FLUID OCCUPANCY: POLITICS AND SPACE IN A TAIPEI NIGHT MARKET

by

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Abstract

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by

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This dissertation shows how street vendors in Shilin Night Market, in Taipei City, Taiwan, through spatial, social, and material practices, shape and reshape an urban landscape. I find the space they produce to be a vernacular representation of modernity for an authentic urban identity. Dealing with the municipality and local community, street vendors have continually appropriated public and private property in both legal and extralegal situations. Municipal officials and urban planners have followed these spatial practices in an effort to fix, standardize, and tax their vending spaces. Extralegal vendors, provoked by this official scrutiny, developed a spatial practice of "fluid occupancy" supported by social relations, micro politics, and embodied performances to sustain their operation outside legal boundaries. Culturally speaking, the culinary practices of domestic and migrant food vendors, and the clothing vendors' involvement with transnational wholesale trades, stretch the identity of Shilin Night Market from that of a local trading place to a liminal space that subsumes a grounded, place-specific practice within a network of transnational flows. Despite the fact that street vendors created economic and cultural capital as the basis of a thriving market, they eventually became the targets of removal in the political discourse of reframing the market as a tourist space

shaped in the spirit of capitalist modernity. To maximize the transnational quality of Shilin Night Market as they seek to forge a cosmopolitan identity for Taipei, municipal officials redeveloped the market into a prominent tourist destination, building a new, indoor market and relocating extralegal vendors into storefront arcades under the privatized governance of a property association. Eventually, some street vendors were incorporated into the municipal prototype, and others have kept contesting unauthorized space. I celebrate the hybridity of this commercial landscape that unifies the steady and the fluid occupancies of public space, as well as the global and the local synergy infused within the setting. My dissertation suggests that modern design practices can pursue process-driven planning strategies that forego displacement and exclusion, seeking instead to balance esthetic and economic concerns with an acknowledgement of the social ecologies of physically and culturally distinct, urban places.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 A night journey

On both sides of the street, under oil-canvas awnings, retailers display racks of colorful picture frames, perfume bottles, leather bracelets, cell phone holders, and watches--a great variety of trinkets.

As I walked past the vendors lining the center of Dadong Road and alongside the storefronts at both sides of the street, I could not decide where to look first. I was suddenly distracted by a vendor's stand on which he had folded tee shirts in a way that various patterns on the chests seemed to fit together like the panes of a stained glass window. There were maps of Taiwan with names printed in English, Chinese, and Japanese--juxtaposed with portrayals of the British football player David Beckham, and the American wrestler John Cena. Loud music was coming from the stores, but, because I was passing quickly through the different stores, the changing rhythm seemed like something from a remixed CD. A female voice of Utada Hikaru, a Japanese songbird, competed with recently popular dance music by Super Junior, a boy-band from Korea.

Just as I emerged from Dadong Road, I saw a young man arriving at the intersection with Wenlin Road. Rather than go farther down the street to a less crowded location, he skillfully unfolded a rack to display his briefcase. Most garment vendors like to use counterfeit Louis Vuitton monogram briefcases to appeal to customers, even though what they sell are cheap shirts and jeans rather than the luxurious products the monogram seems to suggest. "Damn it, can't you watch your step?", a female vendor

swore, when a guy carelessly walked over the shirts that she was arranging. She wiped out the dirt and flattened the folds.

"Put it away!" shouted a vendor at the front end of the street, raising the alarm telling vendors to hide. In just a few seconds, the vendors had disappeared into alleys and hidden areas.

I walked into the indoor market opposite the subway station. As soon as I walked in, I was struck by the smell of cooking oil, garlic, onion, and pepper in the steamy air, and heard the sounds of sizzling and boiling. The aisles between lines of shoppers walking in the opposite direction were narrow but allowed walkers from two ways to just be able to pass each other. Vendors kept hawking to me as I strolled by, waving menus in their hands. I walked by a middle-aged woman who was standing behind the trolley, pouring hot noodle soup into a bowl. A younger woman next to her was saying, "come inside and take a seat." Behind her, I saw an area of tables and round chairs occupied by couples, young people, and families with children working on their meals, their shoulders seeming to be in a shrug as they squeezed into the small dining space. Having had something earlier, I excused myself with a smile. As I walked by the eating section, video game music replaced the sounds of cooking. A couple of students in their junior high school uniforms were concentrating on their battles on the machine screens. By the game machines, two little girls were fishing in the pool for goldfish.

Walking out of the indoor market, I soon found myself diving into another wave of shoppers and vendors filling the arcades along Wenlin Road. A boy with spikey hair and funky glasses covered his clothes with sheets as he kept on hailing customers. Three girls wearing smoky eye shadow and thick mascara sat on scooters outside arcades, their

merchandise placed on the front of the scooters. They chatted with each other while checking me taking their pictures. “The police must be around,” advised my informant, who was following me all the way. Some vendors took a break, while others continued their exchange. A few feet further on, I saw a police officer on the sidewalk interacting with a young woman in an arcade who spoke to him with smile as if greeting an old friend. I suddenly realized what I witnessed was not just a montage of colors, textures, and patterns, but complex social relations unfolding within this marketplace. Various actors seemed to cooperate with one another in certain fashions to sustain the vital market spectacle. This story of Shilin Night Market is a story about the space and people who organize themselves around this space.

1.2 Emerging inquiries

Since the late 1990s, Taiwan has witnessed a growth of municipally-funded community building or place-making that takes advantage of local traditions and cultural assets to shape a cultural economy while empowering civil society (see for example, Huang, 1995; Lu, 2002; Hsu, 2005). Local governments actively turned different types and scales of local landscapes, such as farmlands, marketplaces, and historical landmarks, into tourist destinations to attract local visitors, and even foreign tourists while forging identities for local communities.

Such a strand of new consumerism echoes the shifting political climate and cultural phenomenon in Taiwan in the 1990s, characterized as “Ben-Tu-Hua” (localization), that aimed at acknowledging the island’s lack of international participation and recognition. These consumption shifts celebrate Taiwan’s unique character in culture and historical background formed over the sixty years since the end of Japanese

colonization in 1945 and the migration from China in 1949. The phenomenon of localization spurred local communities to reflect on their traditions and lifestyles as sources of profitable opportunity, within a quest for economic development more pragmatic than the search for international recognition. The local character of night markets, made by their relationships with local neighborhoods and place-specific foods, are appropriated by local governments as symbolic capital to use to brand the city and Taiwan generally.

Amid this interest in exploiting the local for economic development, the term "tourist night market," which appeared first in the late 1980s as a rhetorical phrase, became a motto inspiring the city and the community to seek development. In 2008, night markets officially became foreign tourists' most desired destinations in Taiwan, with Shilin Night Market listed as the top choice. When the Tourist Bureau promotes tourism by adopting the icons of night market, it privileges food representation over spatiality. Most often, the city uses the delicately filmed picture of cuisines instead of any illustration of real settings, which makes me wonder whether the city intentionally avoids showing the disorderly space and arrays of vendors. In the discourse of tourist night markets, diversity refers to street food and trinkets, not the built environment. Different municipal governments employ similar strategies to redevelop markets into standardized space of coded, licensed units to reflect their belief in modernized markets as synonym of successful tourist locales.

As a trained architect who learned to embrace all the modernist architectural idioms, I found it quite convincing for awhile for the city to reframe Shilin as a modern market for the sake of shaping tourist space. It seemed that when there is an urgent desire

for a city to develop tourism, local specificity must give way to global timeliness. After some time, however, I found the material iconography as the sole representation of market culture deeply problematic. It sends a message that the so-called night market culture is something detached from its locality and producers. The culture can be easily turned into attractive images of something that resembles boxes of canned food ready to eat, while vendors and their space do not represent the city in a positive way until they are dehumanized and materialized. I kept wondering what really makes a night market a setting that Taiwanese identify with. Be it the festive ambiance or human touch, actors in the market and how they behave in the market must play a role. Why should people who produce the material culture not be represented as part of its identity? If the variations in spatiality and temporality of this place are erased, what is the difference between Shilin Night Market and any other market in Bangkok, Delhi, or Singapore? When a market is merely a site of visual aesthetics meant for "economy of signs", will there actually be any identity embedded in it?

Based on all these compelling discourses about the production of a tourist night market, and the skepticism in my mind, I want to raise a fundamental yet complicated question: how exactly does Shilin Night Market represent urban identity? Is this identity one constructed solely by politicians and city planners, or one possibly negotiated by street vendors themselves through their lived experience? To answer these questions, or more accurately, to decipher the true identity of Shilin Night Market, I entered this market to start field research, finding that the identity of Shilin Night Market emerges through a process through which planners and vendors work out their differences, becoming concrete as vendors create space for themselves as they contest the municipal

will of the modern state and its quest for development.

1.3 Issues of politics and space

My study suggests that, in their socially contingent spatial practices, street vendors shape an urban landscape as a vernacular representation of modernity. My approach to the issue of identity in a marketplace with a focus on spatiality is different from most studies of marketplaces and tourist settings that rest on analysis of signs, symbols, and imageries of commercialized objects to distill meanings of identity. I suggest that the liminal space where the norms of the urban forms are contested, transgressed, and manipulated fundamentally grounds all the circulation, accumulation, and interpretation of texts and images, and of vendors' cultural tactics. The spatiality embodies vendors' expectations, fears and desires, and leads to a more profound understanding of their identity than any snapshots of the material imageries can do. Only by acknowledging the significance of spatiality in deploying cultural capital can we prevent any material inequality coming out of redevelopment schemes framed in the name of tourism and characterized by universal and simplified space.

My enquiry into the issues of spatiality and politics in Shilin Night Market departs (in chapter two) from the review of theories that prepared me to explore the (re)development of this urban marketplace. My selection of literature is based on my conceptualization of this market as a public space where diverse players interact with street vendors. To capture the dynamic interrelationships in terms of contestations, cooperation, compromise, and negotiation that street vendors have with community members, the state and the municipality, I felt inspired by Lefebvre's (1991) theories that informed the natures of and the interplay between the planned and unplanned practices.

To ground his philosophical dialectics about the connection and disconnection between the lived space and the planned city in places relevant to my research setting, I reviewed research illustrating transformed landscapes of consumption around the world from the late nineteenth century to the present driven by capitalist modernity.

Modernist architects and urban planners facilitated the state's and the city's will of governance to restructure city forms, reshaping marketplaces and public space. The cities, when unevenly developed, spurred citizens' multiple scales of action and movement to engage in politics of public space, ranging from macro resistance of social movements to micro tactics deployed in everyday life. A body of poststructuralist and political economy theories addressed various aspects of contestation, which facilitated my analysis of Shilin Night Market as a setting that stages both vendors' physical transgressions and the resistance of various other community members to pro-development planning schemes. I ended the part of micro resistance by focusing on street vendors' occupancies of the cities. Going beyond the notion of contested city, I hoped to further scholarly and practitioner understanding of politics and space by discovering a new perspective on the ways in which street vendors appropriate streets and open space that may enable a re-visualization of an urban landscape of cultural and national identities.

To this end I adopted new and various methods, as illustrated in chapter three, combining interviews, observations, population counts, and attendance of community meetings to understand the contemporary material and cultural landscapes. I also conducted historical analyses of the built environment and city policies of the market that spans across a century in order to address the inter-relationship among vendors, merchants, property owners, shoppers, and the municipality. Research periods include

January and August 2007, and a consecutive period from February 2008 to August 2009. I analyzed interview transcripts and field notes and coded the data to identify important themes by classifying data based on the content and distilled their abstract meanings. I compared the identified themes with relevant information from other secondary sources, including government documents, planning reports, newspaper articles, and other empirical research, to theorize the phenomena of this market. The design of my research kept this study of Shilin Night Market grounded and embodied while at the same time addressing issues of political economy.

The empirical exploration of vendors' practices begins (in chapter four) with a historical account of how vendors territorialize public space in Shilin in a way that shapes a night market. Vending activities in Shilin began with rural migrants who made a living exchanging farm and seafood produce in two indoor markets constructed by the Japanese colonial government in 1909. In the early 1960s, the number of night-time food vendors outside the two daytime markets increased significantly as a result of the sequential establishment of three universities, as well as the social ties among street vendors who could benefit from expanding the vending space. From 1970 through 1990, hundreds of food vendors successfully acquired licenses and legal permission from the Market Administration to permanently operate businesses in open spaces and multiple alleyways as legal vendors.

After 1990, extralegal vendors negotiated rights to private property, such as shared storefronts or arcades, and non-designated public space; either by personal connection or organizing self-regulated groups with fellow vendors to deal with merchants and local gangs (chapter five). In an effort to sustain their occupancy of

appropriated arcades and streets, vendors perform a series of routines developed within their social alliances to meet the authorities' expectations of regulated streets. The spectacle of nightly crowds that fill Shilin Market area is an outcome created by both legal and extralegal vendors who persistently contest unpermitted areas. With the crowds that they attract, street vendors have revived two indoor markets, encouraged the proliferation of local retail business. They also sustained the functions of the domestic clothing manufacturing industry challenged by the influence of global economic restructuring, shaping a world signified by material culture.

The historical narrative leads (in chapter six) to an exploration of street vendors' material practice that grounds an analysis of the redevelopment by showing how Shilin Night Market fits the municipal imagination of a cosmopolitan space appropriate for global tourists. Food practices and clothing trade compose the transnational quality of the material world of Shilin Night Market, reflected in its landscapes of cuisines and clothes as symbolic capital for domestic shoppers to cultivate global awareness, and most of all, for the municipality to forge a cosmopolitan identity of Taipei City. Shilin Night Market, when branded by the Tourism Bureau as a cosmopolitan setting symbolic of urban identity and a subject of fantasy consumption by world tourists, is decreed by the planners and city officials to become a quality space of worldly sophistication, one meeting an international standard of inter-city competition.

Street vendors created economic and cultural capital as the basis of a thriving, urban market, yet eventually became the target of removal in the political discourse of reframing the market as a tourist space shaped in the spirit of Capitalist Modernity. Chapter seven shows how the Market Administration and Urban Redevelopment office

worked together to modernize Shilin Night Market by making a touristic space that meets an international standard of inter-city competition. City officials and planners appropriated the discourse of tourism grounded on ideals of modernity to redevelop Shilin Night Market in ways that ensure municipal taxation and increase public and private property interests. I identify new construction and relocation as two strategies adopted by the municipal government to strengthen its governance of vendors. The market administration designed a new market to reinforce control over licensed vendors to guarantee municipal revenues, while preventing unlicensed vendors from using the market site. For extralegal vendors on the streets, planners tried to relocate vendors into storefront arcades controlled by retailers and landowners. A business improvement organization made up of private property owners located on the north of Shilin Night Market implemented the arcade vendor allocation in support of private property interests and the formation of a self-governed district.

Interviews with market visitors found that local visitors' experiences of Shilin Night Market have more to do with the non-planned, fluid qualities of the space than the universal aesthetics and organized units of modernism. The modern redevelopment of Shilin Night Market, ostensibly justified by the expectation of developing tourism, lacks understanding of how and why shoppers enjoy a night market. My work demonstrates that, in its aggressive pursuit of global modernity, the municipal government neglects to realize that the basis of Shilin Night Market's attraction to international tourists lies in the place-making performance of local citizens in their attachment to the market. Ignoring that Shilin Night Market is a landscape staging the everyday life of Taiwanese vendors and consumers, the city stepped up its policing to drive the extralegal vendors out of the

modernized market (chapter eight). The excess vendors were thus forced to hold a demonstration against the police, eventually forming a spectacle of contestation as a symbolic breakdown of the modernization. Extralegal vendors continued fluid occupancy of the streets outside designated arcades; a few merchants in the business improvement district rejected the arcade plans by mobilizing their own community network. These vendors and merchants defied an imposed planning, making an environment with multiple vending scenes possible.

The conclusion reflects on the differences between the municipal vision and planning result to elaborate an argument of re-visualization of modernity grounded on local specificity and historical contingency. Every municipal policy and practice in regard to the market over its history builds upon what vendors have done in this neighborhood in ways to fix and standardize their vending spaces. Modernization of Shilin Night Market, in truth, started from the traditional, marching along an avenue toward a modern state with each step contingent upon the former footprints. There are, in other words, vernacular origins within each policy, design, and planning strand of modernity. Street vendors “translate” global modernity into their own versions through means of getting a license, permission, and arcade rents. They develop a fluid occupancy to cope with their lived reality, ultimately shaping a landscape of vernacular modernity. A hybrid landscape in Shilin Night Market comprising retail outlets, municipally regulated vending units, and extralegal vending space destabilizes a binary of modern and traditional, globalism and localism, stability and fluidity. This vernacular landscape of modernity opens up opportunities for productive identity formation, sufficiently branding Taipei in the most original, authentic, and enduring ways.

Chapter Two

Marketplaces and Public Space

To approach the significance of the street vendors' spatial practice, and its relevance to professional design and planning, I find Lefebvre's concepts to be a fertile theoretical ground. In *The Production of Space* (1991), Lefebvre distinguishes three kinds of space: physical, mental, and social. In order to demystify the interrelationships among them, he proposes a conceptual triad that includes representations of space, representational spaces, and spatial practices. A representation of space is a conception of space as it is illustrated and noted in the maps, blueprints, or zoning codes produced by architects and urban planners who impose order and logic on the use of space. A representational space transcends the physical space and consists of symbolic meanings. In other words, this is a conceived space lived and experienced by inhabitants. Spatial practices are physical activities that shape and reshape material space and mediate between conceived space and lived space.

Lefebvre's spatial triad provides me the analytic tool to study night markets as meaningful social venues in everyday life with lived experiences and historical significance. From this perspective, night markets originate in such kinds of conceived spaces as streets, laneways, and community plazas illustrated in the city maps, and eventually become lived spaces whose boundaries, patterns, and rhythms are redefined by people's spatial practices—strolling in the night markets for local food and trivial merchandise—that enable urban Taiwanese to experience cultural authenticity and remember old-fashioned social relationships. Departing from Lefebvre's theory, I explore

the connection and disconnection between lived and planned cities, evident in the transformed landscapes of public space and marketplaces from the modernist period to the present.

2.1 The marketplaces and the city

Here I begin more generally in the Western world with the radical transformation of lived, social space in the late nineteenth century when governments began restructuring spatial patterns to reinforce order in public life. The extensive development of public space governance then reflects the American and European governments' attempt to create promenade spaces for wealthy elites and the middle class, while imposing order on bustling streets of working class neighborhoods filled with vendors, peddlers and cyclists (Shepherd, 2008). In the name of sanitation and public safety, city administrations in major cities started regulating commercial land use, and building interior marketplaces providing vending stalls for farmers and merchants in an effort to control conditions of chaos and health problems in the city centers.

As for Asia, early marketplaces in agrarian societies took the form of outdoor bazaars in the countryside and small towns. Geertz (1963) studied the process of economic change in terms of people and behavior patterns in two Indonesian markets towns. Skinner (1964, 1965) examined the significance of social relations, spatial and economic structures in the periodic peasants' markets from 1949 to 1950 in a rural area in China. These studies showed that the mobility, distribution, and scheduling of markets in pre-industrial Asian societies responded to the everyday rhythms of the households needs with little state intervention and regulation. However, Davies' study of the social relationship and economic system in a Philippine market (1973) showed the local

bureaucracy supervising the social order and economic transactions of the market.

The transition from agrarian life to modern economic growth brought rapid industrialization in Asian societies and large population migrations from rural areas to urban areas. Peasants transported produce into the city to sell in the open squares and nodal areas that inevitably attracted vehicular and pedestrian traffic. Similar to what municipal administrations did in the U.S., local governments in Asian cities officially regulated the market activities to locate vendors from random locations to designated sites to solve the problems of circulation. In the interest of street sanitation and order, city administrations constructed indoor spaces to accommodate market activities. Such changes occurred in Taiwan as early as the 1910s when the Japanese colonial government relocated vendors from open squares in front of the temples to fixed, interior markets. I shall discuss the change of Taiwanese marketplaces in detail in chapter four before introducing the history of Shilin Night Market.

The interiorization of marketplaces, be it in the West or the East, essentially reflected the influence of industrialization upon the modes of production and distribution of commodities (see for examples, Cohen, 2003; Crawford, 1992; Slater, 2001; Zukin, 1991, 1995, & 2004). As Zukin (1991) explains, market and place in pre-industrial societies were connected--which is evident in the formation of the term *marketplace*--before industrial production redistributed the labor force. In big American cities during the industrial era, the factories and warehouse were located in central places, surrounded by areas of housing for factory workers. Capitalists distributed the goods produced through mass production to decentralized markets throughout city and suburb (Slater, 2001; Zukin, 1991). The public market-systems that some American cities established in

downtown areas in the late nineteenth century initially thrived, but by 1930 were rapidly falling out of favor as urban populations moved away from city centers (Shepherd, 2008). The rapid suburbanization between 1950 and 1970 in US cities reshaped urban patterns from centralized, concentrated settlements into decentralized metropolitan areas (Massey & Denton, 1988). The new food systems benefited from far flung public transportation systems and technological advances (e.g., refrigeration) that were advantageous in serving urban and suburban customers more conveniently than city-run downtown markets. Over the twentieth century the marketplaces went through radical transformation evident in the proliferation of scattered, local grocery stores, chain markets and supermarkets across the United States.

Modern, western planning principles called for dividing cities into large functional zones and developing sufficient urban infrastructure and housing to accommodate increasing population and economic activity. The compressed processes of modernization in the first Asian regions to industrialize--Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea and Singapore--between the early 1960s and 1990s, happened too fast for governments to apply modern urban planning principles (Miao, 2001; Daniere & Douglass, 2009). Instead, the booming urban population's demand for space and services within a limited land area led to an urban landscape characterized by high density and mixed land uses (Miao, 2001)[1]. Such backgrounds prevented most Asian cities from becoming suburbanized at the stage of transition to modern industrialization, thus preserving certain functions of city-run marketplaces. In the following section, I will

[1] Zoning regulations in Asia put more emphasis on controlling the floor areas and building heights than on keeping different functions geographically apart from one another. Unlike 20th century planning in Western cities that kept Central Business district and public facilities separate from residential districts on the peripheries, residential and commercial lands and architectural projects in Asia have been mostly mixed.

introduce the ideas of modernist planning that first restructured American cities, ultimately leading to the transformation of the contemporary public space in Asia and particularly in Taiwan.

2.2 The power of architecture and urban planning

The imposition of state power in regulating the functions of public space became comprehensive when citywide zoning prevailed in most American cities by 1930. Radical transformation of urban forms came in the mid-twentieth century with urban renewal in many downtown areas and public housing that adopted modernist architectural schemes. The disjuncture between conceived space and lived space that Lefebvre laments can be traced back to this very moment of architectural modernism, when architects were given immense power to make critical decisions about the appearance of the city. Elite planning led to the physical elimination of organic streets as noted in Le Corbusier's 1946 proposal: "The word 'street' nowadays means chaotic circulation. Let us replace the word (and the thing itself) by the terms footpath and automobile road or highway" (as cited in Holston, 1999, p. 275). Holston (1999) argues that enormous space between buildings resulting from the modernist planning of Brasilia led to the disappearance of street activities that typify other Brazilian cities. Modernist cities featured automobile-oriented development, structured patterns, and functional zones in the name of order and efficiency.

Rational urban planning is best characterized by the zoning codes that divide urban land uses. While some scholars advocate modernist architecture and urban planning in the name of order, safety, and efficiency, others oppose such modernist planning ideologies best represented by zoning. Jane Jacobs (1961) famously celebrates

the mixing of functions and diversity in the old neighborhood streets that encourage a lively public life. In *A City Is Not a Tree*, Christopher Alexander (1965) argues that a rigid, tree-like planning logic can destroy the vitality of urban life. Sennett (1970) advocates the uses of disorder as the antidote to the excess of order and control in modern cities. Michel Foucault articulates the political implication of architecture associated with spatial governance (Foucault, 1975). He uncovers the relationship between power and space by characterizing architecture as a political technology which ensures "an allocation of people, a canalization of people's circulation, and the coding of social relations" (Foucault, 1984, p. 253). The goal of such a technology is to create a docile body through enclosure and organization of individuals in space.

Following these logics, architects of modern marketplaces prescribe new ordering systems for the marketplaces to redefine vending arrangement in such a way that shoppers' movements change from random detouring to assimilated circulation, determined by the layouts of remodeled spaces. The diffusion of shopping centers, malls, and big-box superstores in postwar America respond to modernist planning characterized by suburbanization and automobile-oriented development, contributing to the "malling" of shopping venues with standardized layouts and homogenous services combining food consumption and consumer goods. In some cities, shopping malls replaced the older pattern of downtown stores distributed along streets full of pedestrians with interior food courts and shopping arcades as new forms of public arena (Crawford, 1992).

2.3 Public space in Asia

In contrast with the empty downtown streets during nighttime found in modern western cities reshaped by strict zoning and suburbanization, mixed land uses in most

Asia-Pacific cities keep urban environments lively from day to night. The features of density and mixture yet led to conflicts among different functions and a deficiency in large, public space (Miao, 2001). The tradition of having large, urban public spaces accessible to the public in Asia-Pacific cities started from the planning of open squares in front of governmental facilities and memorial halls. For example, two memorial halls built in Taipei between 1970 and 1980-- Sun Yat-Sen Memorial hall and Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall-- both accommodate large plazas. In comparison with intensively guarded plazas in front of the president's hall built by the Japanese colonial government in Taipei and Tiananmen Square in front of Forbidden City in Beijing, these urban squares are sacred in meaning yet accessible to citizens in the midst of metropolitan areas (Miao, 2001).

Urban planning trends in the 1990s across Asia encouraged the appearance of large urban parks and shopping centers with the aid of modification of zoning codes. From Pudong in Shanghai, Saigon South in Ho Chi Minh City, to Kuala Lumpur, globalization drove governments to transform land uses from those based on local communities' social and economic needs to land uses that assisted global capital accumulation (Daniere & Douglass, 2009). Planning departments in different Asian metropolises reorganized urban uses by reinforcing zoning ordinances to divide land uses--much in the sprit of the twentieth century Western model of urban planning--in an effort to create pro-development urban forms. In Taipei for example, Daan Forest Park was finished in 1994 as the largest urban park designed as a counterpart of large parks in Western cities to provide citizens with open space and landscape. Yet the parks were built at the expense of bulldozing the slums of senior migrant veterans from Mainland China

and their families who formerly resided on the site (Huang, 1996). The significant rise of real estate prices of the neighborhoods around Daan Forest Park over the last decade embarked on unequal development of the city.

In addition to inner-city green space, middle and large corporate and shopping center plazas proliferated in the Asian metropolises in the 1990s as governments aggressively developed new downtown areas similar to the central business districts in Western cities to catalyze global investment. Developers were awarded bonus floor areas by providing and managing large open plazas, squares and wide walkways. From Shanghai, Taipei, and Singapore to Seoul, a new form of public space--corporate-controlled, ground level or elevated squares or passageways--attract upper and middle-class urbanites to consume in adjacent retail space. Such consumption-based public space appeared for example in a prominent financial district in Taiwan, Xinyi Planning District, in East Taipei. Development began in the 1970s and was largely finished in 2004 with the completion of Taipei 101, also known as Taipei Financial Center (see also Jou, 2003; Lin & Jou, 2005). Historically established veterans' neighborhoods, military facilities, and farmlands were dislocated by the office building, entertainment facilities, shopping centers, global tourist hotels, and luxurious condominiums, and associated new public spaces.

The above examples show that the blind imitation of functionalist Western planning without thorough consideration of local context in many Asia-Pacific cities was sometimes more damaging than supportive to community life. Likewise, industrial development constructed during the 1960 economic boom in Tokyo ruined the originally lively waterfront public space (Jinnai, 2002). Modernistic government planning created

underused public space in Manila before 1990 (Alarcon, 2002). To sum up from the previous discussion, modern Asian public space demonstrates two features-- a pro-development culture and government-initiated planning. The large open spaces created in such contexts provide mostly middle-class urbanites opportunities for leisure, sport, and in many cases, consumption. In Taiwan, such space includes three main types: squares in front of public facilities, inner-city parks, and shopping center plazas. Here I contrast these modernist public spaces that mostly replicated Western projects with the vernacular public space such as storefront arcades, temple courtyards, pocket parks, community squares, and street markets (see Miao, 2001). These typical Taiwanese public spaces may be physically unremarkable, yet they are grounded in local citizens' everyday experiences.

These more immediate public spaces accommodate multiple functions with temporal transformation (see Edensor, 1998; Miao, 2001). For example, a typical built form prevailing in urban areas such as Taipei and Kuala Lumpur is the "shophouse", where the shop owner's dwellings on the upper levels are connected to ground floor stores or light industry by stairs inside the shops (Miao, 2001). The ground level, storefront arcades afford space for commodity displays, truck and scooter parking, and merchants' or residents' leisure activities of chatting and strolling. Storefront arcades are also crucial parts of many daytime and nighttime street markets. In fact, the flexibility and variety of users' behavior patterns found in mixed-used streets are the qualities that contemporary designers and planners attempt to blend into postmodern urban landscapes in the western world in response to urbanites' craving for exciting experiences in public space. As Hou (2010) suggests, contemporary public areas around the world take forms

in unconventional settings as insurgent public space that redefines people's social and spatial relationships with fast changing cities.

2.4 Postmodern cities and changing public space

Architecture and urban planning underwent a major shift to respond to the scholarly critiques of and public dissatisfaction with modernism beginning in the early 1970s in America. The demolition of the failed Pruitt-Igoe[2] housing complex embodied the boredom and inhumanity of modernist architecture, which had proved to be more destructive than constructive to public life. The post-modernism movement that followed pointed to a new planning politics that "seeks to respond to different interests, recognizing that interests are not fixed at any time and will be continuously contested" *(*Watson and Gibson, 1995, p. 259). Although postmodernist planners valued user-participation and openness in decision making, such democracy was often interpreted limitedly as post-design communication with users in the forms of public hearings and project displays, and was less likely to be available in the equally critical phases of design programming and post-occupancy. In terms of architectural design, postmodernist architects were so engaged in juxtaposing the aesthetic languages of the modern and the classic for exterior embellishment that they tended to lose sight of the spatial configuration and failed to loosen up the tightness of modernist design schemes. These spaces have become so regulated that they have turned into non-places where the "uniqueness of place and context have been completely erased" (Boyer, 1992, p.200).

[2] The Pruitt-Igoe housing complex, built in St. Louis, Missouri, USA, consisted of thirty three high-rise apartment buildings that totaled over two thousands units. Initially considered the future of public housing, many of the architectural design elements turned out to foster crime and vandalism to the extent that the complex was demolished in 1972. Its ruin symbolized the failure of modernist architects and is considered by some to be the beginning of postmodern architecture.

Therefore, in the last two decades, the New York City Planning Commission, for example, enacted more flexible zoning ordinances to encourage mixed use and development in downtown areas of the city to correct the results of earlier zoning practices.

More specifically, the emergence of festival marketplaces in the 1970s revitalized the downtowns of some U.S. coastal cities in the late twentieth century. These new marketplaces were praised on the one hand for bringing consumers back to city centers; and, on the other hand, condemned for their high levels of similarity across settings, evident in the faceless retail shops constructed for profit motives (Boyer, 1992). Fishermen's Wharf and the Cannery in San Francisco, South Street Seaport in New York, Harbor Place in Baltimore, and Quincy Market in Boston are renowned examples. These marketplaces and their manipulation of time-space imagination have been roundly criticized for their lack of authenticity.

The holiday farmers' markets, artwork markets, and ethnic street fairs that have appeared in downtown areas of major cities in recent years do not necessarily reclaim historically significant sites, but appropriate inner-city streets or open space to play out either nostalgia or community sense in flexible space and time (Shepherd, 2008; Wasserman, 2007). No matter how effortless these spaces attempt to appear to urban shoppers, they are planned settings under municipal supervision and surveillance. City officials designate areas and require closing times. Police linger in street fairs and posted signs state rules for customers and vendors to follow. Modern marketplaces permit a limited amount of spontaneity in a controlled spectacle with planned diversity engaging people in consumption with a cultural twist. They promise protection from the real

danger, conflicts, and littering found in traditional marketplaces. However, there are also contemporary markets designed in ways that afford all of the good qualities of traditional qualities on top of the visual appeals of sanitized and organized environments.

The perception of danger and crime needs to be situated in a citywide context. Changes of consumer space in recent decades in the U.S have much to do with the fear of urban crime and distrust of urban outdoor space, both of which impact design decisions and justify planning policies. Thus a new architectural typology that follows security imperatives encourages the prevailing deterrent designs in public space and fortress-like built environments that wind up excluding a wide range of unwanted users (see Davis, 1992; Howell, 2001). More recently, the alertness to terrorism in the U.S. heightens such fear to an unprecedented level and promotes a growing number of gated residential enclaves, shopping malls under surveillance, and monitored urban streets that result in the curtailment of public space (see Harvey, 2006; Katz, 2006; Low, 2006). Design can no longer satiate people's quest for security. Once buildings are finished, state intervention and electronic technology take a leading role in regulating public behavior in and access to these spaces, even at the expense of rejecting the original planning schemes. Consequently, video surveillance, private policing, and deterrent designs prevail in public space and restrict people's enjoyment and degree of freedom.[3]

Wakefield (2003) argues that the sense of security on privately guarded sites is defined by the property owners rather than by the state or the public. She identifies three categories of facility visitors who are subject to private monitoring and surveillance. They are those behaving in an "anti-social" manner, as well as those who fit "risk profiles" and

[3] Common examples of deterrent designs include skate stoppers installed on the handrails that prevent skateboarding and specially designed benches stopping people from sleeping on them.

"known offenders." The security personnel hold broad criteria in defining the so-called anti-social behavior and risk profiles. People who fit these criteria are mostly young, black, and homeless (Wakefield, 2003). Only a small percentage of this population is involved in actual crimes. The private policing precludes such activities as vending, begging, protesting, or distributing leaflets simply because they do not project expected images.

Operated in the name of safety, order, and revitalization, neoliberal planning logic advocates a trend of public space governance encouraging the private sectors to take over the regime of managing public space from the government's hands, a phenomenon known as "privatization of public space". The most concrete example is seen in the growth of business improvement districts (BIDs) across North America. A BID is a geographically defined area within which the businesses have voted to levy themselves to finance local improvement, normally including street maintenance and security, to enhance the local retail environment. BIDs have become a popular strategy to revitalize downtown commercial areas among business communities who see local government as financially incapable of investing adequately in the demanded improvement. BIDs may improve local environments as problems of crime and sanitation are solved. The BIDs are yet often criticized for their over-empowerment of local business in providing services which were supposed to be the responsibility of the local governments. Consequently, the areas often become socially exclusive sites within which the public uses are largely monitored by private police or public police privileging the interests of private property. Diverse activities are reduced to consumption-based ones in these pseudo-private spaces (Mitchell, 2003).

In most Asia-Pacific cities, the high level of fear has not occurred for reasons including their generally more centralized regulation and a civic culture that respects authority (Miao, 2001). However, the global media culture has manifested citizens' fear of violence and crime, encouraging the securitization of public and private space (Daniere & Douglass, 2009). The escalating degrees of policing and surveillance and issues of their impact on personal freedom and the democratic use of public space raised the alarm in Asia as they did in American cities. As discussed, modernist urban squares within business districts, with their proportions and scales awkwardly detached from local conventions and lifestyles, have not attracted citizens to linger. Rather, one uses such spaces as a passageway. Poorer citizens resort to community parks, temple plazas, and old street corners that elude governmental or corporate control. However, such intimate public places have lost their civic nature in the 2000s, as they become appropriated by pro-development local government as business-intensive zones, or converted to pedestrian shopping streets supervised by either corporations or community associations (see for example Kuo, 2004). These changes have surfaced in major cities in Taiwan, including Taipei, Kaohsiung, and Taichung, leading to a phenomenon similar to the privatization of public space prevailing in the business improvement districts of North American cities. Insufficient community participation, government-centered and pro-development culture have led, if indirectly, to the shrinking of unique public space in Asia-Pacific societies (Miao, 2001).

2.5 The limits to planning and contested space

The transformation of contemporary cities as described above suggests that bureaucratic planning imposes regulatory rules for urban forms, shaping the city from the

top down. Yet, the city does not always get used in the way conceived by politicians and planners. Public space is utilized by actors who traverse the conventions and the norms of space. There are contradictions inherent in the regimes and planning outcomes. Unregulated uses sometimes succeed in planned areas, even creatively shaping new landscapes and meaning of space. What is negotiated between the planned and unplanned gives meaning to a place.

As Low (2003) has argued, "Spaces are contested precisely because they concretize the fundamental and recurring, but otherwise unexamined, ideological, and social frameworks that structure practice" (p.18). Contesting public space is often interpreted as a statement of reclaiming the right to the public sphere. What other messages can we read from people's behavior of contesting public space? I believe that a frequently contested space is a space of meanings and lived experiences; in other words, a socially and culturally significant locality that can serve as a window on a civil society and public life. Before laying out specific dimensions of contestation in night markets, it is important to identify the different scales of contesting space.

A macro contestation of space occurs through collective social movements of class-based organizations. Social conflicts stand between the elite planners representing the state and the repressed groups. In *The City and the Grassroots*, Manuel Castells investigates different examples of grassroots movements as the outcomes of uneven urban redevelopment plans (Castells, 1983). Different grassroots organizations mobilize to resist the state, preserve their right to the neighborhoods, and further change the urban landscapes. Likewise, Neil Smith (1992) identifies Tompkins Square Park in New York City as a physically unremarkable but historically significant locale where the homeless

and housing activists congregated to contest the gentrification of the Lower East Side. Public space also embodies political struggles when space that symbolically represents hegemonic power was appropriated for radical, social resistance by citizens. One of the best known examples in Asia is the student uprising in Beijing's Tiananmen Square in 1989 that demonstrated the extraordinary power of political movements over the reproduction and definition of space (Hershkovitz, 1993). Other recent appropriation of political significant sites for social resistance in Asia include Democracy Monument in Bangkok (Boonchuen, 2007), Edsa Boulevard in Manila, Monas and Parliament in Jakarta, and a few other places (Daniere & Douglass, 2009).

Spaces are contested not only for their rights and ownerships, but also for their images and symbolic meanings. Low (2000) explores the social production and construction of two Costa Rican plazas by focusing on the struggle over the meanings and images of plazas. The elite images of plazas are contested by daily uses by local Costa Ricans mediated through architectural design. Rosenzweig and Blackmar (1998) examine the process through which New York's Central Park evolved from an urban park with an elite view in the mid-nineteenth century into a democratic, open space enjoyed by diverse crowds in the early twentieth century. Mitchell (2003) examines how anti-abortion activitists and university students respectively occupy public space in Californian cities for socio-political statements. Migrant workers in Taipei from the Philippines, Indonesia, and Burma have claims of access to public space or neighborhoods for the fulfillment of their cultural expression (see Chen, 2007; Huang, 2008; Huang & Douglass, 2009).

Contestation can also happen at the level of individuals through grounded

practices in mundane settings other than specific sites. One of the behaviors seen by some as most rebellious behaviors is skateboarding (Borden, 2003; Chiu, 2009; Howell, 2001; Nolan, 2003). Other individuals such as hobos wondering across different turfs and boundaries contest the city less by physical movement than their outlawed social identity (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986; Park, 1925; Simmel, 1950). Homeless populations contest public properties, such as sidewalks and urban parks in the face of escalating surveillance and newly enacted zoning regulations restricting their right to the city (Mitchell, 2003). The listed transgressions, when prohibited by public or private authorities, often underscore the issue of public space privatization under neoliberal logic of urban (re)development that privilege the interests of property and business owners.

I would summarize the varieties of contestation as falling into two basic categories. One is the demonstration, where groups appropriate the quality of public-ness of these spaces to advocate socio-political agendas to the government and the general public in a way similar to using radio and TV broadcast to make announcements. Yet, the use of space unpermitted by the authorities controlling these spaces parallels the marginal situation of these groups and the neglected status of the agendas they attempt to bring to public attention. To use public space for demonstrating grievances, instead of submitting to regular media which protesters are often excluded from, thus becomes powerful means of making claims. The other contestation is to use a public space simply because the individuals need space to do what otherwise cannot be done. There are physical and social reasons for choice of public space to carry on such activities. A skateboarder may choose to skate streets instead of skateparks because the street environment is more accessible than city-built parks and affords more social opportunities, cultural realization,

and diverse skating conditions. Very often it is economic reasons that drive people to use public properties. A homeless person decides to occupy street blocks because he or she cannot afford to rent a space. Economic reasons become prominent for people in need of a space to do more things other than occupying streets for a prolonged period of time on a daily basis. If we include a wide range of people working on streets for economic gain, we find that these people are the predominant group of individuals contesting the city in our everyday life, diverse in business (service) types, ages, and ethnicity. To name a few, these actors include hustlers, peddlers, vendors, cobblers, and prostitutes. What they do falls into the sector of informal economy defined as below.

2.6 Urban informality and street vendors

In the late 1960s, the theory of economic dualism was developed to explain the emerging informal sectors in many developing countries (see for example Averitt, 1968; Gordon, 1972). Street commerce was categorized as informal or underground economic activity resulting from unemployment and underdevelopment. Economic dualism suggests that the informal economy will automatically disappear or get absorbed by formal markets once a country becomes completely industrialized or developed. This view, however, does not sufficiently account for the informal economy that continues in many industrialized and developed countries. The dualistic theory also overlooks the control from the capitalist enterprises that would often reject informal labor's entry into formal markets (Bromley, 1979; McGee 1985). McGee (1973) is the first to study the hawkers' agglomerations in Hong Kong. He challenges the dichotomy of economic activities and argues that formal and informal markets are actually two circuits of economic activities. One is an upper circuit, consisting of large-sized and middle-sized

enterprises supported by the state, and the other, a lower circuit made up of petty capitalists such as street hawkers and vendors. These two circuits are closely interdependent and collectively affect the local economy.

McGee recognizes hawkers' contributions to the local economic system, but the two-circuit theory is still criticized for being too structural, as the more subtle relationship between hawkers and the state is not clearly addressed. In the 1980s, scholars departed from the notions of economic dualism articulating between the formal and informal, to look into social dynamics inherent in the production relationships of the informal sector. The informal economy has thus been defined as economic activities that escape state regulations and take place in flexible sites, representing not merely a condition pertaining to groups of social marginality or a third-world condition, but a universal phenomenon (Castells and Portes, 1989). This political economy approach was adopted extensively by scholars studying street businesses in Asia, including those in Hong Kong, India, Vietnam, and Taiwan (see Anjaria, 2006; Smart 1989; Tai, 1994; Yu, 1995). The strength of the political economy approach is that it captures the influences of larger social, economic, and political systems on the operation of street vendors. A few studies on vendors in Hong Kong and Taiwan adopted a minor thesis that diverged from the then-mainstream theory of social marginality in which vendors are characterized as socially marginal groups seeking minimum conditions for survival.

Research on Taiwanese street vendors or other similar economic activities since 1990 have represented two paradigms. One is based on a social marginality thesis prevailing in the then Latin American cases. In this paradigm, street commerce was categorized as illicit or underground economic activity resulting from unemployment and

underdevelopment (Chen, 1984; Chen, 1986; Chen & Chou 1987; Tai, 1994). The state regards the existence of informal economy as creating a system allowing the poor to have the alternative income opportunities to maintain social order. The other paradigm celebrates the autonomy and agency evident in the vendors' abandonment of wage employment for higher income potential, greater autonomy, higher degree of social and economic mobility, and the opportunity to establish family enterprises (Smart 1986, 1989 & 2005; Yu, 1995). Although legendary stories of night market vendors prevail, the appearance of many vendors after the mid-1990s when local factories were shut down represents a pursuit of basic income level.

Either doing studies regarding street vendors as socially marginal populations, or highly autonomous actors seeking alternative means of employment in capitalist societies, researchers tend to reduce the vending community into a homogenous group without significant differences in their career paths, businesses motives, spatial practice, and social cliques. One reason for such negligence is the failure of taking the dimension of "space" into account. The truth about vending space in any urban area is normally not a story of a happy family in which people are linked to each other based on solidarity, cooperation, and trust. It is a space occupied by competing interest groups, including vendors, shop keepers, land owners, and police agents. Even among vendors the micro politics and their social relations complicate the issues of property rights and territorial division.

As such, the issues of vendors' negotiation of their access to the built environment are neglected in most studies. Specifically, an unaddressed question is, in what ways do different vendors survive in metropolitan areas in the face of government control in terms

of licensing, ticketing, renewals or demolitions, and even demanding bribes. The ways in which street vendors resist the formal economy and mass production is often made through their persistent contestations over the organization, construction, and regulation of public space through multifaceted negotiations.[4]

If we articulate informal economic activities and space chosen for such activities, we see that actors and space share a common feature. Oswalt, Misselwitz, & Overmeyer (2007) suggest the characteristics they share:

> All temporary users have at least one characteristic in common; they are on a threshold, on the way into or out of mainstream society and regular activities. In this sense, they are no yet established in the urban landscape either because they have recently migrated to the city or they are entering a new phase in their lives. (p. 277)

This explains street vending in American cities as an immigrant niche, and for most societies, a choice for unemployed populations. Their demands of space are not considered in bureaucratic planning or cannot be worked out through the mainstream system. Their liminal positions in social status parallels the flexibility in time and space of their work. The space they use is described by Lefebvre as marginal space deployed on a structured grid. In what ways these unconventional business settings become usable, acceptable, and even permanent locations can be approached through the lens of spatialization, defined as "to locate—physically, historically and conceptually—social relations and social practice in space" (Low, 2000, p. 127). The notion of spatialization of

[4] Yu (1995) suggests that the merchandise sold in the night markets are mostly manufactured by informal, small-scale enterprises as opposed to more formal large-scale enterprises.

resistance links the settings of vendors' transactions and merchandising displays, to the vendors' spatial practices related to one another and the state. The roles both vendors and the state play in occupancy of the built environment are crucial in shaping the diverse forms of marketplaces.

2.7 From resistance to identity

Historically speaking, the transformation of the appearance of marketplaces represents a series of dances between street vendors and the state. At one point the government wanted to control vendors so badly that proliferating interior markets were built. Much later the government allowed vendors to return to outdoor settings as a renaissance in the vitality of urban life. As much as we acknowledge that either case represents the state's winning the battle, we cannot deny that sometime in between or even when the state seems to conquer vendors, ambivalence exists in real settings. De Certeau portrays a city so formally structured that only subtle resistance is allowed to achieve personal goals. The strategy-tactics dichotomy suggests that what can be achieved remains minor subversion. Yet, in reality the outlawed and the weak sometimes secure stable seats. In Manhattan, a shoemaker may occupy a corner of the street repairing shoes for decades without any paper and taxation paid (Berger, 2003). Likewise, some of the street vendors frequent sidewalks without legitimizing processes (see Tonnelat, 2007). Social relations, local norms, and territorial politics very often complicate the issues of property rights.

Harvey (2005) argues that contestations over the construction, meaning, and organization of public space must succeed simultaneously, so as to exercise a transformative influence on private or commercial space. To attain such a radical

transformation of urban form, resistance must be worked collectively in the context of the power apparatuses of the state. This is elucidated by Castells (1997), who identifies three kinds of identity: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity. Legitimizing identity is produced by the authorities of the society to impose their domination on social actors. Resistance identity is produced by the suppressed actors who resist the authorities' dominant principles by building their communities. Project identity is constructed on the basis of civil society or communal resistance, producing subjects which are "the collective social actor through which individuals reach holistic meaning in their experience" (p.10). The idea of project identity informs that identity today is not constructed by reactive community resistance but by proactive subjects of social transformation. To adopt this conceptual framework to the realm of planning, we see, in other words, the interplay between the planned and the unplanned determines the social and symbolic forms of the city. Community members become transformative subjects only when a project is constituted in a sphere engaged by both the dominant institutions and the concerned social actors. Through people's socially contingent spatial practices new modes of people-environment relationships that transcend a binary distinction of planned space and unplanned, lived experience take symbolic form.

2.8 Space and the landscape of identity

Castells suggests that identity comes to life through actions and processes involving different scales and forms of resistance. We need not underestimate the power of resistance in shaping what can represent the collaborative members. Be it an ethnic or a geographic community, or a social community that transcends spatial boundaries, new identities on various levels represent the collective goals and transformational projects of

group members. If we conceptualize street vending as a behavior resistant to modernized planning, we find that street vendors acting collectively to affect municipal prerogatives of licensing, policing, providing space, or curtailing space for street vendors.

Street vendors often occupy a specific type of space and built environment in certain fashions that suit their collective goals and needs, allowing them to deal effectively in matters of municipal governance and intervention. The space of street vendors embodies their collective resistance, yet that same space often becomes the interstices of urban structures framed by design professionals. Using outdoor space for economic gain becomes problematic only when a modernist planning logic is taken into consideration. Modernism involves strict definition of land uses through zoning, and broad definitions of zoning allocating spatial functions. One way in which we can theorize the disjunction of lived space and professional space is through Lefebvre's concepts of the production of space as introduced in the beginning of the present chapter. On a micro level, Michel de Certeau contrasts state strategies with people's tactics in everyday life. Strategies are the guidelines of division and classification imposed by the state to control people's everyday practices; the tactics are the individuals' subversive ways to attain specific goals while still conforming or appearing to conform to the system. Among different tactics, walking in the city is considered a spatial practice through which resistant pedestrians create what is for Lefebvre a lived space while caught in the grid of urban planning structure. To adopt these languages to conceptualize market behaviors, street markets necessarily include spatial strategies shaping sidewalks, roads, and alleys, and such spatial tactics as shoppers' detouring and shortcutting in the markets, as well as vendors' appropriation and re-territorilization of space. All these operate

against the imposed ideal of a planned city.

In like manner, Deleuze and Guattari (1986) identify the tension between state control and spatial practice in their conceptual oppositions between striated and smooth spaces. Here the term striated represents a state of tightness and strictness, contrasted with the term smooth, which refers to a more fluid condition without clear boundaries and jointedness. Every real place is a combination of the two states which constantly enfold into each other, or sometimes become a state of becoming (Deleuze and Guattari, 1986). Utilizing this smooth/striated conceptual opposition, Dovey and Polakit (2006) argue that Ban Panthom, an inner-city district in Bangkok, is a loose space which comprises slippery forms, practices (behaviors, functions), and meanings. Looseness of form is defined by the settings and objects deployed in this neighborhood with a high level of flexibility of uses, such as food stalls, hawker trolleys, chairs, tables, machines, and vehicles. One function may slip into another or be disguised within it.

The close reading of what seem to be chaotic locates the invisible orders deployed in the unplanned. In light of Rapoport's (1990) theory of symbolic cues,[5] Liu (1992) investigates the ways in which the boundaries of commercial streets in Taipei are defined by fixed, semi-fixed, and mobile objects and works towards a modification of Barker's theory of behavior setting (1968). Her study connects the theory of behavior settings with four aspects that were previously neglected in Barker and his associates' studies: cultural, physical, temporal, and boundary issues. She suggests that streets in Taiwanese culture are also an environment for working, shopping, eating, entertainment, religious ceremonies, and private storage.

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[5] Rapoport (1990) believes that the symbolic cues, also known as non-verbal communication, hidden in the forms of the built environment convey information about the boundary and the territory of a place.

Lee's (1985) study of the Italian Market in Philadelphia uncovers how shopkeepers interiorize sidewalks by using awnings and removing partition walls to redefine merchandising space to suit their business operation. These different examples show how the unplanned succeeds in planned spaces. As Deleuze and Guattari remind us, any real place combines things planned and unplanned, so it is only fitting to shift our attention from a dichotomy of the politics of space to an integrated perspective that values the interaction of an individual's agency and autonomy with the structural force. By this I mean personal practices do not always get constrained in a mega system, but have potential to mobilize the system to more than a minimum extent.

More specifically, the vernacular street forms or built forms created out of citizens' everyday experiences do not exist without the influence of formal regulatory structure of urban planning. Very often street vendors' occupancy of urban environment is the result of negotiation and compromise with municipal policies or planning regulations. The interplay between professional vision and non-planned practices creates new modes of organizing and framing space, staging possibilities for a visualization of new urban landscape. The multiplicity in spatiality and temporality embedded in the landscape paints unique forms for a street, a neighborhood, or a city. The spatiality resembles a text that allows readers to decipher the identity of the community, the civil society, and the city grounded in people's everyday life. It gives more profound understanding of the locales than the interpretation of the semiotics of the signs and symbols of commodities and performances of many global touristic locales often already deprived of lived reality of citizens' everyday experiences (see for example Favero, 2003; Desmond, 1999).

In my dissertation I will use a grounded approach to address the issue of identity

of a city by focusing on the spatiality of an urban setting where the built environment still allows a certain amount of contestation and transgression; a setting where informal, illegitimate space is appropriated for non-programmed activities and uses. This appropriation inspires the creation of an unconventional landscape, albeit one still subject to ongoing spatial rules imposed by municipal authority. This dissertation aims to find out what can be seen as an authentic identity for an urban setting with such a liminal quality as well as of the city by delving into such dynamics of the interplay between street vendors and municipal officials over a series of historical, political, and social processes.

Chapter Three

Methodology

This research on Taipei Shilin Night Market combines ethnographic and historical methods to collect data and analyze the inter-relationship among vendors, merchants, property owners, shoppers, and the municipality. Field research was conducted between January and August, 2007, and from February 2008 through August 2009. My research design had three main methods: participant observation, interviews, and historical analysis. During my participant observation research, I took pictures and wrote field notes to collect data on market users and the built environment. I conducted interviews with market community members and city planners to learn about their experience of using or developing the market. I undertook historical and content analyses to collect historical data regarding the built environment of Shilin Night Market and policies made with regard to the market. I interpreted the spatial discourses about Shilin Night market and Taiwanese night markets in general produced by either city officials or citizens.

3.1 Data collection

3.1.1 Participant observation

On an updated urban planning street map of the neighborhood of Shilin Night Market, I divided street vendors into a few territorial groups based on the locations the vendors occupy, including streets, arcades, sidewalks, and interior space. I distinguished vendors' territories based upon my observation, interviews with vendors, and historical accounts from the archives.

To understand the behavior patterns that the built environment encourages, and

the social process occurring in both settings, I conducted participant observation and wrote field notes, with schedules indicated on Table A in appendix, after I returned home. I identified myself as a shopper when I conducted this part of data collection. I purchased food, beverages, clothes, and my conversations with vendors were limited within the products' prices and where the clothes were made, questions that most customers would ask. There were specific hours on certain dates when I counted vendors and interviewed them. Under those circumstances I identified myself as a researcher, and explained to my interviewees about my role. I completed a Monday through Sunday cycle for one week to understand the transformations of this market in the course of a week. I spent four hours on one weekday, from 3:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m., to capture the transformation of the streets scene from day to night and how vendors start their business. I spent four hours in one weekend night, from 10 p.m. to 2 a.m., to capture the transformation of the street scene toward, and after the official ending time (1:00 a.m.), and how vendors close business for the day. I reversed the observation of beginning and ending hours on a weekend night and a weeknight of another week. For the other nights, I visited the night market from 9:00 p.m. to 10:00 p.m., the peak hours for Shilin Night Market.

During my hours of observation, I took sketch notes that quickly outlined what I found, facilitated by pictures and an audiotaped oral description of my observation of the activities. After returning home, I rewrote sketch notes and oral descriptions into detailed notes that documented such information as how vendors occupied the streets and public space, and how shoppers used the market. To observe the changes in the number of street vendors and their geographical distribution, I counted the numbers of vendors using a specifically developed system.

As I am concerned with the social construction of space by street vendors, I wanted to understand whether there was a continuous increase of street vendors in Shilin Night Market overall and in each territorial section. Therefore, I calculated the number of vendors through a ten-month period from November 2008 to August 2009. To reduce the complexity of calculating the large numbers of vendors of diverse businesses and locations, I divided the research site into fifteen sections coded alphabetically, and separated food vendors from non-food vendors. When I did the population count, I held a clicker in each hand to count each section of vendors while walking. After finishing counting one section, I wrote the number on the column designated for that group on a pre-typed standardized table before moving on to count the next group. After finishing counting all the groups, I totaled the numbers.

My greatest challenge in counting vendors was the high mobility of vendors in certain sections due to policing. Upon the appearance of police, vendors ran away to hide and then returned. The frequent disappearance of vendors challenged my counting routines. Thus I avoided the regular policing hour to get the maximum number of that night. The policing hours were, however, not exactly predictable; the degree of surveillance heightened in March though the middle of April 2009 as local government policy intensified police activity. Bad weather disrupted or disabled counting, which took two to three hours each time. I did not count on rainy nights since most vendors would not come out. I checked the weather forecast in advance but the forecast was not completely reliable. Rain sometimes came unexpectedly in the middle of a fine evening. During such rain events, vendors ended their businesses and left the site. Rain caused apparent decreases in the numbers of vendors in particular months of the rainy season.

3.1.2 Interview A-Mobile Interview

I asked each participant to give me walking tours in his or her own fashion in both settings, observing their behavior while walking.[6] I would ask participants to introduce themselves, describe when they usually come, whom they come with, and what they usually do in each market before walking starts. My second group of questions, asked while the walks were under way, concerned their behavior patterns. Throughout the walking process, I asked them to explain the reasons why they chose to do (or not to do) certain things in certain locations or spots, and the reasons why they walked along certain routes. My third category of questions were focused on their sensory and bodily experiences, asking them to describe what they saw, heard, smelled, and felt, their perceived level of crowding, and their feelings of comfort or discomfort. Following these narratives, I asked participants to elaborate their psychological experiences with respect to the objects, people, and space around them.

My fourth group of questions tried to get at their social relations with vendors and shop keepers. The fifth category of questions sought descriptions of any changes they had noticed occurring over years, and whether these changes had affected their visiting experience, preference or enjoyment. For example, does the promotion of tourist-oriented night markets influence their choices whether to visit and what to do in the markets? Throughout the interview, participants were free to stop by any stall or enter any store. This enabled me to observe how they interacted with vendors or salespeople, and how they responded to naturally occurring events. Specific interview question are listed in appendix B.

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[6] The selected results of mobile interviews are reflected in the discussion of local engagement in the market in chapter seven. I will explore the narratives of mobile interviews in depth in another article.

Figure 3-1. A participant narrates his experience during a mobile interview

In Figure 3-2, I sketched what walkers identified as important elements from the environment based on their walking interviews. When walkers approached the market across from the intersection of Dadong Road and Wenlin Road, they first described the general streetscapes, and the conditions of traffic of the surrounding. As shoppers were about to enter Dadong Road, they started noticing retail signs and the vendors on the both sides and the centers of streets. As shoppers proceeded, they became more aware of the activities of street vendors, and then other shoppers close by. Throughout walking, the themes about vendors that participants talked about changed from the number of vendors, the characteristics of individual stands, to specific items and labels on display on the trolleys or vendors' stands.

The previously described sequence suggests that walking in the market is a mobile, random, and individual exploration of the environment. William H. Ittelson (1976) argues that one does not observe the environment, but rather explores it. Affect, orientation, categorization, systematization, and manipulation are the processes involved in environment perception. A mobile interview is an ideal method to collect data on environment perception because it allows the participant to explore the environment on his or her own terms. This phenomenological method is useful in constructing embodied knowledge of culture, which involves spatial orientation and narratives. “The emphasis is on the individual perceiver and his/her experience as empirical evidence of the world, rather than the observation itself being the evidence separate from the observer” (Low, Taplin, & Scheld, 2005, p. 178). Stimuli from the environment not only get people to talk about what they perceive at that moment, but also what they know, remember, and imagine about the place. Informants’ narratives often transcended temporary and geographical boundaries when they associated experiences in Shilin with those from elsewhere. I analyzed these interview transcripts to identify important themes to investigate particularly culture, embodied experience, and the relationship between the two.

Figure 3-2. Sequences of changing environment experiences over the mobile interview

3.1.3 Interview B

I conducted interviews with non-shoppers in the locations where they work (municipal officials) or operate businesses (merchants and vendors). I interviewed vendors at their stands during their break or while they were working. Questions involved choices of vending location, rent prices, regulated and unwritten business rules, personal observation of environment change, and relationships with other vendors and the local

community. I was also interested in their understanding of and reaction toward the development of night markets into tourist destinations by local governments generally in Taiwan. For vendors legally permitted to do business in the old streets district governed by the Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement Association, I interviewed them about their experiences as members of the association.

I interviewed store merchants for their understanding of neighborhood change. For shopkeepers located in the old streets district, I interviewed both those who had agreed and had not agreed to join the association. I sought to understand their various perspectives about having a business improvement district within Shilin Night Market to regulate street vendors. Shoppers, merchants and vendors were asked to say what they knew about the growing interest of municipal government in promoting Taiwanese night markets and how the shift toward a tourist economy in Taipei changed their everyday experiences in and imagination of night markets. Interviewees compared their lived experience of the original, non-planned night market with that of the temporary market, as well as their experience of regulated, privatized and beautified streets free of extralegal vendors.

I used multiple methods to solicit research participants. I found some vendors through flyers and posters distributed around the market. I selected interviewees from the volunteer pool based on a preliminary phone conversation through which I sought to determine their familiarity with my main research questions. I approached the other vendors initially as a customer and revealed my research purpose after a brief conversation. To solicit participants among the merchants within the Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement District, I visited their shops door-to-door. Interviews with

municipal officials, architects, and borough heads, business association director, historians and scholars, were all by appointment. I interviewed city officials about policies of redevelopment of the market, short and long-term goals, and planning visions. I interviewed the architect of new Shilin Market, and the architect of the beautification of three streets for his design concepts, experiences of working with the vendors and merchants, and the municipal government.[7] I interviewed the borough head for his experiences of mediating public and private property redevelopment between community members the city officials. To understand the operation of the Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement Association, I conducted interviews and participated in community meetings and public hearings presenting the municipal redevelopment projects. I also had several informal conversations with the association director and the board members, and attended community-building events held by the association to promote the formation of the business improvement district and the vending arcades within the district. An interview management table listing the interviewees, the types of interviews, and specific questions is presented in Table B in appendix.

3.1.4 Historical and content analyses

Shilin Night Market started as a food market built across a temple in 1909, gradually combining the surrounding stores and vending business, becoming a market district covering a much larger neighborhood than what it used to occupy. A series of redevelopments of this area started with the relocation of licensed vendors into a temporary market in 2002, followed by the demolition of the original indoor market later

[7] Redevelopment includes underground electrical engineering, street pavement renewal, and the unification of commercial signs and market entrances.

that year. In the late 2007, the municipality started building a new market on the original site.

I analyzed three phases of architectural designs of the new market provided by the architect and the new construction offices of the Taipei municipal government. I acquired the details of street beautification and planning of vending arcades within a business improvement district on the north of Shilin Night Market from the Taipei City Urban Redevelopment Office and the architect responsible for the project. During multiple field visits, I took photographs, video clips, and conducted vending population counts, to document gradual changes of physical and cultural landscapes, facilitated by interviews with local merchants, vendors, shoppers, and borough leaders about the history of demolition, construction of the market, and relocation of vendors. The architectural drawings, planning documents, and my own observation data comprise the information on the built environment under redevelopment. As for the historical condition of the built environment, I depended on historical archives, previous studies and old pictures, to locate the early stages of the built environment of Shilin Market and its surrounding neighborhood.

In this study I contrast the municipal vision of an ideal market fitting an international standard of competition, with a historically specific market grounded in peoples' lived experiences. In addition to the interviews with city officials and planners to understand the municipality's vision of the market, I collected news clips and advertisements made by Tourism Bureau to improve my understanding of the government's visions. As for citizens' lived experiences, I collected the lyrics, poems, non-academic articles, newspaper opinion editorials as secondary sources of non-

bureaucratic spatial discourse narrating the general public's memory of, attachment to, and imagination about the market. In addition to the interviews with visitors, these data discursively construct a market as a social space with various meanings.

3.2 Data analysis

Research data include graphic material (architectural layouts, photographs, and maps), textual findings of fieldnotes, planning documents, and interview transcripts. Data are all filed by dates (and time if applicable) and setting. I coded the behavioral pattern identified from the maps to compare and match them with descriptions in the field notes and interview transcripts.

In terms of analyzing raw data, I analyzed interview transcripts and coded the data from the bottom up by identifying important themes. I identified important subjects in interview transcripts that addressed my preliminary research questions. I developed two processes to analyze my data. The first was the process of abstraction, through which I turned practical information from informants' narratives and discourses into abstract ideas by identifying the levels of abstraction useful to my conceptual development. For example, such information as details about preparing meals, vendors' ways of locating space, or visitors' description of free exploration of the environment all reflect individual experiences of using the market. Information about witnessing an increased number of foreign tourists, opinions about the government's policies of redevelopment of the streets and the new market, account for the institutional change of Taiwanese society that influences the ways the market is redeveloped by the municipal government.

In order to code the data in a systematic way, I have grouped the data based on the nature of the information, and the subjects of discourse by adopting a second process--

classification--as a means to establish the taxonomies of the abstract data. The taxonomy represents the hierarchical ordering of items and the relationships among items in a domain, which will help classify the complicated information (LeCompte and Schensul, 1999). For example, “selling goods,” “wrapping up merchandise,” “folding tables or chairs,” “hiding in the corners or stores,” and “arranging and organizing merchandise” are all classified as behaviors related to clothing vendors observed during the operational hours in the markets. When describing their experiences in the market, shoppers use such terms as “open space,” “ free movement,” “non-fixed locations,” as the qualities associated with their impression, memories, and enjoyment of a night market. I have integrated such perceptions of the built environment as important information that signals lived experiences of a night market.

When different informants, in answering the same questions, reach a high level of agreement on certain issues by repeating the same or similar answers, I treat the information that they provided, in the forms of coded themes, as significant data necessary to be interpreted in light of a more coherent, theoretical framework. As for the types of theories, I employ primarily environmental psychological theories and social theories to analyze data. Environmental psychological theories inform issues of attachment to the market and users’ place identity, and the ecological influence of the built environment on an individual’s behavior. I analyze vendors’ collective action and social relationships with an eye on social theories, developing findings into structured ideas framing large research arguments. In addition, a conceptual framework of political economy directs my dialectical analysis of municipal policy of redeveloping Shilin Night Market. Urban planners and architects improved the market’s built environment by

building a new market and relocating vendors into arcades to maximize the market's cultural capital while increasing the values of specific sections of public and private properties.

I compare the identified themes from my field data with relevant information from other secondary sources, including government documents, planning reports, newspaper articles, and other research to complement my data. In the process of data analysis, new categories of items sometimes emerge and feed back to the preestablished conceptual framework. To value the advantages of an ethnographic approach, I allow such inputs of field findings to enrich and sharpen my research questions and analytic framework, instead of confining my analysis to received theories. This approach makes my articulation of arguments closer to the phenomena I observed while informing existing theories in a significant way.

Chapter Four

History: Creation of a Vendors' Place

Introduction

Shilin Night Market, as seen by a contemporary visitor, is a nighttime hangout extending several streets outward from Jiangtan Station of Taipei Metropolitan Rapid Transit. Local residents or historians may have known that this market, in fact, started as an open plaza where street vendors gathered in front of a temple, and later sprawled along surrounding streets to eventually become a compact district consisting of dense retail storefronts and arrays of street vendors (figure 4-1). This market is, in other words, not so much a building, fixed zone or enclosed space, but rather an ever-expanding vendors' space characterized by open space, laneways, and storefront arcades. My main task in this chapter is to describe the historical formation of different kinds of street vendor territories within this market from 1909 to 2009. I explore the processes through which the municipality and local community members, by making space available to vendors, have fostered a marketplace accommodating vendors who seek a variety of legal and extralegal situations.

4.1 General history of Taiwanese marketplaces

Taiwanese marketplaces in general have evolved from randomly occurring, outdoor bazaars to more formalized, indoor markets regulated by the municipal governments. To fully understand the reasons contributing to the change of marketplaces, we need to situate the role of marketplaces in a larger political-historical context. Taiwan was first included within Chinese territory in 1683 during the Ching Dynasty. During this

period, Taiwanese farmer's produce and daily goods were mainly transported by vendors from the countryside through the main gateways of towns to the town centers. At this period of time, vendors' bazaars lacked any centralized organization or formal operating systems (Wu, 2004). The vendors tended to locate mostly in the open squares outside the temples to sell their produce and goods as those areas attracted the greatest crowds.

As the ruling Chinese regime lost Taiwan Island to Japan during the Sino-Japan War of 1894-1895, Taiwan entered its Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). During that period the Japanese colony regulated vendors by building city-run marketplaces to solve the problems of sanitation and traffic congestion often caused by vendors. By 1945, when the Japanese colonial period ended, there were over 200 public marketplaces in Taiwan. Japanese-built, public marketplaces served primarily Japanese housewives who mostly went to market in the afternoon to purchase meat and vegetables after finishing their domestic chores in the morning. Therefore, the operational hours of public markets ran from noon to five or six o'clock. The environments of public markets were well maintained and appealed to the "high end" of the market, as compared to the privately-owned open spaces rented as vending sites serving mainly Taiwanese customers that lacked coordinating organizations and operational rules (Wu, 2004).

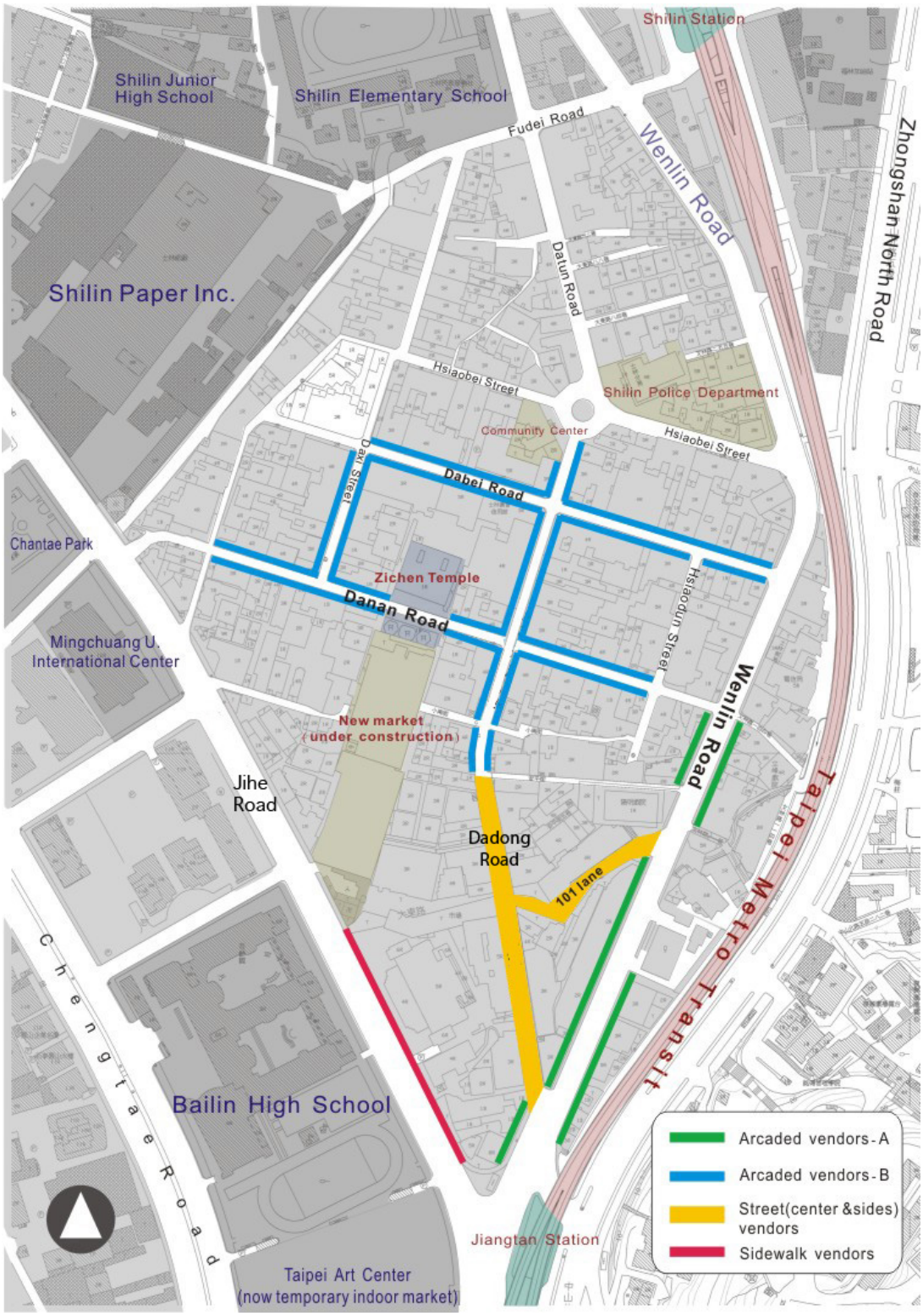

Figure 4-1.
Shilin Night Market with the distribution of all street vendors in 2009
(Source: Taipei City Urban Redevelopment Office. Remade by author)

The Chinese Nationalist Party[8], the ruling political party of Taiwan after 1945, continued to manage the existing, Japanese-built public marketplaces while constructing additional city-run marketplaces to incorporate existing vendors' agglomerations into the public market system. In doing so, municipal governments purchased private lands from proprietors to build indoor markets to house vendors (Wu, 2004). New construction at many sites contributed to the significant growth in the total number of marketplaces nationwide. Public marketplaces continued providing Taiwanese everyday food sources into the 1970s, by which time many of those built in the colonial period had become too deteriorated to function.

Meanwhile, supermarkets started appearing in urban areas. The emerging working class of men and women turned to supermarkets for their greater convenience and longer operating hours. To improve the quality and competitive position of public markets, municipal governments renovated them or rebuilt new ones with improved conditions of ventilation, drainage, and lighting. To save on costs, new marketplaces were included in multi-functional public facilities, which accommodated market on the first one or two floors (or basement), and other public facilities, such as community centers and libraries, on the other floors. For the most part, only the markets located on ground floors survived in business. Markets on upper floors or in basements failed to attract shoppers, and gave way to other uses. Overall, rebuilt public markets could not compete against the proliferating supermarkets which provided longer operating hours and a better-kept

[8] Chinese Nationalist Party is a political party of the Republic of China (ROC), commonly known as Taiwan. It was founded in Shanghai as a rival government to Chinese Communist Party by Sun Yat-Sun in 1919. The government and its military troops retreated to Taiwan in 1948 following its failure in the Civil War with Communist Party, and had been the ruling party of Taiwan until Democratic Progressive Party won the presidency with the election of Chen Shui-bian in 2000. Chinese Nationalist Party regained ruling power in 2008 after Ma Yin-Joe won the presidency.

environment (Wu, 2004). In addition, the public markets faced increasing competition from outdoor vending agglomerations that attracted customers who appreciated their cheaper goods and flexible locations. Gatherings of street vendors outside public markets or within residential areas grew rapidly as a result of urbanization that brought large waves of migration to cities. The fact that street vendors capitalized on the crowds around public markets without paying taxes and rental fees attracted salespeople renting vending units inside the marketplaces to move to open space outside the indoor markets. Consequently, the vacancy rate of vending units in public markets nationwide had climbed to over 30 percent by 1980 (Wu, 2004).

The combination of street vendors' persistence and the state's long-term tolerance added complexity to the evolution of Taiwanese marketplace, making the history more complicated in many ways than that of markets in American cities. Central and local governments in Taiwan, in truth, have regulated street vendors so loosely that in urban areas throughout the island they have tolerated various scales of vendor agglomerations to coexist with city-subsidized markets. Even though the authorities acknowledged that these vendors evaded taxes and became major competitors to city-regulated vendors, municipalities treated street vending as an alternative system of social welfare that provided income opportunity for poor citizens and rural migrants.

4.2 The birth of Shilin Market

The above analysis of the historical and spatial relationships between Taiwanese street vendors and urban markets provides the basis for a further investigation of Shilin Night Market history. Shilin District, located on the north side of Taipei, is one of the sixteen wards of Taipei City and one of the earliest destinations in Taiwan where Chinese

migrants arrived. The first wave of Han migration to Shilin happened in 1800. In 1859 (the mid-Ching Dynasty), a fight primarily for real property between two major Chinese immigrant groups from Zhangzhou and Quanzhou in Mainland China broke out near the early settlements in North Shilin. The arson caused by this fight ruined a great part of their settlement, forcing residents relocate to the south side of Shilin District, where the current Shilin Night Market is. These two immigrant groups built Zichen Temple located at the center of their community surrounded by four main streets, Dadong Road, Danan Road, Daxi Road, and Dabei Road. The temple and the plaza outside it gradually became a religious and community center where local residents practiced and socialized with their neighbors (Shih, 1990).

As South Shilin was located on Taipei Basin surrounded by Yangming Mountain and the Keelung River, both of which afford abundant food resources, it gradually became a wholesale center of fish and agricultural produce, attracting farmers from the northern region of Taipei City who gathered there to sell their produce (figure 4-2). In the earliest part of this period, it was common to see vendors pushing trolleys with cases or bamboo cages on top to exchange products in the open space in front of the temple. As the number of produce vendors increased, the Japanese colonial government built two indoor markets in 1909 at a site across from Zichen Temple to allocate indoor vending spaces for vendors (figure 4-3). After the Chinese Nationalist Party regained sovereignty over Taiwan in 1945, Shilin Market was under the management of Yangming Mountain Management Bureau of Taipei City (Yu, 1995).

Figure 4-2. Location of Shilin Night Market

Vendors arrived at the market starting business before dawn. The business reached its peak at 8:00 a.m. and ended by 11:00 a.m. Due to its early operating hours, this public market, which combined both wholesaling and retailing, was called a “ghost market. (Shih, 1990)” The market had become a major daytime marketplace by 1950, extending business time to early afternoon. At that time only a few vendors appeared in the open space in front of the temple selling simple dinners or ready-to-eat snacks until around 9:30 p.m. for local residents and vendors returning from other markets. According to my field research, most of the interviewees born before 1950 identified a small indoor market located at Nanjing Circle in West Taipei as the only true night market existing in Taipei before 1970. Yu (1995) identified Nanjing Circle as the place where most vendors headed for dinner to modestly reward themselves after a day in Shilin Market.

4.3. Nighttime food market

In the early 1960s, however, the number of night-time food vendors in Shilin had increased significantly as a result of the sequential establishment of three universities in the Shilin District: Soochow University in 1954, Ming Chuan University in 1957, and Chinese Culture University in 1962. The universities brought large numbers of students as regular visitors who traveled to the market easily by bus. College students found cheap lodging within this neighborhood and affordable meals after school, while enjoying diverse street style snacks and deserts. To capitalize on these new arrivals, night food vendors gradually saturated the public space outside the two wholesale markets. Working class and young professionals from other parts of the city, who gradually discovered this new attraction through word of mouth, came to frequent the neighborhood as well (Yu, 1995). The daytime marketplaces, meanwhile, began a slow decline for the reasons of changing consumption practices and the emergence of private markets. Vacant vending units by day increased as the number of nighttime vendors outside the indoor markets continually increased. By 1970, a non-planned night market had taken shape in Shilin Market area (Shih, 1990; Yu, 1995).

4.3.1 Municipal licensing

The municipality started regulating nighttime vendors when their business became not only a nightly spectacle, but also a problem for at least some in the local community. In the beginning, most vendors occupied the temple plaza (see 1 in Figure 4-3), but then some intruded onto the property of temple by crossing the walls, causing a nuisance in the eyes of the Temple Administrator (Shih, 1990). As requested by the Temple Administrator, the municipality demarcated an open lot behind the temple as

vending locations, providing electricity and gas and charging rent (see 2 in Figure 4-3). This arrangement did not appeal to vendors, who were reluctant to use the space on the backside of temple as they considered the front side of the temple a more advantageous location where people usually gathered. Consequently, many vendors kept congregating in front of the temple, pushing the municipality to arrange another open space outside the two wholesale indoor markets for vending. This location was fronting the temple, but separated from it by two indoor markets and Danan Road (see 3 in Figure 4-3). Most vendors immediately spilled over onto this area instead of using the backside (Yu, 1995).

The temple administration built fences to prevent those vendors who persisted in gathering outside the temple from using the temple's property. Those vendors ended up lining the outer sides of the fences on the streets to continue business. These two areas, a linear section outside the temple, and an open lot next to the two wholesale markets, were the first open spaces nighttime vendors used. In 1970, the government built a roof covering the open lot in 1970, designating vending stands under the roof, and opened the two daytime markets for vendors to use at night. The number of existing vendors was already larger than the total supply of 538 vending units, so the city asked vendors to draw lots for space. Those drawing the units got vending licenses and became legal vendors, paying license fees. Their licenses were considered highly desirable lifetime assets. Those lining the temple fences were not included in this recruitment but instead registered by the Market Administration, which then fixed their locations (Yu, 1995; 1997). These vendors became another regulated class permitted to run their businesses only in the locations they already inhibited. Those who lost the lottery either located space outside this neighborhood or sought help from fellow vendors who earned the units

to enter the site, explained in the next section.

Figure 4-3. Three phases of relocation of vendors around Zichen Temple

4.3.2 Territorial expansion

The growing business opportunity also attracted more vendors, leading to a continual expansion of vendors' stalls onto nearby open space. Family ties among vendors accelerated the territorial expansion as vendors introduced their relatives into the market by locating nearby spaces for them and helping them connect with the local vending community. My interview with Shuenn-der Yu, who studied the same market in the early 1990s, suggested that vendors tended to prefer relatives instead of strangers to join the vending community before 1990 as filial relationships ensured harmony and protection. Veterans were also able to request new vendors to sell different things to avoid competition. For example, a group of the first wave of licensed food vendors came from Tainan County. Their cultural roots were evident in the existence of popular cuisine with Tainan's origin. Social networks among vendors foster a self-regulated community of vending business on the basis of trust, cooperation, and peer supervision. Bringing in

such acquaintances kept things working more smoothly for everybody, and unsurprisingly, promoted rapid expansion of vending territories.

Witnessing the prosperity, the Taipei City Farmers Union applied to the Municipal Market Administration to establish another wholesale market on Dadong Road in 1973 (Yu, 1995). Replicating the successful model of the previous established wholesale market, stalls in this Farmers Union Market were shared by day and night vendors. These vendors were licensed by Taipei City Farmers Union overseen by Market Administration. Since then, more night-time vendors started lining the 101 lane of Wenlin Road across the Farmers Union Market, extending all the way to a square in front of Yangming Movie Theater at the other end of the 101 lane (figure 4-3). An on-site registration, a policy permitting existing vendors to use a location that they already occupied, happened again in 1990 to accommodate this wave of vendors. During the same year, the government decided to impose stronger control over the lot behind two wholesale markets. The licensed vendors gathered here kept growing as vendors brought relatives into this area to start businesses, making the area over-crowded. The city removed the roof, attempting to reduce the number of vendors. And yet, street vendors have persisted in this area by building rooftops and canopies on their own to continue business under difficult conditions.

For nearly five decades, migrant vendors had successfully claimed some of the public space as legitimate vending space under the municipality's loose control. After 1990, the city stopped legalizing vendors and allocating vending units with the development of Taiwanese economy. New vendors were widespread over the streets in a random pattern, and subject to police removal. They however only occupied a small

percentage of overall food vending population in Shilin Night Market, as opposed to the primary food vendor groups formed out of the systems of licensing and registration described above.

Today, there are two categories of food vendors in Shilin. The licensed kind includes those who first appeared outside two wholesale markets before 1970, and those who entered Farmers Union Market in 1973 (figure 4-3). The second type includes those without licenses but who were given permission to run business on Danan Road in 1970, those lining 101 lane, and those who congregate at a square in front of Yangming Movie Theater and were registered by the city in 1990 (see also figure 4-3). These two groups encompass the originating vendors, who came in Shilin Night Market as early as 1950 and generally no later than 1990. Providing diverse and affordable cuisine, snacks, and beverages, Shilin night market as a renowned food market took its full shape in 1990.

The success and popularity of this food market made this neighborhood widely known to citizens, which in turn encouraged the rise of surrounding storefront businesses. Unlike regular street vendors operating near public markets who had competition with those rule-followers renting space inside the public markets, the particular kind of street vendors in Shilin, quite conversely, revived a marketplace which had begun a slow decline by the time these night vendors arrived. Without these vendors sharing the night shift and, most of all, attracting a new influx of shoppers, the two indoor markets built in the colonial period would possibly have become defunct sites, and local retail business would have had little chance to thrive. The spectacle of nightly crowds filling Shilin Market area is an outcome of vendors who persistently contested their rights to the unpermitted areas.

4.4. Clothing stores and clothing vendors

Previous sections discussed the creation of Shilin Night Market as a food market crafted by vendors continuously expanding their turfs. Vendors arriving after 1990 had less opportunity to access open space as the Market Administration had stopped allocating space. Nevertheless, Shilin Night Market witnessed an increased number of vendors as it evolved into a mixed market combing dining and leisure shopping. The diversity of Shilin Market after 1990 reflected the influence on this food market posed by Taiwan's changing manufacturing industry under global economic restructuring. Given Taiwan's burgeoning garment industry in the 1980s, old shops with neighborhood-oriented business in Shilin Night Market were increasingly converted into clothing stores to attract young customers. Later, in the 1990s, clothing stores became small outlets for overstocked and returned products from oversea clients. The following sections examine the ways in which these structural changes made room for and welcomed another wave of non-food vendors into this market.

4.4. 1 Background: evolution of the garment industry in Taiwan

To build the relationship between retail business and street vendors in Shilin, we need to start from the early 1970s to review the evolution of Taiwanese manufacturing industry from the very beginning. Taiwan first became an OEM (Original Equipment Manufacturer) center for the global manufacturing industry thanks to its low-priced labor in the 1970s, when a growing number of garment manufacturers emerged to provide production labor for American and European clothing brands (Gerreffi, 1999). Toward the late 1970s, however, loads of exported clothes were returned from foreign clients as orders declined as a result of a global economic recession. Consequently, many outlet

stores were established in the early 1980s to sell these returned, overstocked clothes to local customers. The outlets ushered in Western clothing fashion, which before 1980 were of little appeal to Taiwanese consumers.

Meanwhile, factors including the increase of Taiwanese's average income level as Gross Domestic Product value grew, and the public's mounting interest in western culture, encouraged consumers to spend more on clothing than they had before. Such a shifting consumption trend encouraged Taiwanese manufacturers to produce clothes directly for local consumers instead of just foreign clients. Strategically, garment manufacturers appropriated the image of returned exports, marketing their products as "returned exported goods," when in fact products had been manufactured with local consumers' demands in mind (Yu 1995; Cho, 2008). These clothes gratified the middle-class population's desire for Western taste and international fashion.

Witnessing the new domestic market for clothing, small and middle-sized, Taiwanese-owned firms emerged in the 1980s to design more sophisticated clothes for local customers. Retail space within Shilin Night Market attracted clothing firms to open stores to turn the crowds of food consumers there into becoming clothing customers as well. The owners of neighborhood shops located around Shilin Night Market, such as hardware stores, Chinese medicine shops, and fortunetelling booths found it more profitable to lease their retail spaces than to own and operate their own business. Thus the "retailscape" in Shilin changed from mostly self-owned neighborhood businesses to rented shops selling clothes and accessories. A typical clothing store resembled a mini-department store divided into between two and six sections rented by different companies (Yu, 1995). In addition to clothing stores, there were also shops selling home appliances

and light industrial products serving primarily the rising middle class from the 1980s through the early 1990s.

The rising cost of domestic labor in the mid-1990s drove Taiwan to change its pattern of economic development to one emphasizing the service industry. Domestic manufactures, including steel, plastic, fabrics, and computers, left Taiwan for China and Vietnam in the search of cheaper labor costs after 1995 (Grunsven & Smakman, 2001; Shih, 2004). Within this shift, the demands for retail space in the night markets decreased substantially. Meanwhile, chain clothing stores from other Asian countries entered Taiwan to compete with local brands, putting great pressure on the domestic garment industry. Clothing chains operate in relation to large manufactures in order to provide customers with a wider selection of merchandise at lower prices than the independent retail outlets could do. The features of these brand images were best characterized by efficient service, trendy store decoration, and creative media advertisement appealed to shoppers longing for novelty and sophisticated taste. With corporate capital and local consumers' adaptation to their new consumption culture, proliferating chain stores displaced independent business and mini-department stores prevailing in Shilin Night Market. The success of foreign corporate penetration spurred a few local firms to change their business model to transform small outlets into chain stores. Only one company succeeded (Cho, 2008); the others rapidly disappeared from Shilin.

The arrival of chain stores in Shilin Night Market boosted retail rent levels, forcing existing merchants to come up with solutions to sustain their businesses. My interviews with several senior merchants in Shilin Night Market suggest that there was a difference between the sources of apparels in the stores before and after the mid 1990s. A

large number of local clothing stores remaining in the mid 1990s began distributing wholesale goods mostly from China instead of selling locally designed clothes. Store owners sold on a retail basis the goods that they purchased directly from Chinese manufactures or intermediate wholesalers located elsewhere in Taipei. As such, their products dropped from high and middle-priced clothes to generally affordable ones. The fall of pricing standards reduced the profits of retail business.[9] To keep their revenues high enough to match their rents, merchants whom I interviewed said that they usually remodeled their retail space so as to share space with other merchants; in most cases, to rent part of the property to street vendors. For stores without arcades, owners said that they typically removed the partition walls fronting the streets, sharing the fronts of their stores with vendors who either utilized a piece of the wall or a corner by the entrance (figure 4-4 and 4-5). Stores along arcaded streets, therefore, made it a norm to rent their storefront arcades to accommodate vendors. Based on previous research (Yu, 1995) and my own interviews with present vendors and merchants, I divide apparel vendors who rent portions of retail space into three kinds: small firm salespeople or owners who no longer could afford retail space because of high rents and waning profits, vendors who sold the leftover products of closed firms, and vendors who sold wholesale goods from China. Altogether these vendors considered street vending as a pragmatic channel to distribute their products while saving business overhead costs significantly, thus creating growing demands for a new kind of vending space within the "retailscape" of Shilin Night Market.

[9] Those local stores that survived the competition were mostly the ones selling more expensive clothes from Japan or Korea to ensure higher profits.

4.4.2 Arcade vendors

The previous background explained from the perspective of economic change an overall increase of clothing vendors since the late 1990s in Taiwan. The informal sector grew in size as the formal sector shrunk. New changes in the built environment of Shilin Night Market redistributed street vendors. In 1997, Jiangtan Station of Taipei Metropolitan Rapid Transit was established across the street from Shilin Night Market following the completion of the system's red line. Subway riders walked through Wenlin Road to transfer to the bus or the other way around. Danan Road, which is perpendicular to Wenlin Road, shares the pedestrian flow. All this new pedestrian circulation led the vendors to demand arcades on both Wenlin Road and Danan Road to take advantage of the regular flow of bus and subway riders. Therefore, a large number of clothing vendors started appearing in storefront arcades in the late 1990s.

Figure 4-4. A former retail space was divided into two stores open to the street to accommodate vending stalls.

Figure 4-5. A vendor displays her merchandise against the wall outside a clothing store.

At first, these arcades were off-limits to vendors as the police monitored these two streets intensively to prevent vendors from occupying arcades and blocking pedestrian traffic. To avoid removal, vendors whom I interviewed said that they organized themselves into groups by sections to negotiate with the police. Members of each section took turns to pay the fines to avoid the exhausting routines of run, hide, and return; and the additional expense incurred to secure hiding locations inside the stores. When the police showed up, the vendor who was supposed to pay this time would come forward to present his/her ID, accepting the ticket. Under such an arrangement, the police came to these sections with a much lower frequency than at other locations. Arcades in Shilin Night Market had become quasi-acceptable vending locations thanks to the cooperation among vendors and the consequent conditional restrictions imposed by the police only to the extent necessary to limit the number of vendors so as to maintain the walkways for pedestrian circulation.

Clothes and accessories vendors remain the majority of arcade vendors as food vendors can sell no more than non-cooked and minimally-processed snacks or beverages due to the limited space, and lack of adequate gas and water. Arcade clothing vendors, on the one hand, preferred sections near bus stops and subway stations, which are located just on the south of Shilin Night Market. On the other hand, they coexist with clothing stores lining Wenlin Road (as arcade vendors-A in figure 4-1) and Danan Road (as arcade vendors-B in figure 4-1) to increase the attraction of shoppers. Even though there are storefront arcades on the north side of the market where a few traditional, neighborhood shops remain even today; vendors do not locate there as the vending business prospects are dim in that area. As demand for space continued to grow, the latest group of clothing vendors has taken over the center of Dadong Road, one end of which directly faces the exit of Jiangtan Subway Station. These have become the most aggressive vendors of all because they took over a main street with frequent pedestrian traffic instead of appropriating underused alleyways .

Figure 4-6. Street center vendors on Dadong Road

4.4.3 Street center vendors

Since the late 1990s, the line of street vendors in the middle of Dadong Road has continued to extend from the beginning to the other end at the intersection with Danan Road (as street-center vendors in figure 4-1). While one may find it extremely difficult to negotiate this street lined by clothing vendors, one witnesses a kaleidoscopic spectacle in the midst of this rowdy market. This street, a central pathway outside city-authorized zones, has been the most walked through streets among all; in truth, it was the main vein of Shilin Night Market in the 2000s. My monthly counts of street vendors from November 2008 through August 2009 showed that the average number of street-center vendors was around two-hundred, representing over half of clothing vendors, and over 20

percent of the total number of vendors in Shilin Night Market. Although the street-center vendors diligently run from the police to avoid removal, they developed a moneytaking scheme similar to that of arcade vendors with the police. As these vendors benefit from using public streets without private ownership and spatial division, a few local shoppers and vendors whom I spoke to suggested that local power holders such as gang leaders or shady business owners mediate between vendors and the police to allocate vending space. The phenomenon also draws heated controversy sometimes reported in the local medias (see for example, ETTV News, 2009). I will explain the interrelationships among these players in detail in the next chapter.

Conclusion

Though operating businesses in ways similar to one another, street vendors in Shilin Night Market are differentiated in their backgrounds, levels of legitimacy, and social alliances. Each type was formed over a specific phase of city policies and spatial conditions. What these vendors share in common is their persistent reterritorialization to create usable space for themselves. Without their continually contesting space, this market would have been reduced to a local farmer's market, which might not exist today. A historical account of vending space evolution, with an eye on political economy, reveals that street vendors continually appropriated public and private property through dealing with the municipality and local community. The Market Administration incorporated primarily food vendors into public property as legal vendors. Clothing vendors after 1990 sought space out of private property and non-designated public space. Vendors developed self-regulated communities to negotiate legal boundaries and property rights with the authorities. As a result, the total number of vendors in this market in 2009

has exceeded 1,000, and well doubled that of the early 1990s. Street vendors, in other words, seek opportunities within and outside regulatory boundaries to produce their space. In the next chapter, I will discuss specifically how deregulated vendors use this market in a way that supports their operation with the necessity of meeting the city's expectation of controlling the market.

Chapter Five

Fluid Occupancy: a Social Making of Space

Introduction

When Liyuan decided to take on a nighttime work as a complement to his regular job as a catalogue photographer, he thought of selling clothes in Shilin Night Market. Having grown up on the outskirts of Shilin Night Market, he was familiar with the changes occurring in the local retail business and built environment since the 1970s. He believed that his artistic sensitivity in adjusting the light and color for photographs could be useful in selecting the right dresses and accessories for women visiting this night market. He learned from friends who worked in the garment industry about a couple of wholesalers in town from whom he could get quality supplies. His only real difficulty in becoming a successful street vendor in Shilin Night Market was in learning where to sell the clothes.

Liyuan's experieces as a street vendor in Shilin Night Market was just one example pointing to the limit to city politics in organizing vendors' space. The last chapter showed how the Market Administration incorporated food vendors within public property as legal vendors. In addition to collaborating with the municipality, street vendors coming in the last two decades developed their own social ties to work with local merchants, police, and community members to solve the problems of not owning legitimate vending space. The present chapter addresses the ways in which extralegal vendors negotiate rights to private property and non-designated public space either by personal connection or organizing self-regulated groups with fellow vendors. In this

discussion I shall demonstrate the social making of space in Shilin Night Market. The social production of vending space is supported by specific enacted spatial practices. I adopt Goffman's dramaturgical theory (1959) to conceptualize the vendors' practice as a dual performanc--one that occurs when the police are absent, and the other happens during the policing hours--which leads me to develop a theoretical concept of "fluid occupancy" of market space. First, I discuss the process through which vendors locate vending space from local merchants and fellow vendors, as well as how vendors defend one another's space from the police or other threat. Second, I demonstrate that, in an effort to sustain their occupancy of acquired arcades and streets, vendors perform a series of routines that meet the authorities' expectations. Finally, I reflect on the implications of this analysis of the making of social space in Shilin Night Market that not only complements the political making of the market, but also allows this market to preserve its strong social character following decades of evolution instead of becoming an asocial environment as modern retail space with mostly routinely transactions.

5.1 Locating space

Extralegal vendors seek information regarding availability of space from store owners and other vendors. To interogate this process, in the following sections, I describe under which conditions vendors are likely to secure a vending location, and the ways in which vendors keep their space even when they lack legitimate rights to the property. A decade after the authorities incorporated then-illegal vendors into the public, official market, most of the licensed vendors had already sold their stands to non-relatives, thus gradually wiping out the strong character of vendors' kinship and family networks that formerly existed. Instead, a set of spatial and social practices that allows unlicensed

vendors today to locate space and cooperate with fellow vendors to avoid the police's removal, as explained as below, created a new social network that replaced the former family ties.

5.1.1 Dealing with merchants

Getting permission to rent retail space in the arcades often requires social connections. In most situations, merchants tend to allow relatives and close personal acquaintances, such as siblings, other family members, and close friends, to set up stands in front of their stores. The main concern for merchants in renting storefront arcades to unknown vendors is the possibility of their not being able to collect rents under the circumstances that they have no legal grounds for resolving merchant-vendor disputes. Furthermore, merchants prefer leasing space to personal acquaintances because acquaintances are more likely to agree not to sell goods that compete directly with the merchants' own offerings. Merchants also tend to help their own relatives who have difficulty establishing businesses elsewhere due to high rent or availability of space to locate near merchants' own shops, either temporarily or for the long term.

Pei, for example, rents a half-arcade to sell male tee shirts at the north end of Dadong Road. A sophomore at Fen-ren Catholic University, Pei and her male friend had wanted to learn to do business and experience the world outside the campus. Pei's uncle, who owns a hardware store, rents the arcade in front of the store to Pei and her friend. "It would not have been so easy for me to have a place if not for my uncle" Pei said.

Some merchants lease the street frontage outside their stores to prevent street center vendors from lingering around their storefronts when avoiding the police's ticketing. Ms. Lin, in her late forties, sells women's jewelry by placing a briefcase against

the exterior side of the wall of a friend's clothing store. Back in the 1980s, Ms. Lin was a saleslady in one of the mini-department stores on Dadong Road. As most of the mini department stores closed as a result of declining business, she sought opportunities in street commerce.

For a few years, until her husband became ill, Ms. Lin drove a truck around the different periodic night markets in Taiwan with her husband to sell goods. For the last six years, Ms. Lin has run this small stand with her son, now in his late twenties. She considers vending from a fixed location in Shilin a more durable choice for the long term: "I know this area, and I know people here. Things get easier." Ms. Lin had always wanted to rent a store but she and her family could barely afford a retail space. Were it not for the social connections that she established here when she was a young clerk, she could not have continued making a living for her family in the ever changing conditions here on Dadong Road.[10]

Vendors who lack personal acquaintance with any merchants must make persistent inquiries about available space, first to gain merchants' familiarity and trust, and eventually a vending space. Their chances of getting a place increase as vacancies rise in the arcades with the effects of economic recession on the night markets. Merchants today do not only share arcades with acquaintances but have opened the arcades up to non-acquaintances who have gained their trust. For example, the photographer Liyuan, introduced in the beginning of this chapter, did not know any merchants when he decided to earn extra income in the evening in the spring of 2007. He spent more than two months

[10] Some merchants, however, do not rent their arcades as they find keeping their property free from unfamiliar individuals more important than earning rents. Their businesses operate in relation to regular clients and do not depend much on walk-in customers.

inquiring about available space among local merchants. He was told that no space was available even though he had spotted a few vacant spots. He kept showing up for multiple nights a week for two months, and started showing the clothes he had purchased from intermediate wholesalers to the shop owners on Danan Road whom he asked for space. One day, a merchant finally told him about a vendor who wanted to give out a storefront arcade for an interested vendor to rent. Liyuan took it over. "Just keep showing up and you will get something eventually. Let store owners know you, and get to know what they like." Liyuan told me.

When I interviewed Liyuan, he had gotten two stands on the same street. He co-owned the second stand with a friend located across from his original stand. Also he had just helped one of his junior high school classmates, a coffee shop owner, to get a street side location as well. His classmate used that food stand to test public reaction to some of his newly developed desserts before putting them on the coffee shop's menu. Street sides in front of stores are the second choices along busy streets without arcades or where the arcades are rented out or used by merchants themselves. By a street side section I refer to a marginal zone of a street, adjacent to a storefront arcade. The street side is an 80 cm-wide space located above the underground sewer. As this narrow space requires clearance of vehicular traffic for the purpose of drainage maintenance around every half an year, vendors can take advantage of this small open space. As the street side is too narrow to display all merchandise properly, vendors often pay merchants for some extra space shared from the arcades or stores. As such, many arcade vendors' stands protrude onto the sewers covered by concrete caps that prevent odors. Such uses prevail on Danan Road and Dadong Road, yet are still subject to policing.

5.1.2 Connecting with fellow vendors

Information on the availability of space other than storefront arcades and street sides is known only to vendors. Newcomers cannot easily distinguish which street corners, street centers, and open plazas are rentable, and to whom the cash is supposed to go. A more convenient and proper means of accessing such ambivalent locations begins with visiting streets that one is interested in using to make acquaintance with veteran vendors nearby to obtain accurate information. It goes against local rules to start business in an area without consulting with vendors located nearby. The benefit of befriending fellow vendors also lies on the extent to whcih a new comer can reduce the chances of receiving tickets from the police. Extralegal vendors within the same street blocks usually organize self-regulated groups to cope with policing issues.

Tianfu, a vendor selling at the center of Dadong Road for over ten years, said, “Sometimes young people don’t know anything and just come in to sell clothes, and then we will explain to him that it is not the way we do business here.” What one should do after identifying a vacancy, as he advises, is to ask the vendors around for permission. Operating businesses in a close proximity, most vendors are clear about who shows up and who does not. If that space belongs to somebody who happens to have taken that day off, the neighboring vendor will collect a daily fee ranging from USD 15 to 20, depending on the locations, from the newcomer, and pass the money to that absent vendor the next day. Then the new guy is allowed to run business there for one night. If a vendor is absent for about ten days, it is likely that he or she will lose that space to someone in line for that vacancy who has been following the rules and the making the required deals with neighboring vendors. However, such cases are rare because vendors

do not give up space easily, or leave without making arrangements for their absence.

"How do you know if he will really pass the money to that vendor the next day?" I could not help asking this question about the social ties among vendors.

> He will. If he doesn't, other vendors would tell that vendor as well. It is a small community. We all see what happens here. Nobody wants to mess up with other people's business, or the other way around… But sometimes if we see that the new guy did not sell anything out that night, we would not take any money. We just let it go. (Tianfu, interview, August 15, 2007)

The letting-go attitude out of compassion suggests that vendors may not easily identify a newcomer as a member of their geographical community, but in fact consider that person as a member of their social community based on their commonly shared situation.

In such a highly commercial neighborhood as Shilin Night Market, the public property, including streets, sidewalks, and plazas, becomes multifunctional and compatible with vending activities as long as these uses do not severely challenge pedestrian circulation. Although merchants lay rights to the street sides in front of their stores, they have less influence on the centers of the streets. As these locations do not have private property owners with whom vendors can deal, the local gangs seize the opportunity to capitalize on them.

My interviews with community members such as merchants, vendors, and customers, along with background knowledge solicited from local media, suggest that the

center of Dadong Road is claimed by local gangsters, who are under the umbrella of the organization controlling the larger Shilin area. A typical story about this street relates that gangsters began mediating between the police and vendors, allocating space to vendors in the mid-1990s when the Shilin Night Market became prosperous and vending locations became desirable. Each vendor regularly pays to group leaders who collect payment on behalf of everyone. The so-called royalties, around USD 500 per month for each designated yet non-physically divided, street center space, around one foot-square or so, is described by the community members whom I interviewed to be partially used by gangsters acting as local power players to buy off local police to ease up on vendors. Most vendors have vague ideas about where exactly the money goes. Various versions of "who the gangsters are" travel around the market. For example, I asked a vendor, Wang, located a few feet from street vendors on Dadong Road about the above hearsays:

"Do you know who they (street center vendors) pay for [space on] Dadong Road?" I asked.
"To those people who took the space more than ten years ago," said Wang.
"Do you know who those people are?" I continued asking.
"…" (Wang smiles without answering.)

Wang was unwilling to go to details but told me that this is something everybody knows. Street center vendors on Dadong Road either refuse to answer this question or deny the existence of any monetary exchange between them and the gangsters. Some street center vendors would explain that payments go to private property landlords on the

sides to possibly disguise the monetary exchange they made with local gangsters. In most cases, landlords cannot charge rents for public property, but vendors tend to compensate these retail owners located right on both sides of the vendor's spot to stop them from notifying the police to evict vendors. More money, however, may be regularly collected by individuals delegated by gang leaders sharing Dadong Road, the busiest street in Shilin Night Market.

I have little interest in discovering whether these power holders are actual gangsters, or who the "gangsters" are. It is not my concern to discover whether a shady deal really exists between the community and a local government agency. I want, however, to emphasize that vendors are always required to pay something to secure a vending space, even extralegal space. On top of that, vendors still get tickets and pay fines now and then, even under shady arrangements, which serves as an alternative form of taxation. Although unofficial, the vending spaces described in this chapter are by no means free to use.

Even though street vendors manage to acquire space by dealing with merchants or local gangs, they take extra effort to maintain these spaces to which they do not claim legal rights. To keep their spaces from being taken by others, they show up every night and maintain acquaintance with neighboring vendors who watch space for each other. Even though merchants generally guard vending space for vendors, stores do not operate with vendors for exactly the same time. Mostly stores close earlier than the vendors, who end their business at 1:00 a.m. Although vendors work here almost seven days a week to keep their spaces, there are time that vendors cannot come. Therefore, vendors remain close to neighboring vendors to protect one another's space. Another great challenge that

vendors have to face on a daily basis is the issue of policing, which takes more thorough plans than getting along with fellow vendors. To use these streets in a way that effectively avoid the threat posed by policing, vendors collectively perform a set of routines, combining symbolic interaction and hiding techniques, to interact with the police in ways that meet the municipality's expectations of having the market under control. In the next section, I will analyze such techniques.

5.2 Using space

The scene of hundreds of vendors filling streets and arcades in Shilin Night Market makes a nightly spectacle of vibrant street life. Yet vendors act differently when the police are present: From the moment the police show up, vendors shift from performing for the shopper's pleasure to performing for the authorities. This secondary performance follows a hidden script that comes in handy when the policing occurs. I adopt Goffman's dramaturgical approach (1959) to analyze the frequently shifting practice that resembles a dual performance—one during normal time, and the other during policing time. The performance during policing time creates the impression of official scrutiny for the public necessary to support the vendors' occupancy of the streets. I choose to focus on vendors inside the arcades of Wenlin Road and on Dadong Road as these two types of vendors are the main objects of policing.

5.2.1 Primary performance

I conceptualize Shilin Night Market as a stage filled with the performances of vendors. For food vendors, the stage displays their culinary skills, food preparation, and dramatic hawking. For clothes vendors, the streets showcase vendors' taste and creativity

in their selection of products and visual and verbal presentation of merchandise. Without formal retail space, vendors manage to display products within limited space by using various equipment that they bring to the sites, and often by displaying merchandise more artistically than retailers normally do to grab the attention of the shoppers hurrying by.

After 6:00 p.m. or so, the clothing business in the arcades and roadsides starts with a vendor's arrival on a friend's mini-van or scooter, or with a vending partner stopping by the sidewalk or street corner. As vendors arrive at arcades, they open their briefcases on top of folded chairs to arrange clothes, or place out hangers to display their clothes. Vendors arrange the clothes as skillfully as well-trained retail clerks, often devising innovative displays. Vendors typically use counterfeit Louis Vuitton monogram briefcases to send a luxurious message even though their merchandise is often otherwise.

Figure 5-1. Street vendors on the beginning section of Dadong Road

Vendors in the center of Dadong Road usually start later than most arcade vendors beginning after 7:00 p.m. or so to avoid the early evening vehicular traffic. The beginning section of Dadong Road resembles a lobby that receives the upfront arrival of visitors to Shilin Night Market, and, unfortunately, the coming of policemen as well. As such, clothes vendors located along the first few feet of Dadong Road display their goods only in small briefcases rather than the pushcarts and big cases or bags that vendors in more discreet locations like to use. This allows them to shut the briefcases and leave as soon as the police arrive. In general, newcomers occupy the beginning of the road and the more veteran vendors locate themselves farther down the street, in locations that give them more time to get ready for the arrival of the police. The veteran vendors mostly lay out their garments over sheets spread on the ground, which gives them the space to display trousers and large clothes. As the police come, they can take time rolling up the sheets to wrap up all their clothes.

Both veteran and new vendors strive to set themselves apart from the vending array with eye-catching merchandise and intensive hawking. For example, an artful display of pin buttons on top of a cleverly placed umbrella, or colorful bracelets in a sophisticatedly crafted case compete for a shopper's second look. Instead of aggressive touting, these vendors usually only hail pedestrians when they come near with utterances such as "come check anything you want," or "try them on in front of the mirror here," which signal a market amenity, engaging one fully with the festive environment.

As the selling goes on, vendors within a group divide their labor to take extra precautions to be prepared for the police. Most clothes vendors work with fellow vendors. In the case of collaboration, the group is divided into two parties—vendors (one

or more) and a gatekeeper. The gatekeeper is the person standing around a foot or so from the vendors' backs, watching out for the policemen while hailing the passersby. Gatekeepers are generally male. They typically stroll around, but never stray far so they can assist their partners when needed. The gatekeeper stands in a location allowing him to cover the clothes and not let the vendors be easily seen by the police from a distance. The gatekeeper alerts the vendor behind him as soon as he identifies the possible appearance of policemen. When the police show up, the gatekeeper immediately turns back to help the partner to fold the low tables, close the briefcases, and retreat to the hidden area.

5.2.2 Secondary performance: coping with policing

Despite all the amenities and color that vendors render for these night streets, my interviews with the municipal officials at the Market Administration showed that they found it necessary to exercise public intervention to prevent the phenomenon of deregulated vending from becoming a sign of urban disorder. City officials and local merchants both acknowledge the significance of these vendors, which is evident in the extent to which most retail businesses depend on the crowd drawn by street vendors to thrive. As a restaurant owner on Dadong Road said, "People don't come to this night market because of our stores, they come here for street vendors. Street vendors make this market alive and attractive to them" (Wu, interview, July 21, 2008).

Yet, not to constrain vendors at all would signify municipal lethargy and incompetence, allowing a challenge to the state's active pursuit of modernity. Therefore, the local police department patrols these unauthorized areas nightly, issuing a certain number of tickets to create the impression that the market is indeed "under control."

The secondary performance, in which vendors act as if they stop their business in terms of their changing physical languages and movements, is formed to fulfill the municipality's will of control, desired by the authorities to replace the primary performance of commodity displaying and hawking when policing occurs. According to my interviews with shoppers, some vendors, and information from newspaper and TV news (see ETTV News, 2009), some of the police may have got bribes from vendors to make the arrangement agreed upon by the police and vendors a smooth process. Even though the police acknowledge that the vendors will continue business after the police leave, they expect vendors to cooperate with practices required to demonstrate respect to authorities. The symbolic implication of this performance under such circumstances outweighs its degree of authenticity. The performance is not only for the police to watch, but more importantly, for the public to see that the market does not grow out of hand. I differentiate extralegal vendors' practices into three sets of performance: symbolic interaction, switching roles, and backstaging, each of which applies to a specific section. By "symbolic interaction" I mean vendors act in certain fashions to seemingly stop their businesses while in fact continuing vending. I refer "switching roles" to the ways in which vendors behave like shoppers or pedestrians to escape the police attention. The notion of "backstaging" explains how vendors retreat into hidden corners to get off the front stage in the police's face. I will explain these different practices in detail below. The three main techniques compose a successful performance on a secondary level to avoid the police's removal.

Symbolic interaction

Vendors inside Wenlin Road arcades adopt this technique. When the police come,

vendors dramatize their activities to give the audience, both the police and shoppers, the image that they follow the regulations and the police have things under control. Whenever the police come, vendors pause their business. They do not leave, but only spread fabrics to cover their carts, or close their briefcases halfway to act as if they had not been selling. They all look comfortable, staying inside the arcades, and even continuing to deal with customers. Police typically spend an hour patrolling this area. Vendors and the police have come to an agreement: When the police show up, the vendors need not leave and hide, but must wrap their clothes into sheets, putting them away in the carts, which they place against the columns in a way that improves pedestrian circulation. The arcades need to be free of ongoing commercial activities for the policing hour. Closing a suitcase or covering clothes in a cart serves as a symbolic action facilitating the impression of management, an action characterized by Goffman as "dramatic realization" (1959, p.30). Vendors in close proximity have the same objectives of not getting caught and cooperate in the performance as a team to define this situation. During my field trips, I found that the police usually visited Shilin Night Market from around 8:00 p.m. for an hour that was not particularly busy. The market became most crowded after 9 p.m. when people went out from homes after dinner, or finished work or other activities elsewhere.

Figure 5-2. A vendor covers clothes she sells during the policing time

Switching Roles

The technique of "switching roles" characterizes the ways in which those vendors in the beginning of Dadong Road avoid receiving tickets issued by the police. This open-ended location does not allow vendors any leeway to retreat into proper places as the police easily catch vendors when they arrive. As such, these vendors regularly shift their roles from street vendors who stand out from a shopping crowd, to faceless pedestrians blended perfectly into a street scene filled with shoppers (cf. Tonnelat, 2007). To stay alert, vendors look around and adjust positions so as to respond to the slightest sign of police presence. In addition to keeping a sharp lookout, vendors carry speakers or cell

phones to receive alerts from fellow vendors nearby. More commonly, the first couple of vendors simply shout out loud as soon as they see the police. After putting away their merchandise into the stores or hide them inside dark alleys, they return to the streets, acting as regular shoppers. Junior vendors often stay close to each other as they often work in groups of from four to six people. Like the groups of teens commonly seen in public space, they sit and chat in a small circle while guarding their merchandise at a distance. Vendors told me that they share the fines if one or more of them get caught by the police, as everybody gets a ticket sometime.

Figure 5-3. Young vendors sit around to fit into the street scene while guarding their clothes

Senior vendors act more relaxed as they do things like stroll around to chat with neighbors while checking the police. Unlike real shoppers, these vendors linger around

the same locations without actually proceeding. What makes them even more recognizable are the waist bags they carry to collect cash. Real shoppers can be surprised by the momentary chaos caused by vendors' sudden shift in behavior, but mostly get used to this routine as part of the experience of walking through this section.

Backstaging

Vendors from the middle toward the end of Dadong Road have ample time to gather their wares when the police come and disappear with their carts into alleys and retail space. In other words, vendors here step to the backstage at the moment of policing just as actors do during a break between scenes. Their temporary disappearance from the main streets makes for a performance of inaction--a blank scene planned for the police. Vendors find it easy to locate hidden corners as "backstage" because quite a few laneways intersect with Dadong Road from the middle section through the end of it. When the police show up from one side of the street, vendors disperse to the other streets, and return when the police leave. It becomes a regular scene to see vendors excuse themselves, pushing their carts into the intersecting laneways. They perform the same routines patiently several times each night, often inviting shoppers to join them in the backstage to continue dealing. For instance, while I was inquiring about a vendor's merchandise, he suddenly uttered something that I did not quite understand in the middle of our conversation.

"We can continue this in that alley if you like" he said, pointing to the direction. Already seeing over my shoulder the approaching police, he excused himself pleasantly, with no sign of panic. I did not actually follow him to the alley, but saw him calmly dragging his carts filled with beach shorts all the way to his destination. Apparently not

waiting for me to follow, he had already started dealing with other passersby over there.

5.3 Fluid occupancy

The above descriptions show three techniques of avoiding the police based upon various spatial conditions and the levels of appropriateness of vending. In general, arcades are considered more acceptable places than the centers of streets. Those extralegal vendors acquire conditional access to streets and arcades outside municipally permitted zones by manipulating the temporal dimension of space to create a sporadic occupancy. In their constant movement to avoid surveillance, these vendors seem to have been granted no rights to any of these locations. Still, they keep "wandering" in this area not unlike the proprietors of a fixed-unit space. They constantly fade in, fade out, and seemingly drift around as if floating on the surface of water, forming a fluid use of space (cf. Melissa Wright's study on women in Ciudad Juárez, 2004**)**. It is this fluidity that enables the extralegal vendors in this market to occupy places to which they otherwise would have no access. This non-fixed feature of their occupancy works as an alternative to a formal planning scheme under existing municipal policies.

When space made available by the city does not accommodate all vendors' needs, private landlords and other power holders provide additional space, which requires social practices and movement to fix the informality. Within the vending community, one needs to stay connected to the others to locate a space, keep it, and avoid removal. These vendors as a whole need to interact with the police in a manner to meet the authorities' expectations of proper behavior. The social interactions make this pattern of occupancy as acceptable as the licensed use.

This socially produced space, as opposed to a politically produced one, can only operate in a mobile manner. This echoes Deleuze and Guattari's conceptual opposition between striated space and smooth space (1986). The term "striated" represents a state of tightness and strictness, as contrasted with "smooth," which refers to a more fluid condition without clear boundaries or jointedness. As Deleuze and Guattari point out, "The primary determinant of nomads is to occupy and hold a smooth space" (1986, 410). Space gets striated to exercise control; but for those unable or unwilling to be controlled by the state apparatus, spatial boundaries dissolve and opportunities open up. For example, Tonnelat (2007) uses "fit in" and "fade out" to characterize how Senegalese peddlers in New York City Times Squares remain mobile to follow the pedestrian flow while being able to occasionally stand out to attract customers. In the very case depicted in the present chapter, the extralegal vendors outside the regulatory boundaries defined by market administration occupy streets in ways that foster a smooth landscape contingent on the economic and social changes of the society. From a struggling photographer, an aspiring coffee shop owner, a college sophomore, to a working mother, different individuals, with or without clear identities in their employment statuses, find opportunities flowing through a smooth environment, which allows freedom and spontaneous use to improve their lives or fulfill their dreams.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have described the vernacular practice of unregulated vendors in the market and have explored the social and economic significance of this practice. Through a series of collaborations with fellow vendors and interactions with the police, vendors locate and secure space, contingent on the social interactions among themselves,

between vendors and merchants, and between vendors and the police. These vernacular practices produce a space that complements the formal municipal system to create a marketplace. The two sets of practices, the political and the social, shape the contemporary version of Shilin Night Market that juxtaposes both regulated and deregulated vendors, legal and extralegal space, as well as an orderly and a spontaneous atmosphere. One can hardly distinguish such variations deployed within one single marketplace as these seemingly contradictory aspects are united and well blended. Nevertheless, what sets unlicensed vendors apart from the licensed ones is the social foundation of their fluid occupancy. In fact, the spatial practice of unlicensed vending makes Shilin Night Market continue to be a public space that grounds human agency and variation in social life after nearly five decades of evolution, instead of an asocial environment meant for merely profit and consumption. A fluid occupancy of the market results from social practices, micro politics, and embodied performance of vendors' effective techniques for coping with, or, in other words, acting in response to municipal intervention; sustained by a monetary circulation of fines, royalty, rent, and graft. When existing systems do not allow vendors to use space in ways that support their business under legal constraints, they become fluid instead of staying fixed to become nomads in the exchange of quasi-permanent property rights. Another key aspect is the notion of "sharing", including solidarity and collaboration, among vendors that enables them to negotiate policing through fluid occupancy successfully. As economic, profit motivated activities often appear to be inhuman, the fluid occupancy depicted in this chapter, shows that economic activities, before completely transformed by the power of capitalist modernity, carry much social character within them. In the next chapter, I will explore

the cultural significance of this night market celebrated by the multiplicity in material practices formed out of just such various spatialities.

Chapter Six

Culture: a Cosmopolitan Marketplace

Introduction

The last two chapters explore the creation of this market as a vendor's space politically and socially produced by the municipality and local community. The legal and extralegal space together ground the formulation of human agency and social practice, and afford opportunity to display and exchange commodities. In the present chapter, I address the culture of Shilin Night Market, not the kind of culture socially and spatially linking the community members, but one celebrated by the material practices associated with food and the garments. Domestic and migrant food vendors' culinary practice, as well as clothing vendors' involvement with transnational wholesale trades stretch the identity of Shilin Night Market from that of a local trading place to a liminal space that subsumes a grounded, place-specific practice within a network of transnational flows. The municipal officials, aware of the market's cultural significance, attempt to maximize the transnational quality reflected in the material landscape. They see an opportunity in this transnational space to discursively construct a cosmopolitan identity for Shilin Night Market, as well as for Taipei city, by manipulating citizens' imagination of localities and nationalities, ultimately meant to justify redeveloping Shilin Night Market into a quality tourist destination.

6.1 The arrival of food culture with culinary practice

6.1.1 Locality-inscribed food

Cuisines and snacks make up the major category of merchandise in night markets. Most Taiwanese cities or townships are known for specific street-style food known as “hsiouchi”, a Mandarin term which literally means small portions of meals or snacks. Hsiouchi are mostly available in roadsides or markets originally meant for construction workers taking short breaks before returning to job sites. Such cuisines were mostly made of locally available ingredients, much of which was the abundant seafood in the coastal towns in south Taiwan. Famous examples of Taiwanese hsiouchi include Oyster omelets, Calamari chowder, and mackerel soup, all of which have potato starch within them to add volume and flavor to rather thin and cheap material. Most hsiouchi are associated with particular regions, and most Taiwanese are highly conscious of hsiouchi as cultural representations of localities in such a way that people usually associate a trip to a specific town with an opportunity to experience the exclusively local flavors.

Gathered in Shilin Night Market are some restaurant owners or street vendors from outside the city who outshined their fellows with specialized hsiouchi originating from either family legacies or personal experiments. Successful vendors often relocated to big cities, making a living with these secret recipes and culinary skills. Customers of a wide range of economic and social classes indulge themselves in this affordable, tasty, if not very healthy street food every now and then partly out of nostalgia and partly to escape from their regular diets.

6.1.2 Translocal culinary culture

With the earlier migration from China, and more recent waves of migration from Southeast Asian countries to Taiwan, Shilin Night Market juxtaposes hsiouchi with more diverse foods than in years past. More recently, food choices within night markets have also accommodated non-Asian cuisines and snacks such as Spanish cheese pies, Turkish ice cream, and Pakistani Kebabs. Even though Taiwanese hsiouchi remains the orthodox genre, new food items add to the variety, appealing to urbanites seeking novelty and worldliness.

Contemporary food vendors usually manipulate their own geographical identities to provide various cuisines for customers' enjoyment. To name a few, the vendor selling mackerel soup is often not from Tainan, and it surprises no one that the vendor making Shanghai fried dumplings is not from Shanghai. To add new twist to "culinaryscape', Taiwanese vendors today stretch geographical boundaries in response to customers' growing interest in and imagination of cosmopolitan cuisines by selling foods from afar without necessarily owning the geographical identity of the food, as early vendors did. As such, the connection of geographical and culinary identities are practiced and manipulated by vendors. Hsiouchi as a symbol of cultural identity becomes more significant in conveying the lifestyle and atmosphere of imagined authenticity as a cultural whole, rather than representing any single locality. Culinary culture in Shilin Night Market articulates the local and global influence though migration and vendors' appropriation of new cuisines. In the following section, I will explore a different formulation of cosmopolitan identity--that practiced by clothing vendors.

6.2 Clothing trade as an outward search for global apparel fashion

As shown in chapter four, vendors have been continually responding to the shifting local clothing industry by transferring their business from domestic manufacturers to foreign wholesalers. A shift toward the wholesale model contributes to a transnational flow of clothes and aesthetics, collectively fostering a global awareness of both vendors and shoppers on a local terrain. Through perceiving merchandise and having conversations with vendors, night market shoppers distinguish features and prices of clothes from different localities to construct distinct self-presentations from the array of transnational goods. Shoppers attend to the "made in where" claims encoding geographical classifications that influence their choices of the right clothes for social and cultural positioning. A person's new attire assembled from a Shilin shopping adventure invites cultural interpretation and imagination, ultimately cultivating a cosmopolitan consciousness among Taiwanese. I will begin the discussion of the transnational garment trade in Taiwan from the perspective of China as the primary provider for the world wholesale business.

6.2.1 Transnational wholesalers

China is the major wholesale provider for clothing businesses around Asia. Most of garment wholesale centers are located in Humen, a town in Dongguan, an industrial city located in the Pearl River Delta in South China (Hu, 2008). Dongguan is within one-hour driving distance from the airports in Hong Kong, Shenzhen and Guangzhou, and located at the intersection of two highways leading to Beijing, Shenzhen and Guangzhou. These geographical advantages led the Chinese government to reassign clothing production from Hong Kong to Human fifteen years ago. Humen has evolved rapidly into

a garment manufacturing center of over 1,000 factories and dozens of wholesale centers that accommodate around 10,000 clothing shops. Those shops sell low-priced clothes, shoes, and accessories, attracting intermediate wholesalers from different countries in Asia for weekly supplies. Although the low prices are attractive, the quality of manufacture and design creativity leave much to be desired by wholesalers. Although Taiwanese merchants today continue to purchase low-priced wholesale goods in Humen, they realize the issues of quality and design, evident in the degree to which ordered clothes arrived in Taiwan as defects.

To cope with the imperfect quality and uncreative design, Taiwanese intermediate wholesalers after 2000 established design firms in Humen to design clothes for themselves and other Taiwanese intermediate wholesalers (Hu, 2008). These clothes would be well designed and, for quality improvement, manufactured under Taiwanese supervision. Intermediate wholesalers would continue to benefit from low-cost labor in China. Every Tuesday, salespeople from these firms present samples of the latest clothes collected from Japan and Korea for intermediate wholesalers from Taiwan to choose and request alteration based on Taiwanese customers' preference. After the meetings, designs become manufactured goods in large quantities in only three days. The wholesalers then bring the goods back from Humen, or has them shipped to multiple wholesale centers in Taiwan over the weekend. The wholesale center in Taipei is Wu-fen-pu, located near Sungshan Train Station in East Taipei, serving retailers and street vendors from around Taiwan. On the following Monday, clothing vendors in Shilin Night Market go to Wu-fen-pu for weekly supplies of their commodities before offering them for sale in the market in the evening. The translocal cooperation between Humen in Guangzhou as a

production destination and Wu-fen-pu in Taipei as a wholesale location, sustains the weekly cycle of clothing vending in Shilin Night Market.

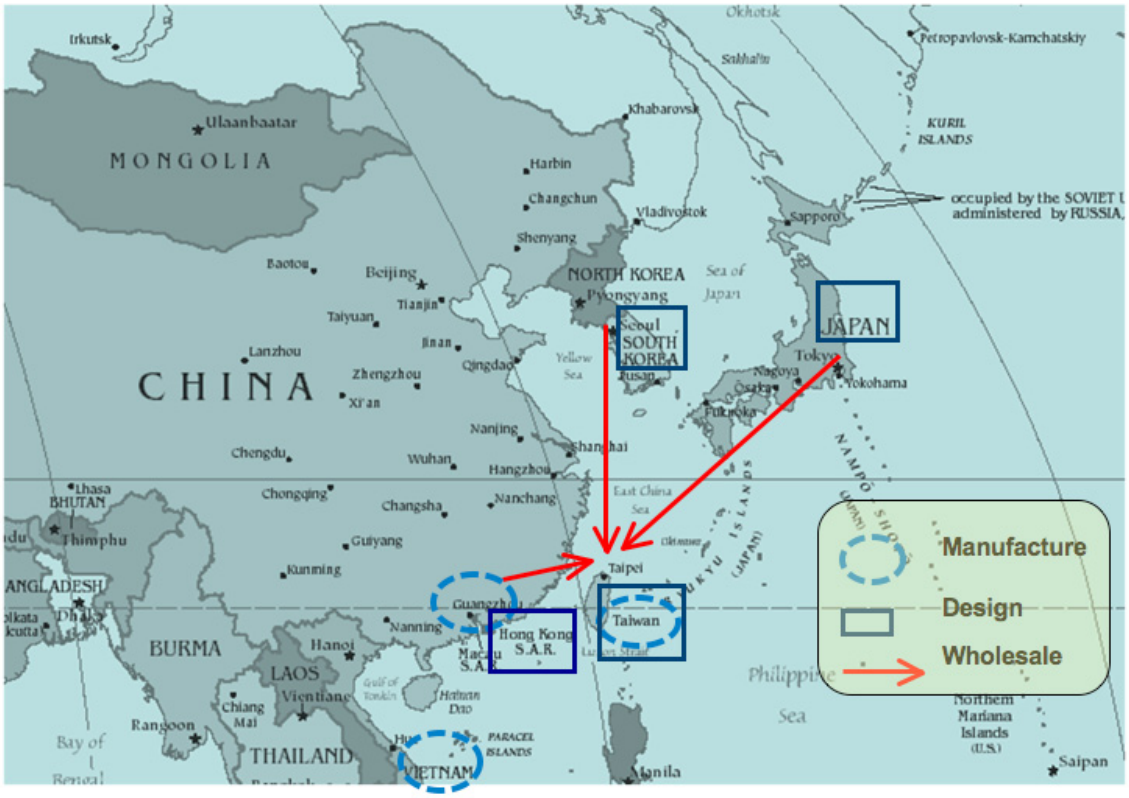

Figure 6-1.
Transnational clothing trades in Taiwan in relation to other East and South East Asian countries

To keep up with the pace of world fashion development, clothing vendors visit newly found wholesale centers in addition to Humen in China. Although wholesale clothes around different countries are primarily manufactured in China, they are differentiated in styles based on the design preference and expertise in different countries. With its booming economy and rising fashion reputation, Seoul, for example, is a newly discovered oasis for Taiwanese vendors and fashion pilgrims. Different apparel vendors and retailers whom I interviewed in Shilin Night market and other locations suggested

that, in recent years, an increasing number of Taiwanese vendors, retailers, and wholesalers routinely travel to Korea for more sophisticated sources than what is available in China. They consider Seoul a more affordable sourcing destination than Tokyo where lodging and transportation are expensive.[11]

Vendors and merchants have not yet shifted their sources from wholesale centers in China to those in Korea, but visited multiple locations at various frequencies. Typically, intermediate wholesalers in Taipei travel weekly to the wholesale centers in China for large quantities, and go to wholesale centers in Korea and Japan every few months or seasonally for innovative, high-end products to add variety to their commodities while managing their business budgets. Consequently, clothing vendors in Shilin Night Market are connected to a transnational network of wholesale trade linked to China, Korea, and Japan, to tackle a fast changing garment industry, satisfying sensitive customers searching for novelty.

In the late 2000s, however, Chinese labor costs and business taxes have risen. Since 2007, the Chinese government has increased the minimum wage by 13 to 15 percentage of the previous year's wage each year, and has also increased labor's insurance cost and overtime costs payable by the employers. The Chinese government also imposed a new entrepreneurial tax law requiring an increase in the foreign business tax rate from 15 to 25 percent (Lee, 2008).[12] These changing production conditions as a result of China's shift toward a market economy has reduced Taiwanese investors' interest in locating in China. Since 2006, the number of Taiwanese wholesale design

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[11] Korean wholesale centers are concentrated in Dong Da Meng Garment Market, the largest garment wholesale complex in East Asia open for 24 hour a day in relation to intermediate wholesalers in Korea and other Asian countries (Korea Tourism Organization, 2010). Taiwanese street vendors and retail owners consider Dong Da Meg as a luxurious counterpart of a Chinese wholesale destination.

[12] According to Economic Daily News, December 28, 2008 (Lee).

firms in Humen has decreased over 30 percent (Hu, 2008). To save on production costs, an increasing number of Taiwanese firms have turned to other countries, such as Vietnam and Cambodia, to exploit the lower costs available there. As suggested by the merchants whom I interviewed in Wu-fen-pu, Taiwanese design firms find it more economical to use domestic labor to produce simply designed clothes while outsourcing to Chinese factories only for labor-intensive production. For example, summer clothes, such as tee shirts, short pants, or skirts without elaborate tailoring are produced mostly by local factories in the central and southern counties in Taiwan; while more sophisticated clothes remain manufactured in China. A small number of domestic manufacturers in the central south of Taiwan, therefore, continue to work with Taiwanese wholesalers and retailers to serve such functions.

6.2.2 Cultural cultivation through clothing consumption

To sum up the previous discussion, the contemporary Taiwanese clothing trade is linked to both domestic and foreign production lines, being connected with wholesale centers in Taiwan, China, and Korea. Clothing vendors play a major role in making a transnational collection of garments and their cultural meanings explicit to shoppers through their nightly interaction with market goers over exchanges and conversations. Like the market food popular for its tasty flavor as well as for the vendor's ability to manage impressions, the clothing exchange in night markets depends on vendors to discursively construct their aesthetics and characters for the public instead of using corporate labels or formal media advertisement. Street vendors brand the products by informing shoppers of the distinctions in material, quality of production, and styles of clothes from different regions, often through expressive hawking, eloquent explanation,

and handbills. Standing at the front-most end of the clothing trade supply chain, clothing vendors interact with shoppers, observing the local response to merchandise so as to have consumer feedback for their next visit with wholesalers. Their onsite conversations and interactions with shoppers are crucial to local firms in learning what aesthetics appeal to local shoppers.

Figure 6-2.
Three tee shirts read "I Love Taiwan", "Taiwan", and "Taiwanese" (starting from the left)

Figure 6-3.
A tea stand's wall painting demonstrates a parody of Starbucks Coffee's logos.

Street vending is an important channel for the domestically produced clothes that offer simple and yet up-to-date styles. As described above, street vending also facilitates

the timely adaptation of producers to social customs and local trends. Phrases coined by local celebrities or politicians appear on the shirts as soon as they become popular. Street outfits also tend to follow global trends by playing out symbolic expression through languages and icons. A corny phrase, such as “I Love TW” that apparently replicates “I Love NY”, is a commonly seen example. Logos imitating American and European corporate logos, such as Coca Cola, Starbucks, or Mentholatum, become prints on tee shirts--not as pirates, but as a creation of cultural imagination with a twist of cool irony.

One might condemn these creations embedding hybridity of mostly Japanese and American cultures as nothing but post-colonial nostalgia and cultural submission, instead of meaningful attempts at resisting globalization. Some might appreciate the practices of these imitation, modification, and parody of symbols as creative reproduction of foreign consumption culture. These commodities, indeed, mix foreign symbols with local customs and reality by taking the advantage of street commerce’s high level of cultural adaptation, signified by domestic designers and manufacturers taking Shilin Night Market to showcase cultural tactics. In his analysis of Spanish colonial impact on the indigenous Indian culture of consumption, De Certeau claims: “…they made something else out of them; they subverted them from within—not by rejecting them or by transforming them (though that occurred as well), but by many different ways of using them in the service of rules, customs or conviction foreign to the colonization which they could not escape” (De Certeau, 1984, p.32). Streets, the informal vending venues as opposed to formal retail spaces, afford opportunities for an active identity construction through vendors’ persistent contestations over the functions and regimes of public space, and through domestic manufacturers’ exercises of minor subversion over global

consumer culture to engender opportunity for the formulation of a customary identity impossible within global chain stores and foreign wholesale centers.

The spatiality of Shilin Night Market affords opportunities of cultural cultivation through a transnational wholesale trade that articulates local and global trends to satisfy Taiwanese shoppers searching for cosmopolitan fashion, and foreign tourists craving local significance. The transnational quality of the clothes— where they are manufactured, who designs them, and what geographical references the clothes attempt to deliver, are three major cultural markings of a shopper's taste and social and economic level. In fact, the qualities and the designs are often evaluated by the "nationalities" of the products. Although clothes available in night markets are considered affordable ones, customers whom I interviewed are conscious of the subtle variations in qualities among them. For instance, vendors represent Korean clothes as more sophisticated and trendy in fashion than clothes of Chinese and Taiwanese manufactures. Market goers learn to craft out their own tastes by distinguishing features and details of clothes while reflecting on their knowledge about each of these manufacturing and wholesale locations. Through these material practices, these consumers cultivate a cosmopolitan consciousness, ultimately achieving a degree of self-expression by purchasing and wearing the garments.

6.3 The production of a transnational space

I understand the transnational culture of Shilin Night Market through an exploration of the material practice of food and clothes, combining local and global synergies. The food vendors' spatial practice flows inward, as vendors draw familiar and exotic foods from around Taiwan and elsewhere into the market. In contrast, the practice of clothing production and vending flows outward in a pan-Asian search for garments of

quality and sophistication that vendors then offer for sale in the market. These complementary flows--the inward drawing-to of foods and the outward-directed search for garments--stretch the identity of Shilin Night Market from that of a local trading place to a liminal space that subsumes a grounded, place-specific practice within a network of transnational flows.

Both modes of practice do not just mechanically transport things from one place to another, but rely on agents' sensibility and creativity in thinking over what they do in a local context in order to successfully produce global significance within the landscape of cuisine and fashion. Just as a clothes vendor needs to know what shirts will appeal to Taiwanese customers by considering how styles, tastes, and customs of the local and the foreign complement each other, a food vendor needs to adapt hometown flavors to local tongues. These vendors need to think both globally and locally before they act—to produce things that truly work in a Taiwanese market as the practices pertaining to the local and the global spheres signify each other when well articulated. Street vendors pursue as much agency in their cultural reinvention as in their spatial practice. They construct a marketplace on top of the original one by adding diversity to the material culture, which in its contemporary form includes both cuisines and clothing as the primary goods.[13] In the next sections, I describe how the municipality and capitalists attempt to maximize such a transnational quality reflected in the material landscape to discursively construct a cosmopolitan identity for Shilin Night Market and the city.

[13] I include accessories, such as bracelets necklaces, sun glasses, into the category of clothing, and beverages and sweets into the category of food. There are other commodities such as toys, home appliances, video tapes, and various consumer goods outside the two groups. I decided to focus on food and clothing as two primary types of commodities as shoppers whom I interviewed talked about these two kinds most.

6.4 Discursive construction of a cosmopolitan city

Witnessing the diverse material culture of Shilin Night Market, as well as the international crowd drawn to the market, the municipality has acted on the potential to brand Shilin Night Market as a space symbolic of a cosmopolitan identity for Taipei City. The transnational culture of its material world match well the city's vision for Shilin Night Market as a cosmopolitan space. As such, when the municipality began redeveloping Shilin Night Market in 2007, it compared it with three world-renowned tourist destinations: Singapore Chinatown, Shanghai Xian Tian Di, and Nakamise-dori Street in front of Sensoji Temple in Tokyo (see figure 6-4 to 6-6). These three places are similar in their features as historic-districts-turned-tourist-destinations located in an Asian metropolis, yet significantly different in their cultural characters, and historical and geographical backgrounds. Singapore Chinatown is in truth a multi-ethnic settlement formed in 1821 on the southwest bank of the Singapore River. The Singaporean government redeveloped the neighborhood filled with Baroque and Victorian-style shophouses in the 1960s into a prominent tourist attraction accommodating dining and shopping activities. Shanghai Xin Tian Di is an entertainment district that comprises a collection of renovated Shikumen (stone-gated) houses converted into restaurants, cafes, and boutiques. Sensoji Temple is a national, historic heritage located in the inner-city area of Tokyo. A shopping street, named Nakamise-dori Street lined by stalls of handcrafts and snacks, and historic buildings on both sides, is located between two gates in front of the temple. The sophisticated architecture of buildings, the traditional, religious rituals in the temple, and the festive shopping street attract Japanese and international tourists. The temple and its surrounding environment symbolize a successful preservation of

traditional aesthetics in the midst of cosmopolitan Tokyo. Despite the differences among these attractions, the city government did not hesitate to manipulate these urban and national symbols to define Shilin Night Market as a quality destination to attract tourists.

Out of these destinations, Taipei City Mayor Long-bin Hao was particularly interested in associating Shilin with Nakamise-dori Street and Sensoji Temple in Tokyo. He announced to the press that Municipal Offices of the Urban Redevelopment and Market Administration had started redesigning Shilin Night Market as a tourist destination to rival Nakamise-dori Street (Lin, 2007). The goal of building the Sinsoji-Shilin connection is to shift what is generally considered a mainly local night market into a globally renowned site. Although Sinsoji Temple and its surroundings do not resemble Shilin Night Market in terms of commercial activities, scale of space, built form, or visitor profiles, the pursuit of modernity rationalizes the mayor's advocacy of a somewhat strange yet strategically smart vision for Shilin Night Market. His ideas then became part of a mainstream discourse to legitimize the city's aggressive redevelopment. Through this discursive practice, Shilin Night Market takes a huge leap in scale from the local to the global, from a street market to an international tourist site in the making. The discursive construction of Shilin Night Market represents a quintessential example of how public space becomes symbolic capital in support of the reformulation of urban identity and the fulfillment of the municipality's compelling desires of urban redevelopment. I distinguish the commonly seen discursive constructions of night markets into two kinds playing out different imaginations: nostalgic construction and Westernized imagination.

6.4.1 Nostalgic construction

The association of Shilin with Sensoji demonstrates a long-standing "learning

from Japan" ideology of nation building useful in political empowerment for the Taiwanese government. Japan represents for Taiwan a symbol of modernity, and a role model country with resilience in achieving postwar rebirth within a short time. The cultural affiliation between Japan and Taiwan resulting from their colonial history is witnessed in the many similarities between Japanese and Taiwanese streetscapes and lifestyles, further justifying an urban branding modeled in relation to Japan. This cultural connection on the one hand makes it easy for Taiwan to shape or reshape things in Japanese style. On the other hand, nostalgic desires of Japanese for Taiwanese culture serves as great basis for tourist development. In other words, the more Taiwan resembles the traditional Japan, the more Japanese tourists will feel interested in visiting Taiwan as Japanese long for Taiwanese culture mixed with some Japanese tradition that gives them familiar experiences with some degree of freshness.

Figure 6-4. Singapore Chinatown[14]

[14] Source of the picture: http://www.3-meals.com/2007/06/26/chinatown-singapore

Figure 6-5. Shanghai Xin Tian Di[15]

Figure 6-6. Nakamise-dori Street in front of Sensoji Temple in Tokyo, Japan[16]

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[15] Source of the picture: http://www.johnnyjet.com/photos/PicForNewsletterShanghai-200835.JPG

As depicted in a Japanese airline commercial slogan, "come to Taiwan and discover the Japanese [tradition]," Japanese consumers in recent years have newfound interest in traveling to Taiwan for nostalgic experiences (Lin, 2009). A growing number of advertisements of travel agencies and airline companies portray Taiwan as "Old Japan," a nearby destination where modern Japanese can easily discover the long-lost aura of traditional Japan. Japanese visitors can find this more spontaneous world in such recommended destinations as old railways, mountain townhouses, and most of all, bustling night markets (see Lin, 2009; Hsu, 2009).

Many of these seemingly mundane, everyday places in Taiwan quench the Japanese thirst for the freedom, spontaneity, and unplanned qualities of urban life, things belonging to a less modernized past. For example, a Japanese writer, while documenting her trip to Shilin Night Market, described the market as a place filled with "humanistic flavor" as she felt richly the warmth, and human touch as vendors carry out their business and interact with shoppers without adhering strictly to spatial and social rules (Lin, 2009). Similarly, another female backpacker, Yuka, wrote a series of journals on her personal website which receives high web page reviews by Japanese readers, documenting her life since relocation to Taiwan with stories of experiences unavailable to her in Japan, such as living in a rooftop squatter settlement, and street vending (Hsu, 2009).

According to the annual census of the Tourism Bureau of R.O.C., Japanese female tourists are the largest foreign tourist group in Taiwan (Hsu, 2009). To trade on this tourist's profile, the Tourism Bureau invited the previously mentioned, online female

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[16] Source of the picture: http://photos.travellerspoint.com/91874/large_Tokyo_Asak.._street.jpg

writer to be a spokesperson for a public campaign promoting Taiwan as a tourist destination in Japan, targeting mainly young women. Inspired by how the Tourism Bureau of the Great Barrier Reef in Australia promoted its island tourism in 2008 by soliciting travel journals from international tourists with awards of sponsored trips, the Tourism Bureau asked foreign travelers to write journals on the campaign website with examples written by Miss Yuka (Hsu, 2009). The new phenomenon that people coming from more developed countries follow Taiwanese culture (see for example, Yuka, 2005; Erskine, 2008), termed by Taiwanese as "hatai," empowers Taiwanese citizens, inspiring the government agencies to promote Taiwanese tourism by showing the vernacular side of Taiwan. "Hatai" is a new term that Taiwanese recently coined to describe foreigners who are obsessed with Taiwan and its culture (Chiang, 2007; Lee, 2009). Opposite to "hari," a more common term describing a Taiwanese obsession with Japanese culture (see Chi, 2001; Lee, 2004), the use of "hatai" reverses the power relation held between Taiwan and Japan. In the new structure engendered by hatai phenomenon, the positions of Taiwanese as the admirers and the Japanese as the worshiped are switched.

Just as the term hatai does not only apply to the Japanese, the municipal government expects that people from other countries will be drawn to Taipei as well. As such, the city government acknowledges that not every foreigner experiences Taiwan in a nostalgic way. A nostalgic style of urban branding falls short in presenting the modernized aspect of Taipei, thus losing the opportunities to welcome other tourists who might expect something new. Considering that the food and clothes in Shilin Night Market embrace a broad range of national cultures, the image of a night market as a cultural setting should demonstrate the same level of diversity. A night market, in other

words, can be traditional yet modern, nostalgic yet sophisticated, eastern and western.

6.4.2 Western imagination

A second type of discursive construction of a night market is one that appropriates westernized modernity. Although the redevelopment of Shilin Night Market adopts mostly Asian imaginaries, it is necessary to shift our attention briefly to another night market, Shida Night market, for understanding the influence of a western imagination on the discursive construction of night markets. Shida Night Market is known for its young clientele from two noted universities nearby and relatively more Westerners who study Chinese language in these two universities. In 2007, a Taiwanese writer and food critic, and the CEO of Trend Technology Taiwan, Inc, jointly created an art space, named "South Village," in this neighborhood. In this art space, they hold monthly European culinary workshops and photography exhibitions. A magazine with the same name was also published to promote this bourgeois establishment. Later, the writer published an article in the China Times News, arguing that her establishment symbolizes a new development trend as they want to introduce a new food consumption culture to this neighborhood, replacing the vulgar, commercial name of Shida Night Market with "South Village," a name inspired by the East Village in New York City (see Han, 2007). This article raised heated public debates. From general readers to people who know of the history of New York's East Village, much debate on the renaming followed in newspaper and personal websites (see Huang, 2007; Han, 2007). Some praised this as a cultural experiment, while more criticized this effort as a pretentious, bourgeois imagination of a westernized modernity with little reflection on the local history and civic memory of authentic night market culture.

A westernized imagination appeals particularly to the other major category of tourists in Taiwan, mainland Chinese tourists, who, unlike Japanese women, find in Taiwan an aura of modernism. As the last section suggests, Japan considers Taiwan as old Japan, so theoretically Taiwan avoids presenting itself as too modern for fear of dampening Japanese interest in Taiwan. Even though China has witnessed aggressive economic development as a result of radical economic reform, Taiwan is still viewed by the world as a more modern and westernized place by international standards than China. As Megan Fraser, Asian Office Director of the noted travel guide, *Lonely Planet*, writes, "Taiwan preserves the essence of Chinese tradition, turning it into a delicate lifestyle in the modern world. This is what Mainland China cannot keep up with in short time" (cited by Chiang, 2007). Thus, Chinese tourists expect representations of modernity and westernized civilization in tourist spaces in Taiwan. The state uses these expectations of enjoyable journeys in Taiwan to justify radical transformations of old marketplaces into high quality shopping districts as mainland Chinese, overall, make up the largest population of tourists in Taiwan.

As such, one finds two different views on developing Taiwanese tourism. One appeals to the Japanese taste for the quaint and authentic, pointing out that Japanese tourists have more money to spend than Mainland Chinese. Government census data indicate that the Mainland Chinese tourist spends much less per day in Taiwan than the Japanese tourist does (Tourism Bureau, R. O. C., 2008). The other side argues that China's much larger population can bring proportionately larger growth in the long run. Besides, historically there has been a steady flow of tourists between the two regions because of Chinese immigrants' bonding to their hometowns in the Mainland. The

connection between the two areas has gotten tighter since the election of President Ying-joe Ma in 2008. Ma established a closer cross-strait relation by allowing direct flights and shipments between two areas, making Taiwan more accessible to China and Mainland Chinese more interested in Taiwan than ever, either for commerce or sightseeing. Other than the contradictory images of the old and the new, the historically formed tension between China and Japan plays a big role in Taiwanese tourist policies. Some suggest that the increase of Japanese tourists will push Mainland Chinese out of Taiwan and vice versa based on their historical antagonism against each other.

There is as yet little such dilemma for Shilin Night Market as the market is less than fifty years old. Compared to other landmarks and buildings in Taiwan with much longer history, this market is not generally recognized as a symbol of historic heritage. Yet the place is also not a completely modern establishment since it already encompasses decades of citizens' memories and lived reality. The "in-between" quality of Shilin Night Market forms an ambivalent identity. We see, however, a great variety of cuisines with Chinese and Japanese influence, and clothes imported from China yet designed with strong references to Japanese and American pop culture. There are, in other words, various possibilities as rich and diverse as the material world of cosmopolitanism, useful for developing a tourist market, one friendly not only to the Chinese or Japanese but in truth to other international visitors. Thus, the modern and traditional, the west and east, Chinese or Japanese, or any other seemingly competing, contesting, and even contradicting imaginations do not necessarily cancel one another's significance; rather, they are blended into this market which is a fertile ground for the formulation of a global awareness for Taiwanese citizens and a cosmopolitan identity for Taipei city.

6.5 Rethinking a market culture

Be it a night market that sells tourists its nostalgia, or one that recalls the bold spirit of western modernity, Shilin's image is open for creation and interpretation. Taiwanese culture has multiple characters: The context of multiple phases of colonization and migration from Mainland China after 1949 complicates opportunities for Taiwan's national identity formation over a historically determined process. Yet this history gives Taiwan a high level of freedom and agency to play with urban images to define itself at the current historical juncture. Taiwan's international image-crafting resembles the ways that multinational cultural influences encounter one another in Shilin Night Market as a result of translocal migration and transnational commerce. In this regard, culture becomes diversified rather than dichotomized when consumption becomes a means of defining identity since different forms of symbolic producion follow the same logic of exchange and circulation to acquire enough polish to fit the international standard of consumerism. Chinese, Japanese, or any other foreign tourists all want to see something "nice" just as they desire different makeup on the same face. As MacCannell (1973) suggests, tourist settings are designed to produce "staged authenticity", to create an impression for tourists that they have experienced the reality when they have not. In other words, all tourist settings simulate tourists' false consciousness to support their belief in the authenticity of their experiences. Yet when a place like Shilin Night Market has no fixed, original image that the redeveloped environment can mirror, the success of this place as a tourist destination depends on how much the designers and planners can stimulate and capitalize on travelers' fantasy for and imagination of a Taiwanese night market. The strategies of making the face of Shilin Night Market presentable to tourists to encourage consumption

are essentially the same across two or even more different modes of discursive construction regardless of the difference in the aesthetic and cultural styles of the outcomes of redevelopment.

And yet, the culture of Shilin Night Market is not just about the food and clothes, or any form of culture meant for only tourist pleasure. Material culture embodies richly cultural meanings: As Geertz has it, culture is "a historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life" (1973). What is reflected in symbolic forms is a socially contingent process as "culture refers to behavior and beliefs that are learned and shared: learned so it is not "instinctual" and shared so it is not "individual" (Pieterse, 1999, p.48). For example, culture in Shilin Night Market, as shown in chapter five, resides in the interpersonal relationships among vendors, the community fabric that they have formed, and in the embodied performances they have developed to support their fluid occupancy for economic activity. Without these intangible elements of culture, a cosmopolitan character richly embedded in the material world could not possibly have come to life and thrived.

Yet, the city and the social elites misunderstood the global culture as the kind separated from local experiences, and one that must be formulated into a marketable city identity for the convenience of attracting tourists and investment. Food and garments became the symbolic forms of such a valuable culture in the city official's mind. The other culture, that reflected in social ties, street life, community alliance, and the various spatiality, is not understood by city offcials to engender the sensuous delight of consumers, as food and fabrics do, nor does it seem to translate easily into profit and

modernized identity. Furthermore, if city officials worry that its non-material culture will limit Shilin Night Market's development as a profitable tourist destination, they will likely dispense with it to fulfill the municipal vision of modernity. As Castells said, "local cultures of urgency are the reverse expression of global timelessness" (1997, p. 64). In the name of identity formation for the market based on city officials' simple-minded understanding of globalization of the city, or the nation, culture is simplified, materialized, and commodified.

Conclusion

Food practices and clothing trades compose the transnational quality of the material world of Shilin Night Market, reflected primarily in its landscapes of food and fashion as symbolic capital for vendors and shoppers to cultivate global awareness, and most of all, for the municipality to formulate a cosmopolitan identity of Taipei City. Shilin Night Market, when branded as a cosmopolitan setting symbolic for urban identity and a subject of fantasy consumption by world tourists, is decreed by the planners and city officials to become a quality space of worldly sophistication, one meeting an international standard of inter-city competition. Under such desire, the city assumes regularized space and disciplined vendors as what modern tourists universally regard as elements of pleasant experiences, and overlooks for whom the market was first constructed and by whom the material culture was produced. Most of all, the city failed to acknowledge that the different ways in which local vendors, merchants, and visitors use the market in their everyday life are also part of experiences that global tourists anticipate to have when they visit the market. A misunderstanding and a false vision of modernity treat the local and the global as the opposite poles instead of mutually

inclusive practices and ideologies. In the next chapter, I examine the process the municipality is using to redevelop Shilin Night Market for what they consider to be a pleasant market for tourists. I explore the extent to which street vendors, after deploying a huge amount of cultural capital, have yet ironically become the ones the planners seize upon to control, manipulate, and even remove from the new plans.

Chapter Seven

Disconnection: Modern Redevelopment and Lived Experience

Introduction

The last chapter shows how the cosmopolitan spectacle of food and garments in Shilin Night Market has motivated the municipality to use the market to brand Taipei City as an international tourist destination**.** The Market Administration and Urban Redevelopment office work together to modernize Shilin Night Market by making a touristic space that meets an international standard of competition. City officials and planners appropriate the discourse of tourism grounded on ideals of modernity to redevelop Shilin Night Market in ways that ensure municipal taxation and increase public and private property interests. In the present chapter, I identify new construction and relocation as two strategies adopted by the municipal government to strengthen its governance of vendors in Shilin Night Market. The market administration designed a new market to reinforce control over licensed vendors to guarantee municipal revenues, while preventing unlicensed vendors from using the market site. For extralegal vendors on the streets, planners tried to relocate vendors into storefront arcades to be controlled by retailers and landowners, who organized themselves into a community organization to further their private property interests. Acting as a self-governing community, the association implemented and manages the arcade vendor allocation.

I contrast the municipal vision of Shilin Night Market, as briefly described above and at length in this chapter, with the night market produced from users' lived experience by interviewing local market visitors about their experiences in the market. Interviews

with market visitors find that local visitors' experiences of Shilin Night Market have more to do with the non-planned, fluid qualities of the space, than the universal aesthetics and organized units of modernism. The modern redevelopment of Shilin Night Market, ostensibly justified by the expectation of developing tourism, lacks understanding of how and why shoppers enjoy a night market. In its aggressive pursuit of global modernity, the municipal government neglected to realize that the basis of Shilin Night Market's attraction to international tourists lies in the place-making performance of local citizens in their attachment to the market. Shilin Night Market is a landscape staging the everyday life of Taiwanese vendors and consumers, not just a site of material consumption. If redevelopment comes at the expense of street vendors' business and local visitors' attachment to the locale, there will be simply nothing left for the city to trade upon in its quest for prominence as a tourist destination. In the long run, the disconnection between the modernized redevelopment and citizens' lived experience puts the future of Shilin Night Market as a vital tourist destination in question.

7.1 Background of redevelopment

Before investigating the details of redeveloping vending space, I introduce the figure of vending population in Taiwan as the basis of my analysis. As the redevelopment of Shilin Night Market began in 2007 with the construction of a new market building on a portion of the site, I use the 2003 national census (the one before the latest 2008 census) (Executive Yuan, 2004) of street vendors as the baseline for my analysis of the structural factors, including the number, the net income, and the distribution of street vendors, that figure into the municipal government's decision to capture new revenue through control of vendors and provision of new retail space.

Nationwide, government figures show that the total number of unlicensed street vendors in 2003 was 10.6 percent higher than in 1998. The 10.6 percent increase in five years may not seem huge, but it was the greatest increase in a five-year period since 1988, the first census year.[17] By contrast, the total number of unlicensed vendors in 1998 was only 2.8 percent higher than in 1993. In the census, the government also emphasized a significant growth of the number of vendors from 2002 to 2003, as the result of global recession and domestic economic restructuring. Unlicensed vendors' total net income in 2003 amounted to 1,236 billion NT dollars[18], which accounts for a 28.53 percent surplus value rate—quite substantial in comparison to other types of businesses. In addition, their net income has continued increasing since 1988. Thus a growing amount of revenue has eluded the state's taxation net since the late 1980s. These unlicensed vendors' nontaxable revenues, therefore, motivated the city to rethink solutions to reinforce control over their businesses.

Geographically speaking, the majority of street vendors appeared in metropolitan areas, with Taipei County and Taipei city listed as the first and the second areas. On the micro level, 2003 data shows that street vendors appear mostly in the following locations: space near daytime public markets (30.8%), commercial districts (12.1%), and night markets (10.6%). These three location types represent 52.5 percent of the total number of vendors. In other words, vendors tended to appear in commercial areas where there were

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[17] The government conducts this census of national vendors every five years. It surveys the mobile and semi-mobile vendors who are not issued licenses by market administration. Due to the lack of permanent addresses for deregulated vendors, the survey adopted a sampling system to estimate the numbers of vendors and their income. The census is more helpful in reflecting the five-year change of information regarding street vendors in Taiwan than reporting accurate records.

[18] The NT dollar is the abbreviation of the New Taiwan Dollar, the official currency of Taiwan (Republic of China) since 1949, when it separated from the Mainland China. One NT dollar is about 0.03 US dollar in February 2010.

already other vendors. Locations of licensed vendors, such as space inside or outside public markets, usually attracted unlicensed vendors to share in the crowds of customers. Based on such a connection, the reinforcement of licensed vendors' space through spatial restructuring could indirectly control unlicensed ones. Unlicensed vendors' economic dependence on the licensed vendors explains why the municipal government rebuilt or relocated quite a few large, traditional markets in this decade as an attempt to stop the infusion of vendors.

Therefore, as the largest night market in Taipei and in Taiwan, Shilin Night Market became one of the city's major targets of reinforced governance as its location and the type of setting fit the profile reported in the census. Beginning with spatial restructuring, the city seeks to make Shilin Night Market the model of a modern night market, guiding the redevelopment of the other night markets in Taiwan. In the 2000s, the Office of Market Administration redeveloped more than a dozen public marketplaces or commercial streets, including both daytime and nighttime ones, by renovating the built environments to improve the retail landscape.[19] In most of these cases, businesses have not thrived in the rebuilt markets, resulting either in underutilization, as evidenced in high vacancy rates, or the complete demise of the market (Tseng, 2006). My interviews with shoppers in Shilin suggest that some worry that the redevelopment of Shilin will be another example of failure. The other interviewees regarded the creation of a new market

[19] Noted examples in Taipei include Nanjing Circle Night Market, and Long Shan Temple underground shopping street. Nanjing Circle Night Market was a circular market located at the center of several radiant streets in West Taipei formed in 1908, This once most popular night market in Taipei went through a decline in the 1990s because of shifting urban development to the East Taipei, eventually being closed in 2006 after the city rebuilt this market into one with glass curtains and steel trusses. Long Shan Temple underground shopping street was developed by the city in 2005 to relocate vendors and merchants from an old market and a street. The underground retail space became underused by vendors due to slow businesses, attracting only the homeless. The municipality currently plans alternative uses for both places.

and redeveloped streets as an opportunity for the municipality to show what the city has learned from the past experiences if the results turn out to be successful in continuing the former prosperity, or even revitalizing the declining businesses on the old streets.

The cultural vitality of Shilin and its increased popularity among foreign tourists, as discussed in chapter six, provide the rationale for the city to redevelop its environment to be a quality space for global tourism through architecture and spatial planning. In the name of shaping a tourist space, the city built a new building for licensed vendors, and designated new vending space elsewhere within the market in the hope of relocating extralegal vendors. In the following paragraphs, I describe the details and the procedures of these two different projects to show how they assure municipal revenues by making vendors legal and taxable ones while creating opportunities beneficial to public and private property values.

7.2 Building a new market to strengthen governance

The redevelopment began with building a new interior market in 2007 on the original site across from Zichen Temple to accommodate 538 licensed vendors, the earliest group of vendors to be granted vending rights.[20] As of this writing (February 2010), the market is still under construction. My analysis of the new market is based on my reading of the blueprints of architectural designs that I collected, and on building codes and other applicable regulations. The layouts of the new market followed "Taipei City Indoor Retail Market Codes" enacted in 2007 (Taipei City Government, 2007).

[20] In chapter four, I traced the historical formation of these licensed vendors from the time when the market administration designated 538 vending stands on a covered plaza, and two daytime markets inside. In 1990, the government strengthened regulation on vendors by removing the rooftops those vendors originally built in the 1970s to weatherproof their business.

Evolving out of the 1999 version of National Retail Market regulations (Ministry of Economic Affairs, R.O.C., 1999), with only general guidelines, the 2007 codes regulate the layouts of vending stands very specifically. The new codes, for example, require that market layouts be divided into different zones based on the categories of merchandise, with each zone comprising divided, coded units of vending stands of which the size and shape should meet the standards set forth by the municipal government.

7.2.1 Purposes: reinforced regulations of vendors

I conceptualize the form of the new indoor market as a system to discipline vendors by employing the idiom of modernist architecture, characterized by Foucault as a technology of taming human bodies through the processes of canalization and allocation. Organized floor plans with coded vending units allow the Municipality to regulate vendors economically by charging them standardized rent, cleaning fees, and business taxes. I argue that the authorities can also conduct inspections of food production and sanitation to manage the products and services provided by vendors to ensure the overall quality of the market. The level of governance of unlicensed vendors increases with that of licensed ones. Coded, divided units, as opposed to the originally undivided open space, give no opportunity for licensed vendors to negotiate extra space for relatives, family members, and friends, precluding the entry of unlicensed vendors that leads to nontaxable income and deregulated services.[21]

Comparing the design of the new market with the municipal regulations on retail

[21] In the open plazas across from Zichen Temple, vendors found availability where they could, often through introduction of known vendors. Interviews with senior vendors suggest that licensed vendors negotiated space for relatives and friends, producing quite a few additional irregular arrangements of stands and residual corners that complicated the circulation.

markets (Taipei City Government, 2007), the new layouts allow the city to accurately estimate the business in the market based upon the ratio of occupancy of vending units in addition to assurance of public revenues and prevention of extralegal occupancy. The codes (ibid.) indicates that if occupancy declines to certain levels, the city can look for more profitable uses of the facility, or simply turn the market into private facilities to accommodate alternative purposes. With the agreement of three quarters of the total vendors, the city can turn the management of the market over to private interests. According to the codes (ibid.), if one third of the vending units remain empty for over six months because of declining businesses, the city can close the market, relocating remaining vendors to other municipally owned facilities. Although the decline of public markets could result from such changes as the demographics of the neighborhood, citizen's consumption habits, and so on, precedent cases of redevelopment suggests that the changes of built forms and locations played a major role in the decline when consumers' perception and experiences of the environment changed. Thus building the new market, albeit not necessarily on purpose, affords the municipality a stage for future redevelopment of municipal property in the most economic way.

7.2.2 Procedure of building a new market

Based on the city's expectation of controlling vendors comprehensively, the Market Administration in 2002 relocated licensed vendors temporarily to a site across from Jiangtan Subway Station so that it could demolish the original structures on the job site for new construction. The city did not begin the construction until December 2007--five years after vendors were relocated to the temporary building. The officials at Market Administration whom I interviewed attributed the lengthening process of development to

the existence of squatter settlements on the borders of the job. It took the Market Administration years to reclaim occupied, municipal property over extensive lawsuits with squatters before the site was completely ready for construction.

Since 2002, the temporary market has failed to attract as many customers as the original food market had for mainly two reasons. Isolated from the retail streets that shoppers use, the temporary building could not capitalize on the crowds of visitors who look for refreshment while shopping. Then, the ventilation in the temporary market was worse than the original market, which discouraged visitors from consuming food inside. My field research from November 2008 to August 2009 found that the total number of operating vendors kept decreasing and now comprises fewer than half the original number of vendors. These factors of isolation and poor ventilation account for the high vacancy of vending units in the temporary market. Consequently, most of the food vendors sold their vending rights before or after the relocation, or suspended their business in expectation of returning to the original location when the new market will be completed (at a date still fairly uncertain).[22]

Another factor that accounted for the delaying construction was the lengthy design review process, in which the architect revised the design of New Shilin Market several times before the project went into construction. The various design revisions reflected the design team's effort to respond both to vendors' expectations and users' memories of the old space by evolving over three phases of conceptual development of

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[22] The Cultural Bureau of Taipei City government designated the site of the temporary market to be the location for Taipei Performing Arts Center in 2008. The Office for Metropolitan Architecture (OMA) led by Rem Koolhaas was awarded the first prize of the design competition in January 2009. My interviews with planners suggest that the Urban Redevelopment office does not link the project of this art center directly to their redevelopment strategies of Shilin Night Market. The Mayor promotes the art center as part of the city's symbolic capital to brand Taipei as a cultural city in general. I see the art center, if completed in the future, will form a dramatic contrast with the night market aside.

architectural form. The first concept was a seven-story building that oddly resembled a school, a community center or similar public facility. City officials and architectural critics rejected the design as too modernist in its form and bulk to represent the spirit of the night market. In fact, the facades resemble the architectural style of Bauhaus school, a school of craft, fine art, and architecture founded and designed by Walter Gropius in Germany in 1919. The educational philosophy of Bauhaus had great influence upon the design principles of modernist architecture. From the comparison of the first proposal of Shilin Night Market with the Bauhaus school as shown in figure 7-1, I suggest that the two buildings are somewhat similar in the composition of exterior forms and facades. Both buildings combine two to three sections on each facades composed by a set of vertical and horizontal elements to create sleek, rythematic, and asymmetric looks that characterize the aesthetics of modernist architecture inspired by the appearances and the functions of machines in the industrial era. The second proposal reduced the height of the building to three floors and would have had a more classic facade similar to those of the two adjacent day markets. In public hearings, local vendors, business owners, and panel judges still disliked the idea of an enclosed environment detached from the surroundings, suggesting that a night market should be redesigned to be an open space yet weather-proof. In light of these responses, the final design revision left the ground floor as a wide-open space of long, narrow aisles covered by skylights, somewhat like the track and platform arrangement at many railway terminals. The building would also have service cores and escalators leading customers to the three basements accommodating more stalls and parking lots. This design was approved and is now under construction.

Figure 7-1.
The first proposal of new Shilin Market (with comparison with Bauhaus)[23]

[23] Source of the Bauhaus picture: http://www.natureparktravel.com/dessau/bauhaus1.jpg

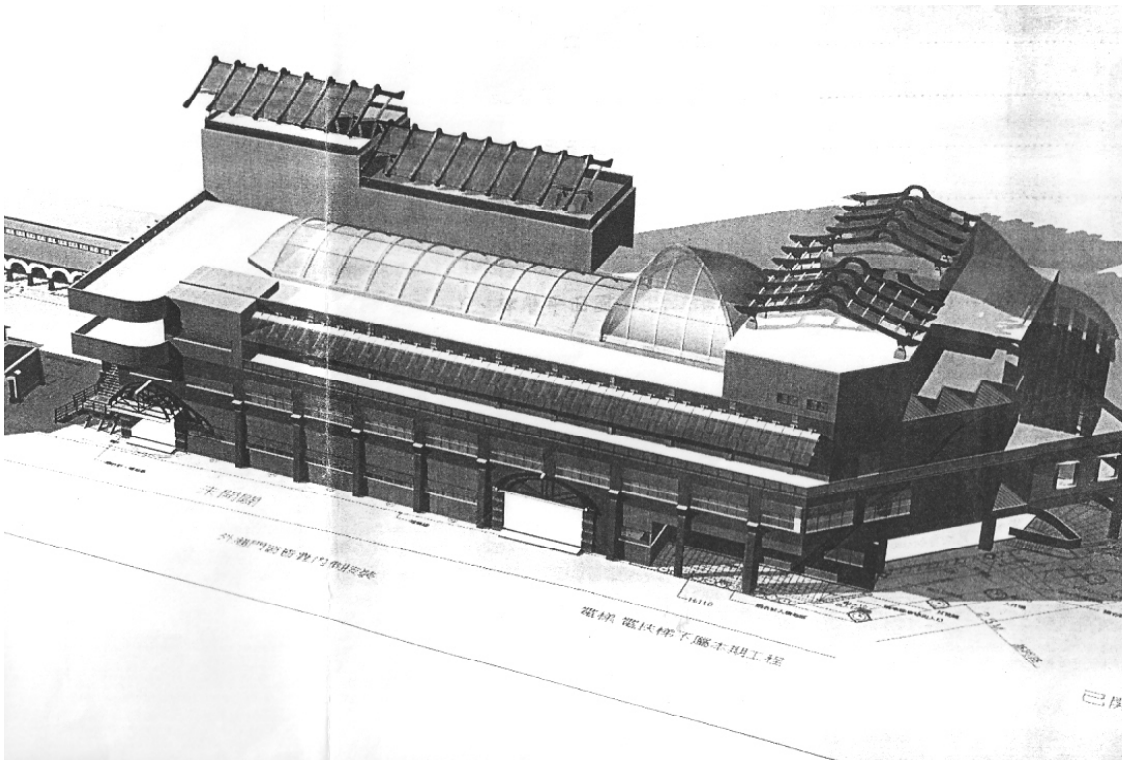


Figure 7-2. The second proposal of new Shilin Market
(Source: Tang Wang Architect's Office)

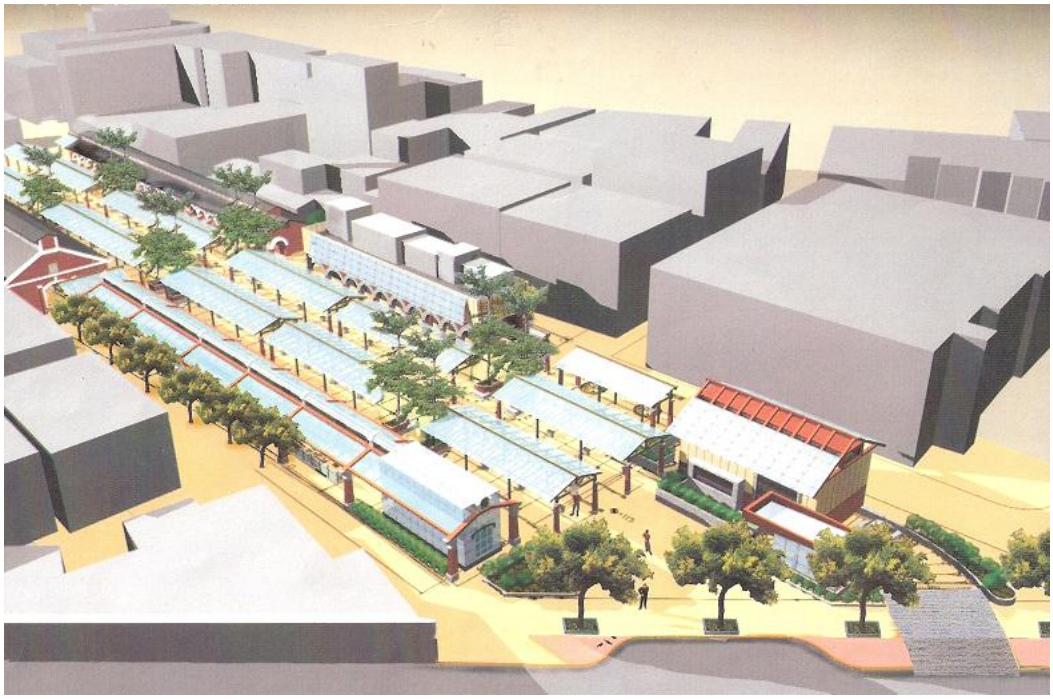


Figure 7-3. New Shilin Market perspectives
(Source: Taipei City Government, New Construction Office)

7.2.3 Details of the approved project

My interview with the architect suggests that the floor plans of the new market adhere to building codes to redefine pedestrian circulation and the allocation of vendors' stands. The total floor areas of various spaces, following the legal standards of vending units, walkways, parking space, and other service space, take up multiple stories. Thus, the design eventually resorted to basement space to balance the needs of having an appropriate form and required functions. The ground floor and the first basement contain vending units; the second and the third basements accommodate the parking area for vendors' trucks, motorcycles, and trolleys; as well as mechanical equipment, storage, and merchandise preparation areas. The vertically developed space necessarily created a wider-spread distribution of vending units than the original to the extent that there are clear differences in accessibility of vending stalls in the new layouts. For example, ground level vending stalls would be more desirable than basement stalls. Stalls near streets would be more likely to do well than those located further inside. The city officials told me that vendors would draw lots for new vending units upon the completion of the construction for a fair allocation of space.[24]

[24] In the temporary market, the market administration already allocated units by asking vendors to draw lots for the locations for the first time. Those who got more desirable units mostly subleased their units at various prices. I predict that the allocation of vending stalls in the new market will reshape the rent structure of vending units.

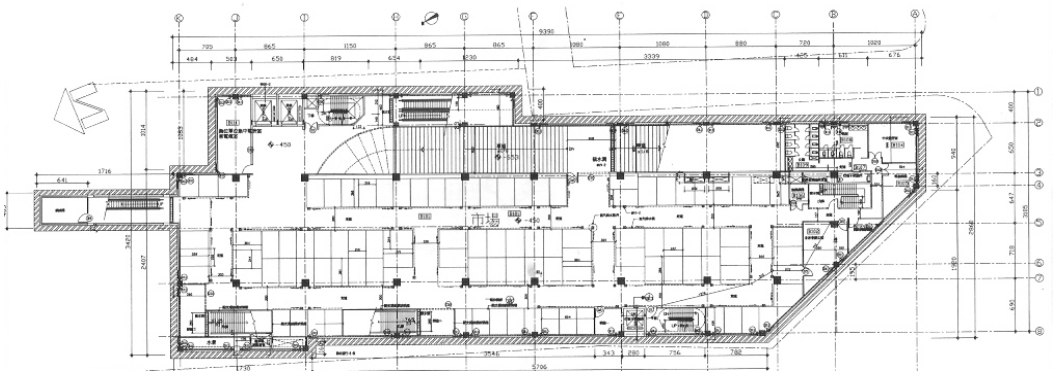


Figure 7-4. New Shilin Market B1F Plan
(Source: Taipei City Government, New Construction Office)

Modernist in spirit, the new space as shown in the floor plans features efficiency, convenience, and order, as is evident in floor directory systems, wide walkways, and two escalators to speed up pedestrian traffic. The interior circulation separates shoppers from vendors' space to avoid crowding and congestion. Compared to the first two proposals, I find that the final proposal echoes the original spatial pattern of a wide space in which food stands are arranged in long rows and, on ground level, connected with the surrounding streets. The advantage of the final design in my opinion is that it allows a smoother transition in spatial form between open streets to ground floor indoor space than the first two proposals would have done. In addition, the architect's return to the concept of a simple, semi-open plaza allows activities in the markets to speak louder than the architecture itself. Nevertheless, I argue that the placements of escalator, vehicular ramps, and staircases are bound to seem strange to shoppers who are used to random circulation and autonomous rhythm, as well as vendors who often customize the arrangement of stands under socially established agreements which allow flexible use and momentary alteration when necessary.

I see the design revisions as a demonstration of the efforts of the architect and

planners to produce a market space more responsive to the cultural context than the other failing, rebuilt markets in Taipei have been. A series of adjustments in the built form gradually crafted the new market as a semi-open space instead of an intimidating building. However, it surprised shoppers whom I interviewed that the solution hides a great part of the market underground, creating space alienated to the city in a similar way as the first two proposals would have done by standing high-rise. I contend that the architect laid his eyes on only the symbolic, ignoring the very nature of a marketplace as a social environment celebrated by such qualities as fluidity, spontaneity, and flexibility. As such, the solution superficially translated the "market ambiance" into the form of a semi-open plaza that may appeal to visitors' illusions but where, in truth, practices of control, limitation, and surveillance are deployed to ensure taxation and impose government authority. Quite possibly, such a new market will lead to an even higher rate of vacancy of stands and the disappointment of both visitors and vendors. As for a large number of unlicensed vendors, the city employed a different means of restructuring their space, explained as below.

7.3 Using arcades to relocate extralegal vendors

While the new market was in design, the administration also undertook a conceptually similar approach to dealing with the extralegal vendors long occupying Dadong Road by brining vendors into fixed locations. These unlicensed vendors that the municipal government targets include unregulated vendors that have used Dadong Road and the arcades of Wenlin Road since the early 1990s. As the number of those vendors on Dadong Road increased significantly, the city decided to take action beyond the regular policing, which is ineffective in reducing occupancy by illegal vendors. By framing the

existence of nearly two hundred vendors taking over the center of the street every night as a major impediment to pedestrian traffic and threat to public safety, urban planners in 2008 proposed to relocate them to unused arcades within the neighborhood in the hope of keeping the street clear. In addition to such reasons as circulation improvement, I argue that economic reasons concerning the municipal revenues and property development motivate the relocation. In preparation for relocating these vendors to unused arcades, the municipality legalized vending in storefront arcades, in September 2008, within a designated area on the north of Shilin Night Market. The newly legal status of arcade vending includes a section of Dadong Road, Daxi Road, and a section of Danan Road, as shown as in the map (figure 7-5). Here, arcades may become legitimate vending units.

The municipal government started the arcade relocation from these three streets in 2008, eventually continuing to designate Dabei Road (Figure 7-5) to provide additional vending arcades according to a public hearing in April 2009 that I attended. The subsequent planning represents a prototype to relocate vendors into storefront arcades instead of building new marketpalces. As the two phases of arcades planning are the same in their common purposes of utility upgrading and relocating street vendors, I will examine only the process of the creation of arcades on Daxi, Dadong, and Danan Roads to address the significnace of such a prevailing vending prototype. Based on my analyses of the two planning docuemnts provided by Urban Redevelopemnt Office (2005 & 2008) and my conversation with the planners, I contend that the city does so for mainly three reasons: to privatize licensing, revitalize retail economy, and to upgrade utility and beautify streets. In the following secitons, I will discuss in detail the reasons why planners make it a new convention to direct vendors into private property in terms of

these three dimensions.

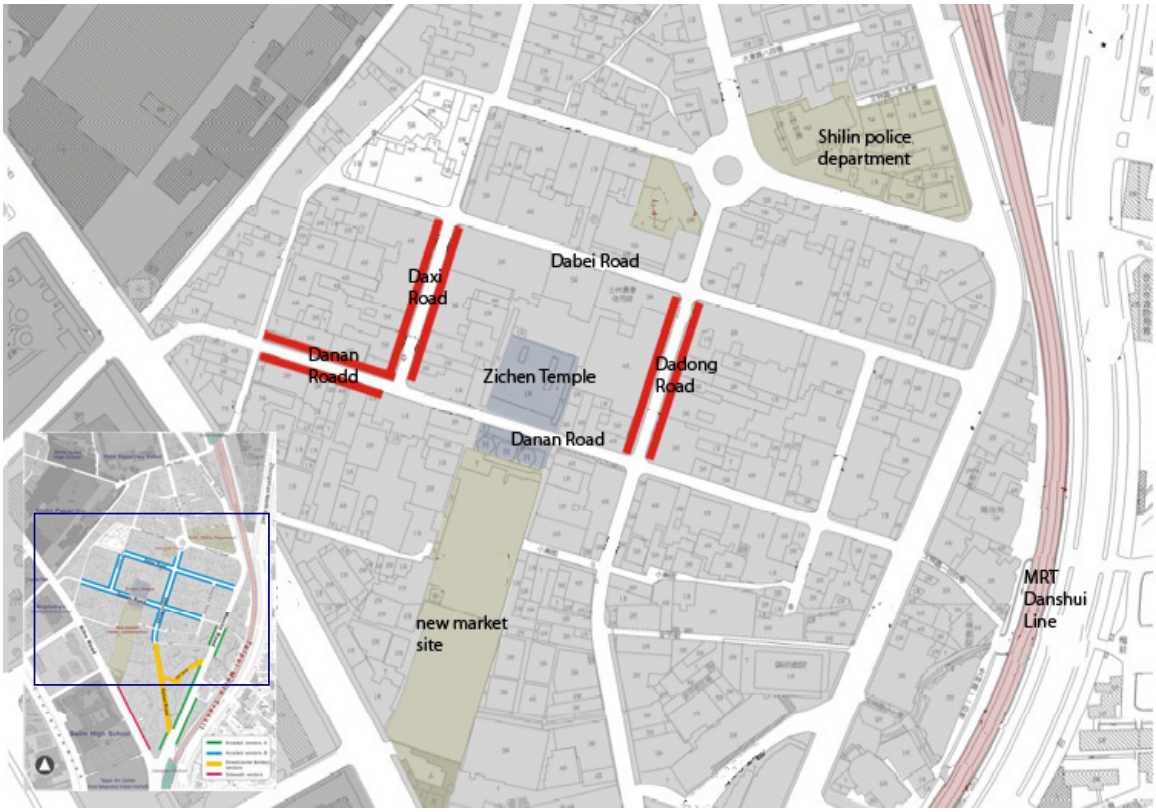


Figure 7-5.
Streets of the Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement District where vending arcades are created (thick lines).

7.3.1 Purposes of relocation

Private licensing of street vendors

From the perspective of municipal governance of vendors, there would be no need for the city to provide licenses or register vendors since arcade vending, when legalized, could be seen as part of the economic activities of the retailers. Permitting vendors inside arcades seemingly authorizes property owners to license vendors, allowing owners to advise vendors about hours of operation, the placement of merchandise, and housekeeping standards. The privatization of management saves the municipality the time

and cost of governance. This system substitutes not only for municipal licensing, but for purposely-constructed market space. The divided arcades resemble rental units in the interior retail market and have the same expediency for controlling the number of vendors and preventing unpermitted entry. More ideally, the semi-covered arcades share the open-air quality and flavor of bustling streets, giving shoppers a sense of publicness instead of feeling bounded indoors.

Revitalized retail economy

As for the economic aspects, the rents that vendors pay to the retailers serve as an alternative form of taxation. For retailers, each arcade unit shares approximately one quarter of the merchant's rent. Aside from the rent that retailers receive from vendors, vendors attract customers for retailers. Such benefits are particularly useful for retailers located in those streets on the north of Shilin Night Market, where pedestrian flows have declined. The north side of the market was once a busy area because of its high accessibility by walking and driving. In the 1970s, people accessed Shilin Night Market by crossing Keelung River over a bridge located just north of the market. This circulation pattern directed large crowds into the north side. As the city redeveloped riverfronts along Jihe Road into residential areas in the 1990s, the bridge lost its major function of transporting people to the market. The completion of subway line in 1997 led people to enter the market from the south instead of the north. As few shoppers have reached the north distant from the subway station, the retail economy along those streets has suffered from economic decline since the subway was built. In the planning report (Urban Redevelopment office of Taipei City, 2008), municipal planners advocated that the relocation of vendors into the north was based on an idea that, if vendors start appearing

in those arcades, shoppers are likely to approach those streets, thus helping the storefront business to improve.

Framed by the municipality and landowners as a system through which vendors can be legally relocated, the arcades vendor allocation was in truth expected to fulfill another major goal of revitalizing the retail economy. The total arcades in Shilin Night Market, including those in the business improvement district, and in the other streets that may comprise the next business improvement district, are many fewer than the existing extralegal vendors. At most, the space created out of this plan can accommodate no more than half of the vendors on Dadong Road. I argue that the more primary goal of this arcades allocation measure is to benefit the district's retail members, who will benefit from the shoppers the vendors are expected to attract. Relocating extralegal vendors is only a secondary goal, as many will actually have no place to go.

Utility upgrading and street beautification

The above purposes both emphasize the significance of arcades as substitutes for regular vending units. There is yet another benefit about the relocation that does not happen directly on the arcades, but takes effect on public property as long as vendors are removed from streets. In the community meeting that planners had with local property owners, planers explained that driving vendors off the streets allows the municipality to upgrade the underground utility systems. When the systems are upgraded, infrastructure undertakings of electricity, gas, and water increase their utility revenues, while reducing maintenance costs. The arcades vendor allocation relocates vendors to facilitate such an agenda.

As a large commercial area active every night, Shilin Night Market has some of

the highest electricity consumption in Taiwan. Even as many households and companies cut their energy consumption in the face of economic recession, urban planners in a public hearing about utility upgrading of Dabei Road held in April 2009 reported that Shilin Night Market's electric usage in 2008 grew steadily as its retail and vending businesses thrived. To capitalize on this increase, Taiwan Power Company—the national utility provider— had wanted to increase the market neighborhood's limit of electric loading. To do so, they need to replace old cables, the same type used on Danan Raod with underground ones that transmit higher voltage of electricity. The two publicly owned gas and water utility companies could take advantage of the street work to replace their aging underground systems that challenge gas and water delivery. In the above public hearing, Taiwan Power Company also estimated that the old power cables are of a type that needs to be replaced every five to ten years, while the new cable systems have at least thirty years of life. Taiwan Power Company also promised that the frequency of blackouts caused by electric overloading around Shilin Night Market would lessen after the system is renewed, thus reducing significantly the company's maintenance cost.

Based on the above information, I see that the construction of upgrading utility in Shilin Night Market is advantageous for both the public and the private sectors. Utility upgrading, on the one hand, was a worthwhile undertaking that ensured growth in corporate revenue. On the other hand, upgraded utilities allowed merchants on these streets to operate their business more efficiently than before. Therefore, the upgrading also benefited owners of private property. Furthermore, the city renewed road pavements and street furniture in 2007 to create pedestrian streets following the utility upgrading, encouraging pedestrians who enjoy an aestheticized shopping environment to consume in

the retail stores. The system upgrading and street beautification worked together in increasing private property values within Shilin Night Market, benefiting from the relationship between public property redevelopment and private property values (see also Mitchell, 2003).

Combining all the three purposes, the arcades vendor allocation benefited the Market Administration, corporations and, most of all, private property owners. When the vendors were relocated from the public to the privately owned arcades, private property owners secured arcade rents and the business opportunity induced by vendors. The relocation also allowed the utility undertakings to upgrade systems to boost private property values. These sequences suggest that the arcades allocation ultimately benefited private property interest on multiple levels. All these benefits for the property interest motivated the city to implement the relocation. In the following I will describe how this plan gets operationalized in a business improvement district created within the market.

7.3.2 Procedure of relocating vendors

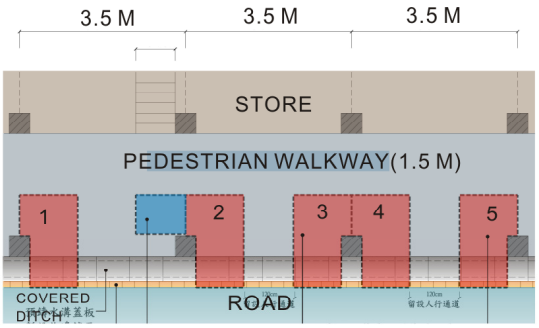
Based on the reasons discussed above, the Municipality in September 2008 officially permitted vendors to operate business inside storefront arcades on three streets by requiring vendors to rent space from the property owners who organize themselves into an organization to allocate vendors. Fifty-seven out of sixty-two property owners along these streets agreed to turn their arcades into vending units by organizing an association, named “Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement District Association (Shilin lao-jie shang-quan fan-rong cu-jin-hui)” to be the self-governing entity as required by the

Market Administration.[25]

City officials crafted the allocation pattern with guidelines on the units: a 2 meter-wide, and 1.5 meter long unit space, separate from retail storefronts with a 1.5m wide walkway for pedestrians to pass through (Figure 7-8). The city marked designated arcades with paint, defining 107 vending units in sum. Vendors have paid monthly sanitation membership fees on top of the rents agreed upon by both vendors and landlords. Those property owners who joined the association, after paying annual membership fees (higher than those levied on the vendors), became primary members who can lease their arcades legally and have a say in the association's decisions. With fee payments, including vendor and landlord memberships, and sanitation fees, vendors are accorded certain rights of access to the district, and landlords have the prerogative to recruit vendors. These membership fees support the association's operational costs and future private security cost (see Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement District, 2008).

[25] The reasons for the five owners' objection will be discussed in the next chapter.

Figure 7-6. & Figure 7-7.
Two vending units in each storefront arcade are coded and defined by painted line.



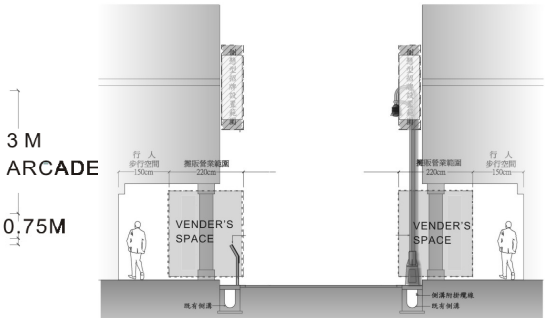


Figure 7-8. Plan of arcaded vending units **Figure 7-9. Section of arcades**

(Source: Taipei City Urban Redevelopment Office. Remade by author.)

The organization produces manuals to state rules, including the vendors' qualification and business regulations (ibid.). The qualification excludes vendors with unfinished imprisonment and punishments, and individuals under interdiction or in declared bankruptcy. Business regulations require clothing vendors to wear licenses around their necks and food vendors to place licenses where the police can inspect them. Food vendors are required to wear uniforms and aprons. The stand's name and a serial code are printed on vendors' licenses. The primary members whom I spoke to suggest that these impositions, in addition to assisting extralegal vendors to properly relocate, create a nice, clean environment for the local residents, shaping a refined image for tourists.

The arcade district resembles a business improvement district (BID) prevailing in North American cities where community members are empowered to organize local affairs in public space without local governmental intervention (see for example, Zukin, 1995; Low & Smith, 2006). In a typical business improvement district, the members, either shop owners or land owners, volunteer to levy taxes upon themselves to support

street maintenance and policing to create a business-friendly environment. However, the Shilin Old Street Business Improvement Association has not acquired enough funding to hire private police since its formation in 2008. Therefore, municipal police still patrol street corners to keep vendors in designated arcades (figure 7-10). The municipality and property owners affiliated with the association co-monitor this district based on the property interest of proprietors who manage street vendors for the city in exchange for the legal right to charge vendors and, in the future, possible fees to sponsor community-building events to promote retail businesses. In so doing, the privatized management balances the need of governance, pedestrian access and circulation, and the business interests of its members.

Figure 7-10. A police officer patrols street corners to keep vendors in designated arcades

Although the association hoped to relocate vendors from the south end of Dadong Road, it did not actively recruit those vendors. Instead, in March 2009 the association held a two-day event combining cultural tours, outdoor concerts, and street fairs, sponsored by the municipal government, to publicize the association and the arcades within the district (figure 7-11 and 7-12). Beginning in March, my field work found that the local police department also increased the hours of nightly policing on Dadong Road to drive vendors off the streets. The city's sponsorship for the promoting events, and reinforced policing could be seen as indirectly forcing extralegal vendors to relocate into the provided arcades.

Figure 7-11. A local politician, escorted by some members of Shilin Old Streets Business Improvement association, attended a street fair held by the association to promote arcades vendors' businesses.

Figure 7-12. A two day event publicizes the BID and the vending arcades

7.4 Reflections on a modernized market

To summarize from the previous discussed strategies of spatial reorganizing legal and extralegal street venders, I find that the city's production of indoor space and the reproduction of private property, facilitated by the reinforced policing, aim to effectively regulate economic activities. Walls, rooftops, or painted lines confine vendors and their activities within indoor and restricted outdoor zones that ensure control and municipal revenues. A close reading of these strategies of design and planning manifests the city's pursuit of property interest beyond taxation and the will of governance of vending activities. The two projects—building a new indoor market, and relocating vendors into arcades—work together to modernize Shilin Night Market into an organized, safe, and beautified space, an environment fitting the ideal of an international tourist destination. I

have tried to contrast this vision of a modern, somewhat generic tourist spectacle with the market's growth as a historically contingent, grounded place filled with the lived reality of local citizens; a space different from many global entertainment sites meant for pleasure and consumption. Reflecting on the historical and cultural context of Shilin, one cannot help raising a crucial question: is this vision of a modernized market indeed as successful in meeting visitors' expectations as it is in embodying a municipal economic agenda?

7.4.1. Neglected significance of local attachment to a night market

To address the dimension of visitors' experiences neglected by the municipal government when designing and planning new space, I conduct mobile interviews with market visitors to find how they perceived a night market differently from the ways design professionals do. Many visitors conceptualize a night market not as a building, nor a zone defined by walls and ceilings, but as an area of sprawling streets and alleyways lined by low tables, heating fuel containers, and shops with trolleys protruding into arcades and sidewalks (see also Huang & McNally, 2007). The image of night market in the local user's mind is of an unbounded, open-ended space that does not require physical structures to define it. One female shopper in her mid-twenties has it this way:

> A night market is supposed to be in an open space where vendors' stalls are widespread. This makes it seem like an occasional event. I know these vendors will be here tomorrow, and the day after tomorrow, but to have a roof on top of everything just feels bad. It makes it look like a permanent store. The faces of streets, therefore, are not likely to change. (Kuo, interview, July 12 2007)

Users clearly distinguish a night market from any corporate shopping regime, embracing the non-planned, ever-changing quality celebrated by the streetscape, merchandise, and pedestrian flows. Tsao, a local merchant, who joined the business improvement association to turn his storefront arcade into vending units, yet disagreed with city officials who rebuilt the indoor market: “When it comes to redeveloping a night market, never build a tall building. Strolling in a night market is different form strolling in department stores, taking escalators, and all that kind of thing. These two are different” (Tsao, interview, March 21 2009).

The municipality’s decision to rebuild this market over an exhausting process confuses vendors who have spent as long as seven years waiting for the completion while operating their business in a difficult situation. As one vendor put it, “The only thing they [the market administrative staff] should have done about the old space was to just lift the rooftop to improve the interior ventilation instead of building a brand new market” (Chen, interview, March 22 2009).

This narrative suggests that vendors did not request a new space, and have only gotten frustrated by the processes of relocation and construction that have disrupted their business. Vendors expressed concern over unsuitable architecture, or any drastic change in spatial form that will lose “market flavor”, discouraging visitors from returning or recognizing noted food stands.

Most often, visitors perceive the boundaries and rhythms of Shilin Night Market through embodied experiences. For example, a shopper explained how he uses the number of vendors’ light bulbs to perceive this and other night markets.

> The fewer you see, the more you are approaching the end of the market. If you still see many, meaning you can keep going. When I go to other cities, I also do it this way. A place where there are many little yellow bulbs at night seems to be where a night market is. (Wenji, interview, August 6, 2007)

Visitors embody information regarding spatial from as well as ambiance of a market. Even though the city strived to take extralegal vendors off the street to reclaim order and safety, many consider the presence of the vendors on streets to be a scene symbolic of vitality of Shilin Night Market, an impressive spectacle that visitors anticipate. On the contrary, this place does not feel like a night market to visitors if it's not crowded, even suggesting its possible decline. Therefore, a shorter interpersonal distance in Shilin does not upset users; rather, it makes one fully aware of the market phenomenon. Edward Hall's (1966) study of proxemics suggests that, through measuring and maintaining proper inter-personal distances, people embody their social knowledge and expectations, allowing them to feel and behave properly in cultural settings. Getting slightly tussled, jostled, a bumped shoulder, and overhearing others' conversations due to a close proximity are among the bodily sensations that make one feel "being in a night market." As one shopper said, "A night market is supposed to be crowded. It is about sweating, getting pushed and stepped on, just like playing basketball. I won't feel upset about it being crowded" (Chiyao, interview, July 25, 2007).

7.4.2 Rethinking a new market reflecting global imagination

As the previous narratives illustrate, a night market formed in the minds of local people is quite different from the modernized market of disciplined citizenship and visual

aesthetics to which city officials and planners aspire. The municipal version of the market grounds the opportunity for taxation, corporate revenues and property interests, yet diverges from local visitors' experiences, memories, and enjoyment of going to a night market. Local engagement is simply detached from the globalized vision of a landscape qualified to represent the modern identity of the city. Things that local visitors embrace fall into the domain of the traditional, the nostalgic, and other qualities in opposition to the state's redevelopment of the market as a symbol of modernity. As Appadurai (1996) writes,

> It is also because of the memories and attachments the local subjects have of and to their shop signs and street names, their favorite walkways and streetscapes, their times and places for congregating and escaping are often at odds with the needs of the nation-state for regulated public life. (p. 63)

When it comes to developing a tourist space, design professionals and politicians believe in a set of ideals of modernity such as physical order and homogeneous space as the necessities of reaching the state of global quality. Local visitors' memories, aspirations, and perceptions of a night market, when faced with the state's will to redevelop, must give way to the projects of making Shilin Night Market a cultural symbol of urban and national identities. In terms of the redevelopment of Shilin Night Market, such a discourse has guided a series of relocations, demolition, reconstruction and regularizing vendors, which have been executed so as to expel vendors who fail to fit the design and planning schemes.

When we rethink the very nature of Shilin Night Market, we find the discourse of

touristic market redevelopment is not just one dimensional but highly debatable. Shilin Night Market began as a local hangout, evolving over decades into a site visited by international tourists. It has never been, and will not be, a mere tourist bubble with no local engagement, because the attraction of the market comes predominantly from the presence of local people. The foreign tourist comes to Shilin Night Market expecting to see how local people live their lives within its material landscape of food and clothes. On the contrary, a typical tourist setting such as New York City Times Square attracts visitors primarily for the iconography of retail landscapes instead of everyday life of community members. In Shilin Night Market, I find that the food and clothes for sale are the tourist's entrée into a vivid and intimate cultural milieu when my interviews reveal shoppers' understanding, assumptions, and interpretation of the characteristics of neighborhood and the people in addition to the commodities on display. The presence of local people interacting with visitors and with one another is the critical attraction to the global tourist's gaze.[26]

If citizens stop embracing Shilin Night Market because of its alienation from their everyday life, the foreign visitors will simply turn their heads as well. Most night markets in Taiwan do not rely mainly on global tourists to thrive; rather, night markets become most culturally thrilling to tourists when they appear to be local. Instead of being manipulated easily by signs and symbols, global tourists today have become more conscious and reflective than their predecessors in choosing what they want to see and believe in (Fainstein & Judd, 1999). If the design and planning of redevelopment fails to sustain the vending business and respect citizens' feeling for the market, and

[26] I borrow the term from Urry's work, *The Tourist Gaze* (1990).

redevelopment completely ruins the market, the city's quest for touristic prominence will have come to nothing.

When we acknowledge the close connection between the local engagement and tourist practice, we find that the redevelopment of Shilin at large pushes the market further away from being a lively setting, instead of manifesting only economic goals. Without more nuance in the compulsion to brand Taipei City in a modern image, fulfillment of that vision in Shilin Night Market will elude the city because of the disconnection of redevelopment from lived reality. The processes of new construction and relocation have transformed some parts of Shilin Night Market from a social institution into one that resembles a privatized shopping district. Following the sequence of change, we need to ask how far can this train of modernity go? Are there any forces working against the redevelopment compulsion that can slow down the process and perhaps prevent the market's ruin? In the next chapter, I will interrogate the outcomes of redevelopment, showing how vendors and merchants directly and indirectly resist the planning, and discuss the significance of their resistance.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion: Hybrid landscape, authentic identity

Introduction

Hectic reporters gathered around the market, their cameras flashing. A couple of Satellite News cars were parked across the intersection of Dadong Road and Wenlin Road. Waves of noise from the fidgety shoppers mixed with the sirens of the police cars. People next to me were buzzing about the scene.

It was slightly past 10:00 p.m. A long array of vendors stretched hundreds of feet along Dadong Road. Tonight, unlike regular nights, there were no colorful trousers, shirts, or purses on display, nor were there throngs of shoppers. Instead of busily interacting with customers, vendors were sitting quietly on the ground along the right side of Dadong Road to demonstrate about the issue of vending rights. Some of them were holding signs in their hands. A girl's read: "I need to eat!" Shoppers passed by vendors quickly, constantly checking around for more information about the scene from the surroundings. A few police were strolling back and forth along the road, yet without evicting sitting vendors.

Since March, 2009, the policing on Dadong Road had gotten more intense than ever. The police started patrolling streets lined with extralegal vendors normally from six o'clock until midnight, making it almost impossible for vendors to operate their businesses. But on this Saturday night in November, 2009, vendors held an unprecedented demonstration on Dadong Road, the street ordinarily most crowded with vendors, mainly selling clothing. Troubled by the constant disruption and aggressive

actions of police, vendors took their anger to the street.

As one vendor said, “They give tickets, or confiscate our stands. Very often they even chase us all the way to the warehouses in the alleys far from the main street” (Lu, Lu & Pan, 2009). Another vendor said, “Whenever there is an election, the candidates all come here asking for votes. But no one has ever tried to really solve the problems of vendors here” (ibid.).

The prosperous scene of Shilin Market area is an outcome of vendors’ contesting their right to unpermitted areas. From the very beginning of the story of this market, nighttime vendors unintentionally revived an original indoor market that had begun a slow decline by the time these newcomers arrived. Their unauthorized activities in turn encouraged the rise of surrounding storefront businesses. During the 1990s, vendors shared rents with local merchants by operating businesses within retail property, sustaining the functions of domestic clothing manufactures challenged by the influence of global economic restructuring by distributing garments. Food and clothing vendors, culturally speaking, stretched the identity of Shilin Night Market from that of local trading place to a liminal space that subsumes vending by place-specific characters within a network of transnational cuisines and wholesale trades. As some of these vendors secured permanent venues when issued licenses by the Market Administration from 1970 through 1990, more continued negotiating their access to streets, roadsides, and arcades, in the face of municipal scrutiny, despite the cultural significance of their material practices.

“Doesn’t the President say that street vending is a ‘populist economy,’ part of what attracts tourists? Why are we asked to leave?" a vendor asked (ibid.).

This vendor's question points out a contradiction: street vendors create economic and cultural capital as the basis of a thriving, urban market, yet eventually become the object of removal in the political discourse of reframing the market as a tourist space shaped in the spirit of capitalist modernity. The quest for modernity discursively constructed as a search for national progress aims to shape a landscape of exclusion that profits not only the state and municipality, but also landowners and major corporate interests, all at the expense of displacing some street vendors who to the planners seem inappropriate for this prototype of redevelopment.

Chapter seven explores the details of the municipal vision of the new Shilin Might Market symbolized by a new interior market and streetside vending arcades. I argue that the ideals of the new market, designed with the expectation of transforming vital streetscapes into manageable spectacles, show the disadvantage of boredom and confinement. It remains to be seen whether licensed vendors, suffering from a significant decline in their business after seven years of exile in the temporary space, will regain prosperity after moving into the new market. The project of vending arcades has had clear outcomes reflecting various attitudes toward the idea of directing vendors into private property. In the present chapter, I demonstrate how different actors, within the business improvement district and outside it, negotiate their experiences in the face of redevelopment, weighing the significance of their actions and purposes. Reflecting on how vendors negotiate their own experiences of spatial, social, and material practices within this night market neighborhood over decades, as explored throughout this dissertation, I shall conclude my study by offering a perspective on the contemporary Shilin Night Market that enables a different visualization of the modern landscape and

urban identity.

8.1 Current results of redevelopment

In addition to the overt resistance in the demonstration depicted in the beginning of this chapter, there are also vendors and local merchants who resist the archetypical planning of a municipal vision in less expressive, but more persistent ways. Extralegal vendors continue their fluid occupancy of the streets even after the provision of legitimate vending venues; a few merchants in the business improvement district reject the arcade plans by mobilizing their own community network. In their resistance they constitute a force that defies an imposed plan from the bottom up, making an environment with multiple vending settings possible.

8.1.1 Merchants who reject the vending arcades

I begin by analyzing the reasons why not all of the storefront arcades have become vending arcades. The arcade vendor's allocation, albeit accepted by the vast majority of the landowners within the business improvement district, drew mixed reactions from those against the arrangement. Fifty-seven out of 62 vendors within the business improvement district cooperated with city officials to invite vendors into their property, while five landowners refused to join the plan. Although the five refuseniks make up a small percentage of the total, their objection to the relocation shows that local community members do not necessarily concur on what makes the ideal night market. In reality, different businesses within the same business improvement district respond to the policy of relocation differently. Retailers want to keep different relationships with street vendors by considering the best interest of their business beyond short-term prosperity.

The merchants' decisions of having or not having vendors on their property are influenced by the kinds of business they engage in and the relationships they have with their landlords.

In Chapter Seven, I suggested that the primary purposes of the arcade vending allocation are to create opportunities for property owners to collect rents from vendors, and to accrue business benefits to merchants through the increase of shoppers. Clothing merchants, cafes, and restaurants particularly depend on the arrival of vendors to revitalize their struggling or declining businesses by trading on the vernacular flavors of street commerce to attract visitors. As for those merchants who would not capitalize on an expanded pool of customers, they became focused only on the downsides of the relocation, such as the rent increase and the traffic congestion caused by vendors. This is the situation of the five shops that did not give over their arcades to vendors. These five include a grocer on Dadong Road, a Buddhist altar provider, a Chinese medicine store, a dental clinic, and a fortunetelling book publisher; all on Daxi Street. These five store share two features in common: the shop owners are tenants instead of landlords, and these stores are small businesses with a local clientele.

The arrival of vendors allocated by the association was received by these five small business owners as one step toward a possible rent increase. Once the local retail economy within the district improves, their traditional, yet unique businesses within the district are likely to be replaced by new clothing retailers and restaurants that can usually afford high rent due to their business profile and clientele traveling from elsewhere. The possible rent increases stimulated by the influx of customers--not necessarily new tourists, but simply customers coming from other sections of the market—will displace

their long operating, neighborhood-oriented business, making way for faceless shops.

The merchants in traditional businesses, therefore, reject the arcade vendors allocation since their business revenues hardly reach the level needed to match the potential rent increase stimulated by increasing typical night market goers in search of restaurants and clothing stores. Most of these shop keepers along Daxi Street, one of the oldest streets in Shilin Night Market, have developed strong social ties with their landlords over a long period (15 to 20 years) of doing business here. These merchants are more likely to convince their landlords not to join the association to turn arcades into vending units than new merchants with shorter histories in the market and weaker social ties with landlords. Landowners of old businesses are in general sympathetic to tenants, valuing the stability of long-term business with merchants over an opportunity to speculate in arcade rents. Shop owners, in other words, deploy the social capital they have accumulated with landlords to resist the city's proposal of allocating street vendors within their business premises.

These merchants of old shops and their landlords did not prevent the entry of vendors since most of their neighbors like to have vendors. Their refusal to participate in the arcade vendors allocation, however, indirectly limits the scope of the privatized vending district. At least for the four merchants located on Daxi Street, their refusal keeps that street as one mainly without vendors, in contrast to other streets where vendors proliferate. The scarcity of vendors on Daxi is due to the lack of critical mass: even though most of its arcades were assigned as legitimate units, vendors saw little vending activity nearby and as a result most declined to rent these arcades. These merchants activated their networks with landlords and loyal customers to keep themselves in the

neighborhood, in the process making an alternative streetscape to the vending scene that lines the arcades along other two streets in the business improvement district.

8.1.2 Vendors who persist outside the district

The other kind of resistance that I want to focus on is that of street vendors outside the district who chose to continue their fluid occupancy of streets. Unresponsive to the social nature of vending community that values trust, solidarity, and cooperation, the arcades allocation plan does not successfully solve the extralegal vendors' problem of not owning permanent space. In addition, the limited arcades and undesirable locations made extralegal vendors continue using the south section of Dadong Road, and unauthorized arcades on Wenlin Road, even after the provision of the legitimate vending arcades under a series of propagandistic announcements and community events that promoted the new configuration of vending space. Their informal occupancy sustained by the transaction between vendors and local gangs continues to function as a more favorable pattern of vending than the arcade vendors allocation.

The arcades allocation privileges the interest of property owners over merchants and vendors. Over half the 57 members of the association do not actually occupy their properties, but rather lease them out for commercial use. Yet, they can approve critical decisions, including vendor allocations, or street renewal in community meetings. These property owners, as the predominant group spatially and economically in charge of vendors, enjoy a presumptive right of excluding unwanted users from the arcades and streets within the district, as well as raising vending rents and fees, all by authority of their association membership. Any municipal intervention with street vendors—policing, for example—is subject to proprietors' demands and expectations, rather than to the

needs of vendors, reactions of residential tenants, and the experiences of domestic and international market goers. More specifically, the power of these property owners expands from the private sphere of storefronts and arcades to public space when they take advantage of their rights of spatial and social control granted by the association.

When a new system operated in the name of development and community-building privileges only property owners, while silencing other everyday users of the market equally qualified as community members, it leads to alternative actions on the part of those deprived of rights, evident in the degree to which vendors contested police intervention. As such, extralegal vendors tend to stay outside the district, doing business in more difficult, yet more autonomous ways. They prefer a socially contingent mode of occupying space than moving into a not only unfamiliar, but also highly controlled territory. They reject the association's pigeonhole-like space, preferring to sell outside the district, where they benefit from social practices and vendors' embodied performance effective for acting in response to municipal intervention.

When vendors have historically established their own system of business in spite of official scrutiny, even not the kind desired by private landowners, any municipal redevelopment regime is bound to create disturbance, not coherence. Witnessing that legitimate arcades did not function perfectly to relocate extralegal vendors, the municipality turned to the aid of its old weapon—police enforcement--this time not to facilitate vendors' symbolic interaction, but to block vendors' access to the streets. As the demonstration in the beginning of this chapter showed, the police extended their hours of duty in such a way as to discontinue vending all night. The attempt to regulate the vending economy in the name of improved circulation did not turn a fluid street into a

still one clear of vendors, but instead brought the spectacle of demonstration: a frozen stage where arrays of resistant vendors held still on the ground. The incident symbolized a breakdown of a modernist planning regime insensitive to the ecology of a historically and socially grounded locale. Ultimately, vendors continued their business after the police left. Following a three-night demonstration, those vendors continued occupying Dadong Road and many other random street corners, and the police eased up.

The previous discussion showed how two sets of subversive practices—one from the merchants within the business improvement district, the other kind from vendors themselves who choose to stay outside the district—produce a different landscape of Shilin Night Market, one that allows free appropriation of space and variety in vending settings. These responses among vendors and merchants directly and indirectly encourage a less controlled, programmed, but more fluid streetscape, as opposed to a market where vendors are relocated by the municipality and property owners into standardized units. Market goers, unlike city officials, have always embraced the volatility and impulsiveness of street commerce, often by following the vendors from the main streets into unknown alleys. Extralegal vendors liberate visitors from the homogenous retail scene along privatized pedestrian streets and a new market that resembles a mall's food court (cf. Tonnelat, 2007). I find that the spatial and social practices of vendors, merchants, and visitors, altogether, contest the state's spatial practice in support of profit, property speculation, and privatization of policing and vendors' licensing. I contend that these defiant forces foster an environment of multiplicity in temporality and spatiality, the ingredients of an authentic marketplace landscape.

8.2 Hybrid landscape

Shilin Night Market, therefore, combines planned and unplanned spaces, regulated and deregulated vendors, legal and extralegal space. It is both a striated landscape mediated by the state, corporations, and property owners; and a smooth landscape that allows transgression. As more space gets striated, alternative uses are pushed to the interstices where control is loose and fluidity permitted. More divisions and designation simply create more interstices where unauthorized uses persist, dividing instead of unifying space. Even within the striated space, diversity and variation occur. For instance, within the business improvement district, vendors divide designated vending units into two or three, sharing them with vendors unaffiliated to the association. On Dadong Road, extralegal vendors in fact occupy space invisibly but clearly defined: all seems blended in this market. It is thus illusory to think that the fluid and the structured, the striated and the smooth, can be distinguished as easily in reality as in conception.

In light of the dualisms of modern-traditional, global-vernacular, civilized-savage, and numerous other opposites, the current state of Shilin Night Market may seem to some as a transforming market going through an inevitable stage of uncertainty and chaos before it meets all the standards of a contemporary space of consumption. Instead of seeing the outcome this way, I argue that this “almost, but not quite” state in truth opens up new opportunities for visualizing modernity. One needs to take a perspective beyond any binary determination to make sense of this incompleteness.

8.2.1 Vernacular representation of modernity

The imposition of modernity upon Shilin Night Market has not been absolute: the

precedents following from custom and tradition remain. Historically speaking, street vendors continually appropriated public and private property through dealing with the municipality and local community. The Market Administration incorporated primarily food vendors into an open plaza and several laneways as legal vendors, following two decades of unpermitted occupancy of these public spaces. Clothing vendors after 1990 sought available space by developing self-regulated sub-community groups to negotiate legal boundaries and property rights with the authorities. These extralegal vendors never got the legal right as earlier vendors did, yet they found access to private property and non-designated, public space. They did so either by personal connection or through organizing self-regulated groups to work with local merchants, police, and community members to solve the problems that result from not owning legitimate vending spaces regulated under the municipal system. In general, the Market Administration legalized vendors who formerly organized themselves in ways derivative of local conventions. As municipal legalization stopped, vendors continued these site-specific practices to inhabit the market.

Following the vending space evolution, we see how the two sets of practices--one traditional, and the other modern--complement each other. The traditional system begins with practices conventionally acceptable to the local community based on social networks, informal politics, and local customs. These come together to create a market, self-manage it, and expand it over years (chapters four and five). In the modern system, political practices of licensing and policing (chapter four), facilitated by spatial practices of design and planning (chapter seven), attempt to govern and control vendors to appeal to international capital and tourism. At its early stage, the municipality issued the licenses

and designated fixed locations to formalize them. Then, the Administration employed a type of policing to which the vendors reacted with a fluid occupancy supported by their alliances. Later, the municipality combined new construction, spatial planning, and policing to limit the growth but not eradicate the particular territorial groups. Vendors produced this market, facilitated by municipal officials exercising a series policies and spatial practices along the path of its evolution.

In following these political and social processes, we see that every municipal policy and practice in regard to the market over its history builds upon what vendors have done in this neighborhood to fix and standardize their vending spaces. There are, in other words, vernacular origins for each policy, design, and planning strand of modernity. All the strategies of governance and spatial reconfiguration do not exist in a vacuum, but in a historically and culturally significant context. If modernity represents a radical disruption from the past, as illustrated in narratives of Western modernity, that representation does not fully account for what has been taking place in Shilin. More appropriately, the phenomenon of Shilin Night Market reflects a modern solution to a set of historically specific, spatial and social vending practices. Symbolically, we see a vernacular interpretation of modernity reflected in a landscape crafted by architects and urban planners inspired by vendors. As such, the market has grown over decades from one that covered mainly retail outlets and a plaza, into a more diverse environment including a semi-covered market, recently claimed streets, laneways, and arcades. In these new spaces reshaped by vending practices, one encounters rules of order and social relationships pertaining both to modernity and tradition.

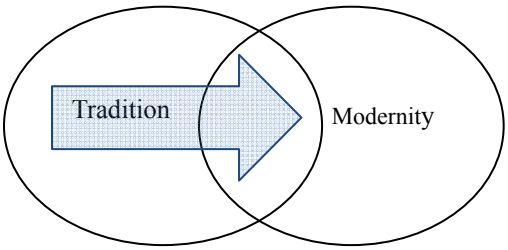


Figure 8-1 the nature of hybrid landscape: modernity grounded on traditions

I use the diagram in figure 8-1 to show that the production of Shilin Night Market happens conceptually in a liminal condition where the modernized planning scheme encounters locally established conventions of space. One circle represents a modernist archetype of spatial practices of design professionals and officials; the other circle represents a vernacular, non-programmed pattern of appropriating space. There are incommensurable differences between these two sets of spatial practices, as they by nature do not go with each other. However, when we rethink in what ways Shilin Market has functioned for decades as a steadily growing, lively market, and even as a prominent setting of urban identity today, we see an additional set of spatial practices that have linked local convention and custom with modern principles of the governance of public space. These practices include getting a license, acquiring public or private permission, paying arcade rents, and developing a fluid occupancy necessary to withstand municipal scrutiny. These various means, contingent on social and economic relationships within the neighborhood, fix the informality of space occupied by vendors by making their space fit the modern principles of functional zoning and municipal expectation of regularized space of consumption. These practices became something that can be conceptualized as the language in which they narrate modernity. The municipal vision of modernity, in

other words, is “translated” by vendors, all of whom started outside of a modern system.

These practices happen within vendors’ traditional culture, yet overlap with the vision of modernity. For decades, street vendors stumbled toward the margin of a modern system while holding onto the edge of a traditional system. I therefore argue that all kinds of vending occurring within Shilin Night Market can be vernacular practices of modernity. If we forego the ambivalent definition of vendors’ legal status, as that legal boundary has never been absolute, we see how street vendors have practiced a vernacular form of modernity or, to paraphrase Lefebvre, a "representational modernity". The notion of vernacular modernity values the processes making the outcomes. Instead of seeing modernity as fixed, concurrent, and homogenous conditions, such a notion of modernity instead considers the context where various actors in the market have been situated. As such, I see any small part of the landscape of the contemporary market as historically and culturally meaningful, and acknowledge that it is bound to keep changing in accordance to the spatial and social ecology.

This visualization of modernity occupies a position between the modern and the traditional to generate a liminal space. Only by remaining liminal can Shilin Night Market become a symbol of cultural and urban identities. The condition accounts for why any radical practices of design, planning, or municipal interventions, as imagined by city officials and planners who ignore the variations in social and historical significance embedded in the landscape, will fail to assimilate the market. Some of the impositions of redevelopment--vending arcades for example--aim for an abrupt u-turn to reach a final destination of modernity, an “off the rack” modernity untenable in this particular locale. Modernization of Shilin Night Market, in truth, has started from the traditional, marching

along an avenue toward a modern state with each step contingent upon the former footprints. The process incorporates the past into the present, the old into the new. What stays between the perfectly new and what has yet not left allows the creation of imagery and spatiality meant for a much more enduring urban image.

The landscape of Shilin Night Market symbolizes this different conception of modernity, resulting in the coexistence of retail outlets, municipally-regulated vending units, and extralegal vending space formed over history. These various settings characterize the hybridity of the market's built environment. In Chapter Six, I describe how food and clothes vendors stretch the identity of Shilin Night Market from that of a local trading place to a liminal space that subsumes a grounded, place-specific practice within a network of transnational flows, thus generating a sense of multiplicity. Similarly, vendors diversified their choices of locations within public and private property to produce variable spatiality. Chapter four showed how local merchants, in keeping their revenues (threatened by price declines after 1990) high enough to match escalating rents, remodeled their retail space for vendors who either utilized a piece of the wall or a corner by the entrance by removing the partition walls, or offered them storefront arcades. Chapter seven shows that, from the initial proposal of a "Bauhaus-style" market to the approved design as an open-air space, a new indoor market went through several phases of revision to become a nostalgic, yet modern space, to respond in part to vendors' concerns. Inspired by how the non-designated vendors conventionally use streets, the city adopted an arcade vendors allocation that originated from a typical vending pattern. Under a self-developed payment system as a counterpart to legal rent, extralegal legal vendors use streets in a highly mobile manner. These local variations in vending space

coexist with the storefronts adopting global patterns of retail outlets, becoming ingredients of a hybrid landscape.

8.2.2 Rethinking a global identity

Ultimately, the hybrid spatiality in the contemporary landscape of the night market destabilizes a binary of globalism and localism. Any global standard of shaping a "good market," characterized by universality, order, and functional zoning, is, in this setting, reformulated into styles appropriated for local specificity and historical contingency to function. Thus, Shilin Night Market is both a destination in the network of global tourist flows, and a grounded, lived community with the dual nature of modern and traditional, cosmopolitan and vernacular. Only by acknowledging its localness can Shilin Night Market become truly global because globalization "must always begin at home" (Bhabha, 1994, p. xv). The local distinctiveness of the vending community and the global standards of tourist destinations are juxtaposed to make Shilin Night Market a place somewhat strange, yet exciting to international tourists familiar with most archetypical marketplaces elsewhere.

When we think what kind of urban setting makes a city unique, we name those places that embody the cultural image of the city and the people. Taiwanese culture is complicated by multiple phases of colonization, the process of migration from Mainland China, and the arrival of transnational commerce and migrants under global economic restructuring. Shilin Night Market, listed by the Tourist Chamber among the top three tourist destinations in Taipei, along with Taipei 101 tower and National Palace Museum, has possibly the greatest potential to appeal to global tourists in search of something between the quant spirit of Orientalism represented by the National Palace Museum, and

the bold imagery of Western Modernity embodied by the skyscraper. In my opinion, the socially and historically contingent landscape of Shilin is more authentic than the bland representation of sanitized, privatized shopping streets created out of state and corporate image-crafting. However, the tourist chamber sees the material iconography of cuisine and clothing as the only appropriate representation of night markets that appeals to visitors while keeping the disorderly non-regulated streets and public spaces away from media coverage. My analysis has shown that the space of Shilin Night Market grounds a variety of social relations linking the market community members: this web of conflict, cooperation, and negotiation has every reason to be acknowledged. This space encompassing the social fabric not only speaks about the identity of the neighborhood and the city, it is what these people residing and working within the market identify themselves with on a daily basis. The variety in spatiality, in other words, characterizes the city more profoundly than any forms of commodity or standardized landscape could do. I argue that such a liminal and hybrid space where the norms of urban forms are contested, transgressed, and manipulated gives the market an authentic character.

The municipal government does not, however, appreciate the meaning of the hybridity presented, but anxiously sees vendors as nothing but tax evaders and impediments to its aspirations of orderly, cosmopolitan streets. Consequently, the city strengthens police enforcement to monitor the streetscape in an aggressive attempt to realize a modernist design scheme. Motivated by a discourse of nation building at the current historical juncture, city government also tends to encourage the production of non-places where local flavors are erased in order to shape a cosmopolitan city characterized by universal aesthetics and disciplined citizenship (cf. Lee, 2007). In such a

discourse based on politicians' and planners' misunderstanding of globalization, the global and the local are conceptualized as opposites. A search for over-simplified globalization privileged the physical order reflected in regularized space over the hidden dimensions of order embodied in users' everyday behaviors (see Hall, 1966). I contend that, in their failure to address local citizens' lived experience the planners will have kept the city from realizing its vision of an international tourist space as symbol of modernity. From the perspective of city branding and nation building, the escalating control and homogenization of built environment do not help to create a more thrilling, memorable place. More as an illusion, the idealized, modernized space described in chapter seven for example embodies a political discourse that amplifies the domestic imagination of cosmopolitanism that is in fact unresponsive and inauthentic to the local's everyday life. Adopting an urban identity formulated on such terms, if ever possible, only mischaracterizes a city, discouraging opportunities to present the uniqueness of the market, the city and the people to global tourists. That being said, what kind of global character that Taiwan should embrace and can actually benefit from in the long run?

The outcomes of redevelopment, characterized previously as a representation of modernity, suggest that global and local forces are in truth infused and blended in this market. The prominence of Shilin Night Market as a tourist destination depends on both the local and the global to reinforce each other. Throughout the dissertation, I have shown how the spatial practices of different actors contributed to the connection of the two in various ways. For example, local vendors and merchants have always been the ones who serve the global interest of the city. Specifically, vendors adapt to the local context when ushering in global fashions and exotic cuisines. After the global economic restructuring

transformed the local clothing trade into one that operates in relation to wholesale centers in China and Korea, Taiwanese manufacturers and designers continued to sustain the function of Taiwanese garment trade linked to the transnational clothing business in the market, albeit to a lesser extent than in decades past. The same connection between the global and local applies to visitors' practices. The attraction of this market to international tourists lies in the place-making performance of local citizens in their attachment to it. These examples demonstrate the relationships between the global and the local. On the one hand, the global significance of Shilin Night Market is grounded in the local--the people and their ways of using the market--to become sustainable. Local characteristics on the other hand depend on the global—international tourism, improvement of built environment using modernist strategies, and the media exposure—to maximize their influence. The practices and ideologies that the global and the local entail are mutually inclusive.

8.3 Branding Taipei

To reflect on the previous discussion, my dissertation finds that street vendors' spatial, social, and material practices shape and reshape a landscape as a vernacular representation of modernity appropriate for an authentic identity for Taipei City. Historically speaking, street vendors continually appropriated public and private property through dealing with the municipality and local community for legal and extralegal situations in ways that support their operation with the necessity of meeting the city's expectation of controlling the market. Street vendors create a spontaneous atmosphere, a thrilling tourist experience, and a cosmopolitan consumer culture, which becomes a useful cultural capital for branding Taipei City. In the name of creating a tourist space of

worldly sophistication, the city redeveloped the market out of profit motives and the will of governance. Eventually, some street vendors were incorporated into the scheme of modernity, and others became marginal, thus continuing their vernacular ways of using space. The heterogeneity in the results of redevelopment destabilizes any dichotomy in the narratives of this locality. The contemporary Shilin Night Market is an urban place of which the qualities of difference, incompleteness, and ambivalence afford possibilities for the formation of urban identity.

The success of Shilin Night Market results less from the factors of capital and state than the collaboration of the resistance and resilience of the market community-- the street vending community-- that supports the market to thrive (cf. resistance and resilience in Katz, 2005). In this study, I argue that contestations can be embodied in individual and collective behaviors as a way to prevent or minimize the injustice of urban (re)development. In doing so, I keep my analysis of the market embodied, and at the same time I address issues of political economy. Today, street vendors continue defying the change of their space and the destruction of a non-ordinary landscape in which one still finds the unique aura and character of an old neighborhood, instead of homogenous streetscapes adorned with generic retail space. Only by embracing the identity reflected in the contemporary condition of Shilin Night Market, can the municipality, vendors, shoppers, merchants, and property owners continue to benefit from all the positive qualities that a night market has offered and will offer. The landscape of Shilin Night Market unifying the steady and the fluid, the modern and the traditional, the global and the local brands the culture of Taipei City.

8.4 Toward the operationalization

My emphasis on street vendor resistance to archetypical planning may seem to reflect an optimism toward the future of this marketplace as I see the great power of contestation. I honor the ways in which street vendors and those community members have fought for their own space and lived experience. Yet, I worry about how far the community can go facing the rapid infusion of private capital and the state's rising interest in redeveloping various sections of the market. Do we believe that street vendors can always survive over any drastic transformation of their neighborhood? Or, do we rather rethink the processes of planning and policing, and encourage architects, urban designers, and urban planners to reflect on what vendors' everyday practices have taught and will teach them about their professional practice?

The history and experience of the creation of Shilin, or of any other lively old town centers, tells us that professional design practice need not assume displacement and exclusion. Rather, planners and designers should allow an opportunity for the everyday users of an urban place to find their own way to make the neighborhood function optimally for themselves. In the case of Shilin Night Market, we see that the market becomes more likely to invite new activities and experiences when it is less controlled, less regulated, and when property is less expensive to occupy. Most of all, it indeed represents the authentic character of Taipei, and of Taiwan. Users' vernacular practice, in turn, is likely to inspire new design schemes in shaping more unique places because, historically speaking, the formation of all types of vending venues in Shilin is a series of remakings of the urban landscape. The market is vital and enjoyable because its formation was more process-driven than determined on certain prerequisites of design

and planning.

Based on the processes that I have identified in the production of this vernacular representation of modernity, I would argue for process-driven planning strategies that take the social ecology of the market into account. Planning should recognize how different players formulate certain spatial practices that allow new things to emerge. I advocate an open-ended process for what appears on the ground. Instead of determining form at the most local scale, planners need to let these granular elements emerge from spatial practice vis-à-vis the larger structure. The operationalization of the concept of vernacular representation of modernity can begin from valuing the social, political, and material processes underlying the planning, rather than ignoring those processes or seeing them as problems to be fixed. Only by validating these processes can planners help create a prominent urban landscape while avoiding the consequences of material inequality.

In other words, when design professionals and politicians remain open minded to the difference between real occupancy and professional ideals, instead of avoiding and minimizing the difference, they get themselves a ticket to the land of creativity in shaping a distinct city. When professional practices fully capture both the symbolic pattern and social foundation of users' occupancy of the neighborhood space, they have the possibility to enrich, instead of to erase, the life of the city. In other words, they make good public space. If the ultimate ideal for municipal officials and design professionals in redeveloping the built environment of Shilin Night Market is to forge a symbol of identity for the nation and for the city, there is nothing more valuable than the hybrid landscape of Shilin Night Market.

Appendix

Table A. Time plan for participant observation

Week	W1	W2
Monday	1	1
Tuesday	4	1
Wednesday	1	4*
Thursday	1	1
Friday	1	1
Saturday	4*	4
Sunday	1	1
Total hours	13	13
1hr: 9 p.m.-10 p.m.; 4 hrs: 3 p.m.-7 p.m.; 4*hrs: 10 p.m.-2 a.m.		

Table B. Interview Management Table

Interviewee	Types of interview	Interview themes	Interview questions
Shoppers N=27	Mobile, semi-structured interview	1.Background 2. Spatial form and behavior 3 Sensory and bodily experiences 4. Social relations 5.Chages in the market	1-1 Introduce yourself. 1-2 When do you usually come here? 1-3 Whom do you come here with? 1-4 What activities do you do in night markets? 2-1 Do you do any activities in specific locations? Why? 2-2 Do you usually go along certain routes? Why? 2-3 Do you like eating indoors or outdoors? Why? 3-1 Describe what you see, hear, smell, and feel in each market. 3-2 How crowded is it? Do you feel comfortable or not? 3-3 What do you think about the shops, signs, street, and people? 4-1 Do you know any vendors? Do you chat with them? 4-2 How do you interact with other shoppers? 5-1 Changes to the market in recent years in terms of visitors, and the ambiance. 5-2 Opinion about night market as tourist space. 5-3 The difference between the built environments of the redeveloped market and the old market?

			5-4 Do these differences influence your choice to go, the way you use, and think about night markets in general?
Street vendors N=58	Situated, semi-structured interview	1.Ways of using the market 2. Reactions to the new construction and plans of relocation	1. How did you start your business in Shilin? 2. Describe your relationship with other vendors, merchants and landlords. 3. Compare your experience in the temporary market and the old market (for licensed vendors) 4. Experiences of using an arcade within the business improvement district. 5. Do you see a change in the profile of customers in recent years? 6. What assistance, limitation, and regulation do you have from the city in terms of running business?
Merchants /property owners N=22	Situated, Semi-structured interview	Business improvement district	1. Experiences of working with the business improvement association on allocating storefront arcades for vendors. 2. Reasons for (not) joining the association 3. Talk about experiences in dealing with the government agencies for business operation or negotiating specific issues.
Borough directors N=2	Semi-structured interview	Local politics	1. Working with the government on local affairs. 2. Experiences of mediating between city officials and the community on market redevelopment.

			3. Relationship with the business improvement association
Officials at Market Administration N=2	Semi-structured interview	Policies on street vendors	1. The projects of redevelopment of Shilin Night Market and the goals of the municipal government. 2. Policies of regulating vendors 3. Background of arcade vendors allocation
Planners at Urban Redevelopment Office N=3	Semi-structured interview	Urban planning	1. The city's goals and visions of redevelopment 2. Experiences of working with the community members. 3. Challenges and obstacles of redeveloping Shilin Night market
Scholar(s) or specialist(s) N=8	Open-ended interview		Culture and History of Shilin Night Market
Architects/ designers N=3	Open-ended interview		Design problems and concepts

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