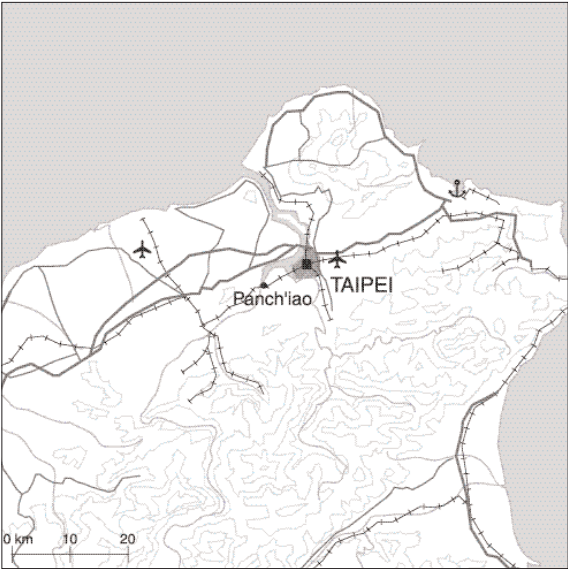


CHINESE TAIPEI



TAIPEI CITY

<i>Size of the country</i>	<i>36 000 km² (64% covered by mountains)</i>
<i>Climate</i>	<i>North: subtropical, South: tropical</i>
<i>Population</i>	<i>22,3 M</i>
<i>Population density</i>	<i>619 inhab/km²</i>
<i>Population growth rate</i>	<i>0,8%</i>
<i>Part of urban population</i>	<i>77%</i>
<i>Life expectancy at birth</i>	<i>Male: 72, female: 78</i>
<i>Infant mortality (per 1000 live birth)</i>	<i>5,6</i>
<i>Ethnic groups, their percentages in the population</i>	<i>Han: 85%, Chinese arrived in 1949: 14%</i>
<i>Official languages</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
<i>Religions</i>	<i>Buddhism: 4,9M, Taoism: 3,9 M; Christian: 0,7M, Islam: 0,05 M</i>
<i>Gross domestic product</i>	<i>320 billion USD</i>
<i>Gdp per capita</i>	<i>14 526 USD</i>
<i>Inflation</i>	<i>1.8 %</i>
<i>Labor forces in different sectors</i>	<i>Agriculture: 8%, Industry: 37%, Services: 55%.</i>
<i>Population at work</i>	<i>9,7 M</i>
<i>Unemployment rate</i>	<i>2,8%</i>
<i>Tourism</i>	<i>2,4 M (1999)</i>
<i>Population of Taipei</i>	<i>3M, metro: 11M</i>

SOCIAL INCLUSION/EXCLUSION IN A SUSTAINABLE CITY: THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF “ URBAN INDIGENOUS PEOPLE ” IN TAIPEI

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Introduction

This paper is divided into three sections. The first provides a general evaluation of sustainable development and social inclusion/exclusion in Taiwan. The second section focuses on the housing question of the so-called “ urban indigenous people ” in an attempt to address the issue of social inclusion/exclusion in metropolitan Taipei. The last section discusses the issue of social inclusion versus social exclusion in identity politics and globalization in a more theoretical framework.

In the 1990s, most planners have adopted the definition of sustainable development laid down in the 1987 Brundtland Report: development that meets present needs without compromising the ability of future generations to achieve their own needs and aspirations. Even at that level, however, Peter Hall reminds us of the ambiguity of the goals of the sustainable city and the controversial processes of transla-

ting them into actual contexts while avoiding the NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) trap¹. Manuel Castells divides environmental movements according to two different perspectives and identities: the search for the control of space and the search for the control of time. The defensive spaces of the NIMBY movement lead to collective individualism, whereas the offensive timing for the preservation of nature for future generations over very long periods as opposed to the instant time approach of instrumentalist development, and the sustainability of the environmental movement pave the way for reconciliation between culture and nature, thus introducing a new holistic philosophy of life². The real differentiation lies in actual practice. The challenge is that of policy formation for a sustainable city. In other words, implementation is the critical element leading towards the sustainable city.

The Conditions of Sustainable Development and the Sustainable City in Taiwan

If Peter Halls comments are taken as criteria, it is seen that sustainable development in Taiwan is just in the early stage of scholarly research. Sustainable development has been an alternative to the dominant values legitimized by the developmental state for more than thirty years. The ideas of sustainable development are promoted in numerous conferences held on campus. Some technocrats discuss visions and strategies for the initial stage. A three-year research project on the measurement of sustainable development supported by the National Science Council was undertaken in 1999. The evaluation systems and indices are rationalized, differentiated and calculated by different teams working on environmental and ecological resources, on social, economical, urban, institutional, and informational systems.

From the preliminary results of research on sustainable Taiwan, it appears that most of the development trends have clearly deviated from the course of sustainability. The increasing rate of car ownership in three major metropolitan areas is a case in point³. Even the disparity between the rich and the poor has been increasing since 1997, due to irrational tax regulations and speculation on the land and stock markets⁴. This is a warning to Taiwan's model of economic development. In fact, the *Living Planet Report* of the World Wild Fund has examined global consumption patterns for a few critical resources. The report shows that the per capita consumption pressure on natural resources in Taiwan is 3.42 times higher than the world average and ranks second on the global list. It is even higher than in the United States⁵. It is no surprise that the data of the Healthy City Survey an operation promoted by the World Health Organization since 1985 on 23 cities and countries comes to the same conclusions. The survey

was published in *Kangjian* (Health), one of Taiwan's leading magazines. The places that enjoy a better natural environment have difficulties in economic performance, while the places with better economic performance are subject to insecurity and unhealthy lives⁶. The contradiction is deeply rooted in Taiwan's model of development.

As for an assessment of policies of sustainable development, there is hardly anything worth our consideration, even in a "primate city" like Taipei. Some local policies may be considered to contribute to the goal of sustainability. However, they belong more to the register of well-intentioned ideas, like the extension of the green city project with greening fingers from the surrounding mountain areas into urban areas, than to the realm of well thought-out strategies⁷. It is difficult to evaluate the contents and possible impact of such policies. We shall argue that it does not even make sense to implement these policies, although implementation is precisely the most critical stage for any policy meant to create a sustainable city.

A new policy deserves special mention: that of the "per bag trash fee" policy in Taipei City. Since 1 July 2000, the municipality has been implementing a new scheme for the collection of trash fees. Whereas the original trash fees were charged to the water bill, it is now collected on a per bag basis. The purpose of the "per bag trash collection fee" is to use a volume-based fee to promote "trash reduction" and "recycling" in order to make Taipei a cleaner city. In fact, considering the embarrassing record of state policy implementation in Taiwan, the political risks for the mayor were high. Nobody could foresee the effects before the actual implementation of this policy. Although it has only been in practice for

three months, it has so far been successful. The volume of trash has decreased by 38 per cent and recycling has increased by a staggering 400 per cent. Illicit dumping now represents less than 0.5 per cent of the total volume of garbage. The increased amount of recycling is significantly higher than expected. The pressure on the Department of Environmental Protection of Taipei City has become more

severe. The next target will be to reduce kitchen-trash to 600 tons from its current level of 900 tons per month. In the near future, lessons may be drawn from these experiments and shared with other cities. This is only the first step toward a sustainable city, but undoubtedly a critical one for Taipei City. Hopefully, Taipei residents will continue to be responsible citizens.

Economic Growth and Social Inclusion/Exclusion in Taiwan and Globalization

If we look at economic performance and the issue of social inclusion/exclusion, it would seem at first glance that Taiwan's model of development has brought apparent advantages. Even as recently as in the mid-1980s, Taiwan's low Gini index was one of the most striking signs of the "Taiwan Miracle." Yet a new trend of social fragmentation has been emerging in the last few years. On the one hand, the 1990s have seen the globalization of Taiwan's economy. The dense connections between Silicon Valley, Taipei-Xinzhu (Hsinchu), and the mega-cities along the Chinese coast form inter-related segments of the global international production networks of the electronic industry⁸. On the other hand, the territorially defined labor market is also changing. A recent survey on household income in Taiwan by the Auditing Department of the Executive Yuan showed that the annual income of university post-graduates (Masters or Ph.D. level) had increased by 8.67 per cent in 1999 and amounted to NT\$ 1,036,554 (about US\$ 34,000). It was much higher than the income of Bachelor-degree holders (NT\$ 790,358, or about US\$ 26,000) and those with elementary school education (only NT\$ 342,083, about US\$ 10,000). Income disparity based on education level is

widening rapidly. In addition, both uneven distribution across ages and uneven development among regions have been on the increase in recent years⁹. This phenomenon marks the beginning of a profound social and economic transformation in Taiwan under the impact of globalization.

This evolution is a real challenge to the State and to the so-called "new government" that issued from the presidential election in March 2000. If the State fails to respond adequately to current trends of social and economic transformation with effective public policies, social fragmentation or social polarization will intensify. But current policies run in the opposite direction. With the purpose of satisfying the offensive ideology of the new affluent middle class that emerged in the wake of economic development, and to attract international investments, by populist politicians have implemented *controversial and exclusive* policies. And social movements have arisen in which peripheral groups are seeking to defend their rights and identities. These movements include the licensed prostitutes movement supported by militant labor organizations, the mobilization of old squatters in the city center, and the gay and lesbian resistance

to the “ purification ” tendency of the former populist mayor of Taipei, newly elected to the office of President. If we add the political splits due to the crisis of national identity in the recent political restructuring of State power, Taiwan is in fact a divided society. Apart from the newly emerged social fragments mentioned above, one group has made itself more vocal. The indigenous people in Taiwan are and, for a long time, have been a minority group at the bottom of Taiwan's society, even in the reconstruction project that followed the September 1999 earthquake¹⁰. The next section will look at *social inclusion/exclusion* in Taiwan through the issue of the “ urban indigenous people ” and their housing problem in metropolitan Taipei. It will take this case as an example of social fragmentation and polarization in globalizing Taiwan.

Social exclusion is a concept proposed by the social policy think tanks of the European Commission. It was adopted by the United Nations International Labor Office. The social inclusion/exclusion concept refers to the social rights of citizens, which relate to certain basic living standards and to participation in the major social and occupational opportunities offered by society. I have adapted Manuel

Castells definition of social inclusion/exclusion as follows:¹¹

First, social exclusion is the process by which certain individuals and groups are systemically excluded from access to positions that would enable them to enjoy an autonomous livelihood within the social standards framed by institutions and values in a given context. In a word, social exclusion is the process that disenfranchises a person as labor in the context of capitalism. As to social inclusion, it may encompass generous compensations in case of long-term unemployment or disability which, however, are increasingly exceptional in countries with a well-developed welfare state.

Second, social inclusion/exclusion is a process, not a condition. Thus, the boundaries between those who are included and those who are excluded may vary over time. Third, the process of social inclusion/exclusion concerns both peoples and territories. Fourth, the process of social inclusion/exclusion includes a key process, which characterizes some specific forms of relations of production in global informational capitalism. We may call this process “ perverse integration. ”

We shall examine social inclusion/exclusion in the context of the housing problem of urban indigenous people in metropolitan Taipei.

The Housing Question and the “ Urban Indigenous People ” in Metropolitan Taipei

“ Urban Indigenous People ” as Invisible Communities

“ Urban indigenous people, ” a contradictory and complex term in Taiwan, refers to the groups formed as a result of the migration of indigenous people from the countryside and the mountain areas to the city. The population

of “ urban indigenous people ” is not as large as the urban migrants from the ethnically dominant Han population. Their very existence tends to go unnoticed, but the solution to their concrete problems is too complicated for the local technocrats. It is therefore very difficult to solve these problems, even if one settlement was suddenly “ discovered ” a few years ago by the former President. Despite a short period of media attention, the outcome of the Presidents discovery was almost nil and the housing problem of the “ urban indigenous people ” remained unsolved¹². Their communal settlements are scattered in the outskirts of Taipei’s metropolitan area, some of them in the city proper and most of them in Taipei County¹³. Most of the lands on which they live are vacant public spaces such as riverbanks. These communal settlements actually consist of peripheral squatters. Their inhabitants are ghost communities (see Figure 1).

The “ urban indigenous people ” are culturally vulnerable tribal units that still manage to survive vigorously like wild flowers in the urban environment. Most of them work as construction laborers on various sites in metropolitan Taipei. In recent years, globalization brought in foreign workers who gradually replaced them in this coveted niche and created tremendous pressure on their means of livelihood. Indeed, they are the producers of the city. They are industrious workers thanks to whose labor the metropolitan city has been built. However, they seem to be no more than temporary workers and do not receive enough resources to gain access to the product (the built space) of their own labor and have a share in the city they have built with their own hands. If such people are left aside, we may ask what kind of city is the city of Taipei?

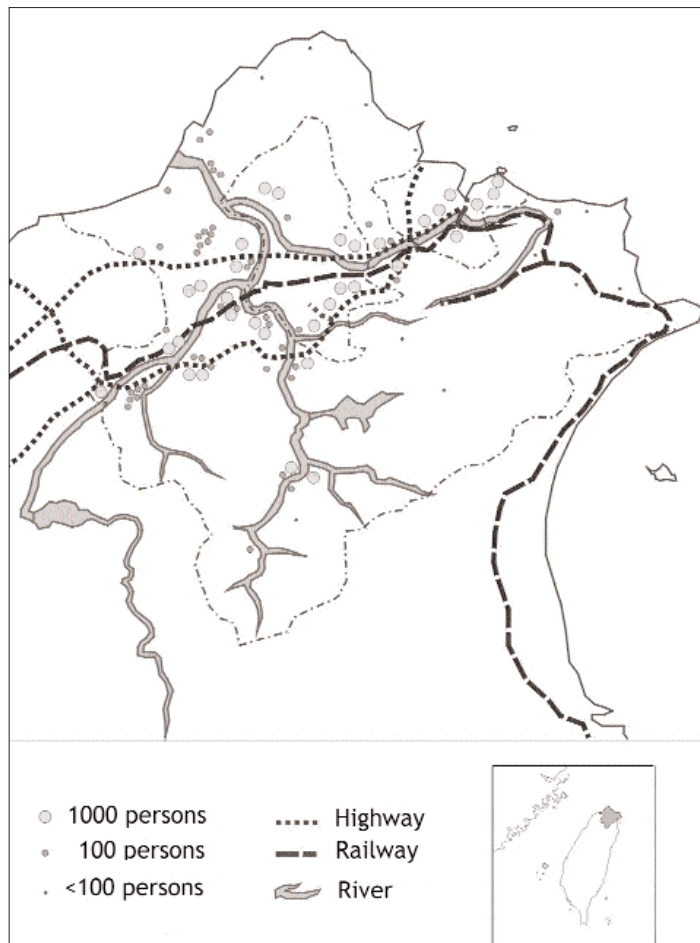


Figure 1: Urban Indigenous Settlements Pattern in Metropolitan Taipei

The Urban Housing Problem

If we examine the urban housing problem of "urban indigenous people" from a global and theoretical perspective, we shall see that these are rather typical issues in other Third World cities, only on a smaller scale in the Taiwanese case. On the one hand, urban migrants in the Third World are generally unable to access the housing market under the terms of commodity mechanisms such as existed in the United States before the 1973 oil crisis. A significant share of the American population was able to purchase houses through the financing mechanisms available on the market. On the other hand, Third World States are most often unable to intervene in the housing market by providing public housing on the same scale as in Europe after the Second World War. Therefore, with the exception of Singapore and Hong Kong where limited possibilities of population influx objectively helped an otherwise active policy of public housing construction, weak social groups in most Third World cities have had to rely on their own efforts, or self-help housing, to solve the issue of accommodation.

These are the historical roots of squatter formation in Third World cities. The "squatter" settlement is not only an official term for "illegal settlement." More importantly, it refers to a construction type in the urban informal sector, which functions, to some extent, as a safety valve for the reproduction of the labor force through self-help. Actually, the policy of "no policy" in Third World States is a specific way to temperate the problem of housing shortage, as in the Mexican experience. And the oxymoron, the "legal squatter" (*hefa weijian*, or "legal illegal buildings") in Taiwan illustrates the specific boundary between formal and informal economies defined by the institutional intervention of the State. In Latin America, the squatter settlements are usually mobilized and organized by different political groups to invade the riverbanks, vacant public land, or church land.

"Land invasion" becomes the major momentum of urban social movements in Third World cities. It has also shaped the urban appearance of these cities. Even today, most jackets of books about Third World housing and cities depict boundless squatter settlements.

In the process of *social inclusion* and *political mobilization*, the squatter settlements do indeed obtain the goods and services expected from the State¹⁸. However, this is only half of the political process for the squatter movement. The other half consists of a trade for political loyalty. In other words, it is an instrument of social inclusion and subordination to the existing political order rather than an agent of social change. This process continuously reproduces the relationship of dependency between State and society¹⁴. Populist democracy and dependent society are the two sides of the same coin in the Third World. The British anarchist architect, John Turner, was deeply moved by Pedro Bethran's successful mobilization of squatters in Peru in 1954. He suggested that the *spontaneous milieu* and the interactive social process of self-help housing are the alternative for human habitat¹⁵. His ideas have had a strong influence on humanist planners such as Kevin Lynch and the education program on housing design in MIT in the 1970s and 1980s.

As a result of this, on the one hand, the World Bank and the United Nations have changed the direction of their policies. The Site and Services Program replaced large-scale public housing projects, which had long suffered from a bad reputation. The past policy of public housing construction not only required huge support from government budgets, but was also difficult to implement effectively owing to a lack of organizational capability among Third World States. For example, public housing units always benefited the middle classes, whereas the public housing settlements stigmatized urban poverty in the form of new urban slums. On the other hand, the myth and the reality of self-help housing have generated a serious

theoretical debate in academic circles. This sends us back to Friedrich Engels' criticism of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon's small vegetable garden¹⁷. The housing question is basically one of consumption of and circulation in the housing market (e.g. speculation) for the reproduction of the labor force rather than one of production itself (e.g. exploitation). Production and consumption have to be analyzed together. And the mediation of the State is a necessary institutional element for the functioning and expression of a capitalist city.

But this debate has not had any impact in Taiwan. The conservative paradigms have been dominant among Taiwan's academics and research institutions, and they prevail in most disciplines. The developmental State has been constituted as the historical vehicle of the project of the elites to rebuild the nation-state. Such academic poverty is part of the social costs of political oppression during the earlier process of growth and modernization. Most scholars and bureaucrats think of the housing question in Taiwan as an issue for Third World countries and, consciously or unconsciously, rely on market mechanisms to elude the State's responsibilities. Certainly, it is what can be viewed as a conservative political position that triggered the famous housing movement in 1989 and unrelenting urban movements that have continued to this day.

Generally speaking, an examination of the urban housing question from a global perspective reminds us that *the improvement of housing and urban services is part of the right to a decent life. It relates to social and political processes rather than simply to the housing market.* Housing is often traded as a commodity in the social and political processes of the intertwined relationship between the State and the informal sector of the economy, as in the Mexican case after the mobilization of the squatter settlements. Only then is it legitimized by the State. However, once the squatters have been mobilized and organized, the political autonomy of the communal sett-

lements can be one of the bargaining chips of political legitimacy in the negotiation with the State as well as a space for resistance against the market.

Is there a Solution?

What then is the answer to the housing problem of the "urban indigenous people"? What form can the improvement project take? Housing is not only a material construction, but also an existential living foothold in the world. Land acquisition and community empowerment may warrant some breakthrough.

The first question is how to obtain land. For instance, to lease a piece of public land as the site of communal settlement is a first and a necessary step for community empowerment. A site is closer to existing conditions in the squatter settlements and it opens more room for specific attention to geographical relations and social networks. For the "urban indigenous people," the use value of the site is more important than the exchange value of the housing units. To lease rather than to buy is critical. First, these people do not have the capital for any such purchase. Second, once the land is privatized, it will be to resist market pressures to resell it for more profitable real-estate operations.

The second consideration is about communal self-help housing. This approach is adequate to meet the specificity of the "urban indigenous people." The community participation process not only ensures the quality of public space, but also strengthens *the community's consciousness of collective solidarity in the struggle for urban services.* The existing spatial layout and character of public housing units are difficult to use and maintain for the "urban indigenous people." They have specific living needs and cultural characteristics. The inadequate public housing project on Orchid Island (Taitung County) is a case in point. Its failure is part of the history of modern architecture.

Conclusion

Ironically perhaps, all these questions problems may well find a natural solution after two generations as a result of the "naturalization" and "social inclusion" of the "urban indigenous people" into the dominant Han culture. The conflicts and housing problem of the "urban indigenous people" have to be understood through the social and political processes of the relationship between State and society in a capitalist city. The solutions to the housing question depend on the way in which resources are allocated by the State. How the State mediates also determines the patterns and characteristics of social structure and dynamics. Furthermore, the global economy makes the urban housing question more complex because the State is unable to handle the increasingly volatile situation generated by globalization. The new contextual pressure creates an opportunity for the State to readjust its structural role and to change the relationship between State and society.

Theoretically speaking, social inclusion/exclusion has to be analyzed in terms of the social structure and social dynamics within the framework of globalization. More specifically, social inclusion/exclusion has combined with the issues of identity politics in the global networked society. If we consider the different forms and origins of identity building, legitimizing, and resistance projects, the dynamics of identities in this sequence show that no identity can be of the essence. The territorial communities of the "urban indigenous people" can build up their own identity and assert the pride of self-denigration (such as renaming Orchid Island as "Tao" instead of "Yami", in the indigenous movement), inverting the terms of the oppressive discourse imposed since the period of Japanese colonization (or, as Manuel Castells proposed, "the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded")¹⁹. This is also a way to go beyond the so-called reciprocal disconnection of social exclusion²⁰. Instead of being a simple-minded norma-

tive notion in the index of the sustainable city, *the processes of social mobilization and social organization as means to defend the right to make a living are critical for a socially sustainable city.*

The people must participate in urban movements, through which common interests and public spaces of the communities are constituted, and new urban meaning may be produced. The struggle of weak social groups for opportunities in regard to urban services and access to these services should be one of the social criteria for the sustainable city. The hidden values of the indices of the sustainable city need to be re-examined. The *analysis* of social inclusion/exclusion is a fundamental key to understanding sustainability. The reasons of the weakness of the underprivileged social groups are usually not rooted in ethnicity itself, but rather in cultural identity, social structure and economic interests. We have to ask what their identities are. Social inclusion has to be analyzed as the legitimizing identity and dominant value of the States hegemony. Social inclusion/exclusion in globalization, however, has to be analyzed together with identity politics. For instance, cultural differences have to be taken into account rather than being considered as an element of cultural diversity for use as a market commodity and social inclusion in hegemony. Sustainability has to be re-analyzed so that its criteria may be reset. On the one hand, there is no sustainability in essence. On the other hand, the openness of the decision-making process for participation by citizen participation should be laid down as a necessary procedural condition. The process of making a sustainable city ensures sustainability in the cities of tomorrow. As a tentative conclusion, the main objective of this paper is not to provide ready-made answers. What I have endeavored to do is to offer some analytical directions for further questioning. History is written once and for all and the struggle must go on.

Notes:

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2. Castells, Manuel, *The Power of Identity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), p. 62.
3. Huang, Shu-li, "Dushizu xian jieduan chengguo" [Current Results of the Urban Team], *Yongxu taiwan jianxun* [Newsletter of Sustainable Taiwan], Vol. 2, No. 1 (March 2000), p. 37.
4. Wang, Juju C. S., "Shehuizu xian jieduan chengguo" [Current Results of the Social Team], *Yongxu taiwan jianxun* [Newsletter of Sustainable Taiwan], Vol. 2, No. 1 (March 2000), p. 21.
5. *Living Planet Report 1998*, World Wild Fund for Nature.
6. *Jiankang chenshi da diaocha* [Healthy City Survey], Kangjian [Health], 29 August 29 2000.
7. *Taipei shi dushi fazhan nianbao* [Annual Report on Urban Development] (Taipei: Taipei shi zhengfu, 1999), p. 25
8. Hsia, Chu-joe, "Quanzhou jingji zhong zhi kuajie ziben" [Trans-border Capitals in Global Economy: The Production Networks of Electronic Industry in Taiwan], *Chengshi yu sheji* [Cities and Design: An Academic Journal for Intercity Networking] (Forthcoming).
9. Hsu, Jinn-yuh, "Revisiting Economic Development in Post-War Taiwan: The Dynamic Process of Geographical Industrialization," paper for the Second International Critical Geography Conference, Taegu, South Korea, 9-13 August 2000.
10. Chen, Yi-fong, "'Indigenous Peoples' Land Rights, and the Reconstruction of Place Identity after the September Earthquake: Case Study of Ho-Ping Hsian, Taichung County, Taiwan," paper for the Second International Critical Geography Conference, Taegu, South Korea, 9-13 August 2000.
11. Castells, Manuel, *End of Millennium* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), pp. 73-74
12. Even after the intervention by the President, most of urban indigenous people inhabiting that settlement were relocated to different public housing units. For them, those isolated housing units are unlivable. The neighborhood was broken up and the community has disappeared.
13. The total population in the metropolitan area is over 40,000. The registered population is about 38,500. Most of them, over 30,000, are in Taipei County (Interior Affairs Ministry, June 2000). The population in Taipei City is about 7,600 to 8,200. Most of them are also scattered on the outskirts rather than in the inner city. The ratio of housing ownership is about 30 per cent, which is the lowest percentage in the Taipei citizens. *Ethnos Minzhu Electronic News*, No. 3, 30 November 2000.
14. Castells, Manuel, *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 194
15. Turner, John and Fichter, R., *Freedom to Build: Dweller Control of the Housing Process* (New York: Macmillan, 1972).
16. Ward, Peter (ed.), *Self-Help Housing: A Critique* (London: Mansell, 1982).
17. Engels, Friedrich, *The Housing Question* (Moscow: Progress, 1979; 1st ed. 1887).
18. Castells, Manuel, *The City and the Grassroots* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).
19. Castells, *The Power of Identity*, pp. 8-9
20. Castells, Manuel, *The Rise of the Network Society* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), p. 24.