

GLOBALIZATION, LAND EXPROPRIATION, AND COMMUNITY RESISTANCE: A  
CASE STUDY IN WANBAO COMMUNITY, MIAOLI COUNTY, TAIWAN

BY

JANICE HSU

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Urban Planning in Urban Planning  
in the Graduate College of the  
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2017

Urbana, Illinois

Master's Committee:

Professor Faranak Miraftab

Professor Shih-Jung Hsu, National Chengchi University, Taiwan

## **Abstract**

The Land Expropriation Act of Taiwan, enacted in the year 2000, has been abused by the local authorities without proper oversight from the public, and this abuse has often caused displacements without reasonable compensation. The abuse of land expropriation can be devastating to those who live in the rural areas of Taiwan, where agricultural land for development is abundant and farmers are the culturally disadvantaged group of the society. This research specifically focuses on the land expropriation experience of Wanbao Community, a rural farming community located in the middle-west part of Taiwan that has successfully resisted land expropriation through a grassroots movement. This paper strives to offer the following: a comprehensive understanding of the legitimization of land expropriation from the local as well as the global perspective; background information on the rise of land expropriation in Taiwan; and the effects of such processes on farmers' social status. Moreover, based on field research in Wanbao Community, this thesis analyzes the keys to successful resistance to land expropriation and discusses possible planning solutions to prevent it.

Research shows that arbitrary land expropriation in Taiwan can be propelled by the state's pursuit of current trends in global capitalism, also known as globalization, and the urban citizens' pursuit of a modern lifestyle. Along with the normalization of what Agamben (2005) calls "the state of exception" and Sassen (2014) refers to as processes of "expulsion," the extreme top-down strategy that deprives citizens of their private property without proper compensation becomes a fast and easy way for governments at all levels to acquire land. This brutal planning process is legitimized by the authorities through the Land Expropriation Act, embedded in the mainstream planning structure. Among citizens, however, the value of land is defined differently,

according to different life experiences. To the elites and the authorities, farmlands are seen as underdeveloped, with potential to be “upgraded” for more economically profitable use. To farmers in Wanbao Community, land is viewed as a livelihood instead of a commodity that can be measured by a monetary system. The mainstream planning system, however, does not appreciate the latter value when land expropriation decisions are made; nor does it provide formal space of communication for farmers to express and participate in the decision-making process. Contrary to the pro-appropriation discourse of authorities, which seeks to discredit communities’ resistance to the state’s land expropriation policies by calling it emotional and irrational, this research drawing on the experience of Wanbao Community, suggests that farmers’ resistance to development is in fact reasonable and carefully planned and organized. Interviews with the members of government planning agencies as well as detailed account of the farmers’ successful mobilization in Wanbao Community offer evidence that citizens’ insurgent planning practices can be a possible solution to government’s unjust land expropriation policies in Taiwan.

# Contents

<b>Chapter 1: Introduction</b> .....	<b>1</b>
1.1 What Does Existing Literature Explain and What Does It Leave Out?.....	4
1.2 Research Questions.....	5
1.3 Research Methodology and Site .....	6
1.4 Critical Findings .....	9
1.5 Why Should We Care? .....	12
1.6 Organization of Thesis.....	13
<b>Chapter 2: The Power of Imagined Benefits</b> .....	<b>15</b>
2.1 The Power of Globalization and Impacts on Farmers for Joining the WTO.....	15
2.2 The Failure of Capitalism .....	19
2.3 Planning without Imagination .....	22
2.4 Land Expropriation and Suspended Rights.....	23
2.5 Conclusion .....	25
<b>Chapter 3: The Land Expropriation Act</b> .....	<b>27</b>
3.1 The History of Land Expropriation .....	27
3.2 Contemporary Land Expropriation.....	31
3.3 Land Expropriation and Local Power Dynamics .....	33
3.4 Conclusion .....	37
<b>Chapter 4: Land and the People</b> .....	<b>39</b>
4.1 How the Urban Citizens See Farmers.....	39
4.2 The Danger of Not Walking in Another’s Shoes.....	43
4.3 From Dawn to Dusk: The Relationship between Rural Land and Farmers .....	44
4.4 Why Resistance Should Not Be Seen as an Emotional or Irrational Decision .....	48
4.5 The Grassroots Movement of Wanbao Community .....	50
4.6 Stand Up and Fight.....	58
4.7 Strategies to Success .....	59
4.8 Conclusion .....	65
<b>Chapter 5: An Alternative Future</b> .....	<b>67</b>
5.1 Evaluating Land with Different Life Experience.....	67
5.2 Whose Public Interest? .....	67

<b>5.3 Insurgent Planning as a Necessity .....</b>	<b>69</b>
<b>5.4 Between Invited and Invented Spaces.....</b>	<b>75</b>
<b>5.5 An Alternative Future .....</b>	<b>76</b>
<b>5.6 Conclusion .....</b>	<b>78</b>
<b>Chapter 6: Conclusion.....</b>	<b>81</b>
<b>References.....</b>	<b>84</b>

## Chapter 1: Introduction

*On April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2012, Lady Hung, Mr. Chen and other farmers once again put down their shovels for another protest in Taipei. This was the fourteenth protest in Taipei since they received the land property appraisal three years ago, still not knowing when is the end of this continuous struggle. That day was the third review of the expropriation project being held at the Construction and Planning Agency (highest government authority regarding planning affairs). Lady Hung and the other two landowners were at the meeting, while other people from the community stood outside the building and waited for firsthand information. Finally, the Construction and Planning Agency made a final decision and rejected the proposed land expropriation project. The local people of Wanbao Community all burst into tears when they heard about it. Finally, after three years of struggling, they can have a good night's sleep.*

*While Lady Hung's community successfully resisted land expropriation, Lady Chu who was from another rural community, was not so lucky. Her homeland was expropriated and destroyed by excavators for the expansion of an industrial park when the rice she cultivated was almost ready for harvest. She committed suicide by drinking agricultural pesticide after feeling hopeless fighting against the government. Lady Chu is not a lonely case. Tragedies that happen behind unjust land expropriation show how development itself can be violent. When imagined benefits behind capitalism legitimizes development, it also legitimizes the violence that is embedded in local politics and planning.*

The Taiwanese government enacted the Land Expropriation Act in the year 2000. In that year alone, more than 23 thousand land parcels were expropriated covering almost 3 thousand acres. In 2009 the expropriated area within a single year reached a peak of 4 thousand acres (Department of Statistics, 2016). In many of these cases, private lands were taken away by the

government at all levels without public participation, nor with a reasonable compensation or rehousing plan for the landowners and residents. This is an especially critical issue among rural areas in Taiwan, where agricultural land is abundant and the farmers are the underrepresented group in society. In the name of development, land expropriation has forcibly displaced many farming communities. In fact, the Land Expropriation Act has arguably been abused as a convenient method for the government of Taiwan to acquire private land in the name of promoting public interest (Chen, 2010). As stated in the Act, private land can be acquired in the name of national defense, social welfare, public utility, and “other undertakings for which land may be expropriated according to law” (Land Expropriation Act, 2012). Also, because the implementation of the Land Expropriation Act violates private property rights protected by the Constitution, a court has stated that the Act should be used only as a last resort for the government to take private land from citizens (Court Decision 47 of Taichung Superior Court, 2012). However, as the definition and interpretation of many parts of the Act are vague and uncertain, local governments may easily acquire land and gain private interest—hence the large number of and large size of land parcels expropriated in the 17 years since the Act’s inception.

### **Focus of Research**

The Land Expropriation Act not only violates the Constitutional rights of the people but often threatens the livelihood of the disenfranchised and leaves them with few options for sustaining their living. Thus, it is critical to understand how land expropriation can be legitimized from a global perspective, and how the government uses this perspective to implement expropriation at the local level. This thesis attempts to understand how globalization, capitalism, transnational planning models, and the creation of a state of exception help to rationalize land expropriation policies in Taiwan; and how these global influences help

legitimize aggressive land expropriation policies through policies and local planning frameworks.

To approach such an understanding, I will examine the history of land expropriation in Taiwan, how the government legitimizes land expropriation, how land expropriation affects farmers' social status, and how communities mobilize against the expropriation process. Specifically, it will study the experience of land expropriation in one farming community, Wanbao Community, located in Miaoli County, Taiwan. The community was subject to land expropriation in 2009, but it organized against it and eventually succeeded in 2013.

Wanbao Community is in Miaoli County, located in the middle-west region of Taiwan. The expropriation case of Wanbao Community is a typical example of how the government takes away agricultural land from farmers to develop an industrial park even though idle expropriated land for development is still abundant (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). To understand this case, it is important that we consider the farmers' social status and the social and cultural relationship between farmers and their farmland. This research will also discuss the mobilization process in Wanbao Community that successfully resisted land expropriation through a struggle of resistance from 2009 to 2013. With the social bond that had been created naturally through the everyday life between the farming families in Wanbao Community, the resistance organization, which in this thesis I call as self-saving organization, was able to form in a very short time without professional assistance from outside the community. The organization's stand against the local government's expropriation decision thus began during the most critical time, establishing a powerful start for the following resistance process. The grassroots experience of Wanbao Community reveals how people can use insurgent planning as



a possible solution to counter unjust land expropriation that has been legitimized by global capitalism and implemented by an oppressive government system.

### **1.1 What Does Existing Literature Explain and What Does It Leave Out?**

In Chapters 2 and 3, this thesis seeks to offer a comprehensive understanding of land expropriation in Taiwan through a global vision by examining the institutionalized global problems that link with issues at a local level. Existing literature and archives on land expropriation in Taiwan focus on local factors that lead to the problem. Chapter 3, for instance, reviews the jurisdictional flaws in the Land Expropriation Act (Chen, 2011; Chung, 2010), the implementation of the act through “under-the-table” administrative procedures (Hsu, 2013), the history of land expropriation (Gallin, 1963; Hsu, 2016; Lee, 1971), and the manipulation of land expropriation by the Miaoli County mayor in seeking private benefits (Hu, 2016; Chang, 2010). While these literatures help us to understand local political problems regarding the implementation of the Land Expropriation Act, they neglect the influence of larger level processes that justify local land expropriation. These include globalization, capitalism, transnational planning models, and the creation of “the state of exception,” which help to enforce land expropriation without strong resistance from the urban inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> In Chapter 2 I will therefore discuss the global scale of support that exists for processes of land expropriation. This will provide a broader contextual knowledge about the experience of land expropriation in Taiwan, which is one of the key focuses of this thesis in the remaining chapters.

---

<sup>1</sup> In this research, the term *urban inhabitants* and *urban citizens* refer to the middle and upper class of the society who live in urbanized areas, participate in and believe in the capitalist system, and do not understand nor do they respect the value of rural Taiwan.

## 1.2 Research Questions

To understand the motivation and structural problems behind land expropriation in Taiwan from the global as well as the national and local perspectives, this thesis examines the broader national and global context of land expropriation observed in Taiwan through the following questions:

- Why is the government of Taiwan motivated to expropriate land and how do they legitimize it?
- How do the models of capitalism and global organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) influence the national urge in Taiwan to expropriate rural land?
- What is the history of land expropriation in Taiwan and what are the flaws in political structure that make the Land Expropriation Act so abused by the local government?
- What is the social status of farmers and how does this social status make them prone to be selected as subjects of “state of exception”?

Moreover, focusing on Wanbao Community, Miaoli County, Taiwan, the thesis seeks to understand the struggle waged against expropriation at a local level and the role the local farming culture and the social status of farmers play in this struggle. Specifically, it asks the following:

- What are the incentives and local power dynamics involved in the Wanbao land expropriation project?
- How did the farmers resist unjust land expropriation? What was the process of community mobilization among the farmers of Wanbao Community? What challenges did they face? And what are the key factors that made them successful?

- What does the case of Wanbao teach us about development and what can we do about the land expropriation issue in Taiwan?

### **1.3 Research Methodology and Site**

To understand local land expropriation from both local and global perspectives, the project adopts a case study approach, including field work in Taiwan, especially in Wanbao Community, conducting open-ended and semi-structured interviews with professionals and authorities as well as with local farmers whose land has been subject to expropriation. The project also involved archival research to review published and unpublished documents and literature on land expropriation worldwide and in Taiwan.

- Literature Review

This project depends on a variety of resources that help to understand land expropriation. In most parts of the research, published journals and books are used to understand forms of theory and knowledge. In addition, other materials such as video documents, policy documents, and newspaper archives are used to help understand contemporary land expropriation in Taiwan.

- Ethnographic Research

With approval of the Institutional Review Board (IRB #16950), field research, including interviews and observations, was conducted over the summer and winter of 2016.

Part of the interviews were conducted with planning experts who are acquainted with local land policies, local political dynamics, or land expropriation cases in Taiwan. Interviews with planning professionals help in understanding the administrative procedures related to the Land Expropriation Act; the rationale for

governmental expropriation, including the intended benefits; and the gaps between intended outcomes and reality. I also interviewed key leaders in Wanbao Community who led the resistance to land expropriation. This helps to understand in detail what a successful grassroots mobilization in Taiwan looks like and its key strategies for success. Also, interviewing community landowners helps to understand their attitude toward farmland that helped to preserve agricultural land.

Based on the daily experience, observations, and interactions with local farmers and landowners during the time I visited Wanbao Community, I strive to understand rural values, the relationship between farmers and farmland, the social relations among farming households, and the social status of farmers.

### **Research Site: Wanbao Community, Miaoli County, Taiwan**

Taiwan is a democratic country where people have rights to vote for their president. The country is home to 23.5 million people who live on 14 thousand square miles. The land area corresponds to 1/4 the size of Illinois. Taiwan is highly urbanized. In 2014, 80 percent of the total population lived in densely developed urban areas that account for only 13 percent of the total land area of the country. The capital city, Taipei, is home to 2.7 million, roughly the size and population of Chicago (2.72 million as of 2015), the third most populated city in the United States (Department of Civil Affairs, 2017; U.S. Census Bureau, 2015).

The field research for this thesis is conducted in Wanbao Community, Miaoli County, Taiwan, where as of January 2017, the household count is 491, and the local population count is 1,488 (Miaoli County Government Household Registration Service, 2017). According to local government statistics, 18.8 percent of the local population is 65 years or over, reflecting the fact

that rural communities in Taiwan are aging, especially communities that participate in the agricultural industry.



Figure 1.1 Location map of Wanbao Community, Miaoli County, Taiwan. Source: Google maps, edited by author. Retrieved April 1, 2017, from <https://www.google.com/maps>.

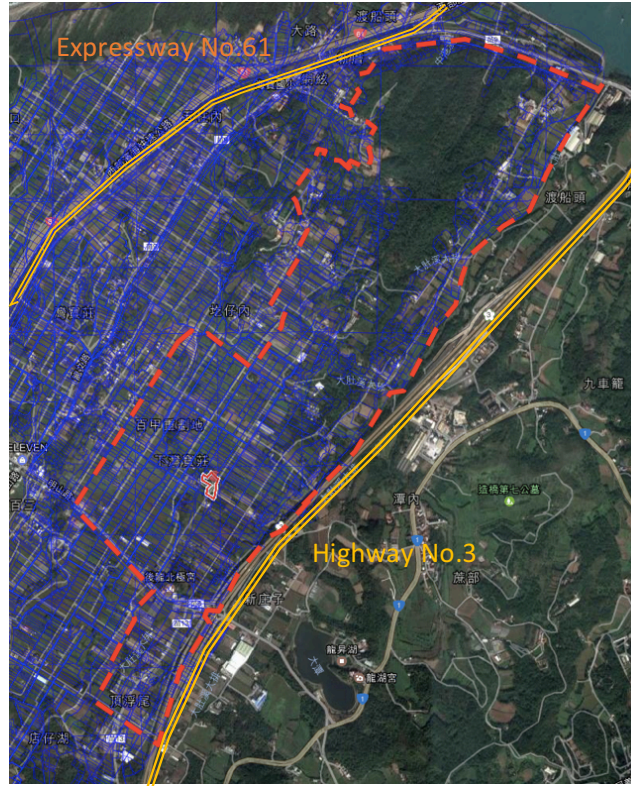


Figure 1.2 Expropriation Boundary. *Source: edited by author, base map retrieved April 16<sup>th</sup> 2017 from National Geographic Information System. <http://easymap.land.moi.gov.tw/>*

Wanbao Community is located between Highway No. 3 and Expressway No. 61, making it very convenient to access by ground transportation. Also, the community is only 20 minutes' drive away from Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park, the largest industrial park in Taiwan. Its favorable location makes the community attractive for land expropriation projects. The expropriation area is mostly located in Wanbao Community, covering a total of 8914 acres (Chen, 2009).

#### 1.4 Critical Findings

Land expropriation in Taiwan is legitimized by a growing trend in the global capitalist system since the 1980s that urges local governments to pursue entrepreneurial forms of governance (Miraftab, 2008). Through entrepreneurial governance, the government complies

with neoliberal policies in planning to pursue monetary profits for the benefit of social elites. In Taiwan, this mandate of entrepreneurial governance and planning has been operated through conversion of farmland to industrial and commercial use. Such conversion is facilitated by establishing a standard of land value only by the monetary system—a policy prescription that simultaneously depreciates rural values and the social status of farmers by establishing a “state of exception.” As the government’s most extreme method of intervention that deprives citizens of private land ownership, a fundamental Constitutional right in Taiwan, land expropriation should be used only under circumstances that are deemed as state of emergency. However, the Taiwanese government has normalized and broadened the definition of state of emergency. This means that far too often the benefits in changing the use of land can merely be imagined to justify land expropriation. Communities subject to such arbitrary reasoning can seldom resist or stop expropriation.

Wanbao Community, however, is an exception in that it successfully mobilized to resist land expropriation. Various elements played a critical role for Wanbao Community’s success. This research found that keys were not only an initial social bond within the community, but also a series of other conditions: a collaborative division of work, unity of the leaders with the people, brainstorming on how they should plan for their protests, careful receiving and giving out of information, powerful statements made during the protests, and the social effects that were later generated by the public’s attention and external assistance from scholars and others who cared for land justice. These elements all stood as key in the success of the community’s resistance process.

An important argument that emerges from these observations is in respect to the practices conceptualized as insurgent planning. Based on the experience of Wanbao Community, one can

argue that insurgent planning practices from below offer an alternative solution to entrepreneurial planning prescriptions issued from above, embedded within the mainstream planning framework of Taiwan, and in support of land expropriation.

To completely end unjust land expropriation in Taiwan, the Land Expropriation Act must be reasonably amended with careful evaluation; and the value of rural land must be respected by the government so that it would not be subject to easy seizure. However, this remedy is a time-consuming process that will almost certainly not happen in the near future. Hence, seeking an alternative solution is necessary to quickly change the existing planning system that directly threatens people's livelihood.

Insurgent planning is a progressive planning process by which the disenfranchised move from "invited spaces" (the legal platform created and offered by the authority) to "invented spaces" (self-created platforms) to express their thoughts and facilitate communication between the people and the government through social movements (Miraftab, 2009, p. 35). The successful experience of Wanbao Community provides evidence of how insurgent planning can be a feasible solution for the unjust top-down land expropriation processes in Taiwan. The Wanbao residents countered the process of being excluded from the decision-making process by creating "invented space" on the streets of Taipei City, where they were able to open a dialogue with the government. Then they were *re-invited* to the "invited space," where they could express their thoughts and even influence the decision-making process in governmental meetings.

Another critical argument of this research is that, unlike the claims of the officials and the media that characterize farmers who resist land expropriation and development in rural Taiwan as emotional and irrational, the in-depth interviews and ethnographic observations in this research reveal the opposite. To farmers in rural Taiwan, farmland is a livelihood—not simply a



commodity to be evaluated by the monetary system. With this understanding, it is difficult to call the resistance process an emotional decision, but a reasonable and rational one. The farmers' livelihood is jeopardized when their own unique farmland that sustains a diverse land use that is arguably much more practical than the imagined benefits that might be generated after developing the land. This attachment of the farmers to their farmland, along with the mobilization process described above, makes clear that their resistance was rational, carefully thought through, and well-organized. This is contrary to how the dominant perspective among the urban inhabitants and authorities understood and represented the farmers' resistance —backward and emotional.

### **1.5 Why Should We Care?**

The tragedy of unjust land acquisition has generated enormous social cost, because the policy provides few public incentives for the locals and does not offer reasonable compensation for the displaced. In many cases the Land Expropriation Act violates human rights to housing and has been used excessively by the government as a convenient means of acquiring land for development despite the social cost. The problem is closely associated with the controversial issue of how the government evaluates public interest against the sacrifice of private land ownership in its drive for development.

Understanding the structural problem with both a global and local perspective can also help to address the forces that motivate the government of Taiwan to expropriate land. This study could help professional planners to develop reasonable land policies that deal with similar institutionalized problems in Taiwan and other places instead of merely looking at the surface of problems.

The case study of land expropriation in Wanbao Community provides knowledge of how

mobilizing internal community power successfully overcame the state's power to expropriate land. It is hoped that this example can provide informative insights as to how people at the local level can exercise their rights against unjust land expropriation in other parts of Taiwan, and in doing so, shape policies.

## **1.6 Organization of Thesis**

### **Chapter 1: Introduction**

The present chapter gives an overview of the entire research. This includes a brief introduction of what land expropriation is and what the problem is, along with the significance of the research, research questions, research methodology, research site, and critical findings.

### **Chapter 2: The Power of Imagined Benefits**

This chapter draws on a global perspective that helps to explain local land expropriation issues in Taiwan. It includes a discussion of how the capitalist system and successful development stories in developed countries have an impact on local planning policies, and how the Taiwanese government justifies the need to develop rural land by implementing land expropriation. Based on that overview I discuss the specific arguments and factors that allow for the suspension of basic human rights leading to the displacement of farmers.

### **Chapter 3: The Land Expropriation Act**

This chapter includes interviews with local planning experts, findings from newspaper and academic archives and policy documents on the history of land expropriation, discussion of how the Land Expropriation Act works and how it is an unjust policy, and a look at the local power dynamics and incentives in Wanbao Community that motivate the local government to expropriate land.

## **Chapter 4: Land and the People**

This chapter is based on observations and findings of my field work in Wanbao Community, Taiwan. It includes interviews with community members and ethnographic research that helps to understand the relationship between farmers and their land, the social status of farmers, and the social bonding and the role of leaders in Wanbao Community. The insights offered in this chapter help us understand how the resistance was mobilized in Wanbao, and what strategies were used during the resistance process in this community.

## **Chapter 5: An Alternative Future**

Based on field research and findings in previous chapters, this chapter suggests insurgent planning as a possible alternative solution for the local people and planners to counter planning problems regarding land expropriation.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

The concluding chapter summarizes major findings from the research and questions as well as the areas that need further research.

## Chapter 2: The Power of Imagined Benefits

Imagined benefits from expropriating farmland to use for industrial and real estate development have been promulgated by the Taiwanese government based on experiences in developed countries such as Japan, Singapore, and the United States, countries that dominate the global market. The government and the urban inhabitants believe, that by participating in the global market, real estate and industrial development of farmland can attain these imagined benefits: stimulating local economic growth, providing more job opportunities, and balancing rural and urban growth. Also, it is believed that developing high-tech industries instead of farming would produce a better quality of life in rural areas.

To achieve these imagined benefits, the Taiwanese government strives to participate in the global market, play a role in the capitalist game, apply fast planning policies, and exercise extreme sovereign power that creates the “state of exception”<sup>2</sup>—a condition or a strategy of governance that legitimizes the violence behind land expropriation and development (Agamben, 2005; Sargeson, 2013). This chapter, drawing on broader concepts of governing through “state of exception,” seeks to explain the ways in which the Taiwanese government justifies expropriation of land from farmers. It will also explain why planning and development experiences from the West may not be suitable for Taiwan.

### 2.1 The Power of Globalization and Impacts on Farmers for Joining the WTO

Globalization is a complicated phenomenon that has changed the political, social, economic, and cultural structure in Taiwan in the past few decades (Zhao, 2000). Drawing examples from China, a significant number of people have made their fortune through hitching a ride on the

---

<sup>2</sup> *State of exception* is a term defined by Giorgio Agamben (2005), it means that the authority has the right to suspend (a specific group of) people’s rights to achieve what the government deems to be necessary. Please refer to the “State of Exception and Governance” section in this Chapter for more discussion.

train of globalization. Bello (2003) considers modern globalization as an urge to participate and seek profit in the global capital flow, which also involves a significant degree of intervention by the government. In Taiwan, globalization has brought more jobs, and in the 1950s and 1960s the government facilitated economic development by taking part in export processing and industrial advancement. Globalization has certainly accelerated social and economic change (Zhao, 2000). The government of Taiwan, to participate in the global market, has agreed to international trade deals regulated by the World Trade Organization (WTO) that had negative impact on the farming industry (Hu, 2015).

Globalization's impact on culture, market, and the society has thus also fallen on Taiwan's agricultural industry through changes in people's dietary preferences and consumer habits, due to the low price of imported rice and availability of a wider selection of food. After for 13 years' negotiation, Taiwan finally became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 2002 (Wu, 2001). To facilitate the free trade market, all members of the WTO are obligated to abide by certain rules, such as lowering import tax, ending import control, and diminishing the Aggregate Measurement of Support (AMS).<sup>3</sup> According to the Taiwan WTO & RTA Center (2015), Taiwan has committed to gradually reducing domestic support of the local agricultural industry on a step-by-step basis. In fact, the government has already decreased 20 percent of its support to local agricultural products in 2002, when Taiwan joined the WTO. This includes the elimination of government aid that would provide stable income to farmers, such as regular crop purchase and subsidies for altering what would be planted on rice paddies.

---

<sup>3</sup> Diminishing Aggregate Measurement of Support (AMS) means to reduce domestic support for locally produced agricultural products. This will make local agricultural products and farmers prone to be impact by the global market (WTO, n.d.).

## **A Low Food Self-Sufficiency Rate**

Because the global market largely benefits from and encourages economies of scale (Ito & Krueger, 2007), joining the WTO has had significant impact on Taiwanese farmers who produce on privately owned, small-scale farms. The price of domestically produced products cannot compete with imported rice from Vietnam and Thailand, where grain production benefits from economies of scale. Although there are Taiwanese consumers who prefer locally produced rice, a certain share of the rice consumption that originally belonged to the local rice market has now turned to imported rice. The cultural impact of globalization has also affected the change in diet preferences of the Taiwanese people, further affecting the local demand for rice. Even with a low food self-sufficiency ratio of 31 percent (Council of Agriculture, 2015), which is 10 percent lower than Japan's (Yamashita, 2006, p. 3), the total output of locally produced rice still exceeded the local demand.

There is serious concern with Taiwan's low food self-sufficiency rate. As Taiwan largely relies on the global food market, the food security issue has become a point of discussion among scholars and researchers. According to Yamashita (2006), no more than 10 percent of the global grain production goes into the international trade market, which means a mere 10 percent decrease in the global grain production will result in a 100 percent decrease in the international grain trade (pp. 1, 14). Moreover, he determines that the stability of this 10 percent of the global grain production can be significantly affected by the agricultural policies of different countries. The importance of food security is that if a country relies too much on the global food market, it is vulnerable to changes in the global food market and the global economy. If Taiwan continues to depend on the global food market, it could lose the ability to fulfill local needs.

According to the Council of Agriculture of Taiwan (2015), the country relied largely on the global market to feed 66 percent of the population's need in 2014. However, the importance of food security is apparently only a debate to be discussed among scholars. The urban inhabitants, the government, and even some farmers are unaware of the importance of food security in the country, and are not taking into account the severity of the crisis of the diminishing rural areas. Joining the WTO has gradually eliminated subsidies from the government, making the small-farm-based agricultural industry even more vulnerable to effects of the global economy (Chen, 2012). Furthermore, the existence of the global food supply has made locally produced rice less important, giving the government a reasonable excuse to expropriate farmland. The urban citizens believe that, as a participant in the global trade market, it is reasonable that the country upgrade industry to be more high-tech oriented rather than preserving farmland for farming. In this perspective, the farming class becomes a group of people who are unfit for the pursuit of modernization and a mature civil society, which means their rights become insignificant (Chou, 2010). Under this circumstance, more and more precious rice paddies that were fertile and suitable for agricultural activity have been irreversibly transformed into industrial use under the Land Expropriation Act.

Often, experiences in the Global North have led to setting a standard of what we consider as a successful path to be followed. Despite the benefits, globalization and capitalism have inevitable negative impacts on countries in the Global South, especially on their people who once made a living from the primary sector of the economy who are now excluded from the globalization and capitalist game. This is one of the ways that globalization and capitalism have enhanced global wealth inequality and aroused moral debates on whether the benefits of globalization have been fairly distributed to the masses (Bello, 2003).

## **2.2 The Failure of Capitalism**

Capitalism, different from capital, is an economic system dominated by those who participate in the capitalist system and seek private profit out of benefiting from the surplus value of labor (Zimbalist & Sherman, 2014). David Harvey (2014, p. 7) further defines capitalism to reflect its impact on society, stating that capitalism is “any social formation in which processes of capital circulation and accumulation are hegemonic and dominant in providing and shaping the material, social and intellectual bases for social life.” Hence, the capitalist game is manipulated by the social elites in search of private benefits, but the invisible impact of capitalism has changed the ways of living, value, and social norms of the urban citizens.

David Harvey explores, based on Marx’s notion, how capitalism must persist in seeking ever-growing volume of production and trade, without which the financial system cannot be sustained (Harvey, 2014). The market output model will thus appear as an incremental curve, which in the long run, to sustain the capitalist system, requires an infinite amount of production. However, this theoretical model cannot be realized in the real world. Today, the economic growth rate is still positive but shrinking (Sassen, 2014). Unlike a century ago, the space for new development opportunities is limited as resources over the world are already being used to sustain today’s economic growth.

### **Capitalism and the Financial System**

Therefore, to sustain development under capitalism, the financial system creates an illusion of an ever-growing market through spreading information, real estate speculation, and the advancement of technology to enable more development investments in a market that does not have actual production output (Penz et al., 2011; Sassen, 2014). To help understand how this financial system works, I use the stock market as an example. The increased value of a certain



stock is built upon buyers' speculation on future profits the company will make. Through spreading positive images of potential growth, more investors will be persuaded to invest in the company. As more stock buyers invest, the more value the stock will have. However, it is likely that by the time when the stock value has inflated, the company will not yet have contributed an equal amount of production to the actual market. Similar logic also works with real estate speculation and how the financial system justifies the need for seeking more land for development.

The financial system creates a logic designed by expert mathematicians that provides, in fact, hollow evidence to legitimize the need for land accumulation. Although land accumulation and its negative social consequences are visible, the financial problems that result in these issues are so institutionalized that they become invisible. Saskia Sassen (2014) in *Expulsions* strives to make visible the financial problem and its connections to the brutal consequences of expulsion by using strong terminologies that help to understand the problem in the institutionalized financial system. Sassen (2014) notes that the financial system is designed to benefit private interests instead of growth for the benefit of the local society, and that the private corporations achieve this with the help of international institutions as well as the local political systems. Sassen (2010, p. 23) also notes that expulsion is imbedded in the capitalist system and has led to the process of "savage sorting," a process to decide who are the winners and who should be the losers—those who are not fit for the capitalist game and should thus be excluded for the good of the system.

### **From Farmland to Dead Land**

Sassen (2014, p. 149) uses the terminology "dead land, dead water" to describe the consequences of damage that modern development has done to land, whereby land that was

fertile and sustainable becomes destroyed and unused. Contemporary development in Taiwan follows the path of the growing capitalist system, which justifies the government's decision to accumulate land without strong resistance from the urban citizens. In the name of capitalism, primitive accumulation through land expropriation of farmlands becomes a reasonable and just way to achieve economic growth and thus benefit the whole society. Consequently, newly built technology enclaves and designated business districts have been mushrooming in rural Taiwan in the past 30 years (Ministry of Science and Technology, 2016). In some cases, expropriated land remain unused years after the expropriation; hence, no actual benefit can be guaranteed from the development. As developments in rural Taiwan becomes a goal instead of a need, fertile farmlands that could sustain a livelihood were irreversibly turned into "dead land." It often happens, for example, that expropriated land remains vacant and unused years after expropriation for real estate speculation purposes (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). These expropriation projects for modern developments are proposed under the theoretical assumption of how the financial game works, and they often fail to achieve the promised benefits.

With a fundamental influence on our daily lives, the capitalist system has many pitfalls that lead to irreversible consequences at enormous social cost, especially to the losers who are being expelled through the so-called "savage sorting" process defined by Sassen (2010, p. 23). This unintended level of social cost challenges the notion of whether the development mode of Taiwan should adhere to the capitalist system, a system intended to produce benefit but at the same time has caused numerous social sacrifices. If the answer is no, and that we should abandon it, the land expropriation resistance experience of Wanbao Community should be a good example of how the powerless (the "losers"), can challenge authority and propose an alternative future.

### **2.3 Planning without Imagination**

The glamorous planning experience in Japan, Singapore, and the United States has had tremendous impact on development models in Taiwan. In local news and archives, we see terminologies such as “The Roppongi in Taipei” and “The Taipei Wall Street” as development project titles (Lu, 2016), and “following the examples of foreign campus towns” as a standard guideline for planning improvements in local school districts (onYES, 2013). These planning ideas and titles are borrowed from First World experiences and applied to local planning to provide an image of upgrade to a modern environment.

These branded planning ideas are considered as “best practice cases” that more often reflect political interests instead of local needs (Parnreiter, 2011, p. 4). Nevertheless, such transnational planning ideas that fail to comply with local needs are used by planning consultants who live in no relation or understanding of the local context (Healy, 2012, p. 7). The UN-Habitat understands these planning methodologies as tools to “imagine or re-imagine” future possibilities of space (UN-Habitat, 2009, pp. 3, 26). In Taiwan, these planning ideas often create enclaves of modern developments detached from the local physical and historical context. Worse, they are often applied without an updated comprehensive plan or a detailed future plan that considers significant problems such as local voices, potential land use conflicts, market capacity, or aesthetic considerations.

#### **The Limits of Foreign Planning Models**

A research project that I conducted with Dr. Wey explores possibilities of applying the famous New Urbanism and Smart Growth urban design principles to a university district in Taiwan with a mathematical approach (Wey & Hsu, 2014). Our research found that residents have very different preferences and recommendations for desired design principles than the

planning experts' and that some of their valuable opinions cannot be quantified and are thus hard to measure. Hence, merely relying on what planners think is best for local planning depends on design ideas from the West that might do potential harm to the local community. This kind of top-down planning approach may also neglect local needs and lead to planning inefficiency and failure.

Using foreign experience as best-practice planning policies without accommodating local needs will not only result in planning inefficiency, but it also imposes limitations on developing imagination for future land use that suits the locals. Planning cannot be efficient if political incentives, recommendations from planning experts and consultants, monetized value, quantitative data, and physical improvement are the only things to be considered. Planners must allow for voices from different standpoints in the society as well as current and future users. If not, planning inefficiency can cause damage, from the inconvenience imposed on daily life to incidents as serious as mass displacements and casualties. Hence, allowing and carefully considering possible imaginations from the people to seek for an alternative future is not only a *need*, but a *must* for planning.

## **2.4 Land Expropriation and Suspended Rights**

Subject of the Land Expropriation Act, the people's constitutional rights to private property can be suspended by the government. This kind of planned procedure allows the government to aggressively expand its administrative rights under certain circumstances and simultaneously neglect any social consequences.

### **State of Exception and Governance**

This phenomenon can be explained by Giorgio Agamben's (2005) terminology "state of exception," which describes the government's suspension of people's lawful rights under any

circumstance the government deems to be sufficient. Ideally, state of exception helps to achieve the well-being of the larger part of the society or the country during emergency situations.

However, numerous examples of emergency situations that cause displacement today are not due to massive incidents such as the great world wars in the past century, but a wide series of trends such as civil wars of local gangs and drugs, and the need to pursue industrialization, globalization, gentrification, and development. These activities are so commonly seen globally that the “state of exception” nowadays has become a normal state instead of an exception or an emergency.

Normalizing the state of emergency directly gives continuous excessive power to the authority regardless of the ordinary rights of people who should be protected by law. Usually, this suspension of rights is not evenly applied to every individual in the country, but more to a selected group of race, ethnicity, or people of a lower social status (Agamben, 2005). After the selected people are targeted, they will be excluded from the protection of constitutional rights and become what Agamben defines as subject to “bare life” (1998), which he describes “animal life,” in which a man’s status of being able to enjoy social and political rights will be reduced; namely, the concept that all men are equal and their rights should be protected by law will be temporarily or permanently suspended.

### **The Power of Sovereignty**

To understand the extreme power of governance that drives land expropriation in Taiwan, it is also necessary to understand the power of sovereignty. According to Foucault (1990), sovereign power means “the right to take life or let live;” which is the power for the sovereign to kill whenever a person jeopardizes sovereign power (p.136). Today, the use is broadened to the power of punishment through law and police, and the reason for keeping this sovereign power is

not merely to protect the authority of the sovereignty, but to pursue progress and collective benefits as defined by the government in order to sustain and protect welfare of the people and country.

Starting from this point, the power of sovereignty has been further modified to adapt to today's political needs—that the government has the right and duty to proceed necessary governmentally—and thus the state of exception is created. Judith Butler strives to understand the relationship of governance power through her narration:

The suspension of the rule of law allows for the convergence of governmentality and sovereignty; sovereignty is exercised in the act of suspension, but also in the self-allocation of legal prerogative; governmentality denotes an operation of administration that is extra-legal, even as it can and does return to law as a field of tactical operations.

(Butler, 2004, p. 55)

Butler also notes that the power to exercise the extreme power of prerogative is reserved to the hands of top authorities in the government and “managerial officials who do not have clear claim to legitimacy” (Butler, 2004, p.54).

The sovereign power of the Taiwanese government is also legitimized by the influence of globalization, which justifies the government's authority to make a more prosperous society by suspending the rights of farmers. Wanbao Community is a real-life experience of how the government exercises administrative power of the Land Expropriation Act as a tool under state of exception, and this political power has become a lasting tendency for the government.

## **2.5 Conclusion**

In the case of land expropriation in Taiwan, extreme power of prerogative is in the hands of the government at all levels, the local gangs, and the profit seekers who could benefit from land

expropriation through the exercise of the Land Expropriation Act. This expropriation framework may sound unconstitutional, but we live in an era when globalization and the financialization are dominant and provide a powerful image of prosperity, against which societies measure their social and economic advancement. The pursuit of globalization, along with adopting best-practice models from the West, legitimizes the government's need to do whatever economic development projects might advance public welfare for the collective society. This concept allows the Taiwanese government to normalize the "state of exception" (Agamben, 2005), constantly suspending the rights of locals without much criticism from the urban inhabitants, who share the same values. Also, these policies, without careful examination of economic capacity, irreversibly destroy the diverse use of rural land, transforming it into "dead land."

## **Chapter 3: The Land Expropriation Act**

### **3.1 The History of Land Expropriation**

#### **Early Forms of Expropriation**

The earliest version of land expropriation in Taiwan is in the colonization period, when the Japanese government forcibly purchased farmland from landowners to ensure a stable supply of sugar cane to produce sugar (Hsu, 2016). After the Nationalist Party (or Kuomintang, hereinafter referred to as KMT) was defeated by the Communist Party and fled to Taiwan in 1949, KMT quickly took over the Taiwan Sugar Company, the most profitable enterprise at that time, along with the farmland that the Japanese government was managing (Hsu, 2016). With a hope of fighting back and reclaiming mainland China, the KMT government's initial thought for taking over Taiwan was never to lead the country to a better future, nor were they trying to set up the first democracy in Chinese history. Their purpose was to expropriate whatever resource they could find to fight against the Communist Party. In other words, the KMT acted as a colonizer, with their land reform policies being political and autocratic (Hsu, 2016).

#### **Land Reform by the KMT**

The KMT promoted the land reform from 1949 to 1953 for three main reasons: (1) to win the political competition against the Communist Party in the mainland to gain diplomatic support from the US by proving they (the KMT) were doing a better job of land reform than China's; (2) to gain support from the local tillers in Taiwan by reducing their rent; and (3) to abate the power of the existing gentry and landlords by reducing their control over the land, so that the KMT would be genuinely in charge of local land and resources. Before the land reform, most tillers gave 50 to 70 percent of their harvest to pay the rent of the farmland (Hsu, 2016, p. 39).



However, according to Professor Hsu's (2016) findings, most tillers had established a great relationship with the landowners so the conflict between tillers and landowners was not prominent. Hsu also stated that, to justify the need of land reform, the KMT government broadcast false images of conflicts between landowners and tillers to give a bad name to landowners and intensify conflict between the two classes.

After the land reform, the tillers were significantly less burdened, paying no more than 37.5 percent of their harvest to the landowners while some others turned from tillers to landowners (Amsden, 1979). Also, some landlords who were harsh on tenant conditions could no longer do whatever they want, and the tillers who were being mistreated by the landowners could be relieved. However, the result was not happy for all. Because the land reform was implemented in haste with roughly designed protocols, it ended up taking rights of rich landlords as well as small landowners who made a living by renting their farmland. According to Hsu (2016), most of the landowners in Taiwan possessed no more than 1.2 acres (0.0018 square miles) of farmland, which is very different from the Western impression of a "landlord." As a consequence, the land reform not only succeeded in abating the power of the large landlords; it also jeopardized the living of small landowners who were dependent on the income of renting their land, such as single moms who fed their children by collecting rent. As a compensation to the landowners, the government distributed land bonds and stocks from public enterprises such as the Taiwan Concrete Company that had very low value at that time (Hsu, 2016). By this time, a lot of landowners who had difficulties sustaining their living after land reform sold them at an informal market in exchange for little money; some people who had extra money purchased the bonds and stocks and became unexpectedly rich after the industrialization period, but some landlords were not so lucky.

Land reform in the late 1940s to early 1950s, just as land grabbing today, was a highly political process instead of merely promoting productivity and economic growth. At the time when land reform was implemented, Taiwan was not yet considered a democracy. The country was ruled under the absolute power of KMT, and martial law was implemented from 1949 to 1987. During this time, mass meetings were banned, and there was censorship of books and newspapers. Martial law took control of any opposition there was from the landlords when the land reform was enacted. In fact, there was little opposition from the landlords when the reform was implemented because the landowners were afraid that if the new government (KMT) did not quickly establish its political power, Taiwan would also be taken by the Communist Party and whatever the landlords had would then be taken (Lee, 1993). The local landlords and elites were quite ready to give up some of their rights in exchange for a sense of political security.

### **How the Land Reform Changed Social Structure**

The land reform largely changed the social as well as economic status of most tillers and landowners: some were made better off while some small landowners' lives were made miserable. The rich and poor were no longer in their previous positions; farmers were able to accumulate private wealth, which created an income distribution that was far less inequitable than in most countries in the Global South (Kuo, 1975). Also, the reform challenged the Chinese conventional wisdom of "wherever there is land, there is wealth" that influenced rich people to buy land as a sign of wealth. As investment in land was no longer secure for the rich, they began to invest their excess capital into industrial and commercial activities, which boosted the economic growth in the later 1960s (Gallin, 1963).

Although land reform was a political action not targeted specifically to promote economic growth, the result in that respect is worth mentioning. Because the farmers had less incentive to

work when the land belonged to the landlords, the annual working days of farmers increased from 115 days between 1946 and 1950 to 155 working days after the land reform was implemented (Lee, 1971). Nearly 80 percent of the tillers were also landowners in 1973, and another 10 percent of the farmers co-owned the farmland (Department of Agriculture, 1974). The most important consequence of land reform that affected today's land expropriation is that, as land rights were more evenly distributed among the landlords and the tillers, it was easier for the government to take charge of land and resources.

### **The Implementation of the Land Expropriation Act**

The Land Expropriation Act today has been criticized because the definition of “to prompt public interest” mentioned in the Act remains uncertain (Chu, 2015). This includes the controversial issue of how public interest is evaluated against private rights. The “under-the-table” administrative procedure has other flaws, such as keeping farmers from knowing in advance, poor deliberation procedures, and an unfair compensation system (Hsu, 2013).

The official reason behind the original KMT land reform was to eliminate the unfair relationship between landowners and tillers and to increase capital income from agriculture exports. The outcomes that were not intended by the KMT include the accumulation of private capital, more investment in industrialization, and the reapportionment of wealth in the society. At that time, land expropriation from the rich to improve the living conditions of the commoners was seldom considered unjust. However, since more land was owned by farmers than by rich people, it was much easier for the KMT to acquire agriculture land owned by the farmers to construct highways and airports and to transfer to industrial and development use since the 1960s. The Land Expropriation Act that was enacted in 2000 is another tool for the government

to justify land acquisition in the name of constructing public facilities, industrial parks, scientific parks, and the like.

### **3.2 Contemporary Land Expropriation**

#### **Expropriation as a Political Tool**

We can see the Land Expropriation Act as a necessary policy for the government to acquire land when there is just need under emergency or other necessary circumstances. Similar regulations for the government to acquire private land also exists in many other countries such as Japan and the United States (Apple Daily, 2015). However, the land acquisition in Taiwan is largely tied to the interest of local development companies, and it is not necessarily for the good of the public. The outcome of the Land Expropriation Act today, and of the land reform in the 1950s, is to prompt public interest and as a means by which the authority can acquire land. Also, the two regulations were both implemented without lawful or just support. According to Hsu (2016), the 1950s land reform was in fact enacted as an administrative order with no lawful basis, and the unjust Land Expropriation Act today was in many cases implemented in favor of private interests connected to the government and local developers without respect of people's rights protected by the Constitution.

In 1971 Taiwan was forced to withdraw from being a member of the United Nations (UN General Assembly, 1971). After this incident, the KMT was very worried that a war might break out between Taiwan and China and the food supply would not be sufficient (Hsu, 2016). Hence, the government of Taiwan promulgated the Agricultural Development Act in 1973 to regulate the use of farmland and ensure food security. This law stated that only self-employed tillers could purchase farmland, and that the buyer had to present a certificate proving him to be a tiller upon buying the land. However, the proof of being a self-owned tiller was easy for anyone to

acquire. Consequently, local development companies that are famous today pretended to be farmers and purchased massive farmlands at the periphery of cities for speculation purposes (Hsu, 2016, p. 147).

In the 1990s, the Taiwanese government promoted a neoliberal model of capitalism, which advocated market-led development and demanded a lessening of government interventions into the market (Peng, 2013). During this period, the Land Expropriation Act has not been enacted and private profit seekers acquire land through the Land Law (Hsu, S. J., personal interview, April 24, 2017). Farmlands at the periphery of cities continued to be purchased by private entities and developed into more profitable use, piece by piece. Development at this period was more unregulated and proceeded without a comprehensive plan (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). Therefore, the government amended the Land Law as well as some other regulations that enabled the launch of the Land Expropriation Act. Meanwhile, many local governments with budget difficulties found land expropriation a cheap and easy method to solve the money shortage issue (Hsu, 2016).

### **The Land Expropriation Act**

The Land Expropriation Act that was enacted 2000 has become a radical measure for the government to legally take away farmlands in the name of promoting public interest, including the need for national defense, transportation, water projects, education, health, public welfare, and government-owned businesses such as public facilities, natural reserves, and industrial parks, (Land Expropriation Act, 2012). However, the definition of “promoting public interest” is so vague that the Act has given the government an extremely large range in which it can exercise its power in the name of public interest (Chen, 2011). Lands expropriated have often belonged to people who are in the relatively powerless groups of society. In the first expropriation case of

Wanbao, which happened in 1995, farmlands were taken away from farmers for the expansion of Hsinchu Technological Park;<sup>4</sup> the second expropriation took place in 2009, when the local Miaoli County government decided to expropriate land for the development of a new industrial park.

### **Expropriation as a Convenient Tool for Profit Seekers**

According to Lin (2017), the local government, after acquiring the farmlands, would convert the zoning from farmland to a different land use such as commercial, residential, or industrial. Then they sold the land to development corporations, local high-tech companies, or local construction companies at a much higher price. The government could gain billions by reselling the land.

The Land Expropriation Act has not only violated property rights of the people; it has also seriously affected the local people's rights to work and live. According to Article 15 in the Constitution of Taiwan, the people's rights to live and work, and their private property such as land, homes, and personal belongings, must be protected by the country (Taiwan Const. art. 15). Hence, land expropriation should be the last resort for the government to deprive land ownership from the citizens. In reality, however, governments at all levels use land expropriation as a common means to acquire land for public use or to re-sell it for the use of private entities. This has triggered enough small-scale social protests over time that land expropriation in Taiwan can be considered as a serious social issue (Chung, 2010).

### **3.3 Land Expropriation and Local Power Dynamics**

The Land Expropriation Act has been intentionally designed to fit the development needs and greed of the local governments and other private parties instead of as an instrument to

---

<sup>4</sup> The Hsinchu Technological Park was established in 1980 and is known as one of the largest and most successful industrial parks in Taiwan.

genuinely make comprehensive development plans that would benefit the public, and it is reminiscent of the land reform in the late 1940 to early 1950s that were enacted hastily (Hsu, 2016). Professor Lin from National Taipei University, who is one of the members of the Urban Planning Review Committee of the Ministry of the Interior, helped to reveal how land expropriation in Taiwan works through the formal investigation system and how local governments can influence the final decision of the land expropriation projects (2017).

### **Expropriation Projects and the Central Review Boards**

Lin (2017) explains that all land expropriation cases associated with land use alteration (i.e., nearly all expropriation cases) must apply for approval from the Urban Planning Review Committee at the central government level. This committee, along with other few central government committees, are affiliated with the central government system, and they are very influential on the central government's final decision to pass or reject the expropriation project. The duty of these committees is to examine the feasibility and necessity of the expropriation project according to their own evaluation and based on evidence that the local government provides. Evaluation criteria include whether the application documents provided by the local governments are genuine and legal; whether the project fits with the regional comprehensive plan and local economic development goals; the support level of local landowners; evidence that helps justify the need to acquire land; and evidence that the land use alteration from agricultural use to other uses is necessary and reasonable (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). Sometimes the authority who wants to expropriate land provides false evidence to the committee.

According to administrative procedures, complicated land expropriation cases should go through the investigation of an ad hoc group prior to the general committee's review. Different from the general investigation committee which the investigators cannot be reappointed more

than three years, the investigators in the expropriation ad hoc groups are assigned on a case by case basis, and can be reappointed without limit (M.O.I., 2004; 2006). This being the case, it is possible for the local government that proposed land expropriation to influence the investigators' decision, or even arrange their own people to be inside the ad hoc group, in order to make sure their expropriation project could be approved. Because the conclusion of the investigation goes by consensus decision, it is very possible for the local government to affect the voting results. Professor Lin says that, in some cases without strong political influence, the ad hoc committees have been able to find evidence of unreasonable land use and overthrow the whole expropriation project; but sometimes it is hard to change the results because the local government interferes too much with the review process. "Sometimes you walk in the room," says Professor Lin, "you see who's on the seats, and you already know the investigation results" (Lin C. M., personal interview, March 1, 2017). Some land expropriation cases that have gone through the investigation process have been approved within five minutes (Hsu, 2016, p. 125).

The government often claims to the public that their decisions for land expropriation are backed up with professional planners' objective and fair opinion, stating the fact that one fourth of the committee members in these review boards are professional planners (Hsu, S. J., personal interview, April 24, 2017). However, this evidence is used to sugar-coat the fact that the decision-making process is largely a hegemonic decision and is embedded in extreme forms of sovereignty. In the light of this understanding, professional planners in the committees would need to comply with the formal planning framework that is largely politicized and affected by private profit seekers. It is very difficult to make fundamental change even if they found that land expropriation projects were unjust and unreasonable. Hence, movements from outside the formal platforms will be needed not only for the people from the bottom but also for profession



planners to confront the unjust land expropriation. These insurgent movements as insurgent planning, will be further discussed in Chapter 5.

### **Incentives behind Land Expropriation**

Land expropriation is highly political and can be implemented for various reasons. The first and largest benefit is to alleviate local financial difficulties through the “buy low, sell high” process (Hsu, 2016). After expropriation, the local government holds land auctions and sells the land to private entities such as high-tech companies and construction companies at a profit. However, there is still a risk for the local government to lose money if they are unable to sell the land after expropriating it (Lin C. M., personal interview, March 1, 2017). As professor Lin explains (2017), there was one case in New Taipei City where the government borrowed money from the Ministry of Finance and was unable to sell the land due to economic recession. To solve this issue, the local government amended the local construction regulations in that specific area and offered a floor-area ratio (FAR)<sup>5</sup> bonus so that residential construction companies would have more incentive to purchase the land. In this case, the government of New Taipei City eventually managed to make billions by selling the land. Following such cases of land expropriation bringing in money, more and more local governments followed the example (Lin C. M., personal interview, March 1, 2017).

Despite the “buy low, sell high” incentive, some local governments have a close relationship with local construction companies (Hsu, 2016). In the case of Wanbao Community, the locals claim that land expropriation not only benefits the local government but can also make some local parties rich overnight by selling the sand beneath farmlands for construction purposes (Liao, 2010). As soon as the land is in the hands of the government, the local gangs can get rid of

---

<sup>5</sup> *Floor area ratio* is the volume of the total floor area upon a piece of land which it is built. The higher the ratio, the more floor area the building can have.

whatever crops are left on top, then extract the sandy soil from beneath the surface and sell it to construction companies until there is literally nothing left. In some other cases in Taiwan, the giant pit left from such practices will be refilled with industrial waste, which is harmful to the environment and people's health (Hu, 2016). Local forces build up good relationships with the local government for these hidden benefits.

Lin (2017) mentions another reason for the local government to expropriate land: it needs a place to spend excess funding. Lin explains that, when local governments do not spend all their funding within a fiscal period, it could mean that the central government will cut funding in the coming years. Hence, the local government tends to spend every penny by the end of each fiscal period, and land expropriation seems like a win-win situation.

From these reasons for implementing land expropriation, we can see that local governments have too much power and too many incentives to expropriate land. Without proper supervision from the central government, the decision to expropriate land is highly dependent on the moral conscience of the local government.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

Looking back in history, land expropriation has always been abused as the most convenient method for the government to gain interest. Despite Taiwan's now being a democratic country, the implementation process still lacks just support, does not offer proper compensation to the landowners, jeopardizes the living of the disenfranchised, and is reminiscent of colonialism. The local governments of Taiwan have overwhelming administrative power to carry out land expropriation and are able to realize billions without proper supervision from the central government. Furthermore, the whole expropriation process completely neglects voices from the

bottom. What makes the contemporary land expropriation cases even more complicated is that they are often associated with local power dynamics and development interests.

The unjust processes and under-the-table dynamics of land expropriation mentioned in this chapter are justified through the need of development, and the elite class is often eager to benefit even more from the capitalist system by jeopardizing the lives of the farmers—the underrepresented group of the Taiwanese society. Moreover, the system cannot work without the government and the urban citizens believing that farmers are a group that is “backwards” and should be sacrificed by the capitalist system so that the rest can develop the land to modern use that contributes to a better quality of life.

## **Chapter 4: Land and the People**

### **4.1 How the Urban Citizens See Farmers**

#### **Farmers' Role in Economic Development**

Looking back in history, farmers have played a pivotal role in Taiwan's economic growth and industrialization (Chou, 2010). In the late 1940s, Taiwan's agriculture accounted for more than 90 percent of the country's exported goods (Evans et al., 1985). After the land reform in the 1950s, Taiwan gained even more income from agriculture export, which helped the country to gain abundant capital as a foundation for the later economic boom from the 1960s to the 1990s. The Taiwanese experience of industrialization is tied with the dependency development theory (Evans et al., 1985). This suggests that industrialization in developing countries is influenced by Western countries and institutions, that trade and foreign investments has major influence on local production. The export-led capital accumulation of Taiwan in the 1950s and 1960s was accomplished through foreign trade and the U.S. foreign aid (Evans et al., 1985). Today, the government's decision regarding future land use, industrialization, and real estate development is still affected by capitalism and globalization that is largely dominated by countries in the West.

#### **The Relation between Development and Expropriation**

As explained in Chapter 2, capitalism and globalization have an impact on the development of technological enclaves in Taiwan. The Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park, constructed in 1980, is one of the most notable examples for such development. The park has become one of the most profitable industrial parks in Taiwan. It is home to more than 520 high-tech companies, mostly related to semiconductor, computer, telecommunication, and optoelectronics industries, providing more than 150,000 job opportunities (Hsinchu Science Park, 2017). Hsinchu Science and Industrial Park started to expand in 1990, and its success has motivated and legitimized other

local governments in Taiwan to expropriate land for building more industrial parks. To the local government, the Land Expropriation Act enacted in 2000 is the most convenient way to acquire land in rural areas where land is abundant, and farming communities are not considered relevant compared to the lure of development.

Wanbao Community is a typical example of the local government's desire to expropriate land for the construction of an industrial park while vacant industrial land was still abundant. Wanbao Community was subject to their second expropriation in year 2009. According to the National Audit Office, there was a 42 percent industrial land idle rate in adjacent areas by year 2010 (Chou, 2012), which indicates that such land expropriation is unnecessary. All of these idle lands were expropriated and re-sold to developers. Some developers did not use the land right away but held them for real estate speculation purposes (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). Because the government does not have regulations for a reasonable timeframe to develop after acquisition of the land, developers have incentive to wait for its value to increase, then develop it for more profit.

History has led the Taiwanese to believe that quality of life could be improved efficiently through land expropriation and industrialization. On the other hand, the more industrialized the country has become, the more farmers are being marginalized to the edge of the society as they still participate in the primary industry that seemingly could be replaced by other producers in the global market (Chou, 2010). Agriculture in Taiwan is an aging industry: half of the Taiwanese farmers still farming are over age 65 (Tsai, 2007) because they know if they retire, their children will not continue farming. Seldom do Taiwanese youth declare farming as their future dream work, as agriculture is not a respected job in the society.

## **Farmers' Relationship with their Ancestral Land**

A person who has never visited or grown up in a farming community can hardly understand the emotional, cultural, and spiritual connection of people to the land. I was lucky enough to have the chance to witness this relationship during my undergraduate years in Taiwan. When I was seven years old I lived with my aunt's family. Their house was on the outskirts of Taichung City, where there were newly built neighborhoods surrounded by rice fields. My aunt always told me if I don't study hard, I would be a farmer like Grandpa Wu, who farmed the rice paddy across the street. She told me that being a farmer is having a life like a sweet potato. In Taiwan, sweet potatoes are considered one of the easiest crops to cultivate: it doesn't need to be planted in soil of good condition, doesn't need to be carefully taken care of, and is not expensive. Therefore, "living a life like a sweet potato" means that a life is full of hardship and the society doesn't respect you. Using Grandpa Wu as a negative example, my aunt encouraged me to study hard and get a more "decent" job in the future.

Long before my university years, I always thought farmers in Taiwan belonged to the poor group of society and needed pity. I majored in Real Estate and Built Environment in my undergraduate education in Taiwan. In a class on land policy, the teacher assigned a field study that required us to stay and live with farmers for a couple of days. My teammates and I were lucky enough to find a connection with Mr. Chang, the leader of Farmers' Alliance in Taibao Village, a rural farming community in southern Taiwan where organic rice had successfully been produced. At the time of our arrival, many people in the village gathered at Mr. Chang's house out of curiosity because they had never seen a group of young strangers wandering around the village. To our surprise, after we introduced ourselves and told what we were researching, they welcomed us warmly, and the Hung family was kind enough to let us stay at their home, even

though they had just met us. For the next five days, we became little farmers and went into the rice paddies at five o'clock in the morning to help Mr. Hung with his daily routine in exchange for staying.

Casual and easygoing as Mr. Hung seemed, he had very high standards that he held us to when we tried to help him with farming. He always kept a diary of the weather, and he kept very close watch on the growing conditions of the crops. Mr. Hung was proud that he could grow what he ate, and for his family and children, and he believed what they ate would also be good for whoever bought it. Mr. Hung told us, as he told his children, to study hard and find a respected job, like my aunt used to tell me, but anyone could tell from his eyes that he was proud of being a farmer. Every morning before sunrise, Mr. Hung prayed to the gods and his ancestors to look after the rice paddy and the family. I was moved when Mr. Hung told me the land was something that had been passed down from his ancestors for generations, and that it was his duty to cultivate and guard it. To Mr. Hung and his family, the paddy field was not only a place to work in, but a land that was spiritually connected with the family, to be considered a part of their life. Life in the countryside may not be as interesting as life in the cities, but there is contentment deep in the spirit of rural residents.

The social position of farmers changed from the backbone of the country's economy before the 1950s to a group of people who today still with the soil. The farming class represents the opposite of globalization and development: people nowadays do not appreciate or understand rural values. This has created an invisible social class that is being neglected by both the public and the farmers themselves. The farmers, who are usually older citizens who still have the memory of a society being controlled by Japanese rule and dictatorship after WW II, are often too timid to speak out, afraid they might get themselves into trouble. Elders in rural Taiwan tend

to be more submissive to the government's decisions, drawing from experience that the government's power is unshakeable and there is no chance of winning. Also, the earlier land expropriation projects did not catch the public's attention because they all happened quickly and quietly, little by little.

#### **4.2 The Danger of Not Walking in Another's Shoes**

Land expropriation in Taiwan demonstrates the inability of the majority and of planners to walk in another's shoes. It is easier to walk in another's shoes when we share the same cultural identity and life experience. It is more challenging for people from a completely different geographic location, ethnicity, culture, and social background to walk in each other's shoes. Besides, not everybody has the ability to "code-switch" (Umemoto, 2001). If we apply this knowledge to land expropriation, it is hard for legislators, government officials, and urban citizens to appreciate the value of land as much as the local farmers do. Hence, imaginations of future land use, as well as interest, will differ widely and can easily cause social conflict among different stakeholders.

As described by Umemoto (2001), code-switching is like the use of a different set of knowledge as when a person speaks a foreign language. In different languages, the mindset and use of vocabulary vary according to the specific culture and custom. Code-switching is not easy without a full understanding of the local context, but it is necessary in planning because planners often plan for people of different values, culture, ethnicity, and social class. Therefore, it is essential for planners to gain adequate understanding of the local culture and politics to picture the desired outcome and examine the impact of a planning decision. Without the attempt to walk in another's shoes, it is likely that the use of planning policies will lead to more social cost than social benefit. The unjust Land Expropriation Act in Taiwan is evidence of how the urban



citizens as well as the government officials fail to code-switch, as expropriation projects often neglect rural land values and a lifestyle that sustains a livelihood of farming families.

### **4.3 From Dawn to Dusk: The Relationship between Rural Land and Farmers**

*Lady Hung lives in a small farming community called Wanbao, located in Miaoli County, Taiwan. Her day starts in the early morning before sunrise. She goes into her farmlands to watch over her crops, and then goes back home to take care of her grandchildren. “Land is everything to us,” she told me. “Land means life, family, wealth, and our soul is deeply connected with it. Its value is beyond the measurement of money. If you take my farmland away and give me some fancy apartment to live in, I will sit on the couch, rot, and die.”*

#### **A Day with Lady Hung**

In an early morning of late July 2016, Lady Hung wakes up before sunrise. She walks down the stairs of her three-story home located in the middle of the farmlands. Her nearest neighbor lives across the adjacent farmland. Sometimes, many houses cluster together as a tiny neighborhood, while sometimes they are individually scattered around, and this is the typical setting of a farming community in Taiwan. Lady Hung has a detached house and an open front yard that is covered with cement; part of it is covered by an iron-sheet hut so she can do packaging work and sort out her products on hot or rainy days. The first thing that starts Lady Hung’s day is never a nice and delicious breakfast, nor was it an early exercise session or a hot bath; instead, she hops on her scooter and goes for her first and foremost important daily routine—tending her crops in the farmlands.

It is just past the harvest season of the watermelons, and sweet potatoes have been planted. Lady Hung jumps off her scooter and checks if the soil moisture is just right. “This part of land is too high, so the sweet potatoes might dry off ... but adjusting the land level is too much work as

the potatoes are already planted; I should adjust the water flow instead.” She talks as she goes down to the corner of the water channel, places a thick plastic bag at the bottom of the channel, and stabilizes it with some bricks and stones that she can manage to grab. Then, she goes back to see how the water is flowing, and it doesn’t go well. Lady Hung goes back to the corner, climbs down to the bottom of the water channel (which is half her height), steps into the flowing water, and with her bare hands starts to clear off some dirt and weeds that have been blocking the water flow. Just as I think about this being hard work for a woman in her 60s and that I should do something to help instead of standing back and taking pictures, Lady Hung says in Taiwanese with a very local accent, as if she could read my mind, “This is simple work and I do this every day! I’m not as diligent as my husband; if he was still here, he’d say I’m lazy!”—just because she chose to adjust the water flow instead of doing hard work of adjusting the land level.



Figure 4.1 Lady Hung (her motorcycle is in the back). *Source: Picture taken by author.*

Lady Hung owns a lot of farmland, scattered within Wanbao Community. Some farmland has been passed down for generations by the ancestors of her and her husband’s family, and some have been purchased from other farmers in the community when she had money. “I never

kept a lot of money in my hands. We grow what we need to eat and if there is excess money, I will buy more farmland from old farmers and cultivate it. Land is the fundamental of life and wealth. You can live without a wife and children, but you can't live without knowing how to cultivate land." Lady Hung then stops by another piece of farmland as her neighboring farmer is having a problem with the water, too. Lady Hung greets him and goes down to help him out. There is another piece of farmland across the road that is owned by another farmer, but Lady Hung cultivates it, too. "This piece of farmland belongs to an old farmer in our community, but he is too old for farming activities, so I grow stuff on it and give him some harvest in return. He still pays the utilities."

Wanbao Community is a very small farming community, and people know each other very well. Sometimes I feel the whole community is just like a giant version of a family: they help each other and care for each other just as we care for our family and friends. After looking after her rice paddies, with the sun halfway up in the sky, Lady Hung buys breakfast from a local vendor for eleven persons. Just as I wondered "why so many?", she hops on her scooter again with all the breakfast and goes to visit her 98-year-old father and give him a breakfast box with fried noodles in it. Lady Hung tells me, as she rides the scooter, that she grew up in the little neighborhood where her father lives, then married her husband and lived in her husband's neighborhood, which was just five minutes' ride away from where she currently lives. As we got back to Lady Hung's house, several neighbors have already come under the little iron-sheet hut in Lady Hung's front yard to package some freshly harvested sweet potato for her, and she gives the rest of the breakfast to them.



Figure 4.2 Lady Hung cleaning up weeds in the water channel. *Source: photo taken by author.*



Figure 4.3 Neighbors helping to package sweet potatoes under the shelter in front of Lady Hung's house. *Source: photo taken by author.*

## **Rural Taiwan: A Diverse Lifestyle to Be Cherished, Not Sold**

Wanbao Community exhibits a simple but diverse lifestyle. Small as it is, the farmland has to provide the economic activities in the community that meet local people's need for a meaningful and productive life. For generations, the farmers have spent their whole life locally, devoted to farming, and every corner of the community is filled with memories to treasure. Although Lady Hung's husband, Mr. Chang, passed away three years ago, I have heard her talking about him several times as she went into the farmlands in the early morning as if Mr. Chang were still there. Lady Hung never says she misses her husband, but memories naturally occur during her daily routine in the farmlands they once cultivated together.

To Lady Hung and other people in Wanbao Community, the attachment to farmland does not merely come from the ability to farm and feed, or the exchange value of the land. Land not only evokes stories and carries memories, but also defines who the people are and where they come from. For a farmer to give up his ancestral property and sell it to an outsider in exchange for money is considered shameful, and any farmer like Lady Hung would never do that. It is this attachment to their homeland that helped farmers mobilize the local resistance process of Wanbao Community when the local government decided to expropriate. Also, as farmers and residents in the community have tightly bonded with each other for generations, it was possible for residents to immediately react at the most critical moment of the initial resistance.

### **4.4 Why Resistance Should Not Be Seen as an Emotional or Irrational Decision**

As we all understand, there is a significant difference between the exchange value and use value of land, especially for farmers in Wanbao Community who see land as a commodity that is beyond the measurement of money, thus irreplaceable, just like a mother's attachment to her own children. Lady Hung directly referred to land as her life when she said, "an outsider can never

understand the pain when your life has been deprived.” Nonetheless, because urban inhabitants believe development is the only way to create a modern society and a better quality of life, it is difficult for them to understand land beyond its exchange value. Therefore, in local news we often hear comments that refer to local protests as “irrational protests” that hinder the development process of the country. An article published in *The United Daily News*, one of the three largest newspaper publication companies in Taiwan, even drew successful development examples from Japan that overcame massive protests to explain why farmers’ protest against land expropriation and development is irrational (Kao, 2013).

If the urban citizens and the authority could have the chance to understand rural land value and the farmer’s attachment to land, the resistance would be more understandable as rational. Resistance can even be seen as necessary, when the intention for expropriating farmland is driven by imagined benefits drawn from the capitalist system that gives no guarantee for success, and is further legitimized by unjust political interventions that ignore rural values. Understanding that the farmers are fighting for their livelihood and the basic human rights to housing, local resistance, such as that by the Wanbao Community, should not be considered as an emotional decision that is irrational and arbitrary. Rather, it is a careful and just act, one that is well integrated with rules of political knowledge and working procedures gained from the farmers’ political savvy and past mobilization experience. Furthermore, we cannot refer to acts of resistance as irrational if someone’s life would literally be jeopardized by forced taking of their farmland.

#### **4.5 The Grassroots Movement of Wanbao Community**

With political awareness gained from experience and the hard work of the farmers, the local landowners, and the outside assistance gained from the public, Wanbao Community successfully resisted land expropriation after 13 protests, from 2009 to 2011.

##### **Key Leaders of Wanbao Community**

The mobilization against land expropriation of Wanbao Community is a self-organized organic process that did not involve intervention from planning experts or other people from outside the community. At the very moment, the local people learned about the impending land expropriation project, they gathered together and formed a self-saving organization, with people volunteering for or being assigned to different tasks. Below I introduce the key leaders who played a pivotal role in the resistance waged against expropriation in Wanbao Community. These leaders are all residents who have lived in Wanbao Community for most, if not all, of their lives.

- Xiang, Hung (洪箱, referred to as Lady Hung in this research)



Figure 4.4 Lady Hung (right) and author in front of her house. She has put on one of her pretty shirts, ready to go on a family trip with her daughter and grandchildren. *Source: photo taken by Lady Hung's daughter, permission for use granted to the author.*

Lady Hung was the central figure who led the grassroots movement of Wanbao Community. She is an articulate and effective communicator is most often seen as the spokesperson for Wanbao Community in the media, and she participated in all protests that took place. She was also one of the persons who participated in governmental meetings regarding the expropriation incident. Wanbao Community had suffered two times from land expropriation, in 1995 and 2009. Her husband, Mr. Chang, was the leader of the 1995 resistance movement. After he fell sick, Lady Hung became the core leader of the second resistance, which took place in 2009. Lady Hung is also the person who has connections with planning experts such as Professor Hsu, who first introduced me to Wanbao Community and their struggles against land expropriation. After facing the difficulties of land expropriation, Lady Hung states, she was transformed from “an ordinary woman who watched soap drama in her spare time and didn’t



care much about politics” to a person who cares more about the rural environment, politics, and other expropriation issues in Taiwan. Even now, after Wanbao Community has successfully stopped expropriation, she goes to Taipei to protest for other people who suffer the challenges of land expropriation.

- Xing-Xiong, Chen (陳幸雄, referred to as Leader Chen in this research)



Figure 4.5 Leader Chen standing beside his rice paddy. *Source:* Citizen of Earth, Taiwan. Retrieved from <https://www.cet-taiwan.org/node/542>.

Chen is the leader and founder of Wanbao Self-Saving Organization. Among all key players of the grassroots movement, Leader Chen has the best social connection with the residents in Wanbao Community. He did much of the work of trying to encourage the more conservative landowners, who are timid about speaking out, to stand up and resist. From door to door, he united the landowners in Wanbao Community, encouraged them to sign the petition, and organized all logistics, including transportation and funding to make protests in Taipei happen.

- Xiu-Yi, Xie (謝修鑑, referred to as Chief Xie in this research)



Figure 4.6 Chief Xie in his house. *Source: Photo taken by author.*

Mr. Xie is the Chief of the Community.<sup>6</sup> He does not own farmland nor is he a farmer, but he stood with the Wanbao people and dedicated himself whenever assistance was needed. He is acquainted with local politics and has connections with the local government. Therefore, he offered useful information regarding land expropriation so that the residents could act quickly and precisely in response to government actions. In Taiwan, it is very rare for local politicians to publicly stand with the local farmers against land expropriation.

---

<sup>6</sup> Chief of the Community (mandarin:里長) is a representative of the community or neighborhood elected every 4 years by the local people. Chief of the Community is at the lowest government hierarchical level (Department of Civil Affairs, n.d.).

- Jiang-Bo, Hung (洪江坡, referred to as Painter Hung in this research)



Figure 4.7 Painter Hung. *Source: News&Market (2013). Photo taken by Huang. Retrieved from <https://www.newsmarket.com.tw/blog/33516/>.*

A male in his 50s, Painter Hung is one of the few painters in his generation who still lives in rural Taiwan, and is known as a Taiwanese rural painter. He is acquainted with social media and is one of the few adults in the community who knows how to use a computer. During the resistance process, Painter Hung would express the local farmers' voices through social media and send emails to the central government's reviewing committees. These committees, as discussed in Chapter 3.3, have an influential impact on the central government's final decision to pass or reject Wanbao Community's expropriation project based on evidence provided by the local government. Because of Painter Hung's communication, the local government could no longer provide false information to affect the committee's decision in favor of passing the project. (Miaoli County Government Mayor, Mr. Liu, had claimed to the committees that more than 80 percent of the landowners agreed to the land expropriation project, but in fact, they never asked for the locals' opinion and the locals were never notified about the proposed land expropriation project.)

Lady Hung, Leader Chen, Chief Xie, and Painter Hung were the key players in the local resistance process. Other residents also played important roles during the resistance process: the accountant, the chairman of the local temple, and other residents, who helped to unite their neighbors to stand up and fight. The resistance process would not have been successful without any of them.

### **Political Savvy as a Useful Tool for Resistance**

Among all the leaders of Wanbao Community, Lady Hung, her husband Mr. Chang, and Chief Xie are most acquainted with the formal political system. Mr. Chang worked in the public sector before he retired as a full-time farmer. I have heard Lady Hung, Chief Xie, and other leaders describe him as “the smartest among us all” and “our think-tank.” He was always brainstorming strategies using his political knowledge. Mr. Chang’s career provided him with good connections with the people in government, and he managed to seek assistance from anonymous government workers who helped the resistance process by providing useful inside information. With the assistance of an anonymous government person, Mr. Chang acquired a key map that helped them to understand who are the landowners targeted to be expropriated, so that they could unite all landowners to join the resistance (Figures 4.8, 4.9).

Mr. Chang and Lady Hung were the key leaders for the first as well as the second resistance. During the times of resistance, they would have community meetings with landowners and other leaders in the community, and lead the resistance with their political knowledge, so that the minds of local leaders and landowners could also be empowered with political knowledge. Sadly, Mr. Chang passed away in 2013, but Lady Hung follows the footsteps of Mr. Chang and has continued to fight against unjust expropriation resistance in the country.

As a political representative for the local landowners of Wanbao Community, Chief Xie is the person that landowners in Wanbao Community turned to when they discovered their land was to be expropriated. Chief Xie had stood with the farmers since the first expropriation project in 1995, and had continued to position his political goals to serve the public. Being a person known to the expropriator, the local government mayor Liu Cheng Hung, Chief Xie was brave during the protests and developed statements that publicly advocated for the locals and attacked the government's decision to expropriate. Also, being a public servant with a close relationship with the locals, Chief Xie also knew the local people's mind: he knew that some were afraid to stand up against the overwhelming power of the government. With Chief Xie reputation for courage and knowledge, it was easier to persuade more landowners to participate in the resistance process, knowing that with Chief Xie's assistance they would stand a chance.

Farmers in Wanbao Community also gained their resistance knowledge from the first land expropriation incident, which took place 14 years before the second expropriation. With the success from previous experience, the locals were more confident and willing to stand up. Also, the landowners are more aware of land expropriation, and making them able to mobilize and react without much waste of time.



Figure 4.8 Lady Hung showing the land expropriation map. *Source: picture taken by author.*



Figure 4.9 The cadastral map. This was also acquired with the help of an anonymous government employee Lady Hung points out where she lives. *Source: picture taken by author.*

## 4.6 Stand Up and Fight

*“If the government is grabbing your ancestral land and you stay silent, you are no different than a dead person to me.”*

*—Lady Hung, July 26, 2016*

It was 2009, an ordinary afternoon in Wanbao Community. The post officer delivered a certified envelope sent from the government to Lady Hung’s husband, Mr. Chang. He opened the envelope and found a notice of land value appraisal sent from the local government. This seemed like déjà vu to Mr. Chang, recalling his memory from 1995, when the government decided to expropriate his farmland for developing the fourth expansion stage of Hsinchu Technological Park. At that time, Mr. Chang led the community resistance and fought very hard against the government’s decision. Luckily, the local government heard the people’s voice. Also, the County Mayor at that time favored an alternative location for the park’s expansion. Mr. Chang and the people in the community were very happy that they had been able to keep the farmland. However, nobody was expecting this to happen again 14 years later.

As described by Lady Hung, Mr. Chang was ill at the time he received the notice of the second expropriation in 2009. Recalling the memory from 14 years ago about the suffering and difficulty of the resistance process, he felt devastated that he wouldn’t be able to make it this time because of his health. Initially, he didn’t tell his children and his wife, Lady Hung. He couldn’t fall asleep at night, and felt so ashamed for not being able to protect his ancestral land that he didn’t dare look at his ancestor’s memorial tablet when he prayed. Rumors and information travel quickly in rural areas, especially in a small farming community such as Wanbao, where people all know their neighbors and have good social bonds with one another. But Lady Hung did find out about the letter from the government, and she went to Chief Xie. She

was not the first or only one to arrive. According to the legal administrative procedures, the local government had to notify the chief of the village before making the land expropriation decision and sending out the land value appraisal documents to the locals. This time, Chief Xie was just as confused as the people in the community, and administrative procedures regarding the land expropriation project of Wanbao Community had already gone way beyond the local government level and were awaiting the central government's approval. The situation was very urgent and they knew they needed immediate action.

#### **4.7 Strategies to Success**

*“There are things you can do but cannot say.”*

*—Anonymous local politician who provided useful information helpful to land expropriation resistance.*

#### **Resistance at the Local Level**

The people in Wanbao Community quickly organized a community meeting at Lung Yun Temple (Figure 4.10), which is the local religious and gathering center where community activities are held. Having the resistance experience from 14 years earlier, the local people such as Lady Hung were very upset about receiving the land appraisal document. But they were all very determined to fight against land expropriation, and if the struggle that they had gone through 14 years earlier was what it would take to protect their land, they were willing to do it again, regardless of the difficulties and suffering they might face again. Leader Chen proposed that they should form a self-saving organization just like other places in Taiwan had, as he saw on television, to resist land expropriation, and Leader Chen himself was elected to be the leader of the organization. Leader Chen was the former chairman of the temple and had organized a lot



of community activities; now, because he had retired from work and had great connections with the local people in Wanbao Community, they knew he was the best person for the position.

Lady Hung said that Wanbao Community initially organized a series of resistance actions at the local level, but the progress was limited. As the local media were controlled by the local Miaoli County government, public attention that could be brought up by the media was not generated. Despite the local government's knowing that the people did not want to give up their land to the government, they decided to proceed with the land expropriation process. After the self-saving organization realized there was little chance of success in protesting to the local government, the people decided to bring the protest directly to the central government. Leader Chen went door to door, asking landowners to sign a petition to show the central government that they were against land expropriation. The process was difficult. Landowners were afraid that if the mayor found out their identity, local power dynamics such as construction companies and gangsters who were looking forward to a share of the expropriated profits would give them a hard time, just as had happened 14 years before.

When I interviewed Leader Chen, he recounted his memories of the resistance process while he was the head of the self-saving organization. "Many sleepless nights I was just thinking of my responsibility as the leader. I was always brainstorming, thinking about strategies that would effectively catch people's attention and stop land expropriation. We all knew that the first protest is very important, and we could not afford to fail. I could not fail the brave landlords who decided to stand out, leave work, devote their time, and follow me to Taipei." Despite the difficulty, Chen organized two buses of local residents who were willing to head for Taipei City and protest. He also managed to persuade more than 70 percent of the landlords in the expropriated area to sign the petition, and he encouraged them to stand up against the Miaoli

County government. Because the elderly in rural Taiwan are generally more conservative and timid about speaking out, Leader Chen's accomplishment in mobilizing the older landowners was a necessary step to success.



Figure 4.10 Lung Yun Temple, where the first resistance meeting was held. *Source: photo taken by author.*

### **Resistance at the Central Government Level**

As explained in Section 3.3, all land expropriation projects associated with change in land use should go through committee review at the central government level. In 2009, the central government rejected the Miaoli County Government's land use change proposal regarding the expropriation project at an initial stage, stating that the land use of Wanbao Community could not be changed due to being a "special agricultural district" that is highly suitable for agricultural activities. The Miaoli government quickly sent another proposal regarding the permission of developing the industrial park to the Environmental Assessment Committee, which is another central government review committee; this proposal was approved (Guan, 2013). The farmers in

Wanbao Community were furious when they found out about this decision. Early the next morning, two buses of furious farmers headed to Taipei for their first organized protest. Leader Chen showed the petition in his hands to the legislators of the central government; the landowners standing behind him created such powerful proof of disapproval for the expropriation plan that the central government and the media could not turn their eyes away. Chen gripped the petition firmly, and never letting it go for reproduction copies so he could protect the landlords' identities.

Although the residents of Wanbao Community did not immediately get what they asked for—stopping land expropriation—after their first protest, it was a successful grassroots mobilization and a big step toward success. The protest of Wanbao Community residents showed the central government a contradiction to what the Miaoli government claimed about the local people's approval for the expropriation plan, and it proved that the documents the local government had presented about local public hearings were all forged. During the protest, the local people said they were never invited to public hearings, nor were they consulted or informed about the expropriation plan in any way. The Environmental Assessment Committee that initially approved the Miaoli government's proposal decided to seize the initial land expropriation plan and insisted they would not make any decision regarding the project until further investigation was completed. If the people of Wanbao Community had never gone to protest in Taipei City, the central government would not have investigated further and never discovered that the local government was telling an enormous lie.

### **Lady Hung's Strategy for Success**

Lady Hung listed some key strategies she used during the resistance process. Below I share those negotiation strategies that helped to express residents' determination to keep their

farmland, and that demonstrate the importance of seeking possible assistance and having resistance experience (for Wanbao, in 1995).

***Strategy One: “Never speak the language of your enemies.”***

The first and foremost important strategy when Lady Hung communicated with the authorities was *never to speak the language of your enemies*—in this case, the language of the dominant capitalist system. Lady Hung believes that once they make arguments regarding money, including the unreasonably low expropriation price and small compensation, they fall into the capitalist trap and will be framed as greedy farmers. Hence, the “language” that Lady Hung is referring to is the monetary system. For some landowners, money might be part of the reason they resist land expropriation, but one should never bring this to the argument. As the monetary system is what the urban citizens as well as the authority are acquainted with, once the urban citizens believe that making more money is also what local farmers care about, the rural values and what farmers see as a livelihood will be set aside, so that money will be the only consideration. Therefore, there will be no chance for the urban citizens to discuss and respect the rural value of farmlands, which is the main reason for Wanbao Community’s resistance.

***Strategy Two: “No negotiations, no bargains.”***

The second strategy is to always show unity and the determination to resist land expropriation; and to do so, everything they say to the public has to be carefully planned. As Lady Hung told me, “*It is always ‘we don’t want land expropriation. Period.’ No negotiations, no bargains.*” To the few landowners who agreed with the land expropriation project, the leaders said, “if you want to sell your land, at least sell it at a better price.” Because the landowners who were willing to sell their land also had empathy for the farmers who really wanted to keep their land, nobody within the community stood out against the resistance. The leaders also carefully

planned for what they wanted to talk about one to two days prior to more important public occasions such as governmental meetings. For each committee meeting at the central government level, five representatives from the NGOs or local people were allowed to participate and speak, with each person given a maximum of 5 minutes. The leaders of Wanbao Community Self-Saving Organization wanted to make sure they did not miss any point they wanted to talk about, so they would divide the contents of each speaker's talk, and practice several times before the meeting to make sure nothing important would be left behind.

***Strategy Three: Reaching out for any assistance possible***

The third strategy that I learned from Wanbao Community's example is to reach out for whatever possible assistance is available—from the media, the public, and anonymous government officials, who could not go publicly oppose the will of the local government but quietly did what they could to assist the local residents. Lady Hung is always thankful to those who “stood with us during the hardest times,” and she says that it is hard to ask people to help you if they cannot gain interest from it. A lot of people and NGOs from outside the community voluntarily devoted themselves and helped Wanbao Community to resist land expropriation. For example, there was assistance from Taiwan Rural Front, an NGO consists of experts in law and planning, as well as farmers, students and scholars who often organized and participated in protests for protecting rural land (Taiwan Rural Front, n.d.). Also, the Homemakers Union Consumers Co-op constantly supports organic food production in Wanbao Community as well as other farming communities in Taiwan also assisted the resistance (Homemakers Union, n.d.). There are also planning experts such as Professor Hsu from National Chengchi University, and many others from the public who care for rural Taiwan, and took a stand whenever possible to help the resistance of unjust land expropriation. The media's eventual portrayal of the social

effects on Wanbao Community also helped create pressure on the local and the central government and was also a key to success.

#### ***Strategy Four: Experience from previous resistance***

Finally, Lady Hung said the expropriation experience from 14 years earlier made the local resistance easier to organize in 2009. The second mobilization process reflects Hirschman's (1984) finding on grassroots research in Latin America that previous mobilization experience will have a long-lasting, positive effect on future resistance, making it more likely to be successful. Sargeson's (2013) work on resistance movements against land expropriation in China also suggests that the knowledge transformation process gained during previous mobilization processes will make the rural people "politically astute," which permanently affects their minds and actions in future resistance (p. 1073). With expropriation experience in the past, the landowners of Wanbao Community knew the Miaoli County mayor was one of the legislators who voted for land expropriation 14 years earlier, and that he might try to grab their land again as mayor. With this knowledge and experience, the farmers reached consensus quickly and mobilized local resistance efficiently and effectively.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

Since the 1950s, Taiwan's industrialization experience fits with the dependency development theory, and the implementation of land expropriation today was also influenced by global forces such as neoliberalism and globalization. Hence, it is clear that the capitalist system and experience from developed countries all have played a critical role in motivating the government's pursuit of entrepreneurial forms of governance and expropriating land. The belief in an industrial and modernization development paradigm has also influenced how farmers are represented in the dominant public discourse by authorities and the media: over several decades,

the representation of farming communities shifted from farmers as the backbone of the nation's early economic development to farmers (and their rural values) as opponents of progress and thus marginalized. These trends legitimize the government's decision to expropriate farmland and to deprive farmers of their constitutional rights to private property (Agamben, 2005).

Experience gained in the resistance to the first land expropriation in 1995 enabled the 2009 resistance to form instantly and independently without experts' intervention. The social bonding established through the ties of blood relations and mutual assistance for more than four generations also played an important role in the community's unity. The local farmers and landowners are also very determined about their goals. The key leaders divided resistance work voluntarily and carefully based on their abilities and personal characteristics, and they made sure everything was taken care of. Drawing from the mobilization experience of Wanbao Community, the farmers' decision to resist against land expropriation is not an emotional one, but careful and just.

The leaders of the resistance movement who are familiar with local politics passed down their knowledge and developed useful strategies during the resistance process, which helped the resistance to be more effective. Lady Hung shared four strategies that are key to their success. The first one is "never to speak the language of your enemies," by which she means not to negotiate over money in any form with the government. The second is to always be clear and determined about what they wanted (in Wanbao's case, to stop expropriation). Everything they say to the public and the government was carefully planned to show their determination. The third strategy is to reach out for possible resources that would help, including planning experts, the media, and anonymous helpers. Finally, the experience and knowledge gained from the first land expropriation helped Wanbao Community to mobilize quickly, efficiently, and successfully.

## Chapter 5: An Alternative Future

### 5.1 Evaluating Land with Different Life Experience

A study of arbitrary land expropriation projects shows how people evaluate the value of land differently based on different life experiences and interest. From the authority's perspective, land expropriation is a tool to gain municipal funding through the "buy-low-sell-high" process and to exhibit administrative progress; for the elites and local power dynamics, it is an easy way to make private money through real estate speculation; for the urban citizens, it provides an image of economic development and prosperity. However, for the farmers and landowners in rural Taiwan, arbitrary land expropriation and development is an evil policy disguised as public interest; it is the death panel to their livelihood, culture, and all other potential dreams connected to the diverse use of land.

### 5.2 Whose Public Interest?

The definition of public interest can also be explained differently by different stakeholders. It is hard to draw the line between public and private interest, as the definition of development can be articulated in a way that can be openly claimed as serving public interest, but at bottom these policies of development are merely to serve the interest of elites in the society (Penz et al., 2011). Hence, there is a constant debate on what public interest is, specifically *whose* interest is the public interest? In planning, we should agree that public interest should benefit the public. However, from development projects in Taiwan, we often see public interest being defined by private interests of corporations, profit seekers, real estate speculators, and government at all levels to raise funding.

As the society has become more diverse and minorities' rights have drawn more attention, it is always hard to reach consensus between different groups of stakeholders to define what public



interest is (Grant, 2005). Often, a public policy that is beneficial to one may result in another group's sacrifice. Bollens (2002) identified this problem and suggested that it is important for planners to be sensitive and recognize the social inequalities that are embedded in the name of public interest.

Hard as it is for the government and planners to evaluate the qualitative value of farmland, it is even harder to weigh the qualitative value against the monetary value of development. In Taiwan, promoting public interest by mainly focusing on quantitative and methodological measures that neglect the qualitative values that is inherent in the everyday life of certain groups of people has resulted in a tremendous amount of social sacrifice and planning inequity. Gated neighborhoods in cities and inaccessible open space and amenities are consequences of not recognizing the embedded inequalities of public interest. Or, worse, embedded social inequalities are sometimes intentionally neglected, causing the urban landscape to benefit particular groups of people.

Public interest is meaningless if we do not include the opinions besides those of people who benefit directly from land expropriation. As discussed in Chapter 4, Taiwanese farmers are the socially marginalized group. They do not view farmland as a commodity and an opportunity for upgrading development. Hence, targeting the public as a single category is insufficient to address the problem of farmers' rights. Young (1990) acknowledges group-based forms of oppression, meaning that a specific group of people might face different challenges and that a just decision cannot be made without this understanding.

Insurgent planning (Miraftab, 2009) can be seen as set of practices and processes that oppressed groups can engage in to make their interests known (by those in power) and worthy of

attention. Insurgent planning practices offer disadvantaged and oppressed people means to make their interests visible and allows them to be counted in the “public interest.”

### **5.3 Insurgent Planning as a Necessity**

*“It is a good sign to have different voices from the society. If there is no quarrel, the society is doomed.”*

*—Lady Hung, July 26, 2017*

Because land expropriation is an institutionalized phenomenon embedded in a historical, cultural, and political context, the Taiwanese government at all levels fails to recognize the disenfranchised, nor does it provide those who suffer from unjust land expropriation a platform to express their opinion. As a group of the society with relatively weak political power, farmers have long been subject of the oppressive regime. It thus requires a lot of time, possibly years, of social and political effort to achieve a minor degree of improvement, or to make proper amendments to the Land Expropriation Law. However, as the malfunctioning expropriation system has been severely affecting farmers’ livelihood, there is an urgent need for immediate action.

#### **What Is Insurgent Planning?**

Miraftab (2009) defines insurgent planning as a radical planning approach with which the oppressed can directly confront the government, describing the practice as “counter-hegemonic, transgressive and imaginative” (p. 32). The term *insurgent planning* builds upon insurgent citizenship first proposed by Holston (1995, 2008), and was further incorporated with the planning discourse (Sandercock, 1998a, 1998b; Friedmann, 2002, 2011; Miraftab, 2006; Miraftab and Wills, 2005; Stello, 2012; Meir 2005; Meth, 2010; Sweet & Chakars, 2010; Harvey, 1999; Roy, 2009). In the case of unjust land expropriation in Taiwan, insurgent planning

allows mobilization processes from below to challenge the mainstream planning processes that are rooted in history and dominated by social elites and private profit seekers. An act of insurgency, such as radical protest, is by itself a creation from below that strives to catch attention, express its grievances, and seek more favorable alternatives and possibilities for the people themselves, who have no power under inclusive governance.

Inclusive governance in principle aspires to bring in actors beyond the state to decision making table— that includes civil society and private sector organizations, as well as disenfranchised groups. But in practice as private sector profit-driven organizations and interest groups have greater power within the existing societal hierarchies, this call for inclusion has often served the political and economic interests of the profit-driven private sector. Insurgent practices seek to assert interests of those groups whose interests after all are not included through the participatory spaces and structures of inclusive governance (Marques, 2012).

The flexibility to switch between invited and invented space is a key strategy for practicing insurgent planning. Whereas *invited space* consists of the legal channels of communication provided by the government and powerful dominant groups, *invented spaces* are the innovative spaces created by people from below and often outside the formal or legal channels of the state for people to practice forms of citizenship that are not attainable through invited spaces. Miraftab (2009) further conceptualizes the terminology of invited spaces as legitimized platforms supported by the government authorities for civil movements to express and strive to solve problems through legal orders. Invented spaces are created by movements from below that abandon the ineffective legal communication channel provided by the government and directly confront the authority (p. 39).

## **Insurgent Planning and Land Expropriation**

The Land Expropriation Act that is abused by the Taiwanese government is clearly jeopardizing the existence of rural land and the livelihood of Taiwanese farmers. As these people cannot make a statement within the formal framework of communication platforms, insurgent planning becomes a practical way to create their own means of making claims, often through more radical approaches, to draw the authority's attention. Insurgent practices offer a direct means of taking their interests in their own hands to reclaim rights that have been intentionally neglected by the elites through entrepreneurial forms of governance and representative democracy. In order for the farmers of rural Taiwan, who are politically and socially excluded from the society, to be heard, they must move from invited to invented spaces of action. In the case of Wanbao Community, invited spaces are the public hearings that were never justly held, and invented spaces are the protests organized by local grassroots movements in Taipei. The protests catch the public's attention and strive to facilitate communication between farmers and the government, and to demonstrate to the wider public the ineffectiveness of the invited spaces.

The negative effects of land expropriation can be seen as a social crisis caused by the capitalist pursuits. In this context, insurgency is a form of radical planning intervention to counteract the misleading set of values created by the capitalist system that facilitated rural expropriation. Entrepreneurial forms of governance strive to improve quality of life by allowing the free market to dominate the value and price of goods, including land worth; but in doing so it deteriorates lives of people who cannot successfully participate in the free market competition. Moreover, when the value of rural land is tied to the monetary system, the urban inhabitants are often blind to the qualitative value in the land. In such context, when the pursuit of capitalism

creates numerous social injustices and sacrifices, we should rethink our values and consider whether we want to let capitalism dominate our minds and society (Harvey, 2011). Drawing from examples across the world, we see people among different racialized and ethnicized groups with distinct socioeconomic status being selected as subjects of *state of exception*, by which the government authorizes the right to “legally displace” them in pursuit of imagined benefits. Despite the social sacrifice of families being ruined, private interest backed up with government power are allowed to do so with legal steps to pursuit real estate interests.

### **The Malfunction of Government Self-Monitoring Systems**

Insurgent planning movements, however, can play a crucial role in containing the excessive power of government that is controlled by private sector interest. In the local planning of Taiwan, a government self-monitoring system had been set up to make sure that local government authorities would not have overwhelming power to make certain decisions on their own without the permission of central government organizations or local opinions. For example, as explained in Chapter 3, local land expropriation projects that are involved with a change in land use, which is nearly all expropriation projects, cannot be implemented by the local government without acquiring permission from central government review boards. However, this government self-monitoring system is at times defective because human interventions can be made by the local government to decisively affect the review board’s decision (Lin C. M., personal interview, March 1, 2017). Because the self-monitoring system can be influenced or bribed by profit seekers, insurgent planning is needed as a form of powerful civil intervention in hope of creating a more effective government-monitoring mechanism.

### **Representative Democracy and Speculative Urbanism**

The failure of representative democracy is another reason we need insurgent planning as an intervention for planning in Taiwan. Representative democracy is the product of neoclassical economics, which assumes that political decisions always allocate resource to serve delegated parties, competition of interest between private interests and public interests is always present (Besley & Coate, 1998; Maecy, 1993). When participatory planning in local government decisions fails to serve public interest, insurgent planning is necessary because it allows marginalized groups to exercise citizenship through direct confrontation with the authorities (Miraftab, 2012).

Representative democracy and the right to expropriate land through state of exception reflects how speculative urbanism and speculative forms of governance works in Taiwan. Speculative governance justifies suspending the rights of the people from below through state of exception, and use the land to create modernized forms of development such as industrial and urban use (Goldman, 2011). Speculative urbanism that is fueled by the urge to pursue capitalism, is then implemented through representative democracy that enables the powerful groups who can speak loudly at the decision-making table to affect the government's decisions and to attain private benefits.

### **Insurgency as a Counter-Hegemonic Force**

As speculative urbanism and representative democracy neglects opinion from the bottom of society, the government system by itself is unable to justly address issues regarding land expropriation. Building grassroots movements and insurgent practices is necessary for not only the people from the bottom, but also the common citizens, to constantly keep watch on the government's decisions. Therefore, insurgent planning practices should be developed as a social tool to exercise citizenship as well as to monitor and contain the speculative urbanism that is

largely influenced by the interest of private corporations. The government will be more cautious if the public can react whenever the government makes decisions that harm collective interests of the public at large, including the marginalized majority. Citizens' movements employing insurgent planning practices challenge the way the government legitimize its policies and regulations, which often favor the private interests of a small but powerful group of beneficiaries.

Miraftab (2009) also suggested that social movements, based on her concept of insurgent planning, will act as counter-hegemonic forces against the government and the capitalist mind. With insurgent planning, the capitalist values that the urban citizens take for granted may be questioned and challenged. Counter-hegemonic forces would not only challenge the dominant values, but they also create social awareness and a new set of values that draws upon the values of the oppressed. In the Wanbao Community case, insurgent planning was practiced by those who suffered from land expropriation; it then caught the attention of media, which communicated seemingly "new" ideas to the public. Through this process, the opinions from the people who suffer from the actual harm of land expropriation will be heard, and the urban citizens may doubt the social and political norms that were created through values of capitalism.

Once the people in the society care about land expropriation, the government will be more cautious when making such decisions. An interview with Professor Lin (2017), a member of the central government review board, helps to show how insurgency can be an effective tool in Taiwan's political environment. She stated that recent controversy regarding land expropriation has amplified the flaws in unjust expropriation cases, causing the review board to become extra cautious in reviewing expropriation projects. Although the Land Expropriation Act itself has not yet been fundamentally revised (or abandoned), insurgent planning movements have already made an impact in government legislative systems.

#### **5.4 Between Invited and Invented Spaces**

Wanbao Community's struggle demonstrates the failure of representative democracy and why insurgent planning is needed to reverse undesirable outcomes. As an example, the formal communication channel provided by the local government, in this case is the public hearing that represents democracy, failed to function properly. The local government deceived the central government by claiming almost all local landowners agreed to the land expropriation project. In fact, the local government never invited local farmers or landowners to public meetings, nor did they release any information regarding the expropriation project. As a response, the farmers of Wanbao Community organized protest to the central government. As the case caught the central government's attention, the review process of Wanbao's expropriation project was immediately halted and was not resumed before the dispute was resolved.

An important concept of insurgent planning, as stated by Miraftab (2009, 2017a; Ay & Miraftab, 2016) is the ability to move fluidly across and between invited and invented spaces of insurgent citizenship. Wanbao Community's resistance process is evidence that people who have been excluded from the decision-making process can move between invited and invented platforms. The farmers created protest as invented space. After the protest caught the eye of the central government, the review process (the invited space) was halted and later resumed with more cautious examination regarding the feasibility of the project and local opinion. In these later government review meetings, key leaders who represented the voice of Wanbao Community managed to attend and express their thoughts. Although the time for the key leaders to express is very limited, with careful organizing and rehearsal prior to the meetings, as described in Chapter 4, the farmers managed to convey their thoughts powerfully within that limited amount of time. These farmers utilized both invented and invited spaces,



interchangeably, to express their needs when a threat was posed against them. Shifting across and between these two spaces whenever needed helped those who did not have decision-making power to maximize their resources and opportunities to express their minds; the invented spaces were thus transformed into formal spaces of governance to exercise their power of citizenship through insurgent planning.

In Wanbao Community's case, this example stood as evidence of how farmers (the oppressed group of the society) can, with clear objectives and political knowledge, influence meetings held by political elites. According to my interview with an anonymous worker who helped to review land expropriation projects for the central government, NGOs and civilians who spoke in government meetings were very acquainted with expropriation issues and were well-organized and determined (2017). Chances are that these people's opinions had major influence on the final decisions of these meetings. In this case, insurgent planning created an opportunity to achieve a more bottom-up planning approach that changed the power structure regarding planning decisions.

## **5.5 An Alternative Future**

After Wanbao Community succeeded in resisting land expropriation on April 14, 2011, Lady Hung added that, as the government of a democratic country, the Taiwanese government has a lot to improve: it took 3 years and 14 times away from work (to protest in Taipei) for the farmers in Wanbao Community to stop the unreasonable and unjust land expropriation. The rejection of the land expropriation project of Wanbao Community was, however, a milestone of improvement for the fight against unjust land expropriation that had grown roots in the Taiwanese government's political strategy for decades. It also demonstrated how insurgent

planning might be a feasible strategy to resist injustice and to achieve genuine public participation.

### **Development as Violence**

Land expropriation in Taiwan can be seen as a social crisis caused by the legitimization of the pursuit of capitalism at all costs. When capitalism dominates the consciousness of the government and the urban citizens, it will further worsen the life of the disenfranchised, who do not have access to benefits from the free market, in this case the farmers. Sally Sargeson (2013) uses the term “violence as development” to explain how the political structure can violently justify its need of development in rural areas of China by promoting public benefits while, on the other hand, deprecating rural values as “institutionally insecure, disorderly, economically under-productive and incompatible with modernity” (p. 1063). That is, when capitalism legitimizes development, it also legitimizes the violence that is embedded in local policies and development. This legitimation of violence as development may also be useful in understanding unjust land expropriation in rural Taiwan, where the intention to pursue capitalist forms of development at all costs destroys farmers’ livelihood and neglects rural values.

### **Insurgent Planning as an Alternative to Violence**

*“Why is development the only way for a better future?”*

*—Lady Hung, July 28, 2016*

As discussed in Section 4.2, different life experiences lead to the inability of the urban citizens and the authorities to walk in a farmer’s shoes. This inability helped authorities to sugar-coat and legitimize the need for development, concealing the pure violence behind it. Without insurgent planning, the authorities’ and the farmers’ imaginations of land will always be two parallel lines that never meet. During many times of protest, Lady Hung kept asking the

government, “Why is development the only way for a better future?” Here, Lady Hung refers to development as a violent process driven by the capitalist state in pursuit of imagined benefits. Even though Lady Hung often speaks in Taiwanese, she always says the word “development” in Mandarin. I argue the reason for switching language is that she does not think of agriculture as a form of development, which in most cases, development refers to upgrading or transforming current use. Based on this observation, the use of different language when saying the word “development” demonstrates different experience in life. Taiwanese is a language more familiar to Lady Hung that she uses casually and naturally, so saying the word “development” in Mandarin refers to how “development” is detached from her life experience, and that she’s also making a violent and abrupt intervention onto her natural language.

To the farmers in Wanbao Community, farmland represents a way of life, and they are very dependent on it. Lady Hung said to me, “You can live without money and development, but everyone needs to eat.” This language echoes what was discussed in Chapter 4 regarding the value of farmland as a livelihood, so that the resistance to land expropriation cannot be seen as a strictly emotional decision. Farmers’ opposition to land expropriation is rather an action to protect a form of livelihood that is practical, not merely imagined. Throughout the resistance process, the farmers in Wanbao Community were fighting for an alternative future, a future in which they believe that, even if capitalism comes to an end, farming communities would still stand strong and independent, supporting themselves and the Taiwanese people.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

Through representative democracy, invited spaces for citizens’ action are inefficient and fail to solve problems regarding land expropriation. These formalized invited spaces are, moreover, often inaccessible to the underrepresented, who are most affected by land expropriation

decisions. Insurgent planning is a form of radical planning approach to facilitate an effective space and impactful means of action between the people from below and the dominant public and private organizations from above. Without insurgent planning practices that draw on both invited and invented spaces of action as needed, the authorities' and the farmers' future imaginations of land use would be two parallel lines that could never meet—and the authorities' position would almost certainly prevail. Therefore, the violence behind expropriation has been legitimized through the dominant values of capitalism, which lead to undesirable social consequences. Insurgent planning also serves as a counter-pressuring force that helps to fix the self-monitoring system designed by the government. An interviewee who helped to review land expropriation for the central government testifies that NGOs' opinions in public meetings profoundly influence the result of the meetings if they are well prepared (Anonymous, personal interview, March 8, 2017). Moving fluidly across and between invited and invented spaces of citizenship practice enables the farmers, as the socially oppressed, to maximize resource and opportunities during the resistance process.



Figure 5.1 Lady Hung in her field of sweet potatoes. *Source: photo taken by author.*

## Chapter 6: Conclusion

Great decision-making power lies in the hands of government at all levels, further influenced by private profit seekers who participate in the capitalist system. Seizing private property through the exercise of the Land Expropriation Act is made possible by the implementation of state of exception referred to by Agamben (2005). The subjects of the state of exception in this case are the Taiwanese farmers, who form the socially marginalized group as they participate in the seemingly “backward” agricultural economy. Though unconstitutional, the pursuit of capitalism legitimizes land expropriation and the violence behind development. In addition, the “state of exception” allows the Taiwanese government to suspend constitutional rights of the landowners without much opposition from the urban citizens, who share many of the capitalist beliefs about value.

Social sacrifice resulted from land expropriation can be considered as a failure of capitalism and representative democracy. Without careful examination of economic capacity, farmlands are being arbitrarily expropriated merely to pursue capitalism and to serve the interest of private profit seekers. Rural lands that were fertile and could have served a diverse purpose of sustaining livelihoods have been turned into “dead land”—idle land kept for speculation purposes (Sassen, 2014, p. 149). Participatory planning as it functions under representative democracy fails to allow public participation during the decision-making process regarding land expropriation. The overwhelming power to expropriate land is in the hands of the local government without an effective monitoring system to constrain it.

To the farmers in Wanbao Community, rural farmland is a livelihood instead of a commodity; its true value cannot be evaluated by the monetary system in the marketplace. The attachment between farmers and their farmland that has been passed down for generations is

irreplaceable and unique. Resistance to expropriation, then, should not be seen as a reasonable and just act that fights for sustaining a livelihood—much more reasonable than pursuing the imagined benefits that are sometimes promised but not always realized under the capitalist system. Also, the different valuation that urban inhabitants and political elites give to rural lands has a fundamental influence on how they view land expropriation. For the government authority and corporate interests, expropriating rural land is a convenient way to acquire money by the buy-low-sell-high process. For other urban citizens, land expropriation and development represents potential social and economic improvement.

Without insurgent planning, the authorities', urban citizens', and the farmers' imagination regarding future land use are like parallel lines. Insurgency, however, allows the farmers to directly confront the authority and express their determination to resist land expropriation. Insurgency also provides the opportunity to challenge the planning system that merely serves the interest of social elites. With strong social bonding, political knowledge, and previous mobilization experience, Wanbao Community was able to mobilize quickly and develop useful strategies at critical moments that led to successful resistance. The resistance of Wanbao Community initially took place in invented spaces, and was able to eventually open government meetings to citizens' participation. This process shows how citizens can open up invited spaces to authentic citizen participation through the use of invented spaces.

The successful resistance of Wanbao Community is evidence of how insurgent planning could serve as an alternative solution to land expropriation in Taiwan. Although the unjust Land Expropriation Act has not yet been fundamentally revised or abandoned, the central government review boards have become more cautious when reviewing projects regarding expropriation. Furthermore, insurgent planning expands the imagination of future land use of the insurgents. It

allows them to imagine a more promising future, one that may not even include the capitalist systems. As Lady Hung often says, “You can live without money, but everyone needs to eat.”

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

For further research regarding insurgent practices, I recommend more “on the ground” research regarding ongoing social movements in Taiwan to construct a rich repertoire of effective mobilization and investigate the following: (1) How can people effectively utilize invited and invented space to negotiate with the government? (2) How is the local government changing in responding to such insurgent practices and how can the oppressed groups adapt to these changes? (3) How is it possible for planners to help start a successful mobilization and advocate for the oppressed if no strong social bonding exists within a community? And (4) How can we pass on knowledge of successful insurgent practices to one another for more effective future mobilizations? Answering these questions with more examples on local mobilization experience would generate a more objective view of how insurgent planning practices can be utilized more effectively in Taiwan and elsewhere, not just for farmers, but also for other oppressed groups.



## References

- Agamben, G. (2005). State of exception. *Nova srpska politička misao*, 12(1+ 4), 135-145.
- Agamben, G. (1998). Homo sacer: Sovereign power and bare life. *Stanford University Press*.
- Anonymous. (2017). Personal interview with government worker by author. March 8, 2017.
- Ay, D., & Miraftab, F. (2016). Invented Spaces of Activism: Gezi Park and Performative Practices of Citizenship. In *The Palgrave Handbook of International Development* (pp. 555-574). Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Bello, W. F. (2003). *De-Globalization: ideas for a new world economy*. Zed.
- Bollens, Scott A. (2002). Urban Planning and Intergroup Conflict: Confronting a Fractured Public Interest. *JAPA*, 68, 1:22-42.
- Besley, T., & Coate, S. (1998). Sources of Inefficiency in a Representative Democracy: A Dynamic Analysis. *The American Economic Review*, 88(1), 139-156.
- Butler, J. (2004). *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. Verso.
- Chang, D. P. (2010). 灣寶農民戰役. *TEIA, Taiwan Environmental Information Center*. Retrieved from <http://e-info.org.tw/node/57229>
- Chen, C. L., (2011). 徵收之憲法拘束：以「私用徵收」的違憲審查為中心. *National Taiwan University Law Journal*. 40(3): 1030-1031.
- Chen, L.F. (2010). 土地徵收補償合理性審查之研究. *Judicial Yuan*. Retrieved from <http://www.judicial.gov.tw/work/work03/土地徵收補償合理性審查之研究.pdf>
- Chen, Y. H., (2012). 加入 WTO 後台灣農業之轉型發展. *Agriculture Policy & Review*. Retrieved from <http://www.coa.gov.tw/ws.php?id=4270>
- Chen, Y. X. (2009). 苗栗灣寶社區綠色的根-反後龍科技園區為例. *Taiwan Academy of Ecology*. Retrieved from <http://ecology.org.tw/publication/25/25-p.39.htm>
- Chou, M., (2010). 土地「利益」傷害自然之母—小農在新自由主義下的掙扎. *The New Messenger*. 120: 27-31.
- Chou, C. Y. (2012 May 17). 【社會事】三大科學園區 填不滿的錢坑. *The Journalist*. Retrieved from <http://www.new7.com.tw/NewsView.aspx?i=TXT20120516174650V1G>
- Chu, S. J. (2015, October 27). 朱淑娟專欄：都委會就是要審土地徵收必要性，不然要幹嘛？ *Storm.mg*. Retrieved from <http://www.storm.mg/article/70319>
- Chung Y. M., (2010). 現行土地徵收制度之評析. *Land Issues Research Quarterly*. 9(4): 60.
- Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan of Taiwan. (2015). Retrieved from <http://agrstat.coa.gov.tw/sdweb/public/indicator/Indicator.aspx>.
- Court Decision 47 of Taichung Superior Court. (2012). 臺中高等行政法院 101 年度訴更一字第 47 號判決：徵收為最後不得已的手段. Retrieved from <http://www.taiwan921.lib.ntu.edu.tw/mypdf/AG007B.pdf>
- Department of Civil Affairs. (n.d.). 我國地方制度概況. Retrieved from [http://www.moi.gov.tw/dca/02place\\_001.aspx](http://www.moi.gov.tw/dca/02place_001.aspx)

- Department of Civil Affairs, Taipei City Government. (2017). Statistics. Retrieved from <http://ca.gov.taipei/np.asp?ctNode=39097&mp=102001>
- Department of Land Administration, M.O.I. (n.d.). 徵收業務. Retrieved from <https://www.land.moi.gov.tw/chhtml/landfaq1.asp?fqid=811&cid=2>
- Department of Statistics, M.O.I. (2016). 內政統計查詢網. Retrieved from <http://www.moi.gov.tw/stat/>.
- Evans, P. B., Rueschemeyer, D., & Skocpol, T. (1985). *Bringing the state back in*. Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. (1990). *The History of Sexuality* (Vol. 1). Vintage, New York.
- Friedmann, J. (2002) *The Prospect of Cities*. Minneapolis/London: University of Minnesota Press.
- Friedmann, J. (2011). *Insurgencies: Essays in Planning Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- Gallin, B. (1963). Land reform in Taiwan: its effect on rural social organization and leadership. *Human Organization*, 22(2), 109-112.
- Goldman, M. (2011). Speculative urbanism and the making of the next world city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 35(3), 555-581.
- Grant, J. (2005). Rethinking the public interest as a planning concept. *Plan Canada*, 45(2), 48-50.
- Harvey, D. (1999). "Frontiers of Insurgent Planning" *Plurimondi* 1 (2): 269–86.
- Harvey, D. (2011). *The enigma of capital: and the crises of capitalism*. Profile Books.
- Harvey, D. (2014). *Seventeen contradictions and the end of capitalism*. Oxford University Press (UK).
- Harvey, D. (2014) David Harvey: The Right to the City and Urban Resistance @ Fortaleza. (english). November 17th 2014. speech video: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vjyLWMSZ2nY&t=2445s>. Accessed Mar 3<sup>rd</sup> 2017.
- He, X. J. (2015, June 9). 【今周刊】台灣的土地徵收面積是日本的10倍！*Apple Daily*. Retrieved from <http://www.appledaily.com.tw/realtimenews/article/new/20150609/625523/>
- Healey, P. (2012). The universal and the contingent: Some reflections on the transnational flow of planning ideas and practices. *Planning Theory*, 11(2), 188-207.
- Hirschman, A. O. (1984). *Getting ahead collectively: grassroots experiences in Latin America*. New York: Pergamon Press.
- Holston, J. (1995) 'Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship', *Planning Theory* 13: 35–52.
- Holston, J. (2008) *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Homemakers Union Consumers Co-op. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.hucc-coop.tw/>
- Hsinchu Science Park. (2017). 竹科介紹. Retrieved from <http://www.sipa.gov.tw/>.
- Hsu, P. (2013). *A Study on Due Process of Law of Land Expropriation Procedure - Focusing on Land Expropriation Act*. (master's thesis). Retrieved from National Digital Library of Theses and Dissertations in Taiwan.
- Hsu, S. J. (2016). *土地正義：從土地改革到土地徵收，一段被掩蓋、一再上演的歷史*. Book Republic.
- Hsu, S. J. (2017). Personal interview with local planning expert by author on April 24, 2017.

- Hu, M. Q. (2015). *黏土，一段人與土地的簡史*. Acropolis.
- Hu, M. Q. (2016 January 28). 胡慕情／爐渣污染的進步判決. *The Reporter*. Retrieved from <https://www.twreporter.org/a/slag-judgment>
- Ito, T., & Krueger, A. O. (Eds.). (2007). *Regionalism versus multilateral trade arrangements* (Vol. 6). University of Chicago Press.
- Kao, P. S. (2013 August 20). 非理性抗爭阻礙協商進程. *United Daily News*. Retrieved from <http://www.npf.org.tw/printfriendly/12608>
- Kuo, W. Y. (1975). Income distribution by size in Taiwan area: Changes and causes. *Income distribution, employment and economic development in Southeast and East Asia, 1*, 80-146.
- Land Expropriation Act, §1-3 (2012). Retrieved from <http://law.moj.gov.tw/Eng/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?PCode=D0060058>.
- Lee, T. H. (1971). *Inter-sectoral Capital Flows in the Economic Development of Taiwan: 1895-1960*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- Lee, X. F. (1993). *台灣戰後初期的民意代表*. 台北自立報社文化出版部.
- Liao, J. H. (2010). 閒置工業區不用 苗栗縣府就是要徵收灣寶良田. *TEIA, Taiwan Environmental Information Center*. Retrieved from <http://e-info.org.tw/node/55450>.
- Lin, C. M. (2017). Personal interview with local planning expert by author on March 1, 2017.
- Lu, H. H. (2016 October 31). 打造台北華爾街 華光社區重啟規劃. *Chinatimes.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.chinatimes.com/newspapers/20161031000052-260202>
- Miaoli County Government Household Registration Service. (2017). 後龍鎮戶數、人口數詳細資料表. Retrieved from <http://mlhr.miaoli.gov.tw/tables2.php?unit=23>
- Ministry of Science and Technology. (2016). 園區分布圖說明. Retrieved from [https://www.most.gov.tw/folksonomy/detail?subSite=&l=ch&article\\_uid=6551f365-d098-4a73-84bf-750623629dd7&menu\\_id=d646fba1-72d2-4040-881a-8efd7dafcfb6&content\\_type=P&view\\_mode=listView](https://www.most.gov.tw/folksonomy/detail?subSite=&l=ch&article_uid=6551f365-d098-4a73-84bf-750623629dd7&menu_id=d646fba1-72d2-4040-881a-8efd7dafcfb6&content_type=P&view_mode=listView)
- Macey, J. (1993). Representative democracy. *Harvard Journal of Law & Public Policy*, 16(1), 49.
- Marques, E. (2012). Victoria A. Beard, Faranak Miraftab and Christopher Silver (eds.) 2008: *Planning and Decentralization—Contested Spaces for Public Action in the Global South*. New York: Routledge.
- Meir, A. (2005). “Bedouin, the Israeli State and Insurgent Planning: Globalization, Localization or Glocalization?” *Cities* 22 (3): 201–15.
- Meth, P. (2010). “Unsettling Insurgency: Reflections on Women's Insurgent Practices in South Africa.” *Planning Theory and Practice* 11 (2): 241–63.
- Miraftab, F. & Wills, S. (2005). ‘Insurgency and Spaces of Active Citizenship: The Story of Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign in South Africa’, *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 25(2): 200–17.
- Miraftab, F. (2006) ‘Feminist Praxis, Citizenship and Informal Politics: Reflections on South Africa’s Anti-Eviction Campaign’, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 8(2): 194–218.

- Miraftab, F., & McConnell, E. D. (2008). Multiculturalizing rural towns—insights for inclusive planning. *International Planning Studies*, 13(4), 343-360.
- Miraftab, F. (2009). Insurgent planning: Situating radical planning in the global south. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), 32-50.
- Miraftab, F. (2012). Planning and citizenship. *Oxford handbook of urban planning*, Oxford University Press, New York.
- Miraftab, F. (2017a). “Insurgent Practices and Decolonization of Future(s)” in Michael Gunder, Ali Madanipour, Vanessa Watson (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Planning Theory*.
- onYES. (2013 April 26). 仿效大學城 台師北醫大規劃為「大學生活圈」. Retrieved from <http://news.cnyes.com/news/id/1501113>
- Parnreiter, C. (2011). Commentary: toward the making of a transnational urban policy?. *Journal of Planning Education and Research*, 31(4), 416-422.
- Peng, M. H. (2013 July 9). 新自由主義 救不了台灣. *CommonWealth Magazine*. Retrieved from <http://www.cw.com.tw/article/article.action?id=5050326>
- Penz, P. et al. (2011). Defining displacement for and by development, Chapter 3 in *Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities* (pp. 41-59). Cambridge University Press.
- Roy, A. (2009). “Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization.” *Planning Theory* 8 (1): 76–87.
- Sandercock, L. (1998a) ‘Framing Insurgent Historiographies for Planning’, in L. Sandercock (ed.) *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*, pp. 1–33. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sandercock, L. (1998b). *Towards Cosmopolis*. New York: Wiley.
- Sargeson, S. (2013). Violence as development: land expropriation and China's urbanization. *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 40(6), 1063-1085.
- Sassen, S. (2010). A savage sorting of winners and losers: Contemporary versions of primitive accumulation. *Globalizations*, 7(1-2), 23-50.
- Sassen, S. (2014). *Expulsions*. Harvard University Press.
- Stello, B. (2012). “Insurgent Planning and Its Interlocutors Studio Pedagogy as Unsanctioned Practice in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic.” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (33) 2: 228–40.
- Sweet, E., and M. Chakars. (2010). “Identity, Culture, Land, and Language: Stories of Insurgent Planning in the Republic of Buryatia, Russia.” *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 30 (2): 198–209.
- Taiwan Cons. Art. 15. (1947). Constitution of Taiwan. Retrieved from: <http://db.lawbank.com.tw/FLAW/FLAWDAT0201.aspx?lsid=FL000001>
- Taiwan RTA & WTO Center. (2015) Retrieved from <http://web.wtcenter.org.tw/Dictionary.aspx?pid=11>
- Taiwan Rural Front. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.taiwanruralfront.org/>

- Tsai, J. Y. (2007). 加入WTO前後台灣農業勞動力變動分析. *Council of Agriculture, Executive Yuan of Taiwan*. Retrieved from <http://www.coa.gov.tw/ws.php?id=12427>
- Umemoto, Karen. (2001). Walking in Another's Shoes: Epistemological Challenges in Participatory Planning. *JPER*, 21(1) 17-31.
- UN-Habitat (2009). *Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements 2009*. London, Earthscan.
- UN General Assembly, United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 2758, Restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations, 25 October 1971. Retrieved from <http://www.refworld.org/docid/4c49a02c2.html>
- U.S. Census Bureau. (2015). U.S. and World Population Clock. Retrieved from <https://www.census.gov/popclock/>
- Wey, W. M., & Hsu, J. (2014). New urbanism and smart growth: toward achieving a smart National Taipei University District. *Habitat International*, 42, 164-174.
- Wu, R. I. (2001). 加入WTO後對台灣經濟的影響. *新世紀智庫論壇*, 16, 116-117.
- World Trade Organization, WTO, (n.d.). Domestic support. Retrieved from [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/agric\\_e/ag\\_intro03\\_domestic\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/agric_e/ag_intro03_domestic_e.htm).
- Yamashita, K. (2006). Food and agriculture problems for Japan and the world in the twenty-first century. *Asia-Pacific Review*, 13(1), 1-15.
- Young, I. (1990). *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Zhao, W. H. (2000). 全球化對台灣經濟的挑戰與衝擊. *Taiwan Economic Research Monthly*. 23(8). 24-30.
- Zimbalist, A., & Sherman, H. J. (2014). *Comparing Economic Systems: a political-economic approach*. Academic Press.