Cultural Imagination and Urban Regeneration:
The Role of Heritage in the Case of Dadaocheng, Taipei, Taiwan

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‘I, Tu-Chung Liu, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.’
Abstract

This research is intended to re-conceptualise the subjects of heritage and city through the lens of imagination in the context of urban regeneration. With the interlinkage between the behaviour of heritage use and the concept of cultural imagination, this research states that urban heritage is beneficial to shaping our imagination with a physical place, particularly for the building of urban imaginaries and place values. In addition, cognitive continuity between urban imaginaries of the past/present and the imagined future is central to the heritage-person-place mediation. Consequently, the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage is related not only to personal biography and social interactions, but also to the depths of history and the effects of political ideology.

This project uses narrative inquiry and an in-depth case study, namely, the historic district of Dadaocheng in Taipei City, Taiwan, to demonstrate the complexity of sustaining the historic environment. Heritage in Dadaocheng is being used to connect historical prosperity, to advance cultural and economic vitality, and to enrich the story contexts of both urban development and individual life histories. Accordingly, urban heritage plays an important role in the interconnection between the glorious past and the future of nostalgia. Ultimately, the longing of the 1920s and 1930s in Dadaocheng is associated with a complex formation process, intertwining with the circulation of historical accounts of urban modernisation in Dadaocheng, the introduction of policies of the cultural economy in Taipei City, and the rise of Taiwanese consciousness in Taiwan. In addition, this research will suggest that the main concern in the policy implementation of heritage-led urban regeneration cannot be limited to producing a collective imagination with a unified image for urban branding, cultural tourism or the cultural economy. Rather, it is also beneficial to cultivating cultural imagination with diverse living stories for multiple approaches of place identity.
Impact statement

The impacts of this project, especially the exploration of heritage use as a real-and-imagined praxis, might lead to the reconsideration of the constructive approaches to heritage studies and heritage-based policy implications. Between 2016 and 2018, the idea of cultural imagination with urban heritage was gradually developed by this research and then published at three international conferences for different research areas, namely, the 2016 International Conference on Cultural Policy Research in South Korea, the 3rd International Conference on Sustainable Development in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the 15th Annual Conference of the European Association of Taiwan Studies in Switzerland. Consequently, an attempt to redefine both heritage and city with the functioning of imagination has created some space for an academic dialogue between heritage as an interdisciplinary research theme and heritage use as a multifunctional instrument for meaning making and identity building.

Based on both a macroscopic and microcosmic view, the case of Dadaocheng has demonstrated some specific urban imaginaries as the interpretive frameworks for imagining Dadaocheng. Moreover, this exploration also reveals that making the historic environment more sustainable depends on the interaction between personal living contexts and urban development stories, rather than just on the so-called the creative-industry or creative-city discourse and related practices. This also means this research highlights the importance of policy implementation for the promotion of urban imaginaries with historical legacies and for the heritage-person-place relationship advancement with ongoing narratives.
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Setting the problem

On the morning of Sunday, 30 September 2018, a guided tour—Heritage Walk: St Pancras Station 150 by Lester Hillman—was being held in the bustling area of King’s Cross in central London. Organised by the Institution of Structural Engineers (IStructE North Thames Group), the event was intended to celebrate 150 years of St Pancras Station. The Victorian railway station is one of London’s most iconic landmarks. First opened on 1 October 1868, it was marked as a Grade I listed building in 1967.

Beginning in the forecourt of the St Pancras Renaissance Hotel, the tour leader, Professor Hillman, briefly described the history of the spectacular Victorian building, from when it was known as the Midland Grand Hotel, through its tenure housing St Pancras Station’s railway offices, to its current manifestation as a five-star hotel. Concurrently, he introduced some of the historical figures associated with the building, including the fourth century Christian boy Pancras of Rome for whom the building was named, the architect Sir George Gilbert Scott who has promoted the preservation of the landmark, and the poet Sir John Betjeman who fought passionately against the station’s proposed demolition. Hillman told the attendees of the historical significance woven into the architectural façade elements, the physical remains, and the story of a parish church that had been originally located in forecourt but has now disappeared.

After walking through the foyer of St Pancras, Regent’s Canal, Granary Square, and Gasholder Park to Lewis Cubitt Park, the tour participants stood in front of a construction fence surrounding the future site of a new shopping centre designed by Heatherwick Studio: Coal Drops Yard. We saw workers in the process of transforming two Victorian brick
warehouses with unusually curved roofs into a new public space. An advertising slogan displayed on the fence drew some of the participants’ attention: ‘Own a piece of history…’ The slogan was accompanied by a historical image of cast-iron gasholders taken in the nineteenth century and an enlarged picture of the existing iron medal marking the history of Victorian gasholder frames. Wrapping up the tour, Professor Hillman concluded, saying, ‘Thank you again for making this trip to experience and witness the critical moments for both St Pancras Station and the ongoing regeneration of King’s Cross. I hope, through today’s tour, all friends could have much more appreciation and imagination of both the glorious past and the creative future of this historic area’.

Imagination is one of the most crucial mental faculties of meaning making and possibility envisioning for human thinking and action. Without imagination, there is no correlation of human experience between the past, the present, and the future (Ricoeur, 2007; Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016). The historic urban environment is the meeting point of the past, present, and future where imagination is enacted. As the ever-changing nature of people, place, and city contributes to the accumulation, creation, and re-creation of human and historic legacies, a wide range of values related to the past are imagined and produced within an historic city.

In the spirit of Professor Hillman’s concluding remarks, as mentioned above, about imagining the past and future through experience, this thesis aims to explore the interlinkage between “cultural imagination”, heritage use, and urban regeneration, especially in the context of the historic district listed by the government. Then, I will suggest an approach to theoretically and empirically investigate the crucial themes of imagination, heritage, and development as they relate to the goal of sustaining historic districts. In doing so, this thesis will argue that both the heritagisation of the urban historic environment and related heritage products are really beneficial to shaping our imagination with a physical place, especially for
the connection between urban imaginaries, cultural meanings, and place identities.

In addition, through combining theories of imagination and narrative, this study offers new understanding of how heritage users revive what was in the past for the future, using the different media in the present. Ultimately, a proposed concept of “cultural imagination with urban heritage” considers the personal appropriation of meaning making through heritage use between the individual and the sociocultural context, and between experience and imagination.

1.1.1 Is heritage use of imagination?

Heritage is concerned with anything and everything about the past, defined as historical legacies, that people identify consciously with and which they want to transmit to future generations (Fouseki and Cassar, 2015; Lowenthal, 2005). The UNESCO World Heritage Centre (2008, p.5), for instance, proposes that ‘heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations’. In light of this, the concept of heritage is associated with the present or contemporary use with meanings or values attached to the past (Graham, 2002; Graham and Howard, 2008; Hardy, 1988; Harrison, 2013; Harvey, 2001, 2008). Accordingly, to inquire what heritage means deals with the examination of ‘what is done with the past’ (Moody, 2015, p.113).

Ideas of the past, of history, and of heritage are highly interrelated and intertwined. This is to say that if the past refers to events that actually happened, history is the study of facts of the past (Graham and Howard, 2008; Trevor-Rope, 1981) or of ‘the remembered record of the past’ (Ashworth, 1994, p.16). In this regard, Lowenthal (2015, pp.337-338) demonstrates that history is both less than and more than the past, since ‘no [historical] account can recover any actual past […] the known past is
an artefact of our own making’. Likewise, as Pearson and Sullivan state (1995, p.291), ‘There is no such thing as the “truth” about the past; only our subjective interpretation, now, about what happened in the past.’ Therefore, compared with the study of history, studying heritage involves the investigation of both the purposeful representation of historical legacies and the reuse of elements of the past that have been ascribed specific meanings by users. In these processes, historical actuality may not be the primary evaluative criteria.

Regarding how value is attributed to the past, heritage use involves both historical legacies and discursive practices (Hall, 1999; Smith, 2006; Wu and Hou, 2015). Heritage users create various temporal meanings through the strategic integration of selected relics, memories, or histories with discursive practices. The term of “strategic” refers to the presence of specific goals that a heritage user wants to achieve. We could say that heritage use is always related to the user’s discourse and is crafted with specific attitudes and knowledge of historical legacies. In this respect, heritage is not the inherent property of a relic, memory, or history, but rather is constructed by heritage users who have motivations that are extrinsic to the items themselves (Harrison, 2010; Smith, 2006). One of the crucial features of heritage use is the selective process of identifying something from the past as beneficial (Graham and Howard, 2008). Thus, heritage use does not preserve the past passively, but involves an active process of assembling the past and integrating it with a particular set of values so that the past and an attributed meaning may be brought into the future (Harrison, 2013).

Due to the constructed quality of heritage, the products of heritage have been associated with multiple types of collective identity, ranging from international, to national, regional, local, community, and even to family identities (Smith et al., 2010). Concurrently, the strength of the link between heritage use and identities is usually based on the action of
people wanting to preserve or conserve something they value (Howard, 2003). Among a wide range of identities, cultural identity is often associated with the use of historical legacies, as cultural continuity and historical connection through heritage use can unite a specific group, city, or nation to form collective belonging (see Gentry, 2015; Kwon, 2017; Neufeld, 2016; Stephens and Tiwari, 2014; Teather and Chow, 2003). This kind of collective connection is constructed, according to Benedict Anderson (1991), as an “imagined community”.

Heritage could be related to cultural symbols, and heritage use with meaning making is culturally sensitive. Laurajane Smith (2006), in her book Uses of Heritage, points out that heritage is not only a discourse but is also about the production of culture. Between heritage, discourse, and culture, the psychological function of meaning making is crucial to understand the behaviours of heritage use. This means heritage, along with material legacies or intangible values, provides a symbolic representation of identity that links the past with a sense of belonging, from the self, to community, to a physical place. Moreover, Smith (ibid., p.54) demonstrates that ‘if heritage is a mentality, a way of knowing and seeing, then all heritage becomes, in a sense, “intangible”,’ even though that heritage making may involve a variety of physical things. Therefore, as Russel (2010) states, the values ascribed to the constellation of relationships in heritage use may contain the psychological feelings of hope and desire, in which identity is the crucial part of the valuation procedure.

By associating the attribution of value or meaning in heritage use with mental functioning, we can further inquire about the relationship between heritage use and imagination. This is because, as Castoriadis (1987) notes, the meaning making ability of human beings is based on our imagination throughout our sociocultural lives. Also, imaginative variations of meaning affect the possibility of human behaviour. Furthermore, in our
sense of time, neither the past nor the future are real in the present, both need to be imagined to be explained (Ashworth, 2011). In other words, from historical legacies to heritage products, the meanings of the past in heritage use are impossible to produce without the aid of imagination.

Since 2000, some academic discussions have sought to link heritage use with the idea of imagination. Most researchers with the heritage-imagination approach regard heritage as a means to present an imagined culture or history (Corbin, 2002; Jackson, 2008; Gordon, 2009) or as a medium to connect an imagined community (Hitchcock, 2002). Pendlebury and Porfyriou (2017, p.429) state that heritage is ‘the contemporary use of imagined pasts’ to strategically mobilise a variety of historical resources for present purposes. Likewise, Legene and Nordholt (2015) describe heritage as a way to connect people to imagined histories; heritage use is the process of representation in the building of relationships between heritage users and imagined histories. Accordingly, in this context, heritage is used as a means to provide evidence of lost traditions and act as symbolic representation of interpretations of specific histories. This also means that the past, because it no longer exists, is available to be imagined through heritage products.

Second, the strategic quality of heritage use stresses the importance of imagination as an aid to heritage use. G. J. Ashworth is one of the first scholars in the heritage field to state that heritage is a ‘creation of the human imagination’, especially from the perspective of heritage as a re-use of pasts (Ashworth, 2013, p.187). For Ashworth, relating to the past through heritage use can be integrated into projects aimed at shaping the present and the future, particularly when linked to urban development and planning. Accordingly, he goes on to note that heritage can be seen as ‘a discretionary development option’ in which the processes of selecting, packaging, and interpreting the past are driven by current demands and by human imagination. In addition, for the future-oriented nature of
development and planning, a future that incorporates the past can only be constructed and imagined in the present. So, variable entities of the past as heritage products could be related to the imaginary and imaginable nature of heritage use.

However, these first attempts to combine the study of heritage with the study of imagination have yet to explore the theoretical and empirical dimensions of both. This is to say, we still do not understand the mechanisms of how exactly imagination informs heritage use and how heritage feeds back to imagination. We also do not know whose imaginations of what types of heritage are prevailing in contemporary heritage use. In this regard, this gap in the extant literature inspired me to further investigate the relationship between heritage use and human imagination in this study. Thus, this research is based on a particular premise: heritage use is a real-and-imagined praxis of value added to historical legacies, and this process is a way of simultaneously seeing the past and being with identities.

1.1.2 Heritage use as a cultural strategy for urban development
Heritage has been regarded as a valuable resource with cultural, economic, and political functions (Ashworth and Graham, 2005; Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, 2007; Graham, 2002; Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2000). In contemporary urban contexts, uses of heritage have become a complex phenomenon. That complexity concerns both heritage’s constructed nature and its multifaceted engagement with the constantly changing demands of urban environments. In the book *The Representation of the Past: Museum and Heritage in the Post-modern World*, Walsh (1992) states that the increase in heritage use since the late 1970s reflects how the worries of (post-)modern life have had a negative impact on our sense of history. The demand for service-led commercial activities (such as leisure tourism) and the ongoing restructuring of places
has led to emerging trend to regard heritage as a source of representational images of the past which can serve as a marketing resource. Thus, heritage uses have become a significant strategy to reveal multidimensional manifestations in contemporary urban development.

Urban areas, comprised of diverse social groups and built environments, are constantly changing. Meanwhile, a city contains historical layers that tangibly and intangibly accumulate over time or are redeveloped. In a sense, urban historical legacies are not only the subject of historic preservation but are also the potential of future development (Purchla, 2015). Regarding urban heritage as opportunity implies that, on the one hand, the past can be integrated into different kinds of urban development. On the other hand, it implies that, at the same time, development projects can assist in the safeguarding of historic artefacts (URBACT, 2011).

Over the past few decades, the role of urban heritage in city making has become increasingly vital due to the cultural turn in urban affairs, from cultural identity, cultural governance, cultural economy, cultural tourism, and culture-led urban regeneration to cultural sustainability. This gradual shift reveals that heritage use as a cultural strategy has been adopted and promoted in various urban development strategies, especially in the context of policy intervention (Pendlebury and Porfryiou, 2017). In addition, many discussions have highlighted the possible contributions of culture to various dimensions of sustainability, from environmental, economic, and social, to cultural sustainability (e.g., Dessein et al., 2015; Hawkes, 2001; Soini and Birkeland, 2014; UCLG, 2004; UNESCO, 2010).

The use of culture in contemporary urban development reflects the redefinition of culture to meet political, economic, and social objectives of urban competitiveness (Miles and Paddison, 2005). Contemporary urban
governance concerns the construction of high cultural facilities as well as efforts to highlight uniquely local characteristics to make a city more attractive and competitive (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; Paddison, 1993). Particularly in an era of deindustrialisation and economic restructuring, the potential contribution of cultural resources for urban physical regeneration is emphasised, and this has been integrated into urban planning as well as related urban cultural policy (Bianchini and Parkinson, 1993; García, 2004; Griffiths, 1993; Grodach and Silver, 2013; Morató and Zarlinga, 2018; Zhong, 2016). Among these trends, culture-led urban regeneration is one of the most important approaches to regard culture as a tool, resource, or capital to promote other development. This often manifests in a focus on specific aspects of cultural affairs and products, such as arts, festivals, historical legacies, theatres, and museums.

Projects in this trend of the culture-led urban regeneration can be divided into two categories: cultural facilities making and cultural branding. As Kong (2011) points out, cultural investment in boosting urban or economic development often depends on producing spaces for cultural use. This kind of strategy encompasses both creating cultural icons, such as museums and theatres, and branding local features by re-making place-based historical legacies. Consequently, these so-called cultural spaces seek to project an urban image of a life filled with arts, cultural activities, or historical legacies. This also means that culture-led urban regeneration utilises and integrates cultural resources to display the uniqueness and difference of a physical place. As Dicks (2003) mentions, it is a kind of cultural display to make a site visible and visitable.

The intersection between culture, policy, and urban regeneration has given rise to the emergence of the concept of a “creative city” (O’Connor and Kong, 2009; Harris and Moreno, 2012). Terms such as "cultural quarter" and “creative cluster” are extending the practice of integrating the
arts, culture, or creativity into regeneration strategies. This is a method of remaking cities ‘in the name of culture and creativity’ as a means to market a place, promote cultural industries, stimulate innovation, renovate old buildings, and promote cultural diversity and democracy. (Hesmondhalgh and Andy, 2005, p.4).

For the practice of culture-led urban regeneration, especially on the level of policy rhetoric, it seems like a win-win strategy to deal with a variety of urban problems between culture and economy and between social cohesion and urban development. Nonetheless, the cultural turn for city making may become problematic. More specifically, it raises some critical questions such as whose culture and whose city? (Zukin, 1995), whose urban renaissance? (Porter and Shaw, 2009), or whose culture for the city? (Colomb, 2011).

1.1.3 Approaches for sustaining the urban historic environment

Urban regeneration, as a strategy to re-develop or re-vitalise declining urban areas, implies not only a response to urban problems but also an attitude towards a better future for existing social contexts and historical fabrics. As Robert (2000) notes, how improvement is conceived reflects an interplay between internal and external urban conditions. Those conditions exist within temporal contexts and are influenced by a variety of factors, from physical, social, and environmental, to economic.

A closer look at research surrounding the theme of heritage in relation to culture-led urban regeneration shows that the idea of heritage-led urban regeneration has been distinctively highlighted. These discussions mainly focus on the context of urban conservation and the historic environment (EAHTR, 2007; English Heritage, 2005; Said et al., 2013; Yani and Midzam, 2015). In a sense, the relationship between heritage use and urban regeneration implies that the investments from regeneration
projects can benefit more preservation activities. Also, it suggests that the social, cultural, and economic values associated with historical legacies will be beneficial to further development. For example, Boussaa (2017) has stated that the urban regeneration of historic quarters aims to promote the unique characteristics of place and an urban identity by both maintaining continuity with the past, and upgrading the environmental, economic, and sociocultural quality of a neighbourhood.

Altering an urban historic environment is not only a form of urban morphology but also a purpose of urban development. According to Ashworth (1994), a physical site may come to be regarded as a heritage product or a historic district when it is imbued with characteristics that have specific associations, even if there are no existing historical remains. This also means that, in Ashworth’s words (2013, p.187), ‘There is no fixed legacy that determines the historic character of places: nowhere is locked into a predetermined past as heritage is a discretionary development option’.

Taking a tourist-historic city for example, Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) argue that the foundations of a historic city may initially originate from its architectural fabrics and historic associations. Yet, later it may evolve as it continues to resonate with the contemporary urban economic and social demands. Consequently, a tourist-historic city, as a tourism resource of the historic environment, has emerged as a prevailing method for promoting and managing a historic area. Therefore, like a heritage product, a historic district is not related to the totality of preserved legacies but is the creation and reflection of contemporary phenomenon.

When it comes to revitalising historic urban districts, Tiesdell, Oc and Heath (1996) point out that this trend has undergone at least three waves, especially in the context of British policy implementation since the 1970s. The three waves are historic preservation, area-based conservation, and
local regeneration. Historic preservation policies aim to protect individual monuments and historical artefacts. Area-based conservation policies focus on groups of buildings and townscapes with adaptive reuses. Compared with the object-based preservation of the first wave and the holistic-based conservation of the second wave, regeneration policies concern both local economic development and local distinctiveness making. Ultimately, as Xie and Heath (2017) state, these different approaches of valuing historical legacies have interacted with each other and converged into contemporary attitudes towards sustaining a historic district.

Taking a broad perspective of the built environment, Ashworth (1997; 2011; 2013) seeks to rethink the relationship between heritage use and urban planning. Ashworth utilises three paradigms to explain different ways of viewing and valuing the past in the context of urban development. in the historical sequence since the 1960s onwards, namely, the preservation paradigm, the conservation paradigm, and the heritage paradigm, as shown in Table 1. Ultimately, these paradigms coexist in contemporary urban planning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Preservation</th>
<th>Conservation</th>
<th>Heritage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Goal</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>ensemble</td>
<td>message</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justification</td>
<td>keep</td>
<td>adaptive reuse</td>
<td>use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Criteria</td>
<td>past</td>
<td>past/present</td>
<td>present/future</td>
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<tr>
<td>Focus</td>
<td>real</td>
<td>given</td>
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<tr>
<td>Authenticity</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>compromise</td>
<td>experience</td>
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<tr>
<td>Change</td>
<td>immutable</td>
<td>adaptable</td>
<td>flexible</td>
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*Table 1.* Difference between paradigms in relation to viewing the past, summarised and modified from Ashworth’s theory (Ashworth, 2011, p.13).
For Ashworth, the preservation paradigm aims to protect individual artefacts or buildings from harm, as these historical remains possess intrinsically historical values. In contrast, the conservation paradigm widens the lens on both the holistic preservation of ensembles and purposely adaptive reuse. Ashworth (2013) further proposes the concept of the heritage paradigm to interpret a continuation of paradigm shifts, particularly at the end of the twentieth century. In this conceptualisation, histories, memories, or relics came to be regarded as heritage resources to be selected and packaged to reveal messages in relation to contemporary social, political, and economic demands.

Reconsidering the heritage paradigm proposed by Ashworth in Table 1, the message for sustaining the historic environment is mainly concerned with the flexible use of historical resources rather than the historic preservation for intrinsically historical values. This is not to say that the contemporary heritage paradigm does not signify the authentication and reliability of historical remains and related preservation/conservation activities. In other words, the relationship between heritage resources and the past of a city has been broadened from maintaining historical remains for historical evidence to representing the past for strategic interpretation, in any possible interpretive ways and forms, to satisfy contemporary needs. Thus, Ashworth (2011, p.12) concludes that ‘the supply of heritage in total is limited only by the limits of the human imagination to create it’.

However, from historic conservation to urban development, the benefits of heritage-led regeneration mentioned above, to a large extent, seem to place conservation at the heart of urban renewal, while focusing on the sociocultural and economic values of heritage use for urban revitalisation. Relatively, this kind of research enquiry may pay little attention to considering the process of the value interaction of heritage use, and the impact of knowledge accumulation and capability building on a historic environment over a long period of time. This follows Fouseki and Nicolau’s
(2018) suggestion that a conservation-driven approach of heritage-led urban regeneration may ignore the importance of promoting resilient development and living lifestyles over time for local communities to cope with the ever-changing environment. In other words, as clarified by Smith (2006, p.4), ‘Heritage is not necessarily about the stasis of cultural values and meanings, but may equally be about cultural change’.

Moreover, if we agree that urban regeneration can not only transform the physical environment but also change the cultural meanings of a physical place (Dumitrache and Nae, 2013; Ujang and Zakariya, 2015), the question of how a site, from an environment with historical legacies to a historic district with heritage products, becomes central to the issue of heritage-led urban regeneration. A possible explanation is that the prefix “re-” of the word regeneration concerns not only generating the novel possibilities to use and integrate historical legacies into urban development, but also reflects or redefines the existing contents and contexts of a historic environment. Likewise, as Reeve and Shipley (2014) note, a long-term heritage investment of urban regeneration, especially through the analysis of a heritage-led regeneration scheme of the Townscape Heritage Initiative, funded by the Heritage Lottery Fund of the UK, has affected attitudes and perceptions of local people regarding the quality of the environment. Therefore, for sustaining the historic environment, we need to consider the new ways of heritage use for the future, but also the long-term process of heritagisation of a historic environment.

1.1.4 Research questions between heritage use and cultural imagination

Heritage use, human imagination, and the future of the historic environment are mutually interrelated. According to Appadurai (2013, p.285), ‘Humans are future-makers and futures as cultural facts’;
meanwhile, Bridge and Watson (2000, p.2) opine that, ‘Cities are feats of the imagination and they affect the ability to imagine’. Based on the previous sections, I have sought to redefine heritage use a real-and-imagined praxis of value added to historical legacies, and it is simultaneously related to seeing the past and being with identities. Linking the cultural turn of urban development with heritage use, the flexibility of using legacies and integrating pasts into presents and for futures may imply that: urban heritage could be regarded as a future-oriented complex of recollecting and restructuring historical legacies in the present (Zetterstrom-Shar, 2015). This may likewise be interpreted as the following statement: past-making through heritage use is a strategic instrument of future-making (Basu and Modest, 2014).

For both the future-oriented nature of urban development and the real- and-imagined feature of heritage use, heritage study and the related exploration for the urban historic environment pay less attention to how the psychological functioning of heritage users’ imagination reflects the impacts of both personally spatial-temporal dynamics and collectively cultural practices. Meanwhile, the ongoing process of meaning construction with the heritagisation of the historic district is less associated with individually envisioning the future of a better place.

To this end, this thesis is concerned with the construction and functioning of “cultural imagination” with urban heritage for sustaining the historic urban environment, particularly those listed by the government. The concept of cultural imagination will be defined firstly as the mental faculty by which individuals see a thing\footnote{A thing here refers to an idea, subject, object, event, action, situation, and so on.} with the attribution of cultural meanings and related ideological contents that drive present imaginations and imagined pasts and futures. Accordingly, this thesis proposes to understand heritage users’ cultural imagination in the historic
environment, in which the imagination of heritage use is given an ideological and utopian assignment to address the connection between individual and society, and between the past and future. In other words, the cultural imagination of heritage users is examined in this thesis as a way of making an articulation for linkage and expression (Pyle, 1995). To pursue the cultural imagination of heritage users in a historic environment, in short, is to confront the meaning and matter of heritage in the contemporary world.

Based on the aforementioned, this study will fill the gap in the literature regarding the relationship between heritage and imagination, and the interplay between heritage use, cultural imagination, and the heritagisation of the historic environment. The following research questions will underpin the study:

1. How is the heritagisation of the urban historic environment connected to the history of a city, and what kind of urban heritage and uniqueness of place has been promoted?

2. What kind of factors affect individual heritage use, and how is urban heritage being used to relate the past, present, and future of a physical place, especially in the context of heritage-led urban regeneration?

3. Where does policy implementation stand in the process of cultivating cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining the urban historic environment?

1.2 Research aims and objectives

Drawing upon the main questions above for the interlinkage between heritage, imagination and place, this study will investigate the construction
and functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining the historic urban environment. To achieve this, a case study of Taiwan’s capital city, Taipei City (臺北市), and its historic district, Dadaocheng (大稻埕), will be analysed to, rethink both the concept and product of heritage in relation to imagination, and explore the cultivation of cultural imagination for heritage use and place making over a long period of time. Through the exploration of the concept of cultural imagination with urban heritage and the heritagisation of Dadaocheng, this study also seeks to explore how Dadaocheng has been and is being imagined, especially in the context of heritage-led urban regeneration and from the 1980s to the present day.

Aiming to make theoretical and empirical contributions, this study further seeks to explore how specific ideological contexts in Taiwan affect cultural imagination of Taiwanese people, in terms of individual heritage use and making the historic city unique. More specifically, this ideological context is related to the pursuit and establishment of the subjectivity of Taiwanese culture or Taiwanese consciousness, particularly after the 1980s. To this end, the spirit and related historical legacies of Dadaocheng, especially for urban modernisation and the Taiwan new cultural movement in relation to the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945), have made the area of Dadaocheng special to re-connect Taiwanese cultural uniqueness with the global context, rather than to the Chinese culture.

Furthermore, regarding the replicability potential of this study given that it is based on one single case of a historic district, both a macroscopic view on long-term cultural practices of a physical place and a microcosmic view on personal narrative for heritage use and urban imaginaries would provide a useful methodological lens for investigating the relations between the past, the present, and the future of a historic urban environment, especially for officially listed historic areas.
1.3 Originality

In terms of exploring cultural imagination with urban heritage within the historic area of Dadaocheng, the original contribution of this project is to deal with the complicated interface of multiple discourses and interactions for the construction of cultural imagination, which would be converged and reflected in personal narratives and individual heritage uses. More importantly, the findings emerging from the urban imaginaries of the area could benefit the investigation into the functioning of cultural imagination in historic districts.

This dissertation, from a theoretical perspective, firstly, contributes to redefining heritage use as a real-and-imagined praxis of value attribution with historical legacies, in which the appropriation and mediation of cultural meanings is crucial to make sense of individual heritage uses between personal, social, and urban development. Then, this would be beneficial for further understanding the constructed nature of heritage for building identities. To be specific, this research project will attempt to reveal the mutual interplay between cultural imagination and heritage use for a sense of time, place, and being.

Furthermore, by using a narrative method that utilises stories of heritage use and the re-imagination of a historic environment, the significance of cultural imagination with urban heritage is connected to the sustainability capacity in historic districts, especially for responding to change through the attribution of cultural meanings. In other words, the theme of urban heritage in this research will demonstrate that heritage use involves a complex cultural, economic, and political engagement for meaning making of individual appropriation within specific ideological contexts. Consequently, this kind of appropriation simultaneously relates to both self-identification and place identity.
As for the empirical contribution, it is built on the reflection on the impact and potential of heritage-led urban regeneration and related urban cultural policies on the cultivation of cultural imagination in the historic environment of Dadaocheng. Ultimately, for the process of exploring Taiwanese subjectivity and cultural uniqueness in the context of Taiwan, the case of Dadaocheng will imply that Taiwan is a story land, where Dadoacheng’s cultural elements and historical memory could be connected to a wider world context, rather than just to the Chinese context. This re-examination will be helpful to the following regeneration schemes with narrative perspectives in this area. Besides, this officially listed historic district of Dadaocheng, by experiencing different stages of preservation, conservation, and regeneration, can provide informative references and implications for the demands on revitalising historic port cites in Taiwan and other Asian countries, especially in the area of policy intervention.

1.4 Thesis structure

This thesis is divided into three main parts and eight chapters. The introduction chapter focuses on the research background and research problems. The second chapter defines some important concepts and their interconnected relationship, and proposes a methodological investigation for cultural imagination with urban heritage. By undertaking a literature review, both chapters 1 and 2 will pave the way for this project, explaining the research consciousness, gaps, problems, and potential contributions. Subsequently, Chapter 3 will embark on considering the historical accounts of Taiwan, Taipei City and Dadaocheng. By doing this, I would map the emergence and development of Dadaocheng into the historical contexts of both Taiwan and Taipei City.

The focus of the second part of this study is related to the empirical case analysis of Dadaocheng. Drawing on wide range sources of government-
led magazines and public documents, Chapter 4 will reveal the political agenda of urban cultural governance in Taipei City and heritage-led urban regeneration of Dadaocheng after the 2000s. This chapter will also examine how Dadaocheng has been described and promoted with some related urban imaginaries in official writing about the city.

In Chapter 5, personal narrative about individual heritage use and the place of Dadaocheng will be investigated. This is intended to showcase what kind of factors affect the use of individual heritage, and how different research participants imagine Dadaocheng. Chapter 6 will illustrate the art of heritage use between urban imaginaries, narrative and place identity. More specifically, urban heritage use in this context is showcased as a strategy, interplaying between the personal, social, and urban development.

In the final part of the study, the discussions are directed back to two aspects. First, I examine the impact of both personally spatial-temporal dynamics and the heritagisation process of a historic environment on the construction of cultural imagination with urban heritage. Secondly, I inspect the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining a historic environment. To this end, chapter 7 will, theoretically and empirically, rethink the concept of cultural imagination with urban heritage. Meanwhile, with a broader contextual viewpoint, the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage in Dadaocheng will be further placed in the perspective of nostalgia, but also in both the urban development context of Taipei City and the historical development context of Taiwan. This also means that, for an ideological and utopian assignment, cultural imagination for sustaining the area of Dadaocheng is associated with the inquiry into both Taiwanese consciousness and “strategic nostalgia” in Taiwan.
Subsequently some conclusions and implications will be made in the final chapter, which will also address the limits of the study and provide recommendations for further research. As a result, this project aims to serve as a significant turning point, both academically and practically, which offers tangible arguments for rethinking the use of heritage in contemporary urban contexts.

1.5 Terminology

This section provides an overview of important terms used in the ensuing chapters of the study. The concept of imagination, as used in the study, refers to a mental faculty to see a thing or a situation which does not exist in the present (or in front of us). Human imagination is related to meaning making and possibility envisioning (Brann, 1991; Ricoeur, 2007; Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016). In a sense, the term cultural imagination as mentioned above refers to the mental faculty by which individuals see a thing with the attribution of cultural meanings and related ideological contents that drive present imaginations and imagined pasts and futures. In addition, the phrase urban imaginaries is another significant concept that links human imagination with a city. Urban imaginaries, as the medium of imagination for a physical environment, is related to how our mental mappings or the interpretive grids affect the act of imagining the spaces and related urban life in which we live (Soja, 2000; Tate, 2012).

If the term heritage refers to any of historical legacies that people value, heritage use is related to a real-and-imagined praxis of value-adding with historical legacies, and it is simultaneously concerned with seeing the past and being with identities. In addition, while heritagisation means the process of constituting something as heritage for creating meanings and identities, the process of heritagisation for a historic environment refers to identify and defines some elements which are unique to a particular place (Bessière, 2013).
The phrase term place signifies a meaningful world with a physical site or space, rather than just the geographical dimension (Cresswell, 2004; Tuan, 1977). Therefore, a place is the result of the intersection between human behaviour, concept construction, and physical attributes (Canter, 1977). Moreover, the term identity signifies the strategic quality of identification (Baumeister, 1986; Hall, 1996), and then the term place identity means personal construction of the self with the interaction of personal-social-physical experiences in a physical environment (Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff, 1983).

Moreover, this research defines sustainability as a process of confronting the challenged environment and society from a holistic and integrated perspective (Brocchi, 2008; Thiele, 2013; Borowy, 2014). More specifically, sustainability for maintaining a historic environment here denotes dealing with a future-oriented approach of capability building for keeping a balanced state between historic preservation and urban development rather than any technical issues for specific sectors of sustainable development. In this regard, sustainable heritage-led urban regeneration refers to initiatives that regenerate or promote a declining area mainly with heritage use in a future, holistic, integrated, and dynamic approach (Fouseki and Nicolau, 2018).

The term ideology, as used in this study, refers to ‘the ways in which meaning (or signification) serve to sustain relations of domination’ (Thompson, 1984, p.4). The concept is often related to the political beliefs or the systems of ideas guiding the orientation of social and political activities. So, in terms of political ideology in Taiwan, Taiwanese consciousness here means ‘the Taiwanese people’s characteristic spirit and the tone of their sentiments in the struggle for self-identity’ (Huang, 2014, p.127) to inquire who the Taiwanese people are and what Taiwan is. Moreover, while the term nostalgia refers to both a feeling or thoughts of loss and displacement, and a longing for one’s own fantasy (Boym,
2001), the concept of strategic nostalgia here indicates that the exaggeration of a nostalgic approach is selective and temporal to emphasise the self’s uniqueness and difference (Georgiou, 2013).

Finally, the term discourse is concerned with language use of knowledge presentation (Hall, 1997). In a sense, the term narrative is used to demonstrate the practice of delivering discourses (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Riessman, 2012), particularly through personal interview and magazine articles for this study, and the process of making stories (Hinchman and Hinchman, 2001). In other words, narrative means both plotted discourses of relationship construction and a form of storytelling.
Chapter 2. A narrative approach to investigate cultural imagination with urban heritage

This chapter aims to theoretically and methodologically build a narrative approach to explore the construction and functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining the historic urban environment. In this exploration, the concepts of urban imaginaries and place identity are crucial to further link heritage use with urban regeneration of historic urban areas. The term cultural imagination has a twofold meaning: specific cultures or cultural affairs of imagination, and imagination cultivated and functioning in specific cultural contexts.

Accordingly, the following section will connect the relationship between time, place, and identity, especially for meaning making of human beings. Subsequently, I will utilise the sociocultural perspective of imagination and the temporal sense of narrative to demonstrate a reciprocal connection between imagination and imaginaries, imagination and experience, and narrative and temporality. Methodologically, to reveal both how a historic environment has been, is being, and will be imaged, and how heritage users utilise different historical legacies in and for historic urban areas, a case study of Dadaocheng, Taipei City will be investigated.

Thematic analytical methods would be employed in this study. These methodological approaches will not only demonstrate the construction and functioning of cultural imagination, working for a historic district, but will also create an avenue to explore meaning making and identity building through heritage use between individual and society, and between the regeneration of Dadaocheng and the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness.
2.1 The relationship between time, place and identity

Human beings, as meaning-makers, are forward-oriented, as we feel the need to make sense of ourselves and the world we live in (Vygotsky, 2004; Valsiner, 2014). In the book *Being and Time*, Heidegger (1962, p.27) claims that ‘everything we talk about, everything we have in view, everything towards which we comport ourselves in any way, is being’. According to Heidegger, we always conduct various activities to acquire or question the meaning of being. Thus, each unique way of being-in-the-world will be presented in the entities we make, in which related surroundings will be connected and interrogated to represent ourselves. This also means that being-in-the-world is associated with specific contexts of time and space.

The temporal nature of human life is essential to understanding the meaning of being-in-the-world. According to Heidegger (1962), the term temporal refers to time, in which the past, present and future of time consciousness turn out to be a whole, and this whole is temporal. Heidegger further notes that ‘the way in which Being and its modes and characteristics have their meanings is determined primordially in terms of time, is what we shall call its “Temporal” determinateness’ (ibid., p.40). Therefore, time is a significant aspect to understand the meaning of being-in-the-world. Nevertheless, we are not just living in the present time but are also influenced by imaginary time relating to the past and the future. Likewise, Castoriadis (1997, p.386) suggests, ‘Time is always endowed with meaning. Imaginary time is significant time and the time of signification’.

The term place is associated with a number of subjects, including geographical, architectural, social, and psychological. The term is used in this study to denote aspects of urban spaces, especially for the historic environment. The definition of place is here related, as Cresswell (2004, p.12) suggests, to ‘how we make the world meaningful and the way we
experience the world'; this also means that 'place is an organised world of meaning' (Tuan, 1977, p.179). Accordingly, place is identified and obtained with meanings.

Furthermore, in terms of the psychological approach, Canter (1997) defines place as a multi-faceted focus of experience, rather than a quality of a location, in which personal, social, and cultural aspects are interacted and included. In a sense, a person-place transaction is created and joined by people’s experiences through activities, ideas, and physical forms. Therefore, a physical space or location could provide the context for place, yet meaningful spaces are generated by the identification of specific places with human experiences.

The term identity refers to the meaning of likeness and unity (Poole, 2010), and the notion of identity is an essential part of human life. Heidegger (1969, pp.26-27) notes that, ‘the unity of identity forms a basic characteristic in the Being of beings. Everywhere, wherever and however we are related to beings of every kind, we find identity making its claim on us […] The claim of identity speaks from the Being of beings […] Different things, thinking and Being, are here thought of as the Same’. For Heidegger, while Being refers to a unique way of being in the world, the same implies a mediated, connected, and synthesised relation with a unity.

Heidegger (1969, p.38) further suggests that, ‘Identity […] has much, perhaps everything, to do with appropriation […] The appropriation appropriates man and Being to their essential togetherness’. In other words, as Brah (1992, p.142) notes, ‘Our struggles over meanings are also our struggles over different modes of being: different identities’. Different identities are not static, but rather denote, ‘a definition, an interpretation, of the self’ (Baumeister, 1986, p.4), or ‘a strategic and positional one’ (Hall, 1996, p.3).
The appropriate quality of identity implies two aspects of identification: sameness (within oneself) and difference (from others). In term of the relationship between identity and the life circle, Erikson (1980, p.109) demonstrates that, ‘The term “identity” expresses such a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others’. In this regard, Baumeister (1986) further proposes two defining criteria of identity making: continuity of the inner self over time and differentiation of the self from the outer context. In other words, our inner self could be continuously maintained only through constructing different identities responding to the ever-changing circumstances.

As such, any place identified with human beings endowed with identity (Sepe, 2013), since it is related to meaning making and relation building with physical settings. Regarding the coined term place identity, we could define it as the result of a continuous negotiation between individuals and their physical environment, especially through the lens of environmental psychology. Proshansky, Fabian and Kaminoff (1983, p.59) have proposed that 'it (place identity) is a sub-structure of the self-identity of the person consisting of, broadly conceived, cognitions about the physical world in which the individual lives'. Moreover, this result of place identity implies two important dimensions of place identification: the quality of a place being unique and the involvement of individuals in a specific socio-cultural context (Southworth and Ruggeri, 2011). In other words, place identity is concerned not only with personal construction in relation to a wide range of personal/physical experiences, but also with the socialisation of the self, which is influenced by various attitudes, values, and meanings in the social setting.

In terms of the psychological perspective, place identity with two aspects between place uniqueness and personal involvement mentioned above could be further related to the idea of the image of the environment. In the
books *The Image of the City* (1960) and *What Time is This Place* (1972), K. Lynch has proposed the two concepts of “the environmental image” and “an image of time” respectively. The environmental image is described as a mental product of an individual for the external physical environment, which is involved in both personal immediate sensations and memories of experience. Moreover, this kind of mental images works to sense the world with related information and to guide possible activities. Accordingly, For Lynch (1960), the environmental image could be analysed with three components, namely identity (the sense of distinction from other places), structure (physical settings of the environment), and meaning (practical or emotional relation for the observers).

Drawing upon the reciprocal relationship between outside environmental signals and inside mental function, Lynch (1972, p.242) further calls this ‘an environment image that is both spatial and temporal, a time-place’. Also, any desirable image of time is related to the sense of the present, with the connections of the past and the future. Therefore, both the image of the city and meaning attribution of city experience would lead this research to explore the relationship between time, place, and identity through both the mental and existential approach. More importantly, the idea of the environmental image of time-places may help us re-conceptualise both the topics of heritage use and urban regeneration in the lens of imagination.

In summary, the dynamic and interactive quality of place through time denotes that the temporal conditions and related modifications of physical spaces over time will affect our sense of place. Also, the changes of our attitudes and imaginary time (the past and the future) are also crucial factors in recognising the meanings of a place. In addition, the interconnection between place and identity leads us to think about both the identity of a place and the identity, personal or collective, with that place (Relph, 2016). As for investigating place identity, we need to
consider not only the physical environment and human involvement, but also human imagination and psychological function. The latter, as Ashworth and Graham claim (2005, p.3), means: ‘Senses of places are therefore the products of the creative imagination of the individual and society, while identities are not passively received but are ascribed to places by people’.

2.2 The sociocultural perspective of imagination

Imagination is vital to human meaning making and the ability to envision. The concept of imagination in this thesis refers to a mental faculty to see a thing or situation which does not exist in the present (or in front of us) by means of producing new experienceable forms, with images and/or semantic notions (Brann, 1991; Ricoeur, 2007; Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016). When speaking on using the term imagination, Furlong (1961) classifies three usages: in imagination, supposal, and with imagination. While the phrase in imagination refers to an imaginary condition, taking place in the head or mind, which is opposite to the reality in the physical environment, the usage with imagination demonstrates that something is imaginative with creativity, originality, and freedom. Lastly, the usage supposal stresses that imagination involves pretending to believe that something is likely to be true. Therefore, the imagining process, to a great extent, is related to being able to “visualise” or “actualise” something meaningful and new.

The theme of imagination has been a major philosophical topic dating back to ancient Greece. However, this study will not examine the complicated history of Western philosophy in relation to imagination. Rather, it employs some specific ideas to further demonstrate the theoretical basis for exploring heritage and city through the viewpoint of

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2 The term creative here refers to producing or using original or unusual ideas.
imagination. The following will contain three main sets of discussions in relation to *with imagination, supposal, and in imagination*. They are: 1) the characteristic and result of imagination; 2) the related concepts of imaginary and imagination; 3) the sociocultural approach to the imagining process.

First, in terms of the general characteristics of imagination, this research would highlight three kinds of qualities of imagination, namely the presence of the absent, the envisioning of possibility, and the mediation of new connection. In the etymological perspective, the term imagination is linked between image and idea, and between fantasy and appearance. Meanwhile, imagination in its various senses of different disciplines has been ‘afforded significance in how the world is encountered, experienced, and conceived’ (Whitehead, 2019, p.1). Accordingly, imagination could function for making absent things, past or future, in present ways (Lennon, 2015).

Moreover, imagination is not only related to the reproduction of sensory impressions, but also the construction of new possibilities, from the transformation of the reality to the shifting of meaning. This is to say that imagination could work for ‘creating experiences that escape the immediate setting which allow exploring the past or future, present possibilities, or even impossibilities’ (Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016, p.2). In addition, imagination is also characterised by its mediational function to connect between sensible and intellectual cognition, and between thoughts and actions. More specifically, the act of imagination could play a persuading role for both the reason and the will (Bacon, 1944; Ricoeur, 2007).

As for the result of the imagining act, visual images and metaphorical expressions are the two kinds of forms for human experience; this also means the pictorial and semantic representation is an essential medium of
communication for human understanding and meaning making through imagination. While Aristotle (1957, p.159) defines imagination as ‘the process by which we say that an image is presented to us’, Ricoeur (1978, p.150) argues that ‘to imagine, then, is not to have a mental picture of something but to display relations in a depicting mode’. Compared to the approach about the reproduction capacity to visualise something by imagination, Ricoeur adopted the language-based and relation-reminded approach to broaden the mental representation with the semantic dimension rather than just with visual images.

Second, the mind-based feature of imagination indeed concerns a facilitating process between seeing the outside environment and creating an inner world (Brann, 1991). However, so-called creativity or creating something new with imagination here does not mean that our imagination is to create a fantasy; on the contrary, the imagining process is related to everyday experiences. More specifically, in the perspective of sociocultural psychology, our mind is social, cultural, and historical (Boesch 1991; Bruner 2003; Valsiner 2014). Thus, ‘imagination feeds on a wide range of experiences people have of, or through the cultural world, through diverse senses, now combined, organised and integrated in new forms’ (Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016, p.2).

With the connection between imagination and experience, we could continue to focus on the content and context of in imagination, that is, the sociocultural implications of the imaginary medium for the imagining act. The idea of imaginary has a twofold conceptualisation: first, it denotes the signification aspect of the imaginary for imagination; secondly, it signifies medium dimension of imaginaries for imagination. According to Castoriadis (1997), every society, like a living being, has its own world(s), constituted and articulated by a system of interpretation; this social world implies that the society is not only historically instituted but also is constantly self-creating with new forms.
Moreover, Castoriadis (1987, p.127) demonstrates that ‘the imaginary ultimately stems from the originary faculty of positing or presenting oneself with things and relations that do not exist, in the form of representation […] This is, finally, the elementary and irreducible capacity of evoking image’. Therefore, the social imaginary, for Castoriadis, is a kind of context, background, or social institution, guiding and affecting the act of imagination. This also means that the imaginary is endowed with social significations with the network of meanings, leading to the symbolic connection and articulation within our imagining states.

Compared to the institutional perspective of Castoriadis, C. Taylor seeks to stress the medium dimension of imaginaries. Concerning how people imagine their social surroundings and fit themselves with other things and follows, Taylor (2004, p.23) defines a social imaginary as the medium of imagination, including ‘images, stories, and legends,’ shared by large numbers of people, and these imaginaries could work for our common understanding and practices. Thus, social imaginaries refer to ‘what enables, through making sense of, the practices of a society’ (ibid., p.2).

Hence, in the perspective of imaginary, the ideas of both Castoriadis and Taylor imply that the act of imagination does not touch upon an arbitrary fantasy but on a concrete departure with the contents in a contextual basis. More importantly, for the operational definition of this research, I would conceptualise imaginaries as ‘representational assemblages’ of presumption that mediate the identification with self and other, for making sense of reality (Salazar, 2010, p.6).

Connecting the concept of imaginary to the urban context, the term urban imaginaries could be defined as the representational assemblages of imagining a city. Tate (2012, p.105) defines the idea of urban imaginaries as ‘the multiple and intersecting ideas, images, myths, and stories of place in various stages of development and coexistence’. According to Soja
(2000, p.324), urban imaginary is: ‘our mental or cognitive mappings of urban reality and the interpretive grids through which we think about, experience, evaluate, decide to act in the places, spaces, and communities in which we live’. Therefore, we could regard urban imaginaries as the representational assemblages necessary to form the interpretive framework, with the intersection of images, myths, and stories, for affecting our imagination in relation to urban spaces and related urban life.

Third, based on the above discussion on imaginary and imagination, we can further move our attention to the sociocultural-based functioning of the psychological-imagining process, and this is mainly based on the sociocultural approach of psychological theories by T. Zittoun and A. Gillespie. In the book *Imagination in Human and Cultural Development*, Zittoun and Gillespie (2016) seek to define and develop how imagination is a sociocultural process, looping out of the social and material reality, and then producing a parallel or future one. This loop-like thinking for imagination is inspired by an old psychological approach of *vectors of thinking-in-directions* for the human psyche, which presumes that human beings live with irreversible time and are oriented towards the future, interacting with the past. In a word, the psychological mediation of an imagining process is concerned with a future-into-past change within a sociocultural background.

Zittoun and Gillespie (2016) propose the psychological-imagining process as an embodied, semiotic, and multimodal process, and then each act of imagination is just like a loop, relating to the uncoupling and re-coupling experience. Regarding the loop-like model of imagination, Zittoun and Gillespie further demonstrate its sequence and working dimensions. The sequence of the loop of imagination consists of triggers, resources, and outcomes. Triggers for imagining are related to the demands of new ways of doing and thinking, the streams of mind wandering, or the searching of
possible solutions. Meanwhile, these different types of triggers for imagining are both deliberately utilised by the individual person and normally framed by the social environment.

Resources for imagining refers to the contents of imagining, entailing images, discourses, feelings, ideas, and so on; and these contents are based personal experience, social relations, and cultural elements. Accordingly, to a large extent, ‘our imagination is nourished by representations, discourses, images, and ideas that come through social interaction, through social media (reading, watching and playing) available in our sociocultural environment’ (ibid., p.45). Finally, Zittoun and Gillespie also note that outcomes of imagining in various forms could not only alter the person’s experiences and relationship with the social world but could also become the potential resources or forces to make social change.

To sum up, the sociocultural approach of imagination demonstrated above reminds us that imagination inevitably involves the factors of imaginaries as both social contexts and contents. In addition, the relationship between image, imaginary, and imagination denotes that the act of imagination is concerned with a socio-spatial-cultural process rather than just a personally psychological function. By this socio-spatial-cultural process, a wide range of meaningful imaginaries and related images are created, accumulated, and shared within the broad historical and social context. Therefore, this sociocultural perspective of imagination will further help this research redefine the concept of cultural imagination with a highlight of cultural meaning in and for our imagination.

2.3 What is cultural imagination?

As for the relationship between culture and imagination, Appadurai (1996; 2013) denotes that imagination is related to not only a cultural process and collective practice, but also to the centre of cultural activities and
plays an essential role to respond to the changes in the world. According to Williams’s statement (1983, p.88), ‘Culture could be an independent noun, an abstract process or the product of such a process’; this also means that culture could indicate a way of life, the intellectual development process, or the work of intellectual and artistic activities.

Culture is concerned not only with the shared characteristics practised and presented by a group of people, but also with the individual performance and representation. Dressler (2018) has reminded us that the individual is essentially an active agent of collective culture and society, continuously interacting with available resources and structural constraints in a broader living environment. In this regard, Avruch (2006) suggests that culture is both derivative and adaptive, especially from the psychological and social perspective rather than culture being a homogenous or fixed pattern. This means that while culture is the derivative result of individual experiences, based on past and ongoing social practices, it is also a flexibly adaptive process to respond to the worlds where individuals situate. Therefore, investigating the relationship between culture and imagination requires to consider at least three aspects and their interconnection, containing the imagination for specific cultural affairs, the imagination in particular cultural contexts, and the imagination between individual and culture.

In addition, another two significant concepts of sociological imagination and geographical imagination also inspired this research to further investigate the dynamic relationship between imagination and the complex cultural practice which involves society, history, and space. In an influential book *Sociological Imagination* published in 1959, C. Wright Mills seeks to define sociological imagination by referring to how ‘the sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals’ (Mills, 2000, p.5). This also means that
this kind of mental ability can grasp historical and social meanings for individuals to live in a society.

Compared with Mills’ highlighting of the relationship between individual biography and social history, David Harvey (2005) proposes the concept of geographical imagination to reflect the omission of geography in Mills’ contribution. In terms of recognising the role of space and place, geographical, imagination tends to emphasise a complicated quality of mind between space, biography, and organisation in social processes.

Both sociological imagination and geographical imagination help us to recognise and define some specific meanings between the individual and broader history, society, or geography, and then the fruit of imagination seems to improve survival adaptability with possible thoughts and actions for a better situation. Thus, if we regard culture as the derivative result of individual experiences through ongoing social practices and as a flexibly adaptive process to respond to the changes of a living world, the definition of cultural imagination seems like the nexus of sociological imagination and geographical imagination, since our imagination is inevitably affected by the social and geographical contexts of a physical environment.

The term cultural imagination has been adopted in some research discussions (e.g., Adams, 2001; Huhndorf, 2001; Gill, 2009), yet this concept is often used to refer to an ability to produce a static image of a specific civilisation or nation. In this regard, it seems that these discussions ignore the dynamic process between cultural practice and the cultivation of imagination, and they mainly regard imagination as merely the ability to represent culture instead of leading the development of culture.

As for defining the concept of cultural imagination, Paul Ricoeur is one of the first scholars to define this term, linking the concept of cultural
imagination to ideology and utopia. He thus argues that the power of imagination is to 'construe the integrative function of ideology and the subversive function of utopia together' (Ricoeur, 1976, p.26). This is to say that cultural imagination, on the one hand, engages us with the social contexts via cultural meanings while on the other hand, it may move us to configure a better world beyond the constraints of the temporal environment.

The term ideology refers to ‘the ways in which meaning (or signification) serve to sustain relations of domination’ (Thompson, 1984, p.4), and it is often related to the political beliefs or the systems of ideas guiding the orientation of social and political activities. When it comes to the concept of utopia, first coined by Thomas More in 1516, Zhang (2019) has pointed a twofold meaning, including a non-place and a good place. This also refers to that utopia implies a paradoxical definition to both a nonexistent reality of an ideal world and an alternative reality of a better world.

In the book of Lectures on Ideology and Utopia, Paul Ricoeur (1986) intends to juxtapose the themes of ideology and utopia within a conceptual framework of imagination. For Ricoeur, imagination is not concerned with a philosophical problem, but a dialectic functioning between ideology and utopia. At the same time, Ricoeur argues again the general ideas about both ideology is contrasted to reality and utopia is just regarded as a fantasy outside history and society. Accordingly, he suggested that ‘all ideology repeats what exists by justifying it and so it gives a picture— a distorted picture— of what is. Utopia, on the other hand, has the fictional power of redescribing life’ (ibid., pp.309-310). The reason behind this argument is that individuals or collective entities always live and participate in the specific contexts with some pathological dimensions, but also perform themselves in the mode of divergence.
For Ricoeur, while ideology tends to integrate ourselves into a society and related social order between the past and the present, utopia aims to project an ideal future that the present could become. In other words, both ideology as convergence and utopia as divergence, therefore, are part of our belongs to a specific society, and ideology as well as utopia are related to imaginative practice. Ricoeur states the following:

I would say that this polarity between ideology and utopia may exemplify the two sides of imagination. One function of imagination is surely to preserve things by portraits or pictures. We maintain the memories of our friends and those we love by photographs. The picture continues the identity while the fiction says something else. Thus, it may be the dialectics of imagination itself which is at work here in the relation between picture and fiction, and in the social realm between ideology and utopia.

(Ricoeur, 1986, pp.310-311)

Inspired by Ricoeur’s idea and the sociocultural perspective of imagination mentioned above, this research thus defines the concept of cultural imagination as: a mental faculty by which individuals see a thing with the attribution of cultural meanings and related ideological contents that drive present imaginations and imagined pasts and futures. In a sense, cultural imagination in this study is associated with not only how a person imagines different kinds of cultural affairs or subjects, but also how a person acts and represents something with cultural implications of specific contexts in individual ways. More importantly, cultural imagination for meaning making denotes the multimodal meditation between time, place, and identity for good possibilities.

As mentioned previously, the related discussions have revealed the relationship between experience, culture and imagination, as well as between time, place, and identity. Among these theoretical connections,
meaning making is central to human beings’ thoughts and behaviours. For this study, one of the main concerns is to connect the concept cultural imagination with heritage (use) and the historic urban environment. With this regard, it is still unknown how to analyse imagination itself and cultural imagination with urban heritage.

Imagination could be applied everywhere and its psychological nature makes its process invisible; to catch it, we would need to examine instances in which people externalise or present their imagination, such as self-reports, writings, paintings, objects and so on (Zittoun and Gillespie, 2016). In the same way, as proposed by Vygotsky (1994), analysing the subject of imagination involves touching upon new externalised forms of behaviours in which individuals are involved in historical effects and individual approaches. The upcoming section focuses on the medium of narrative, as an externalised form of imagination, to pave the way for investigating the empirical case in relation to urban imaginaries and cultural imagination with urban heritage in a specific historic urban context.

2.4 A narrative approach towards heritage use, urban imaginaries, and cultural imagination

Narrative here refers to the practice of delivering discourses (Riessman, 2012) and a form of storytelling to interpret the world and related experiences (Hinchman and Hinchman, 2001). This is to say that, as Clandinin and Connelly (2000, p.80) state, ‘narrative inquiry is aimed at understanding and making meaning of experience’. Moreover, the act of narrating is the opportunity to reflect not only the experiences a narrator has had but also the creation of new meanings to respond to the contexts a narrator is in. This implies that the activity of narrating brings together and restructures mediational means and factors to move closer to the temporal conditions. In other words, ‘narrators make sense of themselves,

Narrative and imagination are mutually embodied, and temporal meanings are the crucial basis for both narrating and imagining. Also, imagination is an indispensable agent for meaning making in and through language (Kearney, 2004). To connect the temporal quality of meaning making with narrative and imagination, this study will introduce Paul Ricoeur’s theory on time and narrative to further explore the relationship between time, narrative, and imagination.

In the work *Time and Narrative, Volume 1-3*, Ricoeur (1984, 1985, 1988) explores narrative itself as a form of being-in-the-world to linguistically reflect the preunderstanding of action and experience to attain temporal meanings. Meanwhile, the dynamic emplotment of narration is the crucial part of making time become human. For Ricoeur, narrative is, consequently, a medium to showcase the human experience of time, or to resonate the structure of within-time-ness. What is more, both the intelligible signification and productive imagination produce the synthesis of the plot as a whole, with semantic innovation and temporal values.

Furthermore, Ricoeur (1984, p.52) highlights that ‘time becomes human to the extent that is articulated through a narrative mode, and narrative attains its full meaning when it becomes a condition of temporal existence’. Then, the temporal structure of making a narrative, containing the past of the present, the present of the present, and the future of the present, would be dialogued and restructured in the act of narrating with emplotment, which refers to the ordering of the events or elements in a narrated story.

More specifically, for Ricoeur (1984), making a narrative is just like proposing a mediated world (syntagmatic order), relating to both the
experienced world (historical familiarity) and the imagined world (fictional possibility). This also means that a configured time of the mediated world (the present of the present) is interwoven with a historical time (the past of the present) and a fictional time (the future of the present). Consequently, the temporal nature of narrative holds the past, the present, and the future in a process of narration which makes time humanised and meaningful. Therefore, narrative configuration is just one of several possible forms to reflect and facilitate the temporal quality of meaning making between experience and imagination.

When it comes to the relationship between heritage and narrative, most researchers in heritage studies have regarded narrative as a possible description tool in historical interpretation and cultural identity, especially in museums, exhibitions or tourist destinations (Beneki et al., 2012; Benjamin and Alderman, 2018; Egberts and Hundstad, 2019; González, 2015; O'Hare, 1999; Silberman, 2013; Šešić and Mijatović, 2014; Watson and Waterton, 2010).

In addition, some research has sought to demonstrate that narrative is a way to represent intangible legacies (van der Hoeven, 2018; Wu, 2014), or an alternative way of heritage preservation for the temporal and constructed quality of heritage values (Hodge, 2011; Rico, 2020; Strauser, 2018; Walter, 2014). These studies mentioned above pay much more attention to the function of narrative in the representation of historical legacies; meanwhile, the main concerns of these studies are how to attract heritage visitors and how to preserve the intangible qualities of heritage.

Moreover, some heritage scholars have sought to regard narrative as a way to personally identify cultural significance of historical remains and heritage products (see Pavličić, 2014; Stephens, 2014). These research findings show that narrative could be a tool to showcase personal
approaches to historical legacies that the individual interacts with; yet, we still do not know the mechanisms by which narrative informs heritage use and how heritage feeds back to imagination with a place.

Concerning heritage users, who consciously promote or integrate historical legacies with specific purposes, this thesis intends to consider both narrative as an analytical medium for heritage use and narrative as a transformative mechanism for heritage users. As mentioned early, the meaning of temporal experience is rooted in both the real time and the imaginary time (the past and the future). Also for investigating the relationship between place and identity for a meaningful world, we need to consider the physical environment, human involvement, and human imagination.

Not only is heritage use a kind of strategic representation of historic legacies, but also, narrative itself is a representation of experience with imagination. The representative quality of heritage use and narrative implies that historical legacies and related heritage use experiences could turn heritage users into storytellers and reveal the narrative-descriptive constellations of heritage use on a temporal-contextual basis. Therefore, based on Ricoeur’s idea about narrative as a linguistic form of being-in-the-world and as a mediated reflection between experience and imagination, we could adopt a narrative approach to studying urban heritage use experience and related place identity.

From the perspective of being in the world, cultural imagination relates not only to reflections on a collective context and its dynamic development over time, but also to visions of better possibilities for the self and beyond with cultural meanings. The reciprocal quality of cultural imagination between experience and expectation, as well as an individual and their living world, implies that potential triggers and available sources for every act of imagination matters in the sociocultural process of being in the
world. In this regard, historical legacies, as a kind of cultural means or resource, could and should play an important role in the construction process of cultural imagination.

Consequently, the question, regarding how to unlock cultural imagination with urban heritage through narrative, matters in this research with a twofold concern: 1) it is related to methodological issues to investigate narrative as an externalised form of imagination for heritage users’ meaning making, in which different discourses, realities, or factors in the re-figuration of the heritage use experience could be explored. 2) it is also concerned with a methodological tool to reveal both place identity and urban imaginaries in relation to heritage resources. Through this discovery, the specific ideological contexts of heritage use and the individual envisioning ways for the historic environment are to be identified.

2.5 Methodological investigation for cultural imagination with urban heritage

After theoretically building a narrative approach to investigate cultural imagination with urban heritage, this section aims to propose a methodological framework to analyse and study the experience of heritage use and the historic environment with a narrative inquiry.

In order to reveal both how urban heritage and related urban imaginaries affect the imagining act in and for a physical place, and how heritage users revive what was in the past for the future, using the different historical legacies in the present to make place identities and cultural meanings, thematic analysis methods would be specially employed and highlighted in this methodological framework. Therefore, the current section will contain three major issues: the qualitative single case study design, data collection, and data analysis. This also means that this
section will propose a strategically methodological set to link the theoretical perspectives with the collection and analysis of empirical materials.

2.5.1 Design of the qualitative single case study

Qualitative research is related to the experiential understanding of happenings and to the interpretation of findings (Stake, 1995). Denzin and Lincoln (1998, p.3) state that ‘qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them’. The philosophical assumption of qualitative approach is mainly rooted in interpretivism or social constructivism.

According to Creswell (2013), the paradigm of social constructivism as an interpretive framework attests that our understanding of the world and related knowledge is constructed by ongoing social interactions to produce our own versions of reality. Consequently, methodological beliefs of social constructivism are intended to define qualitative inquiry as an emerging process with inductive logic, rather than the deductive one of a theory test.

A research design is a flexible strategic set of guidelines to link research questions and theoretical perspectives with the physical phenomenon. Meanwhile, particularly for the qualitative approach, this emerging procedure of setting a specific strategy is intended to generate new theories by inductive reasoning, attempting to acquire an in-depth understanding of the chosen phenomenon (Bryman, 2016). This also means that, as Yin (2014, p.29) claims, a research design is a logical plan or a blueprint, which should consider at least four problems, namely, ‘what questions to study’, ‘what data are relevant’, ‘what data to collect’, and ‘how to analyse the results’. Therefore, before proceeding to proposing an
overall research plan, we should first focus on the research questions of this project.

The main exploration of the thesis is the construction and functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining the historic environment, and this concern is a deep theoretical problem. And this requires a single case study approach to allow an in-depth examination of the multiple aspects that drive and shape cultural imagination in the specific historic urban environment. Taking the historic district of Dadaocheng as a case study, the main research questions mentioned early are related to the heritagisation of Dadaocheng, place uniqueness of Dadaocheng, urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng, factors of heritage use in Dadaocheng, and policy implementation for both heritage users and Dadaocheng.

These issues for research questions mentioned above are concerned not only with both individual practices and public policy, but also with the interaction between individual and collective consciousness. Regarding research designs in qualitative research, Creswell (2013) summarises these into five types of inquiry, namely, narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study.

To build a narrative approach to investigate cultural imagination with urban heritage, this project adopted Creswell’s definition to employ narrative research and case study to investigate the issue of heritage use in contemporary urban contexts. According to Creswell (2013, p.102), ‘In narrative research, the inquirer focuses on the stories told from the individual […] in case study, the single case is typically selected to illustrate an issue, and the researcher compiles a detailed description of the setting for the case’. Accordingly, in this thesis, whilst narrative research aims to explore the individual approaches of heritage use and urban imaginaries for Dadaocheng, case study research aims to develop
an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon of heritage-led urban regeneration of Dadaocheng.

Nevertheless, the generalisation for theoretical knowledge of single case-study research has been an issue of concern. According to Flyvbjerg (1998; 2006), a single case can benefit hypothesis testing and theory building even if it does not allow generalisation of the findings. Dadaocheng as a critical case, especially in the context of Taiwan, on the one hand, reflects the general tensions in historic districts, which refers to the balance of historical preservation and urban development. On the other hand, its long-term policy interventions could offer a lens through which to explore the impacts on the working of cultural imagination. This is to say that, in the terms of Stake (2018, p.137), we could regard this research as an “instrumental case study” since the case of Dadaocheng is just a means to produce an interpretation in relation to the theory of cultural imagination with urban heritage.

2.5.2 Data collection

This study is conducted with a narrative inquiry and harnesses field texts from the interview and documentation. The data collection will inquire into individual heritage use, urban imaginaries, policy implementation, and the vision of sustaining the historic environment of Dadaocheng.

Whilst the research utilises document data, including historical documents, policy accounts and government-run magazines, to capture the development contexts and provide a retrospective look at both place making and the construction of place uniqueness of the Dadaocheng area, the use of personal narrative data is intended to understand and represent the experience and imagination of heritage use in and for this area. In this way, the research designs of narrative research and case study reveal individuals’ heritage use experiences for living or working in
Dadaocheng, and investigate the cultural meanings and place identities that individuals attribute to their experiences in contemporary urban contexts.

As this research attempts to uncover the complicated interface of multiple forces and interactions for the construction of cultural imagination, which is presented and reflected in personal narratives and individual heritage use, we should adopt both embedded and historical perspectives to select data sources. That is, the representative types of heritage users or leading forces in and for the area of Dadaocheng should be highlighted respectively. At the same time, the long-term development of this area should be displayed and then integrated into the thinking and interpretation about the variables of the Dadaocheng case. Thus, the following Table 2 will showcase the consideration for the connection between research questions and the main data sources of interviews and documentation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Research questions</th>
<th>Analytical focus</th>
<th>Data sources</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>How is the heritagisation of the urban historic environment connected to the history of a city? And what kinds of urban heritage and uniqueness of place have been promoted?</td>
<td>The long-term influences and effects of place making and branding for Dadaocheng</td>
<td>Policy documents of the Taipei City Government for sustaining Dadaocheng since the 1990s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What kind of factors affect the way of individual heritage use? And how is urban heritage being used to relate the past, the present, and the future of a physical place, especially in the context of heritage-led urban regeneration?</td>
<td>Individual heritage uses in Dadaocheng and the relationship between urban heritage and urban imaginaries</td>
<td>An official magazine of <em>Taipei Pictorial</em> for promoting Dadaocheng since 1980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semi-structure interviews with thirty-five participants, who are leading forces and figures consciously use historical legacies in and for Dadaocheng, especially after 2000.</td>
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*Table 2.* Relationship between research questions, analytical focus, and data collection. Source: the author.
To examine individual heritage uses in Dadaocheng and the relationship between urban heritage and urban imaginaries, the research data rely mainly on interviews with leading forces and figures for those who consciously use historical legacies, tangible or intangible, in and for the area of Dadaocheng. The sampling strategy of this project is purposive sampling; the correspondence between research questions and potential interviewees is based on two selection criteria: (a) those who consciously used or promoted historical legacies in and for Dadaocheng and (b) key policy stakeholders, within or outside government, who had been involved in the recent heritage-led policy initiatives, particularly with regard to regeneration-related programmes after the year 2000.

During two phases of data collection in 2016 and 2017, I conducted thirty-five in-person interviews. The interviews consist of seven government officers of different departments, three project managers for conducting the government project in Dadaocheng, fourteen local entrepreneurs, seven staff members of local cultural organisations or groups, and four local older inhabitants. The complete list of interviewees can be seen in Appendix 1.

Among the interviewees, I have a big sample of entrepreneurs since Dadaocheng has been a famous commercial area in Taipei City over the past century (Wu 2012; Yen 2006a). Moreover, according to land use control by the Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone, promulgated by the Taipei City Government in 2000, about fifty percent of land use in this historic special-use area is categorised as business districts (Taipei City Government 2000). Therefore, entrepreneurs as heritage users are one of the highlights for the interviewees.

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3 In the following sections, the interview data will remain anonymous due to ethical reasons, and then the codes of A, B, C, D, and E will sequentially be used to represent the categories of participants of government officer, project manager, entrepreneur, staff of cultural organisations, and local resident.
Semi-structured interviews were employed in this investigation. The core interview questions can be categorised into five aspects: 1) the individual uses with historical legacies; 2) the individual descriptions of Dadaocheng; 3) the individual observation of other heritage-led uses or initiatives; 4) the individual interpretation of the iconic image of *Festival on South Street*[^1] (南街殷賑), and 5) the individual vision of the future development of Dadaocheng. The interview questions can be seen in Appendix 2. Each interview lasted from forty-five minutes to two hours. The interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then translated from Chinese to English.

In addition to the personal interview data, this research also collected a variety of urban imaginaries presented in policy documents and official magazines. The aim of this approach is to trace the long-term influences and effects of place making and branding. Accordingly, the sampling strategy was based mainly on the representativeness and durability of data sources. In terms of policy initiatives, the Taipei City Government has been seeking to promote Dadaocheng through different departments’ perspectives, as seen in Table 3, particularly with regard to the economic and cultural dimensions. Thus, various aspects of policy rhetoric in and for Dadaocheng have been highlighted and explored.

[^1]: *Festival on South Street*, created in 1930 by Kuo Hsuehhu (郭雪湖, 1908-2012), a local artist with a national and international reputation. This painted image was chosen not only as the cover of a research report, *Prevalence Survey and Feasibility Assessment of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone* in 1989, published by the Office of Urban Planning of the Taipei City Government, but also has been applied and circulated in different ways in the present, from the wrapping paper of local food and souvenirs, as an inspiring source for film and literature, to the representation of everyday life of Taipei City in the 1920s. Being one of the highlights of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum, the content of this work reflects the lively atmosphere of the southern part of Dihua Street in the 1920s, but also shows the artist’s imagining of the prosperous street scene.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Policy Initiative</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Main Projects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Taipei City Office of Commerce</td>
<td>Taipei Lunar New Year Festival</td>
<td>1996-</td>
<td>Organise an annual shopping festival lasting about two weeks before the Chinese New Year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Urban Development</td>
<td>The Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone</td>
<td>2000-</td>
<td>Designate Dadaocheng as a historic district with special regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Old Townscape Redevelopment Plan</td>
<td>2007-2009</td>
<td>Refurbish the Yongle Market Building as well as its surrounding area and renovate building façades of Dihua Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Urban Regeneration Station</td>
<td>2010-</td>
<td>Promote different innovative hubs, as a catalyst of urban regeneration, with creativity, art, culture and design.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Cultural Affairs</td>
<td>The Dadaocheng Theatre</td>
<td>2009-</td>
<td>Promote traditional Taiwanese performing arts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Plan of Taipei Cultural and Creative Clusters</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>Dadaocheng is one of the sites for this short-term festival to promote creative districts in terms of exhibition, workshops, and related activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Information and Tourism</td>
<td>Taipei Dadaocheng Fireworks Festival</td>
<td>2005-</td>
<td>Organise a one-day fireworks festival with performance activities in summer.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. The main policy initiatives of the Taipei City Government in Dadaocheng, summarised by the author.
Government-led magazines play a significant role in this study, as they connect both the related discussions of policy initiatives and place making. This research has collected Dadaocheng-related descriptions in the journal *Taipei Pictorial*, founded by the Taipei City Government since 1968. This journal aims to promote the urban life and cultural trends of Taipei City, and the main target audience of this magazine is the general public rather than an academic one. Therefore, different descriptions about the area of Dadaocheng in this periodical may reveal both the changing and/or continuing images of this district and the focuses of place making at different times.

### 2.5.3 Data analysis

With the case study of Dadaocheng, this study employs narrative approaches to investigate and interpret the meanings of empirical data in relation to heritage use, urban imaginaries and place identities. Thematic analysis is one of the most common ways to search for the meaning of qualitative data (Bryman 2016). Thematic analysis aims to find repeated patterns of meaning through identifying specific patterns or themes, such as a rich description of the data set or one specific aspect, in terms of coding, a feature of semantic content (Braun & Clarke 2006). This also means that, as Riseeman (2012, pp.53-54) proposes, the thematic narrative analysis focus on “what” is said, written, or visually shown’ in the narrated contents instead of the concern about “how, “to whom,” or “for what purposes”.

Accordingly, this project first conducts the thematic narrative analysis with the aid of Nvivo software to code texts with personal interviews, policy documents and official magazines, then further generates analytical themes to deal with concerns, including what are urban heritage products in Dadaocheng, what are heritage uses in and for Dadaocheng, and what are urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng.
However, in addition to the “what” concern with thematic narrative analysis, the “how” inquiry about both the construction of meaning with heritage use and the identities of people-place interaction is the next analytical focus. This is related to the narrative inquiry into narrated stories. According to Riseeman (2012), this kind of approach aims to reveal the relationship between narrator, story, and other contexts, with a dialogic or performative perspective. In a sense, the source of this analysis is long quotations of different excerpts of individual interview texts, in which various plots or accounts of the story are restructured and arranged in the temporal structure. By doing so, we can further investigate how these participants imagined a historic district with their individual heritage uses and can reveal the complex shaping of individual identities. In other words, this approach intends to realise about how heritage users revive what was in the past for the future, using the different media in the present.

In conclusion, studying the experience of heritage use and the historic district with a narrative inquiry may refer to the exploration about the content and context of using historical legacies, cognitive continuity of time, and urban imaginaries of a physical place. This inquiry is designed to provide insights into both the construction of cultural imagination with urban heritage within specific historical, cultural and ideological contexts, and the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage for place identities and envisioned ideals. In other words, the case study of this research is intended to employ an issue of heritage use in a bound context of Dadaocheng with multiple participants to investigate a contemporary phenomenon of regenerating and sustaining the historic environment, particularly in the lens of imagination.
Chapter 3. Mapping Dadaocheng in Taiwan’s history and in Taipei’s modern urbanisation

This chapter provides historical background to this study by offering brief overviews of Taiwan’s development, information on the political and economic contexts of north Taiwan in the late nineteenth century, and the urban formation and transformation of both Dadaocheng and Taipei City. Ultimately, these historical overviews of both Taiwan and Taipei City aim to trace the emergence of the port-cum-market town of Dadaocheng and its change over time. By linking Dadaocheng with Taiwan’s history, this chapter highlights Taiwan’s oceanic features while emphasising the diversity of Dadaocheng.

In this chapter Dadaocheng is mapped within the contexts of Taiwan’s and Taipei City’s social and political transitions. This exploration is divided into three parts. 1) Taiwan: from a colonised island to a democratic and multicultural society; 2) Dadaocheng: from a port-cum-market town to a base for Taiwan new cultural movements; 3) urban preservation of Taipei City and urban regeneration in Dadaocheng between 1970 and 2000.

3.1 Taiwan: from a colonised island to a democratic and multicultural society

Taiwan, an island country in East Asia, is home to a multi-ethnic society that has experienced numerous regime changes over the past four centuries: from Dutch Formosa (1624-1662), Spanish Formosa (1626-1642), the Cheng regime (1662-1683), the Qing Dynasty (1683-1895), and Japanese occupation (1895-1945), to the Republic of China (1945-). Surrounded by oceans, close to mainland China in the west, and located between Southeast and Northeast Asia, Taiwan has developed its cultural uniqueness. Due to its geographical position and history of being colonised by different nations, Taiwan’s cultural uniqueness comes from
its fusion of various cultures from China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and western countries (Tai, 2007).

Taiwan can be regarded as a Chinese or Han Chinese society because about 97% percent of Taiwan’s population are the descendants of Han immigrants (Wakabayashi, 2016). However, before large-scale Han Chinese migration to the island of Taiwan began in the seventeenth century, there were many indigenous peoples living in or moving to Taiwan. According to archaeological research, the earliest known Neolithic site in Taiwan was settled about 6,500 years ago and abandoned 1,800 years ago (Liu, 1992). In present day Taiwan, there are sixteen tribes of Taiwanese aborigines that are officially recognised by the government. These indigenous communities make up about 2.45% of Taiwan’s total population. For Taiwanese aborigines, their ancestors may have first settled in Taiwan for four or five thousand years ago (Tsao, 2000).

3.1.1 The Western European colonisation (1624-1662) and the Cheng era (1662-1683)

As a maritime trading base, Taiwan made its first appearance on the international stage in the great maritime era of the seventeenth century. For European sea power, Taiwan acted as an important entrepot for international trade in East Asia, especially in trade with China. In historical accounts of that period, the island appears with the name Formosa, which is how it was known during both Dutch and Spanish rule. In 1624, the Dutch built the Fort Zeelandia (熱蘭遮城) at Tayouan (大員) in southern Taiwan (present day Anping 安平, Tainan City) as the centre for their colonial rule. More specifically, it was the Dutch East India Company that exercised the right to rule the colony of Taiwan.
According to Tsao (1997), the Dutch motivation for capturing Taiwan was two-fold. The first was to use Taiwan as a base for their trade with China, thereby establishing a foothold in world-wide commercial networks. The second motivation was an attempt to monopolise China trade by preventing Chinese junk ships from sailing to the Spanish colony of Manila in the Philippines. In order to maintain a free trade channel to China and Japan, the Dutch occupation of southern Taiwan prompted the Spanish to invade northern Taiwan, including Keelung (基隆) and Tamsui (淡水) in 1626. Spanish occupation of the north lasted until only until 1642, when the Dutch drove the Spanish out and secured their control over the whole of Taiwan.

Two major shifts in the socio-cultural landscape of Taiwan took place at this time. First, during the thirty-eight years of Dutch rule, Taiwan developed an export-oriented economy and became a cargo distribution centre for China, Japan, Southeast Asia, and Europe (Li and Liu, 1994). Deer skins and sugar were the main exports from Taiwan to Japan. Meanwhile, silk, fine china, and gold imported from China were exported from Taiwan to Amsterdam via Batavia (Ito, 2004). Second, the Dutch occupation of Taiwan led to the need for a large number of labourers to engage in farming and production. The Dutch began to recruit Han immigrants from the southeast of China to Taiwan. This led to the first mass Han Chinese migration to the island. Previously, only a few seasonal migrants have come to Taiwan, but by the end of Dutch rule, the total number of Han Chinese in Taiwan was between 35,000 and 50,000 (Hsueh, 2017).

In 1662, Cheng Chengkung (鄭成功) drove out the Dutch. Until defeated by the Qing army in 1683, the Cheng family regarded Taiwan as a base for opposing the Qing Dynasty and restoring the Ming Dynasty. Accordingly, the Cheng family not only set up their government in Taiwan as a Han regime, but also brought a large number of troops and Han
Chinese to Taiwan. More specifically, in just twenty years, the Han population of Taiwan increased dramatically from about 35,000-50,000 to about 120,000 (Chou, 2015). This led to the foundation of Taiwan as a Han society.

3.1.2 The Qing Dynasty era (1683-1895)

In 1683, the Qing Dynasty conquered the Cheng regime and began their rule of Taiwan which lasted for a total of 212 years. Before 1874, the Qing Dynasty governed Taiwan in a passive manner, seeking only to prevent Taiwan from becoming a haven for pirates or a base for rebellions. Putting Taiwan under the jurisdiction of Fujian Province, the Qing Dynasty issued a strict sea prohibition policy between 1684 and 1790. After 1790, the policy was slightly relaxed. Although measures prohibiting migration between the Mainland and Taiwan remained in place, illegal migrants continued to cross the turbulent Taiwan Strait from Fujian and Guangdong (Tai, 2007). According to a census carried out in 1811, there were about 1,950,000 Han Chinese migrants in Taiwan (Li and Liu, 1994).

Chinese migrants of that era can be categorised into three distinct ethnic groups: the Hokkien people from Zhangzhou (漳州), the Hokkien people from Quanzhou (泉州), and the Hakka people. Due to conflicts of interest during this exploratory period of Han settlement, armed clashes frequently arose between ethnic groups, as well as between clans, villages, and also between Han Chinese and aboriginal populations (Allen, 1994). In addition to these domestic armed conflicts, secret societies also formed unions to fight against the Qing government. The frequency of anti-government riots remains captured in the common phrase known by all Taiwanese today: ‘every three years an uprising, every five years a rebellion’ (三年一小反 五年一大反) (Li and Liu, 1994, p.89).
From the seventeenth to the nineteenth century, Taiwan’s development progressed from south to north as lands were increasingly opened to cultivation and port settlements rose along the coastal areas. During the Dutch occupation and the Cheng period, Taiwan’s industrial and commercial development remained mainly in the south. Anping (in today’s Tainan) was the hub of transportation and trade between Taiwan and other countries. During the period of Qing rule, land development expanded to the central, northern, and eastern parts of Taiwan.

The Qing government took control of trade routes, managing Taiwan’s trade with mainland China, Japan, and Southeast Asia. At that time, the rice and sugar were increasing annually, becoming Taiwan’s main export products. This led to Taiwan’s trade activities with surrounding areas, especially with mainland China, to flourish (Hsueh, 2017).

In the context of this thriving commerce, businesses united to form trade guilds (jiao 邊) that could coordinate solutions for problems associated with transportation and sales. Guilds were formed among business partners who either engaged in trade in the same area, or who traded in the same type of goods. These guilds not only had economic functions, but also had considerable political power and served social functions in port settlements. The number of guilds in a particular area reflected the prosperity of a region. For example, a famous proverb describing three major cities in Taiwan before the mid-nineteenth century, “Yi Fu Er Lu San Bangka” (一府二鹿三艋舺, first Tainan; second Lukang 鹿港; third Mengjia 艋舺), refers to the rise of these trade-port cities as was evidenced by the large number of guild merchants each city attracted. It reflects the process of Taiwan's industry and business development from the south to the north, as Anping (Tainan), Lukuang, and Mengjia were the most significant port towns in southern Taiwan in the seventeenth century. Then, in the second half of the eighteenth century, the industry
and business centre shifted to central Taiwan, before finally moving to northern Taiwan in the first half of the nineteenth century (Huang, 2002).

With the incursion of foreign forces in the 1860s, the Qing government started to recognise the strategic value of Taiwan and began to shift its attention toward investments in Taiwan’s development. After the Second Opium War (also known as the Second Anglo-Chinese War), the Qing government was forced to sign the Tientsin Treaty in 1858. The treaty led to the consecutive opening of four of Taiwan’s major ports to Western trade: Tamsui in 1862, Keelung in 1863, and then both Anping and Takao in 1864. With the opening of these ports, merchants and missionaries from western countries began to arrive in Taiwan (Ito, 2004).

In 1874, the Mudan Incident (牡丹社事件), in which Japan sent a military force to Taiwan’s southeast, raised alarms within the Qing Empire about both the threat of Japanese expansion and the weaknesses of the Qing’s governance over Taiwan. Then, between 1883 and 1885, the war between the Qing Empire and France over Vietnam, known as the Sino-French War, resulted in a period of French occupation of Keelung and Penghu (澎湖) in Taiwan. Following this war, in 1885, the Qing government decided to make Taiwan an independent province rather than part of the Fujian Province. That year, Liu Mingchuan (劉銘傳) was appointed as the first governor of Taiwan (Gardella, 1999).

Ports can be regarded as a significant starting point for Taiwan’s cultural development during the Qing era. Especially after the opening of the four treaty ports at the beginning of the 1860s, Taiwan’s foreign trade markets expanded beyond China, Japan, and Southeast Asia to include other parts of the world. From that point, Taiwan was again incorporated into the world’s economic system (Lin, 1996).
In terms of trade, economic, and social change in late Qing Taiwan (1860-1895), Lin (2018) has pointed out that after the 1860s, the commercial and political centre of Taiwan has been shifted from the south to the north.

One of the main reasons for this shift was that tea, sugar, and camphor had grown to become major export products\(^5\), and the mountainous areas of northern Taiwan were more suitable for growing tea and camphor. Around 1880, the volume of trade taking place in northern Taiwan surpassed that of southern Taiwan, where rice and sugar remained the core exports. Between 1885 and 1895, because of the high economic value of tea and camphor, the trade in the north grew to become double that of the south\(^6\). This explains why in 1887, as Taiwan was becoming an independent province of China, the Qing government chose to establish its highest administrative offices, including the tax reform bureau, in Taipei rather than in Anping.

After becoming a province of China, the Qing government also launched many initiatives to modernise\(^7\) Taiwan. This can be seen as an extension of the late Qing’s ‘Self-Strengthening Movement’ (also known as the Westernisation or Western Affairs Movement). Between 1887 and 1891, the first governor, Liu Mingchuan, began massive modernisation projects to lay foundations for systems of telegram communications, railways, postal services, electricity, and so forth (Wu, 2012). For the administrative

\(^5\) According to customs data, from 1868 to 1985, the total export value of tea, sugar, and camphor accounted for 94% of Taiwan's total export trade volume. Within this, tea made up 53.49%, sugar 36.22%, and camphor 3.93% (Lin, 2018, p.2).

\(^6\) Between 1868 and 1895, in the total export value leaving northern Taiwan, tea exports accounted for 90%, camphor accounted for 5%, and coal accounted for 3% (Lin, 2018, pp.194-195).

\(^7\) While the word “modern” could be associated many aspects, from the utilisation of present-day technology to the industrialisation and democratisation of societies, the term modernity means the condition of becoming modern. In a sense, the term modernisation, according to Bendix (1967, p.331), refers to ‘a type of social changes since the eighteenth century, which consists in the economic or political advance of some pioneering society and subsequent changes in follower societies’. Accordingly, government often plays a major role in the promotion of modernisation with something advanced to overcome the backwardness of a specific region or nation.
centre of Taipei, Liu sought to modernise Taipei’s infrastructure to create an urban environment. Among Liu’s achievements were the establishment of the Bureau of Weaponry and Machinery and the Bureau of Commerce. He also oversaw the building of the Taipei-Keelung section of railway and the establishment of the first post office in Chinese history. He also built a telegraph school and a Western-style school within the city. Finally, the city itself began to take its modern shape as new streets with western-style buildings were laid, and electric streetlamps for illumination, public drinking facilities, and so forth were installed (Lo, 1960).

3.1.3 The Japanese occupation and colonial modernisation (1895-1945)

In 1895, with the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Taiwan was ceded to Japan following the Qing Dynasty’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. At that time, as recommended by French officers, the Governor of Taiwan and member of the local gentry, Tang Chingsung (唐景崧), proposed that the territory of Taiwan should be made an independent nation. Accordingly, on May 23, 1895, the Declaration of Autonomy of the Taiwan Republic was announced. With that act, the Taiwan Republic (臺灣民主國)—heralded as the first democratic republic in Asia—was founded. By declaring autonomy, the Taiwan Republic aimed to resist Japanese occupation while garnering sympathy from international powers. However, the Taiwan Republic’s anti-Japanese activities only lasted for five months before republic collapsed (Wu, 1981). Although the Taiwan Republic existed for only a short period of time, its declaration of autonomy was the first major event consolidating a unified Taiwanese identity and the first major expression of Taiwan’s desire for the right to self-determination as an independent nation (Ou, 2009). For the next fifty years, Taiwan remained a Japanese colony.
Japan’s approach to its colonisation of Taiwan can be divided into three consecutive stages: appeasement and special governance (1895-1919), assimilation as an extension of the Japanese homeland (1919-1936), and Japanisation of Taiwan society (1936-1945) (Huang, 2005). During the first stage, Japan sought to address the fact that the Taiwanese populations they hoped to govern, on top of being incredibly diverse, had very different histories, languages, and cultures from Japan. Understanding that it would not be possible to immediately apply the Meiji Constitution to Taiwanese society, a system of special governance with a separate legal system was created.

The main objectives of this early colonial governance were twofold. The first was directed at Taiwanese society, as the Japanese government promoted large-scale investigations into the traditional customs of the various populations. The goal of these investigations was to assess customs and identify those that could be useful toward the goal of integrating the population into the new system and identify those that needed to be targeted for modernisation reforms. The second objective was improving Taiwan’s infrastructure, especially systems for transportation, postal services, and telecommunications. Toward this end, the colonial government initiated several institutional reforms, including the establishment of modern banks and the unification of the currency system. They also conducted a land survey and carried out land reforms. Through these policies, the Japanese government intended to pave the way for Taiwan’s modernisation and capitalist development, and to increase economic integration between Japan and Taiwan (ibid.).

Although the Japanese colonial government helped promote different dimensions of Taiwan’s modernisation, many Taiwanese continued to resist becoming Japanese subjects. This resistance often took the form of armed conflicts. Especially in the years between 1895 and 1915, armed resistance activities were incessant and varied. These anti-Japanese
activities can be divided into three periods: the resistance of the Taiwan Republic in 1895, attacks by local guerrilla forces in different regions between 1895 and 1902, and opposition activities expressing the general anti-Japanese sentiment (especially activities inspired by the success of the Chinese Revolution of 1911) from 1907 to 1915. Ultimately, during the first eight-year period of Japanese rule, more than 30,000 people were killed in anti-Japanese activities, demonstrating that armed resistance in Taiwan was a major challenge for colonial rule (Wu, 2002).

During the second stage, the assimilation period (1919-1936), Japan worked to promote the idea that Taiwan was an extension of the Japanese homeland. Before 1930, Japanese economic policy was “Industrial Japan and Agricultural Taiwan” (工業日本 農業臺灣). This meant that Taiwan’s economy focused on producing rice and cane sugar for export to Japan, and Taiwan society became a market for Japanese industrial products. Then, from around 1930 onwards, the policy shifted to “industrial Taiwan and agricultural Southeast Asia” (工業臺灣 農業南洋). Taiwan, therefore, became a base for the southward expansion of imperial Japan. Accordingly, Taiwan’s industrial products and human resources supported Japan’s military invasion of Southeast Asia (Huang, 2005).

Japan’s shift in policy from appeasement to assimilation took place in the aftermath of World War I, when ideas about freedom, democracy, and ethnic self-determination for colonised populations were spreading across the world inspiring new political trends. Taiwanese intellectuals and students in Japan were affected by these new trends. At that time, the first party-led cabinet government emerged in Japan. News of this domestic restructuring of the Japanese government led an awareness of the possibility of equality and self-governance between Taiwan and Japan to grow among the Taiwanese people.
Accordingly, Tsai Huiju (蔡惠如), Lin Hsientang (林獻堂), and others Taiwanese students studying in Japan established the New People Association (新民會) in Tokyo in 1920. The purpose of the organisation was to create a movement for promoting political reform. They founded publications to introduce their new inspired thinking to the people, including *Taiwanese Youth* (臺灣青年) in 1920 and the *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* (臺灣民報) in 1923 (Wakabayashi, 2020).

Between 1921 and 1934, led by Lin Hsientang, these intellectuals and students launched a series of political movements asking the Japanese Imperial Parliament to establish a Taiwan Parliament and grant it the right of legislative power in Taiwan. Fifteen petition campaigns for the parliament finally ended with failure, yet these activities awakened the political and national consciousness of the Taiwanese people (Wakabayashi, 2020). In other words, the importance of this unsuccessful movement is that it was the first time Taiwanese intellectuals regarded both Taiwan and the Taiwanese people as the core of their social practices and political campaigns (Chou, 2015).

These political movements also inspired Taiwanese intellectuals to initiate other cultural and social movements to promote cultural enlightenment and national consciousness. Mainly led by Chiang Weishui (蔣渭水) and Lin Hsientang, the Taiwan Cultural Association (臺灣文化協會) was established in Taipei in 1921. The goal of this organisation was to develop a new Taiwan culture and contribute to people’s cultural enlightenment. Toward this end, the association set up newspaper reading rooms, held lectures, organised academic seminars and film tours, and distributed Japanese newspapers, magazines, and books. Meanwhile, the Association also advocated abandoning superstitions, respecting human rights, developing national self-confidence, and creating body of new Taiwan literature (Yeh, 2010). The intellectuals of the Association were influenced by ideas from modern Western European thought and from the
May Fourth Movement in China. In other words, in the 1920s, Taiwanese intellectuals took the spirit of democracy and science as the core justification for criticising Japanese rule and exploring Taiwanese cultural consciousness (Wakabayashi, 2020).

From 1927 onwards, disputes between radical and moderate intellectuals led to a split within the Taiwan Cultural Association. The leftists, led by Wang Weichuan (王渭川) and Lien Wenching (連溫卿), pursued their goals by reimagining the organization. Meanwhile, Chiang Weishui withdrew from the Cultural Association together with the rightists. Then, under the leadership of Chiang Weishui and Lin Hsientang, another group—the Taiwanese People’s Party (臺灣民眾黨)—was founded in 1927. This was the first political party in the history of Taiwan, active between 1927 and 1931. In addition to organising political resistance activities, both the leftists-led new Cultural Association and the Taiwanese People’s Party participated in different activities and coordinated with organisers of labour and farmer movements, especially during the second half of the 1920s (Wakabayashi, 2020). In this way, the inception of the Taiwan Cultural Association can be regarded as the starting point of Taiwan’s political, cultural, and social movements (Lien, 1953b).

As for the third stage of colonial policy—the Japanisation of Taiwanese society (1936-1945)—with the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Japan entered a state of war. Taiwan became Japan’s base providing agricultural, industrial, and human resources to support Japan’s military invasion of Southeast Asia. This increased following the eruption of the Pacific War in 1941. During this stage, the colonial government started to clamp down on people’s rights. Political and social activities were severely restricted. The use of Chinese language and Taiwanese dialects in schools was limited. Efforts were made to convert the Taiwanese people to the Japanese religion of Shintoism. Finally, Taiwanese soldiers were sent to the battlefield, and so on (Huang, 2005).
3.1.4 The post war history of Taiwan (1945-1987)

After Japan was defeated by the Allies of World War II in 1945, Taiwan was returned to China in accord with the Cairo Declaration of 1943 and the Potsdam Declaration of 1945. At the time, this new political circumstance was understood as ‘the retrocession of Taiwan’ because before Japanese occupation, Taiwan had been a province of the Qing Empire.

In August of 1945, the Kuomintang (KMT)-led government (國民黨政府, also known as the Chinese Nationalist Party) of the Republic of China took over Taiwan, and president Chiang Chiehshih (蔣介石) appointed Chen Yi (陳儀) to be the Chief Executive of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office (臺灣省行政長官公署) and the commander-in-chief of the Taiwan Provincial Garrison (臺灣省警備總司令部) (Chou, 2015). The same year, Chiang Chiehshih took over Taiwan in 1945, the Chinese Nationalists, led by Chiang Chiehshih, were fighting with the Chinese Communists, led by Mao Zedoing (毛澤東). This conflict was known as the Second Kuomintang-Communist Civil War. In 1949, the Nationalists were defeated by the Communists, and the Kuomintang and related Nationalists were forced to flee to Taiwan. While the Chinese Communist Party renamed mainland China as the People’s Republic of China (中華人民共和國, PRC), Chiang Chiehshih rebuilt his political regime in Taiwan as the Republic of China (中華民國, ROC). Meanwhile, this regime change has led to more than 1.5 million Chinese immigrants, known as Mainlanders8 (外省人), to follow the KMT government to Taiwan (Copper, 2009).

8 Before 1945, the linguistic distinctions (and thus ethnic divisions) in Taiwan were mainly between aboriginal, Hokkien, and Hakka peoples, who speak aboriginal dialects, Fujian dialects, and Hakka dialects respectively. The new wave of Chinese Mainlanders, especially those migrating to Taiwan after 1945, came from many different provinces, including Shandong, Hebei, Hunan, Sichuan, Zhejiang, Jiangsu, and so on. These Mainlanders spoke Mandarin or their regional dialects (Ou, 2009). In essence, they were understood as a separate ethnic group entering Taiwan’s socio-cultural landscape.
In 1947, less than two years after the handover, a series of socio-political and economic factors led to the February 28 Incident. This event reflected the tensions that had been growing between Taiwanese and Mainlanders since the change of political regime from Japanese colonisation to KMT governance had taken place. On February 27, 1947, a Taiwanese woman selling black market cigarettes on the street was killed by KMT police officers in Taipei. The next day, a large crowd of Taiwanese people protested in front of the Taiwan Provincial Administrative Executive Office. They were fired upon by the Office’s guards. This sparked a series of rebellions against the KMT government across Taiwan. To quell the dissent, the KMT government sent troops to arrest, suppress, and kill the rioters. This incident is estimated to have led to about 10,000 casualties, a large percentage of who were members of the Taiwanese elite.

The violent disturbance of the February 28 Incident resulted in mutual hostility between the KMT government and the Taiwanese people. To ensure stability, on May 20, 1949, Chiang Chiehshih declared an emergency decree instituting martial law across Taiwan, suspending various freedoms, including the freedom to publish, to publicly assemble, to form political parties, and so on. On December 7, 1949, the government of ROC retreated from mainland China to Taiwan. The state of emergency and rule by martial law lasted for the next thirty-eight years. During this period, also known as the White Terror, most political dissidents were suppressed. According to Chou, between 1950 and the lifting of martial law in 1987, it is estimated that over 2,900 political trials were held, in which about 140,000 individuals were implicated and punished to varying degrees.

During the Chiang Chiehshih period (1949-1975), the KMT government in Taiwan transformed language, education, and cultural policy to emphasise three goals it had for Taiwanese society: de-Japanisation, anti-Communist
ideology, and KMT party-controlled education. In terms of de-Japanisation, the KMT government banned the use of Japanese language, and the dissemination of Japanese books, movies, and newspapers. To emphasise the legitimacy of Chinese culture, the KMT government made Mandarin the sole language of instruction in schools in 1953. Beginning in 1964, the use of Taiwanese dialects, including that of aborigines, Hokkien, and Hakka, was forbidden at official occasions and in schools. Meanwhile, the government combated Communist literature that reflected the political ideology of the Chinese Communists. In 1966, the PRC launched the Cultural Revolution in China. In response, Taiwan initiated the Chinese Cultural Renaissance Movement in institutions, in schools, and through mass media (Ou, 2009).

KMT party-controlled education in schools focused on Chinese culture and Mandarin learning and promoted worship of Chiang Chiehshih, loyalty to the party-state, and the content of *Three Principles of the People* (三民主義). As a result, most school textbooks made only minimal mentions of Taiwan and its history (Chou, 2015). This was considered a key dimension in the process of de-Japanisation and re-sinification of Taiwan society.

After the KMT government retreated to Taiwan in 1949, the ROC declared the PRC in China to be an illegal regime. Retaking the Mainland and maintaining recognition as the only legitimate government of China became the main concern of KMT governance⁹. Toward this end, the KMT government actively carried out diplomatic work to ensure the international status of the ROC. Meanwhile, the *Sino-American Mutual Defense Treaty* (中美共同防禦條約) was signed between the United States and Taiwan in 1954. With this treaty, Taiwan officially entered the era of American aid (Hunag, 2005).

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⁹ The KMT government asserted: “Republic of China (Taiwan) is the only China” and “Kuomintang regime is the legitimate government of China” (Ito, 2004, p.351)
In the 1970s, Taiwan’s international status declined, leading to different diplomatic crises and the withdrawal from all kinds of international organisations. In 1971, the United Nations General Assembly voted to recognise the PRC as the only legal representative of China within the United Nations, so Taiwan announced its withdrawal. This led to the decline of Taiwan’s status in the international community, including the breaking of formal diplomatic relations with Japan in 1972 and with the United States in 1979. Since that time, the rise of the PRC in the international arena, and its assertion of the “one-China policy”, has deepened the isolation of Taiwan, prevented the development of diplomatic relations, and continues to complicate cross-strait relations between Taiwan and China (Huang, 2005).

With this series of diplomatic hindrances and defeats, beginning in the late 1970s, a strong sense of crisis and self-awareness emerged among Taiwanese intellectuals, especially within cultural and literary communities. The led to a series of activities that involved reflecting on the phenomenon of excessive westernisation and efforts to reshape local cultural identity. This trend is often defined as the Nativist Movement. In a sense, the main appeal of the Nativist Movement was to promote the preservation and inheritance of the national traditional culture and native characteristics (Yeh, 2010).

The Nativist Movement focused efforts in three fields: literature, folk songs, and architecture. Among them, architecture-led activities were heavily promoted by intellectuals in architectural and fine arts circles. This also led to subsequent preservation movements of the 1980s which

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10 After severing formal relations with the ROC government, the United States started to adopt an ambiguous strategy to deal with the problematic question of ‘one China’, and drafted legislation, known as the Taiwan Relations Act (臺灣關係法) on April 10, 1979, to create a pathway for unofficial relations with Taiwan. With this Act, the United States could continue to ensure the safety of Taiwan through supplying Taiwan with defensive weapons to counterbalance the PRC’s military threat (Huang, 2005).
focused on ancient monuments and on the promotion of legalisation to protect Taiwan’s cultural heritage (Y.-H. Lin, 2011).

Between the 1950s and the 1980s, despite the conservative and repressive political atmosphere, Taiwan accomplished a so-called ‘economic miracle’ by becoming one of the most radically changing nations in the developing world. With its progressive economic development\(^\text{11}\), along with South Korea, Hong Kong, and Singapore, Taiwan was regarded as one of ‘Four Asian Dragons’ (亞洲四小龍) (Copper, 1989).

In the process of this economic boom, Taiwan underwent two stages of economic development: import substitution (1950-1962) and international trade (1962-1980). During the phase of import substitution, Taiwan advocated replacing foreign imports with domestic production, aiming to nurture infant industries. Also during the 1950s, the government promoted the development of textile and plastic industries. By the 1960s, Taiwan started to focus on policy aimed at developing export capabilities. Important export processing zones were built, especially areas to produce technological products. The United States and Japan were the most significant trading partners of Taiwan through this era\(^\text{12}\) (Maguire, 1998).

\[^{11}\] In 1949, the gross national product (GNP) of Taiwan was approximately NT$ 95 million (NT$ = New Taiwan Dollars). From 1952 to 1977, Taiwan experienced 815 percent growth in GNP. Worldwide, this radical increase fell second only to Japan. From 1970 to 1976, the growth rate of GNP in Taiwan was 12.8 per cent annually, surpassing Japan’s growth rate (Copper, 1989, p.10).

\[^{12}\] Between the 1950s and the 1980s, in an international division of labour, Taiwan, the United States and Japan formed a special triangular trade relationship. In the 1950s, Taiwan’s largest export market was Japan. Taiwan exported agricultural products to Japan, and then imported raw materials and capital goods. Taiwan also imported aid materials from the United States, including staple merchandise and strategic military materials. Beginning in the 1960s, there was a rapid expansion of industrial exports to the United States. In addition, the investments of international companies helped foster the development of Taiwan’s export industry. The sources of foreign capital came from Japan, the United States and overseas Chinese. While the capital of Japan and the United States was mostly concentrated in technology-intensive enterprises such as electrical appliances, electronics, chemistry and machinery, the capital of overseas Chinese was mainly for the textile and cement industries. Subsequently, after the 1980s, Taiwan’s economy turned towards the high-tech industry (Wu, 2002).
Therefore, the KMT government’s economic policies in the post-war period gradually transformed Taiwan from an agricultural economy into a modern economy of industry and commerce (Huang, 2005).

From the 1960s to the 1970s, the transformation of Taiwan’s economy sparked a massive population migration from rural areas to industrial cities, and this led to Taiwan’s urbanisation. By the end of the 1970s, the destinations for populations moving out of the countryside was mainly concentrated in three major metropolitan areas, namely Taipei, Kaohsiung (高雄), and Taichung (臺中) (Hsueh, 2017).

With economic growth and the transition to industrialisation and urbanisation, different appeals for social and political reforms began to challenge the KMT regime, especially under the leadership of Chiang Chingkuo (蔣經國) between 1978 and 1988. According to Blundell (2012a), this phenomenon can be regarded as the emergence of civil society in Taiwan, and it took place alongside mass protests for liberties and equal participation.

A series of critical political incidents and social movements include: the Kaohsiung Incident (高雄事件) (1979), the Indigenous Peoples’ Movement (1983-), the establishment of the Democratic Progressive Party (民進黨, DPP) (1986), the Green Action demonstrations (1986 and 1987), the lifting of martial law (1987), the Wild Lily Student Movement (野百合運動) (1990), the Alliance for Abolishing Article 100 of the Penal Law (廢除刑法100條) (1991), the re-elections of the entire National Assembly (1991), and the first direct election of Taiwan’s president (1996). Through these incidents and movements, from the late 1980s and through the 1990s, Taiwan experienced a speedy democratisation (Chou, 2015).
3.1.5 Speedy democratisation and the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness after 1987

Following the end of martial law in 1987, Taiwan underwent major political and social changes under the leadership of Lee Tenghui (李登輝) (president from 1988 to 2000). These two decades were an important stage in the pursuit of a distinctly Taiwanese subjectivity, especially in the arenas of literature, language, and history. Hsiau (2012) points out that in contemporary Taiwan’s history, the 1980s and 1990s were a critical period for the “localisation” (本土化/在地化) and “Taiwanisation” (臺灣化) of Taiwan’s politics and culture. “Localisation”, as Makeham (2005, p.1) demonstrates, refers to ‘a type of nationalism that champions the legitimacy of a distinct Taiwanese identity, the character and content of which should be determined by the Taiwanese people’. Accordingly, inquiries into localisation were also enhanced by the constructs of Taiwanese consciousness, Taiwanese subjectivity, cultural subjectivity, and Taiwan independence consciousness.

To promote localisation and Taiwanisation, the leadership of Lee Tenghui and his policies played a critical role enhancing Taiwanese consciousness. President Lee promoted cultural slogans such as “Community of Shared Fate” (生命共同體) (1992), “Running Big Taiwan, Establishing the New Zhongyuan” (經營大臺灣 建立新中原) (1995), “Spiritual Reform” (心靈革命) (1996) and “New Taiwanese” (新臺灣人) (1998) (Chang, 2009). By espousing the identity of “New Taiwanese”, Lee hoped to resolve problems of ethnic confrontation and lead the diverse populations of Taiwan to unify as a “Community of Shared Fate”\(^\text{13}\).

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\(^{13}\) In 1999, Present Lee made some statements in his book of Advocacy of Taiwan: ‘For many centuries, Taiwanese expended immeasurable amounts of blood and sweat to melt and unify many dimensions of various cultural traditions. On this multicultural basis, they have opened up the prospect for a New Taiwanese life of liberty, democracy, and prosperity. Now, they progress proudly toward the twenty-first century to create the New Taiwan of the New Taiwanese, who include the aborigines, the Chinese immigrants of 400 years ago, and the new immigrants of 50 years ago. This is to say, all those who reside in Taiwan, whose hearts are bound to Taiwan, and who are willing to sacrifice and struggle for Taiwan, are the “New Taiwanese”’ (Lee, 1999, p.271 cited in Huang, 2014,
Subsequently, he hoped that Taiwan would eventually make itself into an independent state. Toward that end, since 1993, Taiwan has been seeking re-admission to the United Nations, to date without success. In this way, on the one hand, Lee gradually adopted a more open policy towards China; on the other hand, he proposed the idea of a “Two States Theory” (兩國論) to define the special relationship between Taiwan and China (Huang, 2005).

In 2000, Taiwan held its second direct presidential election. That year the presidential candidate of the opposition party, Chen Shuibian (陳水扁) of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), won a stunning victory, leading to the first party rotation in Taiwan’s history. As the first non-KMT president, Chen followed Lee Tenghui’s pragmatic policy for claiming a peaceful coexistence between Taiwan and China as a state-to-state relationship and called for international support in recognising Taiwan as an independent political entity. To promote Taiwan’s subjectivity and uniqueness, the DPP government also sought to promote Taiwan-centric education, rather than a Sinocentric focus of Chinese culture. With a series of textbook reforms and the revitalisation of local dialects and traditional arts, Taiwanisation with an emphasis on ethnic and cultural diversities has become the core political agenda for policy implementation in Taiwan (Ou, 2009).

Since 2000, Taiwan has experienced three transitions of executive power between political parties, from the DDP regime of Chen Shuibian (2000-2008) to the KMT regime of Ma Yingjeou (馬英九) (2008-2016) to the DDP regime of Tsai Ingwen (蔡英文) (2016-). However, aside from the KMT’s pro-China stance or DPP’s anti-China stance, the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness and cultural subjectivity seems to be the main axis for national development. Thus, the quest to build the subjectivity of

p.145).
Taiwanese culture and to build Taiwanese identity through cultural elements has been one of the main concerns shaping national and regional cultural policy (Chieh, 2006).

This trend of prioritising Taiwan and Taiwanese culture, as Blundell (2012b, p.3) states, is like ‘Taiwan coming of age’, especially since the lifting of martial law. More specifically, Blundell (ibid., p.11) further describes it as ‘Taiwan heritage coming of age’. This means that searching for meaningful identities—both national and regional (i.e., local)—through Taiwanese cultural elements has become the basis of political ideology for celebrating the place where we live. In a sense, for different levels of government in Taiwan, culture-led initiatives, such as preserving historic sites, establishing museums and cultural centres, and promoting arts and cultural events, have been at the forefront of public concerns (ibid.).

A review of the Culture White Papers published in 1998, 2004, and 2018 reveals that the role of culture in redefining Taiwan and promoting Taiwanese culture as the foundation of national cultural policy in Taiwan has moved through three orientations: from “cultural nation” (文化國家) in 1998, to “cultural Taiwan” (文化臺灣) in 2004, and to “cultural democracy” (文化民主) in 2018. These shifts in rhetorical speech can be further demonstrated in the following lines: From 1998, ‘the cross-century goal of cultural affairs is to reconstruct a “cultural nation” […] by establishing a highly civilised lifestyle and influential cultural form in Taiwan […] to make Taiwan as a “culture power” (文化大國)’ (Council for Cultural Affairs, 1998, pp.13-14). From 2004, to the goal became ‘building subjectivity, diversity, and creativity of Taiwanese culture’ (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2004, p.239). Finally, 2018 marked a turn to ‘Seeking to cultivate the development of culture, increase cultural engagement, enhance access to culture, and safeguard individual cultural rights’ (Ministry of Culture, 2018a, p.4).
Culture has been an important resource in branding national culture and engaging local people with the land, in which different levels of identity building are the main concerns. This also means that restoring and discovering Taiwan’s history and culture aims to encourage citizens ‘using one's own words, telling one's own stories, and mastering one's own right of interpretation [...] Let the people say aloud: "I am a Taiwanese!" Take pride in your own culture’ (Council for Cultural Affairs, 2004, p.239).

However, with the democratisation of Taiwan's politics, political inquiry about Taiwanese identity necessarily reflects the complex ethnic relations in Taiwan's multi-ethnic society. In addition to the broad-view historical timeline determined by foreign forces, Taiwanese society has its own domestic history shaped by ethnic issues, from ethnic classification to ethnic integration. Therefore, an inquiry into ‘Taiwanese’ identity quickly becomes problematic. This complexity has already received academic attention, leading Corcuff (2002, p.xi) to refer to Taiwan as ‘a laboratory of identities’ and Jacob (2018, p.2) to point out that ‘the definition of what constitutes a “Taiwanese” changes over time’.

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14 According to Lai (1989), in Taiwan’s historical records, the four most influential events of Taiwan’s history have been: 1) Cheng Chengkung driving out the Dutch in 1662, an event which allowed Han Chinese to cross the sea bring Chinese cultures to Taiwan; 2) The Japanese colonisation of Taiwan from 1895 to 1945, driving the modernisation of Taiwan, including hygiene, transportation, education, industry, urbanisation, and so on. However, the Japanese Empire regarded Taiwanese as second-class nationals and promoted the “Emperor's People's Movement”. This caused Taiwanese to oppose Japan at the time of colonisation and to welcome a return to the “motherland of China”; 3) The massacre of the February 28th Incident in 1947 which resulted in conflicts between islanders and mainlanders, and the national division between Taiwan and China; 4) The lifting of martial law in 1987, and Taiwan’s gradual democratisation and development as a pluralistic society.

15 As Wakabayashi (2016) points out, ‘Han Taiwanese’ refers to the Han people who were born in or have lived in the Taiwan Islands. They are mainly composed of three large groups of Han Chinese immigrants: Hokkien and Hakka from different provinces of mainland China who migrated between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, and mainlanders who moved from mainland China to Taiwan between 1945 and 1949. The designation of ‘mainlander’ especially refers to that portion that arrived with the Republic of China government due to the civil war between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Ultimately, in Taiwan, the former Han-Chinese immigrants and their descendants are categorised as “ben sheng ren” (本省人) (islanders or native Taiwanese), the latter mainlanders are regarded as “wai sheng ren” (外省人).
In summary, this brief section on the history of Taiwan’s development emphasises three points: 1) As an island that has been colonised and governed by a succession of foreign powers, Taiwan’s historical encounters with countries of the East and of the West has varied greatly. Among them, becoming a Japanese colony was one of the crucial forces in Taiwan’s modernisation.

2) The complex cultural and political relationship between Taiwan and China led to an identity crisis between “being Taiwanese” and “being Chinese”. At the same time, under the framework of the PRC’s “one-China policy” in international affairs, diplomatic isolation has forced Taiwan to showcase its cultural uniqueness and democratic achievement to the world.

3) Since the lifting of martial law in 1987, both localisation and Taiwanisation have become the main axes of political discourse, from the national level to local government. This also means that the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness and cultural subjectivity or uniqueness has been at the forefront of public concerns. In this context, demonstrations of “who we are” and “where we live” in heritage use is one significant approach.

3.2 Dadaocheng: from a port-cum-market town to a base for Taiwan new cultural movements

3.2.1 An overview of the area of Dadaocheng
Dadaocheng is one of the oldest areas of Taipei City. The official name of Taipei City was announced by the Japanese regime in 1920 and then Taipei became the capital of Taiwan (ROC) in 1949. Located in the current administrative area of Datong District, west of Taipei City, Dadaocheng has been developing as a business district along the Tamsui River (淡水河) since the mid-nineteenth century. It then became a significant trading port in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially with the development of the tea industry.
After the 1970s, Dadaocheng gradually lost its leading commercial role in Taipei City due to the changes seen in the industrial structure and commercial centres (Yen, 2006a). Following a series of protest campaigns and events for historic preservation, mainly organised by civil societies and academic circles in the 1980s, the government proposed that this area would be protected and managed within a specific law in the 1990s, along with listing eighty-three houses as historic buildings (Lin, 2008). Subsequently, in 2000, this area became the first case for the government to introduce laws of urban planning, the Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone (大稻埕歷史風貌特定專用區計畫), with regulations for building capacity and Transfer of Development Rights (發展權轉移), to preserve a specific historic environment in Taiwan.

Regarding geographical distribution and spatial quality, the name “Dadaocheng”, especially after being officially assigned as a historic district in 2000, refers to an area, approximately one kilometre long and half a kilometre wide, which includes the modern-day south side of Mingquan West Road (民權西路), the west side of Yanping North Road (延平北路), the north side of Nanjing West Road (南京西路), and the east side of the Tamsui River; this historic area’s location is shown in Figure 1. In this mixed-use urban block, the most important street is Dihua Street (迪化街), and this main street is also one of the oldest streets in Taipei City. Dihua Street is still a shopping area full of shops, cafés, restaurants, and galleries; and, it is also a tourist attraction with a wide range of historical buildings and the municipal monument of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple (台北霞海城隍廟).

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16 Zoning is a method of urban planning for the government to divide land in a city into different areas called zones. Further, the government can make a set of regulations for the development with its special use, such as residential zones or the industrial zones. For Taipei City, the Self-Government Ordinance of Taipei City Land Use Zoning (臺北市土地使用分區管制自治條例) was issued in 1983; then, in order to preserve the historic environment of Dadaocheng, Dadaocheng was officially designated as a historic special-use zone.
Figure 1. The geographical location of Dadaocheng within Taipei City, adapted from Kao and Lin (2014, pp. 215, 225).
Over the past two decades, Dadaocheng has still functioned as a commercial district, containing some traditional business clusters, such as fabric wholesale, Chinese medicine, tea, dry goods and grocery products. Meanwhile, various departments of the Taipei City Government have been seeking to use policy initiatives to advance this location, especially in economic and cultural dimensions. These policy initiatives are basically promoted through the lens of culture-led urban regeneration with the aim of connecting historical legacies with certain development issues, including city marketing, cultural identity, cultural tourism, and “the cultural and creative industries”¹⁷ (Chiu and Lin, 2014).

In addition, in order to outline the area of Dadaocheng in a more effective way, I present images describing certain qualities of Dadaocheng in the past and present. While the first series of images are printed picture postcards or photos (Figure 2-8), published between 1910 and 1940, digitally preserved at National Central Library of Taiwan, the other images showing the present conditions were taken by me during the interview data collection for this work (Figure 9-16). Then, in the upcoming sections, more historical accounts of Dadaocheng will be provided.

¹⁷ The term “the cultural and creative industries” is a compound and complex concept in Taiwan. According to an official definition in Article 3 of the Cultural and Creative Industries Development Law, promulgated in Taiwan in 2010, so-called “the cultural and creative industries” here refers to the industries that ‘originate from creativity or accumulation of culture which through the formation and application of intellectual properties, possess potential capacities to create wealth and job opportunities, enhance the citizens’ capacity for arts, and elevate the citizens’ living environment’. These diverse industries include the visual arts industry, music and performance arts industries, cultural heritage application and exhibition and performance facility industry, handicrafts industry, film industry, radio and television broadcast industry, publication industry, advertisement industry, product design industry, visual communication design industry, fashion industry, architectural design industry, digital content industry, creativity living industry, as well as popular music and cultural content industry. The details of this Law are available at: https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170075.
Figure 2. Daitotei (Dadaocheng) river bank, published around the 1910s. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 3. The bustling street called Taiheicho Dori, Taihoku, published around the 1910s. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 4. Street of Taipingdin, published around the 1920s. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 5. Festival celebrating the birthday of City God, published in the Japanese colonial period. Source: National Central Library.
Figure 6. The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple, published approximately in the 1930s. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 7. The Tamsui Theatre (a notable theatre in Dadaocheng), published around the 1910s. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 8. Making tea leaves in Dadaocheng in 1930. Source: National Central Library.

Figure 9. Festival in the southern part of Dihua Street in 2017. Source: the author.
Figure 10. Decorative façades of historical buildings in the southern part of Dihua Street in 2017. Source: the author.

Figure 11. Building entrance of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple in 2017. Source: the author.

Figure 12. Shopping arcade on Dihua Street with Chinese medicine, and groceries & dried foods shops. Source: the author.

Figure 13. A traditional wooden cask shop at Dihua Street in 2017. Source: the author.
3.2.2 Northern Taiwan in the nineteenth century and some travelers accounts with Dadaocheng

In terms of the historical perspective, the rise and prosperity of Dadaocheng is highly related to the development of northern Taiwan in
the nineteenth century, especially with the opening of Tamsui Port\textsuperscript{18} as a treaty port in the 1860s (Wen, 1978; Wang, 1998). This also means that Dadaocheng could be regarded as ‘a typical trading port city, developed after opening four treaty ports in Taiwan’ (Lin, 2018, p.170).

Before the Japanese colonisation, Taiwan’s economy and society had experienced dramatic changes, especially between 1860 and 1895. For Gardella (1999), the island’s rapid socioeconomic changes were caused the change in Taiwan’s role, from treaty ports to provincial status. On the one hand, the opening of Taiwan with four treaty ports, containing Tamsui, Keelung, Anping and Takao (now Kaohsiung), have shifted Taiwan’s economy from an agrarian economy to export-oriented economy. Among its trading products, flourishing exports in tea, camphor, and sugar integrated Taiwan into the world economic system (Gardella, 1999; Katz, 2005; Lin, 2018).

On the other hand, foreign military interventions on the island of Taiwan, such as the Mudan Incident in the Japanese expedition of 1874 and French forces blockading northern Taiwan in 1884-1885, caused the Qing Empire’s concern for the national security of Taiwan. This led to that the Qing regime officially recognised Taiwan’s provincial status in 1885, and then advanced administrative management and infrastructural development occurring in northern Taiwan (Gardella, 1999). The two aspects of international trade and administrative reshuffles have resulted in: 1) the impact of the coming of Western merchants, Christian missionaries, and foreign officials on various aspects of life in Taiwan in the second half of nineteenth century; 2) the shifting of Taiwan’s economic

\textsuperscript{18} The most directly related hinterland of Tamsui Port is the Taipei Basin. In the Treaty, Tamsui Port was only referred to a general designation. In fact, it included the three ports, namely Hobe (滬尾), Mengjia and Dadaocheng, sharing the various functions of a trading port. More specifically, Hobe was used as the berth of large ships and place for customs inspections and tax collection. Most of the political and economic activities were carried out in the inner port of Mengjia or Dadaocheng (Lin, 1996).
centre from southwestern coasts to northern Taiwan, especially the valley of the Tamsui River and its tributaries.

In the late nineteenth century, the two largest ports in northern Taiwan were Tamsui in the northwest corner and Keelung in the northeast corner (see Figure 17). The former faces China's Fujian Province in the northwest, and the latter faces Okinawa, Japan across the sea. The location of these two harbours also shows China and Japan are important external influences on Taiwan’s history. This is because, from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century, the history of Taiwan can be seen as an extension of the colonial field, making the island Chinese, and then Japanese, and then Chinese again (Dawley, 2019).

![Figure 17. Map of the Tamsui River and its three major tributaries. Source: adapted from https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/淡水河#/media/File:Tamsuirivermap.png](https://zh.wikipedia.org/wiki/淡水河#/media/File:Tamsuirivermap.png)

In addition, between Tamsui Port and Keelung Port, the Tamsui River and its three major tributaries, namely the Dahan River (大漢溪), the Xindian River (新店溪), and the Keelung River (基隆河), flow through the Taipei
Basin. In the Tamsui River watershed, there were many emerging towns in the nineteenth century, and they gradually became prosperous due to the distribution of the tea and camphor industry. Among these new market towns, Dadaocheng was the most notable example (Lin, 2018).

Situated at the meeting point of the Tamsui River and its three major tributaries, Mengjia and Dadaocheng were the most important commercial distribution bases in northern Taiwan in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, both Mengjia and Dadaocheng formed the most significant commercial, trade, and export centres in the whole island of Taiwan, especially in the late nineteenth century (Allee, 1994).

Before 1870, almost all import and export goods in Tamsui Port were gathered and distributed in Mengjia. In 1872, five British companies were first established in Dadaocheng for purchasing Taiwan tea to sell to foreign countries. Dadaocheng gradually became a distribution and processing centre for Taiwan tea. Later, due to the sedimentation of the Tamsui River, merchant ships gradually sailed to Dadaocheng, rather than Mengjia. In 1886, there were regular ships sailing between Dadaocheng and Hobe, and then Dadaocheng gradually replaced Mengjia as the commercial centre of the Taipei Basin. In addition, while Taiwan tea

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19 The towns in northern Taiwan that emerged from the tea and camphor industry include Dadaocheng, Dakekan (大嵙崁, now Daxi 大溪, Taoyuan City), Sanjiaoyong (三角湧, now Sanxia 三峽, New Taipei City), Xiancaiweng (鹹菜甕, now Guanxi 关西, Hsinchu County), and Shuqilin (樹杞林, now Zhudong 竹東, Hsinchu County) (Lin, 2018).

20 In 1684, the Qing regime established the administrative framework of Taiwanfu (臺灣府) with three counties, and Taiwanfu was a prefecture subordinated to Fujian province. In 1723, due to the outbreak of large-scale rebellion and the expansion of Chinese settlement into northern Taiwan, the office of Tamsui subprefect was established for coastal defense and apprehension of criminals. In 1733, a second police chief's office was built at Balfen (八里坌) at the mouth of the Tamsui River. As the upstream area of the Tamsui River continued to develop, this inspection office was moved to Xinzhuang (新莊) in 1750, and then moved to Mengjia in 1790. Meanwhile, the inspection office was upgraded and known as the Mengjia Vice Subprefect (艋舺縣丞), and this subprefect played a key role in governing northern Taiwan. In addition, with the increasing importance of the military and trade status in northern Taiwan, the Qing government established Taipeifu (臺北府) for the governance of northern Taiwan in 1875, and finished the building of Taipeifu Cheng (臺北府城), the City Walls of Taipei, in 1884. The location of Taipeifu Cheng was just between Mengjia and Dadaocheng. Therefore, this region, including Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and Taipeifu Cheng, formed the most important political and commercial centre in Taiwan in the late nineteenth century (Allee, 1994).
became the chief export commodity of Taiwan (Table 4), Tamsui Port played a leading role in tea export, especially after the 1870s. Therefore, after 1890, most commercial activities related to the Tamsui River were carried out in Dadaocheng. Accordingly, at the end of the 1890s, Dadaocheng’s population surpassed Mengjia, becoming the largest town in northern Taiwan (Lin, 1996; Wang, 1998).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1868-70</th>
<th>1871-75</th>
<th>1876-80</th>
<th>1881-85</th>
<th>1886-90</th>
<th>1891-96</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Camphor</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.8%</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>9.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
<td>1.7%</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar</td>
<td>59.6%</td>
<td>60.7%</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>36.4%</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>25.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tea</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>26.6%</td>
<td>46.1%</td>
<td>58.7%</td>
<td>66.6%</td>
<td>58.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice</td>
<td>9.8%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
<td>&lt; 0.05%</td>
<td>&lt; 0.05%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4. Value of major export commodities as a percentage of value of total export in Taiwan, 1868-96 (annual averages), adapted from Ho (1978, p.14).

Before entering into the more detailed historical context of Dadaocheng, we will first review some travelers accounts to obtain an image of Dadaocheng in the second half of the nineteenth century. This collection of historical travel records has two aspects of benefits: 1) the earliest historical description of Dadaocheng was made by foreign travelers, including officials, consuls, merchants, and missionaries, especially after the 1860s. 2) these travelers accounts could reveal some specific qualities of Dadaocheng at that time from an individual perspective. In a sense, there are five quotes stressed by this research and they are presented sequentially in time in the following contexts. The authors are Charles W. Le Gendre (a French-born American officer and diplomat), George Leslie Mackay (one of the first Presbyterian missionaries to northern Taiwan),

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21 Between 1868 and 1895, the export value of tea accounted for 90% of the total export value of Tamsui Port (Lin, 2018).
John Dodd (a Scottish merchant for promoting Taiwan tea to the West), Shin Chiulung (史九龍) (a Chinese official from Yuyao 餘姚, China) and James W. Davidson (an American explorer, writer, and diplomat).

We took boats from Mr. Dodd’s house at Tamsui, and ascended what I have called the Sam-quai River as far as Tau-tai-Cha (Dadaocheng), where we visited Messrs. Dodd & Co.’s building for the preparation of tea for the American market, or “tea firing godown,” as it is called in China.

(Le Gendre, 2012 [1869], p.78)

At dawn set out on a very rapid march and came to a large town on the bank of the river called Sin-tsng (Xinzhuang). There took a rapid boat and soon passed by Bάng-kah (Mengjia) and Tόa-tiū-tiā” (Dadaocheng) where the British merchants reside and do business, on the same side of the river as Bάng-kah and a mile distant. Coming down the river I saw hundreds of homes enclosed by the lovely bamboo in the rich alluvial plain on each side.

(Mackay, 2015 [April 6, 1872], p.13)

Its (Mengjia) position as a trading centre has been somewhat interfered with of late years by the rival town Twatutia (Dadaocheng) 大稻埕 (situated only a mile or so to the North of Banca), whose growing importance is owing almost entirely to the establishment there of foreign mercantile houses, and to the rapid development of the tea trade, of which Twatutia is the principal mart.

(Dodd, 1885, p.69)

Dadaocheng is a bustling district outside the Taipei City Walls (臺北府城). […] While Dadaocheng is located outside the North Gate (of the Taipei City Walls), Mengjia is situated at the south corner of the West Gate (of the Taipei City Walls). Dadaocheng and Mengjia are
two places where merchants gather together; meanwhile, Dadaocheng and Mengjlia are ten times richer other places of the inner city, and Dadaocheng is the most prosperous area. Located by the river, Dadaocheng connects Hobe by ship and connects Keelung by train; meanwhile, there are many foreign companies in Dadaocheng […] The Taipei tea market (in Dadaocheng) is quite busy, especially every February and March. A variety of women gather and pick up tea leaves at different tea shops. Approximately millions of boxes (of tea) are exported every year. The Tea Bureau (chaliu, 茶釐局) is established on the riverside of Dadaocheng, collecting 700,000-800,000 yuan in tax each year.

(Shih, 1975[1896], pp.7-9)

Twatutia (Dadaocheng) the centre of the tea trade has communication with Tamsui port by river. […] One obstacle to shipment via Kelung (Keelung), is in transporting the tea from Twatutia to that port. The two places (between Twatutia and Kelung) are connected by rail, but the rolling stock is at present insufficient for the handling of large quantities of tea. […] The expense of shipment via Kelung to Japan is somewhat higher than via Tamsui to Amoy, although from Amoy to America, and Japan to America, freight rates are often the same. […] Twatutia has grown rapidly during the last six or seven years. A large number of new buildings have been erected and the foreigners are installed in commodious dwellings. Every season nearly seven millions of silver dollars are bought over from the mainland. A few hundred Chinese teamen, barefooted and dressed in common clothes, present themselves and exchange their
tea for the silver dollars. [...] Perhaps an extension of a tea field may be noted or even a new rice field laid out; but of prosperity, as we know it in the West, there is not a sign. What becomes of so much treasure is truly a mystery.

(Davidson, 1903, pp.389-391)

From these accounts we can obtain a general impression of Dadaocheng as the market for Taiwan tea (or Formosa tea) in the late nineteenth century. Dadaocheng, situated between Tamsui Port (Hobe) and Keelung Port, played an important role as a distribution and processing centre of tea for export to foreign countries, especially for the American market. During the trading process, Amoy (廈門), China and Japan were important transfer sites for the trade network of Taiwan tea. Accordingly, there were many British and Chinese merchants gathering in Dadaocheng at that time, and different foreign mercantile houses were built in this busy tea market. With the development of the tea trade, Dadaocheng gradually became more prosperous than Mengjia, which was once the most important trading centre for northern Taiwan. Therefore, in the first monography in English about the comprehensive history of Taiwan, *The Island of Formosa Past and Present: History, People, Resources, and Commercial Prospects*, James W. Davidson (1903) commented that ‘North Formosa prosperity dependent on tea’ (p.372) and ‘Twatutia (Dadaocheng), the market of Formosa (tea)’ (p.383).

‘Port cities have always been agents of social, cultural, and economic interchange’ (McPherson, 2002, p.75). With the initial impression of the rise of Dadaocheng as a tea market, we could further demonstrate its historical context to understand its changes, from a port-cum-market town to a modern city, to a historic district. Also, historical accounts could help understand the impacts of Dadaocheng in both Taipei City and the island of Taiwan.
3.2.3 The historical context of Dadaocheng, 1850-1980

The development of Dadaocheng can be traced back to the 1850s. In 1851, a Quanzhou Tonga (同安) immigrant, Lin Lantian (林藍田), moved to Dadaocheng from Keelung and then opened a retail store with three properties. This establishment was often regarded as the starting point of Dadaocheng’s commercial activities. Before that time, the area around Dadaocheng may be the tribal residence of the Pingpu aborigines (平埔族) (Huang, 1953; Wu and Chen, 1984). In 1853, the members of the Quanzhou Sanyi (三邑) people and the Quanzhou Tongan people fought for the right to berth the boat in Mengjia, and this event was so-called “the Dingxiajiao Conflict” (頂下郊拼). For this classified armed fight, the Tongan people lost and were forced to leave Mengjia. Led by Lin Yutsao (林又藻), some of the Tongan clan moved to Dadaocheng, and built new houses and stores. In addition, in 1856 and 1859, due to the armed fighting between the Zhangzhou people and Quanzhou people, the Tongan clan who were defeated in Xinzhuang (新莊), also fled to Dadaocheng. Gradually, the population of Dadaocheng increased, and then Dadaocheng formed a small market at “Middle Street” (中街, now the middle part of Sec. 1, Dihua Street) (Chen, 1997; W.- C. Lien, 1953a; Wen, 1978).

The initial development of Dadaocheng was based on both Tongan merchants and the establishment of jiao (郊, guild) for cross-strait trade. When Lin Yutsao and other Tongan merchants fled to Dadaocheng after “the Dingxiajiao Conflict”, they proposed building new temples for both the patron god of the Tongan people, chenghuanye (城隍爺, city god), and the patron god of shipping, Mazu (媽祖, the goddess of the sea). While the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple (臺北霞海城隍廟) was built at “South Street” (南街, now the southern part of Sec. 1, Dihua Street) in 1859, the
Cisheng Temple (慈聖宮, also known as Dadaocheng Mazu Temple) was completed in 1866\textsuperscript{23} (Sung, 1993).

In addition, with other Tongan merchants, Lin Yutsao organised the Xiajiao (廈郊)\textsuperscript{24}, known as Jintongshun (金同順), in Dadaocheng at the end of the 1850s. This was a commercial guild mainly for trading with Xiamen, China. Later, Lin Yutsao further cooperated with Mengjia’s Quanjiao (泉郊) and Beijiao (北郊) to form the “Taipei sanjiao” (臺北三郊, Taipei three-guild system); meanwhile, Lin Yutsao served as the general manager of this three-guild system. Therefore, Dadaocheng’s commercial influence in northern Taiwan became increasingly important from the 1860s (Hsu, 1992).

With opening of the treaty port of Tamsui in 1862, Dadaocheng’s business grew rapidly due to the emergence of Taiwan tea production in northern Taiwan\textsuperscript{25}. Before opening the port, guild merchants were the dominant

\textsuperscript{23} The Cisheng Temple is currently located at Baoan Street, and is the biggest temple in Dadaocheng. In 1866, it was originally built at the intersection of Xining N. Road and Minsheng W. Road, facing the Tamsui River. Due to the Urban Improvement Plan (市區改正計劃) of road widening under the Japanese colonial rule, the original temple was destroyed and then re-build at the current location in the 1910s. Along with the Taipei Xiahai City God temple and the Fachukung Temple (法主公廟), these are three major temples in Dadaocheng (Chuan, 2009).

\textsuperscript{24} Jiao was an important commercial guild in Taiwan during the Qing Dynasty. The function of Jiao was to trade across the Taiwan Strait and also to import goods to the island of Taiwan. In the second half of the nineteenth century in Taipei, according to the different trading places, three major guilds were Quanjiao (泉郊) (trading with Quanzhou) in Mengjia, Beijiao (北郊) (mainly trading with Fuzhou, Zhejiang, Tianjin, Shanghai, and so on) in Mengjia, and Xiajiao (廈郊) (mainly trading with Xiamen) in Dadaocheng. Moreover, some guilds were categorised by their industries, such as furongjiai (芙蓉郊, opium-guild) and tangjiao (糖郊, sugar-guild) (Hsu, 1992).

\textsuperscript{25} In 1861, a British Consul, Robert Swinhoe, discovered the potential of Taiwan’s tea in the Taipei Basin, and then suggested its government should extend tea-growing in Taiwan. In 1866, a Scottish merchant, John Dodd became interested in the quality of Taiwan tea as he explored the farming land of the camphor trees near Tamsui, and he bought moacha (毛茶, crudely processed tea) and sought to fire it. Later, Dodd transported a large number of tea seedlings from Anxi, Fujian to Taiwan, and encouraged farmers to plant them; meanwhile, he provided loans for farming funds and purchased all products at harvest. In 1867, Todd delivered Taiwan oolong tea to Macau for sale, and this was very successful. He therefore set up a tea-firing house in Mengjia (then moved it Dadaocheng), and this house was also the first tea-firing business in Taiwan. In 1869, Dodd received the support of the British Consul to transport 213,100 kilograms of tea,
economic group in Dadaocheng and Mengjia; however, with the intervention of Western firms and foreign capital, the commercial development of Dadaocheng, as a processing and distribution centre of tea leaves, underwent structural changes (Wen, 1953; Wen, 1978). In 1872, there were five British firms in Dadaocheng: Dodd & Co., Tait & Co., Elles & Co., Brown & Co., and Boyd & Co.. These foreign traders provided the commercial and financial apparatus for the tea manufacturers and tea processors or farmers (Gardella, 1994). Accordingly, up until 1875, Western firms dominated the tea trade in Dadaocheng.

However, with growing prosperity of the tea trade (see Table 5), after 1875 more and more Chinese businessmen, including Dadaocheng locals and businessmen from China, set up tea factories or shops, and gradually gained dominance in Taiwan's tea trade (Lin, 2018). Therefore, in the late nineteenth century, the economic environment of Dadaocheng was ‘a mixed area of Chinese and foreign forces, driven by Western capital markets’ (Wu and Chen, 1984, p.6).

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26 For example, in 1876, there were thirty-nine Chinese tea shops in Dadaocheng. Among them, nineteen shops were funded by the Taiwanese, fourteen shops were funded by the Xiamenese, five shops were funded by the Cantonese, and one shop was funded by Shantou (Lin, 2018, p.110).

27 ‘The number of tea shops set up (in Dadaocheng) by Chinese businessmen was: thirty-three in 1876, fifty in 1884, ninety-five in 1892, and one hundred and thirty-one in 1895. Between 1872 and 1895, the number of foreign firms only increased from five to six. Foreign firms had larger capital, but as the Tamsui Customs Report of 1892 states: ‘among the ninety-five Chinese-funded tea shops, there are thirteen large tea shops, which are comparable to the five foreign firms at the time in terms of purchase, baking, and transportation’ (Lin, 2018, p.109). In addition, among these Chinese-funded tea shops, a large scale operation was Jianxinagiao (建祥號), founded by Lin Weiyuan (林維源) (Tseng, 1957).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Total export (lbs)</th>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Total export (lbs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td>180,824</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>13,206,726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>270,790</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>13,155,437</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>528,210</td>
<td>1885</td>
<td>16,364,041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>729,234</td>
<td>1886</td>
<td>16,171,605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870</td>
<td>1,405,348</td>
<td>1887</td>
<td>16,816,736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1,982,410</td>
<td>1888</td>
<td>18,053,553</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>2,601,801</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>17,384,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>2,081,324</td>
<td>1890</td>
<td>17,101,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>3,338,846</td>
<td>1891</td>
<td>18,050,149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>5,543,140</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>18,230,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>7,854,020</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>21,908,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>9,230,754</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>20,533,733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>10,701,524</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>19,556,116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>11,337,710</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>21,474,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>12,063,450</td>
<td>1897</td>
<td>20,516,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>12,854,335</td>
<td>1898</td>
<td>20,532,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>12,040,446</td>
<td>1899</td>
<td>19,837,331</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5. Total exports of Taiwan tea to America and Europe (covering all grades and kinds of tea), adapted from Davidson (1903, p.395).

In the development of the tea industry in Dadaocheng, foreign enterprise was a significant driving force; meanwhile, new gentries were also emerging with a new production-sales relationship\(^\text{28}\). For example, John Dodd, as an important British merchant for Taiwan’s tea-firing business and the tea export to the United States, established the first foreign company, Dodd & Co., for the trade of tea in Dadaocheng. His comprador

\(^{28}\) The distribution process in Dadaocheng in the late nineteenth century involved: tea buyers \((\text{chafan, 茶販})\) collecting crude tea \((\text{maocha, 毛茶})\) from tea farmers, and then tea buyers selling it to tea manufacturers \((\text{chaguan, 茶館})\) for tea firing. Subsequently, there are two export distribution methods. The first is tea manufacturers selling tea products to Mazhenguan \((\text{媽振館})\), a middleman established by Xiamen’s foreign firms in Dadaocheng; the second is tea manufacturers selling tea products to Dadaocheng’s foreign firms through local compradors \((\text{maiban, 買辦})\) (Gardella, 1994).
(maiban, 買辦) Li Chungsheng (李春生), an Amoyese, accumulated great wealth by being a middleman for Dodd & Co., and then went into his own business as a tea and camphor exporter (Gardella, 1994). This kind of nouveau riche formed new “gentlemen merchants” (shenshang, 紳商) or local elites in Taiwan's regional society in the late nineteenth century, and played a crucial role in local political and economic development, especially for the area of Dadaocheng (Liu, 1999). In other words, according to Alsford (2018, p.131), this kind of nouveau riche was ‘the product and producer of modernity'.

With Taiwan being a formal province of China in 1887, the Qing government launched many initiatives to modernise northern Taiwan, and Dadaocheng was one of the core areas for modernisation. Between 1887 and 1891, the first governor of Liu Mingchuan persuaded local elites Li Chungsheng and Lin Weiyuan to co-establish the company of Jianchang (建昌公司) for building new streets, including Jianchang Street (建昌街, now Guide Street), Qiangiu Street (千秋街, now Guide Street), and Liuquan Street (六館街, now the western section of Nanjing West Road) (see Figure 18). Meanwhile, they built two-storied Western-style houses to rent for foreigners. Subsequently, Liu Mingchuan designated this area a special settlement for foreign merchants (F.-S. Huang, 1995). This also led to this area being the first site in Taipei City to have Western-style buildings; later, the consulates of the Netherlands, Germany and the United States were all set up here (Chen, 1997). Therefore, with the improvement of these streets, Dadaocheng could be regarded as the first area in Taiwan to be linked to modernisation prior to colonial modernisation promoted by Japan after 1895 (Alsford, 2021).
As well as improving street space, many facilities and new institutions were established in Dadaocheng under the governance of Liu Mingchuan. From building a small steamer (Chih, 2003), to importing rickshaws, carriages, and electric light29 (Chu, 1963), to establishing Taiwan’s first railway station and telegraph school (Chuang, 1991), the introduction of this new equipment and changes in lifestyle also marked the beginning of the integration of Taiwan’s modern history with Western civilisation. Therefore, Dadaocheng was one of the most important starting points of modernisation.

In addition to the traditional religions of the Han people, with the opening of Tamsui Port in the 1860s, Western religions also spread to Taipei, including Christianity and Catholicism. G. L. Mackay, a Canadian Presbyterian pastor, built the Dalondong Chapel (大龍峒禮拜堂), near Dadaocheng in 1875, started to preach in Dadaocheng30. However, the

29 The experience of these modern facilities that first appeared in Taiwan was also recorded in G. L. Mackay’s diary in 1888: ‘Afternoon with A Hôa and Sûn-á also Hiáp-á took the steam launch to Bâng-kah (Bangka) and remained overnight. Went to See the Electric light, took “Rickshaws” to Tôâ-tiú-tiâ” (Dadaocheng) and saw the Engine at work — Sat up till very late and retired wearied —’ (Mackay, 2015 [March 16, 1888], p.315).

30 Mackay’s missionary experience in Dadaocheng in 1875 was recorded in his diary: ‘Very early went through Tôâ-tiú-tiâ” (Dadaocheng) and spoke also Sang a hymn. People indifferent. Early in the market and Shops to make money. Money-cash-money-money! The very children are already traders. Land of Sinim thy sons are Materialistic, Superstitious, Money Seekers. When will a tremendous shaking come?’ (Mackay, 2015 [April 24, 1875], p.90).
Dalondong Church was destroyed in the Sino-French War of 1884. One year later, Mackay re-built a new and larger church (Figure 19), the Fangxi Church (枋隙教會), on Niumoche Street, Dadaocheng (now at Dihua Street), and before 1914 this church was regarded as one of the most important centres of the Christian mission in Taipei31 (Cheng, 2016).

Taiwan officially became a Japanese colony in 1895. The Japanese, like the Qing regime, chose Taipei as the political and economic centre of Taiwan. In December of the same year, Taiwan was officially included in the Greenwich Universal Time System. While Liu Mingchuan’s administration of the late 1880s created many public facilities in Dadaocheng for shaping the prototype of a modern city, the Japanese colonisation between 1895 and 1945 was a transitional period for Taiwan’s modernisation, with more comprehensive spatial, political and economic reforms. In a sense, Taipei had been gradually developed to

31 Because of the prosperity of the church, in 1915, Li Chunsheng, as a Christian elder, built a new church at Yurixin Street (日新街), Dadaocheng (now Ganzhou Street (甘州街)) to replace the Fangxi Church, and then renamed it the Dadaocheng Church, which was the largest church in Taiwan at that time (Cheng, 2016).
become a modern city. Before the 1920s, Taipei was mainly constituted of three areas, including Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and “Chengnei” (城內, Inner City) (Figure 20). Then, in 1920, The Government-General of Taiwan (臺灣總督府) implemented administrative divisions reforms, and then officially announced the new jurisdiction of Taipei City, that was on the basis of the three areas of Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and Inner City. In other words, it was the first time Taipei was officially designated as a city (F.-S. Huang, 1995).

In the early twentieth century, commerce in Dadaocheng continued to develop, and the tea industry continued to expand. However, in the mid-

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32 In 1896, the population of Taipei totaled 46,710, containing 23,184 in Dadaocheng, 19,711 in Mengjia, and 3,815 in Inner City. In 1904, the population of Taipei increased to 85,890, making it the largest city in Taiwan, including 48,587 in Dadaocheng, 29,165 in Mengjia and 8,138 in Inner City. In addition, the population of Dadaocheng alone exceeded that of Tainan, the second largest city in Taiwan at the time, with a population of 46,802 (Chen, 1997, p.11).
to-late era of Japanese colonial rule, the commercial centre of Taipei City has gradually shifted from Dadaocheng to Inner City (Chen, 1997). The reasons behind this change were that siltation of the lower reaches of the Tamsui River led to Dadaocheng Port being unable to berth large ships. In addition, the Japanese government set up most of the public facilities and administrative institutions in Inner City (Chiu, 1989). In this regard, Dadaocheng was still a bustling market, especially for wholesale trade in cloth, groceries and Chinese medicine. Ultimately, compared to Inner City where most Japanese officers and immigrants lived, Dadaocheng gradually came to be regarded as an area of Taiwanese “Islanders” (本島人) (Wu, 1958b). For this distinction, Alsford (2021) describes it as the city (Dadaocheng) within the city (Taipei City). Likewise, the different spatial quality between (Oriental) Dadaocheng and (Western) Inner City was also shown in the travel accounts of Alice Ballantine Kirjassoff, an American Consul’s wife, in 1920.

At length we arrived at Taihoku (Taipei), covering the distance of twenty miles in a little more than an hour. I was amazed at the westernised appearance of the city (Inner City) – the broad streets, the beautiful parks, and the imposing public buildings […] I found more of the quality I had looked for (the picturesqueness of the Orient) in Daitotei (Dadaocheng), the Chinese section of Taihoku; but even Daitotei was unnaturally clean for a Chinese city.

(Kirjassoff, 1920, pp.257-258)

After the 1910s, Dadaocheng gradually became an island-wide commercial settlement, especially with the completion of the railway of

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33 Under the Japanese rule, Chinese communities were called as Islanders (本地人) or Taiwanese, and there Islanders were distinguished from both Japanese Homelanders (內地人) and Taiwanese indigenous peoples (Allen, 2014). In terms of Dadaocheng as an area of Islanders, according to household survey statistics for the population of Dadaocheng in 1919 was 60,813 people lived in there, including 48,729 of Islanders, 6,451 of Homelanders, and 5,543 of foreigners (Chen, 1999, p.43).
Western Trunk Line (縱貫線) in 1908. If the first wave of prosperity in Dadaocheng was driven by both Tamsui as a treaty port and the tea industry, the second wave to make Dadaocheng more prosperous was based on Dadaocheng as the centre of both the tea trade and grocery wholesale, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. With the opening of the north-south railway in Taiwan, after the 1910s, Dadaocheng became an island-wide commercial base of goods transactions, rather than just for northern Taiwan (Yen, 2006).

As such, Dadaocheng involved at least three levels of Taiwan’s commercial markets: 1) local grocery transactions in Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and Inner City; 2) regional hospitality supplies and services for one-day round-trip trading between Hsinchu (新竹) and Taipei; and 3) the Taiwan-wide cloth trading (Su, 2010; Sung, 1993). In short, Dadaocheng had commercial influence not only on Taipei City and northern Taiwan, but also on the whole island of Taiwan in the 1920s and 1930s. Therefore, as Lian Heng (連橫) states (1977[1924], p.425), ‘Dadaocheng is a pivotal place in Taipei, and its business is more prosperous than any other city in Taiwan’ (夫稻江為臺北樞要之地，商務殷盛，冠於全臺).

With the prosperity of business, the spatial character of Dadaocheng became more “modern” and “westernised” in the 1920s and 1930s. In this period, a variety of public schools, police stations, hospitals, restaurants, theatres, bookstores and cafés were created (see Table 6). Due to the emergence of modern consumer and entertainment spaces, combined with the investment in public facilities, Dadaocheng added new urban vitality (Chen, 1999) and became cosmopolitan (Alsford, 2018; Yen, 2006).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Public buildings and streets</th>
<th>Consumer and entertainment spaces</th>
<th>Western-style hospitals spaces</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1895</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Taipingsheng Hospital&lt;sup&gt;34&lt;/sup&gt; (臺北醫院)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Public School (大稻埕公學校)</td>
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<td>1908</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Market (大稻埕市場)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Urban Planning for Dihua Street and Yanping North Road (迪化街與延平北路市區改正)</td>
<td>Chunfeng Deyi Lou (春風得意樓, Taiwanese restaurant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1914</td>
<td>Blessed Imeda’s School (靜修女子中學)</td>
<td>Taiwan New Stage Theatre (臺灣新舞臺)</td>
<td>Daan Hospital (大安醫院)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Second Public School (大稻埕第二公學校)</td>
<td>Dihua Street's urban improvement (迪化街市區改正)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Eirakucho Post Office (永樂町郵便所)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hongji Hospital (宏濟醫院)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1920-1930</td>
<td>Dihua Street's urban improvement (迪化街市區改正)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Kang San Lou (江山樓, Taiwanese restaurant)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>Taiwan Theatre (臺灣奇麗馬館)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Eirakuza Theatre (永樂座)</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>Taipei (Iron) Bridge (台北橋)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Third World Theatre (第三世界館 former Taiwan Theatre)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

<sup>34</sup> Taiwan Hospital, founded in 1895, was the first public hospital in Taiwan under Japanese rule. It was renamed Taipei Hospital and the Taiwan Governor's Taipei Hospital in 1896 and 1897 respectively, and then it was moved to the Inner City of Taipei in 1898. It is now part of National Taiwan University Hospital, as the most important hospital in Taiwan (Fu, 2019, p.255).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Establishment</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>Culture Bookstore 阅读 (文化書局)</td>
<td>Horaikaku (蓬萊閣, Taiwanese restaurant)</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Yatang Bookstore 雅堂書局</td>
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<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td></td>
<td>International Bookstore (國際書局)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Taipei Rehabilitation Institute (臺北更生院)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td></td>
<td>Café Werther (維特咖啡廳)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>The North Police Station (北警察署)</td>
<td>Eirakuacho go-chome Police Substation (永樂町五丁目警察官吏派出所)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Third Fire Brigade (第三消防詰所)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td></td>
<td>Taiping Cinema (太平館)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Boléro (波麗路, Café with Western cuisine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td></td>
<td>Taiwan First Theatre (臺灣第一劇場)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>Taiheicho Market (太平町市場)</td>
<td>The Sansui Pavilion (山水亭, tea house with Taiwanese cuisine)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6. The formation of Dadaocheng’s important urban space during the Japanese colonial period, adapted and summarised from J.- C. Chen (2005); Chen (2020); Fu (2019); Su and Lin (2019); Wen (2017); Xu (2006); Yeh (1993); Yeh (1998).

In terms of the cosmopolitan characteristics in Dadaoehng mentioned above, I would like to stress four important elements, namely street space, food consumption, theatre and mass entertainment, and cultural movements. First, in terms of the change of street space, the Dadaocheng area was included in the scope of Urban Improvement Plan of Taipei (臺
In 1905, the old streets and lanes were incorporated into a grid-shaped road system (L.-S. Huang, 1995).

In 1910, the main street of Dadaocheng was renovated, which opened up the current Dihua Street and Yanping. North Road. Meanwhile, with the opening of the streets, the facades of traditional street houses (街屋) in Dadaocheng also underwent major changes to form so-called *pailoucho* (牌樓厝, archway house). As for the characteristics of historical development and formal expression, the street houses on Dihua Street, for example, can be divided into four types: Minnan (閩南, Hokkien)-style single-story street houses (Figure 21), brick street houses imitating early foreign buildings (Figure 22), street houses with historical decorative styles (Figure 23), and street houses influenced by Modernism (Figure 24) (Chen, 1989; Hsia, 1989).

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35 At the beginning of the colonial period, the Japanese colonial government transitioned to using traditional buildings and towns left over from the Qing Dynasty, and quickly began to improve environmental sanitation and urban planning. The Japanese ruled Taiwan and put the Governor’s Office in Taipei, so Taipei was regarded as an important model of colonial urban transformation. In 1899 and 1901, new urban planning projects were announced, especially in the Inner City where most Japanese lived in; meanwhile, for these projects, the old city walls in Taipei and the old buildings were demolished, and many government offices and public facilities were built. Areas outside the Inner City, such as Mengjia and Dadaocheng, were not included in the urban renewal plan until 1905 (L.-S. Huang, 1995).

36 With the implementation of urban planning projects, new urban spaces such as the grid-shaped road system and circular ring in the West were implanted in Taiwan’s cities and towns. In addition to public buildings, new street houses also appeared due to the opening of roads, and street houses became an important building type in Taipei. Before the mid-1920s, the facades of street houses were mainly Western-style historical styles. After the mid-1920s, the facades of street houses became increasingly simpler and street houses in art deco style began to appear. In the 1930s, they gradually got rid of historical vocabulary and developed towards a direction following the International Style of Modernism (Fu, 2019).
While most Minnan-style single-story street houses and brick street houses imitating early foreign buildings were built in Dadaocheng before 1895, street houses with historical decorative and Modernist styles were introduced into Dadoacheng after the 1900s. According to Li (2019), modernisation equated to Westernisation at that time, street houses decorated with foreign-style elements on their façades became a way for the Japanese regime to promote architectural modernisation, especially in new public buildings. Consequently, with the large-scale improvement of
street houses on Dihua Street after the 1920s, rich merchants on Dihua Street also transformed their houses’ façades with various historical decorations, such as capital ornaments, gable walls, tympanums, and bands. In the 1930s, the international architectural style of modernism, based on the principle of removing decoration and emphasising simplicity, also greatly influenced the transformation of street houses on Dihua Street.

As such, these newly built street houses on Dihua Street after the 1920s, on the one hand, imitated Western-style decorative façades, originally used for official or public buildings in the Inner City. On the other hand, this created many architectural façades with a mixture of Chinese and Western elements. This also meant that this kind of decorative façade could be regarded as a mix of the colonial form and Taiwanese elements: Western gables and arches, traditional Taiwanese clay sculptures, fragmented ceramics or colorful paintings were added. Therefore, for local architects and craftsmen, this creation demonstrated individual design thinking, but also the colonial system (Fu, 2019; Yen, 1990).

Second, in terms of food consumption, Western cuisine and restaurants, as part of the promotion of modernisation and Westernisation, were introduced by the Japanese during the Japanese colonial era. According to Chen (2013), Western cuisine was introduced to Taiwan refers to the introduction of some ingredients and dishes, rather than the formal etiquette and service methods of Western cuisine. However, apart for a few high-end restaurants as social places for the upper class, Western cuisine did not penetrate the daily lives of most Taiwanese people. Until the end of the 1920s, café and tea house\(^\text{37}\) (chichadian, 喫茶店), offering

\(^{37}\) The characteristics of tea houses here include waitress service, guest rooms and Western-style equipment, providing simple Western meals, coffee, black tea, ice cream, and so on. The biggest difference from cafés is that they do not provide alcoholic beverages (Chiang, 2021).
Western drinks, snacks and light meals in a more relaxed and casual atmosphere, became popular venues, especially for urban intellectuals.

As for Dadaocheng in the 1930s, cafés and tea houses were not only new consumer and entertainment spaces, but also public spheres for new cultural and artistic thoughts. Among these new shops, Café Werther (維特), Boléro (波麗路, a cafe with Western cuisine), and the Sansui Pavilion (山水亭, a tea house with Taiwanese cuisine) were the most famous (Chuang, 1991). As the statement in the book Art Movement History of Taiwan during the Japanese Colonial Period, Hsieh Lifa (謝里法) (2015, p.76) defines these spaces as ‘the second home of intellectuals and artists’ that played an integral role in cultural and intellectual development of Taiwan.

Just as the cafés in Montmartre and Montparnasse were the gathering centres of Parisian painters and poets, both Boléro and the Sansui Pavilion in Taipei’s Dadaocheng were once the place for young intellectuals and artists to gather and chat [...] So when everyone talks about School of Paris (École de Paris), we will think of those cafés, such as Dome and Rotonde in Montparnasse. Similarly, as talking about art movements of Taiwan, it is impossible not to mention Boléro and his boss (Liao Shuilai) [...] For those artists and related supports gathering in Boléro, they had always regarded themselves as "cultural classes". When Western culture was imported into Taiwan through Japan, they were the first batch of new cultural people to accept Western culture [...] They were deeply influenced by Western freedom, democracy, and scientific ideas.

(Hsieh, 2015, pp.75-77)

Compared with café and tea houses, jiulou (酒樓, Taiwanese drinking parlour) was another fashionable space that was more popular among the Taiwanese gentry and Dadaocheng merchants during Japanese rule (Wu
and Chen, 1984). After the 1910s, with the development of commerce and the increase of public activities, consumption activities in restaurants became more popular and then Taiwanese drinking parlours proliferated in different cities in Taiwan. At that time, Taiwanese drinking parlours served as a space for banquets, entertainment and social interactions, and they also held professional or community group meetings, art exhibitions, theatrical performances and speeches (Tseng, 2011). For the Japanese colonial period in Dadaocheng, the most famous Taiwanese drinking parlours were Dong Hui Fang (東薈芳, 1884-1927), Chunfeng Deyi Lou (春風得意樓, 1914-1925), Kang San Lau (江山樓, 1921-1949), and Horaikaku (蓬萊閣, 1927-1955) (Chuang, 1991; Wu, 1959).

With the development of drinking parlours, Taiwanese drinking parlours not only played a leading role in the introduction of foreign products, but also produced the new form of Taiwanese cuisine and Yida (藝妲, Taiwanese geisha) culture. According to Chen (2020), the discussion of Taiwanese cuisine, as the main banquet dishes in the Japanese era, became clearer, especially with Kang San Lau in the 1920s, and then it gradually became differentiated from Chinese cuisine (支那料理). At that time, Kang San Lau was the largest banquet restaurant in Taipei City, and even Emperor Showa, Hirohito (裕仁), enjoyed Taiwanese cuisine provided by Kang San Lau as he visited Taiwan in 1923. However, many high-end dishes in the so-called Taiwanese cuisine were actually similar to Chinese cuisine. Further, these Taiwanese dishes were gradually

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38 For example, many eating ethos for Western-style meals, such as beef, bread, wine, and beer, were brought up by drinking parlours. At the same time, many people saw novel and exotic items for the first time in drinking parlours, such as phonographs and telephones (Chiang, 2021).

39 Yida refers to a girl who performed songs, danced or displayed other talents during banquets during the Japanese colonial period (Chen, 1999). In addition, Dadaocheng was the largest gathering place for Taiwanese Yida in Taiwan (Lu, 1953).

40 As Kan Sang Lou became the representative of the Taiwanese restaurant at the time, since December 1927, the director of Kan Sang Lou has successively published a total of twenty-three articles introducing "Taiwanese cuisine" in the Taiwan Daily News, and then sought to emphasise the difference between Taiwanese cuisine and Chinese cuisine: ‘Although Taiwanese cuisine was first introduced from China, under the influence of local
defined after the Japanese colonial rule, to separate Western cuisine, Japanese cuisine, and Chinese cuisine. Consequently, a proverb circulating at that time, ‘Go to Kang San Lau, eat Taiwanese cuisine, and ask Yida to accompany a drink’ (登江山樓、吃臺灣菜、叫藝妲陪酒) (Wu, 1958a, p.90), can demonstrate that well-known Taiwanese drinking parlours had become ideal venues for an exquisite feast.

Third, in terms of theatre and mass entertainment, the commercial environment and urbanisation of Dadaocheng during the Japanese colonial period drove the demand for mass entertainment consumption and the rise of modern theatres. More specifically, the performances of traditional xiqu (戲曲, a general designation of traditional Chinese opera and music) in Taiwan from the Qing Dynasty onwards were mostly related to temple festival activities⁴¹. However, as urban social and economic activities became more active, the rise of commercial theatres gradually became an important venue for urban drama activities (Chiu, 1992). From the introduction of traditional Chinese opera⁴², to the emergence of new Taiwanese opera⁴³, such as Taiwanese opera (gazaixi, 歌仔戲) and modern opera (xinju, 新劇, new-style drama), the rise of urban

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⁴¹ We can use two examples of Dadaocheng’s temple festivals to further demonstrate the relationship between traditional theatrical performances and religious fairs, which come from New Taiwan Daily (臺灣日日新報) in 1899 and 1904 respectively: 1) ‘Dadaocheng celebrated Mazu’s birthday. In addition to the performance of Liyuan opera, seven performers of Yida were invited to sing’ (大稻埕慶祝媽祖聖誕, 除演梨園外, 肆招藝妲七名演唱。)(1899.5.17); 2) ‘Dadaocheng celebrates the birthday of City God with processions and ceremonies every year. Among them, the prosperity of the performances of art pavilion, acrobatics and opera ranks first in Taiwan’ (大稻埕每迎城隍遶境, 是以臺閣雜劇之盛, 推為全臺第一。)(1904.6.26) (cited in Xu, 2006, p.289, 295).

⁴² Mainstream Chinese operatic troupes included the Beijing opera (Jingju, 京劇), Anhui opera (huiju, 黻劇), Kunju opera (kunju, 喬劇), and Liyuan opera (Liyuanxi, 梨園戲).

⁴³ Most of the dramatic forms that appeared in Taiwanese society during the Japanese colonial period had already existed in the Qing Dynasty. The so-called new types of dramas are Taiwanese opera and modern opera (new-style drama), but New-style Drama is basically based on the modern Western theatre styles and cooperation with social movements led by the Taiwan Cultural Association in the 1920s. Therefore, only Taiwanese opera is native to Taiwan (Chiu, 1992).
commercial theaters, especially in the area of Dadaocheng, played an important role in the transformation of Taiwanese performance art and entertainment venues (Xu, 2006).

Arguably, the Japanese period could be regarded as the golden era of opera in Taiwan. Under such movements towards modernisation made by the colonial government, not only did local troupes continued to thrive, but more troupes from China also began to tour Taiwan. Furthermore, commercial theatres started to be built and new performing styles were being adopted. Some visiting troupes even started to apply the Taiwanese language into their performances. All these transformations took place as a product of interaction between colonisation, urbanisation, commercialisation, and localisation during this very specific time.

(Xu, 2013, p.21)

The rise of Dadaocheng’s new well-equipped theatres in the 1920s and 1930s shows the development of mass entertainment in Taipei. From the Taiwan New Stage\(^{44}\) (臺灣新舞台), to the Eirakuza Theatre\(^{45}\) (永樂座), and to European-styled the Taiwan First Theatre\(^{46}\) (臺灣第一劇場), theatres established by wealthy Taiwanese entrepreneurs, created a change in urban entertainment consumption, from Chinese opera, to Taiwanese Opera and modern opera, and eventually to movies. In

\(^{44}\) Taiwan New Stage was founded by Taiwanese merchant Ku Hsienjun (辜顯榮) in 1916. The former of the Taiwan New Stage is Tamsui Opera Theatre (danshui xigua, 淡水戲館). The Tamsui Opera Theatre was funded by the Japanese in 1909, and it was the first professional theatre designed specifically for Chinese operatic performances in Taipei. Then, in 1915, Ku Hsienjun purchased it and renamed it as Taiwan New Stage. Therefore, Taiwan New Stage was regarded as the first theatre founded by the Taiwanese people in Taipei (Xu, 2013).

\(^{45}\) The Eirakuza Theatre was the second theatre in Dadaocheng, and it was mainly funded by Dadaocheng’s rich tea merchants, Chen Tienlai (陳天來) in 1924.

\(^{46}\) The Taiwan First Theatre was built by the Dadaocheng tea giant Chen Tienlai (陳天來) to coincide with The Taiwan Exposition: In Commemoration of the First Forty Years of Colonial Rule (始政四十週年紀念臺灣博覽會) in 1935. In the 1930s, it was the largest and most luxurious theatre built in Taipei (Yeh, 1998)
addition, the scale of these three theatres demonstrates that Dadaocheng served as a significant center of mass entertainment consumption in Taipei during the Japanese colonial era. For example, with 1200 seats, the Eirakuza Theatre, as the second modern theatre in Dadaocheng, was the best opera performance venue in Taipei at that time. In more than thirty years of theater history, the Eirakuza Theatre grew from be the most important operatic performance venue to become a place where both drama and film were combined (Chiu, 2001).

The first half of the 1930s was a period of rapid modernisation in Taiwan, and some representative things of modern civilisation, such as broadcasting, records, and movies, were all booming at that time (Wang, 2008). As part of this trend, it is worth mentioning the rise of popular Taiwanese songs sung in the Taiwanese dialect Hokkien.

Ultimately, Dadaocheng can be regarded as the birthplace of Taiwanese popular songs (Chuang, 1991; Yeh, 2001). Not only were there many record shops and record firms founded by the Taiwanese people in Dadaocheng, such as Popular (博有樂), Wenshang (文聲), Oken (奧稽), and Nitto (日東) (Yeh, 2001), but also many famous music producers in Taiwan’s music history were local people of Dadaocheng or based in Dadaocheng, such as lyricist Chen Chunyu (陳君玉), lyricist Li Linchiu (李臨秋) and composer Teng Yuhsien (鄧雨賢) (Chuang, 1997).

Four, regarding cultural movements, it is related to the establishment of the Taiwan Cultural Association (臺灣文化協會) in Dadaocheng in 1921.

47 The opening play by the Eirakuza Theatre was the Beijing Opera troupe from Shanghai, reflecting the consumer demand for operatic performances in Dadaocheng at that time. After that, Taiwanese opera, modern opera and other Chinese operas were also important performances in the Eirakuza Theatre. With the rise of the Taiwan film industry in the late 1920s, the Eirakuza Theatre also imported Chinese movies from Shanghai (Chiu, 2001).

48 According to a statement by Liu Chieh (劉捷) in 1934: ‘Walking on Yanping North Road, you will be surprised by the number of record shops. In addition, there are more than ten stores that are not record shops, having phonographs and several records’ (Liu, 1994 [1936], p.260).
As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, the political movements, for the establishment of a Taiwan Parliament and the right of legislative power in Taiwan in the late 1910s, led Taiwanese intellectuals to initiate different cultural and social movements for cultural enlightenment and national consciousness (Lien, 1953b; Tsai et al., 1987). Accordingly, the foundation of the Taiwan Cultural Association was an important milestone. Among key leaders of the Association, physician Chiang Weishui (蔣渭水) was a leading figure to promote related initiatives, especially in Dadaocheng. In addition to organising the Taiwan Cultural Association, Chiang Weishui also established Daan Hospital (1916), the Minatocho Culture Lecture (*qangding wenhua jiangzuo, 港町文化講座*) (1921), the general wholesale office of *Taiwan People’s Newspaper*49 (臺灣民報) (1925), Culture Bookstore (1926) in Dadaocheng (Chuang, 1997). Therefore, both Chiang Weishui’s personal career development and the promotion of the Taiwan Cultural Association were closely related to Dadaocheng.

Mainly based in Dadaocheng, the influence of the Taiwan Cultural Association extended to all of Taiwan in the 1920s and 1930s, and affected the rise of national consciousness, the resistance of the youth and student movements, to the effect of ideological enlightenment (Tsai et al., 1987). Meanwhile, the related initiatives driven by the Taiwan Cultural Association also led to the emergence of a variety of associations or institutions in Dadaocheng (Table 7), and these new organisations aimed to introduce Western cultural thoughts and artistic genres (such as painting and drama) and to develop Taiwanese consciousness and new

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49 In 1923, the *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* (previously known as *Taiwan Youth magazine*) was founded in Tokyo, Japan, and it was all published in Chinese. Chiang Weishui was also one of the founders, and the *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* added a branch in Taipei in 1925. In 1927, the *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* moved to Taiwan with the addition of Japanese editions, and it still appeared in the form of a weekly magazine. In 1930, the name was changed to the *New Taiwan People’s Newspaper*, in the form of daily newspaper. It is known as the only speech organisation for Taiwanese in the era of Japanese rule (Tsai et al., 1987).
literary expression. In a word, these cultural and artistic organisations in Dadaocheng, as leading forces, sought to reflect the possibility between new culture and old tradition in a Taiwanese-centred perspective.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Cultural and artistic organisations</th>
<th>Influence and importance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td>Taiwan Cultural Association</td>
<td>As part of peaceful anti-Japanese movements in Taiwan, this was the most significant organisation for promoting Taiwanese consciousness and cultural enlightenment in the Japanese colonial period.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Minatocho Culture Lecture</td>
<td>As part of the activities of the Taiwan Cultural Association, it held a variety of popular academic lectures, including on law, hygiene, education, and the history of Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>The general wholesale office of the Taiwan People’s Newspaper</td>
<td><em>Taiwan People’s Newspaper</em> was the most important platform of speech expression for both Taiwanese intellectuals and writers in the 1920s and 1930s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Foreign Painting Research Institute (<em>Dadaocheng yanghua yanjusuo</em>, 大稻埕洋畫研究所)</td>
<td>The first private organisation for teaching painting and cultivating Taiwan's art talents in Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Taiwan Painting Research Institute (<em>Taiwan huihua yanjusuo</em>, 臺灣繪畫研究所)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

50 Funded by Ni Chianghuai (倪蔣懷), Dadaocheng Foreign Painting Research Institute (*大稻埕洋畫研究所*) was established in Dadaocheng in 1929, and it was one of the first private painting teaching organisations for cultivating Taiwan's art talents. One year later, it was renamed the Taiwan Painting Research Institute. At that time, the first generation of famous Western painters in Taiwan, such as Kinichiro Ishikawa (石川欽一郎), Chen Chihchi (陳植棋), Yang Sanlang (楊三郎), and Lan Yinting (藍蔭鼎), worked as teachers at the institute. Meanwhile, some young Taiwanese art talents, namely Chen Tewang (陳徳旺), Hung Juilin (洪瑞麟), and Chang Wanchuan (張萬傳), were also the students at the institute (Men, 2012). Both Chen Tewang and Hung Juilin are locals of Dadaocheng. After joining the Taiwan Painting Research Institute, they all went to Japan to study Western painting in the 1930s, and then became well-known artists in Taiwan.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Organisation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>Taiwan Literature and Art Association (Taiwan wenyi xiehui, 臺灣文藝協會)</td>
<td>Organised by Taiwanese writers, this was the first literary organisation in Taiwan, with the publication of modern-Chinese (baihuawen, 白話文) magazine Xianfa budui (先發部隊).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>Taiwan Singer Association (Taiwan geren xiehui, 臺灣歌人協會)</td>
<td>The first organisation of singers of Taiwanese popular songs in Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>Taiwan New Japanese Music Research Association (Taiwan xin dongyangyue yanjiuhui, 臺灣新東洋樂研究會)</td>
<td>The first organisation for promoting the improvement of Chinese music in Taiwan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941</td>
<td>Qiwenshe (啟文社)</td>
<td>The organisation for publishing Taiwan Literature (Taiwan wenxue, 臺灣文學), a quarterly magazine of literature and art centered on Taiwanese writers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943</td>
<td>Housheng Drama Research Association (housheng yanju yanjiuhui, 厚生演劇研究會)</td>
<td>The last important troupe of the modern opera movement during the Japanese colonial period, promoting the Taiwanese-centred drama reform.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. List of Dadaocheng's important cultural and artistic organisations during the Japanese colonial period, summarised from Chuang (1997); Men (2012); Shih (2010); Tsai et al. (1987); Yeh (2001); Yeh (2010).

In short, regarding the cosmopolitan characteristics of Dadaocheng under Japanese colonial rule, we could say that while Taipei City was gradually moving towards become a modern city and became Taiwan’s political and economic centre, Dadaocheng was gradually becoming not only ‘a patchwork of diversity’ (Alsford, 2021, p.122), but also ‘islanders’ social, economic and cultural base’ (Chang, 1996, p.49). This is to say that the Japanese colonial rule brought Western modern civilisation to Taiwan in the Japanese perspective. Also, in the 1920s, Taiwanese students studying abroad began to introduce a new level of Western democratic and cultural thoughts. Accordingly, in the process of modernising Taiwan, Taipei was the most important centre. meanwhile, from street space, food
consumption, theatre and mass entertainment, to cultural movement mentioned above, the diversity of Dadaocheng was based on the interaction between modernisation, trading and urbanisation, and between Western, Japanese, Chinese, and Taiwanese cultures.

Compared with the Inner City of Taipei where most Japanese (homelanders) lived, most Taiwanese (islander) gentries, merchants, and intellectuals resided or worked in the area of Dadaocheng. Self-consciousness of the Taiwanese people in Dadaocheng was relatively high, especially with the promotion of the Taiwan Cultural Association and related initiatives in the 1920s and 1930s. In other words, Dadaocheng, as a Taiwanese district, had multiple levels of symbolic meanings for identity construction of the Taiwanese people.

For many in the district, modernity therefore became closely meshed with not only what they traded but also by what that ate, wove, and used. The centrality of this thus rested upon an identity on what it meant to be a Dadaocheng resident.

(Alsford, 2021, p.128)

With the retrocession of Taiwan to Chinese rule of the Republic of China in 1945, this crisis of political regime change made the relationship between Taiwan with China and Japan more complex, especially for a sense of cultural belonging. Between 1945 and 1947, Taiwanese intellectuals criticised the political and economic corruption of the KMT government, and the tensions finally exploded in the February 28 Incident of 1947 (Liao, 2006). In this tragic event and the following long period of

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51 Ikeda Toshio (池田敏雄), a Japanese editor-in-chief of Minsu Taiwan (民俗臺灣), once described that: ‘After passing the level crossing of the North Gate, you have entered Dadaocheng. Unlike the shopping streets in the Inner City where there are so many Japanese people, I had such fun of crossing the border (in Dadaocheng)’ (cited in Chuang, 1991, pp.54-55).

52 ‘The story of that handover is one of the most tragic in the history of the island […] the memories and resentments (of the February 28 Incident) became the central makers of Taiwanese ethnic consciousness, which saw public light again in the post-martial law
the White Terror mentioned earlier, Dadaocheng was just the tipping point of the whole incident. More specifically, a Taiwanese woman, hawking cigarettes, was killed by the KMT police officers in Dadaocheng’s Taiheicho (太平町, now near the intersection of Yanping North Road and Nanjing West Road), leading to many Taiwanese people proceeding to the Governor’s offices. These Taiwanese protesters were burned to death by the police force (Chuang, 2009; Lai, Myers, and Wei, 1991). Therefore, Dadaocheng is an important historical site for the February 28 Incident, which has deeply affected Taiwan’s society to the present day.

Furthermore, as we further explore the historical accounts of Dadaocheng between 1949 and 1980, this research will focus on two aspects, namely, the change in commercial environment and the transformation of the urban structure. By doing this, it aims to demonstrate the relative decline in the old streets of Dadaocheng under urban expansion of Taipei City.

As for the change in the commercial environment, after the Second World War, Dadaocheng was still one of the most prosperous streets in Taipei City and the population of Dadaocheng grew to its peak in 1965. Some wholesale businesses in Dadaocheng still dominated in Taipei City, such as cloth\(53\), dried goods and groceries, and Chinese medicine, yet the prosperity of the tea industry, rice trade and foreign trade\(54\) before the war has gradually lost its leading status in Taipei (Chen, 1989; Hsia, 1989).

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53 From the 1860s, among the items imported to Taiwan, the largest item was opium, followed by cotton cloth. Therefore, a large number of cloth merchants gathered in Dadaocheng in the late Qing Dynasty. After the Japanese colonisation, the Japanese regime began to import a large number of Japanese printed fabrics to Taiwan. Accordingly, many Japanese cloth merchants with strong capital established various wholesale stations for imported fabrics in Dadaocheng, and then sold them to local dealers. Gradually, Dadaocheng became the most important cloth wholesale market in Taiwan. After 1945, the KMT government encouraged the textile industry and the production of domestic fabrics. This also led to Dadaocheng’s cloth wholesale industry becoming more prosperous. By the end of the 1950s, ninety percent of all Taiwanese fabric dealers were in Dadaocheng (Chang and Yeh, 1998).

54 After 1945, there were only two time-honored foreign firms in Dadaocheng, including Tait & Co. (德記洋行) and Boyd & Co. (怡和洋行). With the decline in business, Boyd & Co. and Tait & Co. moved out of Dadaocheng in 1978 and 1979 respectively (Wu and
In the case of Taiwan’s tea trade, from the late Qing Dynasty to the 1910s, it was dominated by oolong tea (烏龍茶); after the 1910s, the output of pouchong tea (包種茶) overtook oolong tea. Ultimately, before the 1920s, the manufacture and export of these teas were mostly controlled by the merchants in Dadaocheng (Li, 1953). However, around the end of the 1910s, the Governor’s Office began to encourage Japanese businessmen to operate large industrial tea gardens and factories, and black tea was the main item of production (Yanaihara, 2004). From the 1930s, black tea production increased and surpassed oolong tea in Taiwan; while tea production and trade was controlled by large Japanese companies, such as the Japan Mitsui Norin Company (日本三井合名會社). This finally led to the original tea production and marketing system in Dadaocheng gradually disintegrating (Li, 1953).

With the transformation of the industrial structure in Taiwan and the gradual decline of the business environment in Dadaocheng, the successful capitalists in Dadaocheng have also invested their capital in other emerging industries after the 1960s, including textiles, food processing, and chemical and financial industries. Among these investments for Dadaocheng entrepreneurs, the textile industry was the most prominent (Chen, 1989; Hsia, 1989). In the second half of the twentieth century, the important entrepreneurs in Dadaocheng successively created enterprise groups with national and international reputations in Taiwan, such as the Shin Kong Group (新光集團) of Wu Huoshih (吳火獅), the Uni-President Enterprises Corporation (統一企業) of Wu Hsiuchi (吳修齊), Namchow Group (南僑集團) of Chen Chichih (陳其志), I-Mei Foods (義美食品) of Kao Tengchiao (高騰蛟), the Lianhwa

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Chen, 1984).

During the 1950s, the central government mainly promoted the development of the textile and plastic industries. By the 1960s, Taiwan started to focus on the policy of exporting, and certain important export processing zones were built, especially for the production of technological products. Then, after the 1980s, the central government vigorously encouraged domestic and foreign manufacturers to invest in high-tech industries, such as integrated circuits and computers (Maguire, 1998).
Foods Corporation of Li Kuoheng (李國衡), and the Taiwan Pineapple Corporation of Hsieh Chengyuan (謝成源) (Wu and Chen, 1984).

In addition to the change in the industrial structure, the urban expansion of Taipei City has also accelerated the marginalisation and decline of the old district of Dadaocheng. First, as Taipei was designated as a special municipality in 1967, Taipei City expanded greatly by annexing the six townships surrounding Taipei in 1968, containing Neihu (內湖), Shilin (士林), Beitou (北投), Nangang (南港), Jingmei (景美), and Muzha (木柵) (Selya, 1995). Accordingly, the Taipei City Government gradually shifted its development focus from the old urban area in the west to the east of the city, which also inhibited the development of the old urban area (Tsai, 1996). Second, with the rise of new shopping areas, Dadaocheng was no longer the consumer and entertainment centre of Taipei City, especially with the rise of Zhonghua Shopping Mall (中華商場) in the 1960s, Ximending Shopping District (西門町商圈) in the 1970s, and the East District (東區) in the 1980s. In other words, in addition to the wholesale industry, Dadaocheng became a declining old market (Chang and Yeh, 1998).

Based on the above historical review, Dadaocheng is representative of the development of Taipei's modern economic, political and cultural history since the 1850s. As shown in Table 8, it used to be a port for connecting Taiwan to the global market, a starting point for receiving Western modernity, a base for anti-colonial movements, a space for mass entertainment and cultural production, and a center of wholesale business.

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56 The old urban area in the west includes Taipei’s earliest three settlements: Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and Chengzhong District (城中區, Inner City).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Historical contexts</th>
<th>District characteristics</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851-1870</td>
<td>The establishment of new streets: <strong>a new base for trade with mainland China</strong></td>
<td>Dadaocheng as a Han Chinese settlement area dominated by the Tongan people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-1895</td>
<td>The transformation of a port-cum-market town: <strong>a modern treaty port and tea market</strong></td>
<td>Dadaocheng as the collection, processing and trade centre of Taiwan’s tea for the global market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1895-1930  | “Industrial Japan and agricultural Taiwan”: **colony’s agricultural and industrial products exchange centre** | 1) Dadaocheng as the commodity exchange centre in northern Taiwan  
2) Dadaocheng as the socio-cultural centre of the Taiwanese people  
3) Dadaocheng as a base for anti-colonial movements and cultural enlightenment |
| 1930-1945  | “Industrial Taiwan and agricultural Southeast Asia”: **a regional commercial centre under military and economic control** | 1) Dadaocheng as a regional business centre, gradually losing its dominance in the competitive trade products of tea and rice.  
2) Dadaocheng as a popular area for mass entertainment consumption |
| 1945-1965  | Post-war industrial patterns and urban structure transformation: **a place with the needs of continuous development for local family-owned businesses** | 1) Dadaocheng as a relatively prosperous business district in Taipei City  
2) Capitalists in Dadaocheng sought investment in emerging industries |
| 1965-1980  | Rapid urban expansion of Taipei City: **a declining urban district in the newly industrialised society** | 1) Dadaocheng as a wholesale center for a few specific products  
2) Dadaocheng as a district for inquiring about the possibility of further development |

However, in the 1970s, Dadaocheng also faced the problems of historic preservation and urban redevelopment. While some preservation-led groups regarded something remaining on the streets as heritage, representing wealth, power, modernity, and progress for the development history of Dadaocheng, some local residents proposed that the deteriorating environmental conditions symbolised depression, powerlessness, pre-modernity, and backwardness (Yen, 2006). Therefore, for the next section, I will further make an overview of the historical context of the relationship between urban preservation in Taipei City and urban regeneration in Dadaocheng after the 1970s. This introduction could help us understand the heritagisation of the historic environment of Dadaocheng, but also the intervention of urban policies in the place making of Dadaocheng.

3.3 Urban preservation of Taipei City and urban regeneration in Dadaocheng between 1970 and 2000

The rise of the historic preservation consciousness in Taiwan seems to be rooted in the historic monument (guji 古蹟) preservation movements or the traditional architectural preservation movements in the 1970s (Hsia, 1998). Taiwan’s economic development and industrialisation in the 1970s

57 In 1980, historian Lin Hengtao (林衡道) made a field record about the historical relics of Dadaocheng, and part of his text explains the tensions between the nostalgia for the historical prosperity of Dadaocheng and the worry about the proposed redevelopment of Dadaocheng by the 1980s: 'In 1885, Liu Mingchuan designated the north and south of Zhengzhou Street (鄭州街) as the residence of foreign merchants. Since this establishment, consulates and foreign firms have been lined up, and the commercial prosperity was the highest in Taiwan at that time. So far, there are almost no original architectural buildings of foreign firms in the Qing Dynasty, and we could only see luxurious buildings of the wholesaler shops, built in the early stage of Japanese rule, are scattered on both sides of the Dihua Street section, which are enough to make people tribute. It is reported that the road will be widened here and the old houses will be demolished. In addition, for Huanhe North Street (環河北路), Guisui Street (歸绥街), Liangzhou Street (涼州街), Minsheng Road (民生路), Minsheng West Road (民生西路), we could also see some remaining old Western architectural buildings, which all have a history of more than sixty years. By these historical relics, we have the opportunity to test the prosperous commercial scale of Dadaocheng in the past' (Lin, 1981, p.18).
were accompanied by urbanisation and modernisation, resulting in the emergence of the conflicts between urban development and historic preservation. This means that the threat and destruction to the traditional landscape and the built environment had made intellectuals and cultural workers to promote the importance of the preservation of historic sites (Huang, 2017).

For the consciousness of urban heritage preservation, one of the important turning points for both Taipei City and Taiwan was the widening of Dunhua South Road (敦化南路) in Taipei City in 1977, which triggered debate over whether it should be destroyed or preserved for the Lin Antai Ancient House (林安泰古厝). This incident also led to extensive discussions between modernism for urban development and nativism (xiangtu zhuyi, 鄉土主義) for heritage preservation (Lin, 2005). After years of efforts by the participants of the historic monument movements, Taiwan

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58 In the 1970s, the preservation movements of historic sites or monuments in Taiwan began to increase, such as the preservation of Lin Benyuan Gardens (林本源園邸) in Banqiao City (板橋市), Taipei County (臺北縣, now New Taipei City) from 1967 to 1986, the preservation of Confucian Temples (孔廟) in Changhua City (彰化市) from 1970 to 1975, the preservation of old street settlements in Lukang Township (鹿港鎮), Changhua County (彰化縣) from 1975 to 1995, the preservation of the North Gate (北門) in Taipei City in 1975, the preservation of the Lin Antai Ancient House (林安泰古厝) in Taipei City from 1977 to 1978, and the preservation of Dihua Street in Dadaocheng from 1978 to 2000 (Huang, 2017).

59 The Lin Antai Ancient House was dismantled in 1978 and rebuilt on a corner of Dajia Riverside Park (大佳河濱公園) in 1984. The Lin Antai incident is the first case of the conflict between cultural preservation and urban planning in Taiwan after the war, and it is also the first relocation of a historical building in Taiwan (H.-C. Lin, 2011).

60 The 1970s was one of the most turbulent times for Taiwan's political and cultural development, especially with the rise of the nativist literature movement (鄉土文學運動), and then people began to think about the connotation and direction of Taiwan's culture. This trend of reflecting on returning to the native characteristics of Taiwan, on the one hand, resulted from the drastic changes in the political environment, including the Republic of China withdrawing from the United Nations, the severance of diplomatic relations between Taiwan and Japan, and between Taiwan and the United States, and the death of President Chiang Chiehshih. On the other hand, after the KMT Government moved to Taiwan, most political measures were oriented to “restoring the mainland of China” (光復大陸), which runs counter to the wishes of the local people who focus on local construction with Taiwan as the centre. Therefore, from the 1970s to the 1980s, the government gradually adopted various measures of Taiwanisation. This means that while the political environment was moving in a more liberal and democratic direction, cultural and artistic initiatives aimed to actively promote the native characteristics of Taiwan (Yeh, 2010).
established heritage preservation systems and related institutions, including the Council for Cultural Affairs (文化建設委員會) in 1981, and the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化資產保存法) in 1982 (Li, 2008).

When it came to the urban planning context of Taipei City in the 1970s, both new town development and urban renewal for old districts were core issues, especially the problems about residential renovation and the large number of illegal buildings in Taipei after the war (Kang, 2014). In this regard, in addition to actively building arterial roads and various public facilities in new urban areas, the Taipei City Government has also begun to promote urban renewal in the old urban districts in the western part of Taipei City, where they had a long history and high population density. The first urban planning project to promote the renewal of the old districts was “Wanda Plan” (萬大計畫) in 1972 and 1973.

The areas of Wanhua (萬華, former Mengjia) and Dalongdong (大龍峒, next to Dadaocheng) were the targets of the “Wanda Plan” which set out to build new arterial roads and lanes, demolish illegal buildings and widen roads, and construct public housing (Kao and Lin, 2014). In a word, to revitalise the built environment in the 1970s, some old urban districts in Taipei City experienced a complete renewal or "leveling urban renewal" (夷平式都更) (Kang, 2014, p.33), which focused on new transportation networks and residential facilities, and ignored the historical urban fabric (Figure 25).
Furthermore, in the context of the continuous expansion of the Taipei metropolitan area, the transportation links between the urban area and surrounding towns have also become an important issue for municipal construction. Take Dadaocheng for example, since the 1970s, the roads around Dadaocheng have been continuously redeveloped, such as the road widening of Zhongxiao West Road (忠孝西路) in 1970, the renovation of Xining North Road (西寧北路) in 1977 and Guisui Street (歸绥街) in 1978, and the road widening of Huanhe North Road (環河北路), and so on. So far, most of the old buildings previously belonging to foreign firms near the Tamsui River have been demolished and converted into high-rise buildings (Hsia, 1989). Ultimately, in 1977, the Taipei City Government announced a new urban planning project, in which Dihua Street, the main street in Dadaocheng, would be expanded from a width of about seven metres to twenty metres. This also opened up subsequent conflicts between urban heritage preservation and urban renewal in the 1980s (Yen, 2006).

Figure 25. The North Gate scene in the 1980s. The North Gate was the gate connecting Dadaocheng and the Inner City in the late Qing Dynasty. Behind the North Gate is the Dadaocheng area, where an increasing number high-rise buildings replaced the historical buildings. Source: Kao and Lin (2014, p.159).
As urban heritage preservation gradually became a public issue because of the rapid urbanisation and industrialisation in the 1970s and 1980s (Hsia, 1998), historic preservation, as a new form of urban renewal for the historic environment in Taipei City, has gradually emerged in the late 1980s and 1990s (Selya, 1995). For this new approach of urban renewal, this research would like to define this new approach as urban regeneration or heritage-led urban regeneration. This is because while urban renewal aims at fostering brand new development for urban decay, urban regeneration\(^{61}\) refers to a more comprehensive and integrated viewpoint to solve multi-faceted problems in urban areas, from the physical environment to the economic, social, and cultural conditions (Marra et al., 2016).

The Taipei City Government has utilised the interventions in urban planning and urban design to provide a framework for urban regeneration of the historic environment since the 1990s. This means that this approach to urban heritage preservation does not rely solely on the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act and the designated registration of historic monuments, and also provides urban design guidelines (都市設計準則) for historic districts\(^{62}\); meanwhile, related practices of urban regeneration will be regulated by the Urban Planning Commission (都市計畫委員會) and the Urban Design Review Commission (都市設計審議委員會). Therefore, the three earliest areas of the historic environment in

\(^{61}\) On March 3, 2004, the Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government adjusted the organisation and established the first urban regeneration agency in Taiwan: the Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office. The purpose of this new institution was to redevelop areas of urban decline through a more comprehensive approach, and the English term urban regeneration, rather than urban renewal, was used in the name of this office.

\(^{62}\) The Department of Urban Development completed a survey of old streets in Taipei City in 1997, and identified thirteen historic districts waiting for preservation and regeneration. Then in 1999, the Department issued the report on the Research of Urban Design Criteria for Historic Buildings in Taipei City (臺北市歷史建築物都市設計準則之研擬), and 930 buildings were identified as having historical and cultural values. Subsequently, the Taipei City Government completed the draft of the "Autonomous Regulations on the Development of Historic Districts and Historic Buildings in Taipei City" (臺北市歷史街區暨歷史性建築物發展自治條例) in 2001 (Lin, 2009).
Taipei City, namely Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and the Inner City, were included in the planning of historic districts in the 1990s (Lin, 2009).

The Dadaocheng area could be regarded as the beginning of policy implementation of heritage-led urban regeneration in Taipei City (Hsu, 2014); moreover, Dadaocheng is the first case in Taiwan to use urban planning to preserve an entire district, as well as to use the practices of both Transfer of Development Rights\textsuperscript{63} (容積轉移) and urban design review for urban preservation (Lin, 2008, 2009). In other words, before the case of Dadaocheng, the focus of attention for historic preservation movements in Taipei City were related to single historic monument, such as the preservation of the North Gate in 1975, and the Lin Antai Ancient House from 1977 to 1978.

Urban regeneration of Dadaocheng was triggered by the preservation movement of Dihua Street in the late 1970s; and, from privately proposing to protect a single street area of Dihua Street to officially promoting to preserve the whole area of Dadaocheng, long-term disputes have been presented for more than twenty years, as summarised in Table 9. It is not only related to the changes in government’s development strategy, from the road widening to the preservation of the whole-area, but it is also associated with different development ideas and visions of various local communities.

\textsuperscript{63} Transfer of Development Rights aims to limit the ratio of the total building volume to the area of the building base, so as to control the intensity of land use and ensure the overall quality of the living environment. Therefore, Transfer of Development Rights allows part or all of the buildable volume of one parcel of land to be transferred to another parcel of buildable land for construction use (Lin, 2008).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Event overview</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government announced the &quot;Plan of Changing the Width of Dihua Street&quot; (變更迪化街計畫寬度案), requiring Dihua Street to be widened to 20 metres, and the shops on both sides of the street will be demolished, causing controversy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government launched a study on a specific dedicated area on Dihua Street.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>The Urban Planning Commission, Taipei City Government recommended that Dihua Street could be designated as a special dedicated area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government's land expropriation on Dihua Street for building public facilities caused a backlash from local residents, and the demolition of street houses on Dihua Street was suspended with the support from the Leshan Cultural and Educational Foundation (樂山文教基金會) and urban preservation experts. Subsequently, these experts and local communities co-organised a preservation alliance for Dihua Street.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td>Residents of Dihua Street organised the Dihua Street Prosperity Promotion Association (迪化街繁榮促進會) to request that Dihua Street should be widened and the west side converted into a commercial area. Meanwhile, local communities organised the Dadaocheng Redevelopment Promotion Committee (大稻埕再發展推動委員會) to strongly oppose the road widening in the name of heritage preservation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>The Department of Civil Affairs, Taipei City Government designated seventy-seven street houses on Dihua Street as historic buildings (歷史性建築物) due to the characteristics of the building façade.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
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<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government decided to adopt the strategy of “urban redevelopment” (都市再發展), rather than that of monument preservation; meanwhile, the planning scope covered the entire Dadaocheng, rather than just Dihua Street. The so-called strategy of “urban redevelopment” aims to improve public facilities and revitalise the economic development of the old district.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government announced the width of Dihua Street would remain unchanged. At the same time, the Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government organised two planning teams to enter the Dadaocheng area and co-work with local residents to find a consensus on the future development of Dadaocheng. The first planning team was the Dihua Street Studio (迪化街工作室), mainly managed by three urban planners from the Department of Urban Development. The second one was the Dadaocheng Studio (大稻埕工作室), composed of graduate students from the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning, National Taiwan University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Supported by the Taipei City Government, the Dihua Street Studio persuaded local businesses on Dihua Street to organise the “Lunar New Year Festival” (nianhuo dajie, 年貨大街) under the premise of revitalising the local economic development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>The Taipei City Government announced the Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone, with the practice of Transfer of Development Rights.</td>
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In terms of different development approaches and visions for Dihua Street, according to Yen (2006), it is concerned with at least three kinds of interest groups, including government departments, the preservation alliance, and development-oriented communities. From the perspective of
the preservation alliance, the architectural form and traditional activities of Dihua Street are seen to represent the history of Taipei City, and this is an irreplaceable historic district. In a sense, Dihua Street is deemed to be a public good in Taipei, and the landlord’s ownership must be limited. In contrast, for development-oriented communities, mainly composed of local landlords, the existing street scale is not suitable for the development of the wholesale industry; meanwhile, the so-called historic monuments defined by experts and scholars are old and dangerous houses, which are not suitable for people to live in. Ultimately, as Dihua Street is protected as a historic district, the landlords will lose their own rights to the development of personal buildings.

As for the development attitude of government departments in the area of Dihua Street, the year of 1994 was an important turning point for the Taipei City Government to actively preserve Dihua Street. In 1994, Taipei City held the first mayoral election. As a result, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) defeated the Kuomintang which has ruled the Taipei City Government for a long time. In order to establish the legitimacy of the new government rule, the DDP began to re-construct the regime of "memory reproduction" (記憶再現), leading to the emphasis on cultural governance, especially in terms of historic preservation and the re-use of historical resources (Wang, 2003b). Accordingly, under this new political era, preserving historic monuments has become the key points of urban governance, and Dihua Street, which has a national reputation, becomes a key indicator of the implementation of the urban historic preservation policy. Therefore, since 1995, the Taipei City Government has gradually adopted the approach of heritage-led urban regeneration in the Dadaocheng area, with a culture-led development strategies for the physical, economic, and social environmental conditions.
3.4 Concluding remarks on historical accounts of Dadaocheng in the contexts of both Taiwan and Taipei City before the 2000s

This chapter has demonstrated the historical contexts of both Taiwan and Taipei City before the 2000s, and outlined the emergence and changes of Dadaocheng at the regional and national level of historical background. This exploration has led to some remarkable characteristics of Dadaocheng in the specific period, namely Dadaocheng as a trade centre of Taiwan’s tea production at the end of the nineteenth century, Dadaocheng as a leading base of cultural and democratic movements of the Taiwanese people in the 1920s and 1930s, and Dadaocheng as a national focus of urban preservation between 1980 and 2000.

Dadaocheng is an area with the overlap of multiple modernities. Take the three characteristics of Dadaocheng mentioned above as an example: at the end of the nineteenth century, the Qing government set up various modern urban facilities in Dadaocheng, such as railway stations, railways, Western schools, telegraph systems, and so on. At the same time, they encouraged local businessmen to build Western buildings for rent to foreigners. During the Japanese colonial period, while exporting tea and local products, Dadaocheng also imported modern Western urban culture from abroad. The houses standing on both sides of Dihua Street were deeply influenced by Western architectural forms. Western elite culture, such as painting and drama, were also introduced here. Meanwhile, it was also a crucial base for anti-Japanese intellectuals. Some Taiwanese intellectuals at that time established the Taiwan Cultural Association to promote democratic thoughts, Taiwanese consciousness and cultural enlightenment. Corresponding to the rise of this kind of cultural movement, new forms of urban consumption space, such as European-style theatres and cafés, have also emerged in Dadaocheng in the 1920s and 1930s.
Between the 1970s and 2000s, policy for urban renewal and preservation of Dadaocheng was related to the change in urban planning strategy. From widening the road, to achieving a comprehensive renewal of old streets, to maintaining the existing urban texture and advocating the preservation of the whole district, Dadaocheng was finally designated as a historic special-use zone in 2000, under the urban planning framework of functional zoning control. Therefore, from 1851 to 2000, we could say that the historical development of Dadaocheng has overlapped with at least three levels of modernity, according to Hsu (2014), namely it was a modern port-cum-market town, colonial modern governance and development, and functional zoning control of modern urban planning.

Dadaocheng, as a heritage place, is a historical reality. It is not only related to the previous heritagisation of the historic environment that was driven by the policy implementation and preservation movements, but also ongoing heritage uses in and for Dadaocheng practiced by different government departments, non-governmental organisations, or individuals. By demonstrating the historical context of Dadaocheng, this chapter aims to, firstly, provide a basis to explore the first main research question of this research: How is the heritagisation of the urban historic environment connected to the history of a city? And what kinds of urban heritage and uniqueness of place have been promoted?

Secondly, the historical accounts in this chapter will pave the way for investigating the core concern of this research about the relationship between cultural imagination, urban regeneration, and the historic environment. This is because as history is regarded as 'the raw facts of the past' (Aitchison, MacLeod, and Shaw, 2000, p. 96), ‘heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride, romantic ideas or just plain marketing into a commodity’ (Schouten, 1995, p.21). More specifically, Dadaocheng, as a heritage place, is concerned with both the historical process of Dadaocheng and the processed history for
heritage use in Dadaocheng. For the latter, its construction process and related output is crucial for this research to further realise the context and content of individual cultural imagination with urban heritage. Ultimately, according to Lowenthal (1998), the complex relationship between history and heritage, in which both are dependent but different in nature, lead to the possibility of imagination operation for the “historic” quality of a place between historical facts and heritage faith.

Testable truth is history’s chief hallmark [...] Heritage is not like this at all. It is not a testable or even a reasonably plausible account of some past, but a declaration of faith in the past. Critics castigate heritage as a travesty of history. But heritage is not history, even when it mimics history. It uses historical traces and tells historical tales, but these tales and traces are stitched into fables that open neither to critical analysis nor to comparative scrutiny [...] Celebrating some bits and forgetting others, heritage shapes an embraceable past [...] Heritage departs from history in what it sees, what it stresses, and what it changes [...] history is the bedrock of communal heritage; heritage zeal draws attention to history and nurtures its sources [...] history and heritage both offer astounding leaps into realms that now exist thanks only to imagination.

(Lowenthal, 1998, pp.120-121, 162, 167, 170-171)

Therefore, in the following chapter, I will demonstrate the development of Dadaocheng after the 2000s, especially in the policy context and related political agenda. This will allow us to further understand both the historical process of Dadaocheng and the processed history for heritage use in Dadaocheng. Meanwhile, it will also help this research analyse individual heritage use and urban imaginaries in and for Dadaocheng.
Chapter 4. The political agenda of urban cultural governance in Taipei City and the heritage-led urban regeneration of Dadaocheng after the 2000s

In 1999, the Taipei City Government established the Department of Cultural Affairs, as the first agency responsible for cultural affairs in local government in Taiwan. Facing the new era of the twenty-first century, culture has become one of a key word in making Taipei City an international city. According to Lung Yingtai (龍應台)(2002), the first Director of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, local culture (bentu wenhua 本土文化) is not only the means and ends of urban development, but also an important factor in becoming a great and international city. In other words, localisation and internationalisation became the core goals of Taipei City’s urban cultural policy at the beginning of the twenty-first century.

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64 Chieh (2006) has proposed that with the first party rotation in Taiwan's history in 2000 (since the DPP candidate Chen Shuibian, who is also the former mayor of Taipei City between 1994 and 1998, won a stunning victory in the president election), globalisation, democratisation, and localisation have become the main axes of national development. In this regard, the quest to build subjectivity in Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese identity through cultural elements has been one of the main concerns in the making of national cultural policy.

65 Another important point for promoting Taipei City as an international city, yet not the focus of this research, is that, over the past two decades, Taipei has hosted a variety of international cultural events, such as the 2009 Summer Deaflympics, the 2010 Taipei International Flora Exposition, the 2011 International Design Association Congress Taipei and the 2016 World Design Capital, to develop its international visibility and city competitiveness.

66 The term urban cultural policy is here not limited to the related initiatives promoted by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government. Rather, it refers to those initiatives regarding culture as a tool or resource to address a broad array of urban issues and to shape contemporary urban development. In this regard, diverse manifestations of urban cultural policy range from community engagement, urban branding and urban regeneration, to job creation and talent attraction. Ultimately, the concerns of urban cultural policy are related not only to cultural agendas, but also to urban economic revitalisation objectives (Grodach and Silver, 2013). Therefore, in the context of this research, urban cultural policy contains related policies from different departments, such as cultural affairs, economic development, tourism, urban development, or urban regeneration.
At the end of the twentieth century, Taipei seemed to be an international city [...] But is Taipei an international city? I don’t think it is [...] Taipei’s internationalisation is just a collage of appearances [...] So, how can it be a real cosmopolitan city? The cities of London, Paris, and Rome clearly tell us: no international city is not rooted in its own local culture [...] The beginning of internationalisation lies in the deep cultivation of local culture.

(Lung, 2002, pp.34-36)

Culture as an important facilitator of urban governance implies that the strategic role of culture is more closely related to urban development. More specifically, in the pursuit of local uniqueness for regional competition under globalisation, culture has become an important element in the shaping of local imagery and regional identity, and it is also related to the commercialisation of local culture (Wang, 2011).

Since the mid-1990s, especially after the establishment of the Department of Cultural Affairs, various announcements and actions in the name of "culture" have spread throughout Taipei City. Paradoxically, in Taiwan, culture is still not the core of the official development blueprint unlike the fields of transportation, industry, and energy; in contrast, it is mostly complementary, visionary measures, and even decorative rhetoric. However, due to the legitimacy of promoting local culture and place uniqueness, culture-led development issues have become popular for urban governance in the major cities in Taiwan (Wang, 2019).

Urban culture-related policies involve government, market and citizens, and the practice of urban cultural policies will at least involve cultural

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67 Taking Taiwan’s government budget expenditures between 2007 and 2016 as an example, while the ratio of the central government cultural expenditure budget to the total central government budget is between 1.27% and 1.64%, the ratio of local government cultural expenditure budget to total local government budget is between 1.62% and 3.06% (Ministry of Culture, 2018b, p.32).
administration, cultural economy and cultural participation (Liao, 2016). Defining the political agenda as ‘the set of issues that are the subject of decision making and debate within a given political system at any one time’ (Baumgaryner, 2015, p.362), a further question we will ask in this chapter is about the political agenda of urban cultural governance in Taipei City after the 2000s, especially in the case of heritage-led urban regeneration of Dadaocheng. This exploration will help this research connect the relationship between urban cultural governance of Taipei City, individual heritage use, and the construction of urban imaginaries in Dadaocheng. Therefore, the following contents will demonstrate both the rhetoric of policy initiatives in Dadaocheng and official writing about the city of Dadaocheng in *Taipei Pictorial*, to further reveal the significant issues in official urban regeneration initiatives.

### 4.1 The rhetoric of policy initiatives in Dadaocheng

With the Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone in 2000, Dadaocheng became the first successful case of a government introducing urban laws to conduct large-scale urban preservation in Taiwan. Regardless of the technical preservation mechanism with regulations of building capacity and Transfer of Development Rights, this assignment has led to the following series of policy initiatives in this area. These policy activities of heritage-led urban regeneration are concerned with four dimensions promoted by different departments in the Taipei City Government, namely, heritage preservation, commercial development, cultural affairs, and cultural tourism.

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68 Taking the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government as an example, this is composed of several major executive units, including: 1) the Cultural & Creative Development Division (for the promotion of cultural exchanges and cultural industries); 2) the Cultural Heritage Division (for the maintenance of historical sites and historical buildings); 3) the Arts Development Division (for the management of overseas events, performances, audiovisual events, the visual arts, cultural activities, cultural centres and museums); 4) the Cultural Resources Division (for the development of cultural facilities, public art and community activities); and 5) the Cultural Facilities Division (for the construction and maintenance of cultural facilities).
Initiating urban cultural governance has been one of Taipei City’s main strategies to respond to its general concern with global competitiveness, local political changes, and urban problems, which include urban decay and the decline of traditional industries (Wang, 2003b). Along these lines, the heritage making and the reuse of historical space have been crucial components showing the role of culture in urban governance alongside the national and international discourses of the cultural and creative industries.

Looking at the manifesto launching the plan for preserving Dadaocheng below, we find the historic district was regarded as the means and ends of urban development. This approach may be related to the culture-led place making of urban governance which uses historical resources, especially at the end of the twentieth century in Taipei City, and even in the rest of Taiwan.

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69 Regarding the reuse of historical space in Taipei City, this issue was mainly inspired and influenced by two forces: 1) the civic movements for protecting cultural heritage, particularly in the area of Dadaocheng in 1990; and 2) with the emphasis on democratisation, in 1995 the Taipei City Government proposed the idea of releasing the political buildings for public use to end the buildings’ longstanding reputation as a structural symbol of martial law from 1949 to 1987. While the former emphasised the importance of historical memory and public participation, the latter involved the declaration of democracy (H.- C. Chen, 2005).

70 In 1995, The Council of Cultural Affairs (the predecessor of the Ministry of Culture) proposed the concept of “Culture Industrialisation; Industries Culturalisation” (文化產業化；產業文化化), leading to the connection between local features and cultural industries. Subsequently, the discourse of the creative industries has been promoted by the UK government since 1997, and the Taiwanese government adopted the term “the cultural and creative industries” to respond to the trends in the cultural economy. With the development of the cultural and creative industries, three policy documents were published, namely, Challenge 2008: National Development Plan (2002-2007) by the Executive Yuan in 2002, the Culture White Paper by the Council for Cultural Affairs in 2004, and Creative Taiwan: The Cultural and Creative Industries Development Action Plan by the Council for Cultural Affairs in 2009. Consequently, in 2010, the Cultural and Creative Industries Development Law was promulgated.
The preservation of the historic district of Dihua Street will benefit both Taipei City as an international city and the historical memory of all citizens. Meanwhile, it could provide resources and opportunities for local redevelopment.

(Taipei City Government, 2000, p.7)

In the case of Dadaocheng, the related activities of policy implementation of heritage-led urban regeneration started to be promoted after Dadaocheng was designated an official historic district. In terms of policy implementation, the first decade of the millennium can be regarded as an adjustment period for heritage preservation with the restoration of the architectural environment and the execution of an urban building capacity transfer of historical buildings. This also led to the subsequent demands for the adaptive reuse of heritage buildings.

In the past decade, a variety of projects in the name of urban regeneration or cultural renaissance have been taking place to promote the historic quality of Dadaocheng, whether tangible and/or intangible. From historic preservation to various cases of heritage use, urban heritage-led policies in Dadaocheng relate to both heritage use and urban development. Meanwhile, it is a gradual process to see historical legacies as sociocultural and economic resources. In other words, these policies are concerned with interpretations of both heritage value and place value for different dimensions of development.

In terms of policy rhetoric, we can further explore the relations between heritage use and place value. According to Table 10, while the main task for the Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone in 2000 was to preserve a historical streetscape, the Dadaocheng Old Townscape Redevelopment Plan between 2007 and 2009 sought to deal with regeneration issues of both the old townscape and traditional industry, to make Dadaocheng first, a “living” historic district, and then a tourist destination. Accordingly, the former regarded a historic district as a
valuable resource for urban competitiveness and memory while the latter emphasised how historical legacies help promote local identity and tourism.

In addition to combining the Tamsui River route, the local characteristic industries, and cultural and historical resources, Dadaocheng Old Townscape Redevelopment also intends to introduce new activities and communities to make Dadaocheng a new tourist centre.

(Cheng and Hu, 2007, p.10)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Policy initiative</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Main policy rhetoric</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Urban Development</td>
<td>Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone</td>
<td>2000-</td>
<td>‘The preservation of the historic district of Dihua Street benefits both Taipei City as an international city and the historical memory of all the citizens. Meanwhile, it could provide resources and opportunities for local redevelopment’ (Taipei City Government, 2000, p.7).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Old Townscape Redevelopment Plan</td>
<td>2007-2009</td>
<td>‘The tool of urban planning has gradually been preserving the architectural styles of the district, yet it is impossible to reproduce the social ecology of the past. To reproduce the old townscape, a task of top priority is to regenerate local traditional industries and strengthen the place-identity of the local residents. Therefore, the aim of this plan is to make Dadaocheng a “living” old city in terms of the regeneration of traditional industries and new energy, then a tourist attraction’ (Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, 2007, p.1).</td>
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<td>Department</td>
<td>Policy initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Department of Cultural Affairs</td>
<td>Dadaocheng Theatre</td>
<td>2009-</td>
<td>‘The theatre aims to promote traditional performing arts in Dadaocheng where it was once called “xiku” (戲窟) as a cradle of traditional drama’72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Cultural Affairs</td>
<td>The Plan of Taipei Cultural and Creative Clusters</td>
<td>2012-2015</td>
<td>‘The purpose of the cultural and creative cluster is to let more people know where they grew up, and then find their own life value and life style [...] It seeks to promote that each store could become a small museum, allowing aesthetics to naturally blend into the street [...] attracting different kinds of creative people to enter these clusters (Chen, 2012, p.102)’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Taipei City Office of Commerce</td>
<td>Taipei Lunar New Year Festival</td>
<td>1996-</td>
<td>Through subsidising business districts to independently host creative and festival activities, for jointly shaping local industrial characteristics, stimulating economic vitality, and promoting sustainable development of commercial environment’73.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

71 This illustration of URS is introduced in a leaflet of URS policy, accompanying the publication of Your City · URS Life by Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office in 2013.
72 This introduction to the objectives of the Dadaocheng Theatre can be seen on its official website: http://si.secda.info/dadaochen/?page_id=2104
73 Dadaocheng’s Taipei Lunar New Year Festival is part of the business district promotion plan, and the policy rhetoric of the promotion plan can be seen at: https://www.tcooc.gov.taipei/cp.aspx?n=1E72F83018C7A3ED.
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<th>Policy initiative</th>
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<tr>
<td>Department of</td>
<td>Taipei Dadaocheng Fireworks Festival</td>
<td>2005-</td>
<td>This event mainly brings people closer to the waterfront, and at the same time promotes cultural tourism in Dadaocheng and business opportunities in the surrounding commercial districts.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10. List of the policy rhetoric of the main heritage-led urban regeneration projects in Dadaocheng after 2000, summarised by the author.

As we review the policy rhetoric of the main heritage-led urban regeneration initiatives in Dadaocheng mentioned above, in addition to the promotion of cultural tourism, the focus of such policies seems to have shifted to that of historical legacies as the means of the cultural and creative industries, especially after 2010. The most obvious case of this trend is the URS project in which different urban regeneration stations aim to search for creative ways to reuse historical buildings and engage with local communities. Along with the Dadaocheng Theatre and other events of Taipei Cultural and Creative Clusters promoted by the Department of Cultural Affairs, the trend to consider historical legacies as cultural and economic resources and as the material for the cultural and creative industries seems to be, as Yin (2016, p.31) states: ‘Under the proposition “the culture is a good business”, the word “culture” means the cultural assets belonging to and shared by a certain group of people’.

Linking policy implementation with the promotion of urban imaginaries and place values, urban heritage itself is not only value-driven but also value-generative. This also means that the discursive-material policy practice of heritage use may be influenced by broader discourses of contemporary urban governance and physical experiences of past policy practice. More

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74 The data source is based on the press release of the Taipei City Government (101.08.16), available at: https://sec.gov.taipei/News_Content.aspx?n=49B4C3242CB7658C&sms=72544237BBe4C5F6&s=834D8D70F15D7878
specifically, it is the discourses of the cultural economy and the creative city that connect urban heritage use with the cultural and creative industries and urban development. Therefore, the following section provides a brief policy development context regarding the cultural and creative industries and cultural heritage respectively to provide a broader context of policy implementation to explore the district of Dadaocheng.

In terms of urban regeneration in Taipei over the last decade, different political parties had different approaches, and their methods in different areas varied according to their individual conditions. However, the Urban Regeneration Station (URS) policy, promoted by the Department of Urban Regeneration since 2010, is one of the main strategies to renew old urban districts in Taipei City in the name of culture and creativity. Seemingly, this policy also responded to the Plan of Taipei Cultural and Creative Clusters, led by the Department of Cultural Affairs at around the same time. In this way, these two ongoing policies are collectively the dominant force to influence the practices of heritage-led urban regeneration in the city.

According to its proposal of the policy (Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, 2010), the aim of URS is to select non-profit organisations from task-led bases to innovatively regenerate old urban districts by integrating local networks, stimulating creativity, and promoting industrial upgrading. More specifically, the content of these stations in Dadaocheng is mainly related to art exhibitions, local cuisine, teaching workshops, and cultural souvenirs, for interpreting local stories and historical elements in their own ways.

Based on the idea of a creative circle and the creative city, promoted by Charles Landry (2000), this URS policy seeks to establish the creative environment in which local economies can be boosted and the concept of urban competitiveness can be promoted. Until now, the policy has produced five stations in Dadaocheng, including four bases on Dihua
Street and one on Yanping North Road. These historic spaces are owned and provided by the government and then managed and reused by private organisations. Briefly, this so-called “soft urbanism” in terms of innovative governance, with interdisciplinary cooperation and participation, aims to promote Taipei as the creative city (Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, 2013).

Regarding the URS on Dihua Street, these four stations utilise different strategies to reuse historical buildings and connect to the local contexts according to their institutional interests. URS44 Dadaocheng Story House (URS44 大稻埕故事工坊), run by the Institute of Historical Resources Management, Taiwan (台灣歷史資源經理學會), aims to showcase the history of Dadaocheng, while URS127 Art Factory (URS127 玩藝工場), led by the Blue Dragon Art Company (蔚龍藝術), seeks to explore the aesthetics of the local lifestyle. The other two stations are run by new cultural enterprises, which are mainly launched by young entrepreneurs and artists. CAMPOBAG C+ Culture Company (希嘉文化有限公司) established URS155 Cooking Together (URS155 Cooking Together 創作分享圈), with the aim of bringing art to people, while URS329 Rice & Shine (稻舍 URS329), whose founder’s family lived in Dadaocheng for generations and formerly ran a rice business, seeks to organise diverse cultural activities, especially within the rice industry.

As for the regeneration base URS27W Film Range (URS27W 城市影像實驗室) on Yanping North Road, this is organised by both I-Me-I Information Technology Company (義美聯電) and Chiang Wei-Shui’s Cultural Foundation (蔣渭水文化基金會), and the building URS27W is located next to the historical sites of the general wholesale office of Taiwan People’s Newspaper, Daan Hospital, and Culture Bookstore that were all established by Chiang Weishui in the 1910s and 1920s. Through the hosting of exhibitions, lectures and film events, URS27W Film Range...
focuses on the display of images of the past and present of Dadaocheng and Taipei City. In summary, these five stations in Dadaocheng aim to regenerate historical spaces through exhibitions, lectures, workshops, and so on, and then further their relationships with the local development by displaying various tangible or intangible historical legacies.

Furthermore, the policy interventions of the Department of Cultural Affairs since 2010 are threefold in Dadaocheng. The first and main policy is to run the Dadaocheng Theatre to promote traditional performing arts, especially Taiwanese Opera as well as glove puppetry. This space, refurbished from an old community activities centre and reopened in 2011, aims to represent the past historical glory of Dadaocheng as an important hub for performing arts.

Moreover, as Dadaocheng is regarded as a potential creative hub, the Department of Cultural Affairs hosted a short-term festival annually between 2012 and 2015. This is part of Taipei City’s cultural and creative policy, the Plan of Taipei Cultural and Creative Clusters, to promote creative districts in terms of exhibitions, workshops, and related activities. Finally, this department also provides subsidies to private historic buildings for refurbishment. In this sense, the Department of Cultural Affairs focuses mainly on the strategies of marketing Dadaocheng as a creative cluster and a base for traditional arts.

In terms of place marketing, the Department of Information and Tourism also continues to host annual festivals to promote cultural tourism, such as the Taipei Dadaocheng Fireworks Festival, which it has organised since 2005. In addition, the Taipei City Office of Commerce has been hosting the Taipei Lunar New Year Festival since 1996, and this annual shopping festival, which takes place before the Chinese New Year, intends to integrate local traditional industries and featured products to promote Dadaocheng as a tourist destination with festive flavours.
Therefore, different departments seek to promote and market Dadaocheng according to departmental interests, and historical legacies or local histories are celebrated and represented in these event-based activities. Accordingly, these cultural- or creative-based trends can be further identified in an official tourism pamphlet, *Hundred-Year-Old Dadaocheng: Culture & Delicacy Tour*, which gives the following account:

> In recent years, our government advocates the renovation of old houses, enabling cultural and creative business and delicate spaces to gradually march into Dadaocheng. Street houses combining traditional industries and a cultural and creativity base are located here, bringing a cultural and artistic atmosphere to this block.  

> (Department of Information and Tourism, 2016, p.1)

As such, the policy initiatives of different departments through the lens of culture and/or creativity have been promoted over the past two decades in Dadaocheng. Ultimately, the main political agenda for these initiatives is related to the cultural economy for a sustainable historic environment. This also leads to different approaches to policy implementation in Dadaocheng, such as cultural tourism, the cultural and creative industries, cultural memory and preservation, and cultural festivals. Accordingly, promoting the reuse of historical buildings for artistic and cultural purposes has become an important dimension in urban cultural governance in both Taipei City and Dadaocheng. Meanwhile, the issues of heritage use for urban regeneration have been linked to different aspects, ranging from heritage preservation and cultural identity to the cultural and creative industries.

Introducing the official designation of a historic district and the following policy initiatives in relation to Dadaocheng, this section intends to, on the one hand, provide the contexts regarding the intervention of urban cultural governance and, on the other hand, open a space concerning the effects of policy discourse and practice, producing some specific urban images
and imaginaries, on imagining the place of Dadaocheng and using historical legacies for individual heritage users. Before exploring the relationship between personal urban imaginaries and individual heritage uses in the next chapter, I will first explore official writing about the city of Dadaocheng in *Taipei Pictorial* to investigate the elements of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng narrated in these place descriptions, especially within the broader policy contexts of urban preservation in the 1980s and 1990s, and urban regeneration after the 2000s.

### 4.2 Official writing about the city of Dadaocheng in *Taipei Pictorial*

Official writing about the city, containing a variety of publications such as magazines and books, is not only related to municipal publicity and city marketing, but also part of urban governance with a certain political agenda. According to C.-H. Wang (2005), since the 1990s, Taipei City’s official city writing has undergone major changes, from the monotonous and eulogising style of urban affairs to a lively and visually designed style for urban memory narratives. In a sense, the contents of official writing about the city highlight the memories of the citizens, the experience of diverse ethnic groups, and international standards. Meanwhile, it has sought to demonstrate the lifestyle in the city and the patterns of cultural consumption. Therefore, for Wang, this official city writing, as one of the regimes of memory representation, aims to connect urban cultural governance, urban lifestyle and the urban image shaping, under the transformation of democratisation and localisation in Taiwan since the 1990s.

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75 The so-called “official” writing about the city does not refer to a text produced by a civil servant, or a product strictly representative of official ideology. It compiles various statements that are more or less in line with mainstream values, and sometimes even includes some conflicting views from the “official” perspective. For *Taipei Pictorial*, in addition to municipal publicity, also invites external professional editors, or scholars and writers, or even the general public to participate in writing.
As for official documents from the Taipei City Government, the monthly magazine of *Taipei Pictorial*, published by the Department of Information and Tourism since 1968, conveys municipal information, lifestyle and practical information closely related to the citizens of Taipei City. It is the most representative and longest-lasting publication of the official city writing of the Taipei City Government.

The chronological tracing of place narratives, with a single area in the same publishing contexts of official writing about the city, aims to investigate urban imaginaries represented by journalists at different times and to explore the changing attitudes towards a geographical region. For this research, I utilise the contents of *Taipei Pictorial* to explore narrated stories of Dadaocheng, in terms of the characteristic of space and the significance of place. As Bodenhamer (2015) states, stories of narrating space and place are concerned with geography and history, and these associations of space and time mean stories reflect the values and cultural codes in the varying social and political contexts. Likewise, according to Lichrou, O'Malley, and Patterson (2008), the interrelationship between place and narrative implies the dynamic and constructed quality of places with the search for and construction of meanings.

Narratives construct place and places are sites for the emergence of narratives […] The framing of places as narratives highlights the dynamic and contested nature of places as social contexts, constantly constructed by means of shared language and symbolic meanings.

(Lichrou, O'Malley and Patterson, 2008, pp.35-36)

Wang Chihhungh (王志弘) is one of the first scholars in Taiwan to use *Taipei Pictorial* to explore the relationship between official writing about the city, memory representation, and the political agenda. After exploring the presentation of pictures and essays in *Taipei Pictorial*, with more than
400 issues between 1968 and 2003, Wang (2003a) states that *Taipei Pictorial* could be regarded as a mechanism for the reproduction of political ideology, especially with visual and verbal narratives; concurrently, this publication is part of urban cultural governance for producing the meanings of the times of Taipei City.

Moreover, Wang (2003a) suggests four stages of construction of urban meanings: 1) the wartime capital of the revival nation towards a modern city (1968-1980); 2) an optimistic and confident modern city with a bustling cityscape (1981-1994); 3) the new regime and civic cities for the theme of historical nostalgia and citizen memory (1995-1997); and 4) an international city with exquisite cultural consumption of the middle class (1997-2002). In other words, the historical change in the focus of narration in *Taipei Pictorial* moves from the Chinese nationalism and modernisation, to civic memory and consumer leisure, to elite culture and internationalisation.

Drawing on the research of Wang Chihhung, we could further explore the narrative approach of *Taipei Pictorial* to the shaping of the urban image of Taipei City after 2003. Meanwhile, we should also pay attention to the change of place narrative for a single district in Taipei City. Accordingly, this research will analyse the place narrative of Dadaocheng in *Taipei Pictorial*. Twenty specific articles from *Taipei Pictorial* since 1981 have been chosen and studied with thematic analysis\(^{76}\); the full list of the chosen articles can be seen in Appendix 3.

The articles I chose from *Taipei Pictorial* focus on the introduction of Dadaocheng itself, rather than just viewing Dadaocheng as a backdrop. In terms of the chosen magazine articles, these narratives and

\(^{76}\) In *Taipei Pictorial*, some short articles relating Dadaocheng are very similar to the news released to promote specific events in Dadaocheng, and they do not focus on a place description of Dadaocheng. Therefore, these articles are excluded from the current analysis.
representations of Dadaocheng, to some extent, could be regarded as a kind of place marketing, especially as this is a government-led magazine. That is to say that the Taipei City Government tends to use *Taipei Pictorial* as a medium to share municipal information with urban citizens and promote the unique features of Taipei City to attract more potential visitors. In this regard, the features and events in a place are treated as the place’s resources for marketing and are then integrated into the story making of place narrative.

Both the issue date and article headlines reveal the timing of making Dadaocheng a focus of attention; they also demonstrate the angles of the narrative about Dadaocheng. Regarding *Taipei Pictorial*, its Dadaocheng-related articles demonstrate a shift in viewpoint in describing this area, from the mention of valuable old features in Dadaocheng in the 1980s and 1990s to an emphasis on mixing old and new after 2015. Furthermore, after 2000, narratives are prone to regard Dadaocheng as a tourism destination highlighting Dihua Street, cultural consumption, and special catering as entertaining aspects of the area.

To analyse the chosen articles, this research will use four major themes of place narrative in relation to Dadaocheng, comprising the early history of Taiwan, the golden age of Dadaocheng, the urban preservation movement, and Dadaocheng’s renaissance. Then, related sub-themes and elements of the four themes are summarised, as shown in Figure 26 below. Although the date of issue influences the scope of material introducing Dadaocheng, these four themes are representative categories for place narrative from the chosen magazine, especially from a thematic and chronological perspective. The issue of urban regeneration, for instance, only appears in the publications after 2013\(^\text{77}\), but the articles

\(^{77}\) This does not mean that the initiatives of urban regeneration only happened in Dadaocheng after 2013, but the concept of urban regeneration was used and stressed in the publishing content for describing the Dadaocheng area.
published in the past decade often include the themes concerning the early history of Taiwan with Dadaocheng, Dadaocheng's golden age, and related preservation activities. In other words, the stories about Dadaocheng have been expanding, in which some historical elements are repeatedly mentioned to stress the unique quality of this area, or they are strategically integrated into the background to result in new development.
The early history of Taiwan

- Taiwanese aborigines
- Han Chinese migration
- Overseas trade
- Regime change

The golden age of Dadaocheng

- Earliest urban civilisation
- Modern urban life
- Commercial centre
- Religious activities

Urban preservation movement

- Development pressures
- Urban planning project
- Promotion initiatives

Dadaocheng renaissance

- Policy intervention
- Cultural memory
- Cultural tourism
- Business restructuring

Figure 26. Overview of themes and sub-themes with key elements shown in place narratives of the chosen articles in Taipei Pictorial, summarised by the author.
The theme of the history of Dadaocheng seems central to narrating a story about Dadaocheng, and these stories presented in magazine articles, from the 1980s to the present, reveal that the significance of Dadaocheng is related to the development of both Taipei City and Taiwan rather than just Dadaocheng itself. Firstly, the majority of Dadaocheng narratives begin with the Dingxiajiao Conflict in 1853, in which armed fighting broke out between two Han Chinese groups that had migrated from Quanzhou, China. The Tongan people, who had been living in Mengjia, moved to Dadaocheng when they were defeated by the Sanyi people. Before that, the aborigines of Kimotsi, one of the Taiwanese Pingpu tribes, used to live in Dadaocheng. Then, in 1858, the Qing Dynasty signed the Treaty of Tientsin with the United Kingdom and France, opening up the Taiwan Prefecture and Tamsui Port for trading, and Dadaocheng was chosen as the residential area for foreigners, consulate staff, and Western missionaries, giving Dadaocheng the opportunity to thrive, especially in relation to the tea trade.

Taiwan has appeared in historical records since the seventeenth century. It has experienced numerous regime changes, including Dutch Formosa (1624-1662), Spanish Formosa (1626-1642), the Cheng regime (1662-1683), Qing rule (1683-1895), Japanese occupation (1895-1945), and the Republic of China (1945-). In addition to the first stage’s great boom in Dadaocheng caused by the global tea economy, another golden age, the 1920s and 1930s, is stressed in these narratives. Under Japanese occupation, Dadaocheng had become a crucial wholesale market, particularly for the trading of tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, rice, and food.

Apart from prosperous business activities, during the period of Japanese occupation, Dadaocheng also played a significant role in modelling a modern and international city in terms of both reshaping the built environment with the Urban Improvement Plan of Taipei and introducing Western ideas. Consequently, the traditional Chinese street houses were
refurbished with a new façade combining Western architectural elements, particularly on the main street of Dihua Street. In addition, a variety of intellectuals and artists gathered here and established the Taiwan Cultural Association to promote the latest Western knowledge and democratic ideas. Accordingly, modern urban life, with cafés, bars, theatres, cinemas, bookshops, schools, hospitals and so on, was gradually forming in this area. At the same time, Chinese religious activities and festivals were also being promoted, especially in relation to the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple.

Associating Dadaocheng with the early history of Taipei City and Taiwan, these magazine narratives, on the one hand, aim to demonstrate the importance and characteristics of Dadaocheng. On the other hand, these narrative highlights rely on the “material” evidence, what is preserved or represented of the past, rather than just verbal stories. This is to say that the value of promoting or marketing Dadaocheng is not just concerned with its historical meanings, whether economic or political. More specifically, it may be based on something that could be “seen” or “renewed” in the present or for the future. Put briefly, specific values of Dadaocheng in relation to Taipei City and the island of Taiwan, especially through the style of narration, seem to be demonstrated and then performed by both verbal expression and illustrated examples.

Being an officially listed historic district since 2000, the impacts of Dihua Street preservation movements between the 1980s and the 1990s have become a crucial part of the story of the area of Dadaocheng. Without giving detailed descriptions about this complex process, the role of urban preservation movements in narratives seems to reveal both the connection between cultural memories and historical remains and a perpetual issue about local development. From civil preservation awareness with the development pressure of destroying old buildings and the change in policy interventions with the urban planning project, to the
launch of Taipei Lunar New Year Festival (or so-called Chinese New Year Products Market), Dadaocheng’s preserved townscape seems to provide an important opportunity to link the city’s present with its past.

Excerpts from some accounts that appeared in *Taipei Pictorial*, demonstrate the importance of a preserved townscape. For example, ‘keeping old streets’ historical looks drives new business opportunities and cultures, but also passes down the emotions between land and people’ (Li, 2001, p.23), or ‘walking along the streets of Dadaocheng, we could see old foreign merchant houses and street houses with elegant façade, and this experience as time travel leads us back to a legendary Dadaocheng one hundred years ago’ (Chung, 2007, p.34). In other words, urban preservation here is not only a key method of making historical times “visible”, but is also a turning point of sustaining Dadaocheng through both perspectives of urban development and heritage preservation, leading to the further opportunities and demands of adaptive reuse, especially following the restoration of historical buildings. Ultimately, it seems that there is a systematic attempt to revive “the Golden Age” of Dadaocheng.

Compared to accounts calling for the protection of the physical environment of Dihua Street in the 1980s, and featuring traditional industries and temple festivals in the 1990s and 2000s, the contents of place narratives after 2013 tend to introduce the new appearance of Dadaocheng using specific terms of renaissance, regeneration, or reuse. These terms appeared in print to reflect the latest development trends of sustaining the historic environment in Taiwan as well as related strategies and actions by government and civil bodies responding to the internal and external contexts of Dadaocheng.

In terms of the theme of Dadaocheng’s renaissance, it seems to be related to the policy intervention of urban regeneration, the promotion of
cultural memory and cultural tourism, and the restructuring of business. Whether for the government, private organisations, or individuals, to some extent these new developments noted by place narratives are involved in both commerce and culture in Dadaocheng. Whilst the Taipei City Government established Urban Regeneration Station sites and the Dadaocheng Theatre or organised a variety of cultural and arts festivals to promote local development, local cultural entrepreneurs integrated specific historical elements or cultural discourses, such as the 1920s of Dadaocheng, into the running of their individual businesses. In other words, these place narratives in the past decade demonstrate a developing trend of a mix of urban regeneration, heritage use, and the cultural and creative industries. This is further illustrated by the quotations below from *Taipei Pictorial*:

> Over recent years, the trend of nostalgic retro has been popular in Taiwan, in which traditional buildings and old shops engage us into another image of modern city. Thus, the regeneration of old streets has become a highlight of tourism promotion.
> 
> (Chiu, 2016, p.39)

> In the past two years, Dadaocheng has become one of emerging cultural and creative bases in Taipei City [...] and the implementation of the cultural and creative industries benefits to the promotion of local development, but also the reshaping of historic streetscapes.
> 
> (Kuan, 2015, p.3)

In summary, the four main themes, comprising the early history of Taiwan, the golden age of Dadaocheng, the urban preservation movement, and Dadaocheng’s renaissance, comprise the core of the narration of the story of Dadaocheng, especially in the contents of *Taipei Pictorial* since the 1980s. Accordingly, these narrated themes will help this research to further urban imaginaries and their construction in the next section. More
specifically, in the contexts of *Taipei Pictorial*, Dadaocheng has been imagined as a place for mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place of the previously most prosperous commercial centre, a place of origin of Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits, and a place combining old legacies and new creativity.

### 4.3 The constitution of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in *Taipei Pictorial*

If an urban imaginary here refers to a mental interpretive framework of urban reality, with an intersection of representations, images, ideas, or stories, for us to imagine the spaces and related urban life in which we live (Soja, 2000; Tate, 2012), the four interpretive approaches summarised by this research could be regarded as presenting urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in the narratives of *Taipei Pictorial*, containing a place for mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place of the previously most prosperous commercial centre, a place of origin of Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits, and a place combining old legacies and new creativity.

In other words, the quality of Dadaocheng is narrated in relation to interpretive approaches with specific elements.

By exploring the construction of urban imaginaries, the connection between urban imaginaries and their constituent elements helps understand urban heritage in and for Dadaocheng. Although the Chinese term *yichan* (遺產) or *zichan* (資產), which means heritage, is less used in the urban writing in these magazine articles, especially before the 2010s, some preferred ideas of usage, such as *laojie* (老街, old street), *laowu* (老屋, historical building), *guji* (古蹟, historic monument), or *zhenbao* (珍寶, traditional treasure), really refer to historical legacies. This condition of using and defining the formal term heritage in Taiwan will be further explored in the later discussion chapters.
This research identifies four aspects of the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng represented in *Taipei Pictorial*, according to the analysis of themes and sub-themes in place narratives as stated earlier: a place mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place which was once the most important commercial centre, a place of origin of Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits, and a place combining old legacies and new creativity. These interpretive grids are respectively related to the themes of the early history of Taiwan, the golden age of Dadaocheng, urban preservation, and Dadaocheng renaissance. In addition, these imaginaries involve the who, what, when, and where of a story. Accordingly, the constitution of Dadaocheng’s imaginaries are summarised and presented in Table 11 below:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Key narrated elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place mixing Chinese and Western cultures</strong></td>
<td>Who: John Dodd / Lin Lantien / Li Chunsheng / Lin Weiyuan / Liu Mingchuan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What: Tea houses / foreign merchant houses / Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / Dadaocheng Mazu Temple (Cisheng Temple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When: Qing-dynasty Taiwan (before 1895)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where: Dadaocheng Port / Liuquan Street (now Nanjing West Road) / Qianqiu Street (now Guide Street) / Middle Street (now Dahui Street)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</strong></td>
<td>Who: Chen Tienlai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What: Street houses / wholesale industries (tea; cloth; rice; Chinese medicine; groceries) / City God Birthday Parade / Tunghuifang (restaurant) / Chunfeng Deyi Lou (restaurant) / Horaikaku (restaurant) / Bolero (café) / Eirakuza Theatre/ Taiwan First Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When: Japanese occupation (1895-1945)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Where: Eirakucho (Dahui Street) / Taiheicho (Yanping North Road)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place of origin of Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits</strong></td>
<td>Who: Chiang Weishui / Kuo Hsuehhu / Li Linchiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What: The Taiwan Cultural Association / Peikuan xuanse (music troupe) / Shiquan (martial arts club) / glove puppetry / Eirakuza Theatre / Taiwan New Stage Theatre / First Cinema / The February 28 Incident</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When: The 1920s and 1930s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Place combining old legacies and new creativity</strong></td>
<td>Who: The Taipei City Government / Taipei Xiahai City God Temple/ young entrepreneurs / Chou Yicheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What: Historical buildings / the Chinese Cupid worship of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / tea houses / Chinese medicine and groceries shops/ Yongle Fabric Market / food stalls of the Cisheng Temple / café&amp; bar/ URS/ ArtYard / cultural and creative shops / Taipei Lunar New Year Festival / Dadaocheng International Festival of Arts / the Dadaocheng Theatre / the Taiyuan Asian Puppet Theatre Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>When: After 2000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 11.** List of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng with key narrated elements in *Taipei Pictorial* since the 1980s, summarised by the author.
The above-mentioned urban imaginaries show how Dadaocheng has been imagined, particularly with the place narratives of *Taipei Pictorial*. Among these imaginaries, regarding Dadaocheng as a place combining old legacies and new creativity is a relatively contemporary approach. Meanwhile, the other three connect the eras of Qing-dynasty Taiwan and the Japanese occupation.

However, these imaginaries mentioned above are mutually defined and interrelated. This is to say that the so-called historical legacies here seem to be both contemporary interpretations and historical constructions. Since the 1980s, Dadaocheng has been narrated as a place mixing Chinese and Western cultures and as once the most prosperous commercial hub. The former is supported by stories of the tea trade in Dadaocheng Port since the late nineteenth century. From the main characters among the British tea merchants (such as John Dodd), local rich businessmen, and a key Chinese official named Liu Mingchuan, to the main symbols of tea houses and foreign merchant houses, especially in Liuquan Street (now Nanjing West Road) and Qianqiu Street (now Guide Street), these key narrated elements are selected to represent one of the images of Dadaocheng, as an exotic blend.

Furthermore, another two imaginaries of Dadaocheng describe it as once the most advanced area, both economically and culturally. During the period of Japanese occupation between 1895 and 1945, based on previous commercial energy and international connections, Dadaocheng has been imagined as a legendary land, especially the areas of Eirakuacho (*yougledin 永樂町*, now Dahui Street) and Taiheicho (*taipingdin 太平町*, now Yanping North Road). The renovated street Dadaocheng’s three north-south streets (parallel to Tamsui River), namely Guide Street (*貴德街*), Dihua Street (*迪化街*) and Yanping North Road (*延平北路*), played different leading roles in various prosperous periods of Dadaocheng. At the same time, they have experienced two changes in names, marking the different stages of rule from the Qing Dynasty, to the Japanese rule and the KMT government. During the Japanese occupation in 1922, Guide Street was called Minatocho (*qangding 港町*), Dihua Street...
houses mixing Chinese and Western architectural elements, prosperous wholesale industries, and a variety of fine Chinese dining restaurants and Western-style café and bars, symbolise the glory of the times. Likewise, some specific celebrities, such as Chiang Weishui (doctor and political activist), Kuo Hsuehhu (painter), and Li Linchiu (lyricist), the famous Eirakuza Theatre and the Taiwan First Theatre, and the traditional performing arts of Peikuan (北管), Taiwanese opera, and glove puppetry (布袋戲), are highlighted as being the roots of traditional Taiwanese art genres.

In addition, peaceful anti-Japanese activities by the Taiwan Cultural Association in the 1920s and the tipping point of the February 28 Incident have become significant symbols to celebrate the Taiwanese democratic spirit, especially after the end of martial law in 1987. To sum up, the 1920s and 1930s have been promoted as a flourishing age for Dadaocheng, which is seen as something to be celebrated and explored in regenerating this historical environment.

was called Eirakuacho (yougledin 永樂町), and Yanping North Road was called Taiheicho (taipingdin 太平町). The area of section one of Dihua Street is the earliest street developed in Dadaocheng during the 1850s, formerly known as "Middle Street" (中街). The name "Dihua" was given by the KMT government in 1947, in reference to the city of Dihua (now called Urumqi) in Xinjiang, China. Since the 1860s, Dihua Street has been an important centre for commerce in Taiwanese products and imported goods (Huang, 1985). For Guide Street, in the era of Liu Mingchuan's rule in the late Qing Dynasty, it was jointly funded and built by rich gentry Lin Weiyuan and Li Chunsheng. The northern section was formerly known as Jianchang Street (建昌街) and the southern section was Qianqiu Street (千秋街). Guide Street is the earliest foreign-style house street in Taipei City. Liu Mingchuan also designated it as the residence of foreigners. Many foreign merchant houses and consulates were also located here. At the same time, since the construction of the street, the street was full of tea shops, so it was also called tea street. At the end of the Japanese occupation, the tea industry gradually declined, and then the commercial centre of Dadaocheng moved east to Yanping North Road and Dihua Street; therefore, Guide Street lost its leading role in commerce (Chih, 2003). In terms of Yanping North Road Yanping, this was the most prosperous and largest streets in Dadaocheng from the end of the Japanese Occupation to the post-war period. Various public schools, Chiang Weishui's Daan Hospital, the general wholesale office of Taiwan People's Newspaper, luxurious Chinese restaurants (such as Chunfeng Deyi Lou and Horaikaku), Western theatres (such as the Taiwan First Theatre), department stores and jewelry stores were all located here (Chuang, 1991).
Through a chronological lens, the urban imaginary of Dadaocheng as a place mixing old and new seems to be the latest interpretation of Dadaocheng, but it is also the very essence permeating all imaginaries. Whether the exotic image of the period of the international tea-trade or the more progressive image of the 1920s, all of these perspectives are related to how Dadaocheng was something of a melting pot of East meets West and tradition meets modernity. In addition, the narrated elements regarding the combination of old and new relate to the reusing, restructuring, or reshaping of historical resources. Then, this ongoing transformation seems to form a sort of mixed aesthetics.

From the adaptive reuse of historical buildings as creative shops or museums, and the promotion of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple (the oldest temple in Dadaocheng) through an arts festival, to the transformation of tea industries and houses, these highlights of place narratives may reflect how all values Dadaocheng had previously are being experienced or explored by being rooted in an ongoing mixing between legacies and creativity. In other words, within this image of a mixed aesthetic, Dadaocheng is described not only as a well-preserved area with diverse historical legacies, but also as an ongoing process of novel change.

4.4 Concluding remarks on the political agenda for heritage use in Dadaocheng

Through both the rhetoric of policy initiatives in Dadaocheng and the official city writing about Dadaocheng in Taipei Pictorial, this chapter has sought to demonstrate the cultural turn towards urban governance in Taipei City, especially after the 2000s. Meanwhile, responding to urban cultural governance, the narrative approaches in Taipei Pictorial to the Dadaocheng area have expanded from the historic environment of the glorious past to a place of fusion that combines historical legacies and
creative industries. Ultimately, for Dadaocheng as an official historic special-use zone, the political agenda for heritage use in Dadaocheng is associated with both the cultural economy for urban regeneration and cultural strategies for place branding. This also means that the economic and market-oriented trend of urban cultural policies has made heritage a multifunctional facilitator for urban sustainable development, especially in cultural, social, and economic dimensions.

Regarding the cultural economy for urban regeneration and cultural strategies for place branding, the political agenda is especially concerned with Taipei City’s global competitiveness and internationalisation. Then, different international discourses about urban regeneration have affected the approaches of Taipei City to urban decline. According to Lin Chungchieh (林崇傑) (2012), the former Director of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Offices between 2009 and 2014, Taipei City is not only the capital of Taiwan, but also a member of the world city network. In this regard, both concepts of sustainable development and the creative city have become important issues of policy implementation in Taipei City since the 2000s; meanwhile, these concepts are further linked with the localisation and cultural governance shifts that have been emphasised since the 1990s.

In terms of urban regeneration, seeking new developments, promoting the creative city and finding innovative governance, and

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79 For the Taipei City Government, the Council for Sustainable Development was established in 2004, and the vision for sustainable development of Taipei City is as follows: ‘Driven by the era of globalisation, internationalisation and e-commerce, major cities often play the role of locomotives in the region, thereby driving the competitiveness and sustainability of themselves and surrounding satellite cities. The advantage of Taipei City lies not in its geopolitical dominance or the scale of urban construction, but in its inclusiveness, diversity and emphasis on cultural heritage, quality of life, environmental protection and natural resources. Therefore, Taipei City aims to build an eco-city, improve the sustainable use of resources, create a high-quality life, and shape the foundation for sustainable development in relation to environmental protection, social justice, and economic development.’ Available at: https://www.dep.gov.taipei/cp.aspx?n=81AAC2F85759C61E.
developing on the basis of sustainable development are already the direction that many cities are facing today […] The pursuit of innovative urban governance and the development of a new creative economy are exactly the way out for all creative cities to pursue. (Lin, 2012, p.35)

In addition, as we have a closer look at the place narratives of Dadaocheng in the official city writing of *Taipei Pictorial*, this research has proposed four essential themes for describing this area. At the same time, through the identification of some key narrative elements, including celebrities, industries, organisations, rituals, events and buildings, Dadaocheng has been promoted and narrated as a heritage place due to the long-term construction of urban imaginaries, to become a place mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place which was once the most prosperous commercial hub, a place generating Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits, and a place combining old legacies and new creativity. These urban imaginaries may further lead to the making of the image of Dadaocheng. Accordingly, the image of Dadaocheng is of an exotic blend, a legendary land, and a mixed aesthetic.

If we regard official writing about the city as a communication medium between the government and potential readers with citizens or tourists, Dadaocheng is portrayed as an officially protected area to be regenerated and as a place of heritage to be celebrated. The significance and richness of Dadaocheng stems from at least three significant dimensions highlighted here, namely, its historical, economic, and cultural position for both Taipei City and Taiwan and its long-term development. Ultimately, this development seems to involve an evolving narrative process. This is to say that, as Ryan, Foote, and Azaryahu (2016) note, the importance of a space depends not only on its geographical contexts but also on the ongoing narratives; this relation between space and narrative leads to a consideration of how the physical environment is in a state of continuous
transition between reality and narration. In a word, narratives play an important role in this dynamic process of place development and making.

The paramount task of this research is to broaden the understanding of both what heritage does and how narrative functions in a historic district. More specifically, it is concerned with what is meant by a heritage place and how historical legacies as heritage products make it possible to cultivate our cultural imagination to facilitate the relationship between time, place, and development. In a sense, this chapter has sought to demonstrate the role and related issues of urban cultural governance for the heritagisation of Dadaocheng. This step, subsequently, paves the way for the following chapter’s analysis regarding personal levels of heritage use and place narrative. This also refers to the further understanding of Dadaocheng is being and will be imagined as a heritage place.
Chapter 5. Analysing personal narratives about Dadaocheng and heritage use

Compared to the place narratives of the government-led magazine explored in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses on the analysis of personal narratives in relation to the place of Dadaocheng and to heritage use. When it comes to the aims of this research, the idea of cultural imagination with urban heritage is not only a core issue of this project to be explored, but also a significant way to investigate the heritage-person-place relationship. This also means that, if this study aims to unfold the functioning of cultural imagination in the context of urban regeneration, and then to argue how urban heritage shapes our imagination with the historic environment, analysing the personal representation, especially in a narrative way, in relation to cultural imagination with urban heritage is crucial to understanding the attribution of cultural meanings between historical legacies and individual strategies. In a sense, the current chapter, through analysing personal narratives about Dadaocheng and heritage use, will contribute to the understanding of how heritage users revive what was in the past for the future, using the different media in the present, in and for a historic district.

Connecting both urban imaginaries and heritage use with personal narrative, the empirical data of personal accounts are used to demonstrate the possible methods and implications of narrating the historic environment. This refers to how, if we regard personal narrative as both a reflection on experiences and a creation of meanings with the form of story, the heritage experience represented here by narrating the historic environment concerns not only using historical legacies in a specific urban space but also making different levels of connection through historical legacies.
When it comes to urban imaginaries, Çinar and Bender (2007) have claimed that the city is continuously shaped and reproduced through urban imaginaries of narrative with written texts and various media, grounded in the material space and the social practice of daily life. Furthermore, for urban inhabitants, such urban imaginaries would benefit from the connection between a physical environment and themselves, proposing some specific ideas and images about a city. Similarly, as Lindner and Meissner (2018, p.1) state, ‘urban imaginaries are not just “matters of the mind” but are also manifest and find expression in lived urban space’.

These narratives tell the story of the city, produce its history, set its many boundaries, define its culture [...] it is through the production and dissemination of such narratives that certain parts of a city or sometimes its presumed totality is marked as old and historical or new, traditional or modern, rich or poor. (Çinar and Bender, 2007, p.xiv)

Linking urban imaginaries and heritage use with personal narrative, both place vision and individual levels of place identity can be further revealed. Massara and Severino (2013, pp.110-111) claim that ‘the experience of a heritage site contributes to the sense of self, which is the first pillar of the heritage experience. Sense of self is directly related to one’s identity’. The sense of self, for Massara and Severino, refers to the extension of one’s own past and related knowledge. In addition, as King (2007, p.8) states, ‘urban imaginaries are also about the construction of imaginary identities’. In a sense, personal heritage use and related experiences are not only a crucial part of narrating the historic environment but are also a significant medium to facilitate the connection between place and identity.

Therefore, using interview data from thirty-five interviewees, the current chapter seeks to contribute to our understanding of cultural imagination with urban heritage in the historic environment in two ways. Firstly, this chapter
looks at the issue of the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng through personal perspectives. In terms of thematic analysis, this section aims to summarise the different approaches to imagining the place of Dadaocheng and the key narrated elements corresponding to related urban imaginaries. Secondly, using the empirical data of narrating individual heritage use in, for, or with Dadaocheng, the factors of heritage use are to be explained.

5.1 Personal place narratives about Dadaocheng

As in the previous chapter, the first step in exploring personal accounts of Dadaocheng is to thematically capture the urban imaginaries presented by these thirty-five interviewees and then to link the urban imaginaries with related supporting elements. This introduction has been useful to provide an outline of the imagining of Dadaocheng by different kinds of participants, all of whom are living or working in this area; it also means that this summary helps us to outline both specific ways to describe Dadaocheng and the valued historical legacies of Dadaocheng. The results concerning how Dadaocheng is being imagined are shown in Table 12 below, where codes A, B, C, D, and E will be uses to sequentially represent the categories of interview participants: government officer, government-led project manager, entrepreneur, staff of cultural or religious organisation, and local retiree respectively. The related urban imaginaries here may refer to personal descriptions about the past of Dadaocheng and/or the present of Dadaocheng.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Key narrated elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Place preserving traditional industries and lifestyles</td>
<td>Groceries&amp; dried foods / tea / cloth / traditional snacks (next to the Yongle Market and Cisheng Temple)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with historical stories</td>
<td>Façades of buildings / Han immigrants’ fights in the nineteenth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Key narrated elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Place with policy initiatives for preservation and regeneration</td>
<td>Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone / Urban Design Review Committee / URS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Place reflecting policy initiatives of urban heritage preservation in Taiwan</td>
<td>Law of Cultural Heritage Preservation Act / National and Municipal Monument / architectural heritage / Plan of Dadaocheng Historic Special-Use Zone / URS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Place of a representative old town of Taipei City</td>
<td>Western district of Taipei City (Mengjia, Dadaocheng, and Dalongdong) / modernisation of Japanese occupation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Place with a commercial centre for tea, Chinese medicine and cloth</td>
<td>Tea / Chinese medicine / cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre</td>
<td>Historical buildings / jeweler’s shops / clinics / Eirakuza Theatre / Heimeiren Jiuja (黒美人酒家, restaurant) / Chiang Weishui/ Li Linchiu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Performing artists / Horaikaku (restaurant) / the Daguangming Theatre (大光明戲院)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Place which was a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
<td>Festivals of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / Yidan pavilion / theatres / luxurious restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Place of traditional wholesale industries</td>
<td>Groceries &amp; dried foods / tea / cloth / Chinese medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>The February 28 Incident / the Taiwan Cultural Association / Taiwanese People’s Newspaper / Taiwanese People’s Party / Chunfeng Deyi Lou (restaurant) / Chiang Weishui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of once leading Taiwan’s democratic trends</td>
<td>Social movements of the 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Key narrated elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>Place of once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td>Jeweler's shops / luxurious restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Taiwanese People’s Newspaper / Chunfeng Deyi Lou (restaurant) / Chiang Weishui / Kuo Hsuehhu / Li Linchiu / rice industry / family rice business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and commercial cultures</td>
<td>Taiwan New Stage Theatre / Eirakuza Theatre / Chiang Weishui / Kuo Hsuehhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of intangible heritage for lifestyles</td>
<td>Doing business and living in the same house / religious activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>Place with the best preserved historical buildings in Taipei</td>
<td>Street houses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which was an important base for entrepreneurship</td>
<td>Taiwanese entrepreneurs of the early twentieth century</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which was a site of social movements for Taiwan’s modernisation</td>
<td>The 1920s / the Taiwan Cultural Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Folk temple activities / Xuanshe (軒社, music troupes) / Bajiajiang (八家將, Chinese folk beliefs and troupes) / old shops / craftsmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Architectural styles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business circles</td>
<td>Traditional industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td>Place of living history</td>
<td>Business activities / dietary cultures / old shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business circles and family memory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C6</td>
<td>Place of time condensation</td>
<td>The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / old shops (Chinese medicine, Groceries &amp; dried foods, and tea)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business circles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C7</td>
<td>Place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre</td>
<td>Mengjia and Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Key narrated elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place preserving the atmosphere of old Taipei City with historical buildings and commercial cultures</td>
<td>Dihua Street / tradition industries (tea, Chinese medicine, groceries &amp; dried foods, and cloth) / luxurious restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8</td>
<td>Place mixing Western and Chinese cultures</td>
<td>Tea trading / foreign merchant houses / luxurious restaurants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and cultural richness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C9</td>
<td>Place of rare living old streets</td>
<td>Native residents / traditional industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td>The 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>Place mixing old and new of commercial cultures</td>
<td>Port / wholesale industries / tea and cloth industries / the cultural and creative industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td>Place with a range of types of cultural heritage</td>
<td>Historical buildings / The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / Lee Chunsheng Memorial Christ Presbyterian Church / Yongle Market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C12</td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td>Tea industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of preserving traditional industries and historical stories</td>
<td>Tea, Chinese medicine, groceries &amp; dried foods, and cloth industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C13</td>
<td>Place with a prosperous market</td>
<td>Wholesale and retail industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place mixing old and new</td>
<td>Chinese medicine, groceries &amp; dried foods, and cloth industries / arts galleries / souvenir shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C14</td>
<td>Place with vintage feelings</td>
<td>Dihua Street / Taipei Lunar New Year Festival / traditional industries (cloth, Chinese medicine, tea, and groceries &amp; dried foods) / The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Place with a well-preserved historic district</td>
<td>Historical buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Key narrated elements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>Place of a living area of old Taipei</td>
<td>Temples / religious activities / native residents / old shops (tea, cloth, and Chinese medicine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3</td>
<td>Place mixing old and new</td>
<td>Traditional industries / new things / arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and cultural richness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>Place which is a tourist destination</td>
<td>Dihua Street / quality of products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5</td>
<td>Place showing an evolving history of Taiwan</td>
<td>Taiwanese aborigines / Han Chinese immigrants / Tea trade / young people with Taiwanese awareness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D6</td>
<td>Place of living old streets</td>
<td>Smells of tea and Chinese medicine / historical buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which was a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
<td>Taiwan First Theatre / the Daqiao Cinema (大橋戲院) / Taiwan New Stage Theatre / Taiwanese opera troupes / Shihguan Line (獅館巷, a base for the glove puppet troupes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D7</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Port / old shops / businessmen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place containing business circles in a port city</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>A hard-to-define place</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>Place mixing Western and Chinese cultures</td>
<td>Tea trade / “mixed blood” architecture (混血建築)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>Place which was a commercial hub with good human relationships</td>
<td>No conflicts between traditional industries (cloth, tea, Chinese medicine, and groceries and dried foods)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>Place of warm hospitality</td>
<td>Good neighbourhood</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12. List of personally urban imaginaries and related narrated elements of thirty-five interviewees, summarised by the author.
Upon taking a closer look at these urban imaginaries and key narrated elements (see Table 12), we find that these urban imaginaries can be divided into sixteen categories (Figure 27). While some imaginaries seem to reflect the current conditions or understanding, such as Dadaocheng being a place of historical stories, a well-preserved historic district, having living old streets, combining old and new, having policy initiatives of preservation and regeneration, and vintage feelings, mixing Chinese and Western cultures, being a tourist destination, family memory, others tend to relate the past of Dadaocheng, seeing Dadaocheng as a place of prosperous business circles, being once an important commercial centre, relating the early history of Taipei City, relating the early history of Taiwan, good neighbour relationships, once being the most important base of social movements, and being a traditional performing arts hub.

**Urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng with 35 interviewees**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imaginary</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with prosperous business circles</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with a well-preserved historic district</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of living old streets</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place combining old and new</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with policy initiatives of preservation and regeneration</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place relating the early history of Taipei City</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place relating the early history of Taiwan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with vintage feelings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place mixing Chinese and Western cultures</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with good community relationships</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place which was once the most important base of social movements</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place which was a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place which is a tourist destination</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of family memory</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 27.** Data of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng with thirty-five interview participants. Source: the author.
Compared to the urban imaginaries of *Taipei Pictorial* in the previous chapter, the personal place narratives of Dadaocheng are relatively diverse, yet the results from these two data sources are highly correlated, especially when comparing key elements in urban imaginaries. As Table 11 showed earlier, this research has suggested four types of urban imaginaries derived from *Taipei Pictorial*, including place mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre, a place of origin for Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits, and a place combining old legacies and new creativity. While place narratives in the official city writing pay much more attention to the introduction of the features of time and space of Dadaocheng in a holistic way, personal accounts tend to capture certain specific dimensions in which an individual is interested.

However, finding the correlation in urban imaginaries between personal and public levels merits further exploration, and this is provided in the upcoming discussion chapter, in particular with a focus on the interventions and effects of urban cultural policy over a long period of time. Returning to personal imaginaries, six urban imaginaries dominate the act of imagination of Dadaocheng according to data in Figure 27. People see it as a place of historical stories, place of prosperous business circles, place with a well-preserved historic district, place with living old streets, place which was once the most important commercial centre, and place combining old and new.

This finding leads to two directions for further exploring the interview data. The first is regarding how the majority of participants seek to address the importance and usage of story to depict the area of Dadaocheng. Meanwhile, the urban imaginary regarding place of historical stories intersects with other imaginaries. This also means that the scope of narrated elements referring to story partially overlaps with other urban imaginaries. The element of historical buildings, for instance, is mentioned
and related to different urban imaginaries, consisting of place of historical stories, place of once the most prosperous commercial centre, place with a well-preserved historic district, as well as place combining old and new. Similarly, the period of the 1920s is utilised to support the imagining of Dadaocheng as the place of historical stories, a place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre, and which was once the most important base of social movements.

Furthermore, the second point for investigating the data is the connection between the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng and historical legacies. This is to say, historical legacies, tangible or intangible, have greatly benefited the construction of urban imaginaries of the historic environment, particularly in the case of Dadaocheng.

Linking the six main urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng with key narrated elements as in Table 13 below, this connection further reveals five vital qualities and elements to imagine this district; more specifically, this refers to how Dadaocheng is or was historical, prosperous, historic, living, and fusing.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main urban imaginaries by personal narratives</th>
<th>Place of stories</th>
<th>Key narrated elements</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urban/national aspects</td>
<td>Who</td>
<td>Businessmen / craftsmen / performing artists / celebrities (Chiang Weishui, Kuo Hsuehhu, and Li Linchiu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local aspects</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Façades and styles of buildings / traditional industries and old shops (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, and groceries &amp; dried foods) / theatres / restaurant culture / temple fairs / Xuan she (music troupes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban/national aspects</td>
<td>When</td>
<td>The 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family aspects</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Rice business/ roadside banquets</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of prosperous business circles (Place which was once the most important commercial centre)</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Western-style houses / wholesale industries (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, and groceries &amp; dried foods) / jeweller's shops / theatres / luxurious restaurants / clinics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place with a well-preserved historic district</td>
<td>When</td>
<td>The 1920s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dadaocheng Port / Dihua Street / Yanping North Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place combining old and new</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Historical street houses on Dihua Street / The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple / traditional industries and old shops (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, groceries, and dried foods) / traditional snacks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place of living old streets</td>
<td>What</td>
<td>Historical building reuse / native residents / traditional industries and old shops (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, and groceries &amp; dried foods) / old temples and related religious activities / dietary cultures</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13. Overview of main urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng and key narrated elements from personal place narratives. Source: the author.
Regarding the urban imaginary of Dadaocheng as a place of stories, key narrated elements can be separated into four parts: the levels of Taiwan, Taipei City, Dadaocheng itself, and family. These historical stories of Dadaocheng are addressed in historical events, leading organisations, celebrities, architecture, local industries and folk activities, and family memories. When it comes to the levels of Taipei City and Taiwan, events or organisations with democratic and ethnic implications are emphasised, such as Han immigrants fighting in the Dingxiajiao Conflict (in the 1850s), the Taiwan Cultural Association (in the 1920s), *Taiwan People’s Newspaper* (in the 1920s), the Taiwanese People’s Party (in the 1920s) and the February 28 Incident (in the 1940s).

In terms of Dadaocheng having prosperous business circles or once being the most important commercial centre, the 1920s and certain areas, such as Dadaocheng Port, Dihua Street, and Yanping North Road, are highlighted. Within this specific time and space, certain symbols are mentioned which show its leading role in the economic life of the city. While using Western-style houses to imply international trade and cultural exchange, the local wholesales industries, including tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, groceries and dried foods, mark the major trading commodities at the beginning of the twentieth century in Taiwan. Subsequently, successful commercial activities led to the emergence of specific shops or spaces in this area, such as jewellery stores, luxurious restaurants, clinics, and theatres. Therefore, as Dadaocheng is still a notable and significant commercial area in Taipei City, being once the most prosperous commercial hub is not only a source of historical stories about this area but is also a resource to boost its development, especially with symbolic meanings.

Most of the key narrated elements in relation to the six main urban imaginaries are concerned with historical legacies in a broad sense, yet the category of Dadaocheng as a well-preserved historic district deserves
further discussion. The importance of investigating the constituent elements of a historic area here is to inquire what is to be considered historic with a variety of interviewees, especially for the perspective of imagining a place rather than an official list of cultural heritage sites devised by the government. According to the data in Table 13, historical street houses on Dihua Street, the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple, traditional industries and old shops (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, and groceries and dried foods), and traditional snacks, are the most important elements for those who see Dadaocheng as a well-preserved historic district. These preserved features are valued and selected from a wide range of historical legacies to represent the historic quality of Dadaocheng. In the meantime, these historic symbols also allow the living sense of this historical environment for some participants to emphasise its condition of living old streets.

In terms of Dadaocheng as living old streets, the living sense here seems to be constructed in three ways. The first one is concerned with the reuse of preserved historical legacies, such as historical buildings. The second focuses on how traditional industries, shops, temples, and diet can be still experienced to the present day. The final aspect relates to how the Dadaocheng area is full of native residents and businesses, not like other old streets in Taiwan, which have been severely affected by gentrification, leading to the relocation of the original inhabitants or businesses. In other words, it seems to be the characteristics of renewal, preservation, and nativeness that make these interviewees feel the living sense.

As for regarding Dadaocheng as a place of mixing old and new, while traditional wholesale industries (tea, cloth, Chinese medicine, and groceries & dried foods) are defined as being old, the cultural and creative industries are new. Ultimately, the cultural and creative industries are based on the reuse of historical buildings; meanwhile, these new commercial spaces are related to both art exhibitions and the retail of
cultural and recreational goods. In other words, the so-called “new” here refers to two levels: new industry categories and the new look of old buildings.

From historical stories, the prosperous past of the area, preserved legacies, and living old streets, to the mix of old and new, these urban imaginaries presented by all interview participants reveal that Dadaocheng is being imagined through the viewpoints of history, prosperity, legacy, liveliness, and fusion. As we look at the connection between the main urban imaginaries and the narrated elements, the data shows that historical buildings, traditional industries and old stores, old temples and religious activities, and dietary cultures are intersecting components to correlate different approaches of imagining the place of Dadaocheng. This also means that preserved historical legacies seem to be at the core of place narratives of Dadaocheng and also form the common ground bridging the historic environment with the individual act of imagination.

5.2 Personal narratives about heritage use in and for Dadaocheng

This section concentrates on the analysis of the multiple characteristics of heritage use. In terms of analysing heritage use through thematic thinking, with the aid of Nvivo software to code the texts of the interview transcripts. This study has identified themes and aims to show how different participants make certain heritage uses in and for Dadaocheng. Accordingly, seven themes are generated by this research (Figure 28): physical historical remains and related heritage products, the practical vision, discourses in places, historical body with institutional role, the interaction order, economic conditions, and the legitimate order. This also means that these seven themes are significant mediational means or semantic circles for explaining the factors behind personal heritage use in
Dadaocheng. In other words, any heritage use is concerned with personal and social interaction, but also with specific situational contexts. Thus, the following discussions will further demonstrate sub-themes and details of these seven themes in personal narratives of heritage use.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Files</th>
<th>References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Narratives of heritage use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The practical vision</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>399</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical historical remains and heritage products</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical remains of historical legacies</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection and comparison with heritage products</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category identification of historical legacies</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discourses in places</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical interpretation of a historic district</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public discourses for promoting Dadaocheng</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical body with institutional role</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal orientation</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organisational objectives</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private interests</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public interests</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The interaction order</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social connection</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community interaction</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic conditions</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operational cost</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business environment</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The legitimate order</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban planning law</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage preservation act</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General property law</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contract specification</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 28.** Nvivo coding trees, presenting the coded nodes from personal narratives of heritage use with thirty-five interviewees. Source: the author.

### 5.2.1 The theme of physical historical remains and heritage products

The first theme of physical historical remains and heritage products denotes the importance of Dadaocheng and the valuable physical features for connecting or supporting personal approaches to heritage use. In addition, the related sub-themes contain physical remains of historical legacies, reflection and comparison with heritage products, and category
identification of historical legacies. Moreover, according to the coding statistics, this theme seems to be one of the most vital topics, as different interview participants sought to narrate their heritage use experiences.

In terms of the sub-theme of physical remains of historical legacies, the majority of narrators have stressed the crucial aspect of various historical remains for defining the features of Dadaocheng. This is particularly true in terms of architectural heritage and the old industries that operated in these historical buildings, and the emphasis of preserved historical buildings is usually associated with the past, such as ‘the feeling of presence of history’ (A7), ‘the prosperity of the place in specific eras’ (A6), and participants also saying ‘it feels like Dadaocheng has been frozen in time’ (C6), or ‘it makes Dadaocheng a place with cultural connotation’ (C11). This kind of approach is concretely reflected in the account of interviewee C7:

The reason why Dadaocheng can still be important nowadays (to represent old Taipei City) is because of the limitation on construction back then, and then the historical buildings were not torn down. There was discussion about rebuilding all these urban districts. Luckily, it didn’t happen. Those buildings were preserved, and our old industries are still here. You can still see tea stores, grocery stores, and medicine stores here [...] Without these business cultures, those buildings would be nothing but empty shells, and many valuable things would be gone.

(Interviewee C7/ local entrepreneur)

Most participants regarded both architectural heritage and old industries as the pivotal physical remains for defining the unique values of Dadaocheng, yet different participants presented different opinions on the scope of urban heritage in Dadaocheng. This category identification of heritage was revealed by asking participants what they considered to be
the most important heritage product in Dadaocheng, as they had sought to mention the significance of historical legacies for Dadaocheng. As shown in Figure 29, old industries and shops (including tea, Chinese medicine, fabric, and groceries and dried foods) as well as historical buildings are considered the most important forms of heritage, followed by the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple and related religious activities, historical celebrities, dietary cultures, theatre cultures and master craftsmen, in order of priority.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category Identification of the Most Important Urban Heritage of Dadaocheng with 35 Interviewees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old industries and shops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical buildings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xiahai City God Temple and related religious activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Historical celebrities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dietary cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatre cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Master craftsmen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 29.** Statistics on the most important cultural heritage products of Dadaocheng according to thirty-five interview participants. Source: the author.

In addition to prioritisation, another finding worth pointing out is the individual composition of highlighted heritage; this also refers to the personal combination of the most important urban heritage products which aims to signify something that for interpreting the quality of Dadaocheng. For instance, while interviewee A6 mentioned historical buildings, celebrities, and spaces of consumption for rich people (such as theatres and restaurants) as showing the prosperity of Dadaocheng, especially in the past, research participant C5 sought to indicate that the relationship between different types of business activities, along with historical stores, is the most important heritage product, and that it results in the lively quality of Dadaocheng. In other words, such heritage products not only
define the place values of Dadaocheng but also the elements of constructing urban imaginaries, as noted in the first part of this chapter. Accordingly, this finding may give rise to the potential heritage issues about the interaction between urban imaginaries, heritage use, and place identity in terms of narrating both heritage use and the historic environment.

In terms of cultural heritage, historical buildings are hardware, which represent the prosperity of the place in different eras. There are Baroque architectures and south Fujian architectures, which only rich people could afford. Some famous people have lived here, too, such as Chiang Weishui and some early composers of Taiwanese songs. There were also places where rich people visited, like the Eirakuza Theatre and Heimeiren Jiujia.

(Interviewee A6/ government officer)

Dadaocheng is a living historic site. You can see both past histories and their cultures to make a living in the present, including their foods, how they live their lives here, and how they do business. Here, the dietary culture is linked to businesses since this is a wholesale market, and everything follows businesses. Also, there are a variety of old stores that have been here for several generations. So, for me, this kind of mutual linkage is the most important cultural heritage in Dadaocheng.

(Interviewee C5/ local entrepreneur)

Drawing a distinction between physical remains and category identification, does not mean they are unrelated but rather suggests that category identification is inseparable from physical remains. Furthermore, the sub-theme of category identification of historical legacies, firstly demonstrates how the physical or material dimension of historical legacies affect the personal definition of place values. Secondly, it shows how the
conceptual combination of heritage category seems to be concerned with an individual approach to appraising a place. More importantly, both material visualisation and conceptual understanding seem to be interconnected. Subsequently, the functioning of historical legacies in defining place values\(^80\) with both aspects of material experiences and conceptual frameworks could be further verified in the next sub-theme in relation to case reflection and comparison.

Place values, to some extent, stem from case reflection and comparison, and this results in a unique quality. To stress the particular features of Dadaocheng, some interviewees compared the positives of the area with other more negative cases, especially other famous areas with old streets in Taiwan or even China. This could be identified in some accounts where the interviewees regarded Dadaocheng as a living place rather than just a tourist destination, for instance saying ‘unlike Bopiliao (剝皮寮, in Mengjia), Dadaocheng is a place of livelihood’ (Interviewee D2) or ‘take the Old Town of Lijiang (麗江古城), China, for example, there are no native residents living there, and these spaces are rented out for running the tourism industry’ (Interviewee C1). In addition, the concern about what is meant by a *historical* environment is another comparison approach, in which so-called traditional or old things, rather than fashionable items or chain businesses, are the important elements used to present the historical quality of a place. As interviewee C10 stated, certain specific traditional things make Dadaocheng a warm place with a sense of history.

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\(^{80}\) Regarding place values, the definition here is inspired by Randall Mason’s ideas regarding the relationship between the cultural significance and the value assessment of heritage. For Mason (2002, p.7), while cultural significance refers to the importance of a site with values attributed to it, which was initially proposed by the Burra Charter, value means ‘the qualities and characteristics seen in things, in particular the positive characteristics (actual and potential)’. Accordingly, the theme of physical historical remains and heritage products here seeks to indicate how different research participants identify the significance of Dadaocheng with specific qualities or items.
You can imagine if you visit Dadaocheng and find a lot international brands instead of old people making wickerwork and Chinese medicine or other traditional things, you probably would find this place very boring. Take Sanxia (三義) or Yingge Ceramics Street (鶯歌陶瓷街) for example, you can't find anything in the traditional sense there.

(Interviewee C10/ local entrepreneur)

Similarly, this narrative method of comparison is also used in observing Dadaocheng itself; research participant E2 sought to introduce his heritage uses regarding promoting guided tours, with the trend in recent years towards the adaptive use of historical buildings by the younger generation in Dadaocheng. He then compared an abandoned house with the “good” case of Art Yard to emphasise the trend of the creative use of historical buildings; he even wondered whether this phenomenon existed only in Dadaocheng.

It is a pity that the building with an original traditional façade opposite Lee Cake (李亭香餅舖) had been left unused for over a decade, leading to the ugliest scene here [...] Like the house opposite Rice & Shine or other old buildings, the current atmosphere is interesting because I found many young people had remodeled old buildings with something novel; this kind of trend, called “old building reuse” (老屋再利用), “old building new life” (老屋新生)or “old house with young people” (老屋欣力), is special, especially the case of the series of Art Yard prompted by Chou Yicheng (周奕成), and I am not sure if it can be seen in other places around the world.

(Interviewee E2/ local retiree)

In addition, to reflect on and compare heritage products, another unique quality of Dadaocheng pointed out by many research participants is that the streets of Dadaocheng were Taiwanese areas, rather than the
Japanese. This is because in the Japanese colonial era, most Japanese people lived in the Inner City, and Dadaocheng was a place where Taiwanese people lived and worked. This kind of comparison will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

In the Japanese era, the Yongle Market (永樂市場) in Dadaocheng was outside the city (Inner City) at that time. The Yongle Market is not only the place where most the Taiwanese gathered, but also the largest market. So Dadaocheng was a commercial district for the Taiwanese people.

(Interviewee C9/ local entrepreneur)

For Dadaocheng, it was a market street developed by the Taiwanese people, rather than used and left by the Japanese people. So, these existing urban heritages are meaningful and important, and represent a microcosm of Taiwanese society before the war.

(Interviewee C2/ local entrepreneur)

As such, from physical remains of historical legacies, category identification of historical legacies, to reflection and comparison with heritage products, the theme of physical historical remains and heritage products seems to be related to place values of Dadaocheng, in which physical historical legacies and case comparison play an important role in personal interaction with the historic environment itself, physical or discursive. Subsequently, the following sections will deal with another place-values-related theme about discourses in places.

5.2.2 The theme of discourses in places
The theme of discourses in places is mainly based on two kinds of semantic circles presented in personal accounts: the historical interpretation of a historic district and public discourses promoting
Dadaocheng. Both sub-themes denote that conceptual construction for a physical place is not just influenced by personal experiences with physical remains, but specific knowledge or discourses from a variety of sources. For instance, interviewee E2 claimed that ‘after reading some related books and magazines, I gradually discovered the uniqueness of Dadaocheng compared with other places in Taiwan, including the historical site of transforming the history of Taiwan and “mixed blood” architecture’. Here so-called “mixed blood” architecture refers to the mixed architectural styles between Chinese and Western cultures. In other words, both the uniqueness of architectural styles acquired by book knowledge and the current reuse of historical buildings according to interviewee E2 affected the contents and ways of his heritage uses about organising in-depth guided tours to promote Dadaocheng.

The sub-theme of historical interpretation of a historic district refers to information about the histories of a physical place, thus enabling us to understand or imagine past urban life; this could be obtained by experience or study. Apparently, physical historical legacies, such as buildings, monuments, and books, are an important medium to connect the past or history of urban development, yet this section aims to emphasise another aspect of historical images from magazines, newspapers, or television. This emphasis stemmed from the findings of empirical data. This is to say that the sources of historical knowledge can be diverse through images, especially for this case study of Dadaocheng. Meanwhile, these images may affect not only the cognitive appropriation of imagining the past and related place values but also actual practices in relation to heritage use and cultural regeneration. The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple and related folk activities, for example, are regarded as the most important religious legacies, and the building is officially listed as a historic monument, in Dadaocheng. As for the cultural festival celebrating the birthday of City God, the Temple, on the one hand, seeks to praise the spectacular past of religious festivals in and for Dadaocheng while on the
other hand, it has been used for both cultural promotion and rejuvenation in new ways, aiming to engage with the younger generation and those who are interested in religious culture. Accordingly, as the Temple’s core faculty member, interviewee D5, stated, historical images and related descriptions in the media seem to play a crucial role to facilitate this regeneration process.

In the period of Japanese rule, the City God Birthday Parade had a national reputation; a documentary made in 1937 by FOX News Channel or several old sayings such as “North City God and south Mazu” (北城隍、南媽祖) and “There is a lot of people watching on May 13th (for the City God Birthday Parade)” (五月十三人看人) (as seen in Taiwan Daily News, 臺灣日日新報), for example, reveal the grand occasion of the parade. Then these words and images can help us imagine the splendour of this religious activity [...] In addition, in 2014 we hosted an event to let faithful pilgrims follow the City God, since this kind of activity was popular in the past. This resumption was inspired by a historical photo taken by a local photographer, Cheng Tsai (張才), and the historical descriptions presented in Taiwan Daily News.

(Interviewee D5/ local religious organisation staff)

Furthermore, historical interpretations of Dadaocheng as a historic district are also concerned with the circulation of historical stories, especially for specific important historical events. Accordingly, the meaning of a historic site for the place values presented by the majority of interviewees is involved in the source of stories. More importantly, the potential of stories is connected to something to be explored and then to be developed. This is to say that, as research participant C2 claimed, ‘Dadaocheng is not only a development stage, but also historical scenes’; or, according to the accounts of interviewee B3, ‘Dadaocheng has become a precious treasure house of story [...] In terms of cultural value, what I want to do through this
historical building is to interpret and present these local elements of story in a creative way’.

In addition, associating Dadaocheng with the base of story source and for development resources, this kind of interpretation leads us to reconsider the relationship between place values, urban imaginaries, and individual heritage use. Subsequently, two more examples can be used to explain this association. Both participants sought to identify certain significant historical facts which can only be recognised and reviewed in historical documents and images today. These representative elements are used to link Dadaocheng with the whole island of Taiwan. Whether the theatre history mentioned by interviewee A7 or the history of democracy highlighted by interviewee B3 in the 1920s and 1930s, both highlight the aim to express the place values of Dadaocheng as a historic site for Taiwan’s development of performing arts and democracy. Ultimately, these specific urban imaginaries, regarding Dadaocheng as a hub of traditional performing arts and democratic thoughts respectively, have deeply affected individual heritage promotion activities in Dadaocheng.

For example, the Eirakuza Theatre, originally located opposite this building, was destroyed, but it is full of stories. Likewise, some popular local theatres established in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Taiwan First Theatre and the Tamsui Theatre (Taiwan New Stage Theatre), were the earliest theatres in all of Taiwan. Although all of them have disappeared, what our institution tries to do is just to regenerate the spirit and related stories, intending to make Dadaocheng a traditional performing arts hub again.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

As we took over this space, we sought to convince the Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office that this space should be used for exhibiting and rediscovering social movements about the Taiwanese
people who resisted the Japanese colonial power in the 1920s, because of the local contexts, and that is the reason this space was assigned as a historical building [...] This area is rich in stories, including the tipping point of the February 28 Incident (1947), the Taiwan Cultural Association (1921-1929), Taiwan People’s Newspaper (the 1920s and 1930s), the Taiwanese People’s Party (1927-1931), and Chunfeng Deyi Lou (1920-1922) run by Chaing Weishui [...] In the past, Dadaocheng was like the brain of Taiwan, and its ideas influenced other places in Taiwan. So, the spirit of social movements of Dadaocheng could be regenerated, and another renaissance would arise. This is just the main subject I would like to promote.

(Interviewee B2/ government project manager)

The other sub-theme of public discourses for promoting Dadaocheng is mainly related to both different discourses promoted by policy practice for Dadaocheng and personal reflection in individual accounts about heritage use and Dadaocheng. As for the former, government officers, in interviews, tended to say their heritage uses in the form of policy implementation with specific ideas, such as “the creative city”, “culture-led urban regeneration”, “ecological museum”, or ”sustainable development”. This also means that Dadaocheng has the potential and resources to meet the visions of specific discourses.

The idea of regeneration, compared with the term redevelopment promoted in the United States, could inspire us to think the future of Taipei City and Dadaocheng towards sustainable development in different perspectives, such as society, environment and economy.

(Interviewee A1/ government officer)
When it comes to promoting Dadaocheng, there are at least two policy contexts, with the discourses of historic preservation and the creative city or the cultural and creative industries. These two approaches converged on Dihua Street and then formed part of the URS discourse.

(Interviewee A2/ government officer)

To be honest, at the beginning, we did adopt the discourse of the creative city to formulate URS policy, rather than culture-led urban regeneration.

(Interviewee A3/ government officer)

Now the Taipei City Government is trying to run a project with the discourse of Dadaocheng as an ecological museum, in which tea, traditional performing arts, and the democratic movements of the 1920s are key elements to be explored and promoted.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

In addition, these public discourses for promoting Dadaocheng mentioned above seem to be “general” ideas penetrating the narrative content of local people. For instance, Interviewee C2 sought to use the concept of the cultural and creative industries to rethink the development of Dadaocheng: ‘The development of an old street could not work just for tourists, and historic atmosphere can not become the decoration of the cultural and creative industries’. Likewise, Interviewee D6 utilised the idea of sustainable development to envision the development of Dadaocheng. Therefore, discourses in places, with historical interpretation and policy making, could influence how we narrate a place in different ways.

Most historic areas in Dadaocheng have been preserved. However, we need to reconsider the issue of sustainable development of
5.2.3 The theme of historical body with institutional role

The personal considerations and re-evaluations of heritage uses are revealed in the narration of individual heritage experiences, especially by asking participants to provide some background information regarding themselves and their practices in Dadaocheng. Accordingly, the theme of historical body with institutional role seems to be a significant issue to explain individual heritage uses. Further, this theme is related to both personal orientation and organisational objectives.

Personal orientation seems to constitute one of the most essential factors that affects one’s attitudes and choices to approach heritage use, in which personal background and identity are significant influential components. While personal background here refers to a variety of experiences of personal life, learning and/or work, personal identity emphasises more the aspects of self-positioning, professional identity, or local identity. Among these thirty-five interviewees, seventeen of the participants were brought up in Dadaocheng and then continued to work there, or came back to Dadaocheng in recent decades to settle down and run individual businesses or projects.

During the interviewing process, these native participants stressed not only their learning or work experiences as linked to their heritage uses but also being a Dadaocheng native, which leads to some accounts and reflections, such as ‘I hoped that I could introduce further Dadaocheng in the local perspectives’ (C1), ‘because I have been living here since I was a child, my affections are very directly and intuitively reflected’ (C5), or ‘I found I knew little about Taiwan and Dadaocheng’s history […]’, and then I
felt quite ashamed’ (E2). Accordingly, as we explore the interview excerpts of B3 more closely, the linkage between personal background, local identity, and heritage use is clearer, and this means that for native people, in addition to study and work experiences, the emotional link plays an important role in the personal orientation of heritage use.

As you know, I co-worked with the film director, Ye Tianlun (葉天倫), to run this historical space […] I am a native person, and Mr Ye’s grandfather once worked at Tait Marketing & Distribution Company (in Dadaocheng); this is the reason that some themes and settings of Mr Ye’s films were related to the area of Dadaocheng […] I grew up in this area, so I have a sense of responsibility to regenerate this community by resolving its problems […] My previous job is a designer, so I made a new attempt to run this historical building […] I will seek to promote local historical stories in new ways, and then engage local inhabitants into this process.

(Interviewee B3/ government project manager)

In contrast, professional identity with personal study and work experiences seems to be more crucial for outsiders to integrate historical legacies with working in Dadaocheng. This does not mean that they do not have any further emotional connection with Dadaocheng as they began to work here. Rather, it is personal interests, especially related to their professional experiences, that further connect them to the features and resources of Dadaocheng. It also means that these outsiders come here with specific perspectives or purposes. For example, participant D2 is a Dutch sinologist interested in the art of puppetry, and he has been living in Dadaocheng since 2000 and devising a puppetry museum. The reason for building a museum here to promote puppetry culture is that ‘Dadaocheng is more like the old Taipei with the original lifestyles of the Han people, and it was once the hub of Taiwanese glove puppetry’ (D2). Likewise, as interviewee C9 stated, ‘I am a product designer. I hope to find materials
from Taiwan to tell stories […] when we came to Dadaocheng, we tried to design some products with the elements and feelings of old iron-barred windows and old houses’ (C9).

In summary, personal background affects the method used for identity building and the possibility of connecting professional identity through working with heritage. This observation could be extended and further resonated with the narrative of interviewee C2. For him, the place of Dadaocheng or the historical legacies in Dadaocheng seem to be a kind of resource, and his strategies to relate these resources are based on and then extended from his unique background and related identity.

I am a private business operator with concerns about public benefit and cultural vision […] my thinking or ambition is sometimes broader than the government, because I was once a senior government officer at the Office of the President and Executive Yuan, and involved in the process of Taiwan’s democratisation as well […] I am not a native person and do not have any geographical relations with Dadaocheng, so my concern and starting point are not based on community building or local identity […] For me, I believe in the importance of the lower construction of society since I have been influenced by Karl Marx since I was young, and have some thoughts of left-right politics, I even studied at business school. So, this leads me to use entrepreneurship to promote this district based on the opportunities provided by this area.

(Interviewee C2/ local entrepreneur)

Moreover, institutional role is one of the key factors affecting both personal-professional identity and the practical vision of heritage use. This also means that organisational objectives play an essential role in why and how to use historical legacies, particularly for those project executors with specific institutional goals. Briefly, all research participants can be
divided into five categories, namely, government officers, project managers of government-led projects, local entrepreneurs, leaders or staff members of local non-profit organisations, and older local inhabitants. Subsequently, the results show that whilst the aim of both the government and non-profit organisations is to pursue public interests, such as place-making and cultural or arts promotion, individual enterprises seek to achieve culture-based commercial benefits.

Regarding government operations, in addition to the role played by individual departments, the government is also related to the cooperation and power structure at different levels of organisations. The Dadaocheng Theatre, for instance, is a subordinate unit of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government, so, as interviewee A7 commented, some heritage uses promoting traditional performing arts by the Dadaocheng Theatre are a response to the plans of the government.

We work in the public sector, and our actions sometimes require us to follow the master plan of the superior government. For example, from the Dadaocheng Old Townscape Redevelopment Plan (between 2007 and 2009) to the recent Taipei West Gateway Explanatory Plan (after 2015), we proposed the idea of making Dadaocheng Taipei’s centre of traditional performing arts to respond to government plans. So, our Theatre is in charge of the part of Taiwanese operas, and we need to regenerate Dadaocheng through performing arts.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

As for heritage users based in non-profit organisations, their uses are framed under the individual objectives of their organisations. Meanwhile, to engage more people with cultural activities or the concerns of each organisation, the strategy of heritage use tends to meet the social needs and interests of potential participants in different eras. This also means
that flexible organisational objectives influence the promotion strategies of heritage use, even within the same organisation. The Taipei Xiahai City God Temple, for example, has been promoting religious ceremonies and related cultural activities since the end of the nineteenth century. However, the concern with the propagation and inheritance of religious cultures for the younger generation had made the Temple change its promotion strategies. As a result, in addition to promoting the original City God in new ways with the renowned birthday celebration activities, another promotion of Chinese Cupid (月老) has shaped this Temple, especially for those who are not married, with a new reputation for looking for a good marriage. In other words, in the process of cultural promotion with public interests, the flexibility of organisational strategies, corresponding to both individual aims and current trends, is a factor influencing heritage use in non-profit organisations.

The changing times also influence the operation of our Temple. About twenty years ago, Wengweng (current director of the Temple) found that those who go to the temple to pray were mostly old people, and without the participation of younger generations, the inheritance of cultures would become problematic. So, she sought to promote Chinese Cupid, aiming to make religious activities closer to young people. Gradually, it has become one of the famous features of our Temple; even the Japanese media also interviewed us and then reported it […] Following this direction, I have been seeking to organise many promotional activities for religious heritage in more new and creative ways.

(Interviewee D5/ local religious organisation staff)

As such, the semantic circle of historical body with institutional role aims to stress the connection between personal orientation and organisational objectives. Thus, according to the analysis of empirical data, whilst personal orientation is influenced by a variety of personal experiences and
the self-positioning of personal identity, professional position within a specific organisation is also a significant meeting point to mediate personal attitudes with organisational objectives, especially for those heritage users who are based in specific institutions. Thus, it is better to consider both historical body and institutional role at the same time, and this connection seems to be a fundamental factor that affects the approaches to heritage use.

5.2.4 The theme of the interaction order
The interaction order is also another significant issue for some heritage uses, particularly for public or networking organisations. In this context, the interaction order refers to two dimensions: the content of heritage use itself related to community interaction, and interviewees joining local networking organisations to co-work on projects in relation to using historical legacies for social connection.

To take the idea of “xiku” (戲窟) for example, this Chinese term means a hub of traditional performing arts, and it is also a place imaginary for some interviewees to imagine Dadaocheng’s past. Although “xiku” is a descriptive concept, it relates to a variety of intangible cultural heritage elements in Dadaocheng, listed by the Taipei City Government, including Taiwanese operas, glove puppets, Peikuan music, martial arts, and folk activities. Ultimately, these individual types of intangible cultural heritage are mutually related and supported. For example, the performance of Taiwanese operas or glove puppetry needs to be accompanied with Peikuan music troupes, and these performances often take place in religious events.

Accordingly, the aim of heritage use promoted by the government-led Dadaocheng Theatre is to regenerate and reinvigorate traditional performing arts in Dadaocheng, even for the whole of Taipei City.
Therefore, such projects often need to co-operate with local theatres and performing troupes to activate in overall artistic ecology. Put briefly, community interaction, especially for promoting intangible cultural heritage in this study, demonstrates not only the importance of social networking of different groups, but also the necessity of a well-functioning linkage between various heritage types.

The Dadaocheng Theatre is here to pass down the culture of traditional Taiwanese operas, facilitating the revival of “xiku”. In a sense, we tend to co-work with local organisations, like the City God Temple, the Thinkers’ Theatre (思劇場), and the Taiyuan Asian Puppet Theatre Museum (臺原亞洲偶戲博物館), to achieve the goal step by step.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

In addition, the sub-theme of social connection here is concerned with different sorts of heritage users, who organise a networking platform to work together with historical legacies, especially for the overall local development. The Dadaocheng Creative District Development Association (大稻埕創意街區發展協會), for instance, was founded by local people in 2016; and its founding purpose is ‘integrating local residents and businesses with outside resources to reuse cultural heritage in creative ways. This aims to make Dadaocheng an ideal living place mixing culture, art, and commerce, and co-work to advance the qualities of life and public profits.’

About a quarter of all research participants in this study are members of this Association. More importantly, some interviewees mentioned the interactions with this organisation as they narrated their individual heritage uses in Dadaocheng.

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81 This account of the founding aim is quoted from the general introduction of the Dadaocheng Creative District Development Association on the website of https://yellow.place/en/大稻埕創意街區發展協會-taipei-taiwan.
According to the following accounts of cases D5 and C9, the Dadaocheng Creative District Development Association is not only a platform connecting partners in this area to work together for their individual heritage uses, such as a series of cultural activities celebrating the birthday of the City God, mainly promoted by the City God Temple, but it also brings together individual efforts as a cohesive force addressing these broader concerns of promoting cultural heritage and local development. In other words, in a broader sense, the social connection of heritage use here relates individual practical uses with a more holistic view and high-level driving forces to unite various heritage users and to then foster more creativity.

What we (the Dadaocheng Creative District Development Association) are trying to do is to utilise creativity with different groups to make history more fun and flexible. We have used many ways to connect the residents and businesses here, so that they can exchange ideas to create something new […] We hope this area can be developed in a sustainable way. For example, our members all participated in the cultural festivals of the City God Temple to promote local culture. Or we once organised a project of a fashion show to integrate local clothing industries with the tea culture, both of which are important local features of Dadaocheng.

(Interviewee C9/ local entrepreneur)

5.2.5 The theme of economic conditions
The theme of economic conditions seems to be one of the key contributing factors in the possibility of heritage use, especially in the case of Dadaocheng as a commercial district. Economic conditions can be divided into two parts: operational costs and the general business environment. The first sub-theme is related to the expenses of promoting heritage or heritage use, and this issue was mentioned by most research
participants, with comments on government funding, fundraising, or private investment; that is, economic capital affects the scale and methods of heritage use. For example, a URS manager of Interviewee B3 sought to express the financial difficulty of running projects in a large historical building.

The founder is just a young passionate girl and does not have strong financial support. I found running a historical space of more than 330 square metres with only two members of staff is pressured. This led to the bad quality of the project.

(Interviewee B3/ government project manager)

Furthermore, the general condition of the economic environment also influences the willingness and interest in investing in or taking on heritage uses, especially for those entrepreneurs who use historical resources or cultural elements to construct their business brands in historical buildings. When we compare the accounts of interviewees E2 and C2, it is apparent that Dadaocheng was perceived as a declining area before 2010 in the context of the financial crisis of 2007-2008. Moreover, the external forces of economic recession affected local business and the possibility of heritage use. In other words, for a historic commercial area, the condition of the business environment is an important consideration when integrating historical legacies with a commercial focus for heritage purposes. Meanwhile, the flourishing development of business units could also contribute to drive more commercial energies.

In 2008, although I had identified the potential of Dadaocheng, I did not find a good way to implement my plans. Moreover, many historical buildings were being renovated at that time, but this area was also experiencing decline due to the global financial tsunami.

(Interviewee C2/ local entrepreneur)
It seems to me the period between 1970 and 2010 was relatively the era of decline for Dadaocheng. During this period, this place looked depressing because there were no visitors with dim lighting at night. Meanwhile, there were very few people visiting here during the daytime. However, after 2010, this place began to return to life due to the regeneration energy of new enterprises or groups, such as Little Art Yard founded by Chou Yicheng; although these new energies started form the south part of Dihua Street, they have gradually influenced the north part.  

(Interviewee E2/ local retiree)

As such, the theme of economic conditions relates not only to the need for economic capital and a business environment that supports heritage uses, but also to survival opportunities for heritage users or organisations to live and/or work in the historic environment. This also means that the economic demands and incentives are inevitable when dealing with the issues of historic preservation or heritage use in a commercial area.

Although heritage use itself is one possible way to produce economic values, most research participants tended to claim that their heritage concerns and related uses were not limited to economic benefits but had multiple values. This is to say that heritage users in this study sought to create win-win or win-win-win situations in their own ways to give heritage use more meanings, such as cultural, social, or educational, rather than just focusing on economic benefits. The accounts of Interviewee C5, for instance, reveal this complex relationship between economic decline with external forces, heritage use with economic incentives, and individual survival with economic support. In other words, economic factors seem to be an indispensable consideration for exploring the interconnection between heritage use and the historic environment.
I grew up here. I went through the final period of this area thriving. Back then, there were many restaurants, dance halls, cinemas, and theatres. After Xinyi District (信義區) became the economic centre of Taipei, the west side of Taipei, including Dadaocheng, became derelict. Nobody wanted to go to the west side anymore, until in recent years, some people came to Dadaocheng to explore its stories and historical resources and then to start their businesses here […] Even though at present the economy is not in a good position, I need to look for better ways to make a living. However, during the process of earning money, I still believe the meaning of heritage goes beyond profit, to cultural, social, and educational aspects.

(Interviewee C5/ local entrepreneur)

Economic conditions here therefore refer to economic demands and incentives supporting heritage uses, especially in a historic commercial area. In addition to sociocultural values, economic resources and benefits are also involved in heritage uses. This is to say that most heritage uses require financial support to mobilise human and material resources. Meanwhile, the general business environment is also a contributing factor in a willingness to invest in heritage use, especially for profit-oriented organisations.

5.2.6 The theme of the legitimate order
The next contextual factor is concerned with the theme of legal regulation, and this situation, especially in the urban contexts. This is related to different levels of the legitimate order, including the aspects of urban planning, general property, cultural heritage preservation, and individual contracts. Like the theme of economic conditions, the theme of the legitimate order is concerned with “physical restrictions” for urban heritage use, rather than material, symbolic or social factors. This also means that,
for the real-and-imagined praxis of heritage use, the legitimate order seems like the rules of the game to limit heritage users in using certain historical legacies that are protected by the law.

According to the interview transcripts, although some heritage users are related to the promotion of intangible cultural heritage, such as folk temple activities, Peikuan music, or traditional Taiwanese opera, more than half of the interview cases are related to reusing historical buildings to connect with place features, from traditional industries to historical stories. Accordingly, these building properties are regulated not only by urban planning laws, especially as Dadaocheng was officially listed as a historic district in 2000, but also by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act or general property law. As Interviewee C5 stated, for both his family building and design commissions, he was required to follow the relevant legislation guidelines as he was dealing with reusing historical buildings.

Many people suggested I should demolish my family’s old house, but I had some difficult decisions. This is because, if I chose to rebuild it, I would be forced to deal with the complex problems about the property rights of this house belonging to different family members. At the same time, I felt our family memories would disappear if it was demolished, so I decided to refurbish it gradually and preserved it as much as possible […] Indeed, most of the time, I just take advantage of any opportunity in specific conditions. For example, for my design business, I must deal with many cases where historic buildings are reused, and most of them are officially listed as cultural heritage, so I need to obey the relevant regulations of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act.

(Interviewee C5/ local entrepreneur)

Moreover, some cases of historical building reuse are project-based with a contract specification. Within the research, this kind of situation can be
clearly seen in the cases of URS. URS heritage users conduct government-led projects to reuse historical spaces without paying rent, yet they need to observe the agreements set out by the government, such as hosting a certain number of events each year or limiting commercial use. According to Interviewee B3 (a URS manager), we further found that contract regulation affected his business types, and the specific limit of non-profit use also leads to another issue of operating costs and management quality.

The original regulation of URS policy defines these stations as non-profit spaces […] Although it has relaxed regulations to allow thirty percent of space to be run commercially, our company continues to show a deficit each month, so I hope 100 percent of space will be allowed for commercial use in the future.

(Interviewee B3/ government project manager)

Therefore, the theme of legitimate order seeks to reveal the relationship between individual heritage uses and legal regulation. The legitimate order here relates to heritage use in a special type of urban planning area, heritage use with legislatively protected types of historical legacies, or heritage use with historical legacies belonging to public or private property. Taking the case of Dadaocheng as an example, the area is not only a historic special-use zone with specific urban planning laws and a related protection mechanism of historical buildings, but it is also an urban phenomenon with a variety of activities promoting the intangible cultural heritage and the adaptive reuse of historical buildings that are regulated by the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act or by a tenancy agreement. In summary, the legitimate order refers to different levels of legal norms for both the historical legacies themselves and the heritage use location.
5.2.7 The theme of the practical vision

When it comes to the theme of the practical vision, the aim of individual heritage use is diverse. First, participants belonging to independent business tended to describe their objectives with the usage of “I”, which is often concerned with personal orientation as mentioned above. In contrast, those who were based in government or bigger organisations often mentioned their heritage uses with an institutional orientation and using the term “we”. For instance, Interviewee A6, an officer of the Department of Economic Development, outlined the aim of renovating old shops in historical buildings as follows: ‘We, the Department of Economic Development, aim to keep this area thriving. So, we have sought to help with renovations, one store at a time, telling people that this works’ (A6). Likewise, participant A7 linked her efforts to her institutional purpose with the Dadaocheng Theatre: ‘We work in the public sector, and our focus is on passing down traditional operas and creating a sound environment for traditional operas with more influences’ (A7).

Therefore, from arts promotion, community engagement, cultural education, cultural economy, family business, family memories, historic preservation, in-depth cultural tourism, local identity, sustainable prosperity, and a cultural entrepreneurship base, to the traditional performing arts centre, these practical visions of heritage use, summarised from the interview data, demonstrate different ideas about the ambition of heritage use in and for Dadaocheng, which is partly related to personal or organisational orientation.

In terms of the sub-theme of the practical vision of heritage use, it also relates private interests and/or public interests, yet the boundary between individual and public concerns is blurred. More specifically, heritage use seems to be beyond personal or individual interests with a wider range of care. It seems that heritage users from government or non-profit organisations often described their practices with regard to broader public
interests. For instance, for the marketing officer of the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple (Interviewee D5), promoting religious activities is normal for a religious organisation, but for them, the continuous promotion of religious heritage in new ways includes local identity building and historic preservation. Meanwhile, these practices seem to be linked with their professional identity as a cultural translator.

We regard ourselves as a translator (of religious culture); this means that we seek to interpret religious culture for young people and those who are interested in these folk affairs in new ways […] Indeed, what we did was related to the whole Dadaocheng, rather than just our Temple […] Our long-term goal is to engage with local businesses and residents to advance local identity, but also to create the possibility of inheritance and regeneration of culture.

(Interviewee D5/ local religious organisation staff)

Similarly, when we pay attention to the interview data from micro-enterprises or independent users, it is apparent that individual heritage uses not only seek to satisfy personal interests, but also aim to advance public benefits, especially in the narrative context. Both cases below of the graphic designer (C9) and the lighting designer (C5) aimed to initially expand their family memories with legacies left by their grandfathers. The former not only named her shop using her grandfather’s name, but also moved into Dadaocheng, where her mother and grandfather once lived and worked. The matchboxes collected by her grandfather had become the creative material for product design. Meanwhile, along with other representations of product, she aimed to use these resources to deliver historical stories of Taiwan, focusing on cultural education.

Likewise, Interviewee C5 refurbished his grandfather’s old dentistry clinic and preserved medical equipment. This project not only received the Golden Award from the 2014 Old Building New Life Awards (臺北老屋新
生大獎），which is an annual event hosted by the Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office since 2001, but also formed a point of discussion for the media and a model for renovating historical buildings between family memory and adaptive reuse in Dadaocheng. To sum up, even the method of heritage use begins with personal concerns, the aims of which seem to move towards public consideration.

My grandfather left these pictures; they are the covers of the matchboxes made during the period from the end of the Qing Dynasty to the Japanese colonial era. We can see the miniature of an era through these printed objects […] They are now public goods and public history. I can reproduce them into other creative products […] I aim to represent the stories about Taiwan's history to younger generations since they are the future hope for passing down our cultures.

(Interviewee C9/ local entrepreneur)

I used to work in a theatre, and my job (as a lighting designer) was closely related to performance art and visual art. In 2012, I came back from the Cité Internationale des Arts in Paris, and I thought about a lot of things. I remembered our family has a house in Dadaocheng. The reason why I wanted to repair this old dental clinic is because I wanted to do something for my grandpa to thank him for what he had done for our family […] As a result, this space now has become the place where we live and do creative work, and it feels like my grandpa is still here […] I have the chance to reuse this historical space so that it can be seen by more people. And because of this achievement, I have had more opportunities to take part in the reformation of the society (with more design projects), having more dialogues with the society […] Through my practices, I would like to
represent histories and lifestyles of this place, and then to inspire potential visitors.

(Interviewee C5/ local entrepreneur)

5.3 Implications of individual interpretation with an iconic image of Dadaocheng

From the place narratives of the official city writing in *Taipei Pictorial* to personal narratives about individual heritage use and place description in the current chapter, urban imaginaries is one of the core topics to link historical legacies. This also means that urban heritage is an important facilitator for imagining the quality of a physical place. Meanwhile, urban heritage use seems to be indivisible from envisioning a better future in and for a heritage place. Regarding urban imaginaries, images in various forms are also one of the possible elements contributing to the imagination of a physical environment. In a sense, no iconic place image could be ignored in exploring the construction process of urban imaginaries, especially for research that focuses on both urban imaginaries and cultural imagination.

This section concentrates on individual interpretation using the example of the painting *Festival on South Street*, by Kuo Hsuehhu (1930). The reasons for this analysis are twofold: 1) This painting is not only one of the highlights of the Taipei Fine Arts Museum (臺北市立美術館), but has also been used and circulated in different ways for several decades, from being wrapping paper for local food and souvenirs (see Figure 30 and 31) to being a creative source for film making and literary creation; 2) During the interview process, some research participants proactively mentioned this image to describe Dadaocheng. Therefore, by asking the question of how to read this iconic image, different interpretations have formed a reflexivity and connection between the past of and the future in relation to Dadaocheng.
Before discussing the results of personal interpretations of the image *Festival on South Street*, we should first demonstrate some active connections with this image, as the interviewees aimed to describe the past of Dadaocheng in their recollections. Basically, the related mentions can be divided into two types: a visual support for imagining Dadaocheng and a resource for promoting Dadaocheng. Interviewee C8, for example, regarded the past of Dadaocheng as a place mixing Western and Chinese cultures, and then she sought to visualise her imagination with the painting by Kuo Hsuehhu: ‘To me, Dadaocheng was like the presentation of Western and Chinese cultures.’
of the painting of *Festival on South Street*. Visually, Dadaocheng was a place where the East meets the West, or a place of cultural exchange’. Likewise, as research participant B3 celebrated the glorious history and stories of Dadaocheng, he stated that ‘the past of Dadaocheng is very meaningful and powerful because this area could develop well, culturally and economically, at the same time, and this glorious past has been recorded by Kuo Hsuehhu’s work *Festival on South Street*’.

Besides being an important historical resource, this picture has been used to symbolise Dadaocheng; this kind of association can be further highlighted in the accounts of the leader of the Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government, with the statement, ‘I would like to promote the cultural tourism of Dadaocheng in terms of issuing a special metro card of Kuo Hsuehhu. In this regard, the painting *Festival on South Street* is a representative image in my mind’ (Interviewee A4). Therefore, this iconic image, as a historical legacy, has generated symbolic values for different people in varying ways.

Regarding individual interpretations of *Festival on South Street*, the results can be split into three categories: historical imagination, vision projection, and critical reflection. First, this image seems to be a crucial medium for most interviewees to imagine the lively commercial area of South Street (now the southern part of Dihua Street) in the 1920s, and through it, a specific kind of historical imagination, Dadaocheng as a hub of business trading in Northern Taiwan, has been connected and then demonstrated. This connection between an image and historical imagination can be denoted through specific accounts, such as ‘It represents the glorious condition of South Street in the 1920s’ (Interviewee C11), ‘Through it, we can understand the Dadaocheng of ninety years ago’ (Interviewee C10), ‘This picture is full of a variety of shops, bustling with commercial activities during the history of Dihua Street’ (Interviewee D1), or ‘this painting reminds us that the trade was centred in Dadaocheng which was a
leading place gathering of businessmen and cultural talents’ (Interviewee C8).

Moreover, historical imagination in terms of an iconic picture also leads to the further comparison between the past and the present of a physical place. Interviewee D3, for instance, stated that ‘this painting shows Dadaocheng was once a prosperous market. Although the great boom no longer exists, the spirit and related traditional industries have been preserved until now’. Likewise, Interviewee C9 sought to compare the description of the image with the current physical environment. By examining the details of the image, she further indicated not only the no longer extant site of the Eirakuza Theatre through the content of the painting regarding an advertisement of the Eirakuza Theatre with the drama of The Burning of the Red Lotus Temple (火燒紅蓮寺), but also the accuracy of the portrayal of the street houses. Ultimately, for her, this painting can help us understand the market lifestyle of Dadaocheng in the 1920s.

The location in the picture is the old Lane 46, where the old Eirakuza Theatre was located […] This picture is half-real and half-imaginary; compared to the existing historical buildings, the houses of Dadaocheng weren’t so tall. In addition, the picture is titled Nanjie Yinzhen (南街殷賑, Festival on South Street). In Japanese, Yinzhen means a bustling and prosperous condition, and the painter put everything related to daily life during that era into it. You can see tricycles, people with leather aprons, people with oil paper umbrellas, and various vendors. So, this image helps us understand the lives of the people in the 1920s.

(Interviewee C9/ local entrepreneur)

In terms of the second aspect of vision projection, some interviewees interpreted this image with their practical visions of heritage use or place
visions. This also means that some qualities of the content of the painting trigger research participants’ visions. Interviewee C5, for instance, stated that this image illustrated a nice era of Dadaocheng, and the living and shopping environment depicted in the picture resonated with his vision of how Dadaocheng could be maintained as a comfortable and friendly living environment. In other words, the act of interpreting an iconic image seems to create a comparative opportunity to reflect the current environmental problems.

Similarly, Interviewee A7 demonstrated a close relationship between religious activities and performing arts as she read this image as linked with the subject of temple fairs. This led her to reconsider both the difficulty and solution of promoting unpopular art genres of intangible cultural heritage, which is linked with her place vision of reviving Dadaocheng as a centre of traditional performing arts. Therefore, a legacy image, as a source of constructing urban imaginary, is not only a medium to stimulate the imagination of the past of a place but is also a catalyst to reflect both on the present and on a better future for the living environment. This is to say that, as Interview D5 stated, ‘When I look at this picture, it could be linked with a special time; I do not mean we need to come back to this period […] We could be inspired by this painting as we rethink the present and future development of this district’.

I really appreciate this image, especially emotionally. This is because I hope Dadaocheng can be maintained as a comfortable living place. In a sense, I expect Dihua Street could become a car-free zone, and these ugly cables along the street could be removed. For me, this painting represents a lively scene. Although we have no opportunity to experience this scene, we still feel happy since Dadaocheng looked so nice during the specific period in the past.

(Interviewee C5/ local entrepreneur)
This painting *Festival on South Street* reminds me that art was part of our daily lives in the past; this means that it is natural for us to go to the theatre and attend religious festivals in daily life. For me, if we could make the public realise that there is no division between religious festivals, performing arts, and a better life, we would not feel so pressured as we try to promote traditional performing arts here. For example, it is hard for our theatre to promote Nankuan (南管) and Peikuan music, since they are not integrated into the daily context of the general public. So, this challenge also pushes me to rethink the issue about how to promote and use intangible cultural heritage in the perspective of daily life.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

Regarding the third dimension of critical reflection, it is related to certain thoughts on the popularity of this image. The first reflection involves a discussion about the problem of the simplification of reading an image, as identified by Interviewee D5: ‘It seems to me that this image has been overused, and it is a shame that most people just appreciate the lively scenes of this picture. However, these are many more details to be discovered’. A further worry is over the effect of using a single image to symbolise the past of a place, and the power of a legacy image to guide our historical imagination, limiting the possibility of diverse viewpoints of history. Accordingly, as research participant D2 mentioned, ‘It is a pity that most people just focus on this image for representing Dadaocheng from a narrow perspective. In fact, there are more legacy paintings of Dadaocheng that are worth exploring and promoting to understand different aspects of the past of Dadaocheng’. In addition, a popular image and related promotion may imply the representation of users’ hopes in relation to the development of a place. As Interviewee C10 stated, ‘The way people like to promote this painting seems to me to be a kind of vanity, which means that they want present day Dadaocheng to be as thriving as the description in this image’ (Interviewee C10).
Therefore, the phenomenon of using *Festival on South Street* leads us to consider corresponding relations between a legacy painting and urban imaginaries, and to consider the facilitating role of image/imagination on both heritage use and place vision. Through this legendary painting, this research suggests that an image could become a constituent element of the urban imaginary for historical imagination or visionary projection. Ultimately, cultural meanings of this image are caused by a long-term circulation and representation, both physical and discursive, in specific contexts.

5.4 Concluding remarks on personal narratives about Dadaocheng and heritage use

This chapter has sought to present the results of personal narratives of both the place Dadaocheng and individual heritage use. More specifically, it is related to the ways of heritage use for working or living in and for Dadaocheng. This is beneficial to our understanding of the interconnections between urban heritage, place value, and urban imaginaries in a historical environment. Drawing on the place narratives of all the research participants, five main urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng have been generated, namely, place with historical stories, place with prosperous business circles (place which was once the most important commercial centre), place with a well-preserved historic district, place of living old streets, and place combining old and new. These imaginaries could indicate how Dadaocheng is being imagined, especially for the past or the present of Dadaocheng. Accordingly, with a closer look at the narrated elements of urban imaginaries, we can further show that historical legacies, tangible and intangible, are the most significant mediums for these interviewees to imagine how Dadaocheng is or was from the various perspectives presented above.
From the historical buildings on Dihua Street, traditional industries and old stores, the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple and related religious activities, to local dietary cultures, these historical legacies are not only core elements to define the urban imaginaries mentioned above but are also vital catalysts to make a connection between place value and heritage use. This also means that historical legacies not only make Dadaocheng a historic place with a variety of place values but are also resources for heritage use.

With the analysis of the personal narrative of heritage use, this chapter has sought to denote that urban heritage use relates not only to individual interpretations of place value but also to an interactional relationship between personal, social, and urban development. Accordingly, the intersectional themes of semantic or mediational circles, generated by data coding, contain physical historical remains and heritage products, discourses in places, historical body with institutional role, the interaction order, economic conditions, the legitimate order, and the practical vision.

Regarding saying personal heritage use as the narrative construction of reality about individual heritage experience, Bruner (1991) has stated that representing reality as narrative requires the working of human imagination. In a sense, for the imagining act for individual heritage use in the context of personal narrative, my interview questions are a trigger for participants to restructure the meaning and content of personal heritage experience, while personal accounts are just an outcome of the imagining act. Consequently, narrating personal heritage uses is just like the construction of meaning for working or living in an urban environment. In a sense, heritage use here is concerned with both individual strategies and meaning inquiry with historical legacies, but also the interaction between the self and the historic environment with a unique expression of self-identification.
Through connecting historical legacies with urban imaginaries, and linking the themes of both physical historical remains and heritage products and discourses in places with place value, the findings from this chapter have reminded us that urban imaginaries indeed play a critical role or framework to imagine a physical place, in which urban heritage is central to the intersection of urban imaginaries, especially in the case of Dadaocheng. Therefore, the next chapter will further explore the functioning of cultural imagination between urban heritage, urban imaginaries, narrative, and place identity.
Chapter 6. The art of heritage use between urban imaginaries, narrative and place identity

If the art of heritage use here refers to an activity through using historical legacies which people express particular ideas, this chapter aims to further explore the relationship between urban imaginaries, narrative, and place identity. This also means that, along with the findings of the previous chapter, the main analytical focuses of this chapter are to reveal the relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use and place vision, as well as the continuity of what was in the past for the future, using different media in the present for identity building.

This chapter intends to demonstrate three parts of research findings: firstly, in terms of demonstrating the relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use and place vision. The first section will investigate how heritage use with place values is concerned with urban imaginaries and with vision of the future of Dadaocheng. Secondly, through examining both the continuity of urban imaginaries for imagining the past, the present, and the future of Dadaocheng, and the coherence between personal background, heritage use, and place vision, the second section intends to reveal that urban heritage use may be regarded as the interplay between the personal, the social, and urban development, and as the medium of identity building. Finally, through the previous two findings mentioned above, I will rethink a narrative approach to the connection between heritage use and identity building.

6.1 The relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use and place vision

From demonstrating the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng to exploring the semantic or mediational circles of heritage use with specific
participants, the previous chapter has sought to deal with the interaction between urban imaginaries and heritage. Subsequently, this section goes on to link these results with varying future visions of Dadaocheng.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, preserved historical legacies have become the decisive elements for narrating the place of Dadaocheng. Meanwhile, when it comes to personal narrative of heritage use, place values, mainly represented by the themes of both physical remains and heritage products and discourses in places, seem to be one of the pivotal dimensions which affect heritage users’ thinking about why and how to integrate historical legacies into personal projects or businesses. Thus, the historic quality of Dadaocheng is, to a large extent, built upon the presence of historical legacies with physical remains and/or discursive knowledge. Therefore, different heritage uses seem to correspond to the individual urban imaginaries for Dadaocheng and the place values of Dadaocheng. Accordingly, drawing on empirical data by asking participants about their ideal image for the future development of Dadaocheng, we can further identify the coherence between urban imaginaries, the practical vision of heritage use, and the vision of the future of Dadaocheng.

Drawing on the interview data from all thirty-five participants, the elements in the relationship between urban imaginaries, the practical vision of heritage use, and the vision of the future of Dadaocheng are listed and summarised in Table 14, in which there are individual quotations about how participants envision Dadaocheng’s future development. As a result, whilst most interviewees tended to link their practical visions of heritage use with the ideal future image of Dadaocheng to varying degrees, others presented their place visions in a more general sense. This difference, can be illustrated by the difference between Interviewee C2 and D2.

Cultural entrepreneur C2 sought to organise an international arts festival each year and engage new micro-businesses associated with the 1920s
and the historical legacy categories he had identified, such as architecture, tea, fabric, theatre, and foods. In this way, he aimed to promote Dadaocheng as an area of cultural entrepreneurship, and this heritage use vision also corresponded to his imagination for the future of Dadaocheng: a district of cultural entrepreneurship. In contrast, Interviewee D2, as a leader of a puppet theatre museum, thought that ‘it (Dadaocheng) could be sustained in an organic way without too much government intervention’, rather than emphasising his heritage use vision of historic preservation, particularly for traditional performing arts. However, this indirect correlation between heritage use vision and place vision can be linked to both topics of urban imaginaries and place values. This is because Interviewee D2, for example, has imagined Dadaocheng as ‘a living representation’ of old Taipei, which means that many traditional industries, old shops and religious festivals continue to be maintained in the area. Therefore, an organic form of urban development with little new policy implementation and/or intervention seems to be a better way to keep this area as a living precinct.

Accordingly, this comparison between participant C2 and D2 demonstrates that, on the one hand, most interview respondents’ place visions resonated with their heritage use visions. Indeed, about two thirds of the research participants made their narratives in this way. On the other hand, a few participants’ responses about their place vision went beyond the scope of their heritage uses; and this indirect correlation between heritage use vision and place vision is worth re-exploring through both topics of urban imaginaries and place values.
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<th>Heritage use vision</th>
<th>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Place for preserving traditional industries and lifestyles</td>
<td>Sustainable development</td>
<td>‘I hope old and modern lifestyles can coexist in a balanced way to make the historic district of Dadaocheng a livable environment. In a sense, with urban regeneration, we hope it is a bottom-up approach, which means that local people have the right to decide the lifestyles of the future, and then build consensus about the future of Dadaocheng’.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
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<td>A2</td>
<td>Place with policy initiatives of preservation and regeneration</td>
<td>Urban regeneration</td>
<td>‘The government should demonstrate something new to inspire change, rather than just preserve physical buildings. Ideally, I hope there are more new lifestyles and creative communities to use historical resources in Dadaocheng’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Place reflecting policy initiatives of urban heritage preservation in Taiwan</td>
<td>Urban regeneration</td>
<td>‘I look forward to that more needs of ordinary people being considered, especially in the policy context of urban regeneration. This also means the development of the area should focus on engaging diverse agents with passions for this place, rather than just professionals’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Place which is a representative old town of Taipei City</td>
<td>Cultural tourism</td>
<td>‘Taipei is an old-fashioned and innovative city; if you want to know this city’s quality of life, you just go to Dadaocheng to find out. So, we hope Dadaocheng could become the most attractive tourist destination in Taipei’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
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<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Place which is a commercial centre for tea, Chinese medicine and cloth</td>
<td>Cultural economy</td>
<td>‘All these historical buildings could be preserved, and the unique historical atmosphere should be further promoted, especially that of the 1920s. By doing this, Dadaocheng will become a key site for the experience economy’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place with a historical atmosphere and stories</td>
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<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Heritage use vision</td>
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<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre</td>
<td>Sustainable prosperity</td>
<td>‘I do not have any specific expectation of what Dadaocheng should become; we just hope that it can get its glory back and keep on thriving, and then local residents could have much more imagination for their own urban area’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place of living sense</td>
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<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Traditional performing arts centre</td>
<td>‘I find this place very special because of the smells and these historical buildings, which should be continually preserved. Also, I expect to pass down traditional performing arts, and then promote Taiwanese opera everywhere in Dadaocheng’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place which was a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
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<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Place of traditional wholesale industries</td>
<td>Community engagement</td>
<td>‘it seems to me that these traditional industries could stay here and keep working in a clustering way, which create the regional value. So, for me, the best way to regenerate Dadaocheng is to develop it with block features of different industrial chains’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Historic preservation</td>
<td>‘The spirit of social movements of Dadaocheng could be regenerated and then Dadaocheng generates another renaissance with cultural richness and historical atmosphere’.</td>
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<td>Place which once led Taiwan’s democratic trends</td>
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<td>B3</td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td>Family memory / local identity</td>
<td>‘What we can do is to interpret and present local elements of Dadaocheng’s stories in a new way’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
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<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and commercial culture</td>
<td>In-depth cultural tourism</td>
<td>‘In spite of changing modes of business, I hope the distinctive lifestyle about living and working at the same place could be kept alive in Dadaocheng’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place of intangible heritage for lifestyles</td>
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<td>Interviewee</td>
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<td>C2</td>
<td>Place with the best preserved historical buildings in Taipei</td>
<td>Cultural entrepreneurship base</td>
<td>‘If you ask me about the vision of this place, it is a district of cultural entrepreneurship, with a homophonic nickname of da-yi-cheng (大藝埕, big arts yard)’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place which is an important base for entrepreneurship</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place which was a site of social movements in Taiwan’s modernisation</td>
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<td>C3</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Cultural economy</td>
<td>‘Based on historic preservation, I hope Dadaocheng could gradually become a slow city with many craftsmen’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>Place of historical stories</td>
<td>Family business and memory</td>
<td>‘Being a historic district, an ideal future of Dadaocheng is to keep a balance between historic preservation and commercial development’.</td>
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<td>Place of business circles</td>
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<td>C5</td>
<td>Place of living history</td>
<td>Family memory</td>
<td>‘The ideal Dadaocheng I imagine is a very liveable place, and the rhythm in daily life makes you feel comfortable. Moreover, I hope these old shops are still in business, run by their sixth generations while their seventh generations are ready to take over’.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business circles and family memories</td>
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<td>C6</td>
<td>Place of time condensation</td>
<td>Cultural economy</td>
<td>‘The historical buildings in Dadaocheng must be well preserved; every house on the street has its own stories. Also, I hope business prosperity of Dadaocheng can remain while the area embraces change’.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business circles</td>
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<tr>
<td>C7</td>
<td>Place preserving the atmosphere of old Taipei City with historical buildings and commercial cultures</td>
<td>Cultural economy</td>
<td>‘To me, Dadaocheng could represent the atmosphere of old Taipei City, so we need to make good use of cultural heritage and revive its glory to promote Dadaocheng as the most attractive place for cultural tourism in Taipei’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C8</td>
<td>Place mixing Western and Chinese cultures</td>
<td>Cultural economy</td>
<td>‘I think the most important things to make Dadaocheng extraordinary are the footprints of the predecessors and related heritage. So, I expect this place could be promoted as a place for cultural identity and cultural entrepreneurship, especially for the younger generation’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C9</td>
<td>Place of rare living old streets</td>
<td>Cultural economy / cultural education</td>
<td>‘It should not become another Yongkang Street (永康街) or Tamsui Old Street (淡水老街). It should be what it has always been, with all these old industries’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td>Place with a cluster of commercial cultures</td>
<td>Family business and memory</td>
<td>‘In my opinion, 60% of old industries of Dadaocheng should be kept which maintain the true spirit of Dadaocheng. With this kind of percentage, this place will keep on thriving with a unique historical atmosphere’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td>Place with a range of cultural heritage</td>
<td>Family business / community engagement</td>
<td>‘Ideally, all historical buildings could be well preserved. In addition, I hope Dadaocheng will become a big learning community where local people enjoy this environment with a close connection and have different opportunities and resources to learn’.</td>
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<td>Interviewee</td>
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<td><strong>C12</strong></td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
<td>Family business/cultural economy</td>
<td>‘Regarding the ideal future image of Dadaocheng, my idea is simple. I hope it will still be popular with streams of visitors for business prosperity. What the government is doing right now is introducing the cultural and creative industries to Dadaocheng; it is a good thing as it is a way to lead people to explore this place’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place preserving traditional industries and historical stories</td>
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<td><strong>C13</strong></td>
<td>Place with a prosperous market</td>
<td>Family business and memory</td>
<td>‘I think the government should do something more for the physical environment, rather than just continuously marketing this place. More specifically, I hope Dadaocheng could be further planned with tidy and featured streets to revive its glories’.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Place mixing old and new</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>C14</strong></td>
<td>Place of vintage feelings</td>
<td>Family business and memory</td>
<td>‘Enormous potential of Dadaocheng to become a very special tourist destination with many preserved legacies’.</td>
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<td><strong>D1</strong></td>
<td>Place with a well-preserved historic district</td>
<td>Historical preservation</td>
<td>‘To me, Dadaocheng is a well-preserved historical town in north Taiwan. In a sense, besides keeping on preserving different kinds of tangible and intangible heritage, I hope the development of Dadaocheng in the future requires to reach a balance between tourism and local life, as well as old and new industries’.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>D2</strong></td>
<td>Place which is a living area of old Taipei</td>
<td>Historic preservation</td>
<td>‘I hope it could be sustained in an organic way without too much government intervention, such as the proposal to turn Dihua Street into as a pedestrian zone’.</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Place mixing old and new</td>
<td>Arts promotion</td>
<td>'I personally hope that Dadaocheng will be little bit like it is right now, a mixed-use living field where people can live, make art creations, and do businesses. It should not be occupied by chain enterprises like Starbucks. In other words, the industrial development here should be integrated perfectly with this place and people's lives'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and cultural richness</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee (D4)</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Heritage use vision</th>
<th>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which is a tourist destination</td>
<td>Arts promotion</td>
<td>'My feeling of the current condition of Dadaocheng is complicated; It seems to have become a tourist site, filled with little products for tourists. I, like some local passionate people, hope Dadaocheng could become a hub of cultural events with deep meanings'.</td>
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</tbody>
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<tr>
<th>Interviewee (D5)</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Heritage use vision</th>
<th>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place showing an evolving history of Taiwan</td>
<td>Historic preservation</td>
<td>'I look forward to how local cultures could be sustained and passed down, such as the façade pattern of street houses and the stories of local industries. Moreover, we maybe already have the basic understanding about the big history of Dadaocheng, yet it is more important to explore and showcase much more small histories of general people'.</td>
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<tr>
<th>Interviewee (D6)</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Heritage use vision</th>
<th>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with living old streets</td>
<td>Historic preservation</td>
<td>'Most historic areas in Dadaocheng have been preserved. However, we need to reconsider the issue of sustainable development of historic districts over time, especially in terms of maintaining the physical environment and traditional businesses'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place which was a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
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<tr>
<th>Interviewee (D7)</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries</th>
<th>Heritage use vision</th>
<th>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place of stories</td>
<td>Place marketing</td>
<td>'Dadaocheng could be a place where businesses and cultures can co-exist, in which business activities themselves form cultures and local people's lifestyles are the essence of these cultures'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place containing business circles in a port city</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Urban imaginaries</td>
<td>Heritage use vision</td>
<td>Vision of the future of Dadaocheng</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>A hard-to-define place</td>
<td>Community engagement</td>
<td>‘Dadaocheng would become a place mixing local residents and newcomers, so I hope those new and young businessmen can have a more positive attitude here with good performance. More importantly, good neighbourhood relations are essential for Dadaocheng to become a good place to live’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>Place mixing Western and Chinese cultures</td>
<td>In-depth cultural tourism / cultural education</td>
<td>‘I hope Dadaocheng could become a must-see destination in Taiwan for Taiwanese people and foreigners. Moreover, we could create a model for world peace in terms of the area of Dadaocheng, since Taiwan was colonised by Japan, yet we have gradually developed people-to-people friendships through historical relationships and related historic legacies. This may be regarded as a unique type of sustainable development’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>Place which was a commercial hub with good human relationships</td>
<td>Religious engagement</td>
<td>‘Most historical buildings on old streets have been preserved. In a sense, I expect there are more young entrepreneurs with creative practices to keep Dadaocheng prosperous in the future’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>Place containing business circles with warm hospitality</td>
<td>Family memory</td>
<td>‘Besides preserving many authentic legacies, I hope Dadaocheng, being a historic district, could attract more newcomers with cultural awareness to live or work here’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 14.** Relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use vision, and place vision with thirty-five interviewees. Source: the author.

In addition to a connection between heritage use and place vision, a very close association between urban imaginaries and place vision can be seen in the above table. This linkage indicates that urban imaginaries are related to imagining with both the past and/or the present of Dadaocheng.
and with the future of a physical place. This also means that in an act of imagination, especially in terms of the narrative contents, the temporal orientation of imagination seems to be dialogical between the spanning of time, from the past, through the present, to the future.

Research respondent A6, for instance, regarded Dadaocheng as both a place of prosperity and a place of living sense, and whilst the former refers to the past of Dadaocheng, the latter seems to capture the present image of Dadaocheng with a living sense. Accordingly, she envisioned the future of Dadaocheng as follows: ‘I do not have any specific expectation of what Dadaocheng should become; we just hope that it can get its glory back and keep on thriving, and then local residents could have much more imagination for their own urban area’. Thus, she, as a government officer, adopted the department’s attitude (‘we just hope’) in expecting Dadaocheng to become a place which has its glory restored and civic engagement. Both place visions resonate with urban imaginaries and her heritage uses, more specifically under the policy framework of the Department of Economic Development, to promote sustainable prosperity.

Likewise, an indivisible relationship between heritage use, urban imaginaries, and place vision can be seen in other cases. Interviewee C2 defined Dadaocheng as a place with the best preserved historical buildings in Taipei and emphasised how Dadaocheng was an important base for entrepreneurship and social movements in Taiwan’s modernisation. Thus, both his heritage use vision and place vision were based on his urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng as a place for cultural entrepreneurship. Similarly, research participant A7 stated, ‘I find this place very special because of the smells and these historical buildings, which should be continually preserved. Also, I expect to pass down traditional performing arts, and then promote Taiwanese opera everywhere in Dadaocheng’. The visions of place for historic preservation and performing arts promotion also correspond to her urban imaginaries.
regarding Dadaocheng as a place of historical stories, given that Dadaocheng was a hub of traditional performing arts. In this regard, her heritage use vision of reshaping Dadaocheng as a centre for traditional performing arts seems to be a possible strategy to connect place visions with urban imaginaries.

Urban heritage plays a pivotal role in conducting heritage uses with specific place values, but also imagining the historic environment and its future development. Interviewee C1, for instance, regarded Dadaocheng as a place of business prosperity and commercial cultures; these urban imaginaries are, to a large extent, based on existing traditional industries (such as groceries and dried foods or Chinese medicine) and related shops. Moreover, he not only proposed these old industries and shops as the most important cultural heritage products in Dadaocheng but also organised guided tours promoting the commercial spirit of Dadaocheng. Subsequently, as a local resident, he envisioned Dadaocheng could be continuously sustained in a mixed-use way, which means business life and living quality could be satisfied here. In summary, heritage use with place values could be further connected with the interactive relationship between urban imaginaries and place vision.

It seems to me that the culture of Dadaocheng just refers to commercial cultures. As you see some past famous surroundings, such as Chiang Weishui, Kuo Hsuehhu, the Taiwan New Stage, and the Eirakuza Theatre, these arts and cultural activities were all based on and supported by business prosperity […] For me these existing old shops are one of the most important intangible heritages here. Moreover, I also regard the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple, along with its pilgrimage procession, as the precious heritage […] So I am just curious if this place could still be called Dadaocheng if all old groceries and dried foods shops were to disappear. Put briefly, these shops and their business activities are the most important forms of
intangible heritage […] In terms of organising guided tours to promote in-depth cultural tourism, I hope that I can introduce Dadaocheng further regarding the local perspective, especially for its commercial activities […] I feel affectionate towards Dadaocheng since my family has lived here for generations, so I hope I can continue to live here […] In spite of the changing modes of business, I hope the distinctive lifestyle about living and working in the same place can be kept alive in Dadaocheng.

(Interviewee C1/ local entrepreneur)

Therefore, this research suggests that the relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use, and place vision is mutual, especially regarding aspects of heritage use and place envisioning. This implies that if heritage is being used strategically to achieve a higher level of place vision, urban imaginaries seem to play a facilitating role in using historical legacies and understanding the past of a physical environment. In other words, different visions of the future of Dadaocheng, to a large extent, could be regarded as an extension of urban imaginaries. Meanwhile, by using specific historical legacies, each heritage user has varying approaches to place values being used to promote Dadaocheng in different ways. In a sense, urban heritage use, as the interplay of personal, social, and urban development, seems to be future-oriented to work at least for both of heritage use vision and place vision.

6.2 The continuity of imagining a historical environment for personal stories of heritage use in Dadaocheng

Not only is story one of the important themes of urban imaginaries revealed in the research case of Dadaocheng, but it is also the means of investigating personal heritage use from the perspective of narrative, especially for this study. Compared with the preceding results focusing on
analysing both the place narratives of official writing about the city and
different people’s narratives of heritage use, this section concentrates on
individual stories to explore a clear relationship between narrated time
(past / present / future) and urban imaginaries in the narrative context.

The continuity is tested with urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng, containing
the imagined past, the imagined present, and the imagined future.
Meanwhile, at the level of narrative, a continuous relationship is also built
between personal background, heritage use, and place vision. Based on
the empirical data from all interviewees, we could point out that different
urban imaginaries of the past, present, and future for Dadaocheng are
related and reinforce one another (for more detail see Appendix 4). For
the following discussion, I will highlight two stories, from participant C2
and A7 to showcase both the continuous quality mentioned above.

For personal narrative in relation to urban imaginaries, it is significant
that the imagined future of Dadaocheng is highly concerned with the imagined
past and/or the imagined present of Dadaocheng. Interviewee C2, for
instance, regarded the present of Dadaocheng as a place with the best
preserved historical buildings in Taipei, and then considered it as the ideal
site to achieve his goal of promoting Dadaocheng as a place for cultural
entrepreneurship and the cultural economy. In a sense, these well
preserved historical buildings resonate with both symbolic meanings to
connect the past of Dadaocheng as an important base for
entrepreneurship and the social movements of Taiwan’s modernisation,
and strategic resources for envisioning the future of Dadaocheng as a
district of cultural entrepreneurship.

Moreover, Interviewee C2 identified himself as both a cultural
entrepreneur and a public intellectual, his business practices with heritage
use are to propose new discourses for developing the cultural economy in
Dadaocheng, such as remembering the period of the 1920s. Accordingly
the heritage use vision of Interviewee C2 involves political, cultural, and economic perspectives, and these approaches are rooted in his personal background, including participating in political activities, studying the history of Taiwan’s modernisation and Taiwan’s economy, and coaching young entrepreneurs. Subsequently, vision for making Dadaocheng a place for cultural entrepreneurship could reflect the impacts of his personal background and the approaches to heritage use. Therefore, through the following personal narrative of Interviewee C2, we can see that a personal story of heritage use is not only concerned with the individual strategy of using historical resources, but also the personal interpretation of defining the uniqueness of a place and related values. Ultimately, a personal story of heritage use reveals both the quality of a person and the approach to place identity.

I am a private business operator with concerns of public benefit and cultural vision, so it is hard to define my role and management […] In addition, I expect myself to act as a public intellectual to propose a kind of imagination and vision for the historic environment; and I use actual business operations to show that this is possible.

When it comes to the 1920s, it seems to me that this is the core issue; in a sense, the area of Dadaocheng encompasses physical and symbolic meanings. So, promoting the symbolic meanings of the 1920s of Dadaocheng could be regarded as my strategic purpose. First, I regard Dadaocheng as a place which has the best preserved historical buildings in Taipei. For Dadaocheng, this was a market street developed by the Taiwanese people, rather than used and left by the Japanese people. So, these existing urban heritages are meaningful and important, and represent a microcosm of Taiwanese society before the war. Second, Dadaocheng is an important base for entrepreneurship. Since the early twentieth century, many famous and successful Taiwanese entrepreneurs stared their businesses
here, and these businesses, whether large or small scale, played an important role in the economic history of Taiwan. Therefore, Dadaocheng is a development stage, but also historical scenes; this is the reason why I intend to attract entrepreneurs from the new generation to work here. Briefly, Dadaocheng could offer me an opportunity to practice my idea of combining the political, cultural and economic perspectives. This also means that I want to create a base or community where creators and entrepreneurs can meet.

When it comes to the history of Dadaocheng, we could talk about the 1930s, 1940s or 1860s, rather than my approach of the 1920s. In other words, I come here with the awareness of construction, rather than an objective view. This also means that I seek to build the discourse or historical viewpoint of Dadaocheng. I am not a policy maker, but an individual power; in this sense, I have no privilege for competing cultural discourses, but just depend on the practices of my efforts. It seems to me that Dadaocheng is the representative or time channel of the 1920s, while other local people may appreciate their childhood memories based on different times […] Why is the 1920s? Reflecting my background of participating in student movements in the 1990s, I am really interested in the social movements of Taiwan modernisation and the issues of Taiwanese identity, especially in terms of the related promotion by the Taiwan Cultural Association in the 1920s; and, Dadaocheng was just the site of these movements.

If you ask me about the vision for this place, it is the district of cultural entrepreneurship, with the homophonic nickname, Big Art Yard (大藝埕) […] Therefore, I have identified five kinds of historical legacies, including tea, cloth, farm produce (Chinese medicine, groceries and dried foods), drama, and architecture, which are the most important cultures or industries in Dadaocheng. And then I
hope these new businesses could be related to these five categories to achieve my vision of forming a district of cultural entrepreneurship.

As you know, many new entrepreneurs I introduced into this area are creators, from arts, dance to drama; with customers or visitors attracted from different generations, which has led to a community mixing entrepreneurs and creators […] Dadaocheng is rich in intangible heritage, which is beyond the general findings of historical and cultural studies. More importantly, I seek to link Dadaocheng with the 1920s, which is also a fantastic time of the whole human being. In this sense, Dadaocheng is not a local place as the general cultural policy or people emphasise, and it seems to me that Dadaocheng could be linked to a global level in terms of cultural heritage and spirit heritage of the 1920s. In a word, I would like to connect Dadaocheng with spirit heritage of all mankind, instead of merely a local perspective, to inspire and encourage people to further explore this place.

(Interviewee C2/ local entrepreneur)

Similarly, being a government officer in a theatre, participant A7 ‘s personal enthusiasm for Taiwanese opera resonates with the policy implementation. She regarded the present of Dadaocheng as a place of stories, and these stories are specifically related to troupes and the related ecology of the performing arts. Accordingly, to regenerate Dadaocheng, her imagined future is as a centre of traditional performing arts as it was before, and this is also the focus of working at a

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82 Interviewee A7 is based in the Dadaocheng Theatre, which belongs to the Department of Cultural Affairs. She was keen on the activities of the school club of traditional Taiwanese opera during her time at university, and then became an amateur performer. After some years working in the Department of Cultural Affairs, she was assigned to draw up the general plan for a new institution of the Dadaocheng Theatre and has run this theatre since 2010, with the vision of making Dadaocheng the centre of traditional performing arts in Taipei City.
government-led theatre by hosting various activities concerning the promotion of the intangible heritage of traditional Taiwanese opera.

For Interviewee A7, Dadaocheng was imagined as a hub of traditional performing arts or so-called “xiku”, and it is now considered as a place of stories, with a wide range of histories and historical remains. Accordingly, she has been seeking to integrate these historical elements into her performing arts programme. In other words, she uses the concept of “xiku” as a catalyst to promote various events and to co-operate with other local theatres and people. Therefore, her main concern regarding working in Dadaocheng is about how to explore and regenerate the spirit of Dadaocheng by curating performing arts projects.

At that time, I was in charge of the affairs of local drama performances at the Department of Cultural Affairs, and then I was later asked to be responsible for proposing a plan for the Dadaocheng Theatre. That's why I came here in 2010 […] In this plan, I have set Taiwan’s local operas (臺灣本土劇種) as the focus of promotion […] Meanwhile, we hope the Dadaocheng Theatre could become the centre of the traditional performing arts in greater Taipei […] After running a business here, we found that Dadaocheng is a place with a lot of stories, and historical buildings are beautiful.

Dadaocheng was a “xiku”, and we always promote this image in our activities. So, we look for stories to connect the traditional performing arts with Dadaocheng. For example, the Eirakuza Theatre, originally located opposite this building, was destroyed, but it is full of stories. Likewise, some popular local theatres established in the 1920s and 1930s, such as the Taiwan First Theatre and the Tamsui Theatre, were the earliest theatres in all of Taiwan. Although all of them have disappeared, what I try to do is just to regenerate the spirit and
related stories, intending to make Dadaocheng a traditional performing arts hub again.

(Interviewee A7/ government officer)

For Interviewee C2 and A7 mentioned above, urban imaginaries of the past and the present of a district seem to form an inevitable part of envisioning a place’s future development and vice versa. In other words, this kind of continuum refers to how ‘wherever one positions oneself in that continuum - the imagined now, some imagined past, or some imagined future - each point has a past experiential base and leads to an experiential future’ (Clandinin and Connelly, 2000, p.2). Moreover, the coherence between the self, heritage use, and urban imaginaries, has shown the active quality of narrating heritage uses and place uniqueness of Dadaocheng. Ultimately, these accounts of creating their personal stories of heritage use in Dadaocheng aim to represent the unique values and meanings of their efforts, in which historical legacies and place values are defined and are chosen to strengthen the qualities of a person. This also means that the personal narrative for the interaction between the self and the historic environment is related to a unique expression of place identity in personal ways.

In summary, place identities involve the fluidity and diversity of person-place interactions, in which using the past of the historic environment through the form of heritage is concerned much more with individual definitions and living features. This also means that different heritage uses seem to be a medium or catalyst to explore and represent a variety of values regarding both a heritage and a place. In addition, the meanings of heritage use are further demonstrated and identified through personal narratives.
6.3 Examining the links between heritage use, place identity and personal narrative

In terms of using narrative as an analytical medium, this research has sought to use a series of questions as a framework of inquiry to collect accounts related to individual heritage use and place descriptions of Dadaocheng. In these, historical legacies are central to the story-making process of personal narrative. More specifically, heritage use relates not only to individual interpretations of place value but also to an interactional relationship between personal, social, and urban development.

Through thematic narrative analysis, this study has demonstrated that the multiple characteristics of heritage use are concerned with physical historical remains and related heritage products, discourses in places, historical body with institutional role, the interaction order, the legitimate order, economic conditions, and the practical vision. Accordingly, we can say that each heritage use is concerned with: 1) personal interaction with individual background, orientation, and motivation; 2) social interaction with public discourses, organisational objectives, and local communities; and 3) physical situations with historic remains, economic resources, and legitimate frameworks. In addition, a continuous relationship is based on at least two aspects: 1) the coherence between personal background, heritage use, and place vision; and 2) the continuity of personal imaginaries in relation to the interpretive approaches to the past, the present, and the future of Dadaocheng.

As such, personal narratives about heritage use and urban imaginaries could be linked to the temporal and strategic quality for both using historical legacies and narrating heritage use. This also means that these contextual factors of heritage use not only affect methods of using historical legacies in Dadaocheng but also the telling of individual stories in an interview activity. Between living with and narrating historical legacies, recollecting the past for both heritage use and narrative means
storytellers describe their practical visions and place visions in their own ways. Each story of heritage use, therefore, seems to be a specific way of living and/or working with historic legacies in Dadaocheng. Ultimately, each story is interwoven with the dimensions of personal, social, and urban conditions.

Moreover, this research particularly adopts Paul Ricoeur’s theories in relation to narrative and time to elaborate how time becomes human when narrating. As we review the analytical results from previous sections, the continuous relationship between personal background, heritage use, and place vision also implies that narrative representation of heritage use seems to be a possible way to explore the relation between place, heritage, and identity. This means that if we regard a personal life course as a process of building a person’s identity, the past (I experienced), the present (I am acting within my context), and the future (I envision different subjects) are mutually connected, since our behaviours are experience-based and future-oriented.

As such, these accounts of the creation of personal stories within the historic district of Dadaocheng aim to represent the unique values and meanings of the interviewees’ efforts, in which historical legacies and place uniqueness are defined and are chosen to strengthen the qualities of a person. Accordingly, historical legacies themselves are potential resources for a user to bridge the gap between the personal past and their place vision due to their individual efforts. In other words, the personal narrative of heritage use can provide comprehensive meanings of experience to make sense of the self and the temporal existence.

Narrating personal heritage use is similar to the construction of meaning in a specific environment. The personal narrative of heritage use denotes an opportunity to reflect the experience of using historical legacies as well as making temporal meanings, and also a mechanism for restructuring or
reinforcing the specific qualities of self-identification that an individual would like to present. Similarly, as Berger and Quinney (2005, p.10) suggest, ‘Stories are not merely ways of telling others about ourselves but of constructing our identities, of finding purpose and meaning in our lives’. In a sense, both heritage use and identity building here are better understood as a process of connection with a physical place for different reasons, especially from a narrative perspective. This construction of relationships with heritage use may imply that place identity between the self and a place would and should be diverse and strategic, rather than a single identification.

As for the main concern about where narrative stands in the interconnection between heritage use and place identity, this study suggests that narrative with storytelling is not only an effective way to advance the time-person-place relationship with a variety of identities, but also a transformative method for envisioning better futures between the self and the historic environment. Staiff (2016) has reminded us storytelling for a heritage place affects the understanding and interpretation of a physical place, and narrated heritage places and a physical environment are mutually defined. Furthermore, from the functional perspective, ongoing narratives with a wide range of storytellers could contribute to collecting more holistic and integrated viewpoints about promoting the historic environment.

I still see the value of storytelling as both a function of and an expression of heritage places […] because stories are representations of heritage places and because heritage sites can be appreciated and comprehended through narrative, then on one level the story really is the thing. Story and the physical world of heritage places become co-joined in a way that defines both.

(Staiff, 2016, p.113)
In terms of connecting the research findings of this study to significant concepts highlighted by this research, containing heritage, heritage use, place identity, and narrative, we could say that temporal meaning making, for both heritage use and narrative, is strategic appropriation in individual ways and in specific contexts. In other words, in Hodder and Hutson’s words (2003, p.19), ‘individuals within society today use the past within social strategies’. In a sense, both heritage use and narrative do not represent the past passively, but are involved in ‘an active process of assembling a series of objects, places, and practices that we choose to hold up as a mirror to the present, associated with a particular set of values that we wish to take with us into the future’ (Harrison, 2013, p.4).

In addition, heritage and the historic environment are better understood as in an unfinished state; and the possibility of becoming of heritage and place may be concerned with the envisioning ways and related representations of time and place. With this regard, narrative informs heritage users to demonstrate the possible ways of being-in-the-world with historical legacies. At the same time, heritage feeds back to the construction of urban imaginaries in a meaningful form of self-identification.

6.4 Concluding remarks on the art of urban heritage use with personal narrative

By analysing interview data, this chapter has sought to stress the importance of urban imaginaries in relation to both place vision and the continuity of imagining the historic environment. In terms of the corresponding relationship between urban imaginaries, heritage use vision, and place vision, urban imaginaries seem to play a facilitating role for both using historical legacies and sensing a physical place, and then the process of heritage use is like a mediation process between place
identity and place values. Consequently, identities between the self and a physical place are strategically diverse. Meanwhile, if historical legacies and place values are defined and chosen to strengthen the qualities of a person, urban imaginaries can be regarded as the most significant subject for exploring the connection between urban heritage use and place-identity building.

Moreover, as for the continuity of imagining a physical place in personal stories of heritage use in Dadaocheng, a close association of urban imaginaries between the past, the present, and the future has reminded us that a vision of the future of Dadaocheng is related to the imagined past and/or the imagined present. This also means that the place vision or heritage use vision we propose is not only concerned with the functioning of imagination for possibility envisioning, but also with the aid of personal experience for meaning attribution. In other words, the continuity of urban imaginaries for imagining Dadaocheng in a chronological sense, contributes to the understanding of how cultural meanings have shaped past experiences, which drive present imaginations and imagined futures.

As such, in Chapter 5 and 6, the empirical data has shown the key urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng, in which historical legacies are decisive components. Accordingly, urban heritage is seen to be beneficial to shaping our imagination of the historic environment, especially the connection between urban imaginaries, cultural meanings, and place values. In addition, if the importance of urban imaginaries is concerned with the ways of working or living in a physical place and with a facilitating factor in the building of place identity, the representation of personal narratives of heritage use of the historic environment reveals the unique values and meanings of their efforts. Consequently, these results lead this research to further discuss the relationship between urban imaginaries and cultural imagination, especially in the context of urban regeneration.
Urban heritage use is strategic and diverse due to the difference in personal, social, and environmental contexts, yet the “collective” aspect of urban imaginaries is worthy of further investigation. Campkin (2013, p.8) has stated that ‘we shall explore the imaginaries of urban regeneration and degradation—those representations that have an active role in shaping the experience, understanding and material conditions of contested places’. In this regard, if the concept of cultural imagination here refers to the mental faculty by which individuals see a thing (including an idea, subject, object, event, action or situation) with the attribution of cultural meanings and related ideological contents that drive present imaginations and imagined pasts and futures, the similarity in urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng between official city writing and personal narrative, and between different research participants, may imply the significance of long-term collective and cultural practices for making Dadaocheng as a historic district. More specifically, this construction process is not only related to the heritagisation of Dadoacheng itself, but also to the ideological contents for heritage and place uniqueness in both Taipei City and Taiwan. Therefore, the further exploration of heritage users’ cultural imagination in Dadaocheng intends to demonstrate that cultural imagination with urban heritage is given an ideological and utopian assignment to address the connection between individuals and society as well as between the past and the future.
Chapter 7. Re-conceptualising Dadaocheng between the glorious past and the future of nostalgia

We all live in a real world in which personal imagination and a variety of representational imaginaries work together to help us make sense this world, and to represent our understanding with the attribution of meaning (Salazar, 2010). In terms of the concept of cultural imagination, a twofold association between culture and imagination has been pointed out in Chapter 2, containing specific cultures or cultural affairs of imagination, and imagination cultivated and functioning in specific cultural contexts. More specifically, cultural imagination in this study is concerned with not only how a person imagines different kinds of cultural affairs or subjects (such as a heritage or historic environment), but also how a person acts and represents something with cultural implications of specific contexts in individual ways.

In terms of both the sociocultural perspective of imagination and the temporal sense of narrative, the previous chapters and analysis therein have sought to reveal a reciprocal connection between imagination and imaginaries, imagination and experience, and narrative and identity, especially in the context of heritage use and place description in Dadaocheng. Consequently, the findings in relation to the urban imaginaries, generated from place narratives in official writing about the city and individual research participants, could benefit the investigation into the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage in the historic environment. This also means that, as this research deals with the history, urban regeneration and heritage use in Dadaocheng at the same time, the emergence and change in specific urban imaginaries are meaningful for us to understand both personally spatial-temporal
dynamics and collective historical processes in and for a physical place. Ultimately, for both urban heritage as a development resource and a historic district as an urban form, we can further explore the functioning and effects of ideology on using heritage and promoting a historic district in the broader context of Taipei City and Taiwan.

Following the three chapters of data analysis, the current discussion chapter, firstly aims to reconsider the relations between theoretical claims and empirical data. It also responds to the three research questions and then further reflects on the interconnection between urban policy implementation and individual imagination functioning in sustaining the historic urban environment.

7.1 Rethinking cultural imagination with urban heritage in Dadaocheng

In terms of theoretical and empirical considerations, this research stemmed from the assumption that both urban heritage and cities are related to a real-and-imagined praxis. Among the dynamic processes of human efforts, imagination as a mentally synergistic faculty plays a critical role for human thought and activities. Accordingly, as we want to explore how historical legacies and related heritage products affect the shaping of our imagination with a physical place, it is necessary to first reclaim an essential inquiry of why the constitution of both city and heritage is concerned with imagination.

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83 To explore a specific maritime city at a particular time, Ashin Das Gupta (2001, p.135) has suggested that one of the useful methods is to examine 'the life-experience of at least some of the individuals who were involved in the historical process.' This also means that, through 'what it felt like' for the individuals who were in a physical city, we could understand situations under which people conform to others, and then demonstrate the relationship between individual lives and larger historical processes.
The starting point of the research inquiry is that, if imagination, in a broader sense, refers to a mental faculty to see a thing or a situation which does not exist in the present (or in front of us). Imagination is important for us to understand both city and heritage, since it is impossible for us to experience the totality of a city (King 2007). Likewise, we could not come back to the reality and condition of the past in relation to historical legacies (Ashworth 2011). Thus, each interpretation of a city or heritage requires the functioning of the imagination to make something “invisible” become “actual”.

From the perspective of sociocultural psychology, our mind is social, cultural, and historical. Meanwhile, an imagining process is concerned with a future-into-past change within specific contexts. This is to say that our imagination is cultivated by different material and discursive resources, in historical, social, and geographical facts or situations. Meanwhile, the act of imagination is influenced by past experiences and oriented towards the future with meaning making and possibility envisioning.

As for investigating the relationship between culture and imagination, we need to consider at least three aspects and their interconnection, including the imagination of specific cultural affairs, the imagination in particular cultural contexts, and the imagination between individual and society. According to Appadurai (1996; 2013), our imagination is constantly cultivated by a socio-spatial-cultural process, in which cultural meanings are central to respond to the interaction and changes in a specific world. More specifically, cultural meanings could be regarded as the contents of signification for people’s engagement in a contextual environment (Geertz, 1973; Hall, 2000). Therefore, for the definition of cultural imagination of this research, cultural imagination, on the one hand, engages us with a specific context with cultural meanings. On the other hand, it moves us to
configure a better possibility beyond the constraints of the temporal environment.

Putting cultural meanings at the core of cultural imagination, this research intends to further link the role of ideology to the social construction of meaning. This also means that an activity of mind is related not only to the social, cultural, and historical factors, but also to the working of ideology (Pyle, 1995). The term ideology here refers to the ways of the significant function, such as political beliefs or systematic ideas, to dominate certain social and political activities (Thompson, 1984). This also means that ideology is the medium for conscious actors to recognise something meaningful, so the motivation of ideology may involve normative implications of what is good and what is possible (Therborn, 1980). In a sense, the relationship between culture, meaning, and ideology denotes that the importance of leading social collectives and related communicative practices to the construction of cultural meaning (Mumby, 1989).

Accordingly, in the case of Dadaocheng, the long-term urban policy implementation of historic preservation and urban regeneration, for example, seems to be one of the important sources to ideologically lead the process of signification for the subjects of both urban heritage and the historic environment. In this regard, the analysis of the relationship between cultural meanings and urban imaginaries is concerned not only with how they were constructed and what kinds of constituent elements are involved, but also with whose interests are served with specific constructions of urban imaginaries.

Culture, meaning and imagination all involve the connection between individual and collective dimensions. While regarding culture as a derivative and adaptive performance of active agents in a collective society (Avruch, 2006; Dressler, 2018), a cultural meaning relates
something existing subjectively within a person’s head and consensually produced a group of people (Mumby, 1989). Similarly, cultural imagination connects us to a collective context through cultural meanings; meanwhile, it also has a subversive function to envision better possibilities from a personal point of view (Ricoeur, 1976).

Through the lens of cultural imagination, heritage use in a historic place is concerned with both who I am as well as what I do with “heritage” and/or “a historic place”, and with what kinds of urban imaginaries are associated with “urban heritage” and “a historic place” involved in the functioning of cultural meanings and related ideological contexts. In other words, through adopting the approach of cultural imagination with urban heritage to explore Dadaocheng, this research aims to investigate not merely historical legacies themselves, but also the apprehension and promotion of those historical legacies and a historic place by people who live or work with them.

A city relates a variety of the real-and-imagined places created by human efforts with a long-term historical development (Soja, 1996). Linking city-making with the human mental imaginary world is not a new approach, in which urban development is concerned with physical articulation and the conceptual arrangement. Accordingly, Donald has further proposed the city as ‘a category of thought and experience’ (1997, p.181). For Donald (1999), the city, rather than a city, refers to an imagined environment with a representation of coherence. More specifically, the category of the city is, historically and geographically, produced and

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84 This thinking can be traced backed to Robert E. Park, an American urban sociologist of the Chicago School of Sociology in the early twentieth century, who focused on investigating the relationship between human behaviour and the urban environment (Dear, 2005). In this regard, Park (1967, p.1) has suggested that: ‘the city is […] a state of mind […] the city is not, in other words, merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction. It is involved in the vital processes of the people who compose it’. For Park, the city is the product of human efforts, resulting from the interacting process of moral and physical organisation, and the city is of mind means that the attitudes and sentiments of urban inhabitants are crucial to affect both human behaviour and the built environment in a city.
reproduced through specific institutions or practices, such as government initiatives or communication media. In this regard, Dadaocheng has been identified as an official historic special-use zone or a historic place with different urban imaginaries.

By analysing both individual heritage use in Dadaocheng and the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng, this exploration has paved the way for a further consideration for the notion of cultural imagination with urban heritage, and this benefit could be discussed from three aspects: 1) the construction of cultural meanings of individual heritage use; 2) the discursive and material construction of urban imaginaries over time; and 3) urban heritage and urban imaginaries are defined and chosen to strengthen both the qualities of a person and collective needs of our age.

First, in terms of the meaning inquiry into individual heritage use, for research participants the factors contributing to the construction of narrative of heritage use have become significant mediational means or semantic circles for meaning attribution. This is to say that the seven themes, namely physical historical remains and heritage products, discourses in places, historical body with institutional role, the interaction order, the practical vision, economic conditions, and the legitimate order, are facts that mediate the process of experience and imagination regarding heritage use with the potential situations and resources. Moreover, among these above-mentioned factors, the three themes of physical historical remains and heritage products, discourses in places, and historical body with institutional role, are the top three factors of the analysis of heritage use and related meaning attribution.

85 For instance, Donald (1999) employed Charles Dickens's novel *Bleak House*, with the description of fog everywhere, to illustrate its contemporary effects on how to see and make sense of London. Likewise, James Joyce's *Dubliners* has influenced the construction of imagining the place of Dublin.

86 According to data statistics of Nvivo coding trees (as Figure 28).
These three factors of individual heritage use can be further linked to the possible construction paths of cultural meaning for both heritage and place. The theme of historical body with institutional role denotes not only the consideration of individual biography, but also the connection of collective practices in specific institutions and related social contexts. This has signified one of the dimensions of meaning construction between individual and collective levels.

According to data analysis in this research, both urban imaginaries and place values of Dadaocheng are related to the interconnection between two important themes, physical historical remains and heritage products, and discourses in places. More specifically, it is the experience of physical historical remains, the transmission of historical accounts of Dadaocheng, and public discourses for defining heritage itself and promoting Dadaocheng, that causes heritage and Dadaocheng culturally sensitive. In other words, the construction of cultural meanings for both urban heritage and Dadaocheng is concerned with both the historical process of Dadaocheng and the processed history for heritage use in Dadaocheng.

Taking the so-called “cultural heritage” of Dadaocheng as an example, research participants value different historical legacies of Dadaocheng, and then strategically integrate these resources into individual heritage use. However, as we review the most important cultural heritage categories identified by interviewees (Figure 29), the related category identification, namely old industries and shops, historical buildings, the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple and related religious activities, historical celebrities, dietary cultures, theatre cultures, and master craftsmen, could

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87 As shown in Figure 28 and related discussions in Chapter 5, these two major themes are composed of five sub-themes, containing physical remains of historical legacies, reflection and comparison with heritage products, category identification of historical legacies, historical interpretation of a historic district, and public discourses for promoting Dadaocheng.
be linked to the official definition of cultural heritage, the official list of cultural heritage items in Dadaocheng, or the target of policy promotion by different departments. This correlation demonstrates not only the importance of preserved historical legacies for experiencing the content of urban heritage in Dadaocheng, but also historical promotion of specific forms of heritage and the uniqueness of place.

Moreover, the transmission of historical accounts of Dadaocheng seems to play an important role in the construction of cultural meanings between the heritagisation of Dadaocheng and the history of Dadaocheng. This also means that as historical legacies are central to the construction of urban imaginaries and place uniqueness in Dadaocheng, a variety of historical accounts of Dadaocheng, especially produced by different historians with various perspectives, are beneficial to the construction of cultural meanings for heritage users to appropriate for individual contexts and practices. However, this is not to say that every heritage user is

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88 Drawing on the category of cultural heritage in a national law, the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (2016), cultural heritage is divided into tangible cultural heritage and intangible cultural heritage in fourteen categories: monuments, historic buildings, commemorative buildings (in relation to celebrities), groups of buildings, archeological sites, cultural landscape, antiquities, natural landscape and natural monuments, traditional performing arts, traditional craftsmanship, oral traditions and expressions, folklore (such as religious rites and festivals), and traditional knowledge and practices. The related details of this Act are available at: https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001.

89 For the listed cultural heritage of Dadaocheng, designated by the Taipei City Government, it includes twelve monuments (such as the North Police Station [原臺北北警察署], the Taipei Xiahai City God Temple, the Cisheng Temple, Lee Chunsheng Memorial Christ Presbyterian Church [李春生紀念基督長老教會], Dadaocheng Presbyterian Church [大稻埕基督長老教會]), Shin Hong Choon Tea Company [新芳春茶行], Chen Tienlai's Residence [陳天來故居], Dadaocheng Qiangiu Street's Shop house [大稻埕千秋街店屋], the Ku Family Residence [大稻埕辜宅], and so on), eighty-seven historic buildings, one traditional performing arts (Gouglexuan Peikuan Xuansh [共樂軒北管軒社]), and two folklore (including the Taipei Xiahai City God Birthday Parade and Linganshe shenjiang zhento [靈安社神將陣頭]). Source: National Cultural Heritage Database Management System, available at: https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/advanceSearch.

90 For the transmission of historical accounts of Dadaocheng, I do not focus on any specific methods, but the broad and diverse communication path of historical accounts. In terms of this research’s interview data, research participants experience or learn historical knowledge of Dadaocheng from different media and fields, such as books, magazines, documentaries, courses, lectures, and so on.
interested in understanding the details of history or pursuing the historical authenticity. On the contrary, as King (2007, p.6) states, ‘How we imagine the city, its boundaries, and the space in which it exists depends largely on what our interest in the city is and what we want to know about it’.

Accordingly, as we compare personal urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng (Table 12) with the historical accounts of Dadaocheng, especially in Chapter 3, the individual interpretation of the place’s uniqueness is related to scholars’ historical statements to different degrees in various ways. For example, research participants utilised various simple symbolic elements, such as Dadaocheng Port, the 1920s, theatres, or luxurious restaurants, to deliver the urban imaginary of Dadaocheng as a place containing prosperous business circles. Indeed, historians have approached this prosperous age through the lens of the global tea economy or the political and economic network of northern Taiwan under Japanese colonisation. However, from the perspective of heritage use, our concern for this superficial historical connection is not whether the narrators understand the historical content exactly, but how heritage users interact with the narrated history or image. In a word, heritage, as a reflection of the processed history, is not concerned with a conformation of accuracy of the historical facts, but with a declaration of faith in the past.

Comparing Dadaocheng with another port-cum-market town of Lukang in central Taiwan, we find that place uniqueness and related self-identification of the historic environment is, to a great extent, based on both historical legacies and its glorious past. D. R. DeGlopper (1995), in *Lukang: Commerce and Community in a Chinese City*, demonstrated that Lukang people conceptualise and describe the uniqueness of Lukang through distinctive architecture and townscapes, in addition to Hokkien-style houses of the Qing Dynasty, local accent, old Lukang customs, and the Lukang Mazu Temple and its ritual superiority. Moreover, urban
imaginaries of Lukang people seem more concerned with Lukang’s long history and its glorious past, rather than with the content of that history.

In addition, Lukang people tend to appreciate local stories, especially involving great men, which represent the uniqueness and prosperity of Lukang, in which many narrative details are at the expense of historical accuracy (DeGlopper, 1995). However, the main difference between Lukang and Dadaocheng is that while Lukang’s collective self-identification for the city’s uniqueness is based on the discontinuities between Lukang and everywhere else in Taiwan (ibid.), urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng, especially for this study, reveal that place uniqueness of Dadaocheng depends on the further connection between the context of Taiwan and the world. In this regard, one of the reasons behind this difference may be that the long-term construction of cultural meanings for Dadaocheng is prosperous, exotic and fusing.

Second, in terms of the discursive and material construction of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng over time, there are various differences and similarities in imagining the historic environment. This is particularly true when comparing different periods of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng. Ultimately, continuity or change in urban imaginaries may result from a diachronically collective practice with a variety of discursive and material constructions. As we combine the analytical results of the urban imaginaries from the official city writings in *Taipei Pictorial* and the interview data, as shown in Table 15, the finding is that constructed urban imaginaries affect how a place is being, and will be imagined to different degrees. Meanwhile, personal urban imaginaries reflect a collective tendency to imagine a place, even though each person has a specific approach of interpretation.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in <em>Taipei Pictorial</em> (Dadaocheng has been imagined between 1980 and 2017)</th>
<th>Main urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng from 35 interviewees (Dadaocheng is being imagined in 2016 and 2017)</th>
<th>Urban imaginaries of the future of Dadaocheng from 35 interviewees (Dadaocheng will be imagined)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Place which was once the most important commercial centre | Place with prosperous business circles (Place which was once the most important commercial centre) | - Place for glory revival (A6/C7/C13)  
- Place of business prosperity (C12/D7)  
- Place of historic business circles with more creative practices of young entrepreneurs (E3) |
| Place mixing Chinese and Western cultures | Place of stories | - Place for creative interpretation (B3)  
- Place for life-history exploration (D5) |
| Place of origin of Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits | Place combining old legacies and new creativity | - Place which is a tourist destination (A4/C7/C14/E2)  
- Place for traditional industries clusters (B1)  
- Place for cultural economy (A5/C2/C8)  
- Place for performing arts promotion (A7)  
- Place for cultural events (D4)  
- Place for a sustainable historic district (D6) |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of living old streets</th>
<th>Place for cultural exchange (E2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with a livable environment with old and modern lifestyles(A1/C5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with new lifestyles and creative communities(A2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with more civic participation(A3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place for slow living(C3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place for long-standing industries and stores (C5/C9/C10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place for mixed-use development (C1/D3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place with good neighbourhood relations (D7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place for civic engagement (A6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Place for local authority (D2/E4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 15.** Comparison of different periods of urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng. Source: the author.

A closer look at Table 15 shows that whilst the four major urban imaginaries, summarised from the interview data of thirty-five research participants in 2016 and 2017, seem like an extension of the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng within *Taipei Pictorial* between 1980 and 2017, different place visions of Dadaocheng with thirty-five respondents correspond to the four major urban imaginaries in different ways. The discursive and material construction of urban imaginaries over time here means that the inquiry into how a place is being and will be imagined indeed relates to the results about how a place has been imagined, individually and collectively.
For the case of Dadaocheng, it has been imagined through four aspects, namely, historical stories, living old streets, the golden age, and preserved legacies. Consequently, these constructions of urban imaginaries have formed a basis for different heritage users to envision their different practices and place development. In other words, certain specific urban imaginaries have been constructed to be followed or re-interpreted over time, and these discursive-material constructions play a significant role in defining the ways to imagine a place. Ultimately, as we have a closer look at the contents of these urban imaginaries, including a place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre, a place mixing Chinese and Western cultures, a place of origin of Taiwanese culture and democratic spirits, or a place of stories, related narrated elements could be oriented to the specific glorious past of Dadaocheng: the period from the late 1880s to the early 1890s, and the period from the 1920s to the 1930s. From the official city writing to personal narratives, the nostalgia and yearning for a specific era is worthy of further exploration in the next section.

Third, when it comes to the notion that urban heritage and urban imaginaries are defined and chosen to strengthen both the qualities of a person and the collective needs of our age, the temporal continuity of personal urban imaginaries denotes personal interpretations in relation to the past, the present, and the future of Dadaocheng, and these urban imaginaries with a time sequence, to a large extent, are mutually connected to corresponding individual ways of living or working in Dadaocheng. More importantly, the imagined future of Dadaocheng is, to a large extent, concerned with the imagined past and/or the imagined present of Dadaocheng. Concurrently, a better possible future for Dadaocheng seems to relate both what heritage use means to a heritage user and how to recollect the past for the future in relation to historical legacies.
In addition, ways of imagining the historic environment involve a complex consideration in different contexts, rather than a simple logical dialectic of time sequence between the past, the present, and the future. This is to say that, especially for those who consciously integrate heritage use into individual professional practice or daily life, the ways of imagining the historic environment involve multiple considerations and transformations for survival strategies and meaning making, ranging from personal, to social, to urban aspects. In a word, the method of imagining a place is based on the personal relational engagement with a specific context.

However, as mentioned in Table 15, diverse approaches to place interpretation can be summarised and divided into four common types of urban imaginaries. These four urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng are like “shared” or “collective” urban imaginaries to be explored and extended by individual interpreters for the past or the present in Dadaocheng. More importantly, what we could further ask is if these “shared” urban imaginaries reflect a collective demand of our age for the development of Dadaocheng. Taking the urban imaginary of Dadaocheng as place of combining old legacies and new creativity for example, the key narrated elements of this urban imaginary involve the adaptive reuse of historic buildings, the cultural and creative industries, or museums and cultural festivals. This urban imaginary is concerned not only with the policy of promoting cultural tourism and urban regeneration, but also with place visions among local entrepreneurs. This also means that individual commercial strategies involving historical legacies may resonate with the trends of the times for approaching both urban heritage and the historic environment.

In summary, the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage in Dadaocheng is strategic, constructed, and relational. This is to say that for heritage users, imagination of the historic environment is related to personal appropriation of cultural meanings for living or working in a specific place, collective discursive material construction of urban
imaginaries, and relational engagement with place contexts. Consequently, the strategic, constructed, and relational characteristic of cultural imagination with urban heritage imply that urban imaginaries are an essential medium of cultural imagination to mediate multiple contextual factors between internal and external motivations as well as individual and collective interests.

7.2 Heritage use, strategic nostalgia and Taiwanese consciousness

In around 170 years of history, Dadaocheng has seen different levels of prosperity and decline, and preservation and regeneration. Moving from being a Han Chinese settlement, to a trade centre for Taiwan tea in the global market, to a commodity exchange centre in northern Taiwan, to a base for anti-colonial movements and cultural enlightenment, to a popular area for mass entertainment consumption, to a wholesale centre for some specific products, and finally, to a historic district, the role of Dadaocheng in different periods is related not only to the local development of Dadaocheng, but also to the development history of Taipei City and Taiwan.

Through analysing individual heritage uses of leading figures in the recent decade in Dadaocheng, this research has pointed out that different heritage users, including public and private actors, have various methods and visions. Yet, to a large extent, we can say that urban heritage in Dadaocheng is being used to connect the place’s glorious past to the place’s future prosperity, and to advance its present-day cultural and economic vitality, responding to the contemporary discourses in and for the historic environment. Meanwhile, urban heritage is also being promoted to enrich the story contexts of both place development and individual life histories. In other words, in terms of heritage-led urban regeneration, regenerating Dadaocheng here means that Dadaocheng
could “return” to or learn from its former glory, whether cultural and/or economic.

As mentioned earlier, the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in this research indicate the yearning for a specific era, including the period from the late 1880s to the early 1890s, and the period from the 1920s to the 1930s. This kind of conscious returning relates personal strategic approaches to the manner of imagining Dadaocheng, yet behind the activities of heritage use this longing may signify the broader political agenda and related ideological contexts for the subjects of heritage and identity in Taipei City and Taiwan. This is because, as Schouten (1995, p.21) states, ‘heritage is history processed through mythology, ideology, nationalism, local pride’.

Longing for Dadaocheng’s specific eras is related not only to cultural imagination with urban heritage, but also to nostalgia for specific cultural meanings. Urban heritage is not the past of a specific place, yet it is related to the selection and representation for promoting both history and place. Linking the study of cultural imagination with urban heritage to the concept of nostalgia, this aims to demonstrate not only the retrospective quality of both imagination and nostalgia, but also the progressive approach towards them. This also means that nostalgia, as a mode of looking back, is not a homesickness or a funny feeling to passively embrace the past (Lowenthal, 1989), but a productive functioning to connect visions between the past, the present, and the future (Bonnett and Alexander, 2013). In other words, remembering a specific past is an ambitious search for a declarative truth that we value and then want to do something with this significance of the past (Ricoeur, 2004).

Nostalgia\(^{91}\) is ‘a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one’s own fantasy’ (Boym, 2001, p.xiii). Either a desire for

\(^{91}\) The etymological origin of nostalgia is from both nostos, meaning ‘return to native
homecoming or a mode of looking back, nostalgia evokes a more satisfactory situation and better times (Lowenthal, 2015), rather than resistance to change (Wheeler, 2017). The relationship between nostalgia and imagination denotes here not only a future-into-past change for a better world beyond the constraints of the temporal environment, but also ‘welcoming the difference in order to learn from it’ (Kearney, 1988, p.38). This also means that the nature of nostalgia is a longing for a better time as life was different (Lowenthal, 1996); meanwhile, the envisioning power of imagination could project an ideal future that the present could become. In a word, both nostalgia and imagination relate a conscious returning to interact with fantasies of the past.

As “heritage” emerged as a new discipline within academia in the 1960s and 1970s, its initial focus was based on a critical attention to the “past”. More specifically, this initially historical approach to heritage aimed to argue the historical construction or invention of heritage (Butler, 2006). This led to the publishing of canonical texts such as David Lowenthal’s *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) and *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998), in which one of main premises is that what really engages and shapes us is recalled pasts, rather than the actual past. Accordingly, heritage’s past seems like ‘a sanctuary for whatever versions of reality we seek to promote’ in the present (Lowenthal, 1996, p.211). Therefore, this critically historical approach denotes not only the relationship between heritage and the present past, but also the notion of ‘a nostalgia for authenticity’ (Butler, 2006, p.466).

However, regarding nostalgia as a form of affective and motivational practices (Stephan et al., 2015; Wetherell, 2012), rather than futile longing that lacks historical authenticity, the potential of nostalgia of heritage use
could be oriented to be present-centred in order to motivate our future-oriented thinking and imagining (Smith and Campbell, 2017). In other words, like the envisioning function of imagination, the focus of nostalgia in this research is the future of nostalgia with heritage use or nostalgia for the future. In this regard, I tend to adopt a more strategic way of thinking about the practices of nostalgia, especially for the study of cultural imagination with urban heritage in Dadaocheng. In other words, as W. C. Bissell (2005, p.216) states, ‘Nostalgia is shaped by specific cultural concerns and struggles; and as with other forms of memory practice, it can only be understood in particular historical and spatial contexts’. Accordingly, with the concept of strategic nostalgia, referring to a selective and temporal approach of nostalgia to emphasise the self’s uniqueness and difference (Georgiou, 2013), I would like to stress the strategic quality of recollecting and interpreting the past.

Not only is our imagination cultivated and functioning in specific cultural contexts, but individual nostalgia is also affected by collective desires and ideological trends. As Boym (2001, p.xvi) states, ‘the nostalgia that interests me here is not merely an individual sickness but a symptom of our age, a historical emotion’. In the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in the government-led magazine of *Taipei Pictorial* since the 1980s and the

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92 In the book *Taipei: City of Displacements*, J. R. Allen (2014) has proposed that Taipei City is a place of displacement, with various displaced people (such as Han immigrants, colonisers, or Mainlander), the sociopolitical displacement of local power centres, and displaced cultural materials. As for the obsessive rediscovery and display of the Japanese colonial remains in Taiwan in recent years, Allen regards this longing phenomenon as “refractive nostalgia”, rather than restorative or reflective approaches. Accordingly, the refraction of the earlier colonial experiences is used against the political and cultural hegemony of the martial law period between 1949 and 1987. However, any political and cultural recognition is concerned not only with the temporary challenge of hegemonic political players, but also with the selective reminiscence for distinct difference. Therefore, I intend to use the concept of strategic nostalgia for the case of Dadaocheng in this research. In addition, my approach to strategic nostalgia is closer to the concept of “progressive nostalgia” promoted by L. Smith and G. Campbell (2017, p.613): “progressive nostalgia” is a particular and unashamedly overtly emotional way of remembering that actively and self-consciously aims to use the past to contextualise the achievements and gains of present day living and working conditions and to set a politically progressive agenda for the future.”
personal narratives of research participants, two aspects are highly correlated. This correlation must be related to a complex process to form a collective recognition over a long time. In other words, any emergence of collective narratives is a complicated process of negotiation between the internal and external contexts, which creates common meanings beyond the individual and then associates related people as a group with some collectively accepted “truths” (Palmenfelt, 2010). Therefore, the following discussion will focus on the relationship between heritage use and the change in political ideologies in Taiwan. More specifically, it is related to the connection of heritage use and strategic nostalgia with the rise of Taiwanese consciousness, especially after the lifting of martial law in the late 1980s.

Linking the thinking of Taiwanese consciousness in the case of Dadaocheng, to nostalgia and related urban imaginaries of a specific era are related not only to of the place uniqueness of Dadaocheng in Taiwan, but also to the implications of Taiwan’s modernisation for Dadaocheng. This also means that the stories of Dadaocheng, to some extent, are bound to Taiwanese tales, which are based on both economic prosperity (with world trade) and political decolonisation (from the Japanese occupation or the complex relationship with China).

The distinct historical experience of Taiwan, being involving colonisation and then struggles against imperial powers, has led to the political contestation of being Taiwanese and the cultural pursuit of becoming Taiwan. Drawing on a brief historical sketch in Chapter 3, it is apparent than an inquiry into “Taiwanese” identity is problematic, particularly with the complex cultural and political relationship between Taiwan and China. Meanwhile, being an island colonised, ruled or supported by the Dutch, the Spanish, the Japanese, and the Americans, Taiwan has had different historical encounters between the East and the West.
After the lifting of martial law in 1987, democratisation, localisation and Taiwanisation have become the main axes of political attention, from the national to local government. This also leads to the promotion of Taiwanese consciousness and place uniqueness which has been at the forefront of public concerns, in which heritage is one of the most significant approaches to signify cultural uniqueness.

The notion of Taiwanese consciousness here refers to the struggle for self-identity to inquire who the Taiwanese people are and what Taiwan is. In terms of the development of Taiwanese consciousness, Huang Chunchieh (2014) has suggested four states of change: clan-group consciousness between the Han Chinese immigrants in Taiwan (1661-1895), ethnic consciousness against Japanese colonisation (1895-1945), anti-mainland-Chinese consciousness for the KMT government in Taiwan (1945-1987), and new Taiwanese consciousness against the PRC regime of Mainland China, applying different pressures on Taiwan (1987-). For Huang, the fabric of Taiwanese consciousness has been expressed in protest within Taiwan’s political history; meanwhile, its development could be regarded as a process for Taiwanese to struggle towards cultural and political identities.

The promotion of Taiwanese consciousness has been stressed and deepened by the DDP. As Taiwan’s first postwar opposition party founded in 1986, not only are the leadership and most of its supporters Taiwanese, but political propaganda of which is also Taiwan’s independence. This political ideology has challenged the KMT government’s Chinese nationalism. With the replacement of the political party in the presidential election of in 2000, the victory of DDP-nominated Chen Shuibian ended

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93 For the idea of “new Taiwanese”, the first directly-elected president of Lee Tenghui, a native Taiwanese, and related policies between 1988 and 2000, played a critical role in the enhancement for new Taiwanese consciousness. The expression “new Taiwanese” denotes at least two aspects of ambition, including an abolition of the domestic ethnic and political divergence, and the union of Taiwanese people as a whole against Mainland China for promoting the uniqueness of Taiwan and Taiwanese history (Huang, 2014).
the fifty-five-years rule of the KMT on the island of Taiwan. Subsequently, along with the emphasis on Taiwanese subjectivity, a new political ideology of multiculturalism has been promoted for the replacement of the Chinese nationalism proclaiming (Wang, 2004).

In terms of causes of modern heritage concern, Lowenthal (1998) has stated that the reasons for the heritage boom vary in different nations and regions. For example, while the emergence of heritage in Britain seems to reflect nostalgia for imperial grandeur, heritage in America intends to respond to economic and social problems, and lost communities or cultures. In Taiwan, the heritage boom, beginning in the 1990s, has been intertwined with both the national and local levels of identity building. More specifically, the heritage boom is, to a large extent, associated with the pursuit of locality that refers to the uniqueness of a place (Chiang, 2010).

Through comparing the concepts of historic preservation in Taiwan in the 1970s and 1990s respectively, Yen Liangyi (顏亮一) (2006b) has shown that, in the late 1970s, Taiwan was facing a national-identity crisis in international politics due to successive diplomatic setbacks, and then this diplomatic isolation triggered nativist movements pursuing local characteristics of Taiwan. However, at that time the national identity of Taiwan was oriented to mainland China, especially under the nationalist ideologies of the KMT regime, so the emphasis of locality related to Taiwan as a whole, being part of Chinese culture. In contrast, the attention of Taiwan’s national identity gradually shifted to the island of Taiwan itself in the 1990s, and expanded to townships across Taiwan, particularly with the national policy initiatives of “Community Empowerment/Development” (shequ zongti yingzao 社區總體營造) since 1994. Therefore, with the ideological framework of (new) Taiwanese consciousness since the 1990s, the construction of locality through heritage use is concerned not only with the representation of local history, but also with the promotion of local cultural uniqueness in and for Taiwan.
As for the connection between heritage use and Taiwan consciousness, central government plays a crucial role in promoting its own definition and the function of “cultural heritage”; meanwhile, related changes also resonate with the development of Taiwan’s political environment and democratisation. Through reviewing the contents of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act in its three versions of 1982, 2005, and 2016, we could find that the purpose of preserving cultural heritage has been broadened from promoting Chinese culture to cultural diversity: ‘enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the Chinese culture’ (Article 1 of 1982), ‘enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the multi-cultural environment of the Republic of China’ (Article 1 of 2005), and ‘ensure the universal and equal right to participate in preserving cultural heritage, enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the cultural diversity’ (Article 1 of 2016). In other words, cultural heritage in Taiwan has been valued as an important component of multicultural Taiwan.

After more than thirty years of development, the legitimate framework of preserving cultural heritage in Taiwan has been oriented to pluralistic values, dynamic management, and flexible reuse with historical legacies. According to Lin Huicheng (林會承) (2014), the attitudes and related strategies of heritage preservation have shifted from static preservation to ecological preservation, from preservation to an equal attention to reuse, and from material preservation to the concern with craftsmanship and technology. As for the local trend towards flexible heritage use, especially for those historical buildings or resources that are not officially designated. Lin (ibid.) proposes two characteristics of heritage use in Taiwan after 2000: a bottom-up approach of local engagement with historical legacies, and an adaptive reuse of historical buildings through artistic and cultural performance. Ultimately, these local trends in heritage use are triggered

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94 As for Taiwan’s Cultural Heritage Preservation Act, it was first enacted in 1982. Then it was revised in 2005 for its structure and related articles. The latest version was revised in 2016, with 11 chapters and 113 articles. The related content of this Act is available at: https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001.
by and resonate with national cultural policies since the 1990s, such as “Community Empowerment” and the related initiatives of repurposing idle space.

The connection between heritage use and Taiwanese consciousness in a city denotes representing place uniqueness through urban heritage. This is concerned not only with the trends of heritage use in Taiwan, but also with the approaches to the interpretation of Taiwan in the past. This is to say that, the connection between place uniqueness and the history of Taiwan is essential to understand both the “historic” quality of a place, and what kinds of urban heritage have been celebrated for this “historic” quality in and for Taiwan.

As for the relationship between history, “historic”, and the built environment, the meaning of physical relics and historical legacies is not fixed and intrinsic, but fluid and dynamic reflecting the changes in the interpretation of the past. Taking the remains from Japanese colonisation as an example, Taylor (2005) has pointed out that the history of Japanese occupation has been reconsidered in Taiwan since the 1990s, especially with the rise of the construction of Taiwanshi (台灣史, Taiwan history), and this is mainly promoted by government and academia under the ideological framework of Taiwanese consciousness. Accordingly, preserving the Japanese past has been a strategy to represent the difference between Taiwan and China. This leads to the protection and reuse of historic buildings being associated with the colonial past. Japanese colonial history has come to be seen as exotically attractive and aesthetically pleasing.

95 The initiatives for repurposing idle space include “Reuse of Idle Buildings” (Xianzhi kongjian zailiyong 閒置空間再利用, 2001-), “Artists Residing in Idle Space” (Yishujia Jinzhu xianzhi kongjian 藝術家進駐閒置空間, 2001- ) “Local Cultural Hall “ (Difang wenhuaguanyuan 地方文化館, 2002-), “The cultural and creative industries Centre” (Wenhua chuangyi chanye yuanqu 文化創意產業園區, 2003-), and so on.

96 As for the trends of reusing the Japanese remains, in which Japanese brought to Taiwan is celebrated as historical novelty and pride, rather than a shame, this may
As both the 1980s and 1990s are the most critical periods for the promotion of “localisation” and “Taiwanisation” of Taiwan’s politics and culture, Hsiau Achin (蕭阿勤) (2000; 2012) has shown that, for the re-construction of Taiwan history, political activists and pro-independence historians re-explored the new narratives of Taiwan’s history with three aspects: 1) rediscovering the development of Taiwanese non-violent anticolonialism in the 1920s that were influenced by modern democratic thoughts and national self-determination; 2) endeavouring to the historical facts of the February 28 Incident of 1947 and the following the White Terror that lasted about forty years; and 3) rediscovering the history and culture of the disappearing Pingpu aborigines. By doing this, Taiwanese nationalists, on the one hand, seek to promote the pro-Taiwan viewpoint of Taiwan history to challenge both the legitimacy of the KMT regime and a pro-Chinese historical perspective. On the other hand, this re-exploration aims to promote the imagination of Taiwan as a multiethnic and multicultural nation, and that, in the words of Hsueh, Tai and Chow (2005), Taiwan is not Chinese.

The re-construction of the narrative perspective of Taiwan’s history has led to Japanese remains being valued as heritage since the 1990s in Taiwan. However, this shift does not mean that the longing or strategic nostalgia for the Japanese colonial period is a kind of comprehensive recognition or appreciation of Japanese imperialism; rather, it is strategically used to remember something beneficial for the construction of Taiwan consciousness and uniqueness in complex domestic and international situations. This is to say that the cross-strait situation between Taiwan and China has influenced how Taiwanese interpret and use their colonial history (Dawley, 2019); meanwhile, the intracolonial or become problematic. More specifically, thus raises some critical questions such as absent memory and conflicting interpretations, that leads to the disconnection between the local context and the material remains (Chiang, 2010) or and the renovation of Japanese houses to become areas of entertainment, consumption and cultural tourism becoming disconnected from an awareness of the authentic colonial histories (Huang, 2015).
inter-Asian relationship also affects the approaches to recollecting colonial experiences⁹⁷ (Kim, 2019). Accordingly, as Leo T. S. Ching (2001, p.204) states, ‘being of a Taiwanese consciousness through a process of differentiation and default (the rejection of both colonial and continental identification)’. Therefore, the relationship between the construction of Taiwanese consciousness and strategic nostalgia for Japanese legacies could only be historically understood between ‘the residual idealisation of China and the dominant Japanese colonial reality’ (ibid., p.208).

In addition to the differentiation between Taiwan and China, one of the most important viewpoints for re-evaluating and praising the Japanese colonisation in Taiwan is related to the impacts of the modernity that Japanese rule brought to Taiwan (Chou, 2015; Taylor, 2005). It is also seen as bringing modern infrastructure and modern civilised culture to the island, marking the beginning of Taiwan’s modernisation and a metamorphosis in lifestyles (Hsueh, Tai and Chow, 2005). Moreover, for the process of constructing new narratives of Taiwan’s history mentioned above, Taiwanese cultural elites and scholars have sought to re-investigate Taiwanese cultural subjectivity and uniqueness and its relationship to modernisation, especially in the Taiwanese non-violent anti-Japanese movement and the activities of cultural enlightenment in the 1920s (Hsiau, 2000). In other words, for Japanese rule, ‘if the Koreans

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⁹⁷ Urban characteristics and the experience of being colonised of Taipei and Seoul are highly similar. Taiwan and Korea became the first and second colonies of the Japanese Empire in 1895 and 1910 respectively, and both Taipei and Seoul were official capitals of Japanese colonies, with a similar development from traditional walled cities into colonial modern cities, and from colonial cities to capitalist cities. After World War II, both countries were liberated from Japanese rule and then the two countries experienced the Kuomintang-Communist Civil War and Korean War respectively. However, the historical context after liberation has caused Korean and Taiwanese people to have different responses to Japanese colonialism. While most Koreans are still hostile to the Japanese oppression, Taiwanese attitudes toward Japan have gradually become positive, especially with the KMT’s post-war governance and other factors related to China. This also leads to the different attitudes and strategies for preserving and regenerating the Japanese remains in the two cities. For instance, the building of the Government-General of Taiwan is still used as the Office of the President of Taiwan, while the Japanese Government-General of Korea building was demolished in 1996 (Lee, 2020).
speak of oppression and resistance, the Taiwanese speak of modernisation and development’ (Ching, 2001, p.8).

With the above-mentioned discussion on the relationship between heritage use, strategic nostalgia, Taiwanese consciousness and modernisation, the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in relation to both official writing about the city and personal narratives becomes meaningful for us to rethink the interconnection between place uniqueness of Dadaocheng in Taiwan and the implications of Taiwan modernisation in Dadaocheng. In addition to the imagination of economic prosperity of Dadaocheng from the late nineteenth century to the 1930s, the urban imaginaries of both Dadaocheng as a place mixing Chinese and Western cultures and Dadaocheng as a place of origin for Taiwanese cultural and democratic spirits are correlated not only to different personal imaginaries of Dadaocheng as a place of stories, but also to strategic nostalgia for the longing of the 1920s and 1930s, which demonstrates the unique quality of Dadaocheng and Taiwanese consciousness.

When it comes to the relationship between place uniqueness, strategic nostalgia, and Taiwanese consciousness, we could use two officially listed monuments, now adapted to government-led museums, in Dadaocheng to demonstrate the strategic re-use and transformation of historic buildings of the Japanese colonisation era in promoting the spirit of the 1920s and 1930s. The first case is the Shin Hong Choon Tea Company (新芳春茶行). This tea company, built in 1934, was a leading tea factory in Taipei City in the late Japanese occupation era. It was designated as a historic monument in 2009, and then the owner of the building donated it to the government. This building was first used as a filming location for La Grande Chaumiere Violette (紫色大稻埕), a popular TV drama in Taiwan in 2006. This production is adapted from a novel of the same name by Shaih Lifa (謝里法), focusing on the location of Dadaocheng and the story of the artist Kuo Hsuehhu. Subsequently, it was transformed into a museum promoting the tea culture of Dadaocheng by the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government in 2018. In this case, it is worth highlighting the phenomenon of celebrating a golden age of Dadaocheng. Whilst the TV series and the novel utilise the location of Dadaocheng to evoke a prosperous era of Taiwan in the 1920s and 1930s, the Shin Hong Choon Tea Company building is used to promote the golden age of Taiwan tea trade in Dadaocheng, and with the global market. Accordingly, the opening exhibition of this museum, entitled “Revisiting the Golden Age of Tea in Dadaocheng”, marking an ambition to link a historic tea factory with a glorious era of tea trading of Dadaocheng. Moreover, the second case is the North Policy Station (原臺北北警察署). This station, built in 1933, is the largest existing police station from the Japanese occupation period in Taipei City, and it is regarded as one of the most modern buildings of the 1930s, with sewage treatment equipment, electric lights, and telephones. In 1998, the Taipei City Government designated it as a historic monument, and then the Department of Cultural Affairs
In addition to economic prosperity caused by the trade in Taiwan’s tea, the unique quality of Dadaocheng in Taiwan and Taiwanese consciousness with Dadaocheng is mainly based on the contested subjectivity among Chinese, Japanese, and European empires, and on the connection with modern civilisation for Taiwanese cultural uniqueness. From massive urban modernisation projects promoted by the governor of Liu Mingchuan between 1887 and 1891 in Taipei City, many of Taiwan’s “firsts” in urban infrastructure happened in Dadaocheng and have been celebrated by research participants or historical accounts, such as the first train station, the first telegraph school, and the first Western-style school. Moreover, urban modernisation of Dadaocheng in the 1920s and 1930s is related not only to the change of street view and the mass entertainment space, but also to the emergence of democratic thoughts and new Taiwanese cultural or artistic forms, including architecture, theatre, literature, arts and music, which result from the mediation between Chinese, Japanese, and Western cultures. In a sense, so-called urban modernity of Dadaocheng is here better understood as emerging from ‘the interactions and connections among the various regions, cultures, and civilisations’ (Tang, 2018, p.330).

Dadaocheng was not only the Taiwanese’s streets where most Taipei’s islanders lived there in the Japanese colonisation period and this quality has been stressed by many participants in this research, but also the base of cultural and social movements in the 1920s, mainly promoted by the Taiwan Cultural Association. The Taiwan-centred vision of Taiwanese

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positioned this monument as the Taiwan New Cultural Movement Memorial Museum (臺灣新文化運動紀念館) to commemorate the anti-colonial spirit of Taiwanese elites during the Japanese colonial period in Dadaocheng. After a five-year restoration, it was officially opened in 2018. According to the aims of this museum presented at its official website (https://ncmmm.gov.taipei/cp.aspx?n=2CFC96B7F57269E5): ‘The new cultural movement is endless. It is a process of constantly absorbing and searching for ourselves, shaping our new cultural features, and talking about our own culture by ourselves’. This also means that by transforming the authoritarian image and memory of the police office, the new cultural movement in both Dadaocheng and Taiwan from the 1920s is highlighted for the era of Taiwanese cultural and political enlightenment.
consciousness emerged in the 1920s, such as the proposal that ‘Taiwan is the Taiwan of Taiwanese’ (臺灣是臺灣人的臺灣) in the magazine of Taiwanese Youth (Wakabayashi and Wu, 2020, p.276). Similarly, as Tsai Peihuo (蔡培火) (1921, cited in Ching, 2001, p.51) states, ‘Taiwan is at the same time the Taiwan of the empire and the Taiwan of us Taiwanese’. Moreover, Taiwanese consciousness at that time was associated with the global perspective. For example, in the speech records of Wang Shoulu (王受祿) at Summer School (夏季學校) in 1925, organised by the Taiwan Cultural Association, the notion of ‘Taiwan is the Taiwan of the world’ (臺灣是世界的臺灣) (Wang, 1925, cited in Tsai et al., 1987, p.302) has been demonstrated.

From urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng for the longing for the specific periods of the late Qing Dynasty and the latter half of the Japanese era, this study has opened a space for the discussion between heritage use, strategic nostalgia and Taiwanese consciousness, in which Dadaocheng has been imagined not only as a Taiwanese city, but also as a world city. Ultimately, this kind of cultural imagination could be oriented to global modernity, rather than just the central consciousness in Taiwan. In other words, as Kim (2019, p.7) states, it is ‘the culture of modernity in these cities enlivened the networks of connections, convergences, and concurrences’. In a sense, it is transnational and intraregional circulations of people, ideas, and goods within these two specific periods.

As we review the content of the iconic image of Festival on South Street (Figure 32), created by Kuo Hsuehhu in 1930, the modernisation and diversity of Dadaocheng at that time has been imagined and shown in this painting. From “modern” rickshaws, carriages, architecture, street lights, clubs and theatres, to “modern” products (such as clock timers, milk, and music records), to diverse goods (from local villages and aboriginal settlements in Taiwan, Southeast Asia, Japan, Hong Kong and China), and to multilingual advertising signs (including Chinese, Japanese and
English), these foreign modern urban facilities and objects are combined with traditional Chinese elements (such as a temple, Ghost Festival and fortune telling) in a narrow and lively urban street. On the one hand, this represents a prosperous scene of daily consumption space in Dadaocheng in an oppressed colonised city, and this also corresponds to part of the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng in this research. On the other hand, this representation of the lively atmosphere may also imply a complex relationship between colonisation and progress. In this regard, it seems to me that this is also a strategy for a local artist to present a beautiful imagination of colonisation and modern civilisation, and present Taiwan’s native urban landscape in an official art exhibition99.

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99 This painting was an award-winning work in the fourth Taiwan Art Exhibition (臺灣美術展覽會) in 1930, and this Exhibition, as Taiwan’s first large-scale art exhibition between 1927 and 1936, is an official exhibition event with the taste of the colonial authorities.
Figure 32. The image of Festival on South Street, created by Kuo Hsuehhu in 1930. Source: Taipei Fine Arts Museum, available at: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/1d/南街殷賑.jpg
Finally, by comparing the old and new version of *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* (大稻埕行進曲, *Marching Song of Dadaocheng*), we can further support the findings of this research in relation to the urban imaginaries of Dadaocheng and the contemporary longing for the 1920s and 1930s of Dadaocheng. The song *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* was originally created by Teng Yuhsien (鄧雨賢) in 1932, yet it was lost for decades. In order to make a Taiwanese musical drama of *April Rain* (四月望雨) that is based on the story of Teng Yuhsien, a new version of *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* was written by lyricist Wang Yuhui (王友輝) and composer Jan Tienhao (冉天豪) in 2007. As the original version of *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* was found after the premiere of this drama, this new version could be regarded as a guess at, and imagination of the original song and the urban characteristics of Dadaocheng at that time. According to the lyrics of the new song below, we find that Dadaocheng was imagined as a prosperous, global, modern port city with cultural and artistic prosperity around the 1930s.

The big ships docked at the port sail around the world, and tea and salt shops are located by the riverside of the Tamsui River. The performers of Yida (藝妲) with beautiful postures sing and dance at Kang San Lau (江山樓). Free thinking is fashionable at Boléro (波麗路) and the Sansui Pavilion (山水亭). Whether it is literature, music, art or movies, we are not afraid. We are outside the Inner City of Taipei: prosperous and modern Dadaocheng! Don't be afraid! Don't be afraid! The pace of civilisation must be firm and steady. We are outside the Inner City of Taipei: prosperous and modern Dadaocheng! The twentieth century is moving forward, the city of

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100 The original song *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* has been lost, and it is only mentioned in an introductory article of Taiwanese pop songs during the Japanese occupation by Chen Chunyu (陳君玉) in 1955. In 2007, an old record of *Dadaocheng xingjin qu* with a lyrics list was found in a flea market, and then it was reproduced again. The content of this song describes the modern urban characteristics of Dadaocheng at that time with some specific elements, such as Kang San Lau (江山樓), *Huqin* (胡琴, instrument), Taiheicho (太平町), Café, Jazz, and Taipei Bridge (Chiang, 2021). Full lyrics of the original version are available at: https://audio.nmth.gov.tw/audio/zh-TW/Item/Detail/547734c8-ce84-40a3-ad95-7815b6be4ff5.
Taipei has become civilised. This beautiful and prosperous city can compete with Tokyo\textsuperscript{101}. 

In summary, if urban imaginaries play an essential medium of cultural imagination to mediate between internal and external motivations as well as individual and collective interests, the nostalgia for the specific era of a place is involved not only with the individual interpretation of place uniqueness, but also with an ideological and utopian assignment to address the connection between the past and the future. In the ideological contexts of Taiwanese consciousness, the urban imaginaries in the case of Dadaocheng show that connecting Dadaocheng’s glorious past to project future prosperity, and to advance its present-day cultural and economic vitality is a form of strategic nostalgia, mainly affected by the long-term historiographical inquiry into the uniqueness of both Dadaocheng and Taiwan, especially for various levels of modernity. Meanwhile, a variety of heritage uses in Dadaocheng have led to different real-and-imagined praxis of value adding to historical legacies in Dadaocheng and Taiwan.

Therefore, if we agree that ‘history and heritage both refashion the past in present grab […] history and heritage both offer astounding leaps into realms that now existing thanks only to imagination’ (Lowenthal, 1998, pp.148, 171), an imagined historic environment could therefore be regarded as a built environment ‘not of being but of becoming’ (Ingold, 2012, p.10). In this regard, cultural imagination with urban heritage does not function for remembering a glorious past or envisioning a fictional future. Rather, it engages us into a living historic environment where the

\textsuperscript{101} This quote is translated by the author from the Chinese text: 大稻埕碼頭世界行，茶行鹽館淡水岸，藝旦美麗的形影，江山樓頂拼輸贏，波麗露啊山水亭，自由的思想尚時興，文學歌謠美術和電影，無論啥麼阮是攏莫驚，汝是台北城外～繁華的現代大稻埕！攏莫驚，攏莫驚，文明的腳步就愛踏乎定，汝是台北城外～繁華的現代大稻埕！二十世紀向前行，文明走入台北城，美麗花都的形影，要和東京拼輸贏。Full lyrics are available at: http://nrch.culture.tw/twpedia.aspx?id=19518.
future’s past and the past’s future between people and a unique place are the main concern. In a word, cultural imagination with urban heritage seems like a ‘space of contestation’ (Appadurai, 1996, p.4) between individual and collective history, and between the glorious past and the future of nostalgia.

7.3 Policy implementation of heritage-led urban regeneration for what? The cultural economy, cultural tourism and beyond

As an official historic district, the development of Dadaocheng is heavily affected by urban cultural policy implementation, especially from the perspective of heritage-led urban regeneration in the past two decades. This section will focus on the discussion about the relationship between urban imaginaries, place values and policy implementation, and then further explore the potential of urban cultural policy for the cultivation of cultural imagination with urban heritage for sustaining the historic environment.

Cities are continually modified and re-evaluated with various corresponding urban agendas. During the process of urban change, urban agencies seek to propose their political agendas to deal with urban problems and demands; meanwhile, these agendas are influenced by the discourses or results of different levels of policy practices, including international, national, and local dimensions. In this regard, for the management and regeneration of the historic environment, urban agencies tend to strategically consider both the malleability and the inherent potential of the historic environment to fit different agendas (Madgin, 2010).

Different regeneration strategies of the historic environment are a process of re-conceptualising or re-imagining a place. As we review the policy
rhetoric of related policies in Dadaocheng since the late 1990s (Table 10),
the Taipei City Government has sought to promote Dadaocheng as
*nianhuo dajie* (the district for the Lunar New Year Festival) (1996), a
historic special-use zone for citizen memory and international competition
(2000), a living historic district for cultural tourism (2007), a base for
Taiwanese traditional performing arts (2009), a creative city for innovative
development and community participation (2010), and a cultural and
creative quarter for the cultural and creative industries (2012).
Accordingly, it is the cultural and creative turn to imagine the historic
environment of Dadaocheng (Yin, 2016; 2019). More specifically, this turn
is gradually moving towards the economic use of culture or historical
legacies.

The contemporary implementation of cultural policy has expanded its
concerns from high culture, to public engagement, and to economic
revitalisation (Garnham, 2005). D. O’Brien (2014) has shown that there
are three major themes of cultural policy: promoting artistic and cultural
excellence, promoting social inclusion and participation, and promoting
economic use of culture. Accordingly, the economic concern with cultural
policy has led to diverse practices, namely constructing iconic buildings or
cultural facilities, promoting creative industries, creative quarters, cultural
tourism, and city branding, and organising mega events and cultural
festivals.

In the context of Taiwan, the discourse of the cultural and creative
industries not only affects the cultural policies of the central government,
but also influences the urban governance of the major cities in Taiwan.
After the 1990s, the post-industrial economic space and urban
governance model of Taiwan’s major cities, which were constructed by the
industrial economy in the past, are facing the challenge of transformation.
Like many global cities, the combination of industrial innovation, cultural
creativity, and urban regeneration has become a new political agenda for
urban restructuring (Lin, 2010). In light of this, the use of culture and the concept of the creative city have become new ways for urban development in Taiwan.

To develop the cultural economy, the five municipalities of Taiwan have adopted different approaches in accordance with their local advantages. According to Chung (2014), their policy rhetoric includes ‘Taipei: becoming a design capital’, ‘New Taipei city: a happy city’, ‘Greater Taichung: a city for creative living’, ‘Greater Tainan: cultural capital, creative city’ and ‘Greater Kaohsiung: an ocean city of creativity’. From the slogans mentioned above, it is easy to recognise the influences of the related concepts. In other words, the culture/creativity-led strategies have become crucial elements of the transformation of cities in Taiwan.

When it comes to the case of Dadaocheng, the very close association of economy and culture, especially presented in the urban imaginaries, is here based on at least three aspects of imagining the past prosperous period of Dadaocheng: cultures of economic activities in Dadaocheng, cultural and artistic activities due to economic support in Dadaocheng, and cultural means for economic benefits for Dadaocheng. These three ways of describing the relations between economy and culture through Dadaocheng’s history seem to resonate with the contemporary discourse of the cultural and creative industries. In view of this, the urban imaginaries associated with the historical glory of Dadaocheng provide reasons and inspiration for any regeneration projects with the discourse of the cultural economy. This has led to using historical legacies through the lens of cultural creativity. Therefore, urban heritage is being used to advance cultural and economic vitality for the present and future.

As the culture-led urban regeneration or promotion of the creative city becomes a new form of place branding, the message of hope and progress of cultural creativity-led initiatives for an ideal form of urban
development need to be critically examined. More specifically, we need to further consider at least two questions: firstly, who does it benefit? Secondly, as S. Krätke (2011) proposes, how does “creative” really work with specific technological and artistic innovation that has been embedded and integrated into urban socioeconomic settings?

In the case of Dadaocheng, Lin Weni (林文一) (2015) has pointed out that, in order to show Taipei’s attempt to connect with international trends, the top-down policy discourse of the creative city is often symbolic and collaged, lacking an understanding of the local context. Accordingly, policy makers or implementers often regard the historic environment of Dadaocheng as comprising of exhibition venues for art activities or design aesthetics which are used to attract more tourist consumers or artistic talents. Moreover, event-based activities of place branding may lead to short-term media and tourism benefits for Dadaocheng, rather than long-term arts and creative transformation (Chiu, 2014; Chiu and Lin, 2014).

In terms of both heritage use and urban imaginaries, this research has found that the cultural and creative approach of urban regeneration policies in Dadaocheng over the past decade has influenced how Dadaocheng is imagined\(^\text{102}\). For instance, the urban imaginary of Dadaocheng as a place combining old legacies and new creativity has revealed that so-called “new creativity” is only related to the scope of the cultural and creative industries or artistic and cultural festivals. Ultimately, many young entrepreneurs or cultural workers support and are inspired by this policy approach (as Interviewee C12 states below) and are the

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\(^{102}\) In addition to the research data from this study, we can also see impression of “cultural regeneration” or “fusion of old and new” in media reports in the recent decade. From a special report on “Cultural and Artistic Renaissance in Dadaocheng” in Taiwan Panorama (臺灣光華雜誌) in December 2013, to Dadaocheng was selected as one of the top ten cultural and creative clusters in Taiwan in the magazine of La Vie in October 2015, to the special report titled “Dadaocheng: New Life in a Historic District” in Taiwan Business TOPICS in July 2016, these media reports demonstrate the cultural and creative turn to define the development of Dadaocheng.
biggest beneficiaries through policy subsidies, media reports\(^{103}\) or consumer activities.

Regarding the ideal future image of Dadaocheng, my idea is simple. I hope it will still be popular with streams of visitors for business prosperity. What the government is doing right now is to introduce the cultural and creative industries to Dadaocheng; it is a good thing as it is a way to lead more people to visit this place.

(Interviewee C12/ local entrepreneur)

However, with the promotion of the cultural economy, the value conflicts between outside entrepreneurs and local communities, or different understandings and levels of acceptance of policy implementation between different generations have led to the formation of various identity groups, and even led to the phenomenon of social exclusion (Lees and Melhuish, 2015). The interviews further show the tension brought about by the different styles of doing things between local communities and outside entrepreneurs (as Interviewee C3 states below), or the different opinions about the cultural and creative turn of promoting Dadaocheng (as Interviewees C9 and E1 state below).

For URS or some specific teams, they came to Dadaocheng to develop individual commercial brands, and the main concern of these outside entrepreneurs is shaping their personal reputation and cultural elite images. So, many local craftsmen and older

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\(^{103}\) Many local entrepreneurs in Dadaocheng have been invited to introduce their cultural entrepreneurship, heritage use and place vision in a variety of radio and television shows. For example, Chou Icheng (周奕成), the founder of Sedai Group Cultural Enterprise (世代群), presented a show entitled “Envisioning Taiwan's Future from the Past of Dadaocheng” on Radio Taiwan International (中央廣播電台) on July 8, 2020. Su Kuangchan (蘇光展), and the founder of the Clothing Theatre (衣戲院), presented “Taiwan's Garment Industry: Dadaocheng's Fashion Base” on TVBS on February 28, 2016. Meanwhile, Wang Shengchun (王聖鈞), the manager of Wang Tea (有記名茶), presented “A Century-Old Tea Shop promotes cultural and educational Transformation” in Public Television Service (公共電視) on May 14, 2020.
businessmen do not want to cooperate with them in self-promoting activities.

(Interviewee C3/ local entrepreneur)

There is a misunderstanding that the cultural and creative industries in Dadaocheng have caused rents to rise and old shops to close. When local residents say things like that, I would reply in a loud voice: Dadaocheng has been in decline for many years. It is because of the introduction of the cultural and creative industries that Dadaocheng is being seen and reported. What we (the cultural and creative industries) are good at is telling stories of Dadaocheng, so the media likes to report on us.

(Interviewee C9/ local entrepreneur)

For me, the promotion of cultural creativity (文化創意) in Dadaocheng seems like cultural trauma (文化創傷) [...] This development is a phenomenon of generational change, and we, old people, cannot change this trend [...] Taiwan is a very strange state that is always affected by different popular trends. So, my attitude towards the cultural and creative industries is just like the previous short-term trend of many shops selling egg tarts in Taipei. More importantly, I do not think there is anything new about the contents of the cultural and creative industries.

(Interviewee E1/ local older inhabitant)

In terms of the policy of heritage-led urban regeneration in Dadaocheng, each policy initiative seeks to promote particular discourses with a specific way of imagining Dadaocheng. When we compare two ongoing policy initiatives in Dadaocheng, there is a clear tendency to promote a single image and highlighted discourse. The first policy is the Lunar New Year Festival which has taken place since 1996. This could be regarded as the form of place branding of Dadaocheng. The Taipei City Government
organises this shopping festival before the Chinese New Year to promote Dadaocheng as a place to experience a traditional festival atmosphere, and this kind of imaginary is still a popular way to link Dadaocheng with the old Taipei City. For example, as Interviewee C14 stated, ‘To me, being in Dadaocheng is like going back to the old days of Taipei, and the annual Lunar New Year Festival has strengthened this connection between Dadaocheng and old Taipei’.

Moreover, the second policy is URS which has been in place since 2010, and aims to re-use different historic buildings as innovative hubs of urban regeneration to make Taipei City a creative city. Compared with the policy of the Lunar New Year Festival, different URS stations have different approaches to heritage use and community connection, and these diverse proposals are based on artistic creativity or the cultural economy. This also means that the “creativity” represented in these historical spaces is related to artistic exhibitions, cafés, cultural workshops, and design shops. This urban regeneration policy, interwoven with the contemporary discourse of the cultural and creative industries, may have narrowed the possibilities for “creativity” to just refer to specific categories of spaces, events, and talents in a “creative” city. In a word, this cultural and creative turn to imagine the historic environment of Dadaocheng implies a certain simplification and homogenisation.

To attract more visitors and talent, contemporary cultural and creative policy initiatives tend to market and brand a place with its historical legacies. In light of this, the historic environment of Dadaocheng has been promoted as a destination of tourism using these symbols of Taipei City or Taiwan. However, each urban image, promoted by specific projects or initiatives, seems to be a slice of a city, stressing the specific merit for targeted consumers. In a sense, the “sliced cities” approach to place branding is difficult and problematic, since a city is based on complex cultural formations (Brabazon, 2014). In contrast, to sustain the historic
environment, we should regard the historic environment as “deep cities” (Fouseki, Guttormsen and Swensen, 2020), in which we require not only investigation of the long-term historical changes of a city, but also acknowledgment of divisive contestation, fragmented artefacts, or invisible histories as the creative forces for heritage management and sustainable cities.

From the perspective of “deep cities”, the interview data of local older inhabitants are worth exploring. Their urban imaginaries about the past of Dadaocheng tend to express individual intimate experiences or memories with their neighbourhood, rather than any specific prosperous age of Dadaocheng. Compared to other leading figures, such as government officers, project managers, local entrepreneurs, or staff of cultural organisations, these retirees mentioned and remembered the quality of *reng qing wei* (人情味) of Dadaocheng. *Reng qing wei* here refers to touching qualities of people or an atmosphere of human feeling. Accordingly, while interviewee E3 described Dadaocheng of the past as being a commercial hub with good human relationships, Interviewee E4 stated that ‘Dadaocheng was full of *reng qing wei*. In the past, neighbours in this commercial circle were very affectionate and we all helped each other […] Unlike now everyone only wants to do business and make money’. In other words, intimacy and interaction between neighbours are valued by these local older residents; however, this quality of *reng qing wei* is rarely addressed, and is generally ignored in the policy practices of urban regeneration.

Being potential elements for defining urban imaginaries and place values, urban heritage within the policy context is related to at least two concerns: the uses of heritage in the policy as well as the uses of heritage for the city. In this regard, the main concern in the heritage-led urban regeneration policy for sustaining the historic environment should shift from producing a collective imagination with a unified image or discourse,
to cultivating urban imaginaries with diverse living stories. This is to say that our cultural imagination with urban heritage is influenced by collective cultural practices and related ideological contexts, yet our cultural imagination is oriented to envision a better situation with individual approaches to place identity. In other words, the more places the individuals identify with a city, the more living histories a city contains which can be used for re-connecting both time and the city with the self.

As we link the research findings of this study to the significant concepts highlighted by this research, containing urban imaginaries, heritage use, place identity, and narrative, we could say that every narrated story of heritage use seems to be an illustration of a specific way to live and/or work with historical resources in Dadaocheng, in which the specific qualities of self-identification are re-structured and reinforced. In addition, heritage has the potential to be embedded ‘as living history incorporating social processes of both continuity and change’ (Barthel-Bouchier, 2013, p.9). In a sense, when we regard the building of place identity as the means and ends of heritage use, for living or working in the specific context, heritage uses are neither the product of romantic thoughts nor the preservation of the past, but rather, they involve a complex cultural, economic, and political engagement for individual appropriation with meaning making in the specific environment. Similarly, as R. Wheeler states:

Performing local history and heritage can be seen as a relational and productive process, connecting individuals to wider social memories and practices and serving as a means of sustaining place identities through times of change for both long-term and newer residents. Local history does not, therefore, necessarily involve preserving the past but can allow room for change and flux to be welcome as inevitable in the ongoing becoming of place.

(Wheeler, 2017, p.481)
For the context of police implementation, the above-mentioned suggestion that urban heritage is being used to create values for the story contexts of both a physical place and individual life histories in Dadaocheng may imply that: urban heritage is not only the medium to connect a meta-narrative of history of Dadaocheng, but that they are also the catalyst for them to be integrated into the context of everyday life to enrich individual life history. This also means that whilst telling individual stories with the historic environment is a kind of dialogue between past-making and time experience (Pavličić, 2014), ongoing narratives could allow us to play the role of co-author of historical legacies for the future, and then we would also be informed by those historical resources of the story (Walter, 2014).

Moreover, the concept of sustainability implies using holistic and integrated perspectives to deal with the challenges of the environment and society (Brocchi, 2008; Thiele, 2013; Borowy, 2014). If we agree with that the ends and means of sustainability are human capabilities (Sen, 2010, 2013), then narrative, as both a representative form of storytelling and a cognitive structure of a world vision, will become an important issue to discuss sustainable heritage-led urban regeneration. This is because, as S. Lawler (2002, p.243) proposes, ‘narratives, whether personal or “public” […] they are part of the fabric of the social world’. Accordingly, connecting a narrative approach to policy practice, ongoing narratives with living people of all levels in the historic environment is a useful way to motivate various people to reconsider the nature of development for an ever-changing world, and to create more dialogue between the self, time and place.

Unlike relatively abstract master discourses of sustainability used to maintain the historic environment, personal narrative is involved in the individuals’ reflection in relation to everyday life contexts. When we consider why narrative matters for the implementation of policies sustaining the historic environment, it can be seen as a spatial-temporal
cognitive framework that could shape our imagination for transformed futures and help us navigate changes (Veland et al., 2018). This is to say, multiple narratives, as ongoing doing-saying-being practices, could help broaden possible and desirable futures in transformative ways.

The case of Dadaocheng reveals that the long-term policy practices of heritage-led urban regeneration have had some effects on discourse reference and material representation in the construction of urban imaginaries and place values. To this end, the aim of urban cultural policy for sustaining the historic environment could and should be to create a space for inspiring and promoting more diverse urban imaginaries instead of the implementation of guiding collective identity. More specifically, regarding transformations for sustainability, future policy initiatives are expected to continuously engage more narrative stories between the individual story context of life history and the collective story context of urban development. In summary, the process to sustain the historic environment of Dadaocheng through the lens of cultural imagination involves efforts to move the common ground of Dadaocheng to a common future of Dadaocheng(s) in us.
Chapter 8. Conclusions, implications and future research

The people are the city.
(W. Shakespeare, Coriolanus)

Time present and time past
Are both perhaps present in time future,
And time future contained in time past.
(T. S. Eliot, Burnt Norton in Four Quartets)

With the investigation into narrating both individual heritage use and the historic environment of Dadaocheng, this research has demonstrated how Dadaocheng has been imagined and how different individuals present their place identities through heritage use. From the perspective of cultural imagination, these research participants, most of whom are leading figures consciously using historical legacies in Dadaocheng in a recent decade, have sought to interpret the cultural significance of Dadaocheng and related urban heritage in their own ways, and to narrate their individual stories of heritage use. Accordingly, the functioning of cultural imagination with urban heritage is related not only to personal biography and social interactions, but also to depths of history and the effects of political ideology.

Urban heritage is highly beneficial to shaping our imagination of a physical place, especially for the building of urban imaginaries and place values. Not only is Dadaocheng one of the earliest areas of urban modernisation in Taipei, but it was also an important node for Taiwan to enter the world economic system due to the trade in Taiwan's tea. Ultimately, compared to other places in both Taipei City and Taiwan, Dadaocheng, especially Dihua Street, is one of the few areas where the urban street landscape and architectural façades of the Japanese occupation are preserved. After
Dadaocheng was officially designated a historic special-use zone in 2000, a variety of historical legacies have been re-discovered and become cultural resources for place branding, urban regeneration, and cultural entrepreneurship. In light of this, urban heritage in Dadaocheng is being used to connect historical prosperity, to advance cultural and economic vitality, and to enrich the story contexts of both urban development and individual life histories.

In the context of heritage-led urban regeneration in Dadaocheng, heritage plays an important role in the interconnection between the glorious past and the future of nostalgia. When development and progress become an eternal proposition and challenge for a city, both the imagined present and the imagined future of the city would be affected by constructed urban imaginaries that are discursive-material constructions to be followed or re-interpreted over time. This does not mean that everyone imagines Dadaocheng in the same way. Rather, this research has shown that each participant has a different way of remembering and envisioning Dadaocheng due to personal interests and experiences. However, a collective tendency for the longing of the 1920s and 1930s in Dadaocheng is worth noting. Behind this strategic nostalgia, there may be a complex formation process, intertwining with the circulation of historical accounts of urban modernisation in Dadaocheng, the introduction of policies of the cultural economy in Taipei City, and the rise of Taiwanese consciousness in Taiwan.

Re-discovering the spirits of the 1920s and 1930s in Dadaocheng may be mainly based on two Taiwan-centred visions: Taiwan is the Taiwan of Taiwanese, and Taiwan is the Taiwan of the world. After the 1990s, Taiwan has experienced rapid democratisation, in which the pursuit of Taiwanisation and localisation has become the main political manifestation. With this kind of political ideology, re-exploring the historical remains of the Japanese colonial era has become one of the most
important ways to re-define Taiwanese subjectivity and modernisation in Taiwan. Therefore, nostalgia and progress exist at the same time. Nostalgia is related not only to the longing for local uniqueness, but also to a new understanding of time and place with a more universal perspective (Boym, 2001).

Dadaocheng, the main base of Taiwan new cultural movements in the 1920s, has become an important source of representations of Taiwanese consciousness and cultural uniqueness, including democracy, anti-colonialism, literature, music, drama, and art. Meanwhile, the contemporary policy discourses, in relation to the cultural and creative industries or the cultural economy, have further caused heritage users in Dadaocheng to re-imagine this specific period as cultural resource and vision. This is supported by Yin Paoning (殷寶寧) (2021) who states that: "Taiwan" continues to be a stage of continuous construction of national identity and collective imagination. In this process, Dadaocheng's existing historical buildings and street landscapes have become the scene for individuals to imagine the city's history and culture. Different versions of the stories of Dadaocheng, in relation to Taiwan, the Tamsui River, Taipei, the port, and international trade, become potential resources for different people to represent their individual cultural interpretation and historical understanding between “my city” and “our city”. Ultimately, individual initiatives demonstrate not only the self-identification with Dadaocheng, but also the challenges and possibilities of collective imagination.

In addition, narrative inquiry about heritage use in this research has indicated the importance of storytelling using historical legacies and the historic environment for demonstrating various identities. For this heritage-narrative-identity concern, historical legacies and related heritage trigger heritage users to recollect the past and locate themselves in specific sociocultural contexts. Further, the interconnection between personal narrative, heritage use and place identity is based on the temporal and
strategic quality of meaning making. Moreover, personal urban imaginaries seem to be an essential medium of imagination to mediate multiple contextual factors between internal and external motivations. Therefore, time and place become humanised in personal narratives of heritage use, which means that narrators can obtain a more comprehensive and diachronic reflection on living in the historic environment.

Exploring the individual narrative of heritage use and the historic environment does not aim to say something happened but to motivate a healthy cycle in relation to living, telling, retelling, and reliving within a physical place. In a word, narrative could become a useful method to understand people’s perspectives on maintaining a sustainable historic environment. In this regard, policy implementation of heritage-led urban regeneration should not only focus on urban branding, cultural tourism, or the promotion of the cultural economy, but the cultivation of cultural imagination from a narrative viewpoint to envision better futures between the self and the city.

This research re-conceptualises the subjects of heritage and the historic environment through the lens of imagination, and then the original contribution to the field of sustainable heritage includes four aspects: 1) heritage for cultural imagination; 2) the factors of heritage use; 3) heritage in narrative processes; and 4) heritage for urban utopias. Firstly, re-defining heritage use as a real-and-imagined process of value-adding with historical legacies, this definition draws our attention to how our imagination, cultivated through long-term cultural practices, is strategic, constructed, and relational. Associating value attribution of heritage use to mental functioning, cultural imagination of urban heritage is given an ideological and utopian assignment to address the connection between individual and society as well as that between the past and the future. This also means that this approach has made the first step to link the individual
and psychological concerns with the significance of ideas about “the good use”, “the good life” or “the good development” of urban heritage in a specific place.

Secondly, one of the most significant findings of this research is the discovery of the contextual factors of individual heritage use. These contextual factors include physical historical remains and heritage products, discourses in places, historical body with institutional role, the interaction order, the practical vision, economic conditions, and the legitimate order. This finding enhances our understanding of individual heritage use and related narrative logic. Ultimately, this may provide a broader consideration of policy implementation for sustainable heritage-led urban regeneration. This is to say that the seven semantic circles and the related sub-themes have generated implications and related questions that policy makers require to deal with. The related concerns include: 1) What is the history of the institution or the person who represents an institution? 2) Who interacts with whom, what, and why? 3) What is the legal context at different levels and how does legal regulation encourage and/or limit the promotion of heritage use? 4) What kinds of economic incentives support the promotion of heritage use? 5) How has a physical place been discussed and promoted in the media, in policy implementation, or in related publications over time? and 6) What kinds of heritage products have become key elements of narrative in introducing a specific historic environment? Accordingly, these questions seem to be crucial reminders for policy makers to conceive more suitable policing contents for engaging diverse heritage uses.

Thirdly, this dissertation has demonstrated that every narrated story of heritage use seems like an illustration in relation to a specific way to live and/or work with historical resources in Dadaocheng. The process of story-making with heritage, interplaying with the dimensions of personal, social, and urban development, is not only a medium to construct place
identities in individual ways, but also a way to create further
transformations to form triggers and resources for imagining a place.
The relationship between heritage and narrative here denotes an ongoing
doing-saying-being process in which heritage use experience and cultural
imagination work together to refresh meanings and create values. as J.
“Life” in this sense is the same kind of construction of the human
imagination as “a narrative” is’. Thus, through narrating the historic
environment and individual heritage use, the historic district of
Dadaocheng is explored as a narrated place, and Dadaocheng(s) is
expected to be part of an ongoing narrating process for developing
sustainable futures.

Finally, the contribution about heritage for urban utopias to the field of
sustainable heritage is based on the attempt of this research to consider a
relationship between cultural imagination, heritage-led urban regeneration,
and narrative in a historic urban environment. This project has suggested
urban imaginaries play a significant coordinating role in using historical
legacies and sensing a physical place. Meanwhile, cognitive continuity
between urban imaginaries of the past/present and the imagined future is
central to the manner of imagining a place. Accordingly, urban
imaginaries, shaped by the linkage between heritage uses and urban
future visions, denote the ideal and imagined futures of a city that is often
associated with the culturally imagined past and present. Therefore,
ongoing storytelling of Dadaocheng(s) will make the historic environment
more humanised, and subsequently stories of Dadaocheng(s) for urban
utopias may imply that diverse dialogues of overlapping generations
between time, people, and place are worth valuing.
Limitations and further research

Coming to the end of this dissertation, a vision statement of “Dadaocheng(s) in us” could direct this research to reflect on the study limitations and to suggest further research with a continuing concern for cultural imagination with urban heritage. As for this research, it is apparent that the most challenging part of this study is to connect an abstract concept of cultural imagination to a concrete behaviour of heritage use. More specifically, this research seeks to explore heritage use as a real-and-imagined praxis and to focus on the “personal” and “adaptive” dimension of culture. In this regard, while a concept of urban heritage use is oriented to individual strategic participation, personal imagination with urban heritage is a kind of cultural capability. Between the ideological context and utopian assignment, the function of cultural imagination denotes the derivative and adaptive quality of cultural meanings. This attempt has made it possible to demonstrate important contextual factors of individual heritage use, the construction of urban imaginaries, and the effects of imagination on the act of narrative of heritage use.

To draw an overall picture of the diverse approaches of heritage use in Dadaocheng, this research has sought to cover different types of interviewees: government officers, government-led project managers, entrepreneurs, staff from cultural organisations, and older local inhabitants. However, it is apparent that these research participants were generally leading figures, even the elderly residents. This limited sampling strategy is mainly due to problems about accessing general residents in a limited period collecting interview data. This sampling weakness eventually becomes problematic, especially when questions such as “Whose city? Whose imagination?” arise.

In the process of data analysis, some of the interviewees’ responses reflect the problems mentioned above. When we compare five excerpts from different interviewees in Table 16, it is easy to see that while some
local people did not discuss Dadaocheng in a direct and simple way, outsiders were more likely to imagine Dadaocheng in a specific way. Meanwhile, while a government officer hoped local people could have much more imagination about local development, a project manager demonstrated that most local people just hoped the government could advance public infrastructure and the business environment. Accordingly, these different viewpoints about who should be responsible for imagining Dadaocheng and what is the better or more appropriate imagination for the local development of Dadaocheng have indicated that imagination in and for a physical place is concerned with the poetics of imagination for an ideal future and with the politics of imagination with a decision-making process.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Interview excerpts about imagining Dadaocheng</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>‘I don’t know how to describe Dadaocheng. You can chat with me, and you will probably hear some features from our conversations. But if you want me to make a conscious effort to describe its features, I must say that it is difficult for me to describe Dadaocheng in a simple way’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td>‘How to introduce Dadaocheng? This question is too broad for me, as I grew up here. It is easier for me to focus on a specific industry or an item [...] For outsiders, they often come here with specific purposes, so they tend to imagine Dadaocheng with their interests’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td>‘I am not a native resident and do not have any geographical relations with Dadaocheng, so both my concern and starting point are not based on the community building or local identity. This leads me to have different approaches compared with those who are local or natives’.</td>
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<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>‘The government has already helped to promote Dadaocheng to a certain degree. Now the residents should stand out with much more imagination for their hometown’.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
‘In my opinion, most local people are just curious about how the government imagines this place. Basically, they expect to have a prosperous business environment and more public facilities’.

Table 16. Comparison of five interview excerpts about imagining Dadaocheng. Source: the author

This research has stated that the heritage-imagination-sustainability concern of urban cultural policy could and should focus on encouraging diverse urban imaginaries with individual living stories, rather than promoting a shared, collective imagination with the ultimate goal of shaping a collective identity. Accordingly, more research is needed on exploring how urban imaginaries are being shaped and transformed in relation to the heritage of a place and how such imaginaries affect policies and individual visions for the future of a place. It is also important to capture the “imaginaries” of local communities which may very differ from those of the government officers.

Therefore, this study suggests that an exploration of cultural imagination with urban heritage needs to be supported by a further consideration of the politics of heritage-place imagination. Meanwhile, urban imaginaries are a crucial medium and concept to further connect the current approach of cultural imagination with the politics of imagination and with a decision-making process. This is to say that, on the one hand, this research has demonstrated that constructed urban imaginaries influence our ways to imagine a physical place and use historical resources. On the other hand, one of the crucial roles of urban imaginaries is to reconfigure the socio-spatial politics of cities (Lindner and Meissner, 2018).

Regarding politics as a process of making sense of a historical environment’s socio-spatial conditions (Rancière, 2004), we can further link both subjects of narrative and sustainability with the political process.
of constructing urban imaginaries. This also means that, with the approach of the politics of heritage-place imagination, the concept of cultural imagination of urban heritage becomes more contested and dynamic. Further, the relationship between urban imaginaries, narrative, and cultural imagination for a sustainability inquiry could become more interactive and dialectical. In other words, the narrative could become a useful method to understand people’s perspective—everyday people, about maintaining a sustainable historic environment.
Appendices

Appendix 1: List of interview participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Position of interviewee</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government officers of different departments (A)</td>
<td>The director of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, Taipei City Government</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The director of the Department of Economic Development, Taipei City Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The former section chief of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The director of the Department of Information and Tourism, Taipei City Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The division chief of the Department of Cultural Affairs, Taipei City Government</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chief management officer of the Department of Economic Development, Taipei City Government</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chief management officer of the Dadaocheng Theatre, Taipei City Arts Promotion Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers of conducting government projects (B)</td>
<td>The project manager of Community Planner Office in Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chief executive of URS27W</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The chief executive of URS329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local entrepreneurs (C)</td>
<td>The founder and chief executive of Taipei Walking Tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder and chief executive of Sedai Group Cultural Enterprise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder of Kifi Cultural &amp; Creative Associates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The manager of Da-Hua-Hang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder of WEDO Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The administrator of inBlooom Art Design Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The director of Lolling Enterprise Ltd and the founder of the Clothing Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staffs of local cultural organisations or groups (D)</td>
<td>The founder of the Fleisch Living Company</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder of Lau-Gui-Fang</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The vice president of Lee Cake</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder of Cha-Mi-Lu and the director of Dadaocheng Creative District Development Association</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The manager of Wang Tea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The manager of Lao-Mien-Cheng</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The manager of Lien-Tung-Han-Fang</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>The director of Lu Ta-Chi Architects &amp; Associates</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The director of the Taiyuan Asian Puppet Theatre Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The admin director of the Thinkers’ Theatre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The admin director of madL Art Space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The marketing officer of Taipei Xia-Hai City God Temple</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The director general of Taipei Ling-An Association (folk music – Pei-kuan)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The founder of TAU SIO PO (local magazine)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>local older inhabitants (E)</th>
<th>Retiree / local painter</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retiree / the organiser of local cultural tour</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Retiree / one of the key figures of former Dao-Jiang Xia-Hai City God Temple Festival Committee</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Retiree / tour organiser of his ancestral house</td>
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## Appendix 2: Main questions for conducting semi-structured interviews

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Main questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Individual biography</td>
<td>1. Could you introduce yourself with the related study and work experiences?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Why do you joint or create this organisation or shop? And what is your role in this organisation?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual actions with historical legacies</td>
<td>1. About individual heritage action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1 (for government officers):</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1.1 What is the current policy initiative or strategy of your department in Dadaocheng?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1.2 What is the aim of this policy implementation?</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1.1.3 What kinds of challenges do you face to achieve this goal?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.1.4 Why is this policy important to this area’s development?</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2 (for government-led project managers):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2.1 Could you introduce the contents of your URS project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2.2 What is your motive for running this URS project?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.2.3 How do you use this historical building or historical resources to promote your business? and why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3 (for local entrepreneurs):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3.1 Could you introduce the general history of your brand or shop?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3.2 What is your motive for running this brand or shop?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.3.3 How do you use this historical building or historical resources to promote your business and why?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 1.4 (for local cultural organisation staff): | 1.4.1 Could you introduce the general history of your organisation?  
1.4.2 What is your motive for running this organisation?  
1.4.3 How do you use this historical building or historical resources to promote your business and why? |
| 1.5 (for local residents): | 1.5.1 Could you introduce your actions with historical legacies in Dadaocheng?  
1.5.2 What is your motive for running these activities? |

2. What kinds of values of Dadaocheng does your heritage use intend to promote? And what kind of historical legacies is central to your promotion? And why?

| Individual descriptions of the pace of Dadaocheng | 1. How do you introduce the place of Dadaocheng? Or what is your general image of Dadaocheng? And what kinds of elements and activities are central to this image?  
2. What is the feature and uniqueness of Dadaocheng?  
3. What are the most important heritage products in Dadaocheng? |

| Individual observation with other heritage-led actions or policy initiatives happened | 1. How do you evaluate the URS policy promoted by Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office? And what kind of impacts has this policy had on this area?  
2. How do you evaluate the activities of Sedai Group Cultural Enterprise, with |
| Individual interpretation of an iconic image of *Festival on South Street* | 1. How do you read or interpret the image of *Festival on South Street*, created by Hsuehhu Kuo in 1930?  
2. Why has this become image popular in recent years with different applications? |
| --- | --- |
| Individual vision of the future development of Dadaocheng | 1. Being a ‘historic’ district, what kinds of historical elements of Dadaocheng should be preserved for the future?  
2. What is your ideal image for the future development of Dadaocheng? In this sense, what kind of role could the government and your institution play respectively? |

Over thirty micro-enterprises in seven historical buildings? And what kind of impacts has the practice had on this area?  

3. How do you evaluate the annual festival of promoting Dadaocheng as a place for New Year’s shopping? And what kind of impacts has the policy had on this area?
Appendix 3: List of related articles of narrating Dadaocheng at the magazine of *Taipei Pictorial* since the 1980s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue date</th>
<th>Magazine article headlines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>May 1981</td>
<td>Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 1991</td>
<td>The trip of old street: Dihua Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 1995</td>
<td>May 13th: Dadaocheng Xiahai City God’s birthday celebration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 1999</td>
<td>Something about Dadaocheng’s culture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2000</td>
<td>Preserving the glory of cloth industry in Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2001</td>
<td>Dadaocheng: The beginning of the spread of Western influences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2003</td>
<td>Dihua Street: The collecting and distributing centre of Chinese medicine, cloth and groceries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 2005</td>
<td>Tea culture of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr 2006</td>
<td>Food culture of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2007</td>
<td>Visiting Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul 2008</td>
<td>Times of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar 2013</td>
<td>The taste of memory: Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug 2013</td>
<td>One-day trip to Beitou and Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2014</td>
<td>Visiting Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct 2015</td>
<td><em>Fun Taipei: New Looks of Dadaocheng (special issue)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun 2016</td>
<td>Night visit to Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep 2016</td>
<td>Old Taipei in Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov 2016</td>
<td>The culinary journey of Dihua Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan 2017</td>
<td>Enjoying new creativity and traditional flavours at Dihua Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2017</td>
<td><em>Fun Taipei: Enjoying Tea in Dadaocheng (special issue)</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 4: The continuity of imagining the past, the present, and the future of Dadaocheng with thirty-five interviewees. Source: the author.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewee</th>
<th>Continuity (temporality)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The past of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A1</td>
<td>Place with important historical events and business activities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A2</td>
<td>Place with earliest urban preservation movements in Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A3</td>
<td>Place with historic preservation activities mainly promoted by architectural professionals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A4</td>
<td>Place of historical stories with historical celebrities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A5</td>
<td>Place of a commercial centre for tea, Chinese medicine and cloth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A6</td>
<td>Place which was once the most prosperous commercial centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A7</td>
<td>Place of a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B1</td>
<td>Place of traditional wholesale industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B2</td>
<td>Place which was once leading Taiwan’s democratic trends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B3</td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C1</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and commercial cultures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Continuity (temporality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C4</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>C5</td>
<td></td>
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<td>C9</td>
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<tr>
<td>C10</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Continuity (temporality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The past of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C12</td>
<td>Place which was once the most important commercial centre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C13</td>
<td>Place of a prosperous market with a lot of wholesalers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C14</td>
<td>Place of a prosperous port</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D1</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D2</td>
<td>Place of a hub of religious activities and traditional performing arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity and cultural richness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D4</td>
<td>Place of business prosperity with deluxe goods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D5</td>
<td>Place of an ethnic melting point and business prosperity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D6</td>
<td>Place of a hub of traditional performing arts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D7</td>
<td>Place of business circles in a port city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E1</td>
<td>Place for my childhood life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E2</td>
<td>Place of transforming the history of Taiwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewee</td>
<td>Continuity (temporality)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The past of Dadaocheng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E3</td>
<td>Place of a commercial hub with good human relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E4</td>
<td>Place of business circles with warm hospitality</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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