyang Tower. The three-story structure has a three-layer helmet-shaped roof. (Wang 2016, 94)

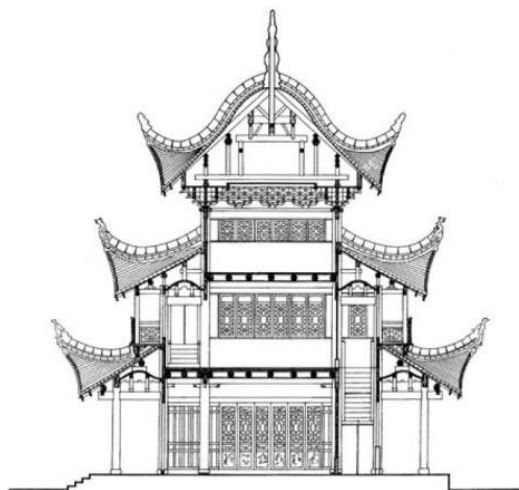


Fig. 6.3 Section drawing of the Yueyang Tower. The roof is of Column-and-tie construction, with upturned eaves. (Wang 2016, 94)

Fan's motto in this masterpiece, "Yueyang Lou Ji" is 'to worry, worry first about what people are worried over; to be happy, be happy over what people are happy about' (Fan 1992, 554). As Littrup (2013, 37) argued

'Chinese classical writers have established an aesthetic standard in evaluating "self-expression" in literature. To have expressed the "self" in a literary work does not necessarily mean that this work is good and has an aesthetic value. The writer should establish a good relation between his "self" and the associated objects, then the work can have a value'.

In a certain sense, there is no denying that Yueyang Tower can be regarded as a kind of heritage because it has been valued for more than nine hundred years. What interests us is where its values as heritage come from. It does not seem to come from the architecture of the tower, since it has been rebuilt several times in different dynasties over nearly two thousand years. However, the tower does provide a critical location for fusing together the natural landscape and human emotions. Wang (2016, 90) comments: ‘the tower provides visitors with a place to rest, enjoy the view, and commit their emotions to verse. The powerful scene glimpsed from the top of the tower was a catalyst for the creation of these individuals’ most brilliant ideas and expression of their deepest emotions’.

In fact, most people knew the tower through Fan’s essay, the “Yueyang Lou Ji” and wished to visit it to experience Fan’s literary emotions and to gaze at the attractive scenery which had inspired him. It is said that the essay was written for the tower, and the tower became well-known through the essay. To some extent, the values of Yueyang Tower come from the accumulated great literature which at first expressed an individual poet’s emotions but were later mainly shared by people of different generations. Littrup (2013, 36) argued, as we have seen, that ‘in traditional Chinese philosophy, the “self” has a value only when it is related to the whole’. In fact, when one visits the scenic area of the Yueyang Tower, one is sure to see en route the corridors of stone tablets bearing poems and calligraphy created in various dynasties that relate to it. This must mean that these creations were regarded by the Chinese authorities as part of the heritage of the building and its setting.



Fig. 6.4 The corridors of stone tablets bearing poems and calligraphy in the Yueyang Tower scenic area. (Source: Wentsung Den)

The case of Yueyang Tower may provide an alternative assumption about heritage which valued common experiences or a widespread vision of life, unlike the conventional ideas of heritage in the West, which emphasize creativity and scientific judgement. China often boasts that its civilisation has a history of nearly five thousand years and what is most important is its continuous cultural traditions. For example, Han (2012, 7) finds that ‘unlike the ancient characters of other civilizations, which have gradually disappeared, the Han characters have mysteriously endured’. The traditional Chinese characters can undeniably be recognized as heritage, since they have been used by so many generations. In a word, a literate Chinese at present can easily read the words on a relic found at an archaeological site dating back two thousand years. Such continuity in Chinese culture reveals several characteristics which deeply influence their attitudes towards heritage-related issues.

First, Chinese culture admired and pursued the Tao, the universal rule of life, before above practical achievements in science or technology. For instance, Confucius said ‘my doctrine (Tao) is that of an all-pervading unity’ (Confucius 2004, 27). Needham (1985, 383) makes it clear that:

‘These diversities reflect the distinctive characters of Eastern and Western cultures, especially their attitudes towards material life. Chinese society has long been dominated by the Confucian doctrine, which concerns itself primarily with proper human relationships and social order by way of moral teachings and ethics rather than with pursuance of material advance and extreme changes in society’.

As a result, Chinese society privileges Tao-related occupations such as teaching or research, and deliberately ignores craftsmen and technicians because what they deal with are special matters that are distant away from the Tao, the universal rule of life. Furthermore, if someone develops special techniques or skills, they are not admired by society and are even criticised as having “奇技淫巧”, meaning an unusual and over-skilled technique for wasting too much time or energy on non-Tao-related issues. Accordingly, creativity was not encouraged in Chinese cultural tradition because of the previous claims of the Tao, which saints and wise men had already bidden people to learn and follow. Since the Tao is the universal rule of life, it does not need to be created.

Second, on the one hand, since the Tao is everywhere, it refuses to be confined in certain materials and can exist everywhere or show up again and again. On the other, crafts and techniques are not encouraged, since the Chinese have satisfied their need of

architectural crafts and would rather spend more time on the pursuit of Tao, which is believed to be more important. As a result, Chinese show a curious indifference towards the material heritage of the past, as Ryckmans (2008) mentioned (see Chapter 3.1). What Chinese people value and pursue is the universal and eternal wisdom, rather than transient material achievement, which in the end is fruitless. In the case of Yueyang Tower, the original structure has already disappeared forever. Although it has been rebuilt several times in different dynasties, copying the original appearance and methods of construction would not have been of principal concern because it is not part of the Tao. However, the Chinese seem to recognize Fan's poetic masterpiece as universal and thus part of Tao because Fan interpreted something shared by every Chinese person in every generation. However, the tower at present may not be evaluated by the test of authenticity because the assumptions of heritage among Chinese people and those of the West seem so different. The Chinese understanding of heritage seems not to emphasize individual creativity, originality or authenticity as properties of heritage but to focus more on the continuous interpretation of common vision of life or the Tao. Strictly speaking, there is no idea of heritage in the Western sense in the social culture of China.

6.3 The Evolving Understanding of Heritage in Taiwan

This review of the conditions for heritage status in the West and in China makes the situation in Taiwan even more complex and ambiguous than in either of these. As mentioned in Chapter 3, Taiwan has in the past three hundred years experienced various cultural influences, from the Han Chinese, the colonial Japanese and the modern West. Through its brief review of the evolutionary history of heritage practices in Taiwan, this study indicates that the cultural influence brought by the Han Chinese immigrants showed their indifferent attitudes to material heritage. This preceded the temporary idea of modern heritage idea and institutionalization of heritage practices imposed by the Japanese colonizers, the imported international conservation ethics resulting from intensive Westernization, and, more recently, the notion of heritage as identity or as a counter to the dominant ideology.

This study would not assert that the phases of heritage assumptions in Taiwan present a clear linear evolution, or that once an earlier view faded away a later one emerged. The situation in different parts of Taiwan probably varies case by case. In addition, these different ideas on heritage may even co-exist, since the idea of heritage has experienced quite dramatic change, but not everywhere. Generally speaking, before Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895, there was no concept of heritage resembling the Western one, since most Taiwanese were Chinese immigrants who had a quite similar indifference to the material past. However, we should not jump to the conclusion that Taiwan held no examples of heritage. In fact, owing to the ancestor cult of Chinese, most families in China would compile a genealogical tree (*chia-pu*, *tsu-pu*) and preserve it from one generation to the next in order to allow their descendants to trace their roots. Boey (2002) notes that ‘the Chinese people can be justifiably proud of having the longest, continuous, written genealogical tradition in the world’.

Genealogical trees by tradition had to be partly revised every thirty years and revised altogether every sixty years. However, it was said that the old version would be collected and destroyed once the new version was completed (Baidu encyclopaedia 2016). Again, we can observe that the Chinese valued family information from the past but ignored material legacies. For them, since the Tao or information is more important and can exist independently or emerge again somewhere else, they need not pay much attention to the original perishable materials. What is more important is that the Tao, information, spirit or heritage, can remain and continue.

Another example shows how cultural identity can be passed on without particular materials since heritage such as the Tao can exist anywhere. It must be admitted that Taiwanese society has been highly modernized or Westernized since World War II. The people seem to lead a modern life just like that of the West. However, the Taiwanese still adopt a particular way of referring to their cultural identity on important occasions, especially events about origins, tradition or the final destination of life. The most common form is a temporary archway, which has a light fabric of wood or bamboo and in form imitates that of a traditional Chinese temple. Such archways are as a rule temporary and are used as the façade for a special event such as funeral, in celebration of divine feast-days and even the Japanese surrender ceremony after the second Sino-Japanese war.

It seems that when the events are related to their origins, the Taiwanese people adapt this form to signify their identity. For instance, it can be used as the main entrance of a temporary funeral parlour to imply that the dead will return to the origin of life. Such forms are also found on the feast-days of the gods because the form evokes traditional or religious activity. In fact, the archway works more like a magic door which can separate people from their everyday life and create a traditional space. Such building forms are prevalently used because they manage to convey the nature of the events behind the archway. Anything that can represent the image of traditional architecture, can work as an archway – there are no strict rules for its design or size. Again, the point is not to display particular material or relics, but the associated forms which can reveal the spirit or Tao of tradition.



Fig. 6.5 Temporary archways used for various events in Taiwan. (Source: Google images)

What is more interesting is that such cultural forms were used even in the Japanese surrender ceremony held in the Taipei City Public Auditorium in 1945. The archway was deliberately set up as a mask to cover the façade of the modern style auditorium in order to suggest that the event behind the archway was related to a return to their origins, that is, China, which had thrown them away to Japan fifty years before.

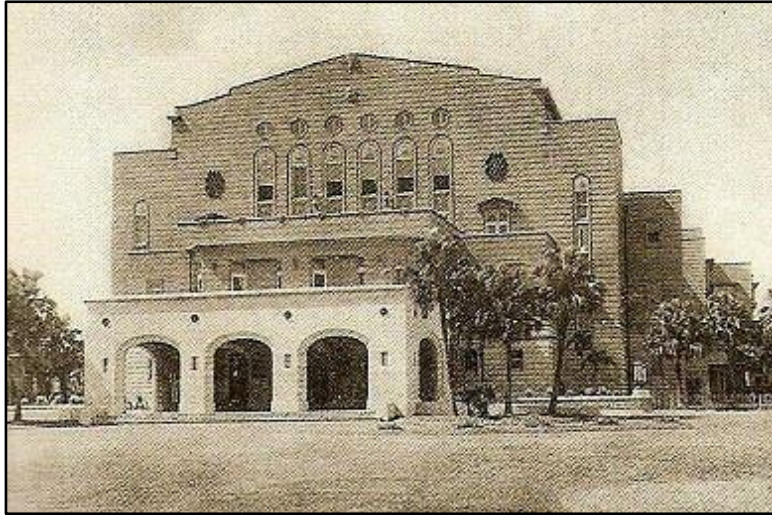


Fig. 6.6 The appearance of the Taipei City Public Auditorium (Source: Copyright free images)



Fig. 6.7 The temporary archway set up to celebrate the surrender of Japan and the return of Taiwan to Chinese control. (Source: Copyright free images)

To some extent, this kind of archway seems to be a manifestation of heritage which expresses quite different ideas and assumptions from those in the West. In order to

develop this point, a brief review of the evolution of heritage concept in Taiwan may be useful. First, from 1963 to 1985, in the Qing dynasty, Taiwan had no concepts of material heritage and practices in the Western sense. As noted in Chapter 3, the concept of heritage that resembled the Western one began in the Japanese colonial period when the Preservation Act of Historic Sites, Resort and Natural Heritage was enacted in 1922. To a certain extent, the assumption behind the Act is that heritage can be regarded as historical evidence since most heritage items were archaeological sites or material legacies of the previous regime, such as fortress remains from the Dutch time or city gates from the Qing dynasty. Some items of heritage recall the colonial achievement of Japan or commemorate visits to Taiwan by Japanese Royalty. Furthermore, since it was an imposed and top-down idea, the result was that the heritage designated in the period of Japanese rule was forgotten soon after these colonizers left in 1945. What is interesting is that the Japanese colonial legacy in Taiwan later formed the greater part of today's heritage. This study explores this interesting phenomenon further in Chapter 6.4.

After the KMT fled to Taiwan in 1949, the situation seemed revert to a time when there were no concepts of material heritage, the time before the Japanese invasion. Owing to the indifference to material relics, heritage affairs were marginal to the political agenda of the KMT, although the government did promulgate the Regulations for the Preservation of Relics, Scenic Spots, and Artefacts in 1928 and the Preservation Law of Ancient Artefacts in 1930, when the KMT government still in power in mainland China. Heritage only featured on the political agenda for a few years starting in 1966, when the KMT started the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Campaign in order to counter the Chinese Communists' Cultural Renaissance Campaign. However, what the authorities did to revitalise culture was to destroy the original Taipei City Gates which had survived from the Japanese period and rebuilt them in a different architectural style. Again, this implied that there was no concept of material heritage at the time, and to some extent showed the belief that traditional culture could be represented by the right form, whether or not the original material survived. In fact, the roof of the transformed City Gates was not made of wood but reinforced concrete. In other words, the authorities recognized that different materials could be accepted so long as the right form or image was preserved. As the archways illustrated above show, the culture or Tao could be honoured and revived in every use of the right image, because the culture or Tao did not reside in any particular material. In fact, such attitudes can also be significantly observed in the later evolution of heritage designation and renovation.

It cannot be denied that heritage, in the Western sense, germinated in Taiwan through the promotion of a cultural elite, including several famous painters, poets and writers who were no longer satisfied with the myth of recovering mainland China coined by the KMT. Most of them were deeply influenced by Western culture and ardently campaigned for the appreciation and protection of indigenous traditional structures which were deliberately ignored by the foreign KMT regime. Most of the subjects of this campaign were traditional buildings in a local style and went on to include even examples of public colonial architecture. However, although the scope of heritage was broadened to include local subjects, these subjects could be considered heritage items was mainly due to their significance for the Western heritage discourse, as often claimed. As with stereotypical Western heritage items, it was often said that only masterpieces which could boast of their great age, magnificence, uniqueness and importance would be recognized.

Although the cultural elite successfully raised the issue of heritage conservation, they still faced various questions from the public in a society lacking the concept of material conservation. Heritage campaigns often caused fierce controversy, especially when the subject of conservation involved private property. The owners of private heritage items often strongly protested their designation because it would so much reduce their wealth. As a result, heritage campaigners changed their strategy and focused on the conservation of public property in order to avoid the conflicts with owners of private property.

6.4 The Invention of Heritage in Communities

The struggles gradually died down when the political atmosphere became more open after the lifting of thirty-eight years of martial law in 1987. First, following the liberalization and democratization of Taiwan, the major political agenda items involved the recognition of value in, or the history of, the diverse cultural or ethnic groups of inhabitants. This trend can be observed from the devolution of the cultural power by the revision of the Heritage Conservation Act in 1997, which delegated to the local government the power to designate heritage that had previously been reserved for central government. Furthermore, in order to eliminate the political differences between diverse ethnic groups and to unify them, President Lee, Teng-hui promoted the political idea of ‘the community of life of the New Taiwanese’ (Luke 2012, 63) and encouraged people to find their identity through the acknowledgment of indigenous history and culture, which had been deliberately ignored. Because the KMT regime had supposed the so-called Chinese culture was that of the Han race culture originating in the Central Plain area of mainland China, Taiwanese culture and style were by contrast, judged to be local, humble, and embarrassing .

Second, this trend was strengthened by the dramatic and rapid economic development of Taiwan in the period of the 1950s to 1980s, which, on the one hand, very quickly transformed Taiwan from an underdeveloped society into a developed one. On the other, this economic development was accompanied by rapid urbanization. Numerous old traditional houses were destroyed in order to build myriad apartments and buildings, which looked monotonously alike. The familiar landscape was changed swiftly and overwhelmingly. The dramatically changed physical environment made a strong impact on the Taiwanese psychology. The quick, dynamic and pressing tempo of modern society filled people filled with nostalgia for the happy old times when life had been slower and more stable. Thus, interest in the past was kindled. Furthermore, the high density residential land use soon caused problems such as congestion, and everyone felt the lack of sufficient public open spaces and public facilities such as community centres. People wanted green open spaces in their neighbourhood to allow in more fresh air, sunshine and wildlife.

Third, before the advent of President Lee, Teng-hui, community consciousness barely existed. On the one hand, the KMT regime feared community activities, which had always been used by the Chinese Communists to foster their influence and power. This had

discouraged community gatherings in the past. As a result, people showed indifference to public affairs and community matters in order to avoid unnecessary political trouble. On the other, most community residents were immigrants who had moved from the countryside to urban areas in the rapid urbanization. The rapid tempo of life and the anonymity of city living commonly resulted in the alienation of these newcomers. Once such concerns disappeared, community groups began to seek opportunities to participate actively in public affairs.

As a result, people surprisingly found that their communities held old, shabby colonial buildings which had been put up in the period of Japanese rule to accommodate officials away from their homeland, which had been taken over by the KMT officials after World War II. Due to the passive management of the state, these had lain forgotten for years. The old houses usually had spacious yards with well-grown trees in which birds sang. Local people who investigated them found interesting stories about them, for instance, that famous people had stayed there. These houses could celebrate past events that could build a common identity for their community. However, owing to the high demand for land to develop and the shortage of funds from the government, these old houses were gradually judged to be due for demolition before the land they stood on could be auctioned off as sites for luxury apartments. These plans annoyed the community groups who started to campaign for the conservation of the old houses.

For example, in the case of the Japanese residences in Qidong street in Taipei, about ten Japanese style houses had belonged to the Bank of Taiwan, the country's national bank. The bank had taken them over when the Japanese left, evaluating them from the financial point of view, i.e. intending their "creative destruction" (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006); it planned to tear them all down and sell the land to a developer for profit. However, the community group rejected the bank's idea, preferring to conserve these houses in order to keep the historical and natural ambience of the neighbourhood. In order to save them, the group in 2002 set up a community association and campaigned for their conservation. They managed to have them scheduled two years later. In addition to conserving the community heritage, they began to identify and survey other cultural or natural resources in their community.

From the mental map (Fig. 6.8) of the community group, we can observe the various features in Qidong street area, including the Japanese houses (right lower corner) with trees, birds and beetles; a red brick air-raid shelter (centre), and a concrete rubbish bin (left lower corner) and so on. Admittedly, these features were not unique or even

outstanding. However, through their explorations, the community group started to learn about their environment and community history. To some extent, these findings and resources do constitute the features of the Qidong street area, which are unlike those of other communities in Taipei and local people do regard these Japanese houses as their heritage.

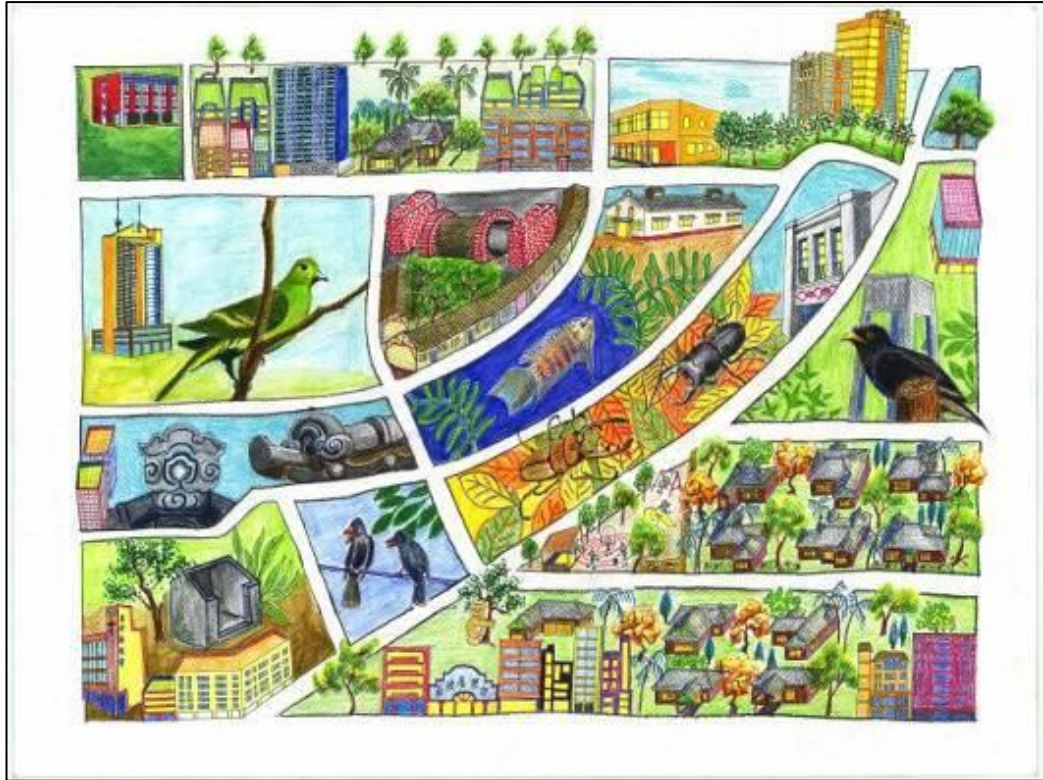


Fig. 6.8 The mental map of the Qidong street area. (Source: Lai, no date; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, < <http://sixstar.moc.gov.tw/blog/HwaShan/blogAlbumAction.do?method=doViewAlbumImg&albumId=45250&imageFileId=1159086> >)

However, certain issues remain worth pursuing in this case. First, it was the issue of value that qualified these Japanese residences as heritage. The official reasons for the designation may be summarized as follows:

First, this cluster of buildings were originally residences in the central area of Taipei City for officials in the Japanese colonial era. The inner and outer space of these buildings still possess the features of Japanese residences and the characteristics of urban clustered housing of the time. The layout of the building is still integral and merits conservation.

Second, this cluster of residences was located in the central district, and the gardens of these houses, together with the nearby neighbourhood park, constitute green space, which promotes the quality of the urban environment.

Third, No. 11, lane 53 in Qidong street, with its porch, entrance, interior space and garden was the finest building in this cluster of houses. Although its roof had been replaced with corrugated steel sheeting, it could be renovated to its original appearance sometime in the future (The Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government 2016).

The reasons for the designation in this case do not seem to include much about the outstanding or universal values of these buildings themselves, but rather emphasize values from the point of view of typology, as witnessing history and contributing to the public amenities. The collection of as many types of building as possible became one of the main criteria for heritage designation. Although these houses might have been altered and are now different from their original appearance, it does not matter because this can be restored. In addition, their contribution to the quality of the environment is an important consideration. Reviewing these criteria, it seems that they mainly come from architectural or urban interests; few come from archaeology. It is one of the significant features of heritage conservation in Taiwan that most campaigners have an architectural or urban background. Accordingly, their viewpoints and focuses seem to differ from those of archaeologists.

To be fair, the conservation of common Japanese residences seems to us more like a reaction against wild land speculation than protection of the conventional heritage in the Western sense. As shown by Qidong street, a heritage designation became a powerful strategy to counter greedy developers and to avoid urban overdevelopment which would end in the disappearance of green trees, singing birds and open spaces. This motivation, however, causes some controversy over the legitimacy of heritage as a designation for Japanese residences. Some conventional committee members felt sympathy for the destruction of good architecture but doubted the value of these Japanese residences as heritage. Nevertheless, after several debates, the heritage committee still approved the designation of these houses.

Second, the issue about the standard of heritage designation must be considered. Taipei has actually contained many Japanese houses in the past; they were quite common. This is what made people originally doubt the legitimacy of seeing them as items of heritage. However, owing to the greed of real estate developers, more and more of the houses had disappeared at alarming speed every year after 2000, gradually awakening heritage campaigners and professionals to the need to conserve them. This suggests that the standards of heritage designation are not rigid but change over time. The idea of

heritage in fact evolved continuously. Some buildings cannot yet be recognized as heritage, but may be designated as heritage some day. In addition, there was a time in Taiwan when it was claimed that only buildings over a century old could be considered as heritage. However, such attitudes no longer exist, and today even modern architecture can be designated as heritage. In a word, the scope of heritage has been dramatically widened.

Third, we should consider the issue of the test of authenticity. As mentioned in Chapter 5.2, it seems unfeasible to conserve physical heritage as remains without renovation because construction material of most buildings is short-lived. The distressed condition of these residences usually makes intensive renovation unavoidable. For example, restoring a roof of corrugated steel sheet by means of Japanese clay roof tiles, or replacing decrepit architectural elements with new ones. In fact, except for some parts which were made of relatively long-lasting material such as stone, the condition of wooden elements is usually decayed and they have to be replaced with the same materials. As a result, the appearance of the houses after renovation seems brand new. What is more important is that their appearance is usually more beautified than before. It seems that a house after renovation is no longer the ordinary house it used to be but one which is imagined and purified. In other words, there may be a risk that the appearance and atmosphere after renovation are just an imaginary indulgence which people believe Japanese residences should embody.



Fig. 6.9 The shabby condition of a Japanese residence in the Qidong street area before renovation. (Source: Taipei City Government)



Fig. 6.10 The new appearance of the Japanese residence in the Qidong street area after renovation. (Source: Taipei City Government)

In addition, if the truth be told, it is not difficult for constructors to renovate these houses since most of the techniques of their construction are common carpentry skills, . Thus, the value of this kind of heritage does not come from their spirit, feeling, materials, substance, still less their techniques and management systems. One may need to interpret such a phenomenon from another understanding of heritage. Further, the issue arises of ‘whose heritage?’ One of the questions among the opponents of their designation is whose heritage can claim these Japanese residences and the need to conserve other people’s heritage. This is also a feature of the recent evolution of heritage in Taiwan, where most items of parts of heritage came from the Japanese colonizers. There are two major explanations of such phenomena; one is that only a few historical legacies survived the Japanese rule and most of them had been designated as heritage already. The other is that most of the legacies from the Japanese were received by the government and were easier than other items to designate as heritage because they were publicly owned.

The question of whose heritage it was frankly did not concern people. In the broad sense, most people were immigrants who had left their homeland and joined particular communities in Taiwan at different times. For example, some people’s Chinese ancestors had arrived earliest, in the Qing dynasty and had later been forced to become Japanese for fifty years after the island was ceded to Japan in 1895. People became Chinese once more when the KMT regime fled to Taiwan in 1945. May country people moved to the town to start a new life in the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the 1960s. As a

result, almost all communities were constituted by immigrants who needed something common to unify them as the “community of life of the New Taiwanese”.

Furthermore, owing to the long political opposition and separation between Taiwan and China after 1949, more and more people have begun to consider themselves not Chinese but Taiwanese. According to a survey released in 2016, a total of 73 percent of respondents identify themselves as Taiwanese, but only 11 percent said they were Chinese (Taiwan Today 2016). For the majority, all legacies from the past have to be accepted as a part of the history of Taiwan in order to subvert the dominance of the so-called Chinese culture. Otherwise, the Taiwanese people cannot form their own identity. In this sense, these Japanese residences became the heritage of a community which includes different generations of people living together in spite of their different nationalities, that is, including those Japanese who were born in Taiwan and in 1945 left their “homeland” for Japan.

To sum up, as this study repeats, basically the Taiwanese have no concept of material conservation. The idea of heritage in Taiwan was first introduced and imposed by Japanese colonizers, but almost all heritage designated in the period of Japanese rule ceased to exist when the Japanese left in 1945. Then after many years when heritage conservation was regarded as marginal because the exiled regime KMT ignored Taiwanese culture, the Heritage Conservation Act was passed in 1982, and most scheduled heritage was at first related to the history or culture of the Han. Heritage scheduling at the time was still quite a top-down system, and central governments seized the absolute authority to designate heritage. It was after the promotion of community identity under the political and cultural policy of President Lee, Teng-hui (李登輝) in 1993 and the decentralization of power over cultural administration in 1997, that the top-down, exclusive, expert-oriented and objective judgement approach of heritage designation gradually became transformed into its opposite, something more bottom-up, inclusive, community-oriented and interpretative.

Furthermore, the term ‘community’ means not only a sense of place that is situated in a given geographical area but also refers to various social units which have something in common, such as interest, values and identity. For example, a club of transport enthusiasts may ask the authorities to conserve an old station or some other facility of the railway system. Amateur historians may appeal for the conservation of a colonial building which has been intensively altered. As a result, different appeals for saving something as

heritage from various social communities have been made. In this sense, heritage has been created.

These concepts of heritage are different from the discourse of Western ideas; therefore, if one uses the Western heritage concept as a test of authenticity to interpret the cultural phenomena of heritage in Taiwan one will to some extent feel confused. In this historical context, the idea of heritage in Taiwan has lately looked like the result of the combined effects of the decentralization of cultural administrative power and the counter action against the “creative destruction” (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006) of modernity. Owing to the cultural turn of politics and deepening democracy, recognition of the various values and existence of different geographical or social communities has become the new agenda for cultural governance in Taiwan.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter first explored the alternative understanding of heritage from the perspective of the East, or in Chinese culture, because one may unconsciously take for granted an understanding of heritage that is based on European conditions and contexts, and is then trapped in the labyrinth of certain concepts such as authenticity or outstanding universal values as the ‘results of the human creative process’ (Jokilehto 2006, 2). By contrast, the Chinese understanding of heritage seems not to emphasize individual creativity, originality or authenticity in heritage but to more focus on the continuous interpretation of the common vision of life or the Tao. From traditional cases such as the temporary archways, heritage seems more like one kind of cultural form which, like the Tao, can be represented anywhere beyond the limits of materials. However, owing to the special political and historical events in Taiwan, most communities were constituted by immigrants who needed something in common to integrate them as the “the New Taiwanese”. In this sense, heritage was created to legitimize the regime that put it forward. The cultural turn of politics and deepening democracy puts the claims of various values and the existence of different geographical or social communities on the new agenda for cultural governance in Taiwan.

Chapter 7 From Heritage Government to Heritages Governance

After exploring the issue of authenticity in Chapter 5 and the discussions of alternative concepts of heritage in Chapter 6, this study argues that the meanings of heritage in Taiwan are different from those in the West. One needs to understand and interpret these meanings through their evolving history, in particular their cultural, social and economic context, but not by means of normative concepts such as the test of authenticity in Western discourses. Heritage, no matter whether it acts as a cultural symbol, historical evidence or collective identity, is usually powerful and persuasive. Owing to the deepening democracy, which caused heterogeneous claims for heritage designation from a range of geographical or social communities, heritage governance has become the new agenda of cultural politics in Taiwan. This chapter seeks to demonstrate the interactive processes of various social actors regarding heritage designation in the particular social and political context of Taiwan, to learn more about the inner dynamics from which heritage governance emerges.

7.1 The Decentralisation of Heritage Administration — from Heritage to heritages

In Taiwan, heritage-related affairs were regulated by a single central Act and its associated regulations, that is, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (see Attachment III). This act contains some general principles of heritage designation and conservation practice and descriptions of various kind of heritage.

The cultural heritage referred to in this Act shall mean the following designated or registered assets having historic, cultural, artistic and/or scientific value:

- 1 Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements: the buildings and/or ancillary facilities built for the needs of human life with historic and/or cultural value.
- 2 Historical Sites: the places which contain the remains or vestiges of past human life with historic and/or cultural value and the spaces upon which such remains and vestiges are erected.
- 3 Cultural Landscapes: the location or environment which is related to any myths, legends, record of events, historical events, social life or ceremonies.

- 4 Traditional Arts: traditional crafts and skills descended from different ethnic groups and locales, which includes traditional arts and crafts, and/or performing arts.
- 5 Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts: customs, beliefs, festivals or any other related cultural artifacts which are related to the tradition of citizen life and have special cultural meaning.
- 6 Antiquities: any arts, utensils of life or civility, and books or documents having cultural significance and of value for different eras and from different ethnic groups.
- 7 Natural Landscapes: natural areas, land formations, plants, or minerals, which are of value in preserving natural environments.

(Article 3 of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act)

Accordingly, heritage designation and conservation practices should comply with the laws which regulate the competent authorities in different tiers of government, the organization and function of heritage committees to review the designation and other important matters about heritage, the obligation to be responsible for the maintenance and protection of heritage, the legal practitioners who can practise in heritage conservation, the way in which heritage should be conserved, the penalty for offences against the law, and so on. Furthermore, when discussing the evolution of Taiwan's heritage administration system, it is worth noting the devolution of the power of heritage designation to local authorities in the name of local autonomy. In May 1997, Taiwan enacted the revised edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, which authorised local governments to schedule local monuments or to list other kinds of local heritage. Put another way, before 1997 only central government had the power to schedule monuments or list historical buildings, but local government was not allowed to designate or list any heritage. Nevertheless, after 1997, local governments were allowed to designate their own heritage by organizing their own local heritage committee and had the discretion over designation to some extent if it abided by the regulations of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act.

This legislative change in 1997 marked an influential watershed in the history of heritage conservation in Taiwan, because it embodied the localisation of heritage administration. This meant that heritage with a national standpoint (which we might call Big Heritage) may still maintain its privileged status, but the scope of heritage gradually expanded to includes heritage from an alternative grassroots perspective (which we can

call small heritage). As a result of such changes, local heritage increased dramatically and finally constituted the major part of heritage. For instance, according to official statistics, 769 monuments were scheduled in Taiwan in 2012, including 90 national monuments, and 679 local monuments which constituted 88 percent of all monuments (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2013). This revolutionary shift allowed local authorities to take the initiative in heritage administration and also inspired Community groups to claim their own heritage. The decentralisation trend in heritage administration has several implications, as follows:

7.1.1 The Shift of Political Government to Cultural Governance

As noted in Chapter 2, heritage designation was by tradition mainly the exclusive function of the state because it involved the correct political interpretation of the past and the corresponding legitimacy of the state, in particular for newly emerging states such as Taiwan. Before 1997, the power of heritage designation in Taiwan was fully under the control of central government. What local government could do was to follow instructions from the nation-state, to implement and to oversee heritage conservation work designated by the central government because it could ‘enrich the spiritual life of nationals and promote the “Chinese” culture’ (cited from the previous edition of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act before 2005). The statements concerning the purposes of heritage reveal the edifying and Han Chinese-centred ideology of the state. This approach caused controversies because there have been several non-Chinese colonial periods in Taiwan’s history, such as 50 years of Japanese rule and almost 40 years of Dutch dominance. It would be difficult and impractical to ignore the difficult legacies of these non-Chinese regimes. More important, indigenous Taiwanese had already been living in Taiwan for nearly 5,000 years before the Chinese immigrants arrived in the seventeenth century, but the indigenous Taiwanese related heritage was designated only in 1991.

Furthermore, the Act divided heritage into three grades according to its historical and cultural value, even though this kind of ranking was challenged and then altered in the later revised edition, because people argued that different heritages should not be seen as superior or inferior to one another. Therefore, the ranking of heritage changed into a more neutral categorisation by the various tiers of government that were responsible for it.

‘Monuments shall be categorised as national, municipal, or county (city) Monuments and shall be reviewed, designated and publicly declared as such, by the appropriate level of authority’ (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011a).

At the same time, in the wake of the democratisation and cultural turn taken by politics, the governing approach gradually shifted from political government in the past to today's cultural governance. With the deepening of democracy in Taiwan since the 1990s, the traditional single unitary state gradually started to assign more autonomy and corresponding responsibilities to local governments. On the one hand, the central government used local governments as assistants to implement the arduous heritage conservation work and to buffer the barbs of public opinion in controversial issues such as heritage designation or conservation. From this perspective, the devolution of heritage administration significantly relieved central government of a heavy burden and effectively used the resources of local government to achieve the goals of the heritage policy. On the other, local government also seized on an important way to please community voters. The leaders of all tiers of government in Taiwan are directly elected by the people every four years. Owing to severe competition, almost all candidates will try their best to gain electoral support by satisfying the wishes of every group of voters.

Besides, most colonial legacies were taken over by the government after the end of the colonial period, so there was a large proportion of heritage belonging to the state, even though most buildings were in poor repair. To the central government, once a building was designated as heritage it became a thorny problem. According to the regulations of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, the responsibility for maintaining and conserving heritage remains the owner's. Moreover, only private owners of heritage are eligible for government subsidy and they have to seek the resources to conserve it. Therefore, at one level, most public departments or agencies would rather use their limited and precious budget to build new, enduring and spacious modern buildings than renovate an old historic building because the latter costs more. Therefore, central government was willing to transfer the management rights of heritage to local government without any reimbursement, to avoid its obligation to conserve. At another level, local governments willingly accepted heritage property because it allowed them to immediately satisfy the requests of local campaigners or the community and to generate more political support at the next election. As for the budget needed for heritage conservation, they could gain political support from communities at the next election or leave it as a problem or a political bargaining chip for the next victor. Generally speaking, a win-win situation ensued for all stakeholders.

Owing to cultural heritage legislation reform, the traditional uni-centric, top-down, hierarchical relationships with central government have changed. Now decision-makers,

specialist practitioners of local governments and local people have begun to transfer to a new pattern, typified by bottom-up, multi-centred network connections. Homogeneous heritage began to be consciously recognised and expanded to include more diverse, heterogeneous heritages, all of these various forms constituting a wide heritage spectrum. The idea of heritage administration also transferred from heritage government, which serves a political purpose, to heritage governance, which uses culture to articulate diverse social groups, different ethnicities and heterogeneous values.

7.1.2 Expansion of Heritage and the Politics of Recognition

Being aware of the increase of heritage in both numbers and types, some experts explain that the reason for this dramatic phenomenon is the expansion of the values of heritage. However, this kind of explanation seems to tell us only what we already knew about the phenomenon, albeit in a different way. But independent thinkers want to know about the detailed mechanism causing this shift from government to governance. Such an expansion of heritage values has a close relationship to the democratisation of politics, which tends to tolerate or recognise the different scopes, values and ideologies of diverse people. In other words, owing to the democratisation of politics in Taiwan, the perspectives of heritage values are no longer confined in a traditionally rigid, limited and exclusive way. We may describe it as the tendency of the democratisation of heritage that has led to the dramatic increase in heritage, both in types and numbers. If we neglect the complex mechanism behind this cultural phenomenon, there is the risk of simplifying the problematic and ignoring corresponding theoretical implications. Once the traditional boundaries of the heritage discourse are crossed, we may find a paradigm shift in the understanding of heritage. This is the reason why it is misleading to describe the phenomenon of the dramatic increase of heritage as only an expansion of values, because such an explanation misses the change in the understanding of heritage and confines us to previous heritage cognitions.

That is, the difference between the expansion of values and the shift in the understanding of heritage is that the former is a pure increase, either in type or quantity under the same definitions, whilst the latter refers to heritage of a different nature, with a different definition and boundaries. This does not always apply, but it does happen in some areas in Taiwan according to the vitality of local heritage campaigners, the openness of the local culture, and the cultural governance of the local authority. For instance, as the capital of Taiwan, Taipei has the largest number of heritage items, which has increased dramatically since the devolution. In fact, Taipei is not the most ancient city in Taiwan;

this is Tainan. Generally speaking, the old part of Taipei could be regarded as the third most ancient city. However, according to the official statistics from the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, the number of tangible heritage in Taipei in 2016 was 395 in total, against the total in Tainan of 202. That is to say, Taipei has nearly twice the amount of heritage as Taiwan. In addition, it may be hard to believe that before the devolution in 1997 the number of tangible heritage items in Taipei was only 31; that is to say, the number of heritage items in Taipei increased by 364 in twenty years, and is more than ten times the number in 1997.

In spite of the dramatic increase in number of heritage items in Taipei, their type and scope also became heterogeneous. It seems obvious that before 1997 heritage was mostly related to the culture or history of the Han Chinese. After 1997, most of the colonial official architecture in Japanese period started to be recognized as heritage, reaching its apex in 1998. In 2002, residences of famous people became the significant type of monument, which means that the consideration of the value of heritage began to involve the individuals who had ever lived there. In fact, when they left their Chinese homeland and followed the KMT to Taiwan, many celebrities lived in the Japanese residences that had been used by Japanese officials. Nevertheless, at this stage most monuments were still related to official or upper-class buildings that were usually magnificent or typical of the time in their architecture. However, a humble former brothel building, Wen Men Lou in Guishui street, was designated as a monument in Taipei in 2008. For the first time, a building used by lower class people was designated as heritage. One of the reasons for its designation was that it had witnessed the history of the sex industry in Taipei, a riverside city over the last century and had also seen the growth of the sex workers' movement in the nation.

According to Wang and Chang (2014), Taipei City Government hastily decided to abolish licensed prostitution in 1997, provoking years of vehement social reaction. This was because most sex workers had come from disadvantaged families and were compelled to work in this industry. Ironically, once the city government abolished their industry without measures to support them, they suddenly suffered all the results of unemployment. Social campaigners claimed the right to work of behalf of the licensed prostitutes and tried to change the public's stereotype of sex workers. After years of fighting, the campaign failed and licensed prostitution was finally abolished, but the social movement successfully conveyed the unfair stereotyping inflicted on sex workers, the dark history of the city and its difficult legacies.

This former brothel was at the time the headquarters of the social movement. The social campaigners believed that designating this brothel as heritage could reveal the hypocritical dominant ideology which imposed a moral stigma on sex workers but at the same time allowed them to be exploited collectively; it could grant the sex workers' desire for social status, and make the invisible class visible. It seems that alternative issues such as human rights and important social events had begun to be considered in heritage designation.



Fig. 7.1 A former brothel: Wen Men Lou in Guishui street. (Source: Taipei City Government)

In 2011, a squatter settlement for war veterans (aka the Treasure Hill Settlement) was listed as a historical settlement and part of it was successfully transformed into the Taipei Artists' Village, as described in Chapter 3.5.1. It was built illegally by low-ranking veterans who followed the KMT's retreat to Taiwan in 1949. Due to the nearly 40 years of military confrontation between China and Taiwan, most of these veterans were still single after they left the forces and were hard to assimilate into society after their long military experience. They had no family to live with, nowhere to go, and gradually squatted together in buildings besides their former military base, in order to survive, using their previous social support network. In the 1990s, Taipei City Government planned to remodel the Treasure Hill area into a public park and decided to relocate the squatters.

However, social campaigners and progressive planners asserted that these squatter settlements merited conservation as historic communities for their architectural and historical value. They stood witness to the special informal housing built individually by socially vulnerable groups during the post-war period. Finally, Taiwan listed Treasure Hill Settlement as a historical settlement, a legitimate kind of heritage.

Addressing the reasons for the dramatic increase in heritage in recent years, Harrison (2012) pointed out that ‘in part, the expansion of the categories of what is considered to constitute heritage has occurred as a direct result of ideas about what constitutes heritage in the “unofficial” realm becoming officially recognised’ (Harrison 2012, 20).

In fact, such an inclusive trend has not only occurred in heritage conservation but also across other fields. Taylor (1994) used the concept of ‘the politics of recognition’ to interpret such broad phenomena. Based on Taylor’s concept, Nyamnjoh and Englund (2004, 1) further pointed out that ‘the politics of recognition has resonated with other political, economic and cultural trends since the late twentieth century’. This prevalent politics of recognition in various fields is generally described as the respect and promotion of cultural diversity. This is why Gutmann (1994) indicates that ‘liberal democratic states are obligated to help disadvantaged groups preserve their culture against intrusions by majoritarian or “mass” culture’ and ‘this requirement of political recognition of cultural particularity – extended to all individuals – is compatible with a form of universalism that counts the cultural and cultural context valued by individuals as among their basic interests’ (Gutmann 1994, 5). Therefore, any group based on politics, culture, ethnicity, place, sexuality or other common interests, characteristics or legacies in a democratic society can claim the basic right to be recognised.

But Taylor (1994) also argued that there is a close connection between identity and recognition for the minority, in particular, the subaltern or other disadvantaged groups because ‘identity is partly shaped by recognition or its absence, often by the misrecognition of others’ (Taylor 1994, 25). Therefore, whether a particular group can be acknowledged by the authorities or not, both political recognition and the lack of it have a critical influence on the formation of its identity. In such a context, heritage, as a particular form of identity for its inheritors, and official recognition by the authorities, have become popular and effective political means for particular groups to claim the right to existence. Smith (2014, 3) further indicated that ‘heritage is taken up and becomes a legitimizing or delegitimizing force in negotiations and mediations over concepts of

citizenship'. In a word, heritage in a democratic society is regarded as a basic right of cultural citizenship.

This political recognition or cultural diversity in the heritage field is what Harrison describes as the unofficial realm changing to an official one. In other words, due to the broad trend of recognition in politics, culture and other fields after the late twentieth century, an increasing number of unofficial heritage values from the past have been included by the authorities and caused a dramatic increase in the number and types of heritage in recent years. Based on Taiwan's experiences, deepening democracy and a highly competitive election forced the state to gradually open up to some extent the rights associated with heritage recognition to the public, under the name of local autonomy to help attain political support and establish the legitimacy of the regime.

However, it is naïve to think that all small heritages have been generally accepted by all members of society, even when they have been officially recognized. To be honest, small heritages should rather be seen as successful cultural claims by various geographical or social communities after a struggle against the dominant ideologies or values in a capitalist and development-oriented society such as Taiwan's, since the processes of heritage designation were often controversial, and the results were usually compromises after conflict and debate. In fact, some people with attitudes of Big Heritage or development-oriented ideologies still doubt how ordinary things can be included in the realm of heritage because their appearance, images or values are so disparate from the traditional ones, which are usually distinguished, magnificent and rare.

For example, according to the United Daily News (Ho 2016), Taiwan's Minister of culture was asked to review the total number of heritage sites by the National Development Council whose major work is to evaluate the performance of government departments. The National Development Council thought that there were too many heritage sites already and asked the Minister of Culture to improve the situation. The criticism of the council implied that the dramatic increase of heritage sites might hinder the development of the nation which had unconsciously equated "economic" development with other kinds. Even a central government council holds such opinions, not to mention ordinary people.

7.1.3 Heritage as the Spatial Strategy of Resistance

All these examples have demonstrated the rapid evolution of heritage in Taipei to the point where it had started to consider social issues in heritage designation. In fact, Taipei, as the capital of Taiwan, is always at the cutting edge of new thinking, and houses active

heritage campaigners and radical scholars. For example, as a critical left wing urban planner, Hsia (1998) borrowed the concept of heterotopia which was coined by Michel Foucault (1967) and claimed that the heritage site is an example of it. According to Foucault,

Utopia are sites with no real place. They are sites that have a general relation of direct or inverted analogy with the real space of Society ... There are also ... real places – places that do exist and that are formed in the very founding of society – which are something such as counter-sites, a kind of effective utopia in which the real sites, all the other sites that can be found within the culture, are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted I shall call them, by way of contrast to utopias, heterotopias (Foucault 1984, 3-4).

Foucault (1967) described heterotopia as a mirror which ‘makes this place that I occupy at the moment when I look at myself in the glass at once absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there’ (Foucault 1984, 4). Hsia (1998) believed that the action of conservation can inspire people to remember that there are other options than the ‘creative destruction’ in modern practice (Schumpeter 1975; Reinert and Reinert 2006). As a result, since heritage can prevent change by the privilege of law, heritage designation was adopted by underprivileged groups as an effective spatial strategy to resist such prevailing ideas as development-orientation, transport priority, hegemonic culture, and so on.

This has become possible because space has not only objective dimensions but also is articulated with particular social, cultural and historical relations. In other words, ‘space is not an independent given, but a mutable product of economic, social, cultural, and political processes’ (Lefebvre 2011, 454). If one destroys a building, one usually also destroys the space where particular social and cultural relations abide. In other words, if one tries to protect particular social and cultural relations, the most effective way is to protect the space where these relations abide. Furthermore, since heritage designation is a kind of official recognition of the values of a building, to some extent it also recognizes the particular social and cultural values associated with the building. In this sense, this kind of heritage can be regarded as a counter site against the dominant ideologies, allowing heritage designation to become a spatial strategy for disadvantaged people to resist the power of capitalism or some other dominant ideology.

In this sense, Hsia (1998) further argued that the reason why we need conservation is that we need to face the destruction forces in the world, and to decide how we should start to practise conservation. He said that we should start from participating in the construction of the community of life. In fact, he and his active followers managed to broaden the scope and numbers of heritage items in Taipei in recent decades, despite the doubts of conventional heritage scholars. Since different places have their distinct cultural and social backgrounds, the result of heritage devolution is also varied.

It must be confessed that, although people seems to be more aware of heritage in recent years, heritage affairs are still not the priority for local governments; economic development is. In addition, owing to the cynical manipulation of urban development and the wild speculation in land, such economic development has eagerly swallowed large areas where people used to live and dramatically changed places which people had known well. As Lefebvre (2011, 347) pointed out:

Space in its entirety enters the modernized capitalist mode of production, there to be used for the generation of surplus values. The earth, underground resources, the air and light above the ground – all are part of the forces of production and part of the products of those forces.

That is to say, space became necessary material for the capitalist mode of production which unavoidably engulfed the places that people relied on for their livelihood in order to continually accumulate surplus values. The economy grew by an average of about 8% in the past three decades (Sui 2011) and has caused drastic changes in the physical environment. One sensitive writer vividly describes the mental impact of such creative destruction:

‘By then, except for Lane 52 of Wenzhou Street, any other street you’d trod would have disappeared, and you’d have no place to walk, no memory to recall’ (Chu 2007, 156).

‘you just wanted to ask humbly and deferentially: wouldn’t a city, no matter what it’s called (usually something related to prosperity, progress, or occasionally, hope and happiness), be in essence a city of strangers? Why would anyone want to cherish, treasure, maintain, and identify with an unfamiliar city?’ (Chu 2007, 157).

‘What is this place?...You began to wail’ (Chu 2007, 217).

The change of environment has been overwhelming. On the one hand, people can often hardly recognize the place they were familiar with in times past, and feel utterly lost. On the other, disadvantaged people have been forced to leave their homes because they did not own the properties. Since the authorities tell them that all this destruction or exclusion equates to progress, they find they can do nothing but accept it. Until the exclusiveness of Big Heritage gradually relaxed after the devolution of heritage authorities, nostalgic or oppressed people found no way to vent their feelings or fight for their rights. Heritage recognition, as a legal means to prevent change, became the most effective means for disadvantaged, grass-roots communities to counter ‘creative destruction’ or dominant ideologies (Schumpeter 1975) with the help of social campaigners in order to save what they valued by conserving the space.

According to Article 3 of the Heritage Conservation Act in Taiwan, there are five types of tangible cultural heritage, namely, monuments, historical buildings, settlements, historical sites and cultural landscapes. However, only monuments have the privilege of compulsory protection by the government and there are no such regulations for the rest. As a result, designation as a monument is usually the goal of the social activists or heritage campaigners to make sure what they value remains intact. Otherwise, listing as some other type of heritage will not be able to counter the threat of creative destruction. Since the traditional idea of heritage has been widened and the interests or human rights of the disadvantaged are easily ignored by the authorities or the dominant social class, application for heritage designation has become the most effective legal way for the disadvantaged or social activists to counter creative destruction and claim their cultural citizenship.

As a result, heritage recognition seems to have become a political engagement rather than a professional identification; as Smith (2014, 3) pointed out, ‘heritage...is an explicit political resource that is used in negotiations over access to policy decision makers and over the distribution of resources’. This study accepts Smith’s argument but has to further argue that the spatial effect of heritage designation is particularly worth noticing, especially in the rapid transformation of the environment in Taiwan’s case. Social activists use heritage designation as a powerful and effective form of spatial strategy to fight the creative destruction of capitalism which avariciously seizes the space of disadvantaged people in the name of progress or the public interest.

Accordingly, it seems that the reason why disadvantaged people apply for heritage recognition, or more accurately for monument designation, is to resist the gentrification

or homogenization of space in a capitalist society, rather than to seek resources from governments. Disadvantaged people are often excluded because they do not have the ownership of space or they are embarrassments for progressive cities, such as disgraceful brothels or sanatoriums for horribly diseased people or buildings from a hated colonial past. In fact, these so-called embarrassments are indelible parts of the history of cities, which should be respected and valued. In a word, the poor or the disadvantaged also have the basic right to stay in a city, even though they do not have the so-called “ownership” of the space, land or properties in the eyes of the capitalist society. In this sense, heritage recognition becomes the legal way borrowed from the state by the disadvantaged to assert their basic rights and to resist the infringement of dominant ideologies or values. Accordingly, the recognition of small heritage makes the invisible or ignored people visible or noticed in the history of the city.

7.2 The Multi-lateral Relations between Various Authorities and the Roles of Major Social Actors

In addition to the expansion of heritage, both in scope and numbers, the actors and stakeholders have also significantly increased. Since the authorities of heritage designation are no longer confined to central government, the increase of actors in heritage administration has resulted in more dynamic and complex relations. Most of the time different authorities can cooperate smoothly, but conflicts and controversies have also been associated with this new trend of heritage transformation in Taiwan. Roughly speaking, there are three major tiers of government in Taiwan, central government, special municipalities and counties, and small cities or villages. The statutory granting of power to designate heritage is mainly authorised by the central government to the second tier, that is, the special municipality and county level. This tier of government in Taiwan is for two reasons the major battlefield of heritage conservation nowadays. One is that most Big Heritage or national heritage that reflects a Han Chinese-centred ideology has already been designated for years and it is hardly imperative for central government to set out on the process of national designation. The other reason lies in the design of the identification mechanism, with most heritage items initially needing to be designated at the special municipality and county level. For these two reasons, most designations occur at this level of government, with the local authorities having to manage two aspects of the relations, as follows:

7.2.1 The Relationship between Central Government and Local Heritage Authorities

According to the design of the revised edition of the Heritage Act, central government has not completely retreated from heritage designation and has reserved a mechanism to discourage local governments from slackness or acting wilfully. For example, if one monument is worth scheduling but the local government deliberately neglects its obligation, the central government can request the local government to take action, or if necessary can even take on the local government's legal liability. In addition, once the central government has promoted a local historic site to national level, the local government has to de-schedule or de-list it from being local heritage. In other words, the central government still maintains the highest power because local heritage has to be transferred to the control of central government once it is designated national heritage.

In some cases, controversy may be stirred up, in particular when the central government and local government separately belong to opposing political parties that have completely contrary interpretations of issues from the past. For example, in 2000, there was for the first time a peaceful transition from one party in power to another, ending 55 years of domination by the ruling KMT party. The new party taking power was the Democratic Progressive Party, which also won the next presidential election, again by a narrow margin, in 2004. In 2007, the central government decided that the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in Taipei, which had been built in 1980 to commemorate Chiang Kai-shek, should be renamed the Taiwan Democracy Memorial Hall. However, the renaming was more an electoral strategy for the impending election than the meeting of a practical need, because the memorial hall had been a public space or hot tourist spot for years. The move provoked the KMT, which governed Taipei City, to classify this modern building as a local historical monument in 2007, thinking it an effective means to oppose the intentions of the DPP. Fighting back, the DPP in turn scheduled the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall as a national monument in order to retake control of the building. However, the DPP lost the presidential election in 2008 and the name of the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall was restored in 2009 by the ruling KMT party.



Fig. 7.2 The Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in Taipei City. (Source: Taipei City Government, no date, 2015; Accessed Oct. 1, 2016, < http://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/county/cultureassets/Tourism/info_upt.aspx?p0=633&cityId=02>)

In this case, in addition to the cooperative involvement of heritage conservation between upper and lower tiers of government mentioned above, this dramatic political struggle provoked much debate, for instance on the appropriateness of scheduling a modern building as a monument, the opposing or even conflicting relationships between different tiers of government over the administration of the cultural heritage and the issue of the superiority of national heritage over local heritage. In some cases, central government and local heritage authorities attempt to shift the responsibility from one to

another. Losheng Sanatorium is a typical example. According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare in Taiwan (2010), the sanatorium, established in 1930 by the Governor-General of Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period and serving as a government-run institution for leprosy, aka Hansen's disease. Because there was no effective cure for Hansen's disease at the time, the authorities forced nearly one thousand patients to leave their families and be compulsorily segregated in this hospital for the rest of their lives until 1962, after the discovery of new treatment in the 1950s. Their lives in the sanatorium were sadly wretched and they had to become guinea pigs for various tests or new drugs. Young patients were even forced to abort or get a vasectomy in order to prevent them from having babies. Some patients committed suicide to be free of the pain from the side effects of possible cures, and there was endless hopelessness.

In 1962, these patients were allowed to leave the sanatorium but most of them had lost connections with their family in their long isolation and found it hard to earn a living with their serious impairments and the discrimination against them. They had to make the sanatorium their home for the rest of their lives. However, the authorities in 1994 planned to demolish the sanatorium to make space for a depot for the rapid transit system. Although the government would also build a new high-rise medical facility nearby to accommodate these patients, the plan sparked a series of debates and later a movement for heritage preservation from 2002 to 2008.

The debates were prompted by a group of public health graduate students during their field survey of this sanatorium. These students found that the authorities had announced their plans to move these old patients without considering their condition and would simply re-locate them to suit the convenience of the authorities, as they had always done. After years of living there, some patients regarded the old but familiar sanatorium as their home and thought of the new high-rise medical facility as alien and cold towards them. What was more important, these disabled people were too old to learn new tricks or live in a new and strange environment, and worried that in the move they would lose the close social networks that had sustained their lives. Finally about 45 elderly patients refused to move into the new building and insisted on receiving on-site care (Loa 2007).

What annoyed the public health students most was discovering that the original location of the depot was not in Losheng Sanatorium at all but somewhere else. The local politicians had forced the authorities to change its location in order to avoid an unwelcome depot in their midst. Furthermore, Losheng Sanatorium was on a hill where development might cause a serious environmental impact. Based on these concerns about

the protecting the human rights of the disadvantaged and about the environment, the public health students mounted an appeal to the authorities and asked the government to change its decision. At first, the students' appeals were scarcely noticed and it was thought their ardour would not last long. However, they were not disheartened but started to hold a series of activities to attract public attention and in 2001 adopted the strategy of applying for heritage designation at the suggestion of urban planning students.

However, their application was intentionally ignored by the local government because the authorities were under great pressure from the local people who understandably wanted the rapid transit system to open as soon as possible. Accordingly, the authorities asserted that there was no possibility of altering the ongoing plan without long delays and an enormous budget increase, and in 2003 started to pull down some buildings on the sanatorium site. This action provoked more and more sympathetic people to become involved in the campaign, not only students and professors but also famous movie directors, writers and so on. The activists resorted to sympathetic politicians for help, launched various protests and organized an international symposium to put pressure on the government to change its plan but still in vain.

According to the Article 101 of the Heritage Conservation Act:

‘if the municipal or county (city) competent authority shall fail to act in accordance with this Act which places the cultural heritage preservation at risk, the Executive Yuan and the central competent authority shall prescribe a time for such acts: if the municipal or county (city) competent authority does not comply within the time prescribed, then the Executive Yuan or the central competent authority shall perform such acts for the municipal or county (city) competent authority (Bureau of Cultural Heritage 2011b).

Since both the transit development authority and the local government ignored their application, the heritage campaigners decided in 2005 to urge the central heritage protection authority to take over the responsibility from the local government. At first, the central heritage protection authority was also reluctant to take up this thorny issue and tried to procrastinate as long as possible. In Taiwan, it is the culture departments in different tiers of governments that are in charge of heritage protection. Since public properties are subject to the issue of heritage designation, as noted in Chapter 3, public development projects often get involved in the controversy over heritage campaigns such as the campaign for Losheng Sanatorium. As a result, civil servants who work in heritage

agencies usually face a dilemma between the pressure from heritage campaigners and that from their colleagues in other departments, such as transit development, or their superiors who are development-oriented or not sympathetic to heritage conservation. For example, when Xiu-Lian Lu, the then Vice President of Taiwan visited the Losheng Sanatorium on January 16, 2005, she asked an ‘elderly resident sitting on his mobility scooter, “Do you want the country to waste all that money on you? Can you afford to repay the country?”’ (Chen 2013). In such political conditions, it was not surprising that the central heritage protection authority then withdrew.

However, something dramatic happened on 25th October of the same year. A Tokyo court awarded compensation to the former Hansen’s patients from Taiwan against the Japanese government (Ito 2005). This news encouraged both the heritage campaigners and the central heritage protection authority, because the human rights of the former Hansen’s patients were recognized by another country, which would help the designation of heritage. On 11th December, 2005, the central heritage protection authorities started to show some determination and granted the Losheng Sanatorium the interim status of a monument for six months. However, the conservation and development sides still could not reach a compromise between two schemes that would have conserved either 41% or 90% of the hospital before the expiry of the interim status. Worried heritage campaigners then launched a series of demonstrations from 2006 to 2008 to urge the central heritage authority to confer full monument status to the Losheng Sanatorium as soon as possible. Nevertheless, the action provoked the local city mayor and the pro-development politicians and community group, who also held a counter march on 31st March 2007. The tension between the two sides gradually reached a climax. On 3rd December 2008, most parts of the Losheng Sanatorium were forcibly demolished by the local county government together with the police; the heritage campaign had failed.

7.2.2 The Relationship between the Local Government and its Administrative Subdivision or Local People

Since the deepening of democracy and full local autonomy in Taiwan, the leaders of almost every tier of administration, from the highest level of the president to the lowest level of the neighbourhood magistrate, have been directly elected by the public. Therefore, it is common to meet people protesting certain public decisions or policies that they think are wrong or unfair to them, some of which also involve heritage designation.

For example, take the conservation case of the Tuku Township Public Market in Yunlin County in southern Taiwan. The market was built during the Japanese colonial

period but after its long disuse the fabric had deteriorated . To replace the old one, a new modern market was established elsewhere, which has been open to the public since 2012. As for the decrepit old market, most local people wanted to level it and build a modern car-park instead. However, some local people did not approve of such plans; in their view, the Taiwanese were too prone to embracing modern new things and neglecting old ones with rich historical meaning which were irreplaceable in the collective memory. Most local people rejected the campaigners' idea, because their culture generally sees new things as improvements and growth. In the belief of most Taiwanese, life is cyclical and old things are eventually replaced by new ones. Newborn creatures taking the place of the dead is part of nature. Nevertheless, the county government supported the proponents and decided to conserve the Tuku Township public market as an historical building. This decision infuriated the opponents, who together with the Tuku Township Office protested against the heritage decision.

In this case, there were four main stakeholder groups: the proponents included the county government and heritage campaigners, whilst the opponents came from the township office and local townsfolk. The leader of the county government sought to credit her office with a cultural achievement. The heritage campaigners were trying to protect their collective memory and provide people with an alternative to indiscriminate destruction. Both the local people and the township office, however, felt that it was impractical and unreasonable to conserve such a decayed and rundown wooden frame and that it was more practical and reasonable to provide new parking spaces to meet local needs. All these controversies, debates and even fights together constituted a complex, dynamic and multilateral negotiation between the stakeholders. This new challenging situation needed governance strategy on the part of the local authority to manage the conflicts and diverse opinions that democratic politics entails. This new approach was evidently quite different from the traditional process of top-down heritage administration.

7.2.3 The Cooperative and Competitive Relationships between the Local Authorities and Local people

The controversies of heritage administration have not only occurred during the designation period. In fact, they also occur in several other phases of heritage conservation, from designation, conservation and renovation to management. Local authorities, owing to the recent trend to streamline government institutions, are losing staff, funding for public projects and revenue and resources; they need to develop more flexible and creative means to deal with these severe challenges.

The heritage sector of government, without non-government bodies such as English Heritage on hand to deal with the management of heritage, usually contract out the arduous work of heritage management to contractors, to reduce their own burden. Involving the power of local volunteers is also an option, as in the case of Beitou Hot Spring Baths. However, local people are usually independent and have their own ideology and opinions about heritage conservation, renovation and management. Sometimes they even challenge the conservation approaches that the authorities would prefer, causing unexpected tension between themselves and the authorities. The resulting communication takes up much time. Therefore, relations between the local authorities and local people are both cooperative and competitive. They usually involve long discussions and interaction with the local people, but this can to some extent reduce the efficiency of administration. How to achieve a balance when the local authorities use local power is an important issue in heritage governance.

7.2.4 The Roles of Major Social Actors in Heritage Governance

From the cases above, it can be seen that various social actors are involved in heritage recognition under cultural governance these days. Generally speaking, the inclusive heritage policy involves more and more people in heritage affairs. By contrast, only the culture department in central government and the heritage committee would have dealt in the past with the issues of heritage in the public arena. However, it seems that only the owners of heritage property are concerned with heritage identification. But gradually various social actors have become involved in recent heritage issues. For example, the Losheng Sanatorium case, drew in three tiers of government (central, county and city), development or heritage specialists in these authorities, social activists, heritage campaigners, students or others from different fields, the former Hansen's disease patients, pro-development or pro-heritage politicians, local people, the media, international organizations such as the Tokyo court and the International Association for Integration Dignity and Economic Advancement (IDEA) and so on.

(1) Cultural Authorities

Since one of the major responsibilities of culture departments in various tiers of government is to deal with heritage issues, the role of cultural authorities is critical. On the one hand, heritage protection is their legal responsibility and their reputation comes from their contributions to heritage conservation. They will try to satisfy the demands from various heritage campaigners as far as they can to win or guard their reputation, especially for easy conservation cases such as unoccupied public properties. Since public

properties are easier to designate as heritage sites than private ones, as mentioned in Chap. Seven, this has become a popular way for local cultural authorities to please community groups and the media in order to establish their good name. Because the owners of heritage sites are liable for the maintenance, protection and conservation of heritage, most owners of public heritage sites try to avoid their heavy responsibilities by, for example, transferring these properties to their local authority. The social actors involved are generally limited to community groups, local cultural authorities, heritage committee members and owners of properties, and the interactions between these actors are relatively simple.

Second, private heritage sites are more difficult to deal with. Owing to the incredibly high price of properties in Taiwan, most private owners are reluctant to let their properties be designated as heritage and will seriously protest against the designation and even resort to extreme means including destruction. After many bitter lessons, governments have developed mechanisms such as transferring urban building capacity or incentives such as conservation subsidies to compensate private owners, although the effects of these mechanisms are limited. Nevertheless, recent win-win conservation cases after intensive negotiations can still be found. In such cases, the actors involved are usually limited to private owners, local cultural authorities and heritage committee members. The interactions between these actors are still simple.

In both situations cultural authorities can as a rule seize the opportunity to demonstrate their ability and taste by the successful designation and revitalization of heritage sites. Individual heritage committee members can persuade other members or the authorities to encourage the designation of certain kinds of heritage that claim their support. For instance, in the designation of Wen Men Lou, the historical brothel as a monument, it would not be fair to say that every heritage committee member recognized its value since the building itself did not have outstanding architectural interest. Some traditional heritage experts still doubt the values of small items of heritage. However, after much promotion and the support of the committee chairman, the heritage committee finally put the designation through. In other words, not every decision of heritage designation satisfies all the heritage committee members and most decisions can be viewed as a compromise at a particular social, historic and political moment. Committee chairs, usually the directors of cultural authorities, play a critical role and heavily influence the results of heritage reviews. In other words, the results of heritage reviews are basically guided by the directors of cultural authorities using their political judgement. If heritage

designation can enhance a directors' reputation or that of his/her boss, after careful political calculation, the cultural authorities will come to a decision in such cases. Monument designation is a very powerful and compulsory means of heritage conservation and may not satisfy practical needs. Sometimes the authorities will choose to list historical buildings, because these kinds of heritage are allowed some flexibility in conservation.

However, at other times thorny cases such as the Losheng Sanatorium emerge and they usually involve important city developments such as the rapid transit system which can help many people's properties to appreciate. Most people give development priority over heritage conservation, and most practical politicians will listen to them. In addition, because the influential cultural directors are appointed by the mayor, they must understand and respect the attitude of their superiors, who unfortunately tend to be pro-development. Otherwise, if they cannot deal with thorny cases carefully these directors may be dismissed.

As a tier of the cultural authorities, local cultural authorities have always had to serve in the front line of heritage controversies since the devolution of heritage administration. The central cultural authority can easily escape heritage controversies by claiming that heritage designation has been assigned to local governments in the name of local autonomy. Only slackness on the part of a lower tier, as mentioned in Article 101 of the Heritage Conservation Act, obliges the central cultural authority to act on behalf of a local authority, as the case of the Losheng Sanatorium.

(2) Cooperation and Struggles between Pro-heritage and Pro-development Factions in the Same Authorities

Since heritage is now a political issue, people quickly take sides, even within the tiers of government. Pro-heritage and pro-development factions in the same government even oppose each other in the process of making policy decisions. However, the pro-heritage side tends to be the weaker, especially in thorny cases, and the directors of cultural authorities have to manage their usually unexpected predicaments.

Taiwan has set up environmental evaluations to review huge development projects but it is difficult to provide similar evaluations for heritage issues since the boundaries of heritage are blurred. Development authorities usually choose to ignore possible heritage issues until they are inescapable. As a result, heritage campaigns usually erupt when a development project threatens to destroy a particular buildings or place soon. This leaves little time for the cultural authorities to deal with the emergency and every heritage

campaign becomes a rescue, which puts intense pressure on all the stakeholders. Because the result of heritage designation may require development authorities to alter their plan and unexpectedly involve the developer in immense outlay, heritage protection authorities are usually under great pressure, the directors of cultural authorities above all.

These directors often face a serious dilemma to please both their pro-development superiors and colleagues and the pro-heritage campaigners, especially when small heritage is in question. On the one hand, the pro-heritage campaigners think directors of cultural authorities should take their part, because the cultural authorities are responsible for heritage conservation, no matter what campaigners put forward as heritage. Heritage campaigners are usually adamant about what they believe heritage is and are hard to persuade otherwise. On the other, pro-development superiors or colleagues usually either doubt the values of heritage and give development the priority, or the development authorities have different ideas about heritage. In some cases, development projects are even proposed in the name of heritage revitalization, since heritage conservation is also an issue in urban planning.

For instance, the urban department proposed a grand plan for widening the site of Taipei City's North Gate, a monument built in the Qing Dynasty, and, to impress the citizens, reconstructing parts of the city wall that had disappeared. However, the plan would have changed the shape of the road and moved a nearby historic Japanese building. This plan greatly annoyed the heritage enthusiasts because they did not see the need to take apart and move a shabby but original heritage building in order to construct fake city walls or dignify a monument. However, the city authority believed that this plan would be an important achievement for the mayor. Thus, the pro-development side pushed this plan very hard and complained that the culture department was not helping to persuade the heritage enthusiasts. After several public hearings and debates, the city government still decided to carry out the plan of the Department of Urban Development in spite of the protests from heritage enthusiasts. Both inside and outside governments, similar struggles between pro-development and pro-heritage sides often ensued.

Nevertheless, the situations are not always so gloomy and cooperation can still be found between pro-heritage and pro-development factions. As mentioned in 7.1.4, governments have initiated mechanisms such as transferring urban building capacity which is implemented by urban development authorities when there is a tug-of-war between development and conservation. After years of effort and cooperation between development and conservation authorities, there have been many cases that are

successfully conserved by mechanisms in the urban planning field or heritage conservation regulations. One of the most famous of these concerns Dihua Historical Street which was developed in the Qing Dynasty and was dramatically rescued from demolition. Under urban planning, this historic street was to be widened into an avenue, which meant that almost all its characteristic facades and special architectural patterns would disappear. After years of appeals, effort and negotiations, it was finally saved as a rare historical street in the highly developed city of Taipei.

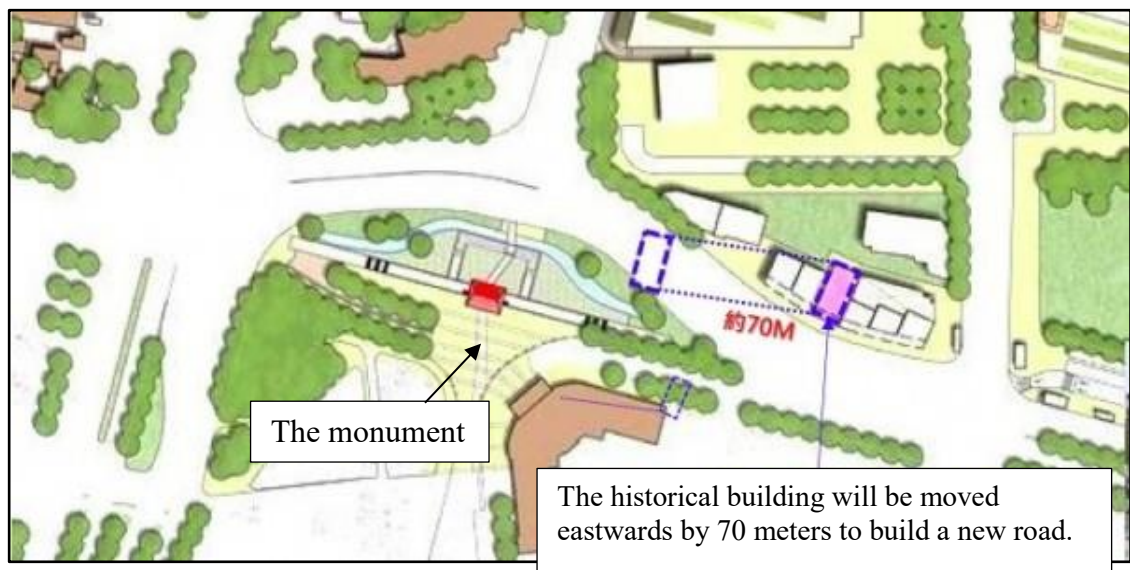


Fig. 7.3 Plan of the Department of Urban Development (source: Taipei City Government)

(3) Heritage Enthusiasts, Social Activists and the Media

The number of heritage enthusiasts or social activists is not high, but they always play important roles in heritage controversies. First, heritage enthusiasts have a strong interest, or enthusiasm or stubbornness in the conservation of past material. They usually have come across one another in past heritage campaigns and have gradually united to take part in more. For example, in the disputes about the restoration of Xinbeitou station, described in Chap. 5.2, heritage enthusiasts insisted that the station should be reassembled in its original place, even though this was now a busy road. Heritage enthusiasts believed that only this solution would comply with the international conservation ethic, that is, the test of authenticity. However, local people thought the suggestion of the heritage enthusiasts was not practical and preferred to locate the station in a park at a convenient place nearby. The heritage enthusiasts did not give up but argued continually through the social networks, attracting major attention from the media. Although heritage enthusiasts were few in number, they were good in debate; they spread their ideas and

pressed the City Government to suspend the decision for a time. Because most of these heritage enthusiasts lived outside the local area, the local people even wanted to exclude them from joining the heritage issue by reason of their household registration. This case raised the question of whether or not outsiders should participate in decisions on local heritage matters.

Second, most social activists participate in heritage campaign for the sake of social issues such as human rights and social equality. They use heritage as an effective strategy in resisting the creative destruction by dominant ideologies or values. They adopt strong social movements and held demonstrations to press governments to make concessions. Once the goals of their social movement have been attained, they seldom participate in the management or conservation practices of heritage. As a result, social activists usually stand with the communities and help them adopt effective means to press governments to meet the community's wishes. With regard to the media, they usually sympathise with the heritage enthusiasts and social activists, or the conditions of the community groups, and urge the government to satisfy people's wishes and resolve heritage controversies as often as possible.

From the activities of various social actors in the process of heritage claims, one can observe the complex interactions between them. As a result, heritage designation becomes an arena where various interest groups, politicians, different tiers of government, campaigners, scholars and community groups compete or cooperate for their values, interests and ideologies.

(4) Community Groups

Community groups play a critical role in the claims of heritage. At the beginning of this chapter, it was stated that claims of heritage of many kinds can come from different geographical or social communities, which means that the definition of communities cannot be confined to a particular geographical area but also includes social groups with common interests. Waterton and Smith (2010, 9) also pointed out that “community” should not be pinned to geography alone, because it is ‘a frame of reference or orientation that coalesces around shared interests, common causes or collective experiences’. In a word, community is usually but not necessarily geography-based. For instance, railway fans often launch a heritage campaign to save an old railway line or a decaying railway station, just as local people do for a colonial residence in their neighbourhood. That is to say, people who live in various places can join together as a community and appeal to the authorities to save something they regard as heritage.

However, it is also worth noting that since heritage is heterogeneous, community attitudes are not always constant but can change over time. For example, in the conservation case of the former brothel building, although some community groups supported the heritage designation, others asked the authorities to de-schedule this status when it became an obstacle in the community renewal project. In a word, the attitudes of community groups may be divided, and we should be aware of the different attitudes among community groups based on class, ethnicity, age and gender. The risk which should be noticed and avoided is, as Waterton and Smith (2010, 10) indicated, that ‘through the institutionalisation of the trope “community”, a range of people suffer from status inequality and are thus unable to interact on terms of parity in heritage matters’. In a word, the attitudes of community groups cannot be simplified to represent the interests of a particular class or group.

7.3 Heritage Politics

7.3.1 Big Heritage under the Government of Politics

This study argues that the emergence of heritage has a close historical connection to the formation of the nation-state; it was mainly derived from the primordial view of nationalists, who believed that the people of a nation share a common history, culture, language, religion, homeland and, of course, heritage. As Hobsbawm (1994) pointed out:

‘The people must be united; they must dissolve all internal divisions; they must be gathered together in a single historic territory, a homeland; and they must have legal equality and share a single public culture...only a homeland that was “theirs” by historic right, the land of their forebears; only a culture that was “theirs” as a heritage, passed down the generations, and therefore an expression of their authentic identity’ (Hobsbawm 1994, 4)

Hagen (2006, 58) also notes:

‘With the rise of nationalism, Europeans developed new perspectives on the past. Historians justified the nation as the culmination of modernity. Paradoxically, the nation was also seen as having pre-modern origins. One important aspect of imagining the nation’s past was the creation of an accompanying heritage. Heritage presents a shared legacy to create or reinforce group cohesion. It encompasses all that a society chooses to inherit and pass to future generations, including traditions, myths, language, architecture, or almost any characteristic that is perceived as unique to a group’.

It is hardly surprising that one of the most significant features in traditional Big Heritage thinking is that heritage should be authorised. In other words, recognition by an authority is the essential element for heritage status. Therefore, the power to define or interpret what heritage is and how to carry out heritage obligations falls under the control of the state. Heritage affairs are the privilege of the nation-state because heritage reveals nothing but the self-image of the nation-state. Hobsbawm (1994, 80), in his study of modern Germany, indicates that ‘Building and monuments were the most visible form of establishing a new interpretation of German history, or rather a fusion between the older...nationalism and the new regime’.

It is only this ideological function that gave heritage the highest priority to be conserved and enabled it to exclude other needs. One can argue that the conservation of

heritage is based on scientific archaeological or architectural knowledge for the enjoyment of future generations, making heritage neutral, objective and scientific. Therefore, there should be an objective, fair, scientific and general standard to decide what can be designated as heritage and what cannot. However, we can observe a range of disputes throughout all phases of heritage conservation, in Taiwan in particular. On the one hand, some members of society are unconvinced about the conservation regulations in some cases and even protest by destroying examples of heritage. On the other, we can also observe a range of appeals to the authorities to save something as heritage, even though many of these campaigns ultimately fail. It is paradoxical and controversial in this argument that there is an objective, neutral and scientific standard to decide what heritage is because of the range of disputes from the past and the present day. This thesis argues that heritage in fact is a context-based concept in its definition, content and practice. However, the modern idea of heritage was mainly developed in the West and spread to other non-Western areas as a universal concept. Through the experiences of the heritage revolution in Taiwan, it seems that heritage is not something born, but an invention that is the product of cultural governance.

One can argue that objectivity in archaeology or architecture disciplines exists and will not easily be manipulated by external forces. However, some factors can lead to the abuse of such objectivity. First, it is due to the ‘triviality’ of the nature of these two disciplines, as McGuire (2008, 14) stated. Experts in both disciplines have engaged much of their time and energy in field investigations, surveys, artefact collection, recording and categorisation. They usually infer conservatively from what they find and scarcely advance any strong ideas that may impact on or reform society, as sociologists do. Second, most archaeologists or architectural historians are usually apolitical because they ‘have traditionally operated on the assumption that they are not implicated in the representation and struggles of living peoples and that all such political engagement is negatively charged’ (Meskell 2011, 508). A more important point concerns heritage claims which are not axiomatically selected for heritage status. As Castañeda (1996) emphasised:

‘Some of these effects stem directly from the ideological assumptions that undergird the research paradigm and interpretive models, whereas others drive from secondary manipulations by persons other than the researcher. Once the archaeologist produces an interpretation of the past, that knowledge has a political life of its own’ (Castañeda 1996, 24).

It is naïve to suppose that there is an objective and neutral standard for the designation of heritage. ‘Archaeology is imbricated in political struggles and is far from value-free’ (Meskell 2002, 572). In this sense, heritage is the product of political government that has the authoritative power to assign what heritage is regardless of people’s recognition.

7.3.2 Small Heritage Emerging from the Cultural Turn of Politics

This thesis argues that heritage is not an absolute idea but rather a relative concept that depends on the cultural consensus of a particular group of people who cherish the heritage. Something may be common or valueless in the eyes of heritage experts but could be very meaningful or even essential to the collective memories and cultural identity of a certain group of people. Insiders and outsiders cherish different values. In addition, if heritage is something that people value, treasure and want to keep and pass on to future generations, it seems reasonable to let the people who own the heritage decide what they want to hold and keep for future generations, not allowing this task to be judged only by the external standards of outside experts. This notion does not deny the professionalism of the heritage discipline but does try to remind the experts of their role and limitations in heritage affairs.

This being the case, in the small heritage model, the relations seem more complex than the past model, which was mainly implemented with a top-down and linear approach in Big Heritage discourse. The cultural interaction-oriented heritage model involves various actors, such as local people, whether proponents or opponents, politicians, authorities in different government tiers, various experts and anyone interested in this topic. On the whole, no one within these complex interactions owns the decisive power to instruct others to comply with their preferences, ideology or values, at least, not in a democratic society. However, they can communicate with each other and try to persuade the others to agree with their ideas in order to reach a compromise or even a win-win result.

Using this model, heritage is basically the result of public participation and negotiation just as other public affairs are. Various actors with different ideologies, vested interests and social status contest the public issue of the identification, promotion and enhancement of their heritage. The local authority has to develop a new governance approach to find a compromise between these diverse social forces in heritage related affairs, such as the designation, protection, revitalisation and interpretation of heritage. Theoretically speaking, heritage is the product of cultural governance. As Delanty and Kumar (2006, 3) indicated, ‘This is entirely different from the period when nationalism

arose in Western Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when it was linked to a wider societal tendency towards integration and citizenship’.

Indeed, the recognition of heritage of one’s own is a right of cultural citizenship. This ownership emphasises not only people’s locality but is more focused on the consensus and identity of the people who own the heritage. As the Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society declares:

‘Europe needs to innovate in order to create the framework for a new society stimulated by more democracy, more direct citizen participation and better governance based on more effective institutions and on dynamic public-private partnerships’ (Council of Europe 2013).

A broader trend can be discerned in cross-disciplinary cultural heritage to acknowledge that ‘... every person has a right to engage with the cultural heritage of their choice...’ (Council of Europe 2005). Only when conservative heritage experts are ‘convinced of the need to involve everyone in society in the ongoing process of defining and managing cultural heritage’ (Council of Europe 2005), will heritage be for every one and not only a study object for the cultural elite or a national treasure to glorify the state.

7.3.3 Heritage as a Product of Cultural Governance

In light of the previous discussions, this thesis argues that heritage is a relative cultural concept and a floating political phenomenon because its nature varies according to the political climate and governing paradigm. Heritage is an invented cultural concept and should not be taken as an absolute. In fact, it is artificially defined and intentionally selected by people who are unavoidably involved in particular stances that all have a particular ideology or blind spot. Whether we like it or not, heritage is selected or invented to serve the political purpose at a particular time. Due to political democratisation and the recognition of cultural diversity, heritage is gradually becoming a product of cultural governance, in contrast to the more traditional model in which heritage was more closely the product of political governance. This trend is particularly obvious in Taiwan for the following reasons.

First, it is the new historical plan of the nation-state to establish its legitimacy in Taiwan. As nation-states in Europe several hundred years ago used ancient monuments to integrate original heterogeneous ethnics into one “imagined community”, the Taiwanese government employed the strategy of “community rebuilding and empowering” to resolve the political dilemma of being a ‘state without nationhood’ (Liao and Wang 2013, 1). At such a historical turning point, cultural governance became the

new political agenda in order to rebuild the collective identity of the various ethnic groups in Taiwan. By recognising the culture, history and heritage of Taiwan as its new homeland, its heterogeneous peoples became one, the New Taiwanese. As such, refinding and recognising the values of local culture became a high imperative and a popular issue at the time.

In the past, local history and local cultural and Taiwanese values were condemned as vulgar, inferior and worthless, whilst, in contrast, anything related to mainland China was respected as something superior, more decent and worthy. Taiwan was nothing more important than a temporary military base from which to reclaim the lost mainland. The school curriculum was crammed with eulogies of the beauty and richness of the mainland, with only a few words given to the land where the readers actually lived. There is little wonder that, when people were allowed and even encouraged to explore and recognise the value of their own culture and places, the authorities would gain enormous and sovereign political support and successfully establish their legitimacy to govern this island.

Second, the new scope of heritage to empower the community is concerned. Unlike the tricks employed by the nation-states in Europe in the eighteenth century, a more holistic and general idea of heritage, that is, small heritage, was used by this new historical state plan for Taiwan, not ancient buildings or monuments as the material of heritage forming the traditional types of Big Heritage. Small heritage was empowered and derived from all the possible local elements that could be employed, such as an unremarkable old building, a declining tradition or depressed industries. The point is not how much inherent value this potential heritage has but how much potential it has to become heritage in the future. In this sense, heritage is not only referred to as something ancient and innately valuable but includes anything that people value, treasure and want to keep to pass on to future generations, whether they are physical or non-physical resources. This new scope for heritage has had two practical effects. On the one hand, it lifted the subordinate position of local cultural legacies and brought them closer to people's lives and experiences until they had the same status as the Han Chinese and mainland-oriented heritage, even though this was more remote and unfamiliar. On the other, it used limited local resources, whether tangible or intangible, to the highest potential and benefited from a more practical and holistic viewpoint.

Third, the new scope of heritage of fitting the local context is concerned. This thesis argues that heritage is basically not an absolute standard but a relative concept, for several

reasons. One is that heritage conservation is not only purely a concept but is a practicable and practised idea. That is, the definition of heritage in a particular region has to be not only reasonable as a concept but also feasible in the physical world. This feasibility in heritage conservation usually has a close connection with the nature of the materials of which the heritage item is made, the features of the local natural environment, the outlook of the local people and so on. This topic is discussed below in Chapters 5 and 6.

7.4 Conclusion

After empirically examining the attitudes of people and the evolutionary process of heritage ideas in Taiwan, the findings need to be placed in a wider political, social and climatic contexts to understand their theoretical implications from a cultural governance perspective. As the status of heritage, taking into account the opinions of advisory bodies such as affiliated heritage committees, is still mainly decided by the administrative authority of the government, there is no denying that heritage conservation discourses and practices are inherently and deeply influenced by the administration of governments. In other words, one cannot understand the nature, implications and effects of cultural heritage without the notion of cultural governance, even though one might claim that there is an objective heritage standard and heritage designation decisions should avoid the pollution of politics as far as possible. Heritage designation is unavoidably influenced by a human point of view or subjectivity, no matter how objective it may appear.

In other words, there is a close relationship between heritage and the mode of governmental administration. It may be useful for researchers to examine the influences of the transformation of governmental administration on heritage. In recent years, one of the most popular issues in political research is the phenomenon of so-called governance. This emerging change in the public administration field has attracted a wide range of researchers keen to interpret its causes, patterns and influences in the public domain. This thesis argues that the phenomenon of a heritage should be explored in this political context with the paradigm shift to governance in order to reveal the critical theoretical implications of cultural heritage.

Chapter 8 Rethinking Heritage under Cultural Governance

According to the results of Q methodology survey of people's attitudes towards heritage in Chapter 4, the discussion about the issue of authenticity in Chapter 5 and the alternative understanding of heritage in Chapter 6, there seems to be a chasm between the exclusiveness of heritage legislation and indigenous people's perception of heritage. Furthermore, based on the analysis of heritage from a cultural governance perspective in Chapter 7, this thesis argues that heritage in Taiwan is not an artefact or a building with innate outstanding values but rather the result of a struggle which was significantly shaped by various actors in particular political, economic, cultural and spatial contexts under cultural governance.

This chapter first compares the differences between the Big Heritage and small heritages models. Second, it probes the unconscious gaps between the exclusiveness of heritage regulation and the inclusiveness of heritage governance, which cause contradictions. Third, this study summarises the role of the authorities in heritage governance and finally it reconsiders the meanings of heritage from a cultural governance perspective.

8.1 The Comparison between Big Heritage and small heritages Models

As the previous chapter attests, there has been a shift of the concept of heritage from Big Heritage to small heritages in Taiwan, due to the country's democratisation which has allowed people to claim the heterogeneous values of various communities as the basic right of cultural citizenship. One can compare these two models in order to compare the difference between two understandings of the term "heritage". The Big Heritage mode views the heritage sector as an exclusive expert field that requires professional knowledge and deliberate judgment in the designation, conservation, interpretation and conservation of heritage. Only on certain exceptional occasions are laymen allowed to participate in simple heritage conservation work, such as safeguarding or digging, actions that are assumed by heritage experts and authorities to require no need of background knowledge, advance experience or professional training, which can be easily carried out under the guidance and supervision of professionals.

With such an understanding, heritage is a purely expert issue because it is still deemed to require specific knowledge and training to engage in heritage conservation affairs. Laymen may be allowed to participate but only in marginal or trivial tasks which require

no expertise. In other words, heritage is a professional discipline and the role for the public in heritage is that of an audience which needs to be educated about the values of heritage and instructed to safeguard it. Accordingly, the accompanying knowledge and practices all revolve around artefacts which overwhelmingly become the centre of heritage thinking. The beginning of the heritage conservation process is heritage itself, followed by an investigation and the spread of knowledge by experts and authorities, ending with the education of local people and their involvement in safeguarding heritage.

It is a top-down process in which heritage is altogether regarded as a static artefact or building of which the cultural, historical and scientific values or significance are investigated by experts and authorities before drifting down to ordinary folk. The experts and authorities teach people to appreciate the value and importance of heritage and to take on the responsibility of protecting it for the sake of future generations. However, as Waterton (2009, 2010, 2012) pointed out, what such a model produces is ‘people-less heritage, that is orientated by fabric, aesthetics and a lack of interaction’ (Waterton 2009, 52) because community groups are regarded as passive receivers and heritage is regarded as a collection of objects with its innate values, independent of people.

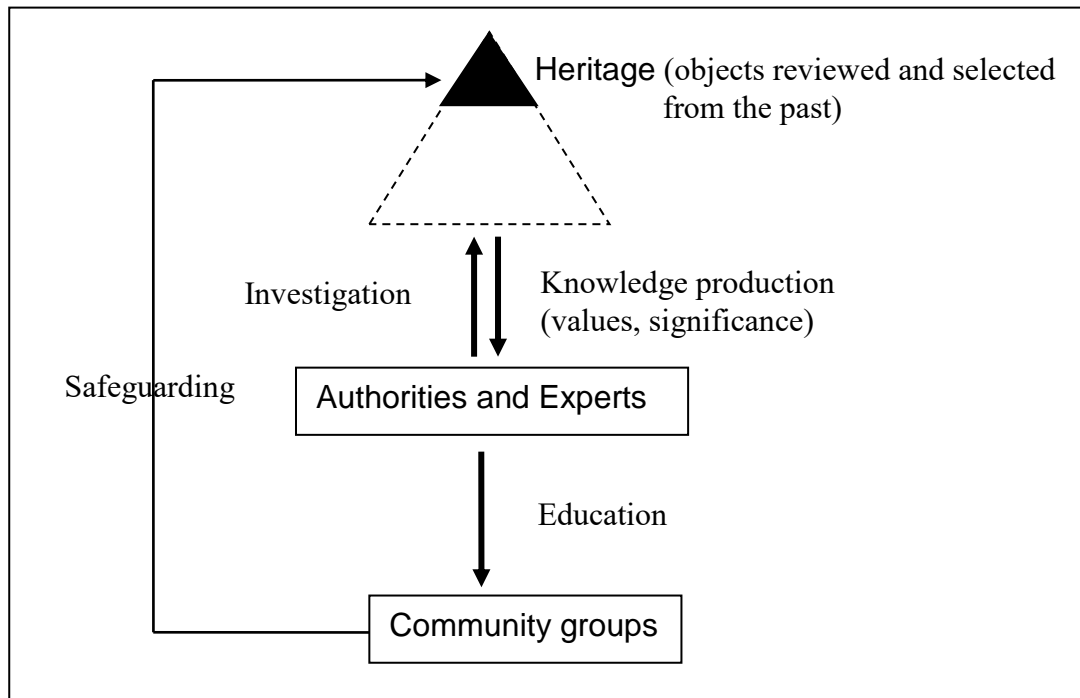


Fig. 8.1 The Big Heritage model

However, owing to the democratisation and devolution of heritage administration in Taiwan, which have gradually allowed people as the basic right of cultural citizenship access to claiming the heterogeneous values of various communities, the conventional

top-down Big Heritage model changed over time into a bottom-up small heritages model under cultural governance. Such a shift has several theoretical implications. First, as Schmitt (2011) pointed out (see Chapter 2):

If culture is understood as a code, as a reference to overarching sense and meaning relationships in human practices and institutions, then a cultural-governance approach would be the social steering of the production of sense and meaning (Schmitt 2011, 30).

From the various cases in Chapter 7, one can observe that various social actors in the process of heritage recognition always compete to control the meanings of heritage which legitimize its status. For instance, from the former brothel building or the squatter settlement for war veterans, to the sanatorium for Hansen's patients – all of these humble examples seem seldom to have been designated in the past as heritage when Big Heritage was dominant. But after much debate and keen competition over their meanings or significance, some of them, but not all, have been recognized as heritage. In fact, the results of these different heritage submissions varied case by case, according to the political struggles between the various social actors involved, the physical conditions, the competition of meanings between the heterogeneous claims from various communities and the ability of heritage authorities to exercise cultural governance, and so on. A certain thing became heritage after its values or meanings have been recognized in a decision process. As Schmitt (2011) indicated, 'objects become cultural objects through signifying practices or actions, through debates or standardized decision processes' (Schmitt 2011, 48). In this sense, all heritage can be regarded as cultural objects of a certain kind.

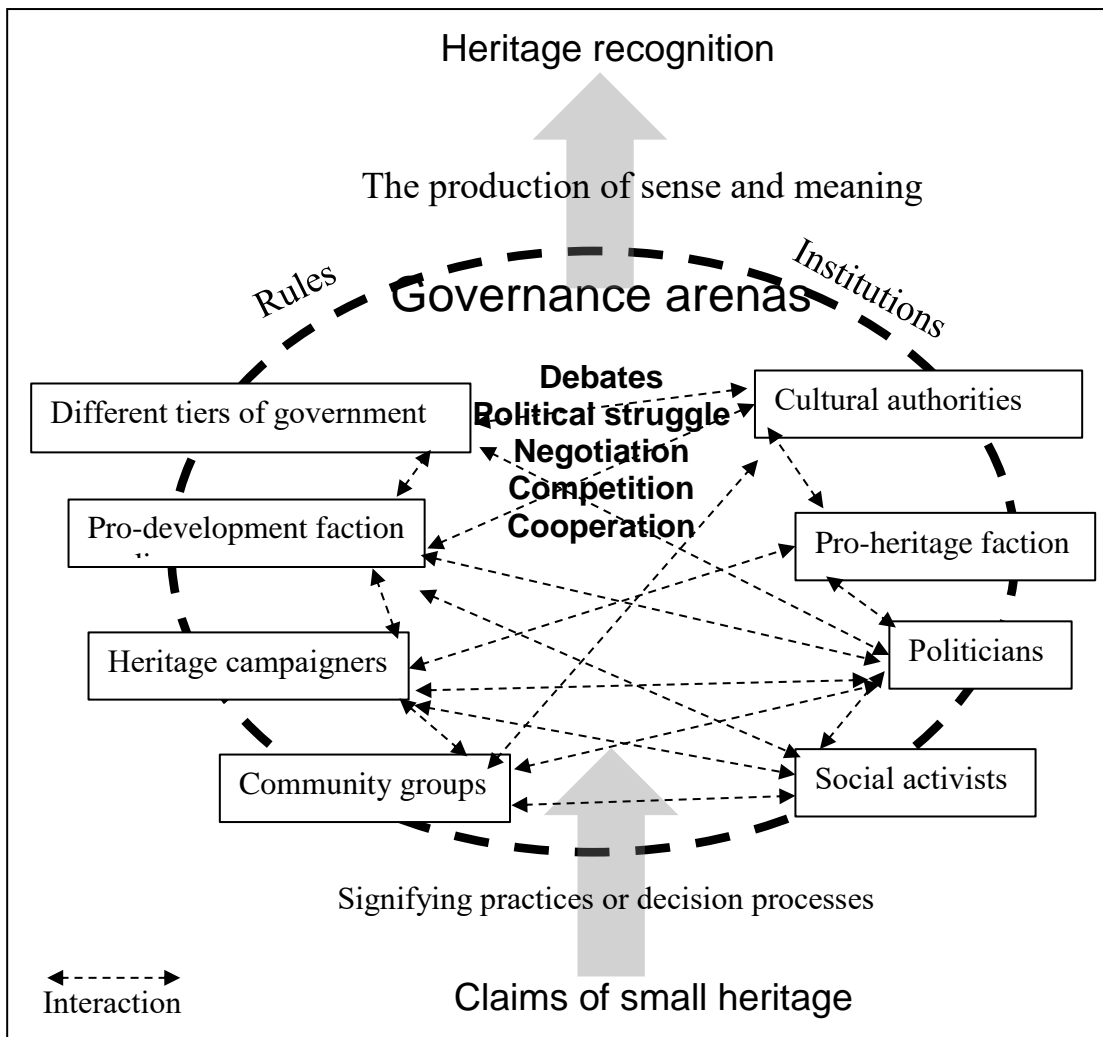


Fig. 8.2 The small heritages model under cultural governance

8.2 The Gaps between Exclusiveness and Inclusiveness

From the analysis in Chapter 3 of the exclusiveness of heritage legislation and the inclusiveness of cultural governance in Chapter 7, one can observe their incompatibility, which results in unavoidable conflicts. Put simply, it seems self-contradictory to consider something to be exclusively determined by professional knowledge while at the same time considering laymen's opinions or values.

Such a paradox is a result of the following factors. On the one hand, the inclusiveness trend impelled by the need for cultural governance after the 1990s in Taiwan (mentioned in Chapter 7.1) has gradually loosened the rigid standards of heritage designation. This study points out that, in the past, the definition of heritage was monopolised by a particular interpretation, that is, the Big Heritage discourse, which emphasises from the values of national importance. However, in recent times, owing to the development of recognition politics, more and more unofficial small heritages in the past, such as disadvantaged community legacies, have gradually become official heritage because heritage is now regarded as an effective and convenient way to signify the official recognition of disadvantaged social groups. For instance, the former brothel and the squatter settlement for war veterans in Taipei were recognised as a kind of heritage that should be conserved and protected because these buildings bear witness to the history or collective memories of the disadvantaged people that were ignored in the national history.

On the other, although inclusiveness has been promoted by the cultural governance trend, in most cases the result is more like a political compromise after ongoing social struggles, rather than the deep acceptance and understanding of small heritages. That is to say, most of these small heritages still have to struggle for official status or recognition, with heritage designation decisions, to some extent, being compromises caused by the pressure from social movements to save certain heritages. Furthermore, activists tend to feel satisfied and stop their campaigns once their claims have been recognised and they have acquired official protection for their targets that prevents them from being destroyed or changed. Nevertheless, they seem not to understand the innate differences between Big Heritage and small heritages. Therefore, what is tricky here is that most small heritages do not develop their own heritage management approach but tend to follow the assumptions, approaches and means set down and practised over the years to manage Big Heritage. As Harrison (2012) pointed out:

‘ideas about what heritage is and does that circulate within “official” heritage can also significantly influence what people believe constitutes their own “unofficial” heritage, whether it is recognised by the state or not. So the categories are locked in a dialectical or recursive process in which each influences the definition of the other’ (Harrison 2012, 20).

Generally speaking, there still are no proper official types and mechanisms for the management of small heritages because the way of Big Heritage conservation still to some extent confines the imagination of heritage management and its attendant practices. Owing to such innate gaps between enforced heritage legislation based on Big Heritage and the claims of small heritages that reflect the heterogeneity of social groups in Taiwan, the significant contradictions across various stages of heritage practice, including designation, conservation and maintenance, still exist today. Conflicts arise because of differences in the concept of heritage between Big Heritage legislation and the newly emerging small heritages; the differences are fundamental and lead to related but different ideas, content and practices in heritage management.

These fundamental gaps are presented below.

(1) Gaps between uni-centric and multi-centred approaches

Big Heritage tends to evaluate and designate heritage by a sole authority, such as a heritage designation committee with exclusive heritage expertise that is traditionally based on archaeological or architectural knowledge, but small heritages are more inclined to emphasise the interactive and evolutionary processes between heritage and a number of stakeholders. Owing to the heterogeneity of society, different groups of people want to keep various values, concerns and subjects as heritage. Accordingly, these two heritage approaches are fundamentally different. One comes from a uni-centric hierarchy with explicit values, while the other comes from something more like a multi-centred network with diverse meanings.

For instance, the values of Big Heritage are usually based on comparison with other similar objects in an over-arching chronological order. This allows the position of the subject to be decided by a uni-centric hierarchy. In contrast, the meanings of small heritages are usually derived from the interactive process between the things and the people. Furthermore, meanings are not like values that can be compared using a uni-centric standard but are unique to stakeholders with a multi-centred experience.

Therefore, it is paradoxical to use the concepts, approaches and means of Big Heritage to deal with the management of small heritages because of the innately disparate

assumptions between them. However, it seems that people do not detect such implicit differences and are mainly satisfied with the title of official heritage bestowed by the authorities. Nonetheless, the contradictions caused by the essential gaps will emerge sooner or later.

(2) Gaps between object-oriented and meaning-oriented approaches

The Big Heritage perspective tends to regard heritage as a neutral and static object of which the values can be reviewed independently and thereby compared with each other to decide the conservation priority of each one. In contrast, the importance of small heritages comes from interaction of meanings with people, the object itself being only a medium through which to convey meaning. Therefore, the same objects may have completely different meanings for different groups of people. Such heritages are hard to compare with each other because the meaning is based more on individual experience and heritage is not regarded as an object that can be evaluated objectively. Such subtle differences, however, receive little attention. On one level, the conservative authorities are unwilling to compromise when designating small heritages, due to failure to appreciate their significance and the high demands of political recognition. At another level, what small heritages campaigners are most concerned about is to resist creative destruction or to press the authorities for recognition, rather than discriminating such a nuanced difference. Furthermore, social conflicts and tension during a campaign to save something attracts more attention from politicians, campaigners, the media and local people, with only a few contemplating the corresponding approaches, means and goals of small heritages once a campaign is victorious. In consequence, such gaps are often ignored but from time to time emerge in the following management practices.

In the conservation case of the war veterans' squatter settlements, the conservation goal concerned the sense of place or collective memories, rather than the squatter settlements per se. Accordingly, the original material of the settlement was not so important, since the meaning was not based on the materials comprising the heritage buildings. Besides, the material that these disadvantaged groups used was usually quite commonplace and not processed or decorated. More importantly, such material cannot usually endure for long and has to be periodically replaced to maintain its function. Thus, the principles of Big Heritage conservation, such as authenticity or the maintenance of the original, may not be reasonable or even feasible in such a case. However, heritage conservation legislation still mainly revolves around the approaches and methods of Big

Heritage, and does not consider the needs of small heritages management. Therefore, there are gaps between the exclusive legislation and the inclusive cultural governance.

(3) Gaps between the expert-oriented and people-oriented approaches

To a significant extent, the exclusiveness of Big Heritage is based on the authority of the so-called heritage experts and their knowledge mainly of archaeology or architecture. With the endorsement of experts, the Big Heritage discourse established its dominance in the heritage field, strongly imposing the image of official heritage in people's minds and overwhelmingly silencing other ideas on the subject. Furthermore, only professionals qualified by the authorities are eligible to engage in heritage management or conservation practices. Therefore, almost every stage of Big Heritage conservation practices, from review, investigation and renovation to reuse, is controlled by privileged groups of people, with ordinary people not being allowed to engage in heritage conservation practices.

Put another way, if heritage management is intrinsically a professional-oriented field, it is paradoxical to demand that it should admit laymen's opinions. Conversely, if heritage is not a purely professional field, then the role of experts in heritage management needs to be reconsidered, in particular for small heritages that emphasise the importance of inclusiveness. One may challenge such an argument for its dichotomy. To be fair, the situation in practice is not as rigid as this, but it is hard to deny the innate paradox between an exclusive field and its inclusive development. If not, then it is mere rhetoric to talk about inclusiveness in an exclusive field. However, if heritage is inclusively found and produced, then the approaches and practices cannot remain so exclusive. It is worth further exploring and discriminating the nuanced orientations that can lead to such significant differences.

For instance, the constant issue in heritage identification is who has the right to decide whether a thing is designated heritage or not. Such a problem cannot be simply answered without further defining what kind of heritage is in question. Otherwise, it is meaningless because what is at issue may not always be the same kind of heritage, no matter what the answer is.

(4) Gaps between static values and evolutionary meanings

Big Heritage is usually presented in the form of static remains from the past, while small heritages are often continually evolving. It may be hard for some people to imagine that heritage can be dynamic. This study argues that there was originally a wide heritage spectrum, but people have become used to a particular kind of heritage discourse in which physical historical remains constitute the main content. However, such a particular

imagining of heritage thinking may present only the special perspective of a certain group of people. Jong and Rowlands (2007) indicate that ‘Euro-centrism ... continues to underpin cultural theory/practice’, arguing,

‘the value attached to “world heritage” is embedded in a certain imaginary of the past, in particular of a foundational assumption of cultural “beginnings” and “origins” that is deeply constitutive of a particular Western sense of its own historical purpose, a particular kind of historicity’ (Jong and Rowlands 2007, 20).

In Chapter 7, this study explored this particular historicity, that is, the Big Heritage that mainly revolves around static remains from the past, piecing together its original shape and trying to determine its position in a chronological system based on a common origin, that is, Greek or Roman civilisation. Generally speaking, it is a static system because heritage usually refers to relics that have survived from a certain era which will not develop further. This study does not try to deny such an interpretation of heritage but does argue that such a perspective is only one of a variety of heritage perspectives. However, such a “Euro-centric” perspective of heritage, which is mainly based on contexts and experiences within Europe and ‘is deeply constitutive of a particular Western sense of its own historical purpose’ (Jong and Rowlands 2009, 20) has historically dominated the imagination of heritage and regulated the content, approaches and practices of heritage management, that is, the so-called ethics of conservation. Furthermore, this Euro-centrism conservation ethic is promoted by so-called professional heritage conservation organisations in non-European areas and there regarded as the general standard. Such a Euro-centric perspective neglects the cultural, historical and social differences between Europe and other areas, leading inevitably to controversy.

For instance, generally speaking, Big Heritage items are usually made of durable material, that made from other materials than are rarely considered heritage. People are unconsciously led by assumptions of this kind and then exclude other heritage from their imaginings. Jong and Rowlands (2009) highlight the contradiction between the heritage ideas received from Europe about awe-inspiring monumental architecture and the indigenous mode of remembrance by the sacred grove in Osogbo (Nigeria). Using this case, they point out that the ‘potential for engagement with other technologies of memory’ (Jong and Rowlands 2009, 22) is different from the ‘Euro-centric’ perspective. They argue that alternative media, such as mud, trees, photography or even national television, can also constitute heritage. Such an approach challenges the stereotypical idea of

heritage as static relics and inspires us to think of the fundamental nature and meaning of the term.

As we have repeated, heritage is something which people value, treasure and wish to keep for future generations. The common reason for heritage conservation lies in the value of a relic. However, this thesis argues that such justification exists only when the so-called value is a universal objective knowledge, but it seems inapplicable to the world that we know, in which heterogeneous people have different cultures and value systems. It seems that only when heritage is regarded as purely historical evidence that its value can be evaluated; otherwise it may be more appropriate to assert that the reason for heritage conservation originates from its meaning for people. In this sense, heritage is more like a conveyer or container of cultural meanings than a collection of static remains as historical evidence. On the one hand, historical relics have stopped developing and, to a great extent, are independent of people's projections. This is the reason why historical evidence can be objectively evaluated and its value determined from a professional knowledge-based perspective. On the other, if heritage refers to a cultural conveyer or container that conveys meanings but not values, then the main issues will focus more on the interactive relations between heritage and people, not the conservation of discrete relics.

Furthermore, although this thesis argues that heritage is something that has a special meaning to a particular group of people, it would not assert that such a definition is fixed for every generation. On the contrary, the meaning of heritage keeps evolving alongside the continual development and innate dynamics of people's lives and cultures. In fact, this is the main epistemological difference between Big Heritage and small heritages that this thesis would highlight. Owing to such fundamental differences between ideas and assumptions on heritage, they correspondingly demand wholly different approaches, means and practices in heritage management. For example, the term "management" is more appropriate than "conservation" for heritage if heritage refers to evolutionary cultural relations and not static relics. However, such gaps or differences are usually not indicated, and in most cases, people take other people's interpretations of heritage for granted. These implicit gaps leave much room for contradictions and controversies to arise.

In fact, there has been an epistemological shift from an object-oriented to a people-oriented approach in cultural heritage conservation. Other scholars also make similar observations, for instance, Hufford (1994), who noted a new concept, cultural

conservation, which can integrate the various ideas in the heritage spectrum because the term ‘not only...[offers] an overarching framework for the protection of cultural heritage, it encapsulated some radical policy implications’ (Hufford 1994, 3). She then argues that, ‘in effect it proposed moving from a fragmented approach to heritage protection dominated by elite and professional constituencies to an integrated approach based on grass-roots cultural concerns and guided by ethnographic perspectives’ (Hufford 1994, 3).

In summary, this study argues that the traditional territory of heritage has widened, to include not only the broadening of values but also a change from fixed values to the more dynamic ‘meanings’. This is the main theoretical inspiration for the dramatic increase in heritage sites in Taiwan. Meanings could be a more appropriate and exact term than values to justify the legitimacy of heritage, since it turns heritage into a certain object with capacity as a cultural object under the social steering of the production of sense and meaning.

8.3 Rethinking What Heritage Is

The previous section reveals the close connection between heritage and cultural governance, suggesting that heritage is the result of political negotiations or struggle among various social actors using the past at a particular historical juncture. This is why Harvey (2008) speaks of heritage as ‘a human condition, it is omnipresent, interwoven within the power dynamics of any society and intimately bound up with identity construction at both communal and personal levels’ (Harvey 2008, 19). In the past, the power to designate heritage was rigidly controlled by specialist and authorities. Once the political climate changed and became more open and tolerant, claims about different candidates for heritage status were made by various groups of people naturally and became unremarkable. Since heritage is an essential part of the human condition, heritage is a natural response and critical cultural phenomenon in human lives, whether individually or collectively. With the heterogeneity of cultures throughout the world, heritage in fact exists in many diverse types as small heritages, rather than in the limited varieties defined by Big Heritage. As we can observe in the dramatic expansion of heritage both in meaning and number, the spectrum of heritage meanings is also rapidly developing and broadening.

This thesis argues that the meaning of heritage was monopolised by perspectives from archaeology or architecture as disciplines that together constituted the main content of Big Heritage. That is, if this dominant statement on heritage effectively dispels other perceptions of heritage, the latter can only be an apparently objective and ancient artefact from the past, for instance as a common cultural form, collective memory or social relationship. If heritage is something that people value and treasure, but not something the authorities tell them to cherish and safeguard, it is difficult to deny people the power to choose what they value and treasure, based on their own perceptions, in today’s more free and democratic societies.

Such an argument does not want to deny the importance of traditional heritage, the monuments, historical sites or archaeological remains. They do constitute a part of the heritage spectrum, but what is more important is that they cannot represent the whole of it. This is the critical point. Owing to the supremacy of the perspectives from archaeology or architecture, people became used to such heritage interpretations and ignored other heritage types, meanings and interpretations. However, if heritage is something that people want to value and treasure, heritage will not be confined to the interests of

archaeologists and architectural historians only but will also include diverse things that may be far beyond what one can imagine. In other words, different cultures or societies may have different interpretations of their own about heritage besides the Eurocentric notions of what heritage is, which cling to the longevity and value of materials, ignoring other, more important, cultural dimensions that are associated with societies. One of the alternative meanings of heritage may be easier to understand by considering aboriginal societies.

For example, the aboriginal people of the Tao race in Taiwan,

‘do not have a fetish with the eternity of the architectural form. In their lives, the magnificence of their houses does not make them feel proud but it is whether they can provide decent gifts to the village people who come to celebrate the establishment of their house ... then three years after the death of the old householder, his eldest son will inherit the old house and dismantle it to rebuild a new one. In the process of rebuilding, what will be conserved is their custom which lets the Tao race sustainably live on the island generation after generation and maintain the preservation of nature and conservation of their culture at the same time’ (Hun 1991, 46–55).

Moreover, a range of various alternative heritages are claimed in Taiwan (as mentioned in Chapters 3 and 7) that includes the residences of Japanese officers during the colonial period, the war veterans’ squatter settlement, former brothels and so on. It is difficult to imagine that such heritage objects would have been recognised as heritage under the Big Heritage standards of the past. However, these alternative heritages have been recognized by the authorities, in common with the grand historic mansions or magnificent temples in Taiwan. As such, the meaning of heritage can hardly be restricted by the traditional notions of Big Heritage because the control of repressive politics has relaxed. Various kinds of heritage can be asserted because heritage is now such a broad and vague concept that it can be used to refer to almost indefinite forms and possibilities. Forrest (2012, 1) pointed out, ‘It [heritage] is a term liberally used but elusive of definition’.

Analysing the expansion of the various heritage forms, meanings and interpretations that are asserted unavoidably leads to the most basic question; that is, what heritage is. Although many scholars (Forrest 2012; Harvey 2008) have conceded that heritage is hard to define, this thesis will put forward an interpretation of what heritage is in Taiwan. This

is a particular interpretation of heritage that is based on the special experiences of cultural heritage conservation practices in the island, because every society has its own unique thoughts and expressions of heritage. No matter how special, it will still make some contribution to the understanding of heritage and be of use to other societies. Before answering what heritage is, it may be helpful to make a detour and explore how people use the term heritage. To say that everything is changeable and uncertain in today's world may sound exaggerated, but it is to some extent, why people need something like heritage to remind or reassure them about what they want to remember or keep in their lives. Some researchers (Graham, Ashworth, and Tunbridge 2000; Lowenthal 1998; McCrone, Morris, and Kiely 1995) believe that the rise of heritage is a recent phenomenon, a reaction to the 'creative destruction' (Schumpeter 1934) of modernity in recent years. Harvey (2008) argues that heritage is an omnipresent 'human condition' changing with the development of human history. Nationalists use heritage as convincing historical evidence to claim the primordial essence of national ethnicity and invent national myths to help establish the nation state. Politicians manipulate heritage as a means to conduct political propaganda and arouse patriotic emotions. Scholars investigate and categorise heritage as they would collect specimens to add to the database of archaeological or architectural knowledge. Social campaigners use heritage as a convenient way to promote community consciousness and form cultural identities.

Lowenthal (2004) also commented that:

'Heritage in Britain is said to reflect nostalgia for imperial self-esteem, in America to requite angst for lost community, in France to redress wartime disgrace, in Australia to supplant the curse of European regency with indigenous antiquity' (Lowenthal 2004, 14).

In this sense, this thesis points out that heritage, by its nature, is something that reflects the collective desires, anxieties or needs of a particular group of people in a specific time and space. People use heritage picked from the past to satisfy their need in the present. Smith (1988, 181) made the point that heritage 'soon becomes vital crystallizations and stimuli for the quest for a vivid and tangible past which would answer to present needs'. From such a viewpoint, heritage seems more like a general umbrella term than a specific term with clear boundaries or definitions. Therefore, the term heritage, in fact, refers to various purposes with one common feature, that is, the preservation of something from future changes. In the past, such maintenance usually meant static conservation, the

protection of monuments or artefacts, but it has recently started to refer to a more dynamic evolution, the management of cultural containers. Different people retain different things as heritage to express particular collective emotions or anxieties at a certain historical moment. This is the reason why so many types of heritage are asserted; it cannot be confined to limited forms and an agreed content.

8.4 Conclusion

By analysing people's perceptions of heritage, the contradictions between exclusive heritage legislation and the inclusive trend of cultural politics, in the production process of heritage, this study has from a cultural governance perspective reinterpreted where heritage lies between Big Heritage and small heritages. For a long time, conventional heritage experts customarily used the term value to indicate the importance of heritage and to justify the need to conserve it because heritage was traditionally regarded as historical evidence that needed to be strictly protected and well preserved in order to prove or reveal some historical message. Hence, on the one hand, the high priority of heritage often considers the interests of national importance, and only afterwards the everyday meanings for local people. Heritage is basically decided by the state and naturally reflects the grand narratives of dominant social groups. On the other, without state recognition, heritage cannot become official heritage, something which must be strictly reviewed, step by step, recognised and finally compulsorily protected. However, such an interpretation of heritage management emphasising that the conservation of authenticity is based on the historical development experience of the Western world, makes it doubtful whether such an interpretation should be generally applied to other cultural, social or historical contexts and societies, such as Taiwan, which has a relatively short history and lacks material legacies.

Besides, this study argues that there are other forms of heritage that never receive recognition by the authorities but have long been regarded as heritage, such as the use of traditional archways in Taiwan. In fact, similar small heritages do not need to be officially announced because people will naturally recognize them from their everyday experience. Such forms of heritage are beyond the notions of the AHD. Moreover, although it seems obvious that heritage is traditionally some kind of relic, in fact not all relics are recognised as heritage. Officially speaking, something cannot assert its heritage status until it receives recognition by the authorities; otherwise, it will not be officially regarded as heritage even if people believe it is. After the announcement, heritage acquires privileged status and produces collective meanings strictly controlled by the state. The influence of the state in heritage fields is so obvious that in this sense heritage can be regarded as a product of national governance because it is produced under the strict review of the authorities. As a result, under such exclusive political government, other forms of heritage have been silenced and intentionally ignored for a long time.

Furthermore, the word value appears objective at first glance but it is not so clear cut. In fact, value is unavoidably influenced by the judge's political, social and cultural ideologies, turning the objectiveness of the term value into a subjective perception. In contrast, the word "meaning" more appropriately reflects the features of heritage than does "value" because it explicitly involves the collective subjectivity of the stakeholders and the interactive relations between people and heritage. From this perspective, one can say that heritage is something collectively invented or projected by various social actors, including authorities, academics and local people. The recognition of something as heritage reflects the collective desires, anxieties or needs of a particular group of people at a special time and space, Chippindale's observation (1993) that '...Society vacillates between fear of the past and fear of the future' (Chippindale 1993, 6) is relevant here.

For example, under nationalist notions, heritage is historical evidence of the primordial essence. Jong and Rowlands (2009) point out that 'Heritage in this sense is therefore an expensive force built on the confidence of nation-building and sustained by a sense of loss' (Jong and Rowlands 2009, 17). According to academics, heritage concerns physical artefacts with artistic, scientific or historical value. To local people, heritage is a necessary element of their sense of place, collective memory or identity.

Furthermore, the boundaries and contents shift with the change in political interaction between these various social actors, that is, from exclusive forms of political government to inclusive cultural governance, according to the experiential study carried out in Taiwan by the present research, which has been dramatically transported from an authoritarian regime to a newly emerging democratic society. Owing to the democratisation of politics, an increasing number of social, ethnic or cultural groups claim their rights and recognition by the state as cultural citizens. In this climate, more inclusive policies have unavoidably become the major agenda items in heritage politics. As a result, the designation of these groups' own heritages has become one of the most popular means to satisfy their claims. Since more social actors are getting involved in the designation, interpretation and maintenance of heritage, the state can no longer play the role of the dominant agent in heritage affairs and needs to use a cultural governance strategy to compete, negotiate or even cooperate with other social agents in a democratic and plural society such as Taiwan. Since 'a cultural-governance approach would be the social steering of the production of sense and meaning' (Schmitt 2011, 30), 'cultural governance in the narrow sense means that sets of negotiations, actions and practices, institutions and rules ... are explicitly directed towards a certain object in its capacity as a cultural object (e.g. as a historical

monument)' (Schmitt 2011, 48). Accordingly, in the small heritage models, the signifying practices or designation processes of heritage imply that intensive interactions, either competitive or cooperative, take place between various social actors within the boundaries of practices, institutions and rules, in order to produce meanings. Hence heritage is the result of multiple and complex interactions between various social actors through cultural-governance processes and not the result of static identification.

But after much debate and keen competition over their meanings or significance, some of them, but not all, have been recognized as heritage which makes the invisible visible. However, the results of these different heritage submissions varied case by case, according to the political struggles between the various social actors involved, the physical conditions, the competition of meanings between the heterogeneous claims from various communities and the ability of heritage authorities to exercise cultural governance, and so on. The content and boundaries of heritage are no longer stable and are actually shifting, while the territory is broadening along with the change in political trends. Such an approach is the most significant feature of the concept of heritage in Taiwan nowadays. Accordingly, it sees heritage not as an artefact or a building with innate outstanding values but rather, under cultural governance, as a result of multiple interactions between various actors in particular political, economic, cultural and spatial contexts. The stress on innate values becomes a marginal issue for the following reasons: on one hand, since the Taiwanese are influenced by the Chinese Tao tradition which pursues universal or anthropocentric meanings, as in the case of Yueyang Tower, and not evanescent material achievement which emphasizes creativity, as the West's idea of heritage does. The test of authenticity is not the critical factor in the recognition of heritage, but rather meaning or sense, as this study also detected in the interviews with the respondents under Q methodology. However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, the Taiwanese have traditionally adopted a kind of cultural form, for example, the temporary archway, to express their relationship to an original or entity, so it is not difficult for them to accept such a necessary evil as renovation as the major means of heritage conservation. Heritage (Tao) will still be there, although the original material may have gone.

In sum, this study argues that the meanings of heritage in Taiwan are different from those in the AHD. One needs to understand and interpret these meanings through their evolving history, in particular their cultural, social and economic context, but not by means of normative concepts such as values or the test of authenticity in the AHD. Heritage, no matter whether it acts as a cultural symbol, historical evidence, collective

identity or strategy to counter 'creative destruction', is usually powerful and persuasive. Owing to the deepening democracy, which caused heterogeneous claims for heritage designation from a range of geographical or social communities, heritage governance has become the new agenda of cultural politics in Taiwan.

Appendices

Appendix 1

Consent form for participants

Appendix 2

Participant questionnaire / interview information sheet

Appendix 3

Heritage Conservation Act in Taiwan

Appendix 1 Consent form for participants

參與調查(填問卷/訪談)同意書

Consent form for participants

研究題目：

文化遺產治理之斷裂：

以台灣文化資產保存為例

The Antinomy of Heritage Governance:

A Case Study from Taiwan

研究者：英國York大學考古系博士生鄧文宗

Researcher: Wen-tsung Den, a Ph. D. student in Archaeology at the University of York, King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP. Mobil: 07425 900 584 Email: wd534@york.ac.uk

本表是提供您意思表示您是否同意參與本研究，請您回答下列每一個問題，如果有任何不明瞭或需要其他任何說明的地方，請進一步連繫研究者。

This form is for you to state whether or not you agree to take part in the study. Please read and answer every question. If there is anything you do not understand, or if you want more information, please ask the researcher.

您已經讀過參與者須知，並明瞭有關本研究之相關資訊？

Have you read and understood the information leaflet about the study?

Yes No

您在參與過程中是否有管道詢問本研究之相關資訊？

Have you had an opportunity to ask questions about the study?

Yes No

您知道您所提供的意見，研究者會好好保密與保管？

Do you understand that the information you provide will be held in

Yes No

confidence by the researcher?

您知道您可以無需任何理由在任何時間撤回您的相關意見資料？

Do you understand that you may withdraw from the study at any

Yes No

time and for any reason?

您知道您提供的相關意見資料會用在未來研究分析中？

Do you understand that the information you provide may be used in future research?

Yes No

您同意參與本研究調查嗎？

Do you agree to take part in the study?

Yes No

假若您受在做完問卷後，接受研究者進一步訪問，您可以接受研究者將訪談內容錄音以供研究嗎？（您可以參與做問卷，但不接受受訪與錄音）

Yes No

If you are invited to be interviewed after questionnaires, do

you agree to your interviews being recorded?

(You may take part in the study without agreeing to be interviewed and recorded).

所有研究者所蒐集到的問卷或訪談資料都會遵守資料保護法予以保密
All data are held by the researcher in accordance with the Data Protection Act.

參與者姓名 Your name (in BLOCK letters):

參與者簽名 Your signature:

訪問者姓名 Interviewer's name:

日期 Date:

Appendix 2 Participant questionnaire / interview information sheet

THE UNIVERSITY *of York*

Department of Archaeology

研究題目：

文化遺產治理之斷裂：
—以台灣文化資產保存為例

研究者：

英國York大學考古系博士生鄧文宗
*The Antinomy of Heritage Governance:
A Case Study from Taiwan*

參與本研究(問卷/訪談)須知

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE/ INTERVIEW INFORMATION SHEET

很誠摯邀請您參與本研究，本研究主要在調查不同人對於所謂文化資產保存概念之差異。在您決定是否參與本問卷或訪談前，請您先大致了解本研究在做些什麼與會包括哪些事。請花一點時間先仔細看看本須知，您也可以拿去跟別人討論，如果有任何不清楚的地方或你想多知道些的，請不用客氣，直接與我聯繫。您可以慢慢看，充分了解本須知後再決定是否參與本研究。

You are being invited to take part in a research study looking at different individuals' attitudes to the concepts of culture heritage conservation. Before you decide whether to take part it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully. Talk to others about the study if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

本研究是關於什麼? What is the research about?

這是一個學術性的論文研究，研究不同人對於文化資產保存觀念之差異。
This is an academic survey to study people's attitudes to cultural heritage conservation.

本研究的目的是什麼? What is the purpose of the study?

文化資產保存在最近已是一個頗為熱門的議題，然而，不同人們之間的文化資產保存觀念似乎卻不盡相同。本研究試圖分析在人們之間對於文化資產概念的不同意見態樣，結果希望對於重新思考文化資產之定義與如何實踐有所貢獻。

Cultural Heritage has become a commonplace recent years. However, it seems that the concepts on cultural heritage conservation among people are not quite the same. This study tries to survey and analyse the various concepts among people and the result could deeply influence the theories and practices of culture heritage conservation.

我必須參與問卷調查(或受訪)嗎? Do I have to take part?

很誠摯邀請您參與本研究，但不要參與，完全遵照您的自由意願。甚至您現在決定參與本研究，未來你仍然可以無需任何理由，要求撤回你已完成的個人調查(或受訪)結果。不參與本研究，亦不會對您的權益有任何影響。

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason. A decision to withdraw at any time, or a decision not to take part, will not affect your rights.

如果參與問卷調查(或受訪)會對我有什麼影響嗎?What will happen to me if I take part?

參與本調查，不會影響您的任何權益，也不會有壞處。好處是您可以藉由本調查多了解一些不同的文化資產保存觀念差異，有些知識上的。

There may be some possible benefits for you to know further about different concepts on culture heritage conservation and basically there is no risk.

有關我的調查資料，研究者會予以保密嗎? Will the information the researchers collect be kept confidential?

所有研究者在調查過程中蒐集到的資料都會予以保密。資料、錄音文字記錄或錄音檔本身都會放在上鎖的櫃子中，如果是存放在電腦中的電子檔會以密碼保護，不會讓他人輕易讀取。匿名的訪談錄音文字記錄或錄音檔會予以保管好並存檔。但一些片段的訪談逐字稿可能在研究結果報告中引用，但會注意不會讓他人能夠透過這些片段引述文字，而認出受訪者的身分。

All information collected about you during the course of the research will be kept strictly confidential. Data, transcripts and recordings will be kept in locked cabinets and password protected computer storage spaces. Anonymous audio recordings and transcripts will be kept as secure computer files after the end of the study. While written extracts (verbatim quotations) may be used within publications relating to the study, care will be taken to ensure that individuals cannot be identified from the details presented.

參與者會得到任何金錢報酬嗎或補貼任何費用嗎? Will participants be paid to take part, or will any expenses be covered?

本調查未提供參與者任何報酬或補貼。

The participants will not be paid nor any expenses be covered.

我之前參與了調查，可以後來改變心意不想參與嗎? What if I change my mind after the interview or survey?

如果您之前參與了調查，無論是做問卷或受訪，於事後改變想法不想參與了，完全沒有關係，只要通知研究者，你的個人調查結果將會從研究中予以剔除，也不會影響你任何權益。

If you change your mind about being part of the study, even after the interview, your data will be left out of the study and all related information about you erased. A decision to withdraw at this, or any time, will not affect your rights.

研究調查結果會如何處理? What will happen to the results of the study?

研究者會針對所蒐集資料進行量化及質化分析，並在這些資料基礎上進行博士論文撰寫。本研究任何出版的報告，不會出現受訪者姓名或足以辨認其身分之資料。

The researcher will perform statistical analyses on the respondents' data anonymously. A Ph D thesis will be written based on these data. No names or other identifying information will be published in any reports.

我可以跟誰詢問本研究調查之相關細節或問題? Who can I talk to for more information or advice about the study?

研究者鄧文宗，是英國York大學考古系博士生，假若您有任何問題，歡迎依下列英國地址、英國手機號或電子郵件信箱聯繫。

The researcher is Wen-tsung Den, a Ph. D. student in Archaeology at University of York. If you have any queries about this research please do not hesitate to contact me at: Department of Archaeology, University of York, King's Manor, York, YO1 7EP.
Mobil: +44 07425 900 584 Email: wd534@york.ac.uk

本研究調查有經過研究倫理審查? Has this research been the subject of ethical review?

是的，本調查業經本校藝術與人文倫理委員會認可，假若你有任何問題，請依下列住址或電子郵件進行洽詢。

Yes, this research has been approved by the Arts and Humanities Ethics Committee. If you have any queries about this research please do not hesitate to contact the Chair of the AHEC (Judith Buchanan, Director, Humanities Research Centre, Berrick Saul Building, University of York, YO10 5DD) or email to ahec-group@york.ac.uk.

那我現在該做什麼? What do I do now?

假若您願意參與，現在只要開始填復問卷或接受訪談即可。

If you would like to take part, just accept the interview or fill out the questionnaire following the instructions and then mail it back to the researcher.

非常謝謝您撥冗了解本須知。

Thank you for your time.

Appendix 3 Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in Taiwan

1. 61 Articles adopted and promulgated in full on 26 May 1982 by Presidential Order.
2. Articles 31-1 and 36-1 newly adopted and promulgated on 22 January 1997 by Presidential Order.
3. Articles 27, 30, 35, and 36 amended and promulgated on 14 May 1997 by Presidential order.
4. Articles 27-1, 29-1, 30-1, 30-2 and 31-2 newly adopted and promulgated and Articles 3, 5, Chapter III, 27, 28, 30 and 31-1 on 9 February 2000 by Presidential Order.
5. Articles 16, 31 and 32 amended and promulgated on 12 June 2002 by Presidential order.
6. 104 Articles amended and promulgated in full on 5 February 2006 by Presidential Order No. Hua-Zong-(1) -Yi-Zih 09400017801.
7. Article 92 shall take effect from 5 February 2006 promulgated on 1 August 2006 by Executive Yuan Order No. Yuan -Tai-wen-Zih 0940030668.
8. Articles 1 to 91, 93 to 103 shall take effect from 1 November 2006 promulgated on 31 October 2006 by Executive Yuan Order No. Yuan -Tai-wen-Zih 0940051650.

Chapter 1 General Provisions

Article 1

The purpose of this Act is to preserve and enhance cultural heritage, enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the multi- cultural environment for the Republic of China.

Article 2

The preservation, maintenance and promotion of cultural heritage, and the transfer of any and all rights thereto shall be governed by this Act. Matters not stipulated in this Act shall be governed by other related laws.

Article 3

The "cultural heritage" referred to in this Act shall mean the following designated or registered assets having historic, cultural, artistic and/or scientific value:

1. Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements: the buildings and/or ancillary facilities built for the needs of human life with historic and/or cultural value.
2. Historical Sites: the places which contain the remains or vestiges of past human life with historic and/or cultural value and the spaces upon which such remains and vestiges are erected.

3. Cultural Landscapes: the location or environment which is related to any myths, legends, record of events, historical events, social life or ceremonies.
4. Traditional Arts: traditional crafts and skills descended from different ethnic groups and locales, which includes traditional arts and crafts, and/or performing arts.
5. Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts: customs, beliefs, festivals or any other related cultural artifacts which are related to the tradition of citizen life and has special cultural meaning.
6. Antiquities: any arts, utensils of life or civility, and books or documents having cultural significance and of value of different eras and from different ethnic groups.
7. Natural Landscapes: natural areas, land formations, plants, or minerals, which are of value in preserving natural environments.

Article 4

The competent authority of Monuments, Historical Buildings, Settlements, Historical Sites, Cultural Landscapes, Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts set forth in items 1 to 6 of the preceding Article; shall be the Council for Cultural Affairs (the "CCA") at the central government level, the city government at the direct-municipality, and the county (city) government at the county (city) level.

The competent authority for Natural Landscapes set forth in item 7 of the preceding Article shall be the Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan (the "COA") at the central government level, the city government at the direct -municipality, and the county (city) government at the county (city) level.

For cultural heritage with two or more characteristics referred to in the preceding Article, the CCA together with other relevant agencies shall decide its competent authority and the preservation plan and management of common affairs of the cultural heritage.

Article 5

Cultural heritage that overlaps with two or more direct-municipalities, or counties (cities), its local competent authority shall be decided by the direct-municipality, and county (city) governments at the places where the cultural heritage is located; and if necessary, shall be coordinated and designated by the central government.

Article 6

The competent authority shall establish relevant review committees to review the designation, registration of different cultural heritages and other important matters relating to this Act.

The organization rules of the review committee referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the CCA together with COA.

Article 7

The competent authority is empowered to appoint, delegate related agencies (institutions) of its own or authorize other agencies (institutions), relative cultural heritage research academies, institutions or individuals to investigate, preserve, manage and maintain cultural heritage.

Article 8

The responsible or managing competent authority of publicly owned cultural heritage shall budget for and handle the preservation, restoration, management and maintenance of such cultural heritage.

Article 9

The competent authority shall respect the rights and interests of owners of cultural heritage and shall provide professional consultation to such owners.

Any person, who is dissatisfied with the administrative actions of the competent authorities for classifying his property as cultural heritage, may institute administrative appeal or administrative suits in accordance with applicable laws.

Article 10

Materials of cultural heritage subsidized by the government, such as drawing plans with explanatory illustrations, photos, samples or reports obtained in the course of any investigations, excavations, maintenance, restoration, reuse, teachings and documentations, shall be submitted to the appropriate competent authority for collection and preservation.

The content of materials set forth in the preceding paragraph, shall be disclosed to the public by the competent authority, unless the disclosure involves the safety of the cultural heritage or otherwise provided by other laws and regulations.

Article 11

The competent authority may establish special agencies to be responsible for the preservation, education, promotion and research of cultural heritage; such special agencies shall be governed by other laws or self-regulatory rules.

Chapter 2 Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements

Article 12

The competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements, and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 13

The competent authority shall set up complete file of the investigation, research, preservation, maintenance, restoration and the reuse of Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements.

Article 14

Monuments shall be categorized as national, municipal, or county (city) Monuments; and shall be reviewed, designated and publicly declared as such, by the appropriate level of authority. Where the Monuments are designated by the municipal or county (city) government, it shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

In the event that a Monument is lost or its value is decreased or increased, the revocation or alteration of the original designation of such Monument shall be approved by the central competent authority.

The rules for the designation standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation and other matters that shall be observed as set forth in the preceding two paragraphs shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

The competent authority may accept applications from the owner of buildings for the designation thereof as a Monument and shall review the applications in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 15

Historical Buildings shall be reviewed, registered and publicly declared by the municipal or county (city) competent authority and shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation. The central competent authority may provide assistances for the registered Historical Buildings.

The rules for the registration standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation, assistances and other matters that shall be observed as set forth in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

The competent authority may accept applications from the owner of buildings for the designation thereof as a Historical Building and shall review the applications in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 16

Applications for the designation of Settlements shall be submitted by local citizen or organizations and shall be reviewed, registered and publicly declared by the municipal or county (city) competent authority and shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

The central competent authority shall review and select from the Settlements registered in accordance with the preceding paragraph with higher preservation consensus and value as Significant Settlements.

The rules for the registration standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation, assistances and other matters that shall be observed as set forth in the preceding two paragraphs shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 17

Any Monuments undergoing the review procedure shall be declared as Interim Monuments.

Prior to the commencement of the review procedure set forth in the preceding paragraph, the competent authority may, in the event of an emergency, declare any buildings which has the value of a Monument as an Interim Monument; and shall notify the owners, users or managers of such Interim Monument.

During the review period, the Interim Monument shall be deemed as a Monument and shall be managed and maintained accordingly. The review period shall not exceed six months and may be extended once, if necessary. The competent authority shall complete the review procedure within the time prescribed; the Interim Monument will lose its Interim Monument status once the review period expires.

When a building is being registered as Interim Monument, the competent authority shall compensate the owner of the buildings for any loss resulting from being registered as Interim Monument. The compensation amount shall be negotiated accordingly.

The conditions and relevant implementation procedures for Interim Monuments, as set forth in the preceding two paragraphs, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 18

Monuments shall be managed and maintained by their owner, user or manager.

Publicly owned Monuments may appoint, delegate related agencies (institutions) or authorize other preservation agencies (institutions), registered organizations or individuals, to manage and maintain such sites.

Privately owned Monuments may be handled in accordance with the preceding paragraph, subject to a prior review by the competent authority.

Publicly owned Monuments and the land upon which the Monuments erected shall be appropriated by the competent authority; unless it is being used by government agencies (institutions).

Article 19

Proceeds derived from the management and maintenance of publicly owned Monuments shall be in whole or in part distributed to each managing agency (institution) as fees for managing and maintaining the Monuments; and shall not be subject to the restrictions in Article 7 of the National Property Act.

Article 20

The management and maintenance of Monuments shall include the following:

1. routine maintenance and periodic repair;
2. the operation and management of present and reuse of Monuments;
3. anti-burglary, anti-disaster and insurance measures;
4. establishment of a contingency plan; and
5. other matters relevant to the management and maintenance of Monuments.

The owner, user or manager of the designated Monuments shall draft the management and maintenance plan and report to the competent authority for recordation.

The competent authority shall provide assistances when the owner, user or manager of the designated Monuments encounters difficulty in drafting the management and maintenance plan.

The rules for the management and maintenance of Monuments as set forth in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 21

Monuments shall be preserved in their original appearance and construction method. In the event that a Monument is destroyed or damaged, but its main structure and materials survive, repairs shall be made in accordance with its original appearance. Depending upon its particular characteristics, the owner, user and manager of the said site may submit a proposal to adopt appropriate methods of repair or reuse of the said site upon receiving the approval by the competent authority.

The repair plan referred to in the preceding paragraph may include, if necessary, modern technologies and construction methods in order to enhance the Monument's resistance to earthquake, natural disasters, flood, termite and its durability.

The reuse plan as referred to in the first paragraph, may, if necessary, include proposal to add other necessary facilities, but the original appearance of the Monument should not be affected.

The rules for the restoration and reuse of Monuments shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 22

To facilitate the restoration and reuse of Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements, matters relating to the construction management, land use and fire safety of such sites shall be exempted, in whole or in part, from the restrictions of the Urban Planning Law, Building Code, Fire Act and other related laws and regulations. The review procedures, inspection standards, restrictions, requirements and other matters that shall be observed, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority together with the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 23

When there is a necessity to have emergency repair of a Monument because of major disaster, the owner, user or manager of the said site shall, within thirty days after the disaster, submit an emergency-repair plan, and within six months after the disaster, submit a restoration plan. The plans shall be implemented after their respective approval by the competent authority.

The competent authority shall provide assistances when the owner, user or manager of a privately owned Monument encounters difficulty in drafting the plans as set forth in the preceding paragraph.

The preceding two paragraphs shall apply *mutatis mutandis* to Historical Buildings if the owner, user or manager of which consents.

The rules for the management of Monuments and Historical Buildings subject to major disasters shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 24

If the competent authority determines, after review, that a Monument is likely to be damaged or destroyed or its value is likely to deteriorate due to mismanagement, the competent authority may notify the owner, user or manager to rectify within a time prescribed; failure to a timely rectification, the competent authority may manage, maintain and restore such site directly and levy needed fees or expropriate the Monument and the land upon which such site are erected.

Article 25

The government agencies shall handle the procurement of services relating to the repair and reuse of Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements in accordance with the procurement rules prescribed by the central competent authority, notwithstanding the Government Procurement Law; but such procurement shall not violate any treaties or protocols entered into by the Republic of China.

Article 26

The competent authority may provide appropriate subsidy for the management and maintenance, restoration and reuse of privately owned Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements.

Articles 20 and 21 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the preservation, management, maintenance and reuse of Historical Buildings which is subsidized by the government in accordance with the preceding paragraph.

Article 27

Publicly owned Monuments or privately owned Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements which is subsidized by the government shall be opened to the public to an appropriate extent.

Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements opened for public visit in accordance with the preceding paragraph may charge fees from the visitors; such fees shall be prescribed by the owner, user and manager, and shall be approved by the competent authority. For publicly owned Monuments, Historical Buildings and Settlements, such fees shall be charged in accordance with relevant Charges and Fees Act.

Article 28

Any transfer of ownership of Monuments or any land, upon which the monuments are erected, shall be reported to the competent authority in advance. With regard to the transfer of ownership of Monuments, except in the event of inheritance, the competent authority shall have the right of first refusal to purchase the Monuments under the same terms and conditions.

Article 29

Any discovery of buildings having the value of a Monument shall be forthwith reported to the competent authority.

Article 30

No construction or development work shall damage the integrity of, obscure or obstruct access to Monuments. If buildings having the value of Monuments are discovered in the course of a construction project or other development projects, such construction or

development work shall be immediately suspended and the discovery shall be reported to the competent authority for handling.

Article 31

The competent authority of Monuments shall be consulted before establishing or amending urban plans of the locales where the Monuments are located.

When drafting large-scale construction plans, government agencies shall investigate in advance whether any sites or buildings having the value of Monuments exist in the construction areas. If any Monuments is discovered, it shall be forthwith reported to the competent authority for handling in accordance with the review procedures as set forth in Article 14.

Article 32

Monuments shall not be moved or demolished except for reasons of national security or major national construction projects; provided that the proposals for such moving or demolition shall be reviewed and approved by the review committee of the central competent authority.

Article 33

In order to maintain Monuments and preserve their environments and landscapes, the competent authority of such sites shall be empowered, together with other relevant authorities, to draft plans for preservation of such sites. The said authorities may in accordance with the Regional Planning Law, the Urban Planning Law, or the National Park Law, classify, designate, or re-classify Monuments lands or areas, other functional lands or sub-areas, and preserve and maintain such Monuments in accordance with this Act.

The rules for the Monuments preservation lands or areas and other functional lands or sub-areas referred to in the preceding paragraph, the ratio of reserved open space on the sites, the sites' capacity ratios, the depth and width of the front-yard, back-yard, and side-yards on the sites, the appearance, height and coloration of buildings on the sites, and related traffic and landscape matters in such areas may be prescribed by taking into account the actual conditions and incentive measures may be offered.

While in the process of drafting plans for Monuments preservation lands or areas, explaining sessions, public hearings and exhibitions shall be held in stages according to their developments by the competent authorities and notify local community residents to participate.

Article 34

In order to maintain Settlements and preserve their environments and landscapes, the competent authority of such sites shall draft plans for preservation and future developments of Settlements and may in accordance with the Regional Planning Law, the Urban Planning Law or the National Park Law, classify, designate, or re-classify the area as a special reserved area.

In order to draft the preservation and future development plan of Settlements set forth in the preceding paragraph, public hearings shall be held and local citizens of the locale where the Settlements are located shall be invited for consultation and negotiation.

Article 35

Apart from Monuments managed by the government agencies, the legally buildable capacity of lands designated as Monuments or Monuments preservation lands or areas and other functional lands or sub-areas to be utilized in connection with Monuments preservation, become restricted as the result of such designation of Monuments or Monuments preservation lands or areas and the classification, designation or amendments of other functional lands or sub-areas, the portion of the buildable capacity thus restricted may be transferred, in the equivalent amount, to other areas for building purposes or, alternately, by offering other incentive measures. The relevant rules for implementing thereof shall be prescribed by the Ministry of the Interior together with the CCA.

The "other areas" mentioned in the preceding paragraph shall mean the major urban planning area within the same municipality, or the regional planning area within the same county (city).

The designation of Monument or Monument preservation lands or areas and other functional lands or sub-areas shall not be revoked once the buildable capacity referred to in the first paragraph has been transferred.

Article 36

The application of the following matters in relation to classification of the Monuments preservation lands and areas, other functional lands or sub-areas, or special reserved area in accordance with Articles 33 and 34 of this Act, shall be handled by the government in charge of the relevant industries together with the competent authority:

1. the amendment, increase, alteration, repair, moving, demolition, or changes in the appearance and/or coloration of building and other construction works on the site;

2. the establishment of residential lands, land developments, repair and widening of roads, and other topographical alterations;
3. the lumbering of bamboo and trees, and the quarrying of sand and stones; and
4. the stationing of advertising objects.

Chapter 3 Historical Sites

Article 37

The competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of the content and scope of Historical Sites and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 38

The competent authority shall set up complete file of the investigation, research, excavation and restoration of Historical Sites.

Article 39

In order to preserve and maintain Historical Sites, the competent authority may train the relevant professionals, and establish systematic supervising and reporting mechanism.

Article 40

Historical Sites shall be categorized as either national, municipal, or county (city) Historical Sites; and shall be reviewed, designated and publicly declared as such, by the appropriate level of authority, and where the Historical Sites are designated by municipal or county (city) government, it shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

In the event that a Historical Site is lost or its value is decreased or increased, the revocation or alteration of the original designation shall be publicly declared by the competent authority; and the competent authority of the municipal or county (city) shall report the same to the central competent authority.

The rules for the designation standards, review procedures, revocation procedures, and other matters that shall be observed as set forth the preceding two paragraphs, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 41

Prior to the end of the designation review procedures, the municipal and county (city) competent authority shall be responsible for supervision in order to prevent any loss or damage of sites having the value of Historical Sites after they have been revoked in accordance with Article 37.

Article 42

The competent authority shall implement management and maintenance plan, to supervise and preserve Historical Sites.

The supervision and preservation of Historical Sites referred to in the preceding paragraph, when necessary, may be done by appointing, delegating related agencies (institutions) or authorizing other agencies (institutions), registered institutions and individuals to supervise and preserve such places.

The rules for supervising and preserving Historical Sites shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 43

In order to maintain Historical Sites and preserve their environments and landscapes, the competent authority of such places shall be empowered, together with other relevant authorities, to draft the plans for preservation of Historical Sites. The said authorities may in accordance with the Regional Planning Law, the Urban Planning Law, or the National Park Law, classify, designate, or re-classify Historical Sites preservation lands and areas, other functional lands or sub-areas, and preserve and maintain such Historical Sites in accordance with this Act.

The rules for the Historical Sites preservation lands or areas and other functional lands or sub-areas, the scope of zoning, the manner of reuse and maintenance of landscapes as set forth in the preceding paragraph, may be prescribed by taking into account the actual conditions and incentive measures may be offered.

The competent authority may appropriate or expropriate the lands which are classified as the Historical Sites preservation lands and areas and other functional lands or sub-areas.

Article 44

Article 35 of this Act shall apply mutatis mutandis to any transfer of the buildable capacity of Historical Sites.

Article 45

Any excavation of Historical Sites shall be subject to an application by scholars, experts, and academic or professional scientific research institutions to the competent authority, and shall be reviewed by the review committee and approved by the competent authority respectively.

The excavator referred to in the preceding paragraph shall produce an excavation report within the time prescribed by the competent authority. The report shall be filed with the competent authority for recordation and shall be disclosed to the public.

The rules for the qualification, restrictions, conditions, review procedures and other matters that shall be observed in relation to excavation of Historical Sites, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 46

Foreigners may not investigate and excavate Historical Sites within the Republic of China and its territorial sea, provided that with the prior approval of the central competent authority; foreigners may co-operate with domestic scientific research organizations and professional institutions to conduct such investigation and excavation.

Article 47

Antiquities obtained from the excavation of Historical Sites shall be recorded and filed by the excavator, and delivered to and safeguarded by antiquities custodian designated by the competent authorities.

Article 48

Access to publicly or privately owned land for the purpose of preservation or research of Historical Sites shall be subject to the prior consent of the owner, user or manager of such land.

The competent authority shall compensate the loss of any person with proprietary rights on the land of Historical Sites, resulting from the excavation of such Historical Sites. The compensation amount shall be negotiated accordingly.

Article 49

Articles 25 shall apply mutatis mutandis to the procurement of services relating to the investigations, research and excavations of Historical Sites by the government.

Article 50

Any discovery of possible Historical Sites shall be forthwith reported to the municipal or county (city) competent authority at the locale of such possible Historical Sites for necessary protection measures.

If a possible Historical Site were discovered in the course of a construction project or other development projects, such construction or development work shall be immediately suspended and the discovery shall be reported to the municipal or county (city) competent authority at the locale of such possible Historical Site.

Article 51

The competent authority of Historical Sites shall be consulted before establishing or amending urban plans of the locales where such Historical Sites are located.

When drafting large-scale construction plans, the government shall not interfere with the preservation and maintenance of Historical Sites and shall investigate in advance whether any Historical Sites or possible Historical Sites exist in the construction areas. If any Historical Site is discovered, it shall be forthwith reported to the competent authority for handling in accordance with the review procedures prescribed in Article 40.

Article 52

Articles 45 to 49 shall apply mutatis mutandis to any excavations of possible Historical Sites and the procurement and custody of antiquities obtained from such excavations.

Chapter 4 Cultural Landscapes

Article 53

The municipal or county (city) competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of the content and scope of sites having the value of Cultural Landscapes; and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 54

The Cultural Landscapes shall be reviewed and registered by the municipal or county (city) competent authority and publicly declared; and report to the central competent authority for recordation.

The rules for registration standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation, and other matters that shall be observed, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 55

The principles governing the preservation and maintenance of Cultural Landscapes, shall be decided on a case by case basis by the review committee, established by the municipal or county (city) competent authority; and may be adjusted in accordance with the characteristics and development of the Cultural Landscapes.

The municipal or county (city) competent authority shall follow the principles of the preceding paragraph, to draft Cultural Landscape preservation and maintenance plan to supervise and protect the Cultural Landscapes, and assist the owner, user or manager of the Cultural Landscapes to cooperate with such preservation and maintenance plans.

Article 56

In order to maintain Cultural Landscapes and preserve their environments and landscapes, the competent authorities of such sites shall be empowered, together with other relevant authorities, to draft plans for preservation of Cultural Landscapes. The said authorities may in accordance with the Regional Planning Law, the Urban Planning Law, or the National Park Law, classify, designate, or re-classify the Cultural Landscapes preservation lands or areas and other functional lands or sub-areas, and preserve and maintain such Cultural Landscapes in accordance with this Act.

The rules for the Cultural Landscapes preservation lands or areas, other functional lands or sub-areas, use and maintenance of Cultural Landscapes as set forth the preceding paragraph, may be prescribed by taking into account the actual conditions and incentive measures may be offered.

Chapter 5 Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts

Article 57

The municipal or county (city) competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of the content and scope of items having the value of Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts, and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 58

The municipal or county (city) competent authority shall make a complete file, which shall consist of the investigation, collection, classification, research, promotion, preservation, maintenance and teachings of the Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts.

Article 59

The Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts shall be reviewed, registered and publicly declared by the municipal or county (city) competent authority; and shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

The central competent authority may designate Significant Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts from the Traditional Arts, Folk Customs and Related Cultural Artifacts referred to in the preceding paragraph; and publicly declare such designation.

In the event that a Traditional Art, Folk Custom or Related Cultural Artifacts is lost or its value is decreased, the revocation, alteration of the original registration or designation, shall be publicly declared by the competent authority. For those registered by the municipal or county (city) government, the revocation or alteration shall be reported to the central government in advance.

The rules for the registration, designation standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation and other matters that shall be observed as referred to in the preceding three paragraphs, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 60

The competent authority shall draft plans for preservation of Traditional Arts and Folk Customs, and to record in detail, teach or take appropriate preservation measures for those Traditional Arts and Folk Customs that are at the verge of extinction.

Article 61

The competent authority shall encourage the public to record, preserve, teach, maintain and promote Traditional Arts and Folk Customs.

The competent authority may provide subsidies to the works referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Article 62

In order to implement the teaching, research and development of Traditional Arts and Folk Customs, the competent authority shall co-ordinate with different levels of educational competent authority, to supervise the implementation of such works at schools at all levels.

Chapter 6 Antiquities

Article 63

Antiquities shall be categorized according to their rarity and value as National Treasures, Significant Antiquities or Ordinary Antiquities.

Article 64

The national antiquities custodian agency (institution) shall categorize Antiquities in its custody into different levels, with those having the value of National Treasures or Significant Antiquities to be filed and reported to the central competent authority for review.

Article 65

Antiquities safeguarded by private owners or the local governments shall be reviewed, registered and publicly declared by the municipal or county (city) competent authority; and report to the central competent authority for recordation.

Article 66

The central competent authority shall review and designate Antiquities of higher value from the Antiquities referred to in the preceding two Articles as National Treasure or Significant Antiquity.

In the event that a National Treasure or Significant Antiquity as referred to in the preceding paragraph is lost or its value is decreased or increased, the central competent authority may revoke the original designation, alter the classification; and such revocation and alteration shall be publicly declared.

The rules for the categorization, registration, designation standards, review procedures, conditions and procedures of revocation, and other matters that shall be followed in relation to Antiquities, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 67

Publicly owned Antiquities shall be managed and maintained by the government preservation institutions.

Antiquities safeguarded by the national custodian preservation agency (institution) shall promulgate Antiquities management and maintenance rules; and such rules shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

Article 68

Antiquities that are confiscated or expropriated by relevant authorities in accordance with relevant laws and those received from the foreign governments shall be safeguarded by the public antiquities custodian agency (institution) designated or recognized by the government authority.

Article 69

For the purpose of research and promotion, public antiquities preservation agency (institution) may reproduce and supervise the reproduction of the Antiquities under its custody. Third parties may not make any such reproduction except with the permission and under the supervision of the original custodian preservation agency (institution).

The rules governing the reproduction and supervision of Antiquities referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Article 70

The owners of privately owned National Treasures or Significant Antiquities may request the public preservation agency (institution) or other related professional preservation institutions for professional maintenance of such antiquities.

The central competent authority may demand periodic public exhibition of publicly owned or privately owned National Treasures or Significant Antiquities which are subject to professional maintenance referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Article 71

National Treasures or Significant Antiquities within the Republic of China may not be shipped to any foreign country. The aforesaid prohibition shall be waived in the case of war, necessary repair, international cultural exchanges, exhibitions or other special reasons where an application has been submitted to the central competent authority and approved by the Executive Yuan.

National Treasures or Significant Antiquities which have been approved for shipping out of the country as referred to in the preceding paragraph, shall apply for insurance, be transported and safeguarded with care, and be shipped back within the time prescribed.

Article 72

A prior application to the competent authority must be made for exporting the Antiquities, which have been imported for the purpose of exhibition, sale, appraisal or repair.

Article 73

Any transfer of the ownership of privately owned National Treasures or Significant Antiquities, shall be notified to the central competent authority in advance. Except in the event of inheritance, the public preservation agency (institution) shall have the right of first refusal to purchase the National Treasures or Significant Antiquities under the same terms and conditions.

Article 74

Any person who discovers ownerless Antiquities shall forthwith report the discovery to the local municipal or county (city) competent authority to take reasonable maintenance measures.

Article 75

If any Antiquities were discovered in the course of a construction project or other development projects, such construction or development work shall be immediately suspended and the discovery shall be reported to the local municipal or county (city) competent authority in accordance with the review procedures set forth in Article 65.

Chapter 7 Natural Landscape

Article 76

Natural Landscape shall be categorized either as Natural Reserves or Natural Commemoratives in accordance with their respective characteristics. Natural Commemoratives include plants and minerals which are valuable and rare.

Article 77

The competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of the content and scope of areas having the value of Natural Landscapes, and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 78

The competent authority shall make a complete file of investigation, research, preservation and maintenance of Natural Landscapes.

Article 79

Natural Landscapes shall be categorized as either national, municipal or county (city) Natural Landscape; and shall be reviewed, designated and publicly declared as such, by the authority of appropriate level, and where the Natural Landscapes are designated by the municipal or county (city) government, it shall be reported to the central competent authority for recordation.

In the event that a Natural Landscape is lost or its value is decreased or increased, the revocation or alteration of the original designation shall be publicly declared by the competent authority. For the revocation or alteration made by the municipal and county (city) competent authority, it shall be reported to the central competent authority.

The rules for the designation standards, review, conditions and procedures of revocation, and other matters that shall be observed as set forth in the preceding two paragraphs, shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

The competent authority may accept applications from the owner of landscape which has value of Natural Landscapes for the designation of Natural Landscapes, and shall review the applications in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

Article 80

Natural Landscapes shall be managed and maintained by the owner, user or manager of such landscapes; and the competent authority may provide necessary assistances to privately owned Natural Landscape.

The competent authority of Natural Landscapes may appoint, delegate related agencies (institutions) or authorize agencies (institutions), registered public and individuals to manage and maintain such landscapes.

Any person who manages and maintains Natural Landscapes shall draft the management and maintenance plan, and report to the competent authority for recordation.

Article 81

Article 24 shall apply mutatis mutandis when a Natural Landscape is likely to be lost or its value is likely to decrease due to improper management of such landscape.

Article 82

Any Natural Landscapes undergoing the review procedure shall be declared as Interim Natural Landscape.

The competent authority may in the event of an emergency declare a landscape of Natural Landscape value as Interim Natural Landscape; and notify the owner, user and manager of such Interim Natural Landscape.

Article 17 shall apply mutatis mutandis to matters relating to the effectiveness of the designation, review period, compensation and other matters that shall be observed in relation to the Interim Natural Landscape.

Article 83

Natural Commemoratives shall not be destroyed by picking or plucking, chopping or felling, or by any other means, and the ecological environment of such Natural Commemoratives shall be maintained. However, this Article shall not apply, if any of the foregoing is due to traditional ceremonies of local ethnic groups or research, display, or international exchange by research institutions and which has been approved by the competent authority.

Article 84

Any alteration or damage to the original natural status of Natural Reserves shall be prohibited.

In order to maintain the original natural status of Nature Reserves, no person shall enter the designated area except with permission granted by the competent authority. The central competent authority shall prescribe the application standards, admission conditions, operational procedures and other matters that shall be observed.

Article 85

The competent authority shall be consulted before establishing or amending the regional plan and urban plan regarding the locale where such Natural Landscape is located.

When drafting large-scale construction plans, the government shall investigate in advance whether there existed any Natural Landscapes in the construction areas; and shall not interfere with the preservation and maintenance of such Natural Landscape. If any Natural Landscape is discovered, it shall be forthwith reported to the competent authority for handling in accordance with the review procedure set forth in Article 79.

Article 86

Any discovery of sites of Natural Landscapes value shall forthwith report to the competent authority.

If any site of Natural Landscapes value is discovered in the course of a construction project or other development projects, such construction or development work shall be immediately suspended and the discovery shall be reported to the competent authority.

Chapter 8 Cultural Heritage Preservation Skills and Preservers

Article 87

The competent authority shall make a general survey or accept applications from individuals or organizations for reporting of skills required for the preservation of cultural heritage and their preservers, and shall review, record and trace in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

The competent authority shall establish information database for the investigation, registration and other important matters of the preservation skills and preservers referred to in the preceding paragraph.

Article 88

The central competent authority shall review, designate and publicly declare the skills and preservers that are vital to the preservation and restoration of cultural heritage, which are in need of protection.

For any designated preservation skills referred to in the preceding paragraph, which no longer require protection, the central competent authority may revoke the designation of such skills and preservers after review.

Any preservers referred to in the preceding two paragraphs, for reasons of either physically or mentally impairment, or for other special circumstances, is deemed unfit for continuing the preservation of cultural heritage, the central competent authority may revoke its designation.

Article 89

The competent authority shall assist the designated preservation skills and their preservers, to preserve and teach such skills; and utilize such technologies and skills in the preservation and restoration work.

The maintenance, teaching and utilization of preservation skills and the protection, vocational training and assistance of preservers referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the central competent authority.

Chapter 9 Incentive Measures

Article 90

The competent authority shall offer incentive measures or subsidies to any of the following: the donation to governments of privately owned Monuments, Historical Sites or any land upon which they are erected or Natural Landscapes; the donation to governments of privately owned National Treasures or Significant Antiquities; the discovery of Historical Buildings referred to in Article 29, possible Historical Sites referred to in Article 50, ownerless Antiquities with cultural value referred to in Article 74 or Natural Landscapes or Natural Commemoratives with cultural value referred to in paragraph 1 of Article 86, and immediately report to the competent authority to handle such matters; achievements in maintaining cultural heritage; significant contribution in preserving cultural heritage; and take the initiative to register privately owned Antiquities and which are reviewed and designated as National Treasures or Significant Antiquities in accordance with Article 66 by the central competent authority.

The rules for the offer of incentive measures and subsidies referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be prescribed by the CCA and COA separately.

Article 91

Privately owned Monumentes, Historical Sites and any land upon which they are erected shall be exempt from housing tax and land-value tax.

The housing tax and land-value tax imposed upon privately owned Historical Buildings, Settlements, Cultural Landscapes and any land upon which they are erected may be reduced by up to fifty percent. The range, standard, and procedures of such tax reduction shall be prescribed by the municipal and county (city) competent authority and reported to the Ministry of Finance for recordation.

Article 92

Inheritance of a privately owned Monument and any land upon which it is erected shall be exempt from estate tax.

The preceding paragraph shall apply in the case of an inheritance of a privately owned Monument, prior to the enactment of this Act; and it shall also apply to cases where the inheritance is not hitherto assessed or assessment is not yet final when this Act comes into force.

Article 93

Funds which are donated for managing, repairing or reuse of Monuments, Historical Buildings, buildings within a Monument preservation area, Historical Sites, Settlements, Cultural Landscapes, may be listed as itemized deductions or expenses in full amount, according to item 2, subparagraph 2, paragraph 1 of Article 17, or sub-paragraph 1 of Article 36 of the Income Tax Law, respectively, notwithstanding the amount of such donated funds.

The donated funds referred to in the preceding paragraph shall be delivered to the competent authority, the National Culture and Art Foundation or to the cultural foundation of the relevant municipal or county (city) government, for the management, restoration or reuse referred to in the preceding paragraph. The donated funds shall not be used for any purpose other than those designated by the fund donor.

Chapter 10 Penalty Provisions

Article 94

Any person who commits any of the following offences shall be liable to imprisonment up to five years, detention, and/or a fine of NT\$200,000 to NT\$1,000,000:

1. moving or demolishing a Monument in violation of Article 32;
2. destroying or damaging in whole or in part of a Monument and its ancillary facilities;
3. destroying or damaging in whole or in part of a Historical Site or its relics and ruins;
4. destroying or damaging National Treasures and Significant Antiquities;
5. shipping National Treasures or Significant Antiquities out of the country, or failing to transport back the National Treasures or Significant Antiquities within the period prescribed by the competent authority in violation of Article 71;

6. picking, plucking, chopping or felling, excavating, or destroying by any other means a Natural Commemoratives or its associated ecological environment in violation of Article 83; and
7. altering or damaging the natural status of a Natural Reserve in violation of paragraph 1 of Article 84.

Any attempted offences referred to in the above, shall be liable for the same penalty.

Article 95

Any person who commits an offence under paragraph 1 of the preceding Article shall restore the damaged portion; or compensate for such damage if it is incapable of or difficult to restore.

The competent authority may conduct on behalf of the person who has the obligation to restore but fails to restore; and the competent authority shall have the right to recover such expenses from the person.

Article 96

Any person who violates Article 94 of this Act in its capacity as the representative of a judicial person, the agent, employee or other staff of a judicial person or individual, in addition to punishment for such person in accordance with this Act, the judicial person or individual shall also be fined.

Article 97

Any person who commits any of the following offences shall be liable to a fine of NT\$100,000 to NT\$500,000:

1. the owner, user or manager fails to obtain approval from the competent authority for the preservation, maintenance or reuse of Monument in accordance with Article 21;
2. the owner, user or manager fails to submit a restoration plan to the competent authority for approval within the time prescribed or fails to comply with the restoration plan when undertaking an emergency repair of a Monument, in accordance with Article 23;
3. the owner, user or manager fails to improve the Monuments and Natural Landscapes within the time prescribed by the competent authority, in accordance with Articles 24 and 81;
4. conducting the construction or development work in violation of Article 30, paragraph 2 of Article 50, Article 75 and item 2 of Article 86;

5. the excavation of Historical Sites or possible Historical Sites in violation of Articles 45, 46 and 52; and
6. reproducing publicly owned Antiquities without permission from, or supervision of, the original custodian preservation agency (institution) in violation of item 1 of Article 69.

Any person who commits an offence under items 1, 2 and 4 to 6 set forth in the preceding paragraph, shall be penalized for each notice sent by the competent authority for rectifying the violation but was not rectified or not rectified within the time prescribed, until such rectification is fulfilled. In the event of an emergency, the competent authority may rectify such violation, and shall recover such expenses from the wrongdoer. For situations under item 4, the competent authority may order the construction or development work to be terminated, and notify the water, electricity and other utilities company to discontinue the supply of water, electricity and other energy supplies.

Under any circumstances of paragraph 1, if the property is government owned, the competent authority may publicly declare the name of the management authority and the names of any related individuals; and shall send such relevant individuals to the jurisdictional regulatory institution for penalization or disciplinary action.

Article 98

Any person who commits any of the following offences shall be liable to a fine of NT\$30,000 to NT\$150,000:

1. transferring the ownership of Monuments and any land upon which they are erected, National Treasures or Significant Antiquities without reporting to the competent authority in accordance with Articles 28 and 73;
2. discovering the buildings referred to in Article 20, discovering possible Historical Sites referred to in Article 50, discovering ownerless Antiquities referred to in Article 74 or discovering valuable Natural
 - i. Landscape and its belongings referred to in item 1 of Article 86, without reporting to the competent authority for handling; and
3. entering Natural Reserve area without the approval of the competent authority in violation of item 2 of Article 84.

Article 99

Any fine imposed in accordance with this Act, shall be paid within the time prescribed; any such failure, shall be subject to compulsory execution.

Article 100

Public officials who take advantage of its power of authority, opportunity or any other methods to violate Article 94 shall be subject to one and a half (1.5) times the original penalty.

Chapter 11 Supplementary Provisions

Article 101

If the municipal or county (city) competent authority shall fail to act in accordance with this

Act which places the cultural heritage preservation at risk, the Executive Yuan and the central competent authority shall prescribe a time for such acts; if the municipal or county (city) competent authority did not comply within the time prescribed, then the Executive Yuan or the central competent authority shall do such acts for the municipal or county (city) competent authority. In the event of an emergency, the Executive Yuan or the central competent authority shall forthwith perform on behalf of the municipal or county (city) competent authority.

Article 102

Any publicly declared Monuments, traditional Settlements, ancient markets and streets, Historical Sites and other historic or cultural remains prior to the enactment of this Act, shall be re-designated, re-registered and publicly declared by the competent authority within six months after this Act becomes effective; the same applies to vistas of natural culture.

Article 103

The enforcement rules set forth in this Act shall be prescribed by the CCA together with the COA.

Article 104

This Act shall become effective on the date prescribed by the Executive Yuan.

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