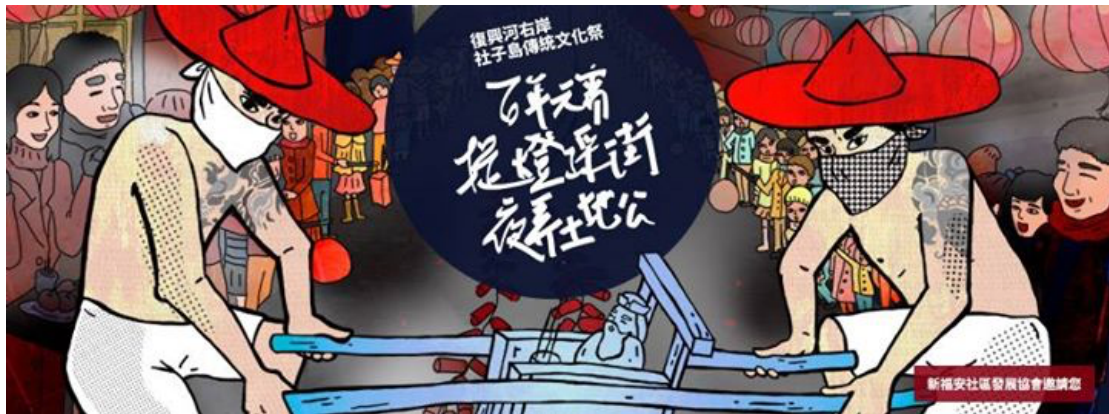


# The Earth Gods' Parade in Shezih Region

The endangered and the protector?



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## Introduction

The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage<sup>1</sup> defines Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH) with four characteristics: traditional, contemporary and living at the same time, inclusive, representative and community-based. ICH does not only reflect the past, but also represents the living style, cultural identity and bounds in particular community. (Ashworth: 2009). However, development driven by new urban plan often threatens cultural heritage. It usually caused by the authorities and developer's limited understanding to local history and culture (Smith 2006; Waterton 2010).

The research focus on how a place's Intangible Cultural Heritage is related to its urban development, and how it constitutes and reflects the place's cultural identity. The research also attempts to portray roles an Intangible Cultural Heritage can play in a conflict of new urban development plan. This will be revealed in the Earth Gods' Parade (夜弄土地公) in Shezih region<sup>2</sup> (社子島), a religious event in Taipei City.

## Research Questions

There are two main research questions throughout the thesis: How was the relationship processed and is processing between urban development and Intangible Cultural Heritage in Shezih region? How is the Earth Gods' Parade interpreted by different actors in the developmental conflict in Shezih region?

There are several sub-questions being answered in the thesis while figuring out the main research questions. While looking into the development history of Shezih region, we can see how it contributes to the cultural identity of the region, and how it is reflected in the Earth Gods' Parade. In the analysis of the upcoming urban development plan, the reasons why it poses a threat to the future of the Earth Gods' Parade are revealed. While portraying the different interpretations of the Earth Gods' Parade by different actors, we can also see the strategies of resistance being used by the coalition of some local residents, activists and scholars.

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<sup>1</sup> United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. 2003. Text of the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage- September, 2003. Paris: UNESCO.  
<https://ich.unesco.org/en/convention>

<sup>2</sup> There are several English translation for 社子島 in related studies. There were *Shezih island* (Kang: 2010), *She-zi island* (Hsieh 2008), *Shetzu island* (Chi: 2011), *Shezi* and *Shezidao* (Taipei City Government). Since the region is not an island anymore but a peninsula, I choose the term *Shezih region* in the thesis.

## Theoretical Framework and Method

The theoretical framework is constructed by four parts. The first part is the special status of Shezih region as *spatial limbo*. Kang (2010) borrowed the concept *limbo* into spatial planning. *Limbo* can be found in Catholic and Taoist religion. In both beliefs, limbo represents a special place where souls after death waiting to be judged or reincarnated for their deeds and sins in lifetime. The word also carries two meanings: *border* and *prison*. It is a borderland between different status, and a place waiting to be released. In spatial planning, the term *spatial limbo* implies places being left out of public investment and care, but also lack of capital venture for development. The border between public and private, different usage of lands become ambiguous as the land-use plan has not been raised or fulfilled. These places usually still have inhabitant and owns histories and cultural activities unseen by authorities.

There are many researches on how authorities recognize cultural heritage. Smith (2006) raised the concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD). AHD usually pays more attention on aesthetically pleasing tangible objects, places, sites and other things. AHD sees them as the priority of protection in policy making. Also in the process of defining heritage, AHD chooses narrators for the meaning of heritage. To Harrison (2012), heritage can become the product through the process of memory selection by authorities. Harrison noticed that some cultural heritage might be referred to *custom* or *tradition*. They can be a set of repetitive, entrenched, sometimes ritualized practices that link values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with those of the past. According to Harrison, heritage associated with small-scale societies and the everyday practices can be interpreted as generator of culture. But they are rarely given credit as heritage due to various reasons, such as the need to compete attention with other interests.

However, Smith (2006: 82) also pointed out that heritage is a constitutive social process which is *dissonant*. It is about regulating and legitimizing, but also about contesting and challenging a range of cultural and social identities, sense of place, collective memories, values and meanings that prevail in the present and can be passed to the future. This leads us to the third part of theoretical framework. Heritage activism and advocacy can be engaged with social movement against urban changes that threaten original cultural context. There are studies on the importance of heritage activism and advocacy to contest and resist enforced urban change ignoring local histories and cultures (Casari & Herzfeld 2015; Hammami & Uzer 2018; Herzfeld 2009; Ingram 2016; Mozaffari 2015; Non 2016). Heritage activism and advocacy

which engaged with resistance movement gives alternative narrative for communities to against exclusion and oppression caused by top-down planning. Huang (2016) reminded us that in Taiwanese context, cultural heritage preservation and urban plan are often in parallel and disregarding each other in urban policy. A spatial limbo usually encounters the consequences that both its development history and cultural heritage being ignored by authorities. Heritage preservation movement on new urban plan does not only calls for attention on local heritage, but also reminds authorities not to ignore development and planning history of a place.

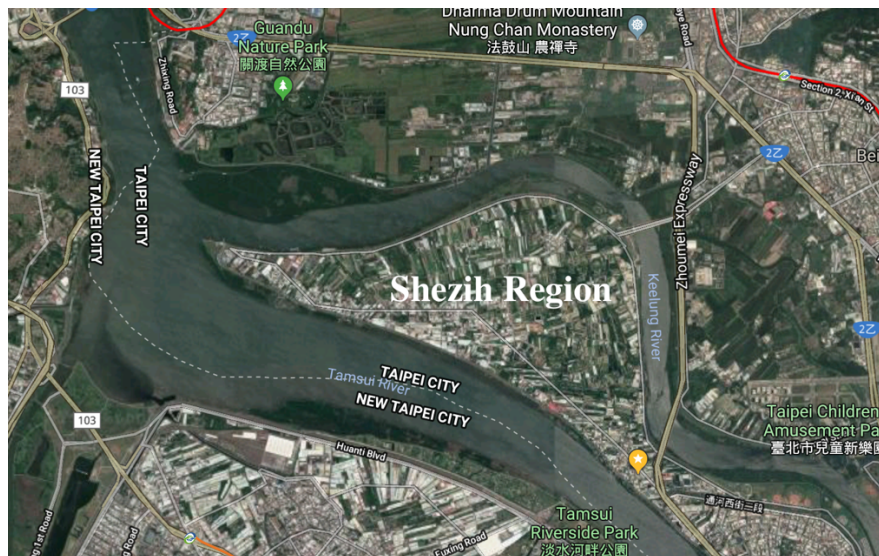
The research method includes several qualitative methods. Content analysis of scholarly literature builds up the theoretical framework. Discourse analysis is established based on press release by Taipei City Government, documents and public speak from local residents, supporting scholars and professionals. Participatory observation has been done in Shezih region, Taipei City Government Urban Planning Commission (TUPC) (台北市都市審議委員會) and international forum held by Taipei City Government. There are also non-structured interviews with local residents, scholars and professionals. The first time I put my feet on Shezih region was in October 2015 as one of the student of Landscape Survey of Urban Islands (島的地景量度), a studio course lead by Professor Min Jay Kang (康旻杰) from National Taiwan University Graduate Institute of Building and Planning (NTU-GIBP). Kang has become one of the scholars raising concerns on the upcoming urban development plan and assisting residents to raise their opinions. The course raised my research interest on Shezih region and the Earth Gods' Parade. It also gave me the chance to become an observer collecting empirical data through observation, discussions with residents and personal analysis.

There are some limits of the research that should be mentioned in advance. First is about the non-structured interviews. These questions of interviews were designed to assure the reliability of some background information on the development controversies in Shezih region and the Earth Gods' Parade. Some questions however did not being replied by interviewees due to various reasons. Second limitation is on my social network of local residents. I met most of the local residents and built up the social network while having the studio course in Shezih region. Most of the residents I encountered were in the potential threat of leaving the Shezih region in the new plan due to land ownership. On the other hand, some of the residents fully support the upcoming plan and want it to be fulfilled as soon as possible. Due to social network and time limitation, I did not approach these residents. I only met some of them and knew their opinion from Urban Planning Commission and news.

## Structure

The thesis has three chapters. The first part of chapter one introduces the development history of Shezih region before and after the region being appointed as flood prevention zone in 1970, which is a major turning point of the region's development. The second part introduce the history and the practice of the Earth Gods' Parade, following its meaning to local settlements and reflection of the region's development. The second part of the thesis is to focus on the Taipei City Government under governance by Wen-Je Ko (柯文哲) after 2014 and its *Ecological Shezi* (生態社子島), the upcoming Shezih region urban development plan. Based on heritage preservation in the urban development plan, press releases and some public speaking from officials, I did some discourse analysis on Taipei City government's policy on Shezih region's development and cultural heritage. The last chapter changes the perspective to the interaction between the city government and the coalition of resistance formed by local residents, activists and professionals collaborating with them. We can see how the Earth Gods' Parade is interpreted in the reviewing process of *Ecological Shezi*. The chapter also includes the analysis on the discourse from the nomination file of the Earth Gods' Parade as municipal intangible cultural heritage. The conclusion tries to answer two main research questions and implies some possibilities of the future development in this case. The appendix the petition to TUPC by OURs (專業者都市改革組織) and the excerpted the Earth Gods' Parade nomination file as municipal cultural heritage.

## Shezih region's Development History and the Earth God's Parade



Picture 1. The satellite map of Shezih Region from Google Maps

Shezih region is a peninsula on the converge point of the downstream of Tamsui river (淡水河) and Keelung river (基隆河), the most important two rivers in Taipei metropolitan area. The region only gets public attention in typhoon season and when a new mayor raised new vision for it. If anyone who has been to other parts of Taipei City visit Shezih region for the first time, they will be surprised finding the landscape hard to relate with the highly urbanized city. Houses are built in bricks with iron sheet roofs and no more than 3 floors. Factories also built by iron sheets are settled in the middle of farmland. The region has no convenience store, which is rare for a city that owns more than 1500 stores.

Shezih region has never been under the spotlight in the history of Taipei City. Moreover, its development has been restricted for almost 50 years due to building prohibition for flood prevention. Flooding is an important factor that shapes the region's development, but there are more stories behind the region's development history. The chapter also looks into the Earth Gods' Parade, which reflects the developmental history and cultural identity of the region.



Pic. 2 & 3. First impression: Iron sheet roof and brick houses in the region. Photo taken by the author in 2015.

## The Development History of Shezih Region before the Building Prohibition

The ancestors of most of the residents in Shezih region came from Tong'an county (同安縣), located in present Fujian province (福建省), China. The location of Shezih region has no land but only water before 17<sup>th</sup> century. In 1694, a strong earthquake hit Northern Taiwan. It sunk part of Taipei region and created a giant lake. After few years, a sandbank came out as the water level dropped. Ketagalan (凱達格蘭), who were one of the biggest group of indigenous people in Northern Taiwan, started to cultivate the region. The region's traditional Taiwanese name Siā-á (社仔) came from the fact that indigenous settlements were called Siā in by Fujian immigrants (Wang 2007: 250). In 1708, nine families from Tong'an went on shore from Tamsui and immigrated to Shezih region. They were the first group of Han immigrants. The immigrants rented farmland from Ketagalans. Katagalan people were more used to fishing than farming, and had no clear system of land ownership. It made the settlements from Tong'an grew larger and took over the land from the Katagalans. Most of the Katagalans moved out the region or assimilated with Han immigrants after few decades. When Japanese anthropologist Ino Kanori investigated the region in 1896, only seven indigenous families with 35 people still lived in (Wang 2007: 256).

Shezih region has a long history of agriculture, and was an important region supporting agricultural products for Northern Taiwan. The region has been the main agricultural region supporting Taipei metropolis since Qing Dynasty. Han immigrants started to grow rice since their arrival. Rice was the main produce until the early years of KMT ruled Taiwan in 1945. The region had its advantage when water routes were the main transportation in Taipei. It was on routes from old Tamsui Port to the most prosperous regions of Taipei: Báng-kah (艋舺), Tuā-tiū-tiānn (大稻埕) and Siā<sup>n</sup>-lāi (城內). Residents in Shezih region cultivated in the region or went across Tamsui River to their farmland in Luzhou. Then they could take produce to three main regions and sell them. Furthermore, they could collect human feces from these places as fertilizer and bring back to farmland. There were three ports working in the region at the peak. In Japanese era, farmland in the three main region vanished and population grew fast as modernization in these regions were speeding up. Shezih region became more important on supporting agriculture in Taipei City (Wang 2004: 37). Part of the region also cultivated sugar canes and jasmine flowers. Sugar canes would be transported to Báng-kah for sugar company to be processed into sugar. Jasmine flowers would be transported to tea merchants in Tuā-tiū-tiānn for making tea.



Under the ruling of KMT from 1947, Shezih region's industries went through transformation. Farmers started to plant vegetables instead of rice because some vegetables could be harvested in short term, and the flooding risk for rice was unbearable. The region became the region supporting most vegetables for northern Taiwan. Before National freeway 1 opened in 1978, the region supplied over half of the vegetable demand in northern Taiwan. The region enjoyed a period of prosperity being the main agricultural supplier for Northern Taiwan. It reaches economic peak in 1950s. A merchant from Tuā-tiū-tiānn was optimistic of the region's future. He rented land and built Crown Cinema near the dock in Si-jhou-di (溪洲底). According to elders in the region, the cinema was always crowded and attracted many vendors to the dock nearby (Liu 2000: 20).

Shezih region lost its advantage as agricultural provider after the opening of National freeway 1, since the highway enhanced the accessibility of vegetables from central and southern Taiwan. Since then, the region's main industry has transformed from agriculture to manufacturing and logistic industries. People from central and southern Taiwan moved in Shezih region due to its relative low land price in Taipei city. The low land price also attracted factories to move in the region. Many factories were built in farmland, mixing with residential housing. Some residents originally lived in Shezih region gave up farming. They leased lands to factories and find jobs other parts of Taipei city.

Despite having ups and downs in economic development, Shezih region was always marginal under administrative division since Qing Dynasty. Shezih region was the most northern part of Da-jia-ruei (大加蚋堡) around 1820s. In the period of Guanxu (光緒), the region was divided and under governance of three administrative districts. With its long history being marginal in administrative districts, Shezih region has social-spatially being marginalized too. This factor set up the region's upcoming fate after 1970 until present.

## The Development of Shezih Region after Building Prohibition

The development of Shezih region has been restricted with a series of policies since typhoon Gloria hit Taipei City in 1963. The typhoon killed more than 400 people and damaged more than 800 buildings. First policy was Keelung River Realignment Plan (基隆河士林區改道計劃) in 1964. The plan originally included a cut-off in Keelung River that would affect nearby Shilin region (士林區). Factories owners and city counselors in Shilin lobbied to

Executive Yuan (行政院) and persuaded it to change Keelung River's cut-off into Shezih region. Land expropriation and river broadening caused serious land lost in Shezih region. The second and the most influential policy to Shezih region was the building prohibition in 1970. In *Taipei Region Flood Prevention Plan Review* (台北地區防洪計劃檢討報告), Shezih region is recognized with low economic value, and would need high budget for building embankment. The review suggested to designate Shezih region as flood prevention zone. This suggestion comes with restriction on population growth, prohibition on creating new buildings and renovating current ones. The suggestion was to prevent possible compensation for housing demolition in the future. The last policy that affected Shezih region was a series of embankment construction in Taipei City and nearby Taipei County<sup>3</sup>. Shezih region was not in the plan initially. The city government in the end constructed 2.5 meters high embankment around the region, but the flood prevention effect was way lower than other parts of Taipei city, which were built 8.15 meters high<sup>4</sup>. Shezih region remained in high risk of flooding. In 1987, a group of local residents protested in front of Taipei City Government. They strived for higher embankment and lifting building prohibition. Executive Yuan agreed to construct 6 meters high low protection embankment in the region. However, Shezih region was still remained as flood prevention zone, and the building prohibition too.

Since 1988, the vision and related urban development plan changed when a new mayor take office. The vision has changed from pornography industrial zone to Taipei Manhattan under 6 different mayors before Wen-je Ko took the office in 2014<sup>5</sup>. Some of the visions were more feasible than others, but the process were always slow. Controversies on housing demolition, compensation and settlement plan during construction process has never been settled down. The region's land and building ownership is complex due to the reclamation process of early Han immigrants. The land use restriction and the uncertain future of Shezih region forced many residents to move out. Families that stayed in the region has to choose between obeying the building prohibition living in small space, or violating the rule and building up with iron-sheet add-ons, as iron-sheet is relatively low-cost material. These reasons made the land and building ownership more complicated after building prohibition. Another issue that slowed down the development process was evaluations on environment and construction feasibility. These evaluations are important and necessary process for the region's

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<sup>3</sup> The present New Taipei City (新北市) before its promotion in 2010

<sup>4</sup> It is the 200 years' flood protecting standard for embankment.

<sup>5</sup> The different visions raise by former mayors can be found in the table in appendix "the Development History of Shezih Region."

development plan. But evaluations such as earth filling and flood prevention have to be reevaluated when a new plan was raised. When the successor of Taipei City takes office, a new plan would be raised and the loop of communication, negotiation and evaluation goes on.

Shezih region is a typical case of spatial limbo. The building prohibition restricted public investment in only flooding prevention, also private investment. Since there was no legitimacy for residents repairing or rebuilding houses, the landscape became a mixture of iron sheets, brick houses and farmland. Land and property ownership became more complicated by restriction, and created more problems when a new development plan came up. Residents in the region are getting used to the unfulfilled visions raised by different mayors. Shezih region is also the border in many perspectives. It is the natural border of water and land. The region has been in between borders of administration districts in most of its history. The region became a borderland between rural and urban, traditional and modern Taipei City. People living on it find out living order that cannot be found in other parts of Taipei City. We will have deeper understanding on how the status as spatial limbo preserves and shapes the region's cultural identity from the Earth Gods' Parade, one of the most significant religious ritual and cultural event in Shezih region.

## The Earth Gods' Parade and the Cultural Identity of Shezih Region



Pic. 4. The four settlements participating in Shezih region.  
Made by the author with Google Maps, 2018.

Shezih region is a religious region that pays respect to gods and ghosts. The density of temple in the region is high. Some of the gods and ghosts can be related to its close relationship with water. For example, *Marshal of the Central Altar* (中壇元帥)<sup>6</sup>, the main god of Kun-

<sup>6</sup> The god is also known as *Third Lotus Prince* (三太子) and *Nau Za* (哪吒).

Tian Temple (坤天亭), was a child with mighty power. He broke into the water palace, caused a series of chaos and killed the third prince of the dragon king. The god's wild and disorder character can be compared to the developmental status of Shezih region after building prohibition. In the following stories, the god committed suicide to atone his crime and returned his flesh and bones to parents. His soul was then recalled and given a new body made by lotus. The god's life, death and incarnation is like the suspended situation of the region with hope of future. There are also a lot of temples worshipping ghosts. They were usually bodies found by the two rivers. There are also many earth god temples in the region which related to its agricultural history. Settlements in Si-jhou-di holds the Earth Gods' Parade every year in lantern festival, celebrated on the fifteenth day of the first month in the lunisolar Chinese calendar.

The Earth Gods' Parade is one of the most significant festival in Shezih region. It is also a day of reunion for local families. The parade is held by four settlements in Si-jhou-di, Gang-cian-zih (港墘仔), Wun-liao (塹寮), Jhong-ku (中窟) and Si-tai-kou (戲台口). The name of Si-jhou-di was originated from its location, which means 'the bottom of sand bar'. Si-jhou-di connected Taipei City and Shezih region. It witnessed the prosperity of Shezih region in 1960s, when vendor trucks went in and out the region transporting vegetables. The closed Crown Cinema was also located in the region. Every year on the day of lantern festival, settlements carry out their Earth God and rally through Shezih region. Firecrackers are set by the routes of the Earth Gods' Parade to welcome the Earth Gods and people carrying the gods. People also carry and watch lanterns at night.

The Earth Gods' Parade has unclear origin and evolution history. Archives of Shezih region's religious events are insufficient. It is only confirmed that the ritual was originated from Han immigrants and has lasted more than a hundred years. Earth God is usually the protector of a certain region and highly related to agricultural society. In Taiwanese tradition, Earth Gods are in charge of a region's harvest, fortune and prosperity. The purpose of parade could be also related to the region's high flooding risk in the past. According to former Taipei City councilman Bi-Feng Chen (陳碧峰), there were local elders saying that the firecrackers in the parade was meant to wake up earth gods to protect the region from land loss<sup>7</sup>. As for now, local residents pray for protection and fortune in the following new year. People also believe that setting up more firecrackers contribute more fortune. Kang mentioned the

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<sup>7</sup> From the interview in PTS documentary Our Island (我們的島) Ep. 897: The Earth Gods' Parade (2017, Taipei City).

difficulty portraying the depth and width of history of the Earth Gods' Parade in an interview<sup>8</sup>. The challenge comes from not only the lack of archives, also settlements that participated in the ritual varies due to settlements development. For example, Gang-cian-zih, one of the four current settlements, only developed into an independent settlement in recent years. There are also settlements that participated in the ritual before but not anymore. Sia-jhu-wei (下竹圍) was one of participating settlements in the ritual, but the settlement does not join the parade anymore. The main reason is the loss of younger generation in the settlement due to the restriction of development.

Although all gods participate in the parade are Earth God, people can easily find the variety between them. The form of temple, the way of worshipping, even the look of earth god is different. These differences are related to development of settlement. The earth god temple in Wun-liao was built after a local resident found the high risk of earth god statues being stolen. Residents in Wun-liao worship several earth gods' statues in the temple, but every year only one of them would join the parade. The earth god of Si-tai-kou has a very different story. There is no Earth God temple in the settlement. Families in the settlement cast moon blocks<sup>9</sup> to decide the worshipping family every year. The statue is then settled in the house of the worshipping family. The earth god's statue was carved by a flowing wood. It is faceless and in simplistic figure. The tale of the statue is that one local resident had dream after picking up a floating wood. The Earth God ordered him to carve the wood into statue.



Pic. 5. The earth god of Wen-liao (left) was moved into a temple and worshipped after stolen.

Screenshot from Our Island: The Earth Gods' Parade, 2017.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Kang in August 7th, 2017.

<sup>9</sup> 擲筊。



Pic. 6. The earth god of Si-tai-kou is under dressed by residents.  
Screenshot from Our Island: The Earth Gods' Parade, 2017.

The evolution of the parade's form is not clear. For example, the carriers of Earth Gods did not wear straw hats and shorts when the parade was originated. Some people believed that people starts to wear straw hats as a reminder of the region's agricultural tradition. The wearing of shorts could be imitation from *Firecrackers at Master Handan* (炸寒單爺) in Taitung County, another well-known lantern festival religious event in Taiwan.

The Earth Gods' Parade's ritual lasted for whole day long in lantern festival. It starts from early morning. They are carried out by palanquins. Earth gods are invited to temples in region nearby. Only men that have will and strength can carry the palanquins. These people carrying gods are half naked, wearing only straw hats, scarfs and red or white shorts, depending on settlements. Straw hat symbolizes the region's agricultural backgrounds. Scarf is for preventing smoke effecting nose. These men have to be well prepared and respect for gods. They need to fast and bath few days before the parade. The earth gods pass through Shezih and nearby region and rally back to their settlement, waiting for the parade at night.



Pic. 7. People waiting for the parade to begin.  
Picture taken by the author, 2017.

When the Earth Gods are out of settlements, residents in the settlements are also busy. Almost every family and shop prepare foods and gifts in front of their houses for participants of the parade. In the past, children participated in the parade receive food, gifts and candles as part of a lantern. Many candles were from Dalongdong Bao-an temple (大龍峒保安宮), one of the most important temples in Taipei City. The settlements in Si-jhou-di has close relationship with Bao-an temple because of two reasons. One is that Baosheng Dadi (保生大帝), the main god of Bao-an temple, was the protector of Tong'an people. Another reason is that people from Si-jhou-di used to go to Dalongdong often by boats. In nowadays, candles are replaced by lightbulbs, and most of the people waiting in line for DIY paper lanterns instead of making one at home. Although the form of lanterns changes with the development of technology, the tradition of carrying and watching lanterns in the parade still remains.



Pic. 8. People holding lanterns and waiting in line to get gifts.

Picture taken by Mei-Hua Hsieh, 2017.



Pic. 9. A child holding self-made lantern.

Picture taken by Mei-Hua Hsieh, 2017.

The climax of the parade comes at night when earth gods come back to Shezih region. Half-naked men carry earth gods in cold weather but the atmosphere of the parade is high. The Earth Gods go through routes with densely set firecrackers, and people carrying them chant the name of their settlements. Sometimes they sing song about unity<sup>10</sup>. Parade participants from the region and other places gather around routes to see the earth gods, praying for peace and prosperity for the following years. In the past, the Earth Gods do not always gather in the parade. When earth gods meet during the parade, it could cause conflicts between settlements<sup>11</sup>. People from different settlements become competitive for their earth god, and tension goes high in the meeting. Sometimes people shout and throw things they could find from the ground at each other. But the conflicts usually end fast in the festive mood. In the end of the parade, Earth Gods go back into the settlements at late night.



Pic. 10. An Earth God being carried and going through firecrackers.

Picture taken by the author in 2017

As a tradition originated in agricultural society, the Earth Gods' Parade still remains some elements. The most important is the bonding of community and the spirit of sharing. People carrying Earth Gods showing their respect and proud while chanting and singing. Other residents keep the tradition of sharing in the festival. The bonding from the parade also keep people who moved out of Shezih region coming back for reunion. It makes the Earth Gods' Parade less touristic and more self-engaged comparing to Earth Gods' Parade in other parts of

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<sup>10</sup> According to my participation in the Earth Gods' Parade in 2017 and sharing from local residents, palanquin carriers and some participants would chant settlement names and sing *The More We Get Together* (當我們同在一起), a song adapted from British folk song.

<sup>11</sup> According to Ruei-Kun Chen (陳瑞堃), a Shezih resident and one of the palanquin carriers.



Taipei City. The building prohibition restricted the development of Shezih region, but also remain the settlements in it. The parade also reveals the wild atmosphere which is different from other parts of Taipei City.

## Conclusion

The Earth Gods' Parade reflects the region's cultural identity: straightforward, wild, sharing spirit and strong bonding in communities. The spatial limbo forced people in the region to find their own living order and tempo, which is out of the logic of rational planning. The settlements in the region are also preserved, which are the foundation of the Earth Gods' Parade. However, the upcoming urban development plan is going to threat local communities and the Earth Gods' Parade.

## The Threat from Ecological Shezi: A Limited Vision

Wen-je Ko was a hit in 2014 Taiwanese local election. As a former surgeon without much experiences in politics, he gained huge popularity among young generation. During the 2014 Taipei City Mayoral Election, he was asked about lifting the building prohibition on Shezih region. Ko issued that although the future development of Shezih region is related to the potential flooding threat of the region, “the EIA (Environmental impact assessment) should be speeding up”<sup>12</sup>. Ko’s answer reflected his motto, “In the world of martial arts, only the swiftness is invincible<sup>13</sup>”. Since Ko took Taipei City Government in 2014, he demonstrated his motto on his first few policy making, including on Shezih region. It seems like dawn after a long night for residents in the beginning. However, the plan itself and the resettlement solution for residents could dissolve settlements in the region. If communities that support the Earth Gods’ Parade vanish, the festive event could disappear forever. Taipei City Government was not aware of the potential threat of the upcoming plan on local communities and Intangible Cultural Heritage like the Earth Gods’ Parade. Details on heritage preservation in the urban plan showed the government’s lack of knowledge and direction, which made the parade’s future into crisis.

### New Mayor in the Office: i-Voting<sup>14</sup> and three plans

Taipei City Government under Ko tried to adapt his ideology into its upcoming plan for Shezih region: efficiency, and more direct participation from citizens in policy making. The Ko government enacted two Disposal Directions for Shezih region in August 2015: *Temporal Management Guidelines for Fixations of Constructions without Permit in Shezi Region* (臺北市社子島地區違建修繕暫行作業要點), and *Management Guidelines for Procedures of Connecting Water and Electricity in Shezi Region, Taipei City* (臺北市社子島地區接水接電作業要點). These two management guidelines gave residents in the region temporal legal status for fixing buildings and taking water and electricity. On preparation for future planning,

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<sup>12</sup> Wang, Li-rou. “Speeding up the EIA of Shezih Island if Elected as Mayor.” *The Storm Media* (Taipei City), July 28, 2014. Accessed March 23, 2018. <https://www.storm.mg/article/33901>

<sup>13</sup> The motto was originated from a Chinese idiom: 天下武功，唯快不破。

<sup>14</sup> I-Voting is a method of direct democracy. Government puts poll online for citizens to vote. It has been used in several occasions by Taipei City Government since Ko took the office.

Taipei City Government set a working station for the project of Shezih region in June 2015. The working station was set in Kun-Tian Temple (坤天亭), one of the most important temple in the region. Public servants from different city government departments cooperated with consulting company and community planners. The team surveyed local opinions and did field research over several categories, such as buildings, taking water and electricity, local industries, temples, housing conditions and income of residents. The working station later upgraded into office in August 2015 in order to consolidate all the business.

The Ko Government then decided to take a big step. The city government abolished the former version of urban development plan proposed in 2011 for few reasons. The plan needed high amount of earthwork and long constructing process estimated for 14 years. The city government also concerned about the high budget. On September 18, 2015, Taipei City Government Department of Urban Development proposed three proposals as the future urban development plan. These three plans are Canal Shezi (運河社子島), Ecological Shezi (生態社子島) and Our Shezi (咱的社子島). Canal Shezi highly demanded on canals and emphasized on building transportation system on land and water routes. Ecological Shezi aimed on creating green and blue system in the region. An artificial river would be the axis through the region, and ‘authentic’ characteristic of Shezih region would be preserved. Our Shezi had a more flexible way of development, as current settlements in the region can decide whether to join zone expropriation<sup>15</sup> or not. If a settlement does not want to join, residents could repair or reconstruct their houses on original sites after the prohibition is lifted. It also has lower expected population than another two plans.

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<sup>15</sup> Zone expropriation (區段徵收) is an expropriating process in Taiwan on the basis of the needs of public business. The original landowners can take back part of the land after development, except for the land needed for public facilities. Zone expropriation has been controversial in recent years due to its obligatory and the value of payback to original landowners.



Pic. 11. The three proposed projects for Shezih Region.

Taken from the city government's PowerPoint for orientation, 2015.

The Ko government announced that the final decision would be made according to the result from i-Voting. The vote count would be calculated 80% by residents in Shezih Region and 20% by other Taipei City citizens. The i-Voting was planned to be held on December 12, 2015 after two orientations to local residents in October and November. The plans would be revised before voting after collecting local opinions.

Residents in Shezih Region raised their concerns to the city government and public. The main concerns are no different from the past: the settlement plan during development and problems caused by complicated land ownership. Local residents were glad on the improvement of living environment lead by the new management guidelines. However, the pace of Ko government made them worried since the main concerns wasn't solved in two orientations, and there were too many difficult terms for residents to understand. Zone expropriation was used in three proposals. However, it is obligatory to for residents to join zone expropriation in Canal Shezi and Ecological Shezi. Only in Our Shezi settlements, local resident could decide whether to join zone expropriation or not. The flood prevention plans in proposals except Our Shezi were potential threat to settlements by two rivers. The reconstruction of embankment would need to take soil from the side by two rivers. It would force settlements by rivers to move away. The temporary settlement plan during the development process was also unclear. One-fourth of residents in Shezih region had no land ownership<sup>16</sup>, and the settlement plan did not give solution for their settlement. Some other

<sup>16</sup> According 2015 survey from Taipei City Government Land Development Agency (土地開發總隊).

residents may have difficulties affording the increasing housing price or rent after development plan is accomplished. There are many factors that could dissolve settlements in Shezih region.

Issues on preserving local settlements and culture were almost disappeared in three proposals. In the illustrated presentation from Department of Urban Development in orientations<sup>17</sup>, ‘history’ and ‘culture’ was not mentioned at all. ‘Settlement’ was mentioned eight times, but all in the part of *Our Shezi*. The Ko government had the planning mindset ignoring Shezih region’s development context and cultural heritage, just like most of the Taiwanese authorities in the past which Huang (2016: 238) summarized.

### Road to Ecological Shezi: Conflicts and Attitude from Different Officials

After two orientations in October and November, the concerns from residents were not solved. Due to criticism on the hasty process, the i-Voting was postponed to February 27 and 28, 2016. Taipei City Government made an adjustment on i-Voting. Only citizens whose household is registered in Shezih region or owned property or (and) land had the right to vote in the i-Voting. For other citizens, they can fill in an online survey on the same week of i-Voting. Inspired by the parliamentary inquiry by city councilor Tzu-Huei Chen (陳慈慧)<sup>18</sup>, Ko visited Shezih region on November 24 and 25, 2016. Vice Mayor Charles Lin (林欽榮) and Commissioner of Department of Urban Development Jou Min Lin (林洲民) were along with him, who were the main directors on urban policy of Taipei City. They all stayed over one night. Charles Lin and Jou Min Lin stayed in a house built by light gauge steel on Sec. 9, Yanping North Road. Ko stayed in the Fu-jhou Wang’s House (浮州王宅), an old house with history over a hundred year. It was built in Japanese ruling era with red bricks. It was also among one of the eight historical sites in Shezih region that Lung Ying-tai (龍應台) visited in 2000<sup>19</sup>. The house was later designated as one of the five historical buildings in Shezih region by Department of Cultural Affairs. Ko and the officials had conversations with local residents on the region’s living environment.

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<sup>17</sup> The PowerPoint includes 38 pages, which is too much for the appendix. The file can be found in the city government’s website on Shezih development plan <https://shezidao.gov.taipei/Default.aspx>

<sup>18</sup> Kuo, Mei-yu. “Ko Agrees to Experience Daily Life without Water and Electricity on Shezih Island by Long Stay.” *Apple Daily* (Taipei City), May 29, 2015. Accessed March 23, 2018. <https://tw.news.appledaily.com/life/realtime/20150529/619190/LongStay> 體驗社子島沒水電？柯同意

<sup>19</sup> She was then the commissioner of Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City. The visit can be found on the website of Department of Cultural Affairs. <https://www.culture.gov.taipei/frontsite/cms/contentAction.do?method=viewContentDetail&iscancel=true&contentId=Nji0NQ==&subMenuId=107>



Pic. 12. Mayor Ko (sitting in the middle) visited Fu-jhou Wang's house along with councilwoman Tzu-Huei Chen (right).

Photo credit: Wang, Yi-Sung. Liberty Times (Taipei City). 2015.

Ko visited Shezih region again a week before the i-Voting. 'No further development' was added as the fourth option besides three proposals as a response to concerns on proposals. Ko shared his thought on three proposals on Shezih region. He preferred Ecological Shezi because it was the most practical project. He also said that there were less developmental space in Canal Shezi, and Our Shezi was not practical<sup>20</sup>. On February 27 and 28, 2016, i-Voting of future plan for Shezih was held both online and in four poll stations in the region. 5091 people voted, which was around 35% of citizens who had the right to vote<sup>21</sup>. 84% percent of the voters voted online and only 16% of people voted in polling stations. In 4 options, Ecological Shezi got almost 60% of the votes. Canal Shezi got 16% of the votes. Our Shezi and No Further Development both won 12.7% of the votes. Taipei City Government announced the future development plan will be based on Ecological Shezi, as it is the majority opinion in Shezih region.

Not only residents shared their concern to the future plan, Jou Min Lin also gave some comment on the plan and local residents. On April 30 and May 1 2016, Taipei City Government held an international forum on the future development of Shezih region. Four Dutch experts in

<sup>20</sup> Wang, Yeng-chiao. "Ko is in favor of *Ecological Shezi* among three proposals in i-Voting." *The Storm Media* (Taipei City), February 21, 2016. Accessed March 23, 2018. <https://www.storm.mg/article/82687>

<sup>21</sup> Taipei City Government. "Ecological Shezi won in i-Voting with more than 35% voting rate. The city government vowed to keep communicating with residents and speeding up development." February 29, 2016.

urban planning, water management, ecological development and housing were invited as key speakers of the forum. They joined the discussion on Shezih region's future plan along with Taiwanese scholars, professionals and government officials. Jou Min Lin was also in the forum. He joined a session on stage. When Piet Kalsbeek<sup>22</sup> asked if the city government have any vision on shaping the urban identity for Shezih Region, Lin's answer made him look awkward<sup>23</sup>. Lin said with serious face that he saw no identity, but only the dark side of humanity in the discussion on future land ownership issues. Kalsbeek changed the topic to keep the conversation going.



Pic. 12. Jou Min Lin explaining Ecological Shezi. Picture taken by the author.



Pic. 13. Jou Min Lin discussing with Dutch experts. Picture taken by the author.

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<sup>22</sup> The CEO of Wissing, an international planning and landscape company in the Netherlands.

<sup>23</sup> Personal notes on presentations and discussions were taken in the forum.

In the following session explaining the current progress of the plan, Lin talked about the hardship dealing with some ‘ignorant city councilors’ and ‘unreasonable citizens’ in his work as the Commissioner. Lin showed his confidence on profession as the Commissioner and a long-time architect. He also revealed impatient to people he encountered. But development plan met some accurate challenges from Dutch experts in the forum. Frans Van de Ven<sup>24</sup> asked that whether local factories will return after the plan is accomplished. An official answered that these factories are welcomed to come back to Shezih region if they become more efficient and sustainable. However, no recognition standards on efficiency and sustainability or further plan were given. There were still many issues unsolved besides land ownership and resettlement plans. The international forum had another problem that upset local residents: the forum seemed to exclude them on purpose. The forum information was released to public two days before the forum on the official website of Shezih development held by Department of Urban Development<sup>25</sup>. On the webpage, the forum was held for ‘urban planner, urban designer, transportation and water management specialists in the country’ and ‘working fellows in Taipei City Government.’ The late delivery of message made the public forum more like a closed one. I saw no local residents in the forum, which was very predictable.

While the conflicts between city government and some of the local residents heated up, Mayor Ko were still trying to prove his commitment and efficiency in the development. Beside speaking in public, Ko also made some atypical political performance to show his strength. Ko visited Fu-an elementary school (富安國小), one of the four polling stations in Shezih region on the second day voting. He won much attention as he hurried to the place accomplishing a 520 kilometer cycling between two light houses in 24 hours<sup>26</sup>.

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<sup>24</sup> The associate professor of Water Resources Management in TU Delft, the Netherlands.

<sup>25</sup> <https://shezidao.gov.taipei/>

<sup>26</sup> Yu, Bei-ru. “Ko suffers sore muscle of two legs while checking i-Voting after finishing the two tower challenge.” *Liberty Times* (Taipei City), February 28, 2016. Accessed March 30, 2018. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/1616099>





Pic. 14. Ko gets out of the car with the help by assistant.

He visits Fu-an elementary school to see the voting situation in Shezih region.

Photo credit: Liu, Sin-de. Liberty Times (Taipei City). 2016.

Ko joined the last session of the International Forum after finishing the step climbing race in Taipei 101, the highest building in the city and Taiwan<sup>27</sup>. He even broke his last year record. The full determination of the Ko government however could not solve all concerns in the Shezih region’s future development, including the future of the region’s cultural heritage.



Pic. 15 & 16. Ko finishes 101 step climbing race and goes to the forum.

Photo credit: Taipei City Government, 2016.

<sup>27</sup> Taipei City Government. “The wrap-up of the Netherland-Taipei International Forum. Mayor Ko: We should work hard to accomplish the goal once the strategy is set.” May 1, 2016.

## Heritage Discourse in the New Urban Development Plan

Taipei City Government Department of Cultural Affairs announced that six buildings in Shezih region would be designated as municipal cultural heritage in March 2016<sup>28</sup>. The five historical buildings were recorded and traced reports by Department of Cultural Affairs before designation. Kun-Tian Temple is designated as it was one of the religious center in the region. Wei-Ling Temple (威靈廟), which is another important temple in Shezih region, was also considered to be designated in the future. These buildings will be expropriated and preserved, as the buildings and their surrounding would become public land.

On June 17, 2016, Taipei City Government released *The Main Changed Plan on Shilin Shezih Region* and *The Detailed Changed Plan on Shilin Shezih Region*. There is a section on local culture and folklore in the main changed plan which takes four pages. It (19) starts with an introduction summarizing the history of Han immigrants in the region and comparing settlement names to the past. It then mentions that religion and worship circles shaped the settlements. It does not mention the kinship in these settlements. In the end, it says that “settlement buildings, worship circles and cultural performances are the soul of settlement” (19), and “there are several buildings and several intangible culture with historical values.” (19) The section then makes local cultural heritage into three categories: ‘historical buildings’, ‘other buildings with cultural meanings’ and ‘cultural heritage with cultural value related to traditional arts and folklore.’ Historical buildings are the five buildings designated by Department of Cultural Affairs. Other buildings with cultural meanings are the Kun-Tian Temple, Wei-Ling Temple, Bei-Hsin Temple (北興宮) and Di-Zang Temple (地藏禪寺). Bei-Hsin Temple is the religious center of urban-rural immigrants moved in in 1970s. Di-Zang Temple is one of the important Buddhism temple in Shilin. The third category can be seen as intangible cultural heritage. The Earth Gods’ Parade are listed among the other four events: The Completion Jiu of Kun-Tian Temple (坤天亭五朝祈安圓醮), Dragon Boat Racing and River Worshipping (扒龍舟與祭江), the Worshipping in Yianlo Li’s House (燕樓李家過頭祭典) and Nanguan and Beiguan clubs (南北管社團) (21-22). The description on the Earth Gods’ Parade is short, vague and contains mistakes on basic ideas.

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<sup>28</sup> Yu, Bei-ru. “Five municipal historical buildings in Shezih Region will be designated and expropriated by Taipei City Government.” *Liberty Times* (Taipei City), March 3, 2016. Accessed March 25, 2018. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/life/breakingnews/1620838>

“The Earth Gods’ Parade is a tradition lasts over hundred years in Shezih Region. The tradition is held for welcoming god of wealth. Every year in the night of Lantern Festival, shops in the region throw firecrackers to the carriages of earth gods. This is also known as Firecrackers at Master Han Dan. The sounds of firecrackers explosion and drums are filled in every lane and alley. The more the firecrackers explode, the better the fortune goes”. (21)

There are two mistakes in the description. In Taiwanese folklore, earth god does not equal to the god of wealth. Earth god may give prosperity, but they are not the same. The second mistake is that the Earth Gods’ Parade has never been known as Firecrackers at Master Han Dan. Half-naked men with shorts and firecrackers play crucial role in both events. In the Earth Gods’ Parade, men are in charge of carrying palanquins of the earth gods. But in Firecrackers at Master Han Dan, these deity believers play the role of god and being thrown at with firecrackers. The description in the plan also ignores lantern watching and the sharing spirit in the event. Although the plan makes a list on the Intangible Cultural Heritage in the region, the mistakes and vague description reminds people of Huang’s comment again (238) that the spatial planning authorities in Taiwan often disregards culture.

Two principles on heritage preservation are given in *The Detailed Changed Plan on Shilin Shezih Region*. One is preserving designated historical buildings and religious places and make them into park land (12). The plan explains this principle is made for preserving culture and recreation for citizens, which can establish citizens’ local identity and promoting cultural industry. Another principle is evaluating the future of these buildings after certain period of time (13). Taipei City Government will decide whether to preserve them or transform them and give them new life after future development. (13) There are no further explanation on how heritage parks will promote cultural industries or establish the local identity. But we can see from the principle that the Authorized Heritage Discourse here takes buildings as the priority of heritage, as it is aesthetically pleasing and iconic for local residents. The second principle is also vague, as no standard of evaluation is mentioned in the plan. No possible plans are given on how buildings can transform if they do not match the expectation from the government. It’s just a polite way of saying “We’ll see how it goes in the future. As for now, we have no idea.” Also, Intangible Cultural Heritage in Shezih region is totally ignored. The Earth Gods’ Parade and other events are not considered into preservation or adapted into the future design.

## Conclusion

The future of the Earth Gods' Parade is under threats due to potential dissolving of the social bonding and the ignorance by the city government. The Ko government has tried to show its openness to public and bottom-up strategy in policy making since taking the office. But in the case of Shezih region, we see that it actually cares more on efficiency. From zone expropriation to resettlement plan, Ecological Shezi has similar solutions comparing to former development plans. The main concerns in the past could not be solved. The Ko government however was satisfied by the winning of Ecological Shezi and determined to accomplished it with all costs. The potential hostility from Lin made communication between the city government and residents even harder. The vague culture and heritage preservation policy in the future plan revealed the planning authorities' limited understanding on cultural heritage. These threats resulted in resistance and different discourse on the Earth Gods' Parade.

## The Coalition of Resistance and the Nomination: Tactic in Vain or not?

Residents in Shezih region have raised their concerns when former regimes of Taipei City Government gave out visions. In some cases, they would cooperate and resist the future plans. Several concerns on Ecological Shezi also aroused resistance. However, there are some differences this time. Scholars, experts and students in related field are evolved in the resistance. Another difference is that residents notice the plan's potential impact on local cultural heritage. The recognition of cultural heritage makes it one of the arguments challenging the upcoming urban development plan. Some residents and scholars were inspired to nominate the Earth Gods' Parade as municipal intangible cultural heritage. They saw it as a tactic saving the local traditions and current settlements at the same time.

### Studio Course: The Beginning of Collaboration

The participation of scholars and experts was originated from a studio class. *Landscape Survey of Urban Islands* was a studio course in NTU-GIBP lasted from September 2015 to June 2016, lead by Min Jay Kang. The course was established for students to understand the unique landscape of urban islands, peninsula and the edge of cities. I was one of the students in of the course. After several group discussions on urban island, the members of the course decided to take Shezih region as the research base. Kang (2017: 55) did not want us to involve into the field starting from the complicated development issues. He led us into Shezih region from its religious culture and events. For most of us who have never been to Shezih region, the place was very different from our image of Taipei City. We instantly fell in love with the region and tried to know it more.



Pic. 17. The studio course after the display in Fu-An Junior High School. Kang wears a hat, smiling to the camera. The class holds the first version of the scroll.

Credit: Yu, Zong-Syuan (余宗軒), 2016.

The first phase of the course can be divided into two parts. While in classroom, we made structural analysis from second-hand materials of development plans, governmental policies and historical documents. We also discussed and categorized first-hand materials from the field. Some of the materials would be presented as pictures, photo collage and other things that will be mentioned in the following paragraphs. While visiting Shezi region, we met local residents in visiting and did non-structural interviews. It built up the social network that would be helpful for the following research and actions. We visited temples in Shezih region and spent most of the time in Kun-Tian Temple. We met the Completion Jiu of Kun-Tian Temple and joined in one of the nights. We tried to describe the cultural identity of Shezih region from its religious culture. In this phase, we also found Marshal of the Central Altar could be a metaphor for Shezih region's development.



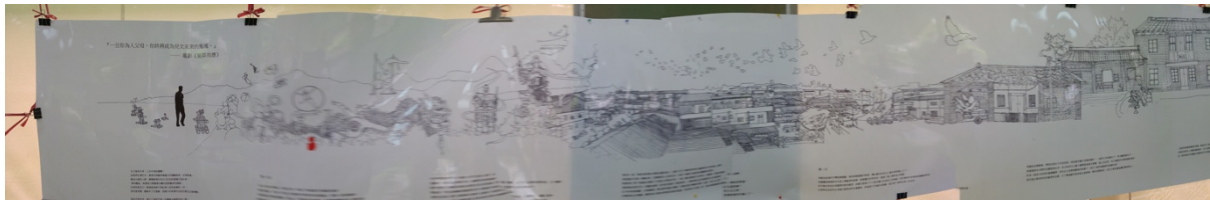
Pic. 18. Kun-tian Temple and Marshal of the Central Altar

Credit: Facebook page of Kun-Tian Temple <https://www.facebook.com/KunTianTing/>

In phase two of the course, we tried to create a landscape narrative of Shezih region after the field research from phase one, such as local memories, mythology, historical events, images and local residents we talked to. The narrative was expected to inspire multiple interpretations from local residents (Kang 2017: 59). We made a photo collage scroll with illustration based on our research in phase one. We brought the scroll into the region and shared with local residents. We got many feedbacks from local residents. They told us our feelings and thought toward the scroll. Some of them even shared more memories and information of Shezih region. We met Mr. R in the process, who inspired us the main figure of our next version of scroll.

Mr. R's story was a miniature of a group of local residents who do not own land or even property. He was born and raised in Shezih region after his mother divorced and brought her children back home. He raised his three children in the region and let them study in local elementary school and junior high school. Mr. R and his family would face departure from the region, as they rent house from family member and do not have property ownership. Mr. R, like many people who recognized themselves as Shezih people, have faced the same crisis in the new urban development plan. With Mr. R's permission, we took him as the model of our main character in the story. The main concept of the story was originated from a line in the movie *Interstellar*. "Once you are a parent, you are the ghost of your children's future." We adapted the idea of complex time-space imagination from the movie and compared it to the Shezih's culture of ghost. Ghost was also a metaphor for local residents like Mr. R. These people live in the region for decades, even over generations. However, the urban development plan does not take them into consideration. Most of them would be like ghost because they couldn't afford new housing in the future and left their hometown forever. In our story, the main character tells his story in first-person narrative. He is permitted to go back to Shezih

region by Jade Emperor (玉皇大帝). In the short visit for only three days, he sees a Shezih region under uncertain future. The narrator sees places and people he was familiar with. He sees residents being rushed to decide their future in I-Voting in limited knowledge and information. In the end, he watches the documentary of last year's Earth Gods' parade with residents on a silver screen at Si-tai-kou. He tries to manifest himself within the image of earth god when light and smog at their fullest and wish that could see him. The story was co-created in magical realism, as it was originated by field research but adapted elements of fantasy. We named the scroll Along Rivers of Shezih (社子上河圖), which was inspired by Along the River During the Qingming Festival (清明上河圖), the most famous scroll painting in Chinese art history.



Pic. 19. Along Rivers of Shezih

Photo taken by the author in 2016.

The scroll came along with a board game. During the course discussion, we thought the future development of Shezih region is just like a big game. Most of the residents were like chesses controlled by other stakeholders. By creating board game, we tried to encourage residents becoming players of the big game of Shezih after playing it. We adapted the game rule of Ticket to Ride, a famous board game. In Ticket to Ride, player who builds the longest railroad wins the game. In our version of board game, player who connect the longest route of firecrackers wins the game. The earth god and the father's ghost would come up in the smoke of firecrackers. People can play the board game without knowing the story. But with the prequel story of the scroll, players can have a better understanding in Shezih region and the development issues.

The first version of the scroll was presented in the final presentation of fall semester in January, 2016. The second version was created with hand-drawn line illustration instead of photo collage. It was printed out as a large scroll lengths 15 meters. The course chose to display the scroll and the board game to the public for the first time in Fu-An Junior High School (福安國中). The display was held with presentations by foreign students in the course. Students from China, Spain and Sweden shared stories about culture differences and their hometowns to students between 12 to 15. After the sharing by foreign students, the scroll was hanged in



the hallway. Course members read out the story to students, parents, other local residents and Mr. R and his wife. After this, we invited students to write down their own stories or memories of Shezih region on Post-it notes. We also invited them to draw themselves into the scroll, as we left blank it the ending part of scroll. After the display in Fu-An Junior High School, the scroll was displayed twice in Kun-Tian temple and Si-tai-kou. When the scroll was displayed, residents gathered and started to recognized scenes in the scroll. They found out places and people they were familiar with, and told us about more places and stories of the region.



Pic. 20. Local students draw themselves on the scroll.

Credit: Celia Gonzalez, 2016.



Pic. 20. Yu, one of the students in the studio course, telling the scroll story.

Photo taken by the author in 2016.

The third phase of the course started after the school year ended. The initial coalition between Shezih residents, scholars and professional was established in the studio class. Kang and students mainly from NTU-GIBP cooperated with Self-Saving Community of Shezih

Region (社子島居民自救會), a group organized by residents who had concerns on future development plan and demand city government to reconsider the plan. They attended Taipei City urban plan commissions and presented petitions to city government. These people along with professionals and scholars later joined in would become Professionals Coalition on Shezih Planning (專業者關注社子島陣線). Two important incidents happened before the Earth Gods' Parade in 2017 due to the coalition. First was on the parade itself. After the course members discussed with representatives from four settlements participated in the Earth Gods' Parade, they decided to find volunteers and filming team of Our Island to help filming the Earth Gods' Parade. These filming materials would later become a short documentary and two episodes of Our Island. In this meeting, people from the four settlements also made an agreement that four earth gods would gather together during the parade, which has never happened before. These efforts were made to preserve memories of the festival and raise awareness from citizens of the city.

The coalition also contributed a workshop in January, 2017. The coalition believed that a professional and responsible plan for Shezih region should be originated from the real problems the region is facing and based on a sufficient, meticulous site analysis. Based on the idea, Professionals Coalition on Shezih Planning and Self-Saving Community of Shezih region organized a workshop together. A Blueprint in Microcosm Workshop and Forum for an Alternative Future of Shezidao Settlement (社子島發展替代方案跨領域工作坊暨民眾論壇) was a five-day workshop held in Shezih region. Students from urban planning, landscape, architecture, hydrology and related fields were divided into three groups. In the first four days, participants of workshop work intensively with interviews, field research and group discussions in daytime. Participants and local residents gathered in Kun-Tian temple at night. Each group presented their work, and residents gave feedback from their perspectives. On the last day, every group proposed their alternative plan for settlement in front of local residents. Professionals and scholars were invited to give suggestions. From the workshop and alternative plans proposed, the coalition declared to the city government that there were more possibilities for the future of Shezih region and the it was trying to figure out.

The studio class made some inspirations and created possibilities for alternative discourses in the place's future. In the studio class, we approached local residents that rarely had the chance and courage speaking out for themselves. Residents like Mr. R were encouraged to share their memories and experiences as a Shezih people. They shared their worries and

expectation for future, which ironically were ignored while the city government tried to communicate with local residents. Some of the residents started to participate in the self-saving community and speak out in public hearings and urban commissions. Another effect of the course was highly related to Kang. His professional network was motivated as the course goes on. As a scholar and activist in urban movement for a long time, Kang's professional network is widely across universities, research institutes, public administrations and NGOs. He was one of the Director of Board of OURs at that time, an NGO worked on urban planning and housing policy for a long time. Professionals Coalition on Shezih Planning and the following international workshop in 2017 recruited students and scholars who were concerned about Shezih region and wanted to help. Finally, some of the works in studio class reminded local residents that the cultural heritage in their region was important, and it should not be excluded in the future. The reminder was one of the reasons that local residents nominated the Earth Gods' Parade as municipal intangible heritage.

## The Nomination of Intangible Heritage

Some of the residents in Shezih region decided to nominate the Earth Gods' Parade as municipal intangible heritage before the event was held in 2017. They sent videos and a nomination file about the event to the Department of Cultural Affairs. Then Mei-Hua Hsieh (謝梅華), a local resident and the chief assistant of the city counselor's office decided to submit a formal nomination file to the Department of Cultural Affairs. She submitted the file in the name of Tzu-Hui Chen.

The nomination file separates the Earth Gods' Parade into two related events: the parade and the lantern watching. It includes two parts. The first part is the introduction to lantern watching and the Earth Gods' Parade, and how local organizations organize the cultural festivals based on these events. The second part is the potential value of them and threats these events are facing. There are three points worth mentioning on the word choices. First is the geographical term the nomination uses. There are twenty-two Shezih region in the nomination excluding titles. The interesting thing is, four Shezih region in the introduction to lantern watching are all followed by Fu-An village (福安里)<sup>29</sup>. In the following description on the Earth Gods' Parade and the reason for nominating, "Fu-An village" has not appeared again.

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<sup>29</sup> Fu-An village includes about half of the Shezih region. The settlements participating in the Earth Gods' Parade are located in this village.

The similar term Fu-An (福安) only appears three times in New Fu An Community Development Organization (新福安社區發展協會), Fu-An Earth Gods Cultural Development Organization (福安里土地公文化社區發展協會) and Fu-An village's office. The names for four settlements participating the Earth Gods' Parade only appear once each. They are in the descriptions of pictures for people carrying earth god from their settlements. On the other hand, Taipei and Taipei City appears ten times. As Hsieh understood the events in Lantern Festival have inseparable relationship, the word choice could be a strategy emphasizing the current administrative division where the events are held. It highlights a fact that residents today living in the region are still practicing these traditions. The word choice stresses the presence of events in present by defining in the modern region. The nomination does not forget to trace back its past and how long these events have lasted. Hundred years and hundreds of years appear five time in the nomination.

If we look deeper into the narrative, it emphasizes the importance of the events to Taipei City and Shezih Region. For example, the nomination file (2) mentions that Fu-An village is the only place in the whole Taipei City that preserves the tradition of lantern watching. People from other parts of Taipei City would flood into Fu-An village on Lantern Festival every year, because it is the place that people can find festive sense (1). The nomination tries to remind the members of Cultural Heritage Review Committee; these events keep some essence of the old Taipei on Shezih region. That was the old Taipei without most of its high rise buildings and traffic jams, and people are more rustic and pure. The current Shezih region fits in these descriptions without flaws. The nomination also raises the how important these events mean for residents in Shezih region. All these events make Lantern Festival in Shezih Region the most important day in the whole year. For Shezih region, the day is more crowded and lively than other days of Lunar New Year. Another strategy in the nomination is comparing events with other well-known Lantern Festival events in Taiwan which have been designated as Intangible Cultural Heritage. The nomination highlights the outfit of men carrying the Earth Gods and the amount of firecrackers in the Earth Gods' Parade. The file compares the parades to Firecrackers at Master Han Dan in two perspectives. The nomination compares them and claims on these two points 'the Earth Gods' Parade is no second to Firecrackers at Master Han Dan. (9)'' These strategies on narrative of the nomination have a reason. The new Enforcement Rules of the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act (文化資產保存法實行細則) was enacted in 2017. But before that, five standards were listed in the former regulation. One of the standards is on 'locality' and another is on 'cultural characteristic'. 'Cultural characteristic' is referred to

special value in living culture. ‘Locality’ focuses on whether the folklore is special and different enough comparing to other folklore. To sum up the first part of the nomination, it tries to polish the value of lantern watching and the Earth Gods’ Parade.

The second part of the nomination points out the crisis and the upcoming threat of the Earth Gods’ Parade. The shops are becoming incapable of giving out gifts for free due to economic crisis. It affected the scale of the event, and participants came less than before. Another reason is the upcoming urban development plan. The nomination did not dig into the detail of why the plan is threatening the future of the Earth Gods’ Parade. The nomination also mentioned that the stereotype of an underdeveloped Shezih made people from other places unfamiliar with it. But the fact made the event ‘not too commercialized’ (18). The nominators then remind members in Cultural Heritage Review Committee (文化資產審議委員會) that the Earth Gods’ Parade and events in Shezih Region are in urgent danger as a tradition still very authentic. The status of spatial limbo in Shezih region also made unexpected advantage for the Earth Gods’ Parade. It makes the Earth Gods’ Parade like a time capsule for culture of Shezih Region. The parade also gives people a glimpse on Taipei City’s history as an agricultural society. This part of nomination put a lot of efforts on describing the parades’ details, trying to create a clear picture to experts in committee.

In general, the file tries to build up the history of the parade, its value for the region and the city. The file tries to prove to the committee that the parade’s history should be a strong reason supporting it to be cultural heritage. This is caused by the disadvantage that there were no archives which can give clear picture of the parade’s history. The file also emphasizes the importance of the parade to Taipei City. It makes efforts on changing the image of Shezih region from an underdeveloped and poor place restricted by building prohibition. The nomination is not only a legal step preserving the parade, but also a tactic resisting the upcoming urban development plan. The tactic is both ‘rooting’ in to preserve local heritage and ‘routing’ for support out of local communities (Kang 2017: 58).

## The City Government’s Response to the Resistance

The New Shezih Urban Development Plan has faced confrontations since its debut in the 692th meeting of Taipei urban Planning Commission (TUPC) on July 29, 2016. Local residents filed petitions to the committee with their concerns of the new plan. Scholars and professionals represented by OURs also filed a petition and listed 12 questions on the plan. In

these questions, one of the points was the potential threat of the plan to local heritage (3-4). OURs argued that Intangible Cultural Heritage and the spirit of place raised in ICOMOS Quebec declaration were ignored in the plan. The original social relations, routes and nodes would vanish or be destroyed. Some members of the TUPC also noticed this concern and responded it during the review process. In the 694th commission, LC Chen (陳亮全) urged that the development plan should consider keeping the communities in Shezih region and reconsider the spatial form of high-rise buildings. He claimed cultural heritage and memories of Shezih region may be better preserved with reconsideration and adjust of plan.<sup>30</sup> Chen-Meng Kuo (郭城孟) also suggested the city government to invite OURs into the project, as the group had strong ability in working and communicating with communities<sup>31</sup>.

Taipei City Government responded to the concern of heritage preservation twice during reviewing process of the urban development plan. In the first meeting, Department of Urban Development stated that folklore events in the region could be preserved and lasted. It claimed that since four settlements that participated in the Earth Gods' Parade would be in the second stage of future development, the ritual could be lasted for another while. It also guaranteed that since most of the cultural heritage buildings and religious centers would be preserved on-site, the parade and other ritual would be lasted too<sup>32</sup>. In the last meeting in TUPC, the city government restated that historical buildings and religious centers would be land used for park. The city government also assured that the parks would meet the demands of religious rituals such as the Earth Gods' Parade.<sup>33</sup> The responses from city government revealed its optimism or carelessness in heritage preservation as we look into the future of the Earth Gods' Parade. Although three temples are preserved as religious center in the plan, none of the earth god temples is appointed as religious center or historical building. The routes and nodes of the parade have not been neither investigated nor considered into the plan. The social relationship in and across settlements could dissolve, since many residents may not stay after development due to disqualification and unable to afford rents. The city government also didn't explain how

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<sup>30</sup> Urban Planning Commission, Taipei City (TUPC). 694<sup>th</sup> *Commission Meeting Record*. Taipei City: Taipei City Government, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2018. [https://www.tupc.gov.taipei/News\\_Content.aspx?n=C1E985DC0854084A&sms=C412520428789622&s=0DD66CB574B59A9A](https://www.tupc.gov.taipei/News_Content.aspx?n=C1E985DC0854084A&sms=C412520428789622&s=0DD66CB574B59A9A)

<sup>31</sup> TUPC. 692<sup>nd</sup> *Commission Meeting Record*. Taipei City: Taipei City Government, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2018. [https://www.tupc.gov.taipei/News\\_Content.aspx?n=C1E985DC0854084A&sms=C412520428789622&s=0DD66CB574B59A9A](https://www.tupc.gov.taipei/News_Content.aspx?n=C1E985DC0854084A&sms=C412520428789622&s=0DD66CB574B59A9A)

<sup>32</sup> As above.

<sup>33</sup> TUPC. 697<sup>th</sup> *Commission Meeting Record*. Taipei City: Taipei City Government, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2018.

parks with historical buildings or religious centers would meet the demand of the Earth Gods' Parade, since most of them have weak connections with the Parade.

On September 29 2016, the new Shezih Region Urban Development Plan was permitted by TUPC after some revision in the fifth meeting reviewing on the plan. It was then submitted to Urban Planning Commission (UPC) in Construction and Planning Agency (營建署), Ministry of the Interior. There were 5 meetings focusing on the plan before the UPC made the final decision. Besides the original heritage preservation policies, Taipei City Government made two additional points. One is that ancestral halls and religious buildings can be built in future residential and commercial area. Another is that city government will help preserve and inherit local culture. On June 26, 2018, the plan was finally permitted in UPC with three additional resolutions. The next step of the plan is to go under the environmental impact assessment done by city government<sup>34</sup>.



Pic. 21. The presentation in UPC on future heritage preservation in Shezih region.

Credit: Taipei City Government. Downloaded from Charles Lin's Facebook page, 2018.

<https://www.facebook.com/林欽榮 Charles-Lin-505552919587906/>

<sup>34</sup> Cheng, Hong-Da. "Shezih region development plan has permitted with three additional resolutions" *Liberty Times* (Taipei City), June 26, 2018. Accessed November 22, 2018. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/2469900>

The first resolution was related settlements and social relations. UPC demanded the city government dealing the issue of preserving settlements and social relation fabric by detailed plan (Cheng 2018). Although more information on the Earth Gods' Parade in this presentation was revealed, there were many mistakes in it. For example, Tzi-Hsuan temple (紫玄宮) was marked as the earth god temple in Gang-cian-zih, but it is not even an earth god temple. The earth god in Si-tai-kou is not situated in a temple but worshipped by families in turn annually. But on the map an earth god temple is marked in the settlement. Also, local residents have no clue how the routes of parade on the map are marked<sup>35</sup>. These mistakes make the promise from city government reasonable. It claims to do further research on the temples and routes of the parade. At the same time, city government does not have same confidence as before on preserving the Earth Gods' Parade. In the new heritage preservation policies, the parade will not happen in Shezih region after development. Instead, the city government will integrate 'scenes of memories' of the parade into future plan, such as images, videos and words. The city government's strategy toward the parade has shifted from sustaining the event to creating monuments for memorization. It has given up the original optimism on preserving the parade.

Looking back to the coalition, the nomination did not affect the city government's policy on heritage preservation into the way it expected. According to an official in the Department of Cultural Affairs<sup>36</sup>, two members from Cultural Heritage Review Committee participated in the Earth Gods' Parade in 2017. However, as residents were all busy in the parade, no one guided them. They were uncertain whether the parade has the potential to be the municipal cultural heritage. The nomination has never go through the official site survey by competent authorities and at least one of the members of review committee, which is the first step of official review process<sup>37</sup>. The reason why the process not initiated by Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei City was unknown, but it is possible that nominators gave up the nomination and switched the battlefield to the ongoing environmental impact assessment of the development plan. Some of the nominators are trying to negotiate with city government in environmental impact assessment, finding a better solution to preserve the event<sup>38</sup>.

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<sup>35</sup>Liou, Jhih,yun. "Things you don't know about Ecological Shezi: The observation and analysis from a local young man." Eyes on place (blog). August 6, 2018. Accessed October 26, 2018. [https://eyesonplace.net/2018/08/06/8567/?fbclid=IwAR1uJZhIG2NirhMGhkjRAJj23tvFGYg3uGkc7SgP6RiUDIk8S1tKy01\\_Jg](https://eyesonplace.net/2018/08/06/8567/?fbclid=IwAR1uJZhIG2NirhMGhkjRAJj23tvFGYg3uGkc7SgP6RiUDIk8S1tKy01_Jg)

<sup>36</sup> I visited her in the city government building with Hsieh in July, 2017.

<sup>37</sup> Regulation on the organization and working of Cultural Heritage Review Committee (文化資產審議會組織及運作辦法). Act 8.

<sup>38</sup> According to Hung-Yi Kuo (郭鴻儀), the lawyer of Environmental Rights Foundation (環境權保障基金會) and an active member in the coalition.



## Conclusion

The effect of the nomination of the Earth Gods' Parade should be analyzed in several perspectives. The nomination tried to emphasize the importance of the parade and its relationship with current settlements. But the city government did not face the questioning on the plan's potential threat to communities and cultural heritage. On the other hand, land expropriation and resettlement plan during in future development process are still main concerns for local residents. It made the coalition difficult to set the future of cultural heritage as the main battlefield in the resistance. On the other hand, works from the studio course inspired residents to notice the possibility of losing cultural heritage if the development plan being realized. The narrative of future vision now has a chance to be more related to local culture, and more diverse opinion can be included.

## Conclusion

The Earth Gods' Parade in Shezih region gives us a look on how a place's intangible cultural heritage is related to local development. Shezih region's marginality in Taipei City's spatial development history made the region the first choice to sacrifice under the city's flooding prevention policies. The region's situation as a spatial limbo makes its future in ambiguity, but also creates a special living order and preserves communities. The Earth Gods' Parade is also preserved due to the bonding within settlements in Si-jhou-di and the preserving efforts made by local residents. The bonding is strengthened as the parade being held every year. The event is under threat as Taipei City Government ignores the risk of settlement disintegration. The development plan is lack of solution to the risk and preservation of the parade. The plan's potential threat to the Earth Gods' Parade became one of the arguments for coalition of resistance resisting the plan. The parade however has never become the main focus for both the city government and the coalition of resistance.

There are reasons that the Earth Gods' Parade has not become the main focus in the future development of Shezih region. The controversy on land expropriation and settlement plan during construction has been the main issue since Taipei City Government raised their vision of Shezih region in 1988. The issue is still the main concern for residents and stakeholders in Shezih region under *Ecological Shezi*. The long time efforts made by local residents like Hsieh and help from activists and professionals is still inspiring people in the region to discover its culture. However, the further discussion and persuasion of the place's future is hard as Ko's government forces the agenda of development going faster than former mayors. As the *Ecological Shezi* doesn't solve some of the residents' worries on land expropriation and settlement plan during construction, the Earth Gods' Parade is hard to become top issue in the conflict. Finally, the coalition of resistance paused the nomination for the Earth Gods' Parade as municipal intangible heritage. The event will still be reviewed under limited view from city government in the process of resistance and negotiation. There could be some difference if the coalition of resistance finds a strategy of shaping discourse apart from AHD and gains more support from people in the region and other parts of Taipei City. However, the tense relationship between Ko's government and cultural heritage preservation activists can offset any efforts from the coalition. The city government claimed that the upcoming cultural heritage census in the region would prevent heritage preservation groups from nominating new

cultural heritage, but the census could delay the development process<sup>39</sup>. It is not a sign of friendliness from city government, since it blamed nominating cultural heritage in advance as a possible reason of development delay. We can observe strategies from different actors during the census in the coming days, and if the Earth Gods' Parade can become the main battlefield in Shezih region's future development.

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<sup>39</sup> Jhong, Hong-liang. "Shezih region's development could be delayed due to cultural heritage census." *Liberty Times* (Taipei City), December 18, 2018. Accessed January 3, 2019. <http://news.ltn.com.tw/news/local/paper/1252862?fbclid=IwAR1ZhHdNtzis73v0D080mOt3vYvUY-HphWwVsNKsUvdp2RIjvrEV0TDQC84>

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## Appendix

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## The Petition to TUPC by OURs

地址：臺北市信義區市府路 1 號 8 樓西南區 郵寄地點及電話：臺北市都市計畫委員會 電話：27593016、27593017
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填表時請注意：一、本意見表不必另備文。

二、請就公告圖說範圍內提出意見，盡量以簡要文字條列建議理由及辦法。

三、「編號」欄請免填。

四、請儘量檢附建議位置圖修正意見圖及土地權屬資料。

五、意見表不敷填寫時，請自行另紙填寫後連同本表寄達。

修正意見表

公民團體對「變更臺北市士林社子島地區主要計畫案」與「擬訂臺北市士林社子島地區細部計畫案」意見表			
編號	建議位置	建議理由與建議辦法	備註
	一、土地標示： 區段 小段 地號 二、門牌號 區段 路街巷弄 巷號	<p>針對此次公展之「變更臺北市士林社子島地區主要計畫案」與「擬訂臺北市士林社子島地區細部計畫案」（以下簡稱本計畫），提擬以下意見，建請於都市計畫委員會審議時，應予以討論釐清，方符合「生態社子島」之計畫定位：</p> <p>1. <b>程序問題：</b>原 2011 年通過之「變更臺北市士林社子島主要計畫案」，因其細部計畫於 2014 年提送環評未過並未真正公告實施。審視本計畫（含主要及細部計畫）與 2011 年前計畫幾乎全盤新訂，加上前計畫從未實施，故應視為「新市區建設」，且又涉及重大「防洪排水工程」。就此，我們認為：<u>應先依照《政府政策環境影響評估作業辦法》先進行政策環評，經行政院或中央目的事業主管機關核定後，再進行都市計畫之主細計畫審議。</u></p> <p>2. <b>需求問題：</b></p> <p>(1) 依據國發會對 103-150（2014-2061）中華民國人口推計，至本計畫年期結束之 2041 年時，台灣人口總數將由目前約 2,350 萬水平遞減為 2,200 萬；另依據 102 年公告「全國區域計畫」，我國 115 年人口推估分派，台北市是 252</p>	

		<p>萬人，較目前呈負成長趨勢；以及，再依據臺北市政府主計處於 98 年「臺北市人口消長研究」，推估於 112 年時人口自然增加率、社會增加率較目前皆為負成長。<u>就此，本計畫並未具體推估開發年期（2016-2041）臺北市整體人口變化趨勢，並解釋在人口總體趨勢呈現明顯萎縮、台北市空屋率高達 13.4%（99 年調查），為何本計畫仍認為未來居住人口可由目前 11,000 居住人口提升至 34,000 人？</u></p> <p>(2) 再者，社子導臨基隆河對岸之北投士林科技園區（洲美地區）都市計畫，預估將增 15,000 居住人口及 35,000 科技產業就業人口，而第一期工程進度才進行約 6%。<u>試問，在周邊既有大型開發計畫仍在進行且尚未得見成效前，評估需新劃設更大規模量之開發，其理由何在？此符合都市計劃之理性原則嗎？</u></p> <p>3. <b>開發強度正當性問題：</b>我們認同要解決在地居合法居住問題，但需要採用本計畫所設定的開發總量、開發強度嗎？今年 2 月底舉辦社子島開發案 i-voting 時，本計畫原訂平均容積為 160%，但到了 4 月底，就逕行宣布提高至 220%。針對開發強度一事，柯市長在今年初曾表示「不要想一下子暴富」（2016.1.31 風傳媒），發展局林洲民局長亦認為提高容積「投機的房地者將會是最大的獲利者」（2016.3.5 蘋果），但結果呢？不要否認，就是政策大轉彎！<u>就此，市府有必要就開發強度驟然提高，針對原方案（160%）與本方案（220%）的異同，進行說明，以具體的數據及論證告訴我們，這樣做是不是迎合「一下子暴富」與「投機的房地產」，而是有其需求性、必要性、正當性。</u></p> <p>4. <b>違背「成長管理」原則：</b>都市「成長管理」為</p>	
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當下無可迴避之議程，其強調區域發展的平衡及環境容受力下的總量管制，以抑制都市蔓延及不當都市土地投機引發的外部性。在上述人口負成長趨勢、周邊已有大量開發供給、計畫開發強度大轉彎等情況下，本計畫所設定的開發總量、規模及模式，符合台北市都市成長管理的方向原則嗎？

5. **違背「生態」原則：**本計劃並未謹慎考量在氣候變遷之下，社子島進一步開發之後面臨的高度風險。本計劃以「生態社子島」為名，但開發方式卻背離生態規劃的基本原則，意即避免開發環境敏感、易受災之土地。市府工務局指出社子島 80%地區屬土壤高度液化潛勢區，再者，其為地處兩河交匯之沙洲，乃天然低窪易淹水之地，明顯為環境敏感不宜開發地帶，但「生態社子島」告訴我們的答案是，工程技術必可「人定勝天」！更嚴重者，本計畫強勢開發環境敏感地，預計要引入更多人口，等於是將更多生命與財產暴露於風險之下，一旦超過工程可控制的天災來臨，將會造成嚴重的生命財產損失。此乃以「生態」之名的本計劃必須慎重考量的道德問題！
6. **違背民主原則：**本計劃嚴重欠缺地方參與的民主基礎。二月所舉辦的 iVoting 有高達六成五民眾沒有投票（投票率僅 35.16%），且本計劃所基於之「生態社子島」方案僅獲兩成票數。請解釋，為何投票當時整體資訊不夠充分的狀況下、未經空間規劃設計專業就不同方案（如搭配開發許可制及就地改建的模式）討論評估，就逕由投票之「在地居民」決定「生態社子島」的規劃方向？又本計畫涉及未來龐大的公共投資，為何不擴大市民參與規劃討論基礎？以及，據我們所知，地政局曾挨家挨戶進行約 2,400 份家戶（半數以上家戶）問卷調查，九個

		<p>既成聚落的半數以上家戶都希望就地修改建，卻為何未被納入方案評估考量？</p> <p>7. <b>文化遺產保存問題：</b>社子島既存之都市聚落各具不同之文化特質，除目前被認定之有形文化資產（5棟歷史建築、3座寺廟外），無形文化資產（如與聚落社會密切相關之各民俗祭典）及 ICOMOS 魁北克宣言所論及之場所精神皆未受到此計畫重視，尤其社子島重要民俗祭典維繫的關鍵在於原聚落內的宗族及社會組織，乃至實質空間中的重要路徑與節點，在生態社子島計畫中皆將被打散或夷除。<u>本計畫雖納入相關陳述與分析，卻未於實質規劃內容提出因應策略，將造成社子島文化遺產淪喪的重大遺憾。</u></p> <p>8. <b>社會正義問題：</b>國發會的人口推計報告提醒，台灣及台北必須正視高齡化的社會及空間議題。社子島長期禁限建的邊陲性一方面加劇了高齡化的程度，另一方面則維繫了傳統社會的社區鄰里感及長者參與農作與非正式經濟的活動能力，反而有利高齡化社會廣義「在地安老」(aging in place)及「活力樂齡」(active aging)的空間支持。<u>區段徵收造成的社會關係瓦解，卻未對高齡化社會的照護系統或社區網絡有任何著墨，極不利未來台北市相關空間及社會議題的挑戰。</u></p> <p>9. <b>設計問題：</b></p> <p>(1) 中央生態公園規劃人工所謂「生態河」，銜接基隆和淡水河，同時將植入兩處碼頭，但<u>計畫書中對此人工河道的生態原則未清晰論述，對兩主要河川之水位及潮差也未有基礎研究，更未釐清水路碼頭遊憩與水文生態原則間的可能衝突、人工河道與防洪計畫的關係、及台北既有藍色公路系統的限制等等問題，可行性評估</u></p>	
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		<p><u>基礎甚為薄弱</u>。尤有甚者，因應藍色公路碼頭還將規劃高密度（容積 360%）河岸商業區，但若碼頭無法運作，河岸商業區的正當性何在？</p> <p>(2) 設計問題：闢建人工河道的同時，原社子島上的農業水圳如何處理皆未說明，島上現有的老樹、動植物昆蟲生態群落也未確實調查及繪製相關棲位，最終可能以「生態社子島」之名行開發之實。以新竹六家高鐵特定區的都市計畫為例，將原農田水圳轉化為都市藍帶系統，另將聚落建築群落空間及公廳保存於聚落公園內，至少嘗試留存農業聚落集體記憶的場所，但<u>本計劃內容未保存傳統農漁產業文化地景、水圳系統、及河岸泊船渡口，連福安國中都選擇拆除異地新建，截斷社子人與土地及地方記憶的關聯。</u></p> <p><b>10. 防災問題：</b></p> <p>(1) 目前社子島已有依據 20 年洪水頻率興築之 6 公尺高的防潮堤，在搭配 8 處抽水站的作用下，過去數十年地方真實的颱風經驗絕非如計劃書第一頁所述逢颱「必遭水患」。此刻意塑造社子深受水患之苦的刻板印象，相當程度成為土地開發正當性的藉口，其實極不道德。水患問題本不該以土地開發來解決，反而應該避免開發。<u>社子島為天然河川氾濫之處乃是事實，今日社子島因為防潮堤與抽水站已大幅減低淹水頻率也是事實，計劃書應就是論事，誠實闡述現有狀況。</u></p> <p>(2) 面對未來極端氣候，隨時都有可能出現前所未見的巨大水量，即便是興建 9.65 公尺高的堤防，也無法免除短期風險。越高的堤防，在潰堤時所造就的災難就越為龐大。此外，堤防設計細節以及其產生的影響並未說明，例如堤線向內退縮填土斜坡的距離為何？又為何基隆河</p>	
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與淡水河採不同標準？此外，為了興建 9.65 公尺高的堤防，很可能必須造成河岸聚落與文化地景的剷除，威脅社子島現存的文化資產。因此，與其興建耗費巨資的高堤，本計劃卻未應評估以建築改造（包括地面層的彈性運用）等方式，並搭配其他基礎設施的改善，來減少內水與外水所帶來的可能災害。

**11. 地方產業問題：**

(1) 社子島產業一直以一級農業和二級製造業為主，目前仍有許多依賴農作及門檻較低之製造業維生的產業與居住人口（近 400 名農戶、超過 500 人次的在地勞工、及其他近 2,000 人通勤社子從事生產的基礎勞動者），本計畫如實施，必將產生直接衝擊影響其生計。就此，本計畫卻一廂情願規劃大面積「科技產業專用區」，提出製造業遷移或勞力轉型升級的籠統建議，真的是這樣完美嗎？再者，本案擬設置約 17 公頃的科技產業專用區，但隔鄰的「北投士林科技園區」正在興闢 25 公頃的科技產業專用區，試問兩者在定位、內容的關連為何？本計畫並未就此提出任何具體的數據或分析評估！

(2) 另一方面，社子島是否可在環境永續的前提下留住部分一、二級產業，甚或結合都市休閒產業的實踐，卻未見本案有任何評估，在土地使用內容規劃完全被排除。這是典型只重視全球資本市場（global market）卻不關心在地每日生活往來交易之市場（marketplace）的規劃！

**12. 安置計畫問題：**

(1) 目前多元安置方案中，雖說明針對長久居住於社子島的弱勢戶所提供的承租專案 / 公共住宅，但最為關鍵之租期、租金內容（保障性、可負擔性），在計畫書中並未說明。

		<p>(2) 接受租金補貼家戶的戶口與金額計算基礎為何？以及，若現況無屋無地家戶屬第一階段就須拆遷者，在專案/公共住宅尚未興闢時，是否也能承租中繼住宅或領取租金補貼？</p> <p>(3) 因興建專案住宅而須先拆遷之住戶的中繼住宅究竟位於哪裏？</p>	
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申請人：中華民國專業者都市改革組織 蓋章

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電話：02-2365-6515

中 華 民 國 1 0 5 年 0 7 月 1 9 日

## The Excerpted Nomination File of the Earth Gods' Parade as Municipal Cultural Heritage

提案主旨	為請將社子島元宵節百年「提花燈賞蠟燭」與「夜弄土地公巡庄活動」列入無形文化資產
提案人	臺北市議員陳慈慧
說明	一、依據慈慧 105 年 2 月 15 日對臺北市政府文化局書面質詢與 105 年 4 月 14 日教育文化部門質詢，及社子島百年元宵「提花燈賞蠟燭」與「夜弄土地公巡庄活動」慶典活動。

### 壹、社子島提燈「賞蠟燭」由來

每年元宵節當晚，士林區社子島福安里都會進行「賞蠟燭」—店家打賞禮品給提燈民眾，「賞蠟燭」這個活動可以說是社子島福安里的全民運動，嫁再遠的女兒及親友，這天都會回到延平北路 7 段參加提燈繞街、向店家免費領取一份小禮品，在年味漸失的台北，社子島福安里，每年都會湧入數千人潮，使窄小街道連成一條壯觀的燈籠人海。

出身福安里的台北市議員陳碧峰說，「賞蠟燭」習俗已經有百餘年歷史，原本農曆年時，台北市各地的信眾都會帶著香燭到大龍峒保安宮上香祈福，因此廟宇都會堆積大批香燭，為了使香燭充分利用，保安宮在過年最後一天的元宵節，將香燭送給信眾，漸漸地引伸為各廟宇於元宵節將提蠟燭分給提燈的孩子，這就是提燈籠、賞蠟燭的由來。

如今，台北市僅存社子島地區福安里保存「賞蠟燭」的傳統，設攤「賞蠟燭」者則不限於廟宇，在福安里的延平北路 7 段各街道巷弄的雜貨店、早餐店等商家，甚至是一般住家門口，都會設攤「賞蠟燭」，發送的物品也不限於蠟燭，從自動鉛筆、尺、橡皮擦等文具，糖果、果汁、王子麵、乖乖等好吃的小禮物都有，而參加提燈籠的人潮更是大人、小孩皆全家總動員。照片如圖：



圖 1.當地居民自主性設攤「賞蠟燭」



圖 2.居民自製的關刀燈籠



圖 3.當地居民結合社區發展協會一同製作



圖 4.當地居民結合社區發展協會一同製作







圖 6.當地居民結合社區發展協會一同製作



圖 7.當地居民結合社區發展協會一同製作



圖 8.小朋友自製小關刀燈籠



## 貳、夜弄土地公巡庄活動

在新北市有平溪天燈、野柳淨港文化節、台南鹽水蜂炮、苗栗六堆攻炮城與台東炸寒單爺．．．等許多節慶，這些活動都起肇於地方上的傳統文化，並且是舉辦百年以上的民俗活動，近年來，更結合當地政府與地方人士共同舉行與推廣，透過宣傳效果，使得這些相關活動不僅本為當地的重要慶典，更成為全台在元宵期間最為重要的文化祭典。

在臺北市在元宵節當天較具傳統文化的慶典就是各地的夜弄土地公。所謂夜弄土地公就是，元宵節時民眾或店家會以點燃的鞭炮歡迎土地公的來到，民眾並深信，鞭炮放得愈多，來年財運會愈旺，祈求闔家安康、吉祥如意。現在臺北市夜弄土地公的活動，場面盛大、媒體宣傳效果好、比較廣為人知且湧入觀光客相當多的，就屬內湖枋頭福德祠夜弄土地公，除了內湖，在士林區也有一樣的民俗文化，例如士林的舊街仔、士林新街仔、士林滿雅、後港地區、陽明山地區與所提案的——社子島，這些地方至今都還保存著這百年以上的傳統習俗。

除了賞蠟燭外，社子地區也盛行「弄土地公」（夜鬧土地公）的民俗活動，由一群全身赤裸、僅穿一條內褲的年輕人，抬著土地公神轎，沿途商家則是燃放鞭炮「炸」土地公祈福，當地民眾認為鞭炮炸得越多、生意越旺。如圖 9。



在社子島地區元宵節夜弄土地公與居民提燈籠賞獎品活動已有百年以上的歷史。談到社子島的夜弄土地公文化，是因為早期社子島居民以務農為生，生活簡樸，土地公一向被視為在地居民的守護神。而在社子島當地有四座土地公廟，分別位於不同的似的庄頭，在元宵節當天當地居民也會恭請土地公巡庄賜福，直至夜晚，百年來都是社子島人的共同回憶，另外扛轎者其特別的穿著裝扮與燃放鞭炮的熱鬧程度，並不亞於台東的炸寒單爺如圖 10、圖 11。



圖 10.



圖 11

在正月十五日那天，天氣仍屬冬天相當寒冷，當地的年輕人由地方耆老或前輩帶領，從早上 7、8 點即出門，即頭戴斗笠、身打赤膊、僅穿件短四角褲，扛著土地公神轎巡視庄頭，範圍擴及整個社子地區（延平北路 5、6、7、8、9 段），向家家戶戶、工廠與商家拜年賜福，當地居民皆然放鞭炮歡迎土地公聖駕，當然這些壯丁也從早上一直遭鞭炮炸一直到活動結束下列如圖（四庄頭團隊照片）

尤其到了晚上，在延平北路七段一帶，夜弄土地公更甚進入高潮，炮聲轟隆不斷，活動的高潮是，穿越一條綿延五、六百公尺長的炮陣，由七、八位壯漢輪流五農著土地公神轎，在幾乎快讓人耳聾的鞭炮爆炸聲中，眾人一不畏鞭炮一路隨著土地公伯走回廟裡，其燃炮量與刺激度可比擬炸邯鄲爺如圖示。



近年來，當地居民更結合福安里辦公處、福安里土地公文化社區發展協會、新福安社區發展協會、地藏禪寺等自主性單位，進而發展成當地的「社子島鼓仔燈賞遊季」如下列圖示，



福安里社區 社子島傳統文化祭  
百年元宵 拖燈踩街 夜弄土地公

**賞燈 踩街**

早期農業社會沒有電燈，所以油燈及蠟燭成了照明必需品，元宵節時各商號則會高掛燈籠迎接居民提燈領賞，店家會賞蠟燭為禮並使用毛筆在領賞過的燈籠寫上商號，防止重複領賞。「賞蠟燭」也有祝福「添丁」（音同台語：添燈）之意。

新福安社區發展協會

福安里社區 社子島傳統文化祭  
百年元宵 拖燈踩街 夜弄土地公

**夜弄 土地公**

社子島福安里分四為個角頭供奉四尊土地公，分別為：  
中窟 塹寮 中圈 下竹圍

元宵當晚，各角頭抬著土地公，讓店家以鞭炮炸神轎至深夜，相傳放越多鞭炮來年越旺，整晚炮聲隆隆，整個社子島彷彿一座不夜城。

新福安社區發展協會



由志工一起參與，提供民眾大啖免費的紅豆湯圓、豬血糕、肉羹、炒麵、油飯、糖葫蘆等傳統美食，看著夜弄土地公的刺激、煙火鞭炮秀、布袋戲、歌仔戲或在河堤邊放天燈……，可說是一個頗富古早味的正港元宵節，充滿了濃厚的人情味。

在元宵節當天夜晚，整個社子島燈火通明，鞭炮鑼鼓震耳喧天，對一年裡只有元宵節當天最為熱鬧的社子島，宛如一座不夜城，熱鬧不凡。對社子島人而言，當天熱鬧程度更甚於過年。

但是隨著環境變遷社子島夜弄土地公慶元宵的活動已逐漸式微，在經濟環境不景氣情況下，原先苦力維持夜弄土地公的耆老或長輩們已難以再付出活動經費。而提供免費提燈領賞的店家，因每到元宵當天即需要一大筆花費來提供獎品，久而久之，隨著活動逐漸式微，參加活動人數減少，便也力不從心，使得願意提供獎品的店家逐漸減少。因上述原因，不僅是社子島、連其他地區夜弄土地公的傳統文化也即將面臨消失。提供提燈領賞的店家一年年變少，恭迎土地公的工廠、商家也不如從前熱絡、晚上來福安里參加活動的外地遊客也越來越少，使得這項傳統文化即將面臨無繼傳承的情況。社子島夜弄土地公與提燈賞遊祭，在地方上是一個相當具有歷史意義的民俗文化活動，因經濟問題與地方上不甚繁榮，或許場面不如市區的活動如此甚大；但我認為，社子島上的這項習俗，因當地壯漢的獨特裝扮與勇敢，讓這項傳統顯得更為原始；也因為社子島雖位於臺北市，但對於臺北人而言，卻有種陌生、落後的感覺，也使得社子島夜弄土地公的活動與提燈賞遊祭一直沒被商業化包裝，一直以來都是由當地居民自願性的參與，也因此，仍保留當地質樸純真的性情，如此據地方人情聚集的力量，在繁華的臺北市中，應該也只有社子島才會如此真摯且直接！這項活動隨著內在與外在的環境變遷逐漸式微，未來也有可能因社子島開發案而完全消失，因此如何讓這項活動得以存續，希望，臺北市政府文化局與文化資產委員會各委員能在這裡給予協助，將夜弄土地公慶元宵的傳統文化納入具有文資保存價值的課題。