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Resident participation in the government-led urban renewal of reconstructing public housing: The case of the third Siwan Village resettled tenement, Taipei.

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Summary

The trend of addressing the challenge of aging city and providing more social housing is intersecting with the Government-led Urban Renewal policy in Taipei, Taiwan. The reconstruction of dilapidated public housing through the Government-led Urban Renewal is a representation of the trend, which is expected to improve the living environment of the original resident and release more public housing units. Meanwhile, the value of community development established to enhance democracy pays attention to resident participation in neighborhood affairs. In terms of housing outcome, the current discourse about social housing mainly focuses on affordability and numbers of units provided, lacking the institutional consideration of housing needs and how potential inhabitants access to social housing. Therefore, the research seeks to study how resident participation influence housing adequacy, which is based on the consideration of housing needs and rights.

The case chosen in this research is the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. The objective is to obtain a greater understanding of the policy instruments used in the transformation of obsolete public housing, and the pattern of resident participation in the institutional framework. The main research question is: How does resident participation under Government-led Urban Renewal affect housing adequacy? The question is disassembled to who are the actors and what are the actions taken by them? How are policies arranged and implemented in the process? What are the patterns of resident participation in the process? Can the outcome be considered adequate housing?

The research applied multi-level analysis to identify how resident participation during the policy implementation process affected by institutional and policy framework, to find out whether the participation empowered residents or was operated by governance strategies. Overall, the research depicts how participation influence the accessibility and acceptability of residents in terms of housing adequacy.

The research method composed of document analysis and semi-structured interview. Actors involved are identified for in-depth interviews. Reports, regulations and other documents related to the case were collected for the triangulation of data.

The findings indicated that through the influence of interactions between resident participation and governance, the housing options provided to the residents in the case are deviating from the value of housing rights regarding housing adequacy. The urban renewal policy excluded tenants to participate by only benefit property owners to obtain new housing units after renewal. Meanwhile, the municipality was dedicated to achieving policy objectives, which was completing the urban renewal process within a limited time. Therefore, the municipality enhanced the exclusion of tenants and invested their resource on addressing issues concerned by the property owners, who mainly concerned about the value and outcome of their property during the participation process. Therefore, the housing outcome contrasted with the value of adequate housing, since resident participation was qualified by property ownership. The forming of the housing outcome strengthened the value of private property ownership and undermine housing adequacy of the disqualified residents.

Keywords

Government-led Urban Renewal, Resident Participation, Governance, Urban Policy, Institution

Acknowledgements

Abbreviations

DSW	Department of Social Welfare, Taipei City Government
DUD	Department of Urban Development, Taipei City Government
FAR	Floor Area Ratio
IHS	Institute for Housing and Urban Development
MOI	Ministry of the Interior
NTD	New Taiwanese Dollar
OURs	The Organization of Urban Re-s
SHAC	Social Housing Advocacy Consortium
TAAFE	Taiwan Alliance of Anti-Forced Eviction
TCURO	Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office
TURC	Taipei Urban Regeneration Center
URDRRC	Urban Renewal Dispute and Resolution Review Committee
UROD	Urban Renewal Operation Division

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The trend of reconstructing dilapidated public housing in recent years are practiced by government-led urban renewal in Taipei, Taiwan. The process and outcomes of reconstructing public housing vary greatly in different districts. This research focuses on resident participation in the reconstruction process of public housing. The research question shed lights on how resident participation plays out in interaction with policies and other actors in the reconstruction process and affects housing adequacy expressed from the process to outcomes.

1. Background

1.1 The New Era of Public Housing in Taiwan and Taipei

Aiming at building 200,000 social housing for rent within eight years, the ruling party of the country no longer addresses housing challenges of low-income groups by means of merely renting subsidies but increases the amount of affordable housing. In Taipei, the current mayor has his goal of providing 80,000 public housing units within 8 years in his term of office. Both the national and local government form their discourses of practicing housing justice and establishing social housing paradigm (MOI, 2017; UDD, 2015). Meanwhile, their implementation plans both encompass institutional reform, cooperation of relevant departments, incentives for construction companies, demand survey, duration. (MOI, 2017; UDD, 2015). The plans mainly focus on improving affordability and the amounts of housing units but lack of general assessing criteria.

In 2011, the Housing Act (revised in 2016) was legislated with an aim to consolidate a sound housing market and facilitate the production of social housing through a general law. According to the law, social housing is defined as "constructed by either government or private sectors, specifically for rent and is obliged to provide 30% of units for people with special conditions or identity". Regarding the building mode of social housing, transforming existing public buildings is one of the main approaches. Therefore, reconstruction of dilapidating public housing has its legitimacy to be practiced by urban renewal.

1.2. Urban Renewal and Community Development Policies in Taiwan

To improve the efficiency of urban renewal, both local and national governments in Taiwan initiate Government-led Urban Renewal. While the new approach is prevailing in the institutional framework of urban governance, the inclusion of social and economic minorities is questionable.

Since the 1990s, the state has been aggressively initiating urban renewal projects by means of land appropriation and incentive amplification (Hsu&Hsu, 2013, pp.686-687). Launched in 1998, the Urban Renewal Act consolidated the paradigm of a top-down urban governance structure in Taiwan. In terms of urban renewal policies in Taipei, the approach is criticized as the tool of neoliberalism and refinement of governmentality (Hsu, 2011). Synchronizing in the same period of democratization in the 1990s, neoliberal discourse attained its legitimacy by national and municipal reforms, influencing multiple facets of urban development including household livelihood, land use, urban policies, and practices. Overall, urban renewal enhanced the influence of neoliberalism and put civil society, which was just incubated during democratization movement, under the threat of transiting to "ownership" society (Huang, 2012).

In terms of the implementer, urban renewal can be divided into "Government-led" and "Private-led" (Huang. and Pe, 2013). Experiencing the failure of Private-led Urban Renewal to reconstruct dilapidating public housing, Government-led Urban Renewal replaced the previous approach to fix challenges of complex property rights and lack of revenue to attract private implementers in the reconstruction of public housing. Local government has the predominant role to assign districts that are identified as either having development potential or decay downtown to be involved in the urban renewal area. While public land marked as urban renewal area is obliged to be involved in the procedure (Huang, 2012), public housing in Taipei is inevitable to be engaged in Government-led Urban Renewal. Resettled tenements, one type of the public housing built by the municipality in Taipei during 1962 to 1975, are acknowledged as consisting of dilapidated living environment and are urgent to be reconstructed. Although it seems legitimate to reconstruct public housing by means of the Government-led Urban Renewal, the cases of renewing resettled tenements encounter a paradox due to its large proportion of private property ownerships.

To achieve the policy objectives of increasing public housing in bulk, Taipei Municipality announced 2016 as the inauguration of "Government-Led Urban Renewal", enacting the Taipei Government-led Urban Renewal Guideline and establishing Taipei Urban Regeneration Center (TURC). One of the main objectives of the municipality was to release more rental social housing units and to remove the symbol of poverty from the existing public housing. Regarding the national level, in 2019, the state added a special chapter of Government-led Urban Renewal in the latest-revised Urban Renewal Act. Meanwhile, "National Housing and Urban Regeneration Center" was established and responsible to cooperate with local urban renewal institutions, in order to facilitate urban renewal in comprehensively national-local collaboration. However, reflecting the amplification of government role in urban renewal procedure, human rights organizations criticized the new-enacted Taipei Government-led Urban Renewal Guideline of enforcing administrative efficiency and neglecting the long-standing disputing cruxes of urban renewal (TAAFE, 2016)—benefiting private sectors and invading the rights of tenants, especially vulnerable groups, to participate in planning procedure, which would even reinforce the threats of forced eviction.

The policy of "Comprehensive Community Development" was enacted to to facilitate community autonomy and bottom-up political participation (Liu, 2008). Launched in the 1990s, the policy aimed at transferring the energy of democratization movement from national-wide to the neighborhood level. Community development policies recognize residents in neighborhoods as the main subject and resident participation as the main approach. Resident participation here emphasizes communication and negotiation among public sectors, residents and other interest groups relating to community issues by multiple patterns, in order to identify public interests in the neighborhood. The policy instruments create not only one-way relation between public sectors and citizens but involve urban experts as one of the actors in neighborhood fields.

Nonetheless, while the establishment of resident participation is still ongoing in national and city level, urban renewal produced within the context of neoliberalism has its significant feature of "property-led" (Huang, 2012). The state privileged landowners and developers to secure their political support in ward politics, while the rights of tenants are sacrificed (Hsu and Hsu, 2013, pp.677). On the other hand, the rapid increasing urban renewal projects from 2010 has triggered various anti-forced eviction movements, reflecting how urban renewal was used by the authority as a governance tool.

2. Problem Statement

Resident participation refers to a variety of strategies designed to increase the involvement of residents in the planning and delivery of local projects (Bailey, 2013). Regarding resident participation in Government-led Urban Renewal of reconstructing dilapidated public housing, the contradiction between Government-led Urban Renewal as a top-down governance tool and community development initiating bottom-up political participation requires more in-depth study.

Contrasting with the original aim of facilitating the revival of the city and providing affordable housing to middle- and low-income households, urban renewal is often operated as an institutional instrument of urban governance to eliminate slums and caused serious social conflicts (Fainstein and Campbell, 1996). In Taipei, massive urban social movement caused by forced demolition, the remarkable Wenlin Yuan Urban Renewal Project in 2012 for instance, has accused the implementation of urban renewal as revelation of public authority intervention, conspiring with government, consortiums and construction companies in Taiwan, especially in Taipei (Huang, 2012; Hsu, 2011). Inspiring a thorough review of urban renewal, civil mobilization impelled the government and society to reconsider public interest as the protection of basic housing rights, instead of interests of the majorities (Lu&He, 2013). As substantial achievements, constitutional interpretation was announced after the Wenlin Yuan Urban Renewal Project, declaring that the urban renewal procedure then failed to be transparent to residents and lack of resident participation functions, was in violation of the constitution. Afterward, the revised version of the Urban Renewal Act in 2019 has its amendment in multiple dimensions, with enhancing procedural justice and securing rights and interests of the minorities as two significant principles. Nevertheless, the revision aimed at addressing obstacles in improving the efficiency of urban renewal as well. By formulating the legal system of the Government-led Urban Renewal, the approach is anticipated to increase the efficiency of urban renewal and regulate the formal procedure. The dominant role of government is reinforced by emphasizing Government-led Urban Renewal as the vital approach of urban renewal.

As an urban governance approach, urban renewal after the amendment is still facing the question of how the consolidating government role in the procedure can actually contain space for resident participation in the procedure. On the other hand, since the legislation of the Housing Act, Government-led Urban Renewal has become a significant approach in urban planning to construct social housing in Taipei, regarding reconstructing dilapidated public housing to social housing as one of the main means. Public housing under transformation targeting on social- and economic-marginalized groups formed typical types of "distressed neighborhoods" (Stone and Stoker, 2015). Therefore, securing the housing rights of the residents became a serious issue and, in fact, public discourse of the government to implement the reconstruction plan.

In the process of housing institutional transition, housing policy in Taiwan is struggling between two orientations, social welfare and economic development. I identify the housing institutional transition as the possibility to establish social housing paradigm, for there are ongoing shifting and contradiction within the institution, political regime, and values in different dimensions— shifting from authoritarian to democracy, the contradiction between neoliberalism and social welfare. In this context, there are two focal points considering reconstructing public housing: (1) How public housing constructed in the authoritarian period will be transformed by means of urban renewal under the recent institutional framework, in order to fit contemporary social housing norm. (2) How the transitioning institution, placing

people at the center and emphasizing at practicing housing justice, opens the space of resident participation in the procedure?

Besides, the current discourses of social housing in both national and local government mainly focuses on affordability and numbers of units provided, lacking the institutional consideration of housing needs and how potential inhabitants access to social housing. The following thinking is, through resident participation, is there a possibility to reflect real housing needs on housing construction outcomes? Moreover, while there is still lacking consideration on how housing adequacy is formed through resident participation process, institutional and policy factors should be included in the discussion ae well.

3. Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to obtain a greater understanding of the policy instruments used in the transformation of obsolete public housing, and the pattern of resident participation in the institutional framework.

(1) To identify the policy instruments used and the possibility of resident participation in the process, targeting the society that is experiencing housing institutional transition.

(2) To gain insight into how top-down institutional instruments and bottom-up resident participation interact during the process of transforming dilapidated public housing to contemporary social housing, which contains the connotation of modernity and housing justice.

(3) To assess the outcome and participation process of public housing reconstruction by the concept of housing adequacy, in order to analyze and interpret housing adequacy in distinctive urban development context and gain a more thorough and contextualized understanding of social housing.

4. Provisional Research Question

Main research question: How does resident participation under Government-led Urban Renewal affect housing adequacy?

The sub-questions include: (1) How does the Government-led Urban Renewal policy be implemented through institutional framework? What is the institutional framework and who are the actors involved? (2) What are the patterns and residents' perception of resident participation? (3) How does resident participation affect acceptability and accessibility of housing options provided to residents?

5. Significance of the study

The study focuses on the housing issues of the developmental country under the context of the transition of urban governance and institutions. Through the accelerating promotion of social housing and the implementation of Government-led Urban Renewal to utilize urban regeneration, the study recognizes two major trends of urban development, the former represents the establishment of contemporary social housing values, while the latter is the paradigm shift of urban governance. The case of reconstructing dilapidated public housing in Taipei can further identify that the two trends are convergent. To prove this vital aspect of studying housing issues under urban governance perspective, I elaborate the convergence in three dimensions. At first, the paradigm shift of housing is reflected by the transition of

public housing, from decay and obsolete to conform with contemporary design and value of social housing. Secondly, the social welfare and housing justice dimension, the study pay attention to the situation of the underprivileged households under the transition of public housing. Finally, the dimension of practicing urban governance on housing, the study applies a more delicate perspective in micro level, focusing on how top-down institutional instruments interact with local political and social structures.

6. Scope and limitations

The scope of the study focuses on the convergence of the Government-led Urban Renewal and public housing in Taipei, Taiwan. I choose the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement to be the main research area, for it is the first case of the municipality as the implementer to practice the Government-led Urban Renewal on reconstructing dilapidated public housing.

The implementation of reconstructing the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement began in 2018, the residents have already been resettled but only the property owners are guaranteed to engage in right exchange programs and be assigned with new units. The study only targets on the participation of residents with property ownership in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. The tenants that were excluded from the participation process and are difficult to track due to the limitation of time and lacking documents about the tenants. On the other hand, although the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement has already completed the planning, negotiation, design, review and relocation phases, the construction of the building is still in progress. Therefore, the assessment of housing adequacy is limited to the extent of the current progress and mainly focuses on two principles, accessibility and acceptability.

Chapter 2: Theory Review

By reviewing the prevailing debate about resident participation, including empowerment and governance point of view, the study focuses on applying multi-level analysis (Stone, et al., 2015) to the reconstruction process. By practicing a comprehensive perspective in community-based level, emphasizing on how actors, agency, institutional and policy framework have intermediate effects on the dynamic of resident participation and its outcome. Moreover, how do housing adequacy produced through the reconstruction process under the influence of resident participation, will be assessed by two principles, accessibility and acceptability.

As the review of previous studies begins, I identify resident participation as the concept deriving from citizen participation, contextualized in the neighborhood level rather than civil society as a whole. In addition, resident participation is viewed in practical at the center of power interaction among residents, local and central government.

There are two perspectives of discussing resident participation in urban affairs, participation that can contribute to citizen empowerment, social capital and democracy (Michels and de Graaf, 2017; Michels, 2011; Geissel 2009; Smith, 2009), and participation as a tool of governmentality (Teernstra and Pinkster, 2016; Huisman, 2013; Blakeley, 2010; Uitermark, 2005; Arnstein, 1969). By clarifying the distinction and relationship of the two perspectives, questions of how residents attain influence and how governance is performed can be reflected. Furthermore, it can further discuss the cruxes of resident participation, what can it achieve and affect the real lives of people.

1. Rethinking Resident Participation and its Contribution to Empowerment

Regarding the connotation of participation, it values local knowledge and aims to empower grassroots communities (Mohen, 2001). In terms of the objective of empowerment, Fainstein (2010) identifies that the more influential of the role of disadvantaged groups in urban renewal programs, the more likely to achieve a just city.

Clarifying the relationship between participation and empowerment, it is vital to consider the long-term threat of globalization and neoliberalism to cultivate citizenship as the premise. Purcell (2002) retrieves to Henry Lefebvre's "the Right to the City" countering with neoliberal global restructuring, involving two principal rights of urban inhabitants: the right to participation, and the right to appropriation. (Purcell, 2002, pp.102). The two elements of the Right to the City emphasize the maintenance of inhabitants to decide, contribute and access to urban space. Applying the Right to the City in contemporary society, facing escalating social division, inequalities and reflection of neoliberalism, capitalism, and social stratification, Marcuse (2014) views the right of achieving consensus as the goal of participation, which is the practice of justice as well (Marcuse, 2014; Fainstein, 2010). Referring to Lefebvre's discourse, the right to the city can be adapted and support the value of placing citizens at the center of society, that the decision-making process of public affairs rooted directly from citizens, considering citizens as the subject of the process. Hence, I assume that regarding neighborhood level, evaluating the position of residents in the decision-making process and what can residents achieve have an influential relationship to promote well-functioned citizen participation.

Identifying resident engagement as the precondition of participation rather than consequence (Michels and de Graaf, 2017), it brings up the question of who is included and who's interests can be concerned. In view of the boundary between private and public interests, public

discourse is formed to transform and expand the "private" to connect with each other, in order to contribute to a "public" that involves each person's private interests (Lee, 2004). On the other hand, inclusion, discussing "who are included" or "who are excluded" in participation rely on recognizing the diverse identity and disadvantage of inhabitants, especially social- and economic-disadvantaged groups. The argument can be further related to the consideration of power existing in different level and position of participation. While being overoptimistic about the purification of local knowledge and grassroots participation, but neglecting social structure operating in micro level, power, and social control can be reasserted by dominant individuals and groups, forming knowledge and norms practiced in the participation process (Kothari, 2001).

To further discuss the reproduction of power and injustice through participation, identifying the diverse distinctions among identities of individuals (or groups) is crucial. Fraser (2000) considers the use of identity politics that promotes collective identity as a threat to justice, emphasizing on two dimensions of social injustice, misrecognition, and maldistribution. Misrecognition creates institutionalized cultural value on the status model, which causes subordination with parity-impeding values. The disparity produced by the model mostly targets groups that have less resource to participate and lead to violation of social justice. On the other hand, maldistribution connecting with economic subordination is the demonstration of economic ordering. Interweaving with each other, culture and economic influences are both inseparable, Fraser provides a remedy by establishing participatory parity as normative standard (Fraser, 2000). Corresponding to Fraser, Perrons and Skyers (2003) argue that urban policies with inclusive and accountable features have the fundamental of democratic partnerships between actors involve in residents' affair. Considering empowerment as the prerequisite of participation rather than objective, addressing economic, social and cultural inequality are the priorities even before empowerment, by means of redistribution and recognition. In this case, empowerment isn't only about enabling disadvantaged groups to gain skills, but identifying how misrecognition of residents' identity and maldistribution of resources are deepening structural inequality and cleavage (Perrons and Skyers, 2003).

Rethinking the relationship between participation and empowerment in view of power, there are critiques on overemphasizing the positive relationship between participation and empowerment. It requires to focus on how power is produced and is affecting the relationship between both. It is commonly recognized that empowerment has its objective to "enhance the capacity of individuals to improve or change their lives (Cleaver, 2001)". Originating from the re-evaluation of participatory approach in development policies, Cleaver's argument corresponds to the awareness of vague identification of residents' identity mentioned above— categories of the targets to be empowered and the scope of empowerment is often overlooked. Furthermore, the argument points out that power permeating in social relations is the determinant of the inclusionary/exclusionary positions of people. On the other hand, deriving from the genealogies of participation, Henkel and Stirrat (2001) argue that empowerment, under the new orthodoxy of participation in modern society, is actually the other side of subjection, which isn't about empowering the disempowered, but rather tailor participants to comply with modernity encompassing in the ideology of development projects. In this case, to overcome the blind spot of reviewing empowerment and participation without power perspective, transferring the attention from the empowering target groups to the thorough process of development is necessary, including discourses, institutions, and practices involved (Henkel and Stirrat, 2001).

1.1 Community Development as Practicing Bottom-up Participation in Taiwan

Reflecting back to the implementation of community development in Taiwan, how participatory approach and empowerment are practiced can be viewed in a historical and practical context. Comparing to the concept of community and participation rising from mature civil society and combating market individualism in the West (Liu, 2008), community development in Taiwan is formed to establish civil society by initiating active citizen participation (Liu, 2008; Chiu and Chen, 2001). As a unique social reform pattern, community development aims at initiating community autonomy (Chen, 2000). Originated from the democratization process, community development adjusts resource allocation of the country slightly and intends to trigger self-empowerment of the grassroots (Yang, 2004). Ironically, while related policies are enacted by the government, whether those can actually empower people or are made for consolidating the legitimacy of the government's ruling is consistently under debate. Therefore, dealing with community development requires an in-depth understanding of existing social patterns (Yang, 2004). In view of complicated urban challenges, especially in a developmental country that have just been through continuous urban social movement and democratization in the 1990s, community development is created as a new form to loosen the existing local political structure. Besides, community development is expected to empower communities, having community participation affect both in and out of the formal system (Hsia, 1999). In the urban area, threats of globalization, fragmentation and rapid urbanization conflicts with the autonomy of citizens; hence, community development is implemented to form collective consciousness of residents to resist impediments from the threats (Chen, 2000). However, there are indeed diverse and multifaceted issues in community development, which are produced from the coexistence of different interests; in addition, the involvement of various actors from different sectors is inevitable. To simplified the actors involved, Chen (2009) identifies that community, public sectors, and professionals (mostly with architecture and urban planning background) are three main roles, and positive effect of community development depends on clarifying their roles and well cooperation.

2. Resident Participation and Urban Governance

Following up on the perspective above that focusing on resident participation and empowerment, some other scholars discuss resident participation as a tool of governance to manage the cities.

Urban as a spatial and cultural category, it encompasses the demonstration of state authority. On the other hand, governance refers to multi-core stratification, relating to partnership and consensus building (Parker, 2004). In the tendency of global economic reconstruction in 1970 to 1980s, prevailing neoliberalism resulted in the paradigm shift of urban governance from managerialism to entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989; Jou, Wu & Chiang, 2009). Besides, pressure from neoliberalism triggers the redistribution of power from both vertical and horizontal dimensions of governance levels, from international organizations to local government and competition of resources among different sectors (Parker, 2004; Brenner, 2002).

Evolving through the years, urban governance has become more delicate and infiltrated. Participation is used as the performance of governance (Huisman, 2013; Blakeley, 2010; Barnett, 2002), focusing on the process, articulation, and relationships among actors of governing (Blakeley, 2010). Regarding the weakening and opposing feature of democracy in governance in neoliberalism era, the role of local governance is reinforced by local entrepreneurialism in economic development, while globalization strengthens the growth of both international and urban-regional economies (Harding, 1996).

In view of national governance systems and priorities, questions of how national government works with local and how governmental will be implemented from national to local relate to the capacity of government govern "at a distance" (Blakeley, 2010; Barnett, 2002). Practicing governmentality as a governance instrument, the governance structure is formed by the interaction between local and national actors. Analyzing "microphysics of power" in a local level, Uiternark (2005) combine Latour and Rose's view of government from a distance, indicating that authorities mobilize, stabilize and congregate government's program to be implemented on objectives. On the other hand, Uitermark considers how policy formed by the central state, is rooted from a local process of knowledge and strategic intervention from the central and thus reproducing interdependence relationship within an institutional structure (Uitermark, 2005). In this context, participation is one of the tools of governmentality in urban governance that produces "self-governing" (Blakeley, 2010). Huisman (2013) argues that mainstream discourses create the illusion of attaining influence by participation. In fact, the challenge is that participatory is streamlined and institutionalized by the government, in order to absorb possibilities of opposition. Justifying and making public discourse, moral codes referring to individual responsibility and community obligation discipline how people make choice and act (Barnett, 2002; O'Hare, 2010). The ability and awareness of individuals to participate with a responsible and rational manner, even the collective of community and citizenship enable the government to govern at a distance (Blakeley, 2010). Furthermore, O'Hare (2010) indicates "the restrictive nature of community capacity building governance" (O'Hare, 2010, pp.36), interactions of actors are constraint by rules and norms established by governance, in order to prevent independent and autonomy actors, and manifest centralized control.

2.1 Urban Renewal as a Governance Instrument and Demonstrating Governmentality in Taiwan

Back to urban governance in Taiwan, as a developmental country, the state is highly intervening in market institutions (Dicken, 1998; Chen and Li, 2010). Urban development usually refers to the redistribution of power and interests of the multiple actors involve (Jou, Wu&Chiang, 2009). With the main objective to achieve thorough urban regeneration, constituted by redevelopment, rehabilitation, and conservation, urban renewal simplifies comprehensive housing needs of people to the issue of reconstructing blighted area and urban beautification (Huang, 2012).

Influenced by neoliberalism, developmental countries in Asia, Taiwan for instance, embracing market logic in the era of globalization, and further reinforce the role of the state by remaining opening to the global market, increasing urban infrastructure and revising economic policies (Chen and Li, 2010). Controlling the power of forming public policies and distributing resources, public authorities in Taiwan utilize urban renewal as the institutional instruments of urban governance, which not only physically regenerate urban landscape, but form a new discourse of public interest. To facilitate urban renewal, the state formulates and revise institutional frameworks, it leads to the transformation and appropriation of publicity in urban renewal. As the special law of urban planning institution, urban renewal, combining with the Promotion of Private Participation in Infrastructure Process Act, encourages capital accumulation in urban space by assigning private sectors as a major role in implementing renewal projects (Hsu, 2011). On the other hand, incentives are provided by the government to initiate the willing of private developers, land and property owners to engage in the urban renewal, including Floor Area Ratio Bonus(FARB) and right exchange program. The

concerning of competing and distributing interests become the top issue in urban renewal; in addition, the government produces discourses to form the imagination of modernized urban landscape. Those policy discourses are used as the tool of attracting political resource in ward politics; therefore, public, private and local actors collaborate in urban renewal for their multiple political and economic interests (Hsu, 2011).

3. Multi-level Analysis of Urban Politics

By reviewing the two perspectives of resident participation, empowerment, and urban governance, it is obvious that power and governance structure both have opposite effects on resident participation to produce a more just outcome. There are two questions derive from the previous discussion. Firstly, how to evaluate the value and efficacy of resident participation in certain context, to what extent resident participation achieve empowerment or reinforce government control? To assess the impact of social reform lead by citizen participation, Arnstein (1969) provides a simplified category of participation ladder base on the level of substantial influence of citizen power to contribute to social reform. From invalid to influential, citizen participation is divided in three groups, non-participation, degree of tokenism and degree of citizen power. In non-participation, "manipulation" and "therapy" are overt governmentality tools that directly strengthen the control of public authority. In degree of tokenism, "informing", "consultation" and "placation" reflect that the admittance ticket to participation is provided by powerholders to the people, and the action of collecting opinion from the people can be considered more refined governance tools that consolidate the legitimacy of powerholders. In degree of citizen power, the distinction is that the power of the people is autonomous, not proffering by powerholders. Therefore, "partnership", "delegation of power" and "citizen power" can be reviewed as the vision of empowering people from the bottom up by participation.

However, Arnstein is aware that such simplified evaluation of citizen participation is rooted from the premise of the homogeneous and dichotomy imagination of the "hove-not" and powerholders (Arnstein, 1969). Hence, the second question refer to the inquiry of a more refined and detail study of practical resident participation in urban politics. Questions of how do institutional tools actually be implemented, how power react to resistance in the urban field and how to involve the consideration of actors and agency remain unsolved. Therefore, an alternative analytical approach is required, by means of studying urban politics in a more micro-level and interconnected process (Parker, 2004)

Uitermark (2005) argues that governance is rooted from local knowledge, that the national select, simplified, conceptualized and mobilized local issues, and further form discourse to govern; therefore, "understanding local governance regimes depends on understanding the transfer of powers and knowledge from the national to the local and vice versa. (Uitermark, 2005, pp.145)". Hence, how local knowledge is formed in local scale and what is the foundation of power for residents to take action; moreover, the possibility to rectify participation procedure and contribute to a more just civil society remains the question.

According to the long-period engagement and research in the rival/balance tension between collective actions from neighborhood community and urban governance, Chen (2000) argues that studying urban renewal on neighborhood level requires a more meticulous and intensive observation of the dynamic power interaction between the community and local, national government.

In view of institutional change, experiencing local politics diffusion in the global competitive era, and transition in political regime (from authoritarian to populist), local power dynamics

and variation in Taiwan have policies been interpreted and redirected based on different political interests of actors. (Hsu and Hsu, 2013). In the prospect of power in the urban field, Harding (1996) put the analysis of community power in both local and global level, but not neglecting national governmental systems and priorities. Besides, demonstrated by the debate of community power, to understand the operation of local political power, analyzing the balance between interests of local and central governments, and local political uniqueness caused by unequal development of social relationships are required (Savage and Warde, 1993; Duncan et al., 1988).

Studying the challenges facing by distressed urban neighborhoods in postindustrial era, Stone et al. (2015) reject the thinking of urban regime as a static governance alliance, and call for multi-level analysis in urban political change, especially in postindustrial era that economic development intermingles with community-level concerns (Stone, et al., 2015). The multi-level analysis approach identifies structural inequality while also recognize the agency of residents in distressed neighborhoods, and further studies urban politics in four ways:

(1) Who the players are and whose actions impinge fairly directly on neighborhood conditions; (2) which issues and policy ideas they took up; (3) through what arrangements policy discussions were made and implemented, and (4) what patterns of policy intervention took shape. (Stone, 2015, pp. xi)

The multi-analysis approach thus provides certain variables for in-depth analysis in urban politics, actors and actions, issues, policy arrangement, and intervention patterns. Besides, it suggests that urban policies and politics are shaped and changed in ongoing processes, cross-time analysis is more comprehensive to identify what is the "trajectory" (Stone, 2015) of current policy for distressed neighborhoods. Comparing with governmentality that considering the gathering and selection of local knowledge has inter-relative relation to how national government governance and form urban policies, and concrete national authority eventually. In the multi-level analysis perspective, governance structure and residents' political agency are both weighed and recognized as variables of how urban policies are formed and implemented. In the cross-time study of urban politics in the gentrification and globalization process in Chicago, Betancur, Mossberger, and Zhang (2015) analysis the permanent influence of ward politics and neighborhood policy. Focusing on two distressed neighborhoods, indicated that how ward politics failed to represent the needs of residents, within the mix of tensions and conflicts in intracommunity and grassroots wariness of top-level actors.

Overall, in respect to power, Stone (2012) indicates that the analysis of power should focus on the outcome of long-term political agenda, alliance, and policy direction. While building the relationship between resident participation and empowerment, there are literature support the critical point of neglecting the effect of power in the participation process. On the other hand, urban governance perspective is viewed by how power is implemented through governmentality that consolidates the control of the public authority. In addition, by applying the multi-level analysis of urban politics, I propose that both perspectives are lacking consideration about the implementing process and outcomes, which consist of social relationships within actors. Precisely, the dynamics among different levels of government, institutions and the people deriving from the institutional framework.

Back to the reconstruction of public housing within the procedure of Government-led Urban Renewal in Taipei, the multi-level analysis provides an approach to look into how governance tools are implemented, transforming in a local, neighborhood context. Therefore, the political structure and institutional framework in the national and municipal level are included. Identifying who are the actors in the field, the reconstruction of public housing not

only involve public (municipality, urban development department, social welfare department, etc.) and residents, the local political structure brings local politicians, professional community, NGOs in the field as well. Besides. residents in the dilapidating public housing neighborhoods are not homogenous but have complex identities.

4. Housing Adequacy Assessment

Adequate housing is not only about the amount or quality of housing, but the sustainability of neighborhood communities plays an important role in achieving housing adequacy. Not only physical urban environment issues required to be solved, but "the 'soft' issues including social aspects (Ha, 2010). Therefore, the following parts will demonstrate universal adequate housing principles.

In "Housing at the Center of the New Urban Agenda" (UN-Habitat, 2015), with an aim of positioning housing at the center of addressing urbanization challenges, the concept of adequate housing is compounded with sustainability, that housing development with the objective of achieving human rights, concrete the development of urban sustainability. "Housing at the center" recognizes the shortage of adequate housing as a main urban challenge and housing as "the right to live somewhere in security, peace, and dignity" (UN-Habitat, 2015, pp.8). Placing "people" as the protagonist of housing, affordability and accessibility are two main principles to adequate housing. Besides, in terms of the housing shortage, the provision of housing under both quantity and quality considerations is vital as well. Based on the elaboration of housing adequacy assessment established by OHCHR Report (2013) of adequate housing, "the right to adequate housing" has been recognized as forming a part of an adequate standard of living, and is considered either precondition of basic human rights or be affected by other human rights. It thus provides certain elements for adequate housing: freedoms, entitlements, against forced evictions and other comprehensive conditions rather than the provision of a roof and four walls for households (OHCHR, 2013, pp.3-6). Besides, The United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (CESCR) underlined that instead of the security part of tenure, availability of services, affordability, habitability, accessibility, location, and cultural adequacy all contributed to a more thorough concept of adequate housing. Both perspectives regarding the provision side of the housing as the guard and implementer of housing adequacy; on the other hand, what about the effect of housing adequacy on residents themselves?

Deriving from people at the center of housing, in the work of Oleg Golubchikov and Anna Badyina published by UN-Habitat (2012), adequate housing is the substantial connotation of sustainable housing, demonstrating in social and environmental perspectives. Rather than producing physical units, the purpose of social sustainability of housing is to foster community capacity, by empowerment, participation, and inclusion. Focusing on sustainable social housing(SSH), it cultivates sustainable communities by meeting the housing needs of people and the high quality of the built environment (Oyebanji, et al., 2017). Economic, social and environmental are the three dimensions to achieve sustainable social housing (SSH). Among the critical success factors of the dimensions, it is significant that people (and communities) are the center in the concept (Oyebanji, et al., 2017) Features of sustainable communities are belonging, security, improving residents' knowledge, freedom from discrimination, social exclusion and fear (Ha, 2010). At this point of view, social inclusion and community empowerment are therefore identified in establishing housing adequacy.

Overall, retrieving back to the question of how resident participation contribute to a better democracy and just city, the assessment of housing adequacy in the reconstruction of public

housing context can be further elaborated by assessing four principles of adequate housing: affordability, accessibility, acceptability, and availability. Although the four principles are connected by interplay relationship, there is still specific value for each.

(1) Affordability: Affordability generally indicates the financial ability to afford minimum socially acceptable housing (McKinsey, 2014). Hence, it refers to the income level of residents, tenure options, dwelling types and financial assistance to target groups.

(2) Accessibility: Equal and non-discriminatory access to adequate housing is identified as one of the basic human rights (OHCHR, 2013). Physical aspects encompass the accessibility for residents to housing, basic infrastructures and social services. Regarding the right for vulnerable groups to access to adequate housing, information provided and empowering the groups to participate in decision-making process is crucial to be secured (OHCHR, 2013).

(3) Acceptability: Reflecting on the standard of socially acceptable housing in affordability, acceptability varies by local context and is defined by communities' view of decent housing (McKinsey, 2014). It requires the outcome to meet the multiple interests of residents.

(4) Availability: Availability refers to a sufficient amount of household units, land, financial support and tenure security. Furthermore, available resource provided to enable residents to realize the right to adequate housing and take action (OHCHR, 2013).

5. Conceptual Framework

Reviewing the relationship between economic development and community-based concerns, the multi-level analysis thus provides variables for identifying dynamic neighborhood political process. In the study of reconstruction of public housing in Taipei, how urban renewal and public housing formed through cross-time urban policy change have shaped the community structure in public housing neighborhoods. In further research, under urban governance structure context, I identify resident participation as the independent variable (IV), institutional and policy framework as intermediate variables, while housing adequacy is the dependent variable (DV). Considering the process of the case chosen in this study is still in the construction period, it is lacking of solid data to assess affordability and availability. The two indicators can be presented after the residents moving back to the completed new neighborhood. Nonetheless, accessibility and acceptability are revealed in the participation process to the final housing plan. Accessibility can be assessed by the capability of the residents to access to participation process, new housing units and resources. Acceptability can be valued by the residents' satisfaction with the expected housing outcome and how the participation affects their thinking of the urban renewal. Acknowledging the complex resident identities are the premise of resident participation. The causal relationship between IV and DV is about how resident participation patterns are formed in the reconstruction process and how they influence housing adequacy. The intermediate variable that intervene in the relationship between IV and DV contains two items: (1) Institutional framework (2) Policy and regulatory framework. Housing adequacy influenced by resident participation would be under assessment including two principles, accessibility and acceptability, to analyze to what extent can resident participation contribute to housing adequacy. (Figure 1)
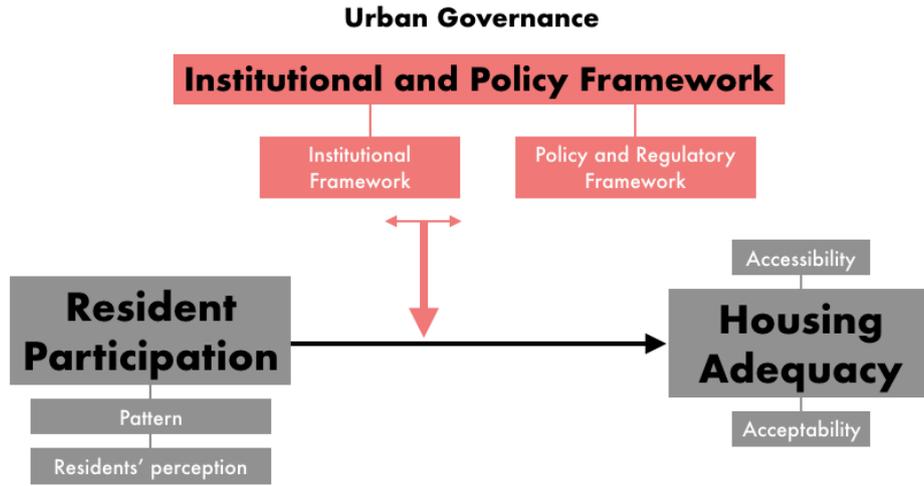
Figure 1: Conceptual Framework

Chapter 3: Research Design and Methods

3.1 Research Question and Sub-Questions

Based on the background and problem statement provided in chapter 1, it is clarified that the research will be based on how residents are involved in the reconstruction of public housing, by means of Government-led Urban Renewal. In chapter 2, the literature of empowerment and urban governance perspectives provide comparative reviews of resident participation. Furthermore, multi-level analysis is brought up to gain deeper insight into urban political studies. Following up the previous chapters, the main research question and sub-questions arise:

How does resident participation in Government-led Urban Renewal-affect housing adequacy?

The following sub-questions are:

> (1) Who are the actors and what are the actions taken by them?
> (2) How are policies arranged and implemented in the process?
> (3) What are the patterns of resident participation in the process?
> (4) Can the outcome be considered adequate housing?

3.2 Research Strategy and Approach

The purpose of the research is to have an in-depth and detail study about how residents participate in reconstructing public housing under Government-led Urban Renewal and its effect on housing adequacy in Taipei. In order to fulfill the research objective, a case study is selected as the main research strategy and causal process tracing (CPT) as the research approach. The research will focus on the reconstruction case applied with the Government-led Urban Renewal and its embedded institutional framework and social context.

The case study provides the research to be built from "a real-life setting"(Thiel, 2014, pp.86). Practicing with qualitative methods and techniques, a case study in social research concentrates on the social phenomenon with detail and extensive descriptions in a particular context (Thiel, 2014). Therefore, a case study is suitable to be applied in research that contains limited units and plural variables. Based on the previous chapters, the subject of my study and collection of existing knowledge provide the statement of a contextualized research, examining Government-led Urban Renewal in the reconstruction of public housing in Taipei, focusing on resident participation in the process and assessing the outcome by housing adequacy criteria.

To study how Government-led Urban Renewal is implemented in public housing reconstruction in the real world, applying actual cases would be necessary. In this study, I focus on the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement in the Datong District in Taipei, Taiwan (Figure 2). Encompassing the First,

Figure 2: Location of Taipei and Datong District

Second, Third Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement and Lanzhou Public Housing, "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Plan" has already completed the planning, negotiation and housing design process of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement (Figure 3). The Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement is one of the typical resettled tenement that mostly accommodates low-income and social-vulnerable groups (Table 1). The renewal of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement is known as "the most challenging urban renewal case", due to its complicated conditions of property ownership, low political incentives in ward politics, and high reconstruction costs but low revenue. However, the municipality has its ambition to establish a streamlined institution base on the achievement of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement.
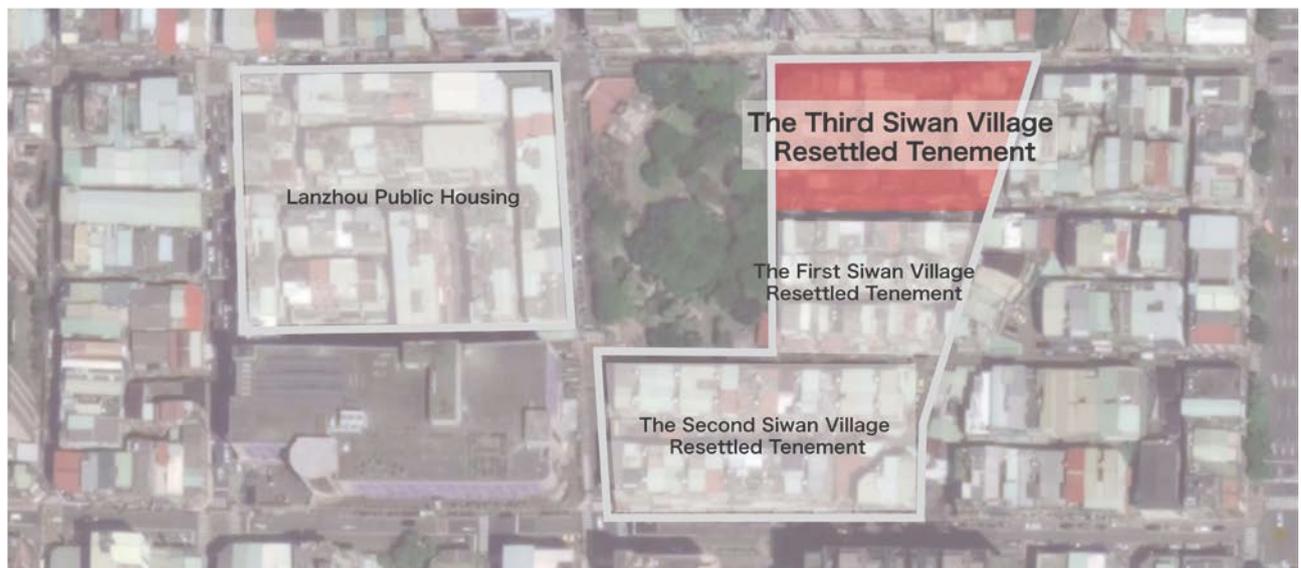
Figure 3: Designated area of "Siwan Village Resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Project" (Source: Google Map, 2019)

The Third Siwan Village				
Year of completion	Number of household units	Number of listed underprivileged households	Numbers of owner-occupied households	
1967	260	130	86	
Number of property owners	Size of household units	Year of implementing the Government-led Urban Renewal	Numbers of rental households	
210	20-39.7m²	2016	93	

Table 1: Background information of the Third Siwan Village (Source: the author)

The demolition and reconstruction of the original buildings began in May 2018 and planned to complete in 2021, with 98% of property owners agree with the reconstruction of their neighborhood. Residents with property ownerships are temporarily relocated to other dwellings and are expected to move back while the construction is completed.

Among the three main approaches of case study, co-variational (COV), causal process tracing (CPT) and congruence analysis (CON), I choose the second one to be my research approach, as it aims at getting deeper and denser insights in causal mechanism and configuration involving factors, links, and outcomes. Furthermore, to draw a fined-grained picture of situations, actions, and events within a genuine context (Blatter and Blume, 2008). CPT strives to delineate a thorough storyline, including tracing the causal process of structures, actors' motivation and timing of factors gathering to produce the outcome (Blatter and Blume, 2008, pp.324). Differentiating two concepts of CPT, firstly, the causal mechanism represents the process-tracing searching for information and motivations of actors to unintended consequences. Rather than focusing on the input and output of the process, the causal mechanism consists of a logical order of temporal succession (Blatter and Blume, 2008). Secondly, the causal configuration is a variable-based concept, delineating the production process of outcomes by looking into the complex links and interactions between causal factors (Blatter and Blume, 2008, pp.322). The concept of causal configuration includes three forms: interaction effects of causal factors, specific causal factors working in specific contexts and the first causal factor as the precondition of the second factor. Reflecting back to multi-level analysis in chapter 2, urban policies and politics are formed in a dynamic and ongoing process, and trajectory is necessary to be found is a comprehensive analysis. Besides, suggested by Stone (2015), actors and actions, urban issues and policies, policy arrangements and implementation, and patterns of policy intervention are four indicators of urban political studies. Furthermore, I argue that the study of actors, agency and policy instruments requires reflexive thinking under the existing institutional framework.

3.3 Operationalization: Variables, Indicators

On the basis of literature review and conceptual framework, the IV of the research is "resident participation" and DV is "housing adequacy". In between the causal relationship of the two variables, I identify the institutional framework as the intermediate variable that performs its influence between IV and DV (Table 2).

Resident Participation:

Regarding the concepts of empowerment and urban governance in resident participation, the paradox is that the delineation of how resident participation can be considered accumulating citizen power or consolidating the control of the government is ambiguous, for the subjective consciousness of the residents can be manipulated by governmentality. It can enhance the support of public authority and dismiss opposite opinions. On the other hand, by obtaining knowledge and strengthening the autonomy of residents' community, human agency is possible to contribute to empowerment. However, to avoid the disadvantage of over-simplistic and binary view of resident participation, the research will discover the heterogeneous characteristics of the residents that affect the residents to participate. The evaluation of resident participation is divided in two parts. Firstly, the pattern of resident participation encompass how resident participation is formed, include or exclude residents and the mechanism that can be utilized by the residents to influence to process. Secondly, the residents' perception of participation is aiming at finding out the expectation and understanding of the policy and participation procedure. Thirdly, how does the existing resident organization of resident participation is includes. Finally, how does having information or not inflence residents' understanding of the policy and procedure would be the last part of resident participation analysis.

Housing Adequacy:

The study of housing adequacy in the project of Siwan Village is assumed to have a causal relationship with resident participation. In this case, the study converges the housing adequacy dimensions to accessibility and acceptability as the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village has finished the stages of planning, negotiation and temporary resettlement, but the new building is still under construction. The housing adequacy assessment in accessibility encompasses the accessibility for residents to housing, basic infrastructures, social services and the right to participate in decision-making process (OHCHR, 2013). On the other hand, acceptability varies by local context and is defined by communities' view of decent housing (McKinsey, 2014). In the case of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, acceptability will be assessed in two aspects: (1) acceptability of the physical aspects of the new housing (2) accesptability of resettlement options.

Institutional and Policy Framework

In Taiwan, community development and urban renewal policies frame the institutional framework of urban governance with two distinctive political values. Community development policies as a bottom approach, aims at empowering citizens to engage in public affairs base on the neighborhood level, while urban renewal that currently emphasizing Government-led approach, is facilitating the efficiency of urban regeneration and removing the decaying landscape of a city. The institutional framework is not static, but a dynamic political structure that involves actors, institutions, policies, interactions and the implementation process (Stone, et al., 2015). Furthermore, the analysis of how power operates in the institutional and policy framework should include both local and national level prospects (Harding, 1996; Stone et al., 2015). In this variable, actors and actors' agency includes the position and capacity of national and local public sectors, executing agency, local politicians and NGOs. Besides, how they interact with each other and residents. On the other hand, , strategies applied to implement policies and connotaions of policies-relate to the Government-led Urban Renewal and public housing will be interpreted.

Variables	Sub-Variables	Indicators	Methods
Institutional and Policy framework	Institutional Framework	Roles and responsibilities in the reconstruction and participation procedure	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal policy	• Semi-structured interview
		Perception of resident participation in the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement	• Semi-structured interview
		Experience/challenges to cooperate with actors from other sectors	• Semi-structured interview

	Policy and Regulatory Framework	Policy objective	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Challenges of policy implementation	• Semi-structured interview
		Strategies applied in policy implementation to achieve policy objectives and influence on resident participation	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
Resident Participation	The pattern of resident participation	Operation of public resident participation procedure and private participation	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Roles and influence of resident organization in the reconstruction process	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Information Provided and Acquaintance with the Procedure and Policy	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
	Resident's perception of the participation	Residents' perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal policy	• Semi-structured interview
		Obstacles and consideration of worthiness to participate in the process	• Semi-structured interview
Housing Adequacy	Effects of resident participation on accessibility	Access to information about housing design, right exchange program and reconstruction progress	• Semi-structured interview
		Eligibility to resettlement options	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Access to basic infrastructure and social welfare services	• Semi-structured interview
	Effects of resident	Property value of the new units and cost)	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview

	participation on acceptability	Physical aspects and cost of the new housing unit	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview
		Resettlement options	• Document analysis • Semi-structured interview

<div align="center">Table 2: Operationalization</div>

3.4 Data Collection Methods

It has been clarified that the principal type of data in this research would be qualitative data. Qualitative data requires a logical, reasoning thinking of systematic and scientifically analysis (Thiel, 2014). There are three iterative (or cyclical) phases of qualitative data: data collection, data ordering and the actual analysis (Thiel, 2014, pp.138), here I begin with elaborating the data collection phase.

In order to form a triangulation of different qualitative methods, there are two methods of data collection applied in the research, document analysis and semi-structured interview. Document analysis shed lights on not only detail background and timeline of the process, but the transition of institutions and policies of urban renewal and public housing, the evolution of social housing paradigm and public discourses formed in implementing Government-led Urban Renewal on public housing reconstruction. On the other hand, the semi-structured interview stresses the cognitive aspect of actors, including their motivation, interpretation of the process, institution, relationships, and other actors' role. Besides, the interviews are applied to collect residents' view of accessibility and acceptability of housing adequacy assessment

Document analysis:

By collecting secondary data to practice document analysis, it is aiming at finding out: (1) Institutional and policy framework of Government-led Urban Renewal and public housing. (2) Features, background information of public housing, residents and other actors involved. (3) Public discourses of Government-led Urban Renewal and public housing reconstruction (4) The expected outcome of the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. There are three types of secondary data to be sorted out, source of research report, news archives and government documents. Research report includes the analysis of related policy and law of urban renewal and public housing. Report of investigating living environment of resettled tenements are chosen as well. Secondly, the UDN Database will be used for sorting out media reports and archives about Government-led Urban Renewal and the Siwan Village project, in order to analyze how the legitimacy of Government-led Urban Renewal is formed by presenting the project as a successful example, and how the opposite opinions are presented. Lastly, by accessing to public files from the government, reports including urban planning, urban renewal review committee and public hearing provide information about the project. Furthermore, they can be compared with the previous sources, revealing the government's vision of implementing policy and who engage in the official process.

By practicing document analysis, it would not only provide detail information for analyzing the characteristics of the institutional framework, public housing, and actors but make the understanding of those objects embedded in a contemporary social context.

Semi-structured interview:

Interview refers to a more active inquiry of researchers. Different from a questionnaire, a qualitative interview is essentially a conversation, involving the interaction between interviewer and interviewee. It can be more flexible, repetitive and continuous (Babbie, 2012). To operate the interview on the basis of operationalization, a semi-structured and in-depth interview is considered applicable. In this type of interview, sensitizing concepts indicating research variables form the interview questions will further contribute to an interview manual or topic list (Thiel, 2014), and interview guides will be provided to interviewees prior to the interviews. Identifying different types of significant actors involving in the process from document analysis is applied to find out potential interviewees.

To begin with the semi-structured interview, I identify seven groups of actors based on their roles in institutional framework and relevance to the case at the beginning and further categorize them into sub-items based on various conditions, professionals and political position for instance (Table 3).

Name Code	Group	Role/Service Unit
A1	Taipei Municipality	Urban Renewal Operation Division (UROD) of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, Taipei City Government/ Chief of UROD
A2		Urban Renewal Operation Division (UROD) of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, Taipei City Government/ Team leader in UROD
A3		Urban Renewal Operation Division (UROD) of Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, Taipei City Government/ Responsible for the temporary resettlement of the neighborhood
A4		Deputy Mayor (2014-2018)
A5		Department of Social Welfare (DSW)
B1	National Government	Urban Renewal Group, MOI
C1	TURC	Planner, TURC/ In charge of the on-site office
C2		Planner, TURC
C3		Planner, TURC
D1	Resident	Property owner/ Agree with the urban renewal / Former Chairman of Management Committee/Executive Secretary of Urban Renewal Committee/ Duration of residence: 45 years
D2		Property owner/ Agree with the urban renewal / Former Chairman of Management Committee/ Duration of

		residence: 27 years/ Moved out after marriage while other family members were still living in the neighborhood
D3		Property owner/ Agree with the urban renewal / Former Chairman of Management Committee/ Duration of residence: over 50 years
D4		Property owner/ Agree with the urban renewal/ Duration of residence: over 30 years
D5		Property owner/ Disagree with the urban renewal/ Duration of residence: over 30 years
E1	Village Leader	Village Leader/ Living in the village but not in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement/ Duration of the office: 8 years.
F1	The Accompany Plan	Project Leader
G1	City Councilor	City Councilor
H1	Urban Renewal Dispute and Resolution Review Committee (URDRRC)	Member
I1	Department of Land Economics (National Chengchi University)	Professor
J1	NGO	OURs
J1		Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC)
J2		Taiwan Alliance of Anti-Force Eviction (TAAFE)
J3		TAAFE
Total: 23		

Table 3: Interview List

3.5.1 Sample Size and Selection

Sample selection is a crucial step in the research, for it decides the units of the study. By applying case study to my research, the unit of study is limited to "Siwan Village Resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Project".

Methods of sample selection for semi-structured interview is practicing purposive sampling, which selects the interviewees by the understanding of existing conditions and research objectives (Babbie, 2012). On the other hand, techniques from snowball sampling are considered to be applied as well, by identifying certain groups of interviewees from each type of actors in the case, the targets of interviews can be extended by the introduction of previous interviewees. Besides, it should be noted that the representative of the interviewees. Hence, identifying certain groups of actors is the starting point of the interview, the selection of interview objects will be limited in accordance.

The sample selection process of each interview groups and representatives is applied by:

(1) The national government, Taipei Municipality and executing agency: Sorting out public administrations and executing agency that are assigned and responsible to urban renewal, social housing and implement the project in Siwan Village, categorized them in the national or local level. In the national level, there is 1 representative from MOI. For the

Taipei Municipality, I interview 5 representatives from UROD and DSW. For TURC, I interview 3 representatives that are assigned with different missions of the project.

(2) Residents: According to the member list of residents' urban renewal committee and management committee, I interview 5representatives.

(3) Village leader: Local village leaders are the bridge between public sectors and residents, distributing resources to residents and reflect residents' opinion to the government. In Siwan Village, the village leader has an important role in delivering messages and balancing the interests of different groups in the reconstruction project.

(4) The Accompany Plan: The host of the project that assists in temporary resettlement is interviewed.

(5) City Councilor: City councilor of the Datong District assists with the residents is selected.

(6) URDRRC: One of the member of URDRRC involved in the Third Siwan Village case is selected.

(7) NGOs: Local NGOs advocating housing rights and urban development issues are selected and have 4 representatives from different organizations.

3.5 Data Analysis Methods

Proceeding to data ordering phase, which serves as a bridge between data collection and analysis, a systematic manner is necessary. In the ordering phase, data collected by the three methodologies will be ordered conceptually regard to the indicators from operationalization through coding. To establish a code category, I begin with open coding, disassembling the data in multiple parts and labeling codes on each by identifying the implicating concepts and document them by keywords. Then, reflecting back to the main concepts in operationalization, I further set up axial coding base on the outcome of the previous step, in order to organize the coding relate to indicators and identify significant factors (appear frequently for instance) that could be considered potential research findings, but by no means cease open coding process at the meantime (Babbie, 2012).

Transiting to data analysis phase through axial coding, selective coding is employed to find out the connectors between indicators, which can establish the causal relationship between research variables. The main objective of selective coding is to analyze the core coding of the research, in other words, to identify core concepts and organize other concepts. To assist with clarifying the relationships among multiple concepts, concept mapping (Babbie, 2012) is applied to present the relationships with the help of images.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

To consolidate the reliability and validity of the research, I employed three types of methodologies in data collection, multiple data sources and analysis to form "triangulation", in order to check the data collection and research results in multiple approaches (Thiel, 2014). In terms of reliability, to supplement deficient data for analysis, document analysis and semi-structured interview are employed. The collected data are organized and categorized in detailed coding, in accordance with indicators in operationalization.

While choosing a case study as the main research strategy, there are constant questions about generalization. By applying CPT in the case study, it has the aim of achieving contingent generalization beyond specific cases (Blatter and Blume, 2008). Contingent generalization is

not about generalizing conclusions to a wider population, but "focusing on cases which have a large real-world impact on their own. (Blatter and Blume, 2008, pp. 340)". In this research, with the main approach of delineating the institutional framework, it can further draw inference from a certain situation and towards a greater understanding of the urban governance and institutional framework of other related cases.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

1. Background of the Government-led Urban Renewal in The Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement

1.1 Resettled Tenements: Privatized Public Housing and Urban Slums

During 1962-1975, 23 resettled tenements with 11,012 units (Kang, 2015) were built to settle households from demolished informal settlements and constructing public infrastructure. The Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement was built in 1969 with 5 storeys and 205 household units in the initial (OURs, 2011).

Constructing by the government, resettled tenements were built on public land and were planned to relieve the housing burden of the residents. Instead of providing housing for rent, house properties in resettled tenements were planned for sale with loan-interest loans for 15 years. After paying off the mortgage, property owners were permitted to purchase the land[1]. The long-term policy of separately selling house property and land indicated the challenges of complex property rights in implementing the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement[2].

Resettled tenements share a similar background and challenges of atrocious living environments. To accommodate the great number of households, the design of resettled tenements was significant on its high density, small living unit space, and rare public facilities. Although the architecture was famous for the modern and congregate design, the narrow living space ($26.4m^2$ to $39.6 \ m^2$) showed its incapacity to satisfy the dynamic housing needs of the residents (OURs, 2011). The quality of living space of resettled tenements was recognized as obsolete, non-conform with housing needs and disorder. The causes can be categorized in rapid population growth, congregating social- and economic- vulnerable groups and insufficient management. During 1960 to 1970, major cities in Taiwan, especially Taipei, were experiencing rapid urbanization due to massive rural-to-urban migration and economic development (Chang, 2015, p.123). Seeking for affordable housing in the capital city, resettled tenements provides the grassroots-labor families small living space but lower-than-average housing costs. Since then, compared to general residential neighborhoods, resettled tenements has accommodated a high proportion of low-income groups, elderlies and people with disabilities.

On the other hand, lacking proper architecture plan and management of public space resulted in unresolved disrepair of physical facilities and unkempt environment. Furthermore, illegal structures covered the original buildings and staircases even aggravated the declining living quality in the resettled tenements. Referring to the social aspects of the resettled tenements, those neighborhoods congregated with economic- and social- vulnerable households and disorder housing environment stimulated the stigma of "urban slums" from the society.

During the process of urban development, Taipei has evolved into a city with a dense population and buildings, but a high proportion of old buildings with age higher than 31.5.

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[1] According to the Approved Urban Renewal Business Plan of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, there were 31.84% of public land and 68.16 private land with 216 property owners in the neighborhood (Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office, 2018)

[2] "Guidelines for Property Registration of Early-Period Resettled Tenements in Taipei" was enacted due to the complicate property transfer situation in resettled tenements. Not only due to the restriction period of purchasing land but people would sell their house properties by private contracts.

The buildings encompass structures and public facilities that don't conform to modern architecture criteria (Lin, 2019, p.226). In this case, urban renewal is identified as the main strategy to resolve the challenge of urban aging, while resettled tenements have been recognized as main targets to apply the policy[3].

Figure 4: The Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement (Source: The Third Siwan Village Government-led Urban Renewal Facebook Page)

Figure 5: Model of the New the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement (Source: the author)

1.2 The Initiation of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village

Completed in 1969, the Third Siwan Village was built to resettled demolished households generated by the relocation of an incinerator (VU, 2018). Experiencing failure of Self-Organized Urban Renewal by residents themselves and previous mayors to fulfil their promises to operate urban renewal in the neighborhood, the municipality inherent the policy trajectory of renewing the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. In 2016, "The Government-led Urban Renewal Plan of Lanzhou--Siwan Village Resettled Tenement" was announced, while the municipality declared that the year as the inauguration of "Government-Led Urban Renewal".

Earlier in 1990s, there were appeals to apply urban renewal in dilapidated resettled tenements existed[4]. Since then, the municipality had operated multiple times of investigation in the neighborhood. In a survey about the willingness of reconstruction in 1993, residents of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements reflected 78% of the agreement to implement urban renewal by joint construction with private construction company[5]. However, restricted by the flying height limitation in the district, the large amount of households and complicate

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[3] According to the report of "Standardized Operation Procedure of Self-Organized Urban Renewal Committee in Resettled Tenements Area" (2017), MOI approved the inclusion of resettled tenements in "Strategic Redevelopment Area" from the Taipei Municipality in 2009. After a year, the municipality announced redevelopment projects and urban renewal reward of resettled tenements. Besides, MOI and the municipality encouraged Self-Organized Urban Renewal of the residents from resettled tenements by providing subsidies.

[4] C.F., Niu. (1992) 'Renew Resettled Tenements First Step on the Keelung Road', UDN, 1, November. https://udndata.com/ndapp/Story?no=213&page=11&udndbid=udndata&SearchString=tLWk5ai9K7P4p089wX CmWLP4fLhnwNmk6bP4fMFwplix37P4&sharepage=20&select=0&kind=2&article_date=1992-01-11&news_id=100859678

[5] C.L., Shen. (1993) 'Almost 90% of Resettled Tenements Agree with Reconstruction', UDN, 12, March https://udndata.com/ndapp/Story?no=220&page=11&udndbid=udndata&SearchString=tLWk5ai9K7P4p089wX CmWLP4fLhnwNmk6bP4fMFwplix37P4&sharepage=20&select=0&kind=2&article_date=1993-03-12&news_id=100751978

property ownership condition, private sectors entered in the neighborhood ceased to proceed due to the high cost of integration and low revenue from the renewed buildings. Meanwhile, the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village received wide attention from both the municipality and local politicians. In 1994, 2000 and 2010, the Siwan Village Resettled Tenements were designated in the official urban renewal area by the municipality (TURC, 2017). Public declarations were also produced with previous mayors and candidates visited Siwan Village to make policy promise on reconstructing the neighborhood[6].

There was a clear policy trajectory formed about implementing urban renewal in Siwan Village. In 2015, after a year of the election, Mayor Ko announced promoting the Government-led Urban Renewal in 22 districts in Taipei, including the Siwan Village Resettled Tenements. The Third Siwan Village experienced previous failures of Self-Organized Urban Renewal operated based on joint construction with residents and private companies (resident's Urban Renewal Committee as the implementer). By taking the lessons, the municipality assigned the Taipei City Urban Regeneration Office (TCURO) of DUD as the implementer of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Government-led Urban Renewal Plan". To extend the resource of personnel, TCURO commissioned tasks of planning and promoting policy in the neighborhood to TURC. In February 2016, intending to facilitate communications with residents in the neighborhoods, the municipality established an on-site office adjacent to Siwan Village with planners from TURC assigned to operate the office (Lin, 2019). In July 2016, Deputy Mayor Lin announced the project was decided to be operated by "staged development", neighborhoods, including the First, Second and Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements and Lanzhou Public Housing, reached the highest agreement rate from residents would be selected to implement urban renewal in priority[7]. Finally, at the end of 2016, the Third Siwan Village obtain the chance with over 70% of agreement rate (Lin, 2019). Furthermore, while the Urban Renewal Plan was approved and proceeded to the construction phase in 2018, the agreement ratio ended up at 98% with 4 disagreement households (4 households with ownership of 6 housing units).

2. Institutional and Policy Framework

2.1 Institutional Framework

2.1.1   Roles and Responsibilities in the Reconstruction and Participation Procedure

"Lanzhou-Siwan Village Government-led Urban Renewal Plan" was the first urban renewal plan of resettled tenements in Taiwan that the government served as the implementer. Hence, in the case of reconstructing the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, institutional roles including the superior, the competent authority and executive agency were vital to be identified. While the policy was implemented in the local neighborhood, actions taken by key actors (except the general residents) and the municipality were significant during the process. In this case, city councillor, the village leader and members of the management committee and urban renewal committee were identified. (The roles of chairmen of the management committee and urban renewal committee will be elaborated in the part of resident participation.)

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[6] According to the news reports and interviews from the village leader and residents, before the current Mayor Ko, 4 mayors had made promises about urban renewal in Siwan Village from 1990 to 2014. The renewal of resettled tenements has become one of the main issues discussed in each mayor election of Taipei.

[7] Press release of the Taipei Municipality, 2016
http://www.gov.taipei/ct.asp?xItem=156491560&ctNode=5158&mp=100001

The superior of the Government-led Urban Renewal was the deputy mayor[8]. Recognizing aging city as the main issue of Taipei, the deputy mayor perceived that under the vision of urban regeneration, renewing existing obsolete building and create a certain amount of public housing were two critical strategies. Therefore, urban renewal in the Siwan Village was considered imperative to him:

"There was some typical strategy used in Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, not only that this can be considered as the acquiring of public housing, but you touch the issue that the previous government didn't dare to touch for 50 years." (Respondent A4)

According to the quote, it reflected the policy trajectory that the municipality followed, which correspondent with the identification of successive policies applied in a distressed neighborhood for multi-level analysis. To avoid the previous failure of joint construction with private construction companies, TCURO was designated as the implementer and the Urban Renewal Operation Division (UROD) affiliated with the office took the main responsibility of implementation. While UROD was mainly responsible for operating community development policy in urban renewal field, the division identified communication with the neighborhood as the priority. Under the thinking of communication, UROD not only assigned TURC the tasks of a planner but promoter to operate the on-site office. UROD and TURC cooperated to hold explanation meetings and workshop to communicate with the residents. Proceeding to the phase of temporary resettlement after approval of the Urban Renewal Plan, UROD was responsible for assisting residents with finding resettlement options.

TURC was the first urban-renewal specialized agency established by a public sector in Taiwan in 2012. In 2015, the agency was transformed to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal policy as the main objective (Lin, 2019, p.165). The flexibility of TURC as a non-governmental institutional but operated by urban renewal funds enable the municipality to increase their personnel of urban and community development planners out of existing personnel quota. In this case, TURC was assigned the role of executive agency, promoting the policy in the neighborhood and writing the Urban Renewal Plan. Planners from TURC stationed in the on-site office to conduct household interviews (collaborated with officers from the municipality and the village leader), meetings and on-site consultation with the residents. The collection of household data and residents' opinions from TURC were directly delivered to UROD (Respondent A1).

At the neighborhood level, city councilors and village leader were two main political leaders elected by local citizens. City councilors in Datong Districts assisted the resident with establishing the urban renewal committee during the time residents were trying to conduct Self-Organized Urban Renewal. In the period of the Government-led Urban Renewal, the role of city councilors was reflecting residents' opinions and put pressure on the municipality. Mostly, it was the chairmen of the urban renewal committee that would seek assistance from city councilors (Respondent G1).

The village leader could be recognized as the representation of the residents in the village. The leader was responsible to address local affairs and had a high reputation from most of the residents. For the municipality, it was crucial to receive support from the village leader for her influence and close relationship with the residents in the neighborhood:

"The village leader accompanied us to do the household interviews, she translated our words into Taiwanese Hokkien language for the residents. She would translate everything for us.

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[8] Term of office of the deputy mayor in the case was 2014 to 2018.

This was very important. For the residents, we were just simply strangers. Residents would make sure we are not frauds by the guarantee from the village leader." (Respondent C2)

Finally, there were two types of urban renewal review committee in urban renewal procedure, the Urban Design Committee and URDRRC in the case. Both of the committees were established to operate independently. The former review architecture design of the new building including public facilities, public space, and interior design. URDRRC was responsible for reviewing the Urban Renewal Plan and make the final approval. TURC should revise the plan complied with the comments from URDRRC. Except the assignment of reviewing, members of URDRRC, which were urban experts assigned the position by leading officers in the municipality[9], would also be the host of hearing without trustworthy selection procedure (Respondent J3). According to the documents of public hearings, the members can be in attendance in public hearings to answer questions from the residents[8]. Additionally, the members also assisted with private negotiation with disagreement households (Respondent H1).

2.1.2   Perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal Policy

From the perspective of the institutions about the Government-led Urban Renewal policy, the government has its core value of fulfilling political commitment but not earning profits (Respondent G1). Comparing the perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal Policy among the superior (deputy mayor), competent authority (UROD) and executive agency (TURC), the three actors shared the same perception of the policy about: (1) achieving policy objective (2) government's responsibility (3) achieving public interest[9]. However, as the frontline to interact with residents, UROD and TURC have more consideration on the right and value of the policy. According to the interview, all the respondents from UROD and TURC revealed the following concerns: (1) lacking consideration on housing rights and needs (2) possibility of excluding original residents (3) paradox of public interests and private property ownership.

The deputy mayor considered the operation of the Government-led Urban Renewal as the paradigm shift of urban renewal, comparing to the prevailing Private-led Government-led Urban Renewal. Therefore, he insisted on the application of "political strategy" (Respondent A4), making use of existing institutional and policy framework. For instance, "Regulation of the Government-led Urban Renewal in Taipei" was enacted in his term of office in 2016. The regulation presented the ambition of the municipality to guide and accelerate urban renewal in Taipei by the Government-led Urban Renewal (Lin, 2019). Comparing with the political will of the deputy mayor, officers and planners in UROD and TURC were struggling between policy pressure from the superior (Respondent A1) and their self-concern of the policy and residents. The following quote presents the concern of social impact on the residents:

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[9] *Establishment Guidelines of Urban Renewal Dispute and Resolution Review Committee for City at All Levels*, 2019

[8] Collected from the presentation of public hearing from the municipality (2017)

[9] According to the document of "Urban Renewal 2.0 Conference" (2018). The director of TCURO presented the plan of the municipality to integrate multiple sectors and improve the urban renewal procedure to facilitate the Government-led Urban Renewal. The document of "TURC Business and Government-led Urban Renewal Investment Forum" (2018) indicated that the Government-led Urban Renewal in resettled tenements was one of the main objectives for the municipality to improve the living environment of the city and accumulate public interests from the urban renewal cases.

"During the resettlement process, there was a question about whether the tenants were able to move back. (…) In fact, this was a house older than 50 years, no matter new or old residents, people built their social networks. While moving out, was there a chance to move back? Or if the resettlement was remote for them, would there be a negative influence on their social networks?" (Respondent A3)

On the other hand, the interview from one of the planners in TURC represent the critics on the urban renewal policy and its impact on tenants:

"…They (tenants) are not going to benefit from the renewal. They should move out and are not able to move back. (…) The policy doesn't benefit them (tenants), only property owners get benefits. This (moving back) would rather be a burden to them. We invest money on property owners, this is what urban renewal is playing." (Respondent C2)

Despite the discrepancy among the three actors in the institution, the questions remain are: Although different recognition of the policy existed, how did the policy still be implemented within the schedule? How did the policy implemented in the neighborhood and interact with the residents?

2.1.3   Perception of resident participation in the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement

Valuing the importance of communication with residents, the municipality operated multiple types of resident participation. UROD and TURC had intensive interactions with the residents. Their perception of resident participation can be categorized in (1) deficiency of the operation procedure (2) the performance of the residents in the process.

Firstly, the resident participation is considered not able to achieve thorough discussion with the residents. In the working report about the pre-investigation of applying the Government-led Urban Renewal in the neighborhood from TURC[12], the initial expectation of policy implementation is to form a platform for the residents to communicate with the municipality. The platform can help the residents to form their consensus and know their responsibilities.

The establishment of the on-site office demonstrated the intention of UROD and TURC to communicate with the residents. Established in 2015, the on-site office aimed at "providing a friendly channel for local leaders, residents and property owners living outside the neighborhood to communicate and access to the progress of the Government-led Urban Renewal. (…) By face-to-face communication, the residents can not only consult questions about the Government-led Urban Renewal and express their opinions, but build trust with planners station in the office." [13]

However, UROD and TURC expected to assist with forming a consensus within the neighborhood but fail due to the restriction of the institutional framework:

"There should be more delicate discussions with the residents beforehand and achieve a consensus. But there was no discussion about this during the process. Because of the limitation of the public sector, the Taipei Municipality, and UROD, we didn't have such

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[12] Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2017. Working Report of "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Resettled Tenements Government-led Urban Renewal Commission Case".

[13] Extract from: Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2017. Working Report of "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Resettled Tenements Government-led Urban Renewal Commission Case".

flexibility. We only have one destination, the demolition and rebuilding of the houses."
(Respondent A1)

The other dimension of the deficiency is the lacking of providing sufficient information to residents about the content of participation procedure. However, one of the planners in TURC indicated the responsibility of the municipality to inform residents, but the pattern of information provided to residents needed more considerations:

"Of course it is the municipality's responsibility. But what kind of information is suitable to provide? If I just sent a statute book or some other regulations about hearings and urban renewal, they are not able to understand them. So how to simplify the information and make it more transparent? This is a tough job." (Respondent C1)

Secondly, regarding the performance of residents in the participation scene, they observed that residents were not familiar with what was considered "proper manner" in the meetings

"I remember once that...a hearing was a quasi-judicial action, but some residents would clap their hands when they think the others make a good point, encouraging others to clap. Who will clap their hands on the court? The host was getting mad and asking them not to clap." (Respondent C1)

Besides, the following quote indicates that residents were not having much thinking about the policy except their existing acknowledgment:

"They would stick on one question: how many units I can exchange with per square meter. If you don't answer them, they would not discuss other issues with you." (Respondent A2)

2.1.4   Experience/challenges to cooperate with actors from other sectors

The existence of cross-sector cooperation in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement was mainly caused by addressing public property ownership of different sectors in the neighborhood including the Department of Finance and Department of Health. Besides, due to the high proportion of vulnerable households in the neighborhood, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) had certain amount of resource invested in the households for a long-term. The role of DSW in the Government-led Urban Renewal of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement was assistance in investigating the housing needs of temporary resettlement for vulnerable households. DSW also took charge of connecting social welfare resource for the households if they moved out of Datong District during temporary resettlement (Respondent A5).

As the implementer of the case, UROD experienced the most intensive cross-sector cooperation during the process of resettlement and demolition. The time limitation of resettling residents facilitated collaboration among multiple sectors. Operated by the deputy mayor, the cross-sector cooperation broke the convention of internal communication in bureaucracy:

"In the past, the delivery of official documents wasted a lot of time. Because of the promoting requirement and pressure of this case, everyone would have meetings when there is an issue. If the issue was arranged well, we carried it out." (Respondent A3)

The new pattern of cross-sector cooperation presented a high efficiency in achieving the mission on time. Pressure to fulfil a policy facilitate collective action of the municipality:

"It was not possible for an office to direct the departments to do these things. But due to the time pressure, the political pressure, there are some political commitments to achieve, this facilitates the whole municipality." (Respondent A3)

2.2 Policy and Regulatory Framework

2.2.1 Policy objective

There were two types of policy objective of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village to be achieved: political value and substantial achievement.

To begin with, the first objective of the policy was restarting urban renewal in Taipei from the Third Siwan Village. The massive social movement caused by forced demolition from the Private-led Urban Renewal of Wenlin Yuan in 2012 was considered the cause of retarding urban renewal in the city. The objective of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village was transforming government's view on urban renewal and public housing (Respondent A4). Secondly, the value of achieving exemplary to society, especially private sectors were considered. Taking the responsibility of implementer, the municipality implemented the policy as a comparison and demonstration to the private construction company. The objective of exemplary was demonstrated in two dimensions: (1) making use of planning and policy strategies (Lin, 2019, p.163) (2) acquiring public interests. For the second dimension, the public interests that the municipality intended to achieved in this case were "implementing the Government-led Urban Renewal in the neighborhoods that were dilapidated and congregated with vulnerable households, which was lacking market incentives to private investment"[14]. In contrast, although public interests in urban renewal often related to the improvement of buildings, there were constant critics on providing most of the benefits to private property owners (Respondent I1). Without a certain definition of public interests in urban renewal, the objective of acquiring public interests was remained in respective interpretation and presented as a gap of the understanding of the policy between the municipality and the residents. The following quote reveals the gap between policy objective and implementation:

"The reason why the government is doing Government-led Urban Renewal isn't the same as private sector. Government-led Urban Renewal has its value, we want to create public interests as much as we can. But the residents don't understand this, they are still talking about the size of their units. They wouldn't care about there may be a public facility on the second floor for the other neighbors to use." (Respondent A1)

Referring to substantial policy objectives, the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement is expected to increase the amount of public housing in Taipei. On the other hand, the long-term problem of dilapidated living environment would be solved by the upgrade of the physical environment of the neighborhood.

2.2.2 Challenges of policy implementation

The challenges faced by the municipality and executive agency in the policy implementation process were produced from two directions: from the municipality and the residents.

The major challenge from the municipality was the limitation of time, which was originated by the four-year terms of office of the mayor (2014-2018) (Respondent A3). In general, one

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[14] The document of "TURC Business and Government-led Urban Renewal Investment Forum" (2018)

urban renewal case will take 5 to 7 years to accomplished. However, in this case, it only took about 2.5 years, a few months before the mayor ran for re-election. The influence of time limitation had a direct relation to policy strategies applied, but combined with the limitation of personnel in both UROD and TURC. The regulation of staff in each department are limited, while UROD has only 16 staffs. On the other hand, there are on-site offices operated by TURC in the areas that were designated to implement the Government-led Urban Renewal. Hence, numbers of planners assigned in the office in the Siwan Village were restricted. Confronting with the limitation of time, it was necessary for UROD and TURC to "make a choice" on the time and energy spent on addressing the issues from the residents (Respondent A1). Specifically, they spent much of the resource on property owners but were restrained to consider tenants (Respondent J1).

Time limitation influenced the operation and pattern of temporary resettlement of the Third Siwan Village. While committed to transformed Minlung Elementary School in the vicinity of the neighborhood into a public housing provided for the temporary resettlement in 2015[10], it ended up being unable to complete the construction in time of the demolition of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. Moreover, residents felt uncertainty to move out before the Urban Renewal Plan was approved and the UROD was deficient in the energy to make a thorough resettlement plan before the approval (Respondent A3). Therefore, the period of temporary resettlement, including collecting housing needs, counting empty public housing units, looking for private rental housing options and assisted the residents with moving, only lasted for 3 months (Respondent F1). According to the final report of the Accompany Plan, challenges of time limitation on temporary resettlement appeared in the overlapping process of household interviews and searching for resettlement options. The report documented that there was no enough time for the working group to collect thorough housing needs and find suitable resettlement options for each household in need[15].

In terms of challenges from the residents, those challenges appeared during the integration of residents' willingness of the urban renewal and communication with the residents. Most of the challenges were mainly related to residents' perception of the policy and unfamiliar with the participation procedure. Also, the high proportion of vulnerable households was the origination of the temporary resettlement plan. The municipality not only dealt with the distrust of government from residents due to the previous failure of reconstructing the neighborhood but residents would have disputes on the issues they primarily concerned, including property evaluation, exchange of size and allocation (Respondent A1). Above all, the existence of a certain amount of disagreement households during the process was considered a challenge of the legitimacy of the municipality to implement the policy (Respondent A1).

Encountering the challenges, strategies are necessary for the municipality to apply to resolve the challenges during policy implementation.

2.2.3   Strategies applied in policy implementation to achieve policy objectives and influence on resident participation

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[10] Y.Y., H. (2015) 'Transforming Minlung Elementary School to Smart Resettlement Housing', UDN, 13, March https://udndata.com/ndapp/Story?no=10&page=1&udndbid=udndata&SearchString=tLWk5ai9K6TptME%2BP TIwMDkwODI0K6TptME8PTIwMTkwODAyK7P4p089wXCmWLP4fLhnwNmk6bP4fMFwplix37P4&sharep age=20&select=0&kind=2&article_date=2015-03-13&news_id=7894044

[15] The Final Report of the Third Siwan Village Temporary Resettlement and Accompany Plan, 2018, p.34.

The data collected from interviews and documents revealed that the strategies applied by the government were correlated with the characteristics of the neighborhood and residents' perception of the policy. Overall, strategies were applied to accomplished the policy on time and diminished the number of disagreement households. To achieve these, the principle of the strategies applied were following the regulations but remain flexible. On the other hand, being consistent with the game rules, mainly the criteria of right exchange (Respondent A2).

To achieve policy objectives and resolve the challenges, the deputy mayor considered political strategy as the core (Respondent A4). Due to the limitation of time, the integration period was necessary to be narrowed. While there were 4 neighborhoods designated in the "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Government-led Urban Renewal Plan", the deputy mayor announced "staged-development plan" to accomplish the policy on time by focusing on one neighborhood at first. By applying the Urban Renewal Fund, the municipality was able to absorb the sharing cost of the policy. Besides, the municipality stated that due to the limitation of resource it possessed, there could only be one neighborhood selected at first, making a discourse of how scarce the chance was for the neighborhoods to acquire urban renewal (Respondent D1). The neighborhood that achieved the highest agreement rate would be chosen:

"We did something like hunger marketing by saying that we have limited staffs, money and time, so we can only do one place at first." (Respondent A1)

How did the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement become the first-selected neighborhood? The main advantage of the neighborhood was the well-functioning resident organizations compared to the other neighborhoods (Respondent A3). Considering policy pressure from the limitation of time and personnel, UROD approached to opinion leaders in the neighborhood initially, including the village leader and chairmen of the resident organizations. Holding small meetings with the opinion leaders, UROD expected to make use of their social network in the neighborhood:

"They have their own network behind, if you can connect your idea with them, the influence would be able to spread." (Respondent A1)

The chairman of the management committee then noticed the staged-development plan and brought the message back to the neighborhood. Members of the management and urban renewal committee immediately shared the message to the other residents and mobilized the neighborhood to increase the agreement rate (Respondent D3).

Hence, by connecting with the opinion leaders in the neighborhood at the earlier stage, the municipality facilitated the integration process and lowered the communication cost successfully.

Regarding the restriction of time to communicate with the residents and made a thorough investigation on the housing needs of each household, the municipality produced the complete Urban Renewal Plan before informing the residents:

"The ideal procedure would be the neighborhood made their consensus on willing to have urban renewal and ask the government to execute. We can make all the steps of the Government-led Urban Renewal together. But the actual execution of this case was not like that. The municipality actively made the plans and connected with the residents while there was a certain amount of agreement. Although we put an office there, that was the concept in the early stage, just generally collecting everyone's opinion." (Respondent A1)

While deciding to operate the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village, there were still about 30% of disagreement households. The other residents, including the

members of the resident organizations, made their agreement with conditions, asking a free parking lot for instance (Respondent A1). Hence, instead of making a compromise as incentives, the municipality was consistent with the criteria of what residents can exchange back after the renewal based on property evaluation from real estate appraisers. There were only one rules of the right exchange and TURC made the documents of the exchange outcome of each household transparent for residents to access. This strategy successfully lowered the communication cost of both the municipality and TURC (Respondent C2). Besides, it was beneficial to diminish disputes from the residents.

It was obvious that the municipality established rules of the "game" and remain flexible to achieve the policy objectives with high efficiency. During the hearing procedure, residents objected to the rate of sharing costs[11] as 37.06% would narrow the revenue for property owners to retrieve after renewal[12]. The following quote presented why the municipality made a compromise with the residents' opinion:

"The urban renewal review committee adopted the residents' opinion on sharing costs and decided to lower it to 32.5%. The mayor asked me to make a decision. I said that we can cover the cost of tens of millions and we give up the revenue to the property owners. The budget was enough, we made a compromise and let this thing happened." (Respondent A4)

The other challenge referred to the distrust of the government from the residents. The residents were questioning the capability of the municipality to complete the construction. They were hesitate that it would end up with just merely demolishing their property (Respondent D5). On the other hand, formed by the impression that private construction company would give profit to disagreement households from private negotiations, disagreement households would insist with non-cooperation through the process (Respondent A2). In addition, agreement households were aware of whether the municipality would give extra profit to the others.

Therefore, the municipality considered the imperative of diminishing rumors and building trust from the residents, which was crucial to accomplish the policy (Respondent A1). The municipality was not only consistent with the criteria of right exchange, providing documents and respond to residents' questions through different channels, but the superiors, especially the mayor and deputy mayor visited the neighborhood several times as policy declaration (Respondent A1). There were two critical points triggered the increase of agreement households, unit allocation and approval:

"The Third got 70% of consent at first. Proceeding to the allocation process, we asked them to choose their new houses. When they knew how much they can get, the line began to soar. During the period of submitting the plan for approval and getting actual approval, the number exceeded over 90%, with only disagreement households left." (Respondent C2)

The consistent criteria, constant communication with residents and proceeding procedure enable the municipality to collect the increasing number of consent forms and reduce disputations. Throughout the meetings and the increasing number of agreement household, the perception of residents to participate changed by revealing the willingness to cooperate

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[11] Sharing costs in urban renewal includes the burden of public facilities for private property owners after renewal. The other type of sharing costs is the expenditure of urban renewal, mostly shared by implementers and property owners. Sharing costs is included in the calculation of right exchange. If the rate of sharing costs is 37.06% in this case, it means that the municipality can get 37.06% of the total revenue after renewal and transferred them into operating public housing. Referring to the revenue of the residents, it would be the property value of their new units.

[12] Meeting minutes of the 315th URDRRC meeting, 2017.

with the municipality. According to the observation from the meetings, the following quotes presented the change of opinion trends:

"Just look at the trends. Before proceeding to formal procedures, if someone stood up and said that why the government wasn't giving them refrigerators, televisions and washing machine like private companies, the others would chime in and say 'yes'. Until the later stage, someone would still come out and say that you should give us a parking lot for free. But the other residents were not helping these people. They were saying something good for the government." (Respondent A1)

Regarding the challenge of limitation of personnel, the municipality and TURC spent most of the time addressing with the issues appeared from the period of integrating property owners' opinions and issues they concerned, mostly about their property value. The problem of housing during the renewal process, namely temporary resettlement, was placed after dealing with the property issues. Since the Minlung Public Housing would not be completed on time and the demolition date was fixed in May 2018, UROD urgently commissioned the "Accompany Plan" to a consultant company. The Accompany Plan encompass the following works: (1)establishing a working group included one officer from UROD, project host from the company and volunteers (2)household interviews before and after demolition to identify vulnerable households and assisted with resettlement (3)collecting housing needs for resettlement (4) collecting available public housing and finding private housing for rent (5) assisting residents with moving out[17].

During the period of temporary resettlement, the working group of the Accompany Plan conducted intensive household interviews and cooperate with DSW to identify vulnerable households. Besides, the working group built a platform to collect private housing for rent (Respondent F1). In this period, the municipality facilitated the efficiency of cooperation among multiple sectors by the host of the deputy mayor (Respondent A3).

For the last 4 disagreement households, which were dissatisfied with their property evaluation outcome, the municipality executed private negotiation with the assistance of members from URDRRC. However, without compromise with increasing original property value, the households remain disagreement and insisted to protest against the municipality. Overall, at the day of demolition, the municipality still demolished the whole neighborhood[14] and left 2 of the disagreement households to file for administrative and civil litigations (Respondent D1).

3. Resident Participation in the Government-led Urban Renewal of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement

During the policy implementation process of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, the existence of resident participation varied and performed in multiple space and moments in the period. While property owners had the privilege to participate in the urban renewal with their property ownership and were

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[13] Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2018. Working Report of "Taipei Datong District Lanzhou-Siwan Village resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Business and Right Exchange Program Commission Case", p. IV.

[14] Supplement Regulations of the Acceptance of Urban Renewal Right Exchange Implementer on Requiring the Taipei Municipality for Substitute Demolition or Removing Improvement of Land, 2017. https://uro.gov.taipei/News_Content.aspx?n=F511910B5A36351D&sms=234E13F5FE7D88EA&s=AC10FE6D 625C4975

guaranteed to acquired new housing units, the whole participation process mainly excluded tenants. Therefore, the following part will focus on the participation conditions of property owners, regarding the pattern of resident participation and how residents' perception of the policy were reflected.

3.1 The Pattern of Resident participation

3.1.1 Operation of Public/Private Resident Participation and Channels for Agreement/Disagreement Households to reflect opinions
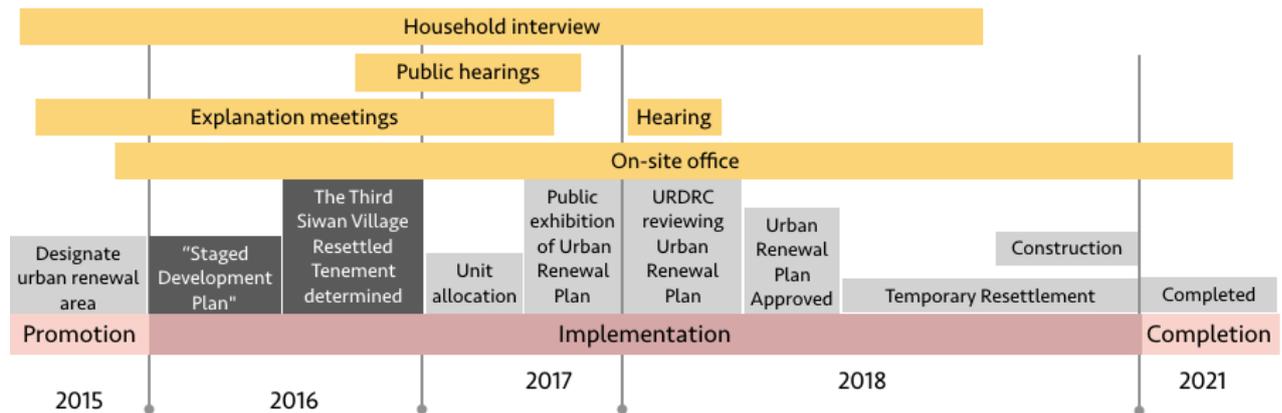

Figure 6: The Government-led Urban Renewal procedure of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement (Source: the author)

The pattern of resident participation can be simplified into two categories, public and private participation. In public, explanation meetings were held during the policy promotion and implementation period, which were mainly operated to explain the policy and urban renewal plan to the residents. The explanations meetings and public hearings created intensive opportunities to facilitate reactions between the municipality and residents (Respondent A1). Public hearings would be recorded and related departments, experts and property owners should be noticed[15.]. On the other hand, the hearing was a quasi-judicial meeting convened during the Urban Renewal Dispute and Resolution Review, which was operated independently to require revisions on urban renewal plans and make final approval of the Urban Renewal Plan. Hosted by one of the members from URDRRC, the residents were required to provide substantial evidence of their revising opinions on the plan (Respondent C1). The host would provide the opinions to the committee for discussing the approval of the plan[16]. To express opinions, residents can either provide a written opinion or voice their opinions in the meetings and receive responses from the municipality in correspondent forms. Ideally, hearing was the most rigorous participation procedure. It should be operated by following a strict and independent process to make sure that the final approval is just and legitimate. Public hearing was mandatory to be held in a certain number and had a formal procedure. Instead, explanation meetings were considered a common and flexible channels for the municipality to communicate with residents. In the "Regulation of the Government-

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[15] At least two public hearings in the urban renewal are mandatory to be held (the Urban Renewal Enforcement Rules, 2019). In the Third Siwan Village, there were 12 public hearings in 2016 (Lin, 2019) and at least 2 public hearings in 2017.

[16] *Notices of Convening Hearing for the Taipei Municipality and Affiliation Agencies* (2012)

led Urban Renewal in Taipei", there were no specific regulation about explanation meetings, but a type of operation procedure for the municipality to public the Government-led Urban Renewal policy to residents[17].

Resident participation in private consisted of consultation in the on-site office, household interviews, private meetings with opinion leaders and private negotiation with disagreement households. With an expectation to operate the on-site office under the value of community-development (Respondent A1), the office was stationed to provide policy information to the residents instantly and collect residents opinions and needs for the municipality (TURC, 2017). In terms of household interviews, planners from TURC and different level of officers visited the households to collect data of each household, consent forms and provide policy information.

Both agreement and disagreement households were available to participate through the channels mentioned above. In addition to these, private explanation meetings with opinions leaders and negotiations disagreement household targeted on rather specific groups. Opinion leaders selected by the municipality included the village leader, core members of the management committee, urban renewal committee and residents actively attending previous public meetings (Respondent A1).

Especially for disagreement households, members from URDRRC, urban experts and different level of administrators negotiated with them (Respondent H1). Negotiation is mandatory in the Urban Renewal Act with households if an urban renewal case refers to demolition[17]. The following quote from the person in charge of the on-site office and the other planner from TURC demonstrated that negotiations with the disagreement households focused on clarifying the reasons for dissent, rather than compromising on providing higher profits to the disagreement households:

"The experts, administrators and reviewing members knew that their appeals were unreasonable (…). We don't name it as "negotiation" but rather "sincere conversation." (Respondent C1)

"I think it is fine that the conditions are consistent, although the disagreement household would perceive that you have something to offer if there's going to be a conversation with them." (Respondent C2)

Except the resident participation pattern above, the existing social networks in the neighborhood formed another channels for the residents to express their opinions. The executive secretary of the urban renewal committee confirmed that the social networks that opinion leaders possessed helped to deliver residents' opinions to the municipality:

"Former Chairman Hsu assisted with the residents, this was crucial. Members of the committee had strong interactions with the residents." (Respondent D1)

Besides, while the process approached final approval of the Urban Renewal Plan, the agreement households held press conferences to reveal their appeal of accelerating the urban renewal process. In contrast, the disagreement households revealed their dissent on the policy

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[17] Regulation of the Government-led Urban Renewal in Taipei (2016) 14

[17] *the Urban Renewal Act*, 57-2.

through media as well[18]. Finally, the last disagreement households filed administrative and civil litigations against the municipality after demolition[19].

Figure 7: Public Hearing 23.7.2017 (Source: Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2018. Working Report of "Taipei Datong District Lanzhou-Siwan Village resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Business and Right Exchange Program Commission Case")

Figure 8: Explanation Meeting 22.5.2016 (Source: Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2018. Working Report of "Taipei Datong District Lanzhou-Siwan Village resettled Tenement Government-led Urban Renewal Business and Right Exchange Program Commission Case")

3.1.2 Roles and influence of resident organization in the reconstruction process

The management committee and urban renewal committee formed the core members of neighborhood affairs. Eligible only for property owners, management committee in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement was the only well-functioned resident organization among the neighborhoods in "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Government-led Urban Renewal Plan". Officially registered and held meetings annually, the committee was able to connect residents and edit address book of the neighborhood. These were crucial to mobilize residents during the policy implementation period. Hence, while the neighborhood attempted to apply Self-Organized Urban Renewal previously, residents were able to form an urban renewal committee as the implementer officially. Although the former effort to operate urban renewal failed, urban renewal committee was still functioned by sharing the same members with the management committee:

"The Third has its advantage of having management committee and urban renewal committee in the neighborhood. They are officially registered and have meetings regularly. It means that they can find out all the property owners. This is robust enough." (Respondent C2)

Core members in both committees were identified by the municipality as potential opinion leaders to contact with. Members agreed with the Government Urban Renewal played important roles in the process of integrating residents' willingness of the urban renewal:

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[18] J.M., L.&M.Y., W (2018) 'Agreement Households in the Siwan Village Hope to the Urban Renewal be on Schedule', Chinatimes, 9, May. https://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20180509000785-260107?chdtv

[19] H.L., J (2018) 'The Government-led Urban Renewal of the Siwan Village Resettled Tenement Taipei Municipality Executed Forced Demolition on Disagreement Households' 17, May. 2018https://news.ltn.com.tw/news/politics/breakingnews/2428927

"Our members make up 1/5 of the property owners. While those members all agreed, a certain agreement rate was achieved. They looked outside and found several households per person, 1/2, 1/3, keep extending." (Respondent D1)

Chairmen of the organizations were expected to reflect residents' questions about the policy to the municipality. Therefore, the chairmen would directly communicate with TURC or seek assistance from city councilors to put pressure on the municipality. Due to their close relationship with the residents, the core members become a node to reflect residents' opinions and provide information from the municipality or TURC (Respondent C1). Moreover, after the approval of the Urban Renewal Plan, without an active status update of the construction, chairman of the urban renewal committee sought assistance from city councilors to require meetings with the municipality (Respondent D1).

3.1.3 Information Provided and Acquaintance with the Procedure and Policy

Meetings were the vital channels for residents to receive information about the policy. However, the effectiveness of the meetings was restrained by residents' understanding of the procedure. One of the team leader in UROD provided her experience about residents' being unfamiliar with the procedure:

"I think that there is a huge challenge in urban renewal in Taiwan, the understanding of urban renewal procedure (…) But they are not familiar with what we are going to discuss today, what the schedule is and what should we do in a meeting." (Respondent A2)

Although the meetings shared the primary function of reflecting residents' consideration about the policy, residents were not familiar with the context and difference of these procedures. The inability to comprehend rules of the procedures caused negative effects on the effectiveness of the procedures, especially for hearing. As a quasi-judicial procedure, residents were obliged to provide evidence to prove the substance of their questions. However, residents performed no different actions in the hearing with the others:

"It is a quasi-judicial action, but residents consider it an explanation meeting and public hearings. They are not able to make substantial arguments but keep asking for what they want (…). The municipality replied 'no' in the presence. But if they bring up serious arguments and evidence, the municipality would be rather serious to respond." (Respondent C1)

The way that the residents be noticed to attend the meetings is crucial to formulate their understanding of the procedure-- the municipality sent letters of notice to each household and posted the announcement in the office of the village leader (Respondent C1). In general, the announcement consisted of basic information about topic, date, location and invited participants, without agenda and further explanation (Figure 9). Hence, residents were not accessible to the full information of the content of the following meetings. Moreover, without professional knowledge to fully understand the content of the Government-led Urban Renewal (Respondent C3), the resident would respond and take action during the implementation process following their perception of the urban renewal policy.

Figure 9: Letter of notice for public hearing (Source: TURC)

3.2 Residents' Perception of the Participation

3.2.1   Residents' Perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal Policy

Residents' perception of participation was in line with their perception of the Government-led Urban Renewal. While not having a thorough understanding of the policy, the perception was shaped by the impression of urban renewal led by private construction companies. The expectation of the Government-led Urban Renewal was limited to the concern of property-value evaluation and how many square meters of their old housing units could exchange to the new units (Respondent A2).

Residents were expecting urban renewal in their neighborhood before the Government-led Urban Renewal was implemented in the neighborhood. Firstly, interviews with the residents all demonstrated that the residents recognized the necessity of urban renewal. The earliest news report documented the residents' request for urban renewal was in 1992[20] . Over the years, there were a few reports recording interviews with residents, village leader, and city councilor demanding the municipality to take action on applying urban renewal in the neighborhood[21]. During the time, residents also experienced failure from Self-Organized Urban Renewal. While the residents had been waiting for urban renewal for years but failed, having the chance of the Government Urban Renewal triggered their expectation to accelerate the process. Secondly, the dilapidated living environment accounted for a certain burden for the resident to repair their facilities for years. Hence, the residents were looking forward to obtaining new houses as soon as possible:

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[20] C.F., Niu. (1992) 'Renew Resettled Tenements First Step on the Keelung Road', UDN, 1, November. https://udndata.com/ndapp/Story?no=213&page=11&udndbid=udndata&SearchString=tLWk5ai9K7P4p089wX CmWLP4fLhnwNmk6bP4fMFwplix37P4&sharepage=20&select=0&kind=2&article_date=1992-01-11&news_id=100859678

[21] According to data collected from UDN Database, from 2010 to the end of 2015, there were 11 reports about requests of urban renewal in the Siwan Village.

"Many mayors came and talked about doing urban renewal in our neighborhood, but ended up with nothing. Until Mayor Ko, it began faster, he said that he wanted to do this and it was true. He visited our neighborhood before the election, he saw that our houses were shabby and dirty. Every pipeline was rotten." (Respondent D2)

Paradoxically, although residents' expectation of urban renewal was established by renewing the living environment, the recognition of the policy was similar with "buying a new house" (Respondent C1) and the evaluation of their property value. The residents considered the Government-led Urban Renewal as an investment in the neighborhood from the municipality. Therefore, they could obtain new houses with less payment (Respondent D4).

Above all, considerations of "right exchange"[20] and costs were presented as the main issues from the residents. However, there were still opinions about housing design and construction quality.

According to the documents reporting concerning issues from the residents in

explanation meetings, public hearings, household interviews, and on-site office, they could be categorized in six[21]:

(1) Policy: implementation procedure, FAR and agreement ratio.

(2) Right exchange: calculation criteria of property value, size of space exchange after renewal, demolition compensation.

(3) Guarantee of construction: requiring a guarantee with quality and actual schedule of construction.

(4) Housing design: total units and storeys after renewal, number of elevators and shape of the new units (preferring squares)

(5) Allocation: criteria for allocation of new units, solution of not obtaining the new units they want.

(6) Purchase costs: high payment and discount for new parking lots, criteria for extra payment for purchasing extra units was too high

Although some of the issues mentioned still existed during following participation procedure, after the municipality announced the plan of right exchange, residents reflected a lot of questions on the outcome of the evaluation of their property in public hearings and the hearing. The concern of property evaluation represented in three types: (1) doubt on the lower evaluation of units in the first floor (2) affordability of extra space (3) guarantee on the square-meter of housing size after renewal

During public hearings, real estate appraisers attended and explained the criteria of property evaluation[22], including commercial benefits, distance to the main road and size of each unit.

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[20] Right exchange in urban renewal refers to the value of property and land that residents contribute in participating urban renewal. After the renewal is completed, the allocation of property and land is based on the proportion of the value that residents invest. Therefore, right exchange includes evaluation of the original property and land. Moreover, the cost shared by the residents and the implementer, which will affect the size of new unit residents can obtain after renewal.

[21] Collected from the presentation of public hearing from the municipality (2017) and investigation report from Taipei Urban Regeneration Center (2017)

[22] Collected from public hearing records and interviews

However, proceeding to the hearing in URDRRC, the speaking of residents revealed that they would compare property values with each other's and doubt on the lower evaluation:

"I owned 16.23 m², but the household with 15.66 m² in the same first floor got the same evaluation with me, this is confusing to me, please explain by paper." (Meeting minutes of the 315th URDRRC meeting, 2017, p.20)

Disagreement with the urban renewal was not caused by rejecting urban renewal to be applied in the neighborhood, but dissatisfaction with the outcome of property evaluation. One of the disagreement household considered the low evaluation of his property in the first floor (Respondent D5).

Besides, residents were aware of the possibility of higher cost from tax for the increasing value of renewal. The following quote from a conversation in the interview reflects the concern of Land Value Increment Tax:

"But we will have more tax to pay after the renewal." "No, from my understanding, urban renewal doesn't have issues of paying the increment tax" "They will say that this is an unexpected fortune" (Respondent 5)

Residents revealed their concerns about the number of rental subsidies for temporary resettlement in public hearings and hearing (Respondent D1). The rental subsidies were counted by unit price, with units on the first floor obtained extra NTD300 than the others. Interviews and documents revealed that residents considered the subsidies (combine with demolition compensation) were insufficient in affording the rental price for temporary housing in Taipei.

3.2.2 Obstacles and Consideration of Worthiness to Participate in the Process

Property owners were the residents that were guaranteed to participate and the capitals they had were their property. The concerns of property evaluation and new housing units facilitated the residents to participate (Respondent D2).

Focusing on participation occurred in the on-site office, household interviews, and the meetings. Firstly, residents felt certainty on receiving answers while visiting the on-site office:

"We will visit the office to ask questions, they have personnel there (…). It is fine to ask them questions, I can receive clear answers." (Respondent D4)

The reasons for residents to feel satisfied with the answers received from the respondents (the municipality or TURC) were based on the household interviews. The interviews functioned to collect residents' opinions allowed the respondents in the meeting to provide direct answers to their questions (Respondent D4). In terms of the meetings, including explanation meetings, public hearings, and hearing, all of them were intentioned to be held in the evening and weekends for the convenience of residents to attend.

On the other hand, residents experienced obstacles to elaborate thorough opinions and dissatisfaction with responses from the municipality:

"I didn't ask many questions because they restrict our time for speaking. Finally, I ask questions about what if the construction company were not able to complete the construction, a guy from the municipality said that we had to take the responsibility." (Respondent D5)

Besides, according to the record of the hearing, some residents considered the municipality made the one-side decision on revising the sharing-cost ratio. The response from TURC was intended to place the question in URDRRC to discuss the possibility of maintaining the original scheme[23]. The residents were objective to the municipality's decision on increasing the sharing-cost ratio and formed collective opinions in the hearing to present their opinion to URDRRC. Finally, the residents succeeded in maintaining the original ratio.

However, the change of sharing-cost ratio was the only item that the municipality complied with residents' opinions. The deputy mayor thought it was not imperative for the municipality to earn revenue from urban renewal and could accomplish the policy by giving the profit to residents. Residents were aware of the two conditions: (1) The Urban Renewal Plan was made by the municipality and TURC. (2) Their property value was calculated by property appraisers with specific measurements. Residents were not objective to that fact that they were not participate in forming the plan because of the trust on professionals and expectation to accelerate the process.

After the Urban Renewal Plan was provided to the residents before final approval, residents without more requirements would be less active in the meetings. The opinions expressed by the residents were all originated from the plan, mostly dissatisfaction with property value, unit allocation and subsidies. In contrast with the sharing cost, the municipality was consistent with the criteria and outcome of these items. Residents were not able to affect the final outcome.

4. Influence of Resident Participation on Housing Adequacy: Aspects of Accessibility and Acceptability

4.1 Effects of Resident Participation on Accessibility

4.1.1 Access to Information about Housing Design, Right Exchange Program and Reconstruction Progress

During the policy implementation process, UROD valued the importance of communication with the residents, there were multiple channels for residents to access information, including consultations in the on-site office, household interviews, explanation meetings, public hearings, and the hearing. Besides, the residents would rely on their social networks to access and receive information. Nonetheless, the premise of accessibility to information was that only property owners were eligible to participate in urban renewal based on their ownership. The tenants could only participate in temporary resettlement.

As mentioned above, the limitation of time forced UROD to sacrificed the chance to form a blueprint about the urban renewal with the residents. Instead, the municipality provided the Urban Renewal Plan to the residents a few months after the Third Siwan Village Resettlement was decided to be executed (Respondent C2). Before the plan was provided, residents strongly revealed their concern about the criteria of size exchange for per original units to new units. To respond to residents' concerns, the deputy mayor declared that 1m²

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[23] Meeting minutes of the 315th URDRRC meeting, 2017, p.187

from the ownership certificate would be exchanged to $1m^2$ of interior space after renewal at the early stage of the urban renewal[24].

However, the other concerning issues of the residents remain unsolved, including right exchange, housing design, unit allocation, and resettlement plan. The implementation process began in 2016. Until May to July in 2017, residents received evaluation outcomes and answers of the issues above by explanation meetings and public hearings. The form of how residents accessed to the information were not merely through the municipality's presentations and communications. Documents were also provided publicly in the on-site office and discs were delivered to each household.

After the approval and proceeding to housing construction, access for residents to follow up the construction progress was limited to notification paper in the on-site office and the village leader's office. Residents expressed that were worried about whether the construction could be completed in time, but they didn't recognize there were notifications provided in the offices (Respondent D3). Resident participation and access to information were limited to the resident organization during this period. The chairman of the urban renewal committee would ask the municipality to update the progress by small meetings with a few core members and city councilors

4.1.2 Eligibility to Resettlement Options

In general, there were two patterns of resettlement in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, either the residents found places by their networks (Respondent F1) or were assisted by the Accompany Plan.

The identification of vulnerable households for assistance with temporary resettlement wasn't according to property ownership but based on social vulnerability. Hence, it includes both tenants and property owners. The working group of the Accompany Plan searched for households by the list of vulnerable groups provided from DSW and household interviews. Households that were visited by the working groups would not be identified as "households in need" directly. They should express their willingness to receive the assistance (Respondent A3). Overall, there were 43 households in the resettlement list[25].

4.1.3 Access to Basic Infrastructure and Social Welfare Services

Public facilities including public transportation and social/economic facilities are sufficient in the vicinity of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. Within a distance of 500 meters, regarding public transportation, there were three metro station and several bus stations. For social facilities, there were educational institutions, health center and the Social Welfare Center of Datong District operated by DSW. In terms of economic facilities, Lanzhou Traditional Market was located across the street of the neighborhood with multiple shops around. Therefore, property owners that were guaranteed to move back would maintain the accessibility to the services.

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[24] Y.N., C. (2016) '1 Ping to 1 Ping for Resettled Tenement, at least 14 Ping for each Households', UDN, 3, February.
https://udndata.com/ndapp/Story?no=21&page=2&udndbid=udndata&SearchString=tLWk5ai9K6TptME%2BP
TIwMDkwODI0K6TptME8PTIwMTkwODAyK7P4p089wXCmWLP4fLhnwNmk6bP4fMFwplix37P4&sharep
age=20&select=0&kind=2&article_date=2016-02-03&news_id=8273810

[25] The Final Report of the Third Siwan Village Temporary Resettlement and Accompany Plan, 2018, p. 3.

Regarding the large number of elderly and vulnerable households, there was regular home-medical service from the health center nearby. Additionally, vulnerable households would be under registration in DSW to provide regular support of social welfare resource (Respondent A5).

Providing social welfare resources has always been the main business of DSW. During the temporary resettlement period, social welfare resource provided by the Social Welfare Center of Datong District should be transferred to social welfare centers in other districts. DSW would make sure that residents temporary moving out to other districts in the city continually received the services (Respondent A5)

During the participation procedure, there were opinions from the residents to establish a social welfare facility on the second floor of the new neighborhood (Respondent D1). However, DSW refused to operate facilities in the new neighborhood in consideration of limited personnel. Hence, the establishment of social facilities remained unresolved. (Respondent C1).

4.2 Effects of Resident Participation on Acceptability

4.2.1   Physical aspects and cost of the new housing unit

The concerning issues of the residents about their new housing units were directly related to their understanding of the Government-led Urban Renewal Policy. They included policy, right exchange, a guarantee of construction, housing design, allocation, and purchase costs.

Regarding housing design and relative physical aspect of the new housing unit, after the design model and floor plan of the new units were made public, residents doubted about the shape of the units (Respondent D2) and whether they were able to choose the location they want. Although housing design was altered eventually, it was according to the suggestion from the Urban Design Committee[26], mostly about public facilities and residential space design. Besides, residents' opinions about the interior design were responded by the municipality as "the interior design would consistent with the current plan, but residents can change by personal needs afterward"[27]. On the other hand, dissatisfaction with the unit allocation could be solved by asking the municipality to provide another chance to choose a new allocation but complied with property evaluation of the original units (Respondent A1).

Residents' concerns about physical aspects of housing were related to size exchange criteria. The size exchange criteria encompassed the pricing of each square meter and the size of the new housing units residents could receive. Changing from old to new housing units, size exchange criteria didn't include illegal structure built by residents themselves. Part of the space of the new neighborhood was transferred to the municipality for the use of public facilities. Hence, the actual living space for the residents was narrowed after the renewal. If the residents wanted to obtain larger units, they should pay for extra costs. During the hearing, several residents several residents expressed dissatisfaction on the new housing size and extra costs:

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[26] Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2017. Working Report of "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Resettled Tenements Government-led Urban Renewal Commission Case".

[27] Taipei Urban Regeneration Center, 2017. Working Report of "Lanzhou-Siwan Village Resettled Tenements Government-led Urban Renewal Commission Case", p.183.

"It was too expensive for me to purchase the extra square meters, but space is too narrow for us to live. It doesn't improve our living quality." *(Meeting minutes of the 315th URDRRC meeting, 2017, p.186)*

Size exchange criteria could be considered as beneficial conditions for some residents. The following quote from one of the agreement household shows that residents would believe that the municipality form the criteria base on their needs. The trust was built by communications throughout the housing interviews:

"They (the municipality) sent people to do interviews with every household. What kind of problems you were concerning about and what was your need? They asked every household and collect all the disadvantages to improve them. The final solution was 1 m² exchanged to 1 m² and the government absorbed the cost of public facilities." (Respondent D4)

However, there were still residents considering the extra payment for the new unit was unacceptable (Respondent D5). Moreover, some residents found the size of their new units were too small for a family to live and decided not to move back after the renewal[28]

The other costs that residents concerned about were the sharing costs, price of a new parking lot and tax. While sharing costs were reduced complied with the residents' willingness after hearing, the other costs remain the same for residents to burden (Respondent C3).

4.2.2   Resettlement options

There were two types of financial support provided by the municipality for the temporary resettlement period, rental subsidies (NTD680 for per unit) and demolition compensation, all provided the sum at once. Although some residents considered the subsidies were not enough for renting a new place in Taipei[29], the calculation criteria for the subsidies was fixed. For residents that had less household population, the money was enough for them to rent (Respondent D4). On the contrary, the subsidies would not be sufficient for households with more population. Moreover, due to the time limitation for the residents to find places for resettlement, the dwellings that the households found would likely be unsuitable for them (Respondent F1).

The Accompany Plan considered the needs of vulnerable households including both property owners and tenants. Challenges of temporary resettlement were caused by three factors: (1) The construction of Minlung Public Housing was not able to complete in time to be the resettlement options of residents in the Third Siwan Village. (2) Duration between the approval of the Urban Renewal Plan and the demolition date only lasted for three months. (3) During the policy implementation period, the municipality spent most of the resource on dealing with issues about property ownerships. Regarding resident participation in temporary resettlement period, residents participated passively. They only expressed their housing needs and demand for assistance through housing interviews (Respondent F1).

According to household interviews after resettlement from the working group, there were both acceptable and unacceptable situation happened, which were caused by comparison with the housing experience in the Third Siwan Village (Respondent F1). Acceptability appeared by the rather larger living space and better living environment for several households[30]. The

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[28] The Final Report of the Third Siwan Village Temporary Resettlement and Accompany Plan, 2018, p.32

[29] Meeting minutes of the 315th URDRRC meeting, 2017.

[30] The Final Report of the Third Siwan Village Temporary Resettlement and Accompany Plan, 2018

insufficient time provided to find resettlement places, increased rental price, and poor communication with landlords were the factors decreasing the acceptability of the resettlement outcome (Respondent F1). Especially for rental price, the following quote indicated the relation of the rental price and housing quality of the rental housing:

"The rental price in the Third Siwan Village was around NTD4000 to 8000. But they had to move out to Taipei, so if you need 2 to 3 rooms with basic facilities, it was not possible to find with NTD8000, all over NTD20000. If there were places with this price, they were all in bad qualities. And under the premise of bad housing quality, it would be easy for them (residents) to have problems with adaptation." (Respondent F1)

According to the final report of the Accompany Plan, vulnerable households revealed their anxiety due to the limitation of time to find resettlement dwellings and unaffordable rental price. Property owners often asked questions about rental subsidies, demolition compensation and construction schedule. In contrast, tenants were confused about whether they could receive rental subsidies and was able to move back to the Third Siwan Village or not[31].

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[31] 8 The Final Report of the Third Siwan Village Temporary Resettlement and Accompany Plan, 2018, p.35

Chapter 5: Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Research Conclusions

The research applied multi-level analysis originated from Stone (2015) in the case of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Resettled Tenement. By identifying the political structure and residents' actions in the neighborhood, the research aimed at answering the question: How does resident participation in the Government-led Urban Renewal-affect housing adequacy?

Comparing the research findings with literature review, the findings represented that through the influence of interactions between resident participation and governance, the housing options provided to the residents in the case are deviating from the value of housing rights regarding housing adequacy.

At first, the findings identified who are the actors and what are the actions taken by them. The two main actor,s in this case, were the municipality and residents, with the village leader, city councilors and URRDC also involved. The municipality decided the Government-led Urban Renewal as the main policy in 2014. The policy was selected to address challenges of the aging city, which dilapidated resettled tenements were considered as imperative targets to be under reconstruction. This type of public housing had low revenue to attract private construction company to operate urban renewal. In contrast, the Government-led Urban Renewal didn't place profit in priority and the municipality was intended to demonstrate public interests of the policy.

The Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village was not only related to urban renewal sectors in the municipality, but an administrative collaboration hosted by the deputy mayor and designated UROD as the implementer. Except for cross-sector mobilization, personnel from UROD and TURC was assigned to implement the policy and communicate with the residents. Understandings of the policy were differentiated in different levels of the municipality. The superior depicted vision of urban regeneration and expected to accomplish scheduled milestones before the next election. UROD thought urban renewal in resettled tenements should be operated by the perspective of community development. UROD and TURC interacted with the residents at the frontline and were familiar with household conditions. The two units burdened policy pressure exerted from the deputy mayor, which required them to choose between policy performance and political ideals.

While the policy was applied in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, the existing political structure and composition of the residents should be identified. Leaders in the neighborhood were the village leader and members of the management committee and urban renewal committee. Role of the village leader was positioned between the municipality and the residents. The leader delivered resource and information from the municipality to residents and reflected residents' opinions to the other side. The reputation of the village leader in the district made support from her crucial to the success of policy implementation. Regarding members of the resident organizations were all property owners in the neighborhood. The organizations have existed in the neighborhood for a long term. Hence, core members had their intimate social networks and capabilities of information delivery and mobilization. Besides, leaders from the organizations would seek for assistance from city councilors to make requests or express opinions to the municipality.

In terms of the composition of the residents, privatization of properties in the resettled tenements formed two identities of the residents, property owners and residents. Property ownership decided the qualification of resident participation in urban renewal. Although there were no regulations indicated to exclude tenants, tenants had no property to participate in

right exchange and acquire new housing units after renewal. Property owners were the main objective to communicate for promoting the policy. Actions taken by them were based on their understanding of urban renewal. The understanding composed of expectation to accomplish the urban renewal and upgrading private property value. Therefore, the concerning issues and actions of the residents were surrounding with property value, unit allocation, size and shape of new housing units, and guarantee of completing the construction.

Regarding the way of policy arrangement and implementation, the process of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village can be categorized into three phases, policy promotion, implementation, and construction. The research focused on the implementation phase, which encompassed policy strategies applied by the municipality, intensive resident participation, and residents, and opinion integration.

During the earlier stage, UROD held the spirit of community development to emphasize communication and assist with building consensus in the neighborhood. An on-site office operated by TURC was established for planners to conduct household interviews and provided a space for consultants with residents from the 4 neighborhoods. The turning point of the implementation process was the enactment of "staged-development plan" from the deputy mayor. The plan decided to invest the Urban Renewal Fund and personnel in a single neighborhood to accelerate the urban renewal process within three years. To accomplish the objective, the deputy mayor directly hosted cross-sector cooperation to broke the obstacles from conventional bureaucracy in multiple sectors. Besides, the municipality formed a discourse about the scarcity of the Government-led Urban Renewal for those neighborhoods. The resource was limited and only one neighborhood would be selected at once. UROD and TURC contacted opinion leaders in the neighborhoods and obtained support from the village leader at first. The opinion leaders also included core members of resident organizations. While only the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement had existing resident organizations, the members delivered the information and mobilized their social network in the neighborhood to collect consent forms. Overall, the Third Siwan Village achieved the highest agreement rate among the other neighborhood and was designated to apply the urban renewal policy.

The municipality implemented the policy by following regular procedures and made sure that the Urban Renewal Plan and records for the meeting be transparent and available for the residents to access. Meanwhile, the municipality also create flexibility within the procedure o have meetings with opinion leaders. Moreover, members of URDRRC, which should be an independent third agency, were assigned to host the hearing, attend public hearings, and hold private negotiation with disagreement households to convince them with the condition that the municipality provided. The period of the municipality to collect consent forms from the residents began with selecting one neighborhood to apply the policy until the Urban Renewal Plan was approved. The two crucial moments that facilitated the agreement number to increase was the announcement of housing unit allocation plan and the approval of the Urban Renewal Plan. The strategies applied by the municipality were aimed at increasing agreement rate and diminish disagreement opinions. The strategies were considered beneficial to establish the legitimacy of implementing the policy and assure that the construction date would not be postponed due to oppositions from disagreement households.

The choice made by UROD and TURC was not only to contact opinion leaders at first but invested their resource and personnel in addressing issues concerned by the property owners. Opposite opinions to the urban renewal were mainly about property evaluation criteria. The households felt dissatisfaction with the outcome of their property value and expected to ask

the municipality for reevaluation by insisting with disagreement. Encountering residents demand, the municipality maintained the criteria and not compromised with the residents. Constant communication and private negotiation were held to convince disagreement households. Proceeding to the construction date, the municipality made use of public authority to demolish the units of disagreement households and left the households to file litigations to the municipality. This situation reflects the "microphysics of power" promoted by Uitermark (2005), which the municipality utilizes participation as a governance strategy. On the other hand, residents' perception of urban renewal was formed by a general perception of the Private-led Urban Renewal. This type of "local process of knowledge" (Uitermark, 2005) also guide the direction of policy implementation. During the implementation process, the municipality was required to spend most of the resource and time for the issues that property owners concerned.

Tenants neglected during the policy implementation process were taken care of in the temporary resettlement process. UROD cooperated with a private company and DSW to promote the Accompany Plan, which assisted vulnerable households to find dwellings for resettlement. The working group identified households in needs by household interviews, collected empty public housing private rental housing units, and assisted with the resident to move out before the construction.

The pattern of resident participation was established under the premise of achieving policy objectives within a limited time. Resident participation, either emphasizing on residents' subjectivity and agency or participation as the presentation of governmentality, should face the effect of power in the participation process. In the micro-level perspective, Kothari (2001) indicates that power forms the norms complying with dominant groups, leading to the questions of inclusion and exclusion in the participation process.

Public resident participation procedure in this case included explanation meetings, public hearings, and hearing. On the other hand, private resident participation patterns included consultation in the on-site office, household interviews, meeting with opinion leaders, and negotiation with disagreement households. The mechanism that selected participants based on ownerships responded to the challenges of misrecognition and maldistribution raised by Fraser (2000). Tenants were excluded from resident participation since only property owners were available to participate in urban renewal. During the implementation process, qualification based on property ownership also caused the exclusion of discussions referring to public interests of the entire neighborhood, for instance, public facilities and management of the new neighborhood. Participation mainly addressed private property issues. Besides, the Urban Renewal Plan was written by TURC and reviewed by URDRRC. The content related to housing design and the right exchange were provided from professional property appraisers and architects without channels for residents to participate in producing the plan. After the plan was provided to the residents before being reviewed by URDRRC, opinions expressed by the residents were framed by the content of the plan, mainly arguing about the right exchange, unit allocation, sharing cost and design of each unit. Satisfaction with conditions provided by the municipality decided the willingness of residents to participate actively in follow-up procedures. Households that were dissatisfied with the plan kept expressing their opinions in the process until they were convinced by the municipality or to the construction began.

The findings show that resident participation in this case was "limited-proactive", which was related to "tokenism" from the participation ladder (Arnstein, 1969). Residents brought their perspective of urban renewal and capability to mobilize social networks, they only participate in an entry-level, including informing, consultation, and placation. The municipality

controlled the thorough policy implementation process. Overall, the municipality considered accomplishing their policy objectives in time as the main priority.

The prevailing adequate housing principle is "housing as the center" (UN-Habitat, 2015) and considered housing rights as fundamental human rights. Accessibility refers to the rights for residents to access to housing and basic living resource, while the other places residents as the subjective to consider the acceptability of housing. In this case, there are two factors affecting housing adequacy during the policy implementation and resident participation process: policy objectives from the municipality and the value of property rights from the residents. Whose housing adequacy was considered in this case should be identified before discuss housing adequacy of the outcome. Property owners were the subject of resident participation. From the tenants' perspective, qualification based on property ownership made the housing outcome lack of accessibility and acceptability for the tenants. Accessibility of the property owners was established from existing social, medical and economic amenities in the vicinity of the neighborhood. DSW also provided social welfare resource to vulnerable households in the neighborhood as their regular business. On the other hand, acceptability was related to the concerning issues from the residents. One of the main issues was their property value, which was not related to living quality and housing rights. The plan of housing design was decided by the municipality and residents' consideration of public facility was only about avoiding increasing costs, the concerns of physical housing environment were mainly about elevators, storeys, and shape of the units. In contrast, temporary resettlement was not qualified by property ownership but social vulnerability. However, the resettlement outcome failed to fulfill accessibility and acceptability of every household due to limited time, unaffordable rental costs and housing quality. Property ownership still affected the housing situation of the residents, tenants felt less secured because they were not guaranteed to move back to the neighborhood. The outcome contrasted with the value of adequate housing, which placed people at the center of housing and aimed at entitling people to the right of housing (OHCHR, 2013). From the social sustainability perspective, the housing outcome that resulted from the exclusion of the tenants and limited resident participation was conflicted with the view of housing as the element to foster community capacity, which composed of empowerment, participation and inclusion (UN-Habitat, 2012; Ha, 2010).

To sum up, in this case, while resident participation was qualified by property ownership, the forming of housing outcome would strengthen the value of private property ownership and undermine housing adequacy of the disqualified residents. Therefore, to achieve sufficient housing adequacy in the Government-led Urban Renewal, challenges from inclusion and exclusion of resident participation are imperative to be addressed.

5.2 Recommendation

Firstly, about the current urban renewal policies of reconstructing resettled tenements, the definition of public interests that the policy is planned to achieve should have a clear definition and encompass the consideration of housing rights. Therefore, it should address the problem that the policy establishes qualification for residents to participate base on property ownerships. The priority can be non-excluding the original residents and provide a thorough resettlement mechanism.

To involve the consideration of housing adequacy in the Government-led Urban Renewal policy, the influence of resident participation to housing outcome should be recognized. The precondition is not excluding residents to participate by property rights and put people at the

center. Sufficient policy communication, investigation of the neighborhoods and housing needs are necessary to form a consensus in the community level.

Finally, challenges from to time limitation of the government to achieve policy objectives resulted from elections should be considered. The suggestion is to categorize policy targets by the schedule according to the 4 and 8-year terms of office. Furthermore, the cases of reconstructing resettled tenements that require long-term communication need sufficient personnel from the municipality or enable executive agency, which directly interacts with the residents, to have more flexibility and resource.

The study can be further extended by exploring tenants' perspective of the urban renewal policy and rights to participate. Moreover, after the reconstruction of the neighborhood is completed, questions about housing conditions in the new neighborhood are worth to follow up: (1) How do the increasing property value and management costs affect the housing conditions of the property owners? (2) How does the new neighborhood mixed with private and public housing units form a resident organization? (3) How do the municipality and residents manage the new neighborhood?

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Annex 1: Research Instruments and Time schedule

1. Research Instruments-- Semi-Structured Interview Questions

    A. Taipei Municipality
    (1) UROD
- What is the role of DUD in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- In your opinion, what are the reasons and objectives for the municipality to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What is the difference between the Government-led and Private-led Urban Renewal?
- How did the municipality select the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement as the first target to practice the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What is the reason for practicing the Government-led Urban Renewal and the municipality as the implementer on the reconstruction of the Siwan Village Resettled Tenements?
- The Siwan Village Resettled Tenements have challenges of the high proportion of underprivileged households and complicate property conditions; how does this kind of characteristics make the renewal in the Siwan Village distinct from the other urban renewal cases?
- How do different sectors in the municipality cooperate in the case of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements, and how does UROD work with the other agencies?
- What is the relationship between TURC and UROD? In your opinion, what is the reason for the municipality to establish a foundation outside the existing bureaucracy?
- How UROD provide information and communicate with the residents?
- How does UROD obtain information about residents, including social and economic conditions, property rights and household structures?
- How to consider the characteristics of the residents in the planning of reconstructing the Resettled Tenement?
- What types of housing needs of the residents are considered in the housing design?
- How has UROD negotiated opposite opinions from the residents, including opinions on the procedure, right transfer programs, and the new assigned units?
- How has UROD communicated with the households disagree with the reconstruction? How to proceed with the reconstruction without receiving thorough agreements from all the households?
- How to manage the mixed of private and public housing units in the new neighborhood after the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements?

    (2) Deputy Mayor
- What is the importance of reconstructing old public housing in the urban development of Taipei?

- Regarding resident participation, involving sectors and housing plan, what is the difference of applying the Government-led Urban Renewal in resettled tenements and other urban renewal cases?
- What is the objective of the municipality to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal in Taipei?
- What are the differences between resettled tenements and new-build public housing in recent 5 years?
- Why does the municipality decide to become the implementer of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Siwan Village?
- How does the municipality consider the high proportion of social-vulnerable households in the neighborhood during policy implementation period?
- How does the municipality consider the housing needs of the residents while forming housing design?
- How does the municipality communicate with the residents and increase the agreement rate?
- In your opinion, what is the key factor of successfully implementing the Government-led Urban Renewal in this case?

(3) DSW
- What is the role of DDSWUD in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- How do the sectors in DSW cooperate in the case of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements, and how does DSW work with the other agencies?
- How does DSW identify the households that require assistance with resettlement?
- What kind of resource does DSW provide to the households that require assistance with resettlement?
- There is a high proportion of underprivileged households in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement. How do the residents attach to social welfare resources?
- Is there follow-up investigation about the resettlement of the residents?
- Will DSW provide assistance to the residents to move back to the neighborhood after the reconstruction is completed?

B. National Government
- Can you tell me what is your role and responsibility in the Urban Renewal Group?
- In your opinion, what are the reason and goal of the national government to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What is the difference between the Government-led and Private-led Urban Renewal?
- What are the role and responsibility of the central government in promoting and establishing urban renewal and social housing?
- How does the central government cooperate with the local government to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What is the connection between urban renewal and social housing? Is there a positive relationship between them?

- How does the reconstruction of dilapidated public housing practicing by urban renewal benefit social housing stocks?
- How to consider potential residents' needs in the planning, management, and operation of social housing?
- How does the reconstruction of dilapidated public housing protect the rights of original residents and appeal to potential residents?

C. TURC
- What is the role of TURC in the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What is the role of TURC in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- What is the relationship between TURC and UROD? In your opinion, what is the reason for the municipality to establish a foundation outside the existing bureaucracy?
- How does TURC cooperate with other agencies in the case of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement? Is there a clear delineation of responsibilities and missions among the agencies?
- What is the reason for practicing the Government-led Urban Renewal and the municipality as the implementer on the reconstruction of the Siwan Village Resettled Tenements?
- The Siwan Village Resettled Tenements have challenges of the high proportion of underprivileged households and complicate property condition; how do these kinds of characteristics make the renewal in the Siwan Village distinct from the other urban renewal cases?
- During the planning and implementation of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenements, what kind of strategy is adopted to obtain high agreement rate from the residents and proceed the reconstruction, which used to be postponed for a long period?
- What is the reason to establish an office in Siwan Village? What is the use of the office and how does it help to promote urban renewal?
- During the Government-led Urban Renewal procedure, what is the channel for the residents to reflect their opinions?
- What kind of resident characteristics should be considered in resident participation and collecting opinions from the residents?
- How to negotiate and address opposite opinions from the residents, including opinions on the procedure, right transfer programs, and the new assigned units?
- In your opinion, what is the most difficult part to communicate with the residents or easy to receive doubts and objections? Right transfer programs, temporary resettlements, construction schedule, housing design, for instance.
- How to communicate with the households disagree with the reconstruction? How to proceed with the reconstruction without receiving thorough agreements from all the households?
- Have you ever faced any restriction on institutions and regulation that affect the implementation of urban renewal during the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement? Or affect communication and cooperation with the residents?

D. Resident

(1) Residents with property ownership
- Did you live in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement? Or rent the house to others?
- How long have you been living in Siwan Village?
- In your opinion, what did the environment of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement looks like?
- Where do you currently live in? How do you find the place to settle down?
- Will you move back to the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement after the reconstruction is completed?
- Do you participate in the management committee, urban renewal committee or other neighborhood organization? Are you one of the official member in the organization?
- How did you learn about the meetings of the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- How did you learn about the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- How did you receive information about the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What do you think about urban renewal?
- Do you vote for agreement during the resident opinion collection stage? (Yes— proceed to the following questions / No— add "What was your reason to oppose the project? Did you take any action to reflect your opinion? Skip 13)
- What is your opinion on reconstructing the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- What was the impressive event or meeting during your participation in the urban renewal committee and the overall Government-led Urban Renewal process?
- Except for the official meetings, would the residents discuss the urban renewal yourselves?
- Which public and private sectors have you met during the urban renewal process? What kind of impression do you have about TURC, the municipality, and the village leader?
- Have you experienced any difficulty while participating in the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- Have you ever express your opinions to any agencies? In your opinion, is it efficient to reflect your opinion to the municipality, village leader, TURC and members of the urban review committee?
- Have you seen the design model of the new Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement? Are you satisfying with the new planning the neighborhood?
- Are you satisfying with the new-assigned unit?
- Do you have any plan for the use of the new unit? What would you like to make use of the new unit?
- In your opinion, do you think the urban renewal affects the relationship between the neighbors?
- Since you are not living in the Siwan Village currently, are there any inconvenience or anything that need to adapt to?
- Have you kept receiving information about the progress of the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- Do you have any expectation about the future of the new Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement while you move back?

(2) Residents in the board of resident organizations
- What are your role and responsibility in the committee?
- How was the committee organized?

- What is the function and role of the committee in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- What kind of rights and obligation do the members of the committee have?
- How does the committee operate meetings?
- How to negotiate different opinions in the meetings?
- How to communicate and negotiate with households that disagree with the urban renewal and no involve in the distribution? How to deal with the situation that the households keep their disagreement?
- Has the committee still been working since the temporary resettlement?
- In your opinion, how does the committee influence the process and outcome of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?

E. Village Leader
- How was the environment of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement before the urban renewal? What was the difference between the surrounding neighborhoods?
- What is your opinion about the Government-led Urban Renewal of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement? Do you think the neighborhood is imperative to be reconstructed?
- In your opinion, why did the municipality choose the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement to be the main target to implement the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- In your opinion, how did the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement manage to be implemented in a short period?
- In your opinion, how did the urban renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement manage to obtain such a high proportion of agreement from the residents?
- How do you work with other agencies in the case of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- How do you work with the urban renewal committee and management committee in the neighborhood?
- How do you deliver and negotiate the needs and opinions from the residents with the municipality?
- Have you ever experienced any difficulties and impressive events while collecting opinions from the residents and communicating with the residents and other agencies?
- What is your expectation about the future development of Siwan Village?

F. The Accompany Plan
- What is the content and duration of the Accompany Plan?
- What are your role and responsibility in the Accompany Plan?
- How does the plan identify the target groups?
- What kind of assistance does the municipality provide in the plan?
- What type of temporary resettlement does the plan provide?
- What are the difference of living costs for residents between temporary resettlements and the original neighborhood?
- What are the difference of living environment comparing with temporary resettlements and the original neighborhood?
- What are the difficulties for residents to adapt to the temporary resettlements?

- Are there changes of social welfare resource for the residents?
- Do the residents share their thinking of moving back to the Siwan Village after reconstruction?

G. City Councillor
- In your opinion, what is the benefit to promote the reconstruction of dilapidated public housing by means of the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- Have you ever received the expectation about the urban renewal in Datong District from the residents?
- What is your opinion about the conduct and outcomes of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- Do you think the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement is imperative and necessary to be reconstructed?
- During the Government-led Urban Renewal process of reconstructing the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, except for the negotiation, what is the reason for the residents to participate in the planning, reviewing and design process?
- In your opinion, what should the municipality consider while applying the Government- led Urban Renewal on reconstructing dilapidated public housing? How should the municipality communicate with residents, leaders of the villages and property owners?
- In your opinion, what can be considered the achievements of the Government-led Urban Renewal in the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- In your opinion, is there any improvement required in terms of the rights of residents and implementing the procedure in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- The reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement is expected to release more public housing units. In your opinion, which part of management and operation of the resettled tenement should be supervised?
- What is your expectation about the future development of the Datong District?

H. Member of Urban Renewal Dispute and Resolution Review Committee (URDRRC)
- What is the effect and role of URDRRC in the Government-led Urban Renewal process?
- How does the board of URDRRC organized?
- What are the difference of urban renewal review procedure in the Government-led Urban Renewal and other types of urban renewal?
- What are the channels for residents to express their opinions in the urban renewal procedure?
- How does URDRRC considers opinions of disagreement from the residents?
- What are the concerns of the residents in the reconstruction of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement?
- In your opinion, how can the urban renewal procedure be improved regarding resident participation?

I. Department of Land Economics (National Chengchi University)
- The revision of the Urban Renewal Act values housing justice. In your opinion, can the extra procedure of reviewing and hearings actually protect the housing rights of households disagree with urban renewal projects?

- What is your opinion about the Taipei Municipality applying the Government-led Urban Renewal as the main approach to reconstruct dilapidated public housing?
- What kind of institutional transition is revealed through the change of promoting the Private-led Urban Renewal before, to promote the Government-led Urban Renewal nowadays?
- Regarding the Government-led Urban Renewal of reconstructing dilapidated public housing, what do you think should be considered in terms of the rights of underprivileged households?
- Is there an institutional channel or mechanism for the residents to participate in urban renewal procedure?
- In your opinion, what is the possibility to achieve a more just and equal resident participation in urban renewal?
- Both the national and local government recognized increasing social housing stock as one of their main policy objectives. In your opinion, can the practice of the Government-led Urban Renewal on reconstructing dilapidated public housing be considered the main approach of promoting social housing?
- Regarding right transfer, public interests and the cases selected to be implemented, what are the differences between the Government-led and Private-led Urban Renewal?
- Regarding the right of the residents, what is your opinion about reconstructing dilapidated public housing by the Government-led Urban Renewal?
- What types of roles do the national and local government play in promoting the Government-led Urban Renewal? Is there a clear delineation of responsibilities and missions between them?

J. NGO
   (1) OURs
   - Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in OURs?
   - As a civil organization, how does OURs intervene and inspect the practice of urban renewal and social housing policies? Does OURs collaborate with other agencies or organizations?
   - What kind of strategies and discourse does the Taipei Municipality use to promote public housing? Have there been any changes in recent years?
   - TURC has designated the role of "housing dedicated agency" this year, and MOI established NHURC. On the other hand, in the public housing plan of the Taipei Municipality, the reconstruction of dilapidated public housing is acknowledged as one of the main approaches to increase public housing stocks. Is urban renewal identified as the main approach to promote social housing?
   - Does the municipality apply different strategies in the renewal of public housing in Taipei, including the Siwan Village, the South Airport and Shui-Yuan,?
   - What is your opinion about applying the Government-led Urban Renewal in reconstruction dilapidated public housing? What is the consideration of the municipality to apply this approach?
   - The Siwan Village Resettled Tenements have challenges of the high proportion of underprivileged households and complicate property conditions, how do these kinds of characteristics make the renewal in the Siwan Village distinct from the other urban renewal cases?

- What kind of role does the urban renewal committee play in the Government-led Renewal? How does the composition of members, rights, and obligation affect the participation of the resident in the urban renewal?
- How does property ownership influence the rights of residents in urban renewal?
- In the Government-led Urban Renewal of the Third Siwan Village Resettled Tenement, is there institutional space for the residents to participate in the official procedure? How do the opinions of the residents be involved?
- Is there any issue that should be aware of while considering resident participation in the Government-led Urban Renewal?

(2) SHAC

- Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in SHAC?
- Since social housing be identified as one of the significant administrative policies of both national and local government, are there clear delineation of responsibilities and missions between national and local level?
- How do civil organizations create space for advocating social housing? What kind of strategies does SHAC applied to inspect the government to practice social housing policies?
- The Taipei Municipality has postponed its policy objective of building 50,000 public housing units within eight years. In your opinion, why does this kind of change happen? Is there any difficulty faced by the municipality? The change reflects what kind of thinking of public housing of the municipality?
- The reconstruction of dilapidated public housing is recognized as one of the main approach to increase the number of public units. What are the challenges of the rights of the original residents?
- What is your opinion on the municipality applies the Government-led Urban Renewal to reconstruct dilapidated public housing? Why does the municipality choose this type of approach?
- In your opinion, does the Government-led Urban Renewal of reconstructing dilapidated public housing helpful to increase public housing stocks and protect the rights of underprivileged households?
- In your opinion, considering the housing needs of low-income and underprivileged households, what should be considered about the planning of the software and hardware facilities of the reconstructed public housing ?
- Regarding resident participation in the Government-led Renewal of reconstructing public housing, are there channels for the residents to participate in official procedure? How do the opinions from the residents be involved and affect the final outcomes?
- Regarding resident participation, what should be considered about the heterogeneity of the residents?

(3) TAAFE

- Can you tell me about your position and responsibility in TAAFE?
- Since social housing be identified as one of the significant administrative policies of both national and local government, are there a clear delineation of responsibilities and missions between the national and local level?
- How do civil organizations create space for advocating social housing? What kind of strategies does TAAFE apply to inspect the government to practice social housing policies?

- The Taipei Municipality has postponed its policy objective of building 50,000 public housing units within eight years. In your opinion, why does this kind of change happen? Is there any difficulty faced by the municipality? The change reflects what kind of thinking of public housing of the municipality?
- The reconstruction of dilapidated public housing is recognized as one of the main approaches to increase the number of public units. What are the challenges of the rights of the original residents?
- What is your opinion on the municipality applies the Government-led Urban Renewal to reconstruct dilapidated public housing? Why does the municipality choose this type of approach?
- In your opinion, does the Government-led Urban Renewal of reconstructing dilapidated public housing helpful to increase public housing stocks and protect the rights of underprivileged households?

2. Time Schedule

Time	Work Content
5/10-7/1	Document collection
6/5-6/7	Invite interviewees
6/7	Submit research proposal
6/22-8/7	Field research in Taiwan
6/22-7/10	Interview
6/22-6/30	Personal observation
7/1-7/31	Data analysis
7/10-8/6	Write draft thesis
8/7-8/19	Meeting and revising draft thesis
8/19	Submit draft thesis
8/19-9/4	Meeting and writing final thesis
9/4	Submit final thesis
9/12	Thesis defense

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2. The number of pages for the thesis is about 50.
3. The thesis should be edited

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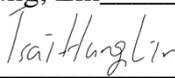
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