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25#18

Evaluating Participatory Planning

A case study of Taipei's urban regeneration projects

Hsinko Cinco Yu

This research examines the impact of participatory planning on the realisation of public interests in urban regeneration, establishing an analytical framework to assess how participation shapes spatial transformations. Focusing on Taipei, it investigates the roles of public and private actors, statutory participatory processes, and resulting spatial changes.

Two primary objectives guide the study: proposing a framework for assessing participatory processes and spatial outcomes and analysing Taipei's diverse urban regeneration approaches—private-led, public-led, and social housing as a regeneration strategy. Six key questions explore literature on participation, evaluation indicators, policy evolution, implementation practices, spatial influences, and the effects of statutory methods like public hearings.

Grounded in communicative planning thought, the research introduces the Inclusive Radar, adapted from Fung's Democracy Cube, with axes for Participant, Communication and Decision-Making, Authority and Power, and Spatial Transformation. Employing case-study methodology, it integrates semi-structured interviews, site visits, meeting notes analysis, and cross-case comparisons.

Findings reveal property-owning stakeholders' dominance, marginalising non-property-owning stakeholders despite participatory processes. Private-led projects prioritise procedural compliance, public-led ones mediate via community planners but hinge on owners' consent, and social housing fosters distrust through ambiguous participation. Overall, structures favour property rights, sidelining broader public interests like accessible facilities and green spaces.

The study concludes that pre-assumed public interests restrict participation, with policy shifts emphasising property rights transfer and real-estate incentives. The Inclusive Radar offers a multidimensional tool for future applications, advocating policy reforms, capacity-building, and stronger public interest definitions to enhance inclusivity.

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Cover photo | This image, courtesy of the author and taken in 2018 in the city centre of Taipei, captures two young people using their smartphones to document the evolving urban landscape. In the foreground, aged high-rise residential blocks dominate the scene, marked by uniform façades and external air-conditioning units — remnants of an earlier phase of urban development. Framed between these older structures, the background reveals a skyline of newly constructed office towers and residential skyscrapers, symbolising the ongoing process of urban regeneration.The juxtaposition in this image highlights a temporal and generational contrast: while regeneration projects are ostensibly designed for future generations, these very generations are often excluded from meaningful participation in planning and decision-making processes. Despite their evident curiosity and engagement — as seen in their act of recording the city — they remain largely overlooked in both research and planning dialogues. This image, on the one hand, reflects a central concern of this PhD research: the role of participatory planning in urban regeneration. On the other hand, it also illuminates a promising avenue for future inquiry that extends beyond the scope of this study — the meaningful inclusion of those future generations in the process of spatial planning.

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Evaluating Participatory Planning

A case study of Taipei's urban regeneration projects

Dissertation

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Dr. L. Huang	National Taiwan University
Dr. J. Hou	National University of Singapore

This book is dedicated to the memory of Prof. Endoh Yasuhiro (延藤安弘)—
our spiritual mentor for participatory planning and design, the best at storytelling,
a most creative architect, and a true master of humour.

本書は、参加型の計画とデザインにおける私たちの精神的指導者であり、
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そしてユーモアの真の達人であった延藤安弘先生のご遺徳を偲んで捧げるものです。

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Summary

Focus

This research examines the impact of participatory planning on the realisation of public interests in urban regeneration. It establishes an analytical framework to assess how participation shapes the spatial transformations driven by regeneration practices. Focusing on Taipei, the study investigates the roles of public and private actors, statutory participatory processes, and the resulting urban changes.

The study addresses a key gap in academic discourse by exploring participatory urban regeneration in East Asian contexts, particularly in rapidly urbanising and newly democratised countries. In contrast to the well-documented urban renewal practices in post-war Western cities—which evolved from large-scale redevelopment to more community-focused regeneration—Taipei presents a unique case for examining the relationship between participation and spatial development within a different socio-political setting.

This research seeks to understand whose interests are prioritised in urban regeneration, who holds decision-making power, and how these factors shape urban spaces. Two primary objectives guide this research: first, to propose a framework for systematically assessing participatory processes and spatial outcomes; and second, to analyse Taipei's diverse urban regeneration approaches.

The research is guided by six key questions. The first two overreaching questions aim to construct research framework and methodology: (1) How does existing literature characterise the role of participatory planning in promoting urban regeneration aligned with public interests? (2) Which indicators can be used to evaluate the influence of participatory planning in urban regeneration?

Answers to the next sub-question aim to provide a contextual foundation for Taipei's regeneration policies: (3) How has Taipei's urban regeneration policy framework evolved?

Subsequent questions explore participatory practices across the case studies: (4) How is participatory planning implemented across different approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei? (5) What influence does participation have on the spatial outcomes across different approaches? (6) To what extent do statutory participatory methods, such as public hearings and meetings, affect the level and quality of public engagement?

The study compares three types of projects: private-led, public-led, and social housing as a regeneration strategy.

Research Framework and Methodology

This research is grounded in communicative planning thought (Healey, 1999; Innes, 1998; McGuirk, 2001; Sager, 2017), focusing on how participatory approaches integrate power dynamics and shape publicness of interests by integrating diverse stakeholders' interests.

In this research, spatial transformation of urban regeneration serves as a key metric for assessing public interest. Projects involving public spaces engage multiple stakeholders and attract public attention, contrasting with private renovations that generally receive less attention (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016). A framework that integrates spatial dimensions and public interest representation is particularly related to assess whether urban regeneration initiatives are inclusive, accessible, and reflective of community needs, creating spaces that foster collective well-being.

In order to describe and assess participation, in chapter 3, this research introduces the Inclusive Radar, an analytical framework adapted from the Democracy Cube (Fung, 2006), depicted as a radar diagram. The Inclusive Radar is formed by four key axes—Participant; Communication and Decision-Making; Authority and Power; and Spatial Transformation. It measures the degree of influence based on the position of indicators along these axes, with the degree increasing as the intersection point moves further from the centre.

The *participant axis* measures inclusivity levels in urban regeneration. This research adapts Fung's classification by incorporating property ownership among residents as a criterion. In the context of Taipei, an indicator is added: 'non-property-owning stakeholders'. Accordingly, 'property-owning stakeholders' comprise both owner-occupiers and absentee landlords, while 'non-property-owning stakeholders' refer to neighbourhood residents without property in the regeneration area.

The *communication and decision-making axis* addresses the intensity of interaction. As communication becomes more complex and frequent, the indicators shift outward, signalling a more dynamic participatory process.

The *authority and power axis* captures participants' decision-making impact. It ranges from limited power, where participants' influence is negligible, to full decision-making authority, indicating genuine power-sharing.

The *spatial transformation axis* assesses how public interests are addressed through the sort of spaces discussed and created within urban regeneration projects: involving only property owners often leads to more private spaces, while including a wider range of participants—including those without property—results in more public and inclusive spaces.

This research deploys case-study research as a primary methodology to explore complex real-life phenomena from multiple perspectives. It integrates various methods and empirical evidence to capture detailed accounts of events, timelines, and stakeholder experiences (Simons, 2014). By conducting cross-case comparisons, it uncovers comparative insights that reveal both shared patterns and notable differences in urban regeneration practices in Taipei.

By countering 'methodological individualism' (Purkarthofer & Stead, 2023), it examines broader contexts and collective processes. In studying urban regeneration, this approach considers legal frameworks, property rights, governance shifts, and stakeholder interactions.

The selection of interviewees for this research was informed by an initial review of policy and planning documents, identifying key decision-makers, including government officials and members of urban renewal committees. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with these individuals, alongside site visits and direct interactions with residents to capture perspectives not documented in official records. During the Covid-19 pandemic, some interviews had to be conducted online. Additionally, meeting notes from public hearings, a key aspect of urban regeneration's participatory procedures, were analysed. These notes, accessible through municipal websites, relate to private-led urban regeneration projects from 2015-2019. The meeting minutes were coded for both participant identity and content to distil relevant data from over 2,000 statements across nearly 300 cases. This coding exercise was aligned with the study's four-axis analytical framework, essential for interpreting the sometimes unclear and unstructured data (Richards & Morse, 2012).

In chapter 4, the research explores Taipei's urban regeneration journey from early 20th-century Modernist planning to post-war housing shortages, culminating in 1960's central renewal. It reviews the 1950 policy infrastructure and subsequent frameworks guiding transformation, covering institutional structures, planning tools, and legal underpinnings. The research then identifies three key approaches: 'Private-led', 'Public-led', and 'Social Housing as a means of regeneration', highlighting their policy evolution, motivations, and broader socio-economic implications. This groundwork establishes the foundation for further case study.

Main Findings

In chapter 5 to 9, the research deploys the inclusive radar—Participants, Communication and Decision-making, Authority and Power, and Spatial Transformation—this research reveals a recurring pattern in Taipei's urban regeneration: property-owning stakeholders consistently dominate. The Urban Renewal Act (enacted in 1998 and latest amended in 2024), claims that urban regeneration is for overall public interests. However, it prioritises 'stakeholders owning property rights' and frames this dominance by granting legal authority to property owners and minimising the role of non-owners.

This is evident in the empirical findings that although there are participatory processes in different urban regeneration approaches, non-property owners are often overlooked, wherein property owners dominate discussions and non-owners remain marginalised. Moreover, even in cases where public hearings are introduced as an enhanced measure for participation, there is no strong evidence that the marginalisation of non-owners is reduced.

In private-led cases, the municipality's role is limited to ensuring procedural compliance, allowing developers and property owners to direct project outcomes. This marginalises those without property rights, forcing them to rely on legal avenues, petitions, or public events without any clear promise of influence. In public-led scenarios, such as the Si Wen Li III project, community planners at Taipei Housing and Urban Regeneration Centre, the agency commissioned by the municipality of Taipei, offer more continuous mediation, yet the final decisions still revolve around owners' consent. Thus, "communicative influence" mostly serves property rights, overshadowing broader community interests.

The "Social Housing as a Means of Regeneration" approach is distinct because it does not involve existing property owners. However, ambiguity over participant identification and the restrictive design of opinion polls create distrust.

Residents perceive the municipality as advancing pre-determined plans, generating both scepticism about social housing and NIMBY reactions.

Both private-led and public-led initiatives ultimately focus on increasing floor area and securing benefits for property owners. Public interests—such as the need for accessible facilities, green spaces, or broader urban integration—are frequently sidelined. Social housing projects, meanwhile, face local resistance if they are seen as imposed solutions lacking a wider strategic vision.

Overall, despite efforts to promote participation, statutory and practical structures continue to prioritise property owners, limiting the depth of inclusive engagement. In practice, new participation measures like public hearings have not made participation more equitable. These findings highlight a need for more comprehensive policy reforms, capacity-building for diverse stakeholders, and strategies that link local contexts to wider urban development goals.

Conclusion and reflection

The findings demonstrate that the public interest in an urban regeneration project is often presumed by the public sector before the planning process begins, which sets a pre-existing agenda and restricts participation.

In Taipei's context, participatory planning predominantly prioritises private interests, especially through property rights transfer (PRT). Although Taiwan's Urban Renewal Act cites "public interest" as a core objective, its undefined nature, coupled with a practice of demolishing older buildings for real-estate development, effectively favours property owners. Administrative and judicial support for their claims further amplifies this bias, and negotiations primarily revolve around their viewpoints, marginalising non-owner perspectives.

Policy developments in urban regeneration have shifted from state-led to private-led (in 1990s) and partially back to public-led approaches (after 2010s). Nevertheless, real-estate potential remains the core driver, motivating developers to pursue new construction. Most participation procedures focus on securing approval from property owners, who depend on government mechanisms to resolve conflicts with developers. Although the five-to-ten-year timeframe of a project offers opportunities for lengthy negotiations, it also reveals how protracted these processes can become. The research thus indicates that the strong emphasis on PRT and floor area incentives continues to narrow the interpretation of public interest in Taipei's urban regeneration.

Moreover, the city's predominantly private-led approach, which thrives on real estate incentives, grants property owners' considerable power in shaping outcomes. Even public-led initiatives largely mirror private-led methods, with only minimal provision for genuinely public uses—such as a limited number of social housing units. Consequently, the prevailing focus on ownership interests constrains more inclusive participatory processes.

Finally, the inclusive radar developed in the research contributes a multidimensional framework for examining and guiding participatory planning, connecting theoretical foundations with practical outcomes. Its help capture how engagement evolves and shapes urban spaces. Future studies could expand the radar's application, explore alternative governance models (including civil society and grassroots movements), and strengthen definitions of public interest to tackle persistent ambiguities in spatial planning.

As the research integrates communicative planning theory to examine both participatory processes and spatial outcomes, it acknowledges the risk of overlooking local nuances when transplanting Western-oriented frameworks. By treating communicative planning as a "mirror," it reflects the theory while recognising the challenges posed by environments with distinct communicative traditions.

Samenvatting

Focus

Dit onderzoek evalueert de impact van participatieve planning en realisatie van publieke belangen binnen de stadsvernieuwing. Het ontwikkelt een analytisch kader om te beoordelen hoe participatie bijdraagt ruimtelijke transformaties vorm te geven. Met Taipei als casus onderzoekt deze studie de rollen van publieke en private actoren, wettelijk verplichte participatieprocessen en hieruit volgende stedelijke transformaties.

De studie vult een belangrijke leemte in de academische discussie door participatieve processen in stadsvernieuwing in een Oost-Aziatische context te onderzoeken, met name in snel verstedelijkende en nieuw gedemocratiseerde landen. In tegenstelling tot de goed gedocumenteerde praktijken van stadsvernieuwing in naoorlogse Westerse steden—die evolueerden van grootschalige herontwikkeling naar meer gemeenschapsgerichte vernieuwing—biedt Taipei een unieke casus om de relatie tussen participatie en ruimtelijke ontwikkeling in een andere sociaal-politieke context te onderzoeken.

Dit onderzoek tracht te begrijpen wiens belangen worden voorgetrokken bij stadsvernieuwing: wie heeft beslissingsmacht en hoe vormen deze factoren stedelijke ruimtes? Twee primaire doelstellingen begeleiden dit onderzoek: ten eerste, een kader voorstellen om participatieprocessen en ruimtelijke resultaten systematisch te kunnen beoordelen; en ten tweede analyse van de verschillende stadsvernieuwingsstrategieën in Taipei.

Het onderzoek wordt geleid door zes kernvragen. De eerste twee overkoepelende vragen zijn gericht op het construeren van het onderzoekkader en methodologie: (1) Hoe karakteriseert de bestaande literatuur de rol van participatieve planning in het bevorderen van een stadsvernieuwing die aansluit bij publieke belangen? (2) Welke indicatoren kunnen worden gebruikt om de invloed van participatieve planning bij stadsvernieuwing te evalueren?

Antwoorden op de volgende subvragen beogen een contextuele basis te bieden voor het vernieuwingsbeleid van Taipei: (3) Hoe ontwikkelde en veranderde het beleidskader voor stadsvernieuwing in Taipei?

Hieraan verwante vragen onderzoeken de participatiepraktijken in casestudies: (4) Hoe is participatieve planning uitgevoerd binnen de verschillende benaderingen van stadsvernieuwing in Taipei? (5) Welke invloed heeft participatie op de ruimtelijke resultaten in deze verschillende benaderingen? (6) In hoeverre beïnvloeden wettelijke participatiemethoden, zoals openbare hoorzittingen en vergaderingen, het niveau en de kwaliteit van publieke betrokkenheid?

De studie vergelijkt drie soorten projecten: privaat geleide, publiek geleide en sociale huisvesting als vernieuwingsstrategie.

Onderzoekkader en Methodologie

Dit onderzoek is geworteld in het communicatieve planning denken (Healey, 1999; Innes, 1998; McGuirk, 2001; Sager, 2017), met een focus op hoe participatieve benaderingen machtsdynamieken integreren en hoe deze de publieke aard van belangen vormgeven door belangen van diverse stakeholders te integreren.

In dit onderzoek dient ruimtelijke transformatie bij stadsvernieuwing als belangrijke maatstaf voor het beoordelen van publieke belangen. Bij de ontwikkeling van publieke ruimten zijn veel verschillende stakeholders betrokken, onder grote publieke aandacht, in tegenstelling tot private renovaties die over het algemeen minder aandacht krijgen (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016). Een kader dat ruimtelijke dimensies en de representatie van publieke belangen integreert, is bijzonder relevant om te beoordelen of stadsvernieuwingsinitiatieven inclusief zijn, toegankelijk en afgestemd op gemeenschapsbehoeften, waardoor ruimtes worden gecreëerd die het collectief welzijn bevorderen.

Om participatie te beschrijven en te beoordelen, introduceert dit onderzoek in hoofdstuk 3 de Inclusive Radar, een analytisch kader geadapteerd van de Democracy Cube (Fung, 2006), weergegeven als een radardiagram. De Inclusive Radar bestaat uit vier assen—deelnemer; communicatie en besluitvorming; autoriteit en macht; en ruimtelijke transformatie. Het meet de mate van invloed op basis van de positie van indicatoren langs deze assen, waarbij de invloed toeneemt naarmate het snijpunt verder van het centrum verwijderd is.

De deelnemers-as meet niveaus van inclusiviteit bij stadsvernieuwing. Dit onderzoek past Fung's classificatie aan door eigendomsrechten van bewoners als criterium op te nemen. In de context van Taipei wordt een indicator toegevoegd: 'stakeholders zonder eigendomsrechten'. Hierbij vallen onder 'stakeholders met eigendomsrechten' zowel eigenaar-bewoners als verhuurders, terwijl 'stakeholders zonder eigendomsrechten' verwijst naar buurtbewoners zonder eigendom in het te vernieuwen gebied.

De communicatie- en besluitvormings-as behandelt de mate van interactie. Naarmate communicatie complexer en frequenter wordt, verschuiven de indicatoren naar buiten, wat een dynamischer participatieproces aangeeft.

De autoriteits- en machts-as betreft de beslissingsinvloed en impact van deelnemers. Deze varieert van beperkte macht, waarbij de invloed van deelnemers verwaarloosbaar is, tot volledige beslissingsautoriteit, wat echte machtsdeling aangeeft.

De ruimtelijke transformatie-as beoordeelt hoe publieke belangen worden aangepakt door de soorten ruimtes die worden besproken en gecreëerd binnen stadsvernieuwingsprojecten: betrokkenheid van alleen eigenaren leidt vaak tot meer private ruimtes, terwijl inclusie van een breder scala aan deelnemers—inclusief degenen zonder eigendom—resulteert in meer publieke en inclusieve ruimtes.

Dit onderzoek gebruikt casestudy-onderzoek als primaire methodologie om complexe real-life fenomenen vanuit meerdere perspectieven te verkennen. Het integreert diverse methoden en empirisch bewijs om gedetailleerde verslagen van gebeurtenissen, tijdlijnen en stakeholderervaringen vast te leggen (Simons, 2014). Door kruiselingse vergelijkingen laat het vergelijkingen zien die zowel gedeelde patronen alsook opvallende verschillen binnen de stadsvernieuwingspraktijken in Taipei blootleggen.

Door 'methodologisch individualisme' tegen te gaan (Purkarthofer & Stead, 2023), onderzoekt de bredere context en collectieve processen. Door stadsvernieuwing te bestuderen evalueert deze aanpak juridische kaders, eigendomsrechten, bestuur verschuivingen en stakeholderinteracties.

De selectie aan geïnterviewden voor dit onderzoek werd geïnformeerd via een initiële review van beleids- en planningsdocumenten, waarbij beslissingmakers werden geïdentificeerd, zoals overheidsfunctionarissen en leden van stadsvernieuwingscommissies. Er zijn semigestructureerde interviews afgenomen met hen, en er zijn locatiebezoeken en directe interacties met bewoners geweest om ook de verschillende perspectieven vast te leggen die niet in officiële verslagen te vinden zijn. Tijdens de Covid-19-pandemie moesten sommige interviews online worden uitgevoerd.

Daarnaast werden notulen van openbare hoorzittingen – een belangrijk aspect van de participatieprocedures bij stadsvernieuwing – geanalyseerd. Deze notulen, die toegankelijk zijn via gemeentelijke websites, hebben betrekking op privaat geleide stadsvernieuwingsprojecten in de periode 2015-2019. De notulen werden gecodeerd voor zowel deelnemersidentiteit als inhoud om relevante data te distilleren uit meer dan 2.000 uitspraken in bijna 300 gevallen. Deze codeeroefening werd afgestemd via het analytische kader met vier assen, wat essentieel is voor het interpreteren van soms onduidelijke en ongestructureerde data (Richards & Morse, 2012).

In hoofdstuk 4 is de ontwikkeling van stadsvernieuwing in Taipei onderzocht, van vroeg 20e-eeuwse modernistische planning tot naoorlogse woningtekorten, culminerend in de centrale vernieuwing van de jaren ‘60. Het beoordeelt de beleidsinfrastructuur van de jaren ‘50 en daaropvolgende kaders die de transformatie hebben geleid, waarbij institutionele structuren, planningsinstrumenten en juridische onderbouwing worden behandeld. Het onderzoek identificeert vervolgens drie sleutelbenaderingen: ‘privaat geleid’, ‘publiek geleid’ en ‘sociale huisvesting als middel voor vernieuwing’, waarbij de beleidsevolutie, motivaties en bredere sociaaleconomische implicaties worden belicht. Dit vormt de basis voor verdere casestudy’s.

Belangrijkste Bevindingen

Hoofdstukken 5 tot en met 9 beschrijven het onderzoek met behulp van de ‘Inclusive Radar—deelnemers, communicatie en besluitvorming, autoriteit en macht, en ruimtelijke transformatie—een terugkerend patroon in Taipei’s stadsvernieuwing: stakeholders met eigendomsrechten zijn consistent dominant. De Urban Renewal Act – ingevoerd in 1998 en voor het laatst gewijzigd in 2024 – stelt dat stadsvernieuwing in het algemeen publieke belang is. Echter, het geeft voorrang aan ‘stakeholders met eigendomsrechten’ en verankert deze dominantie door juridisch autoriteit te verlenen aan eigenaren en door de rol van niet-eigenaren te minimaliseren.

Uit de empirische bevindingen blijkt dat, ondanks de participatieprocessen in de verschillende benaderingen van stadsvernieuwing, de niet-eigenaren vaak over het hoofd worden gezien, waarbij eigenaren domineren en niet-eigenaren gemarginaliseerd blijven. Bovendien is er, zelfs in gevallen waar openbare hoorzittingen geïntroduceerd zijn als maatregel voor participatie, geen sterk bewijs dat de marginalisatie van niet-eigenaren minder wordt.

In individuele gevallen is de rol van de gemeente beperkt tot het waarborgen van procedurele conformiteit, waardoor ontwikkelaars en eigenaren projectresultaten kunnen sturen. Dit marginaliseert diegenen zonder eigendomsrechten, waardoor

ze gedwongen worden om te vertrouwen op juridische wegen, petities of publieke evenementen zonder duidelijke invloed. In publiek geleide scenario's, zoals het Si Wen Li III-project, bieden gemeenschapsplanners bij het Taipei Housing and Urban Regeneration Centre, een door de stad Taipei aangesteld agentschap, meer continue bemiddeling. Maar de uiteindelijke beslissingen draait nog steeds om de toestemming van eigenaren. Zo dient "communicatieve invloed" vooral eigendomsrechten, waardoor bredere gemeenschapsbelangen overschaduwd worden.

De "sociale huisvesting als middel voor vernieuwing" benadering is uniek omdat het geen bestaande eigenaren betreft. Echter, ambiguïteit over de identificatie van deelnemers en beperkingen in de opstelling van opiniepeilingen creëert wantrouwen. Bewoners zien de gemeente als voorstander van vooraf bepaalde plannen, wat zowel scepsis over sociale huisvesting als NIMBY-reacties opwekt.

Zowel privaat geleide als publiek geleide initiatieven richten zich uiteindelijk op het vergroten van vloeroppervlakte en het veiligstellen van voordelen voor eigenaren. Publieke belangen—zoals de behoefte aan toegankelijke voorzieningen, groene ruimtes of bredere stedelijke integratie—worden vaak naar de achtergrond geschoven. Sociale huisvestingsprojecten ondervinden tegelijkertijd lokale weerstand als ze worden gezien als opgelegde oplossingen die een bredere strategische visie missen.

Al met al, ondanks inspanningen om participatie te bevorderen, blijven wettelijke en praktische structuren eigenaren vooropstellen, waardoor de mate van inclusieve betrokkenheid wordt beperkt. In de praktijk hebben nieuwe participatiemaatregelen zoals openbare hoorzittingen de participatie niet rechtvaardiger gemaakt. Deze bevindingen benadrukken de noodzaak van meer uitgebreide beleidshervorming, capaciteitsopbouw voor diverse stakeholders en strategieën om de lokale context te verbinden met bredere stedelijke ontwikkelingsdoelen.

Conclusie en Reflectie

De bevindingen tonen aan dat het publieke belang in een stadsvernieuwingsproject vaak erkent is door de publieke sector voordat het planningsproces begint, wat een vooraf bepaalde agenda vastlegt en participatie beperkt.

In het geval van Taipei worden private belangen vaak voorgetrokken binnen participatieve planning, vooral via overdracht van eigendomsrechten (PRT). Hoewel de Urban Renewal Act van Taiwan "publiek belang" als objectief benoemt, wordt door de ongedefinieerde aard hiervan, in combinatie met de praktijk van het slopen van oudere gebouwen voor

vastgoedontwikkeling, effectief ten gunste van eigenaren. Administratieve en juridische ondersteuning voor hun claims versterkt deze bias verder. Onderhandelingen draaien voornamelijk om hun standpunten, waardoor niet-eigenaren worden gemarginaliseerd.

Beleidsontwikkelingen in stadsvernieuwing zijn verschoven van staat-geleid naar privaat-geleid (in de jaren '90) en gedeeltelijk terug naar publiek-geleide benaderingen (na de jaren '10). Desalniettemin blijft vastgoedpotentieel de belangrijkste drijfveer, wat ontwikkelaars motiveert om nieuwe bouwprojecten na te streven. De meeste participatieprocedures richten zich op het verkrijgen van goedkeuring van eigenaren, die afhankelijk zijn van overheidsmechanismen om conflicten met ontwikkelaars op te lossen. Hoewel de vijf- tot tienjarige tijdsduur van een project mogelijkheden biedt voor langdurige onderhandelingen, toont het ook aan hoe langdurig deze processen kunnen worden. Het onderzoek maakt dus duidelijk dat de sterke nadruk op PRT en vloeroppervlakte-incentives de interpretatie van het publiek belang in Taipei's stadsvernieuwing blijft vernauwen.

Bovendien bevoordeelt de overwegend privaat geleide aanpak van de stad, die floreert op vastgoedincentives, de al aanzienlijke macht van eigenaren. Zelfs publiek geleide initiatieven lijken grotendeels op privaat geleide methoden, met slechts minimale voorzieningen voor echt publiek gebruik—zoals een beperkt aantal sociale huisvestingseenheden. Daarom beperkt de heersende focus op eigendomsbelang de meer inclusieve participatieprocessen.

Ten slotte draagt de Inclusive Radar, ontwikkeld in dit onderzoek, een multidimensionaal kader aan voor het onderzoeken en begeleiden van participatieve planning, waarbij theoretische fundamenten kunnen worden verbonden met praktische resultaten. Dit helpt vast te leggen hoe betrokkenheid evolueert en de stedelijke ruimte vormgeeft. Toekomstige studies kunnen de toepassing van de radar uitbreiden, alternatieve governance-modellen verkennen (inclusief burgermaatschappij en grassroots-bewegingen) en definities van publiek belang versterken om hardnekkige ambiguïteiten in ruimtelijke planning aan te pakken.

Aangezien het onderzoek een communicatieve planningstheorie integreert waarmee het zowel participatieprocessen als de ruimtelijke resultaten evalueert, erkent dit het risico van het over het hoofd zien van lokale nuances bij het transplanteren van Westers georiënteerde kaders. Door communicatieve planning als "spiegel" te behandelen, reflecteert het de theorie terwijl het de uitdagingen erkent binnen omgevingen met verschillende communicatieve tradities.

摘要

研究焦點

本研究探討參與式規劃對都市更新中公共利益實現之影響，並建立分析框架以評估參與如何形塑更新實踐所驅動的空間轉化。研究以台北為核心案例，考察公私部門行為者、法定參與程序及衍生的都市變遷所扮演的角色。

本研究針對東亞情境（特別是快速都市化與新民主化國家）的參與式都市更新，填補了學術論述的重要缺口。相較於戰後西方城市已充分記載的都市更新實踐（其演進軌跡從大規模重建轉向更強調社區導向的再生），台北提供了一個獨特案例，得以在不同社會政治環境下檢視參與和空間發展的關係。

本研究旨在釐清：都市更新中哪些利益被優先考量？誰掌握決策權力？這些因素如何形塑都市空間？兩大核心目標引導研究：首先，提出系統性評估參與過程與空間成果的框架；其次，分析台北多元的都市更新途徑。

研究透過六項關鍵問題展開：前兩項總體問題旨在構建研究框架與方法論：（1）既有文獻如何描述參與式規劃在促進符合公共利益之都市更新中的角色？（2）哪些指標可用以評估參與式規劃對都市更新的影響？

後續子問題則為台北更新政策提供脈絡基礎：（3）台北都市更新政策框架如何演變？

其餘問題探討案例中的參與實踐：（4）台北不同都市更新途徑如何實施參與式規劃？（5）參與對不同途徑的空間成果產生何種影響？（6）法定參與方法（如公聽會、說明會及聽證會）對公眾參與程度與品質的影響為何？

研究比較三類案例：私人主導、公部門主導，以及以社會住宅作為更新策略的項目。

研究框架與方法論

本研究立基於溝通式規劃理論（Healey, 1999; Innes, 1998; McGuirk, 2001; Sager, 2017），聚焦參與方法如何整合權力動態。研究中，都市更新的空間轉化作為評估公共利益的關鍵指標。涉及公共空間的項目往往吸引多元利害關係人與公眾關注，與一般較少受到重視的私人改建形成對比（Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016）。整合空間維度

與公共利益表徵的框架，尤有助於評估更新計畫是否具包容性、可及性並反映社區需求，從而創造促進集體福祉的空間。

為描述與評估參與，第三章提出「包容性雷達」分析框架，改編自「民主立方體」（Fung, 2006），以雷達圖形式呈現。該框架由四大軸線構成——參與者、溝通與決策、權力與影響力、空間轉化，透過指標在軸線上的位置測量影響程度，離中心越遠則程度越高。

– 參與者軸線：衡量更新中的包容程度。本研究改編Fung的分類，納入居民產權作為標準，並新增「非產權利害關係人」指標（適用台北脈絡）。

– 溝通與決策軸線：評估互動強度，隨溝通複雜度與頻率提升，指標外移顯示動態參與過程。

– 權力與影響力軸線：捕捉參與者的決策影響，從影響力微弱到完整決策權的共享光譜。

– 空間轉化軸線：檢視公共利益如何透過更新項目的空間討論與創造被實現：僅納入產權持有者易導向私有化空間，而涵蓋更廣泛參與者（包括無產權者）則促成更具公共性與包容性的空間。

本研究採用案例研究作為核心方法論，從多元視角探究複雜現實現象（Simons, 2014），並透過跨案例比較揭示台北更新實踐中的共通模式與顯著差異。研究同時考察法律框架、產權結構、治理變遷與利害關係人互動等集體過程。

訪談對象的選取基於政策與規劃文件的初步審查，鎖定關鍵決策者（如政府官員與都市更新委員會成員），輔以半結構訪談、實地考察及居民互動，補足官方未紀錄的觀點。COVID–19疫情期間部分訪談改以線上進行。另分析2015–2019年間私人主導更新項目的行政聽證會議紀錄（取自市政網站），將近300個案例中的2,000餘條陳述按參與者身份與內容編碼，對應四軸框架以解構模糊非結構化數據（Richards & Morse, 2012）。

第四章梳理台北都市更新歷程，從20世紀初現代主義規劃、戰後住宅短缺到1960年代中心區更新，檢視1950年以降的政策基礎設施與演變，歸納三種途徑：「私人主導」、「公部門主導」與「社會住宅作為更新手段」，釐清其政策演進、動機與社經意涵，為後續案例研究奠基。

研究發現

第五至九章運用包容性雷達分析顯示：台北都市更新存在反覆模式——產權利害關係人持續主導。雖《都市更新條例》（1998年頒布，最新修正於2024年）宣稱更新基於公共利益，卻透過賦予產權者法定權力與弱化非產權者角色，鞏固此支配結構。

實證顯示：不同更新途徑雖有參與程序，非產權者仍遭忽視；即便引入公聽會作為強化參與措施，邊緣化現象未見顯著改善。私人主導案例中，市政府僅確保程序合規，由開發商與產權者主導成果，迫使非產權者依賴司法途徑或陳情等不具明確影響力的管道。公部門主導案例（如斯文里三期）雖有社區規劃師持續協調，最終決策仍取決於產權者同意，致使「溝通式影響力」大多服務產權利益，壓縮社區整體需求。

「社會住宅作為更新策略」的案例因不涉及既有產權者而特殊，但參與者界定模糊與意見調查的侷限性設計引發不信任，居民質疑市政府推行預設方案，加劇對社宅的疑慮與鄰避效應。

私人與公部門主導案最終多聚焦增加樓地板面積與產權者利益，可及設施、綠地或都市整合等公共利益常遭擱置；社宅項目若被視為缺乏戰略視野的強制方案，則引發地方抵制。整體而言，儘管推動參與，法定與實務結構仍優先產權者，限制包容性參與的深度——新參與措施（如聽證會）未實質提升公平性。這些發現凸顯需更全面的政策改革、利害關係人能力建構，以及連結地方脈絡與都市發展目標的策略。

結論與反思

研究顯示：都市更新的公共利益常在規劃啟動前即被公部門預設，形成既定議程並限縮參與。台北的參與式規劃實質優先私有利益（尤透過容積獎勵），而《都市更新條例》中未明確定義的「公共利益」，配合拆除老舊建築進行房地產開發的實踐，進一步強化產權者優勢。行政與司法對其主張的支持，以及以產權者觀點為核心的協商，持續邊緣化非產權者聲音。

台北更新政策從1990年代國家主導轉向私人主導，2010年代後部分回歸公部門主導，但房地產潛力仍是核心驅力。多數參與程序聚焦取得產權者同意，其依賴政府機制解決與開發商的衝突。長達5–10年的項目時程雖提供協商空間，卻也暴露程序的冗長特性。研究指出：容積獎勵的強勢地位持續窄化台北都市更新中公共利益的詮釋。

此外，台北以房地產誘因為主的私人主導模式，賦予產權者形塑成果的龐大權力；即便公部門主導案也大多仿效私人模式，僅極少數納入真正公共用途（如少量社宅單位）。這種對產權利益的過度聚焦，制約了更具包容性的參與進程。

最後，本研究開發的包容性雷達提供多維度框架，串聯理論基礎與實踐成果，有助追蹤參與如何演進並形塑都市空間。未來研究可擴展雷達應用、探索替代治理模型（含公民社會與草根運動），並強化公共利益定義以解決空間規劃中持續的模糊性。

研究雖整合溝通式規劃理論檢視參與過程與空間成果，亦承認移植西方框架可能忽略在地脈絡的風險。透過將該理論視為「鏡像」，本研究既反映其論點，亦辨識不同溝通傳統環境所帶來的挑戰

1 Introduction

1.1 Setting the scene

1.1.1 Why is participation essential in urban regeneration?

Urban regeneration has historically evolved through pivotal moments in planning. For example, post-war urban renewal in cities began as a complex response to social and economic shifts. Confronted with deteriorating infrastructure, shifting populations, and economic disparities, city governments initially opted for large-scale, top-down developments. However, two key shifts have redefined this approach: a move towards smaller, community-focused projects that resonate with everyday life and a stronger emphasis on involving communities in the decision-making process.



Illustration from pro-development comic book published by the Boston Chamber of Commerce, 1958.

FIG. 1.1 Pro-Development in the West End Cartoon (1958) (Source: Mugar Memorial Library, Boston University, https://hum54-15.omeka.fas.harvard.edu/exhibits/show/westendmuseum/item/579)

In the United States, the post-World War II era marked a significant turning point in urban planning. Economic growth and demographic shifts (Teaford, 2016) encouraged the migration of residents and businesses to suburbs, facilitated by the rise of the automobile. This 'great city-to-suburb migration' (Suarez, 1999) transformed metropolitan areas but left inner cities in a state of decline. In response, urban renewal projects in the 1970s sought to revitalise city centres, replacing deteriorated areas with new functions, such as convention centres and office buildings.

However, this approach soon attracted criticism. Some, including Jane Jacobs, argued that these projects often neglected the needs of residents and intensified existing social issues, particularly racial and economic disparities. In her influential work, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), Jacobs denounces these 'anti-city' policies for dismantling inner-city communities and undermining local economies (Jacobs, 1993). She advocates for the importance of 'foot people' – those who live, work, and socialise within walkable neighbourhoods – as essential to a vibrant urban life. Her work spurred a shift in urban planning, encouraging practices that are more attuned to the needs of local communities.

Amsterdam's urban renewal and community backlash

In the same period, Amsterdam encountered similar challenges within its own unique social and political context. The Wederopbouwplan Nieuwmarktbuurt (Nieuwmarkt Rebuild Plan) of the 1950s aimed to modernise the city centre through extensive commercial development, infrastructure upgrades, and the construction of a new metro line. This plan necessitated large-scale demolitions, targeting historic buildings and the urban fabric (the pattern of building blocks and streets) of the Nieuwmarkt and Waterlooplein neighbourhoods.

The drastic nature of these redevelopment plans sparked widespread public opposition, exposing a critical divide between technocratic, top-down planning approaches and the needs of local communities. Protesters argued that the plan disregarded the human scale and community needs, prioritising economic growth over social cohesion. This public backlash led to a re-evaluation of Amsterdam's planning strategy by the mid-1970s. The city abandoned several radical redevelopment initiatives and reformed its planning institutions, notably reducing the influence of the powerful municipal public works department, Dienst der Publieke Werken.

In response to community concerns, architects Aldo van Eyck and Theo Bosch designed a revised plan for the Nieuwmarktbuurt, focusing on small-scale, mixed-use redevelopment that respected the existing urban fabric. This approach promoted a blend of residential and commercial spaces, highlighting inclusivity and neighbourhood identity over the large-scale modernisation typical of earlier plans (Het Nieuwe Instituut, 1970; Pruijt, 2004; Schoonenberg, 2013). This shift towards community-sensitive planning marked an important step in the evolution of urban renewal in Amsterdam.



FIG. 1.2 Aerial photo of the Nieuwmarkt area in 1975 (Photography: G. Jaeger, 1975. Source: Collectie NAi, BOSC_f69)

The examples from the United States and the Netherlands reveal the critical role of community participation in urban regeneration. The US experience, particularly through the critiques and insights of scholars like Jane Jacobs, underscores the shift from traditional urban renewal to more community-centred, responsive strategies. Amsterdam's story takes the understanding of the relationship between urban renewal and urban planning one step further. Nowadays, the city is widely recognised as a critical example of urban planning and enjoys a high reputation. Yet, it has evolved according to a series of events spearheaded by conflicting forces in planning since the 1960s (see Feddes, 2012; Wagenaar, 2011). On one side were professional planners advocating top-down modernist principles like functional zoning, large-scale investments, and boulevard designs. Opposing them were citizens demanding 'intense participation' in the planning process. While neither side fully prevailed, substantial changes emerged. The plan for complete demolition was halted, and the traditional planning approach was modified. Planners had to adapt gradually to a new era of increased public engagement.

This transition from a top-down approach to more participatory planning indicates an increased awareness of the complexities associated with urban regeneration. Regardless of whether it is referred to as urban renewal or urban regeneration, there is a growing recognition of the multifaceted challenges of urban transformations. Contemporary urban regeneration strategies now acknowledge the importance of balancing economic benefits with the daily experiences of city dwellers, integrating their participation in the planning process. Similar challenges and approaches have shaped urban regeneration efforts in other cities, including Taiwan, where distinctive dynamics further illustrate the role of community engagement in sustainable urban transformation.

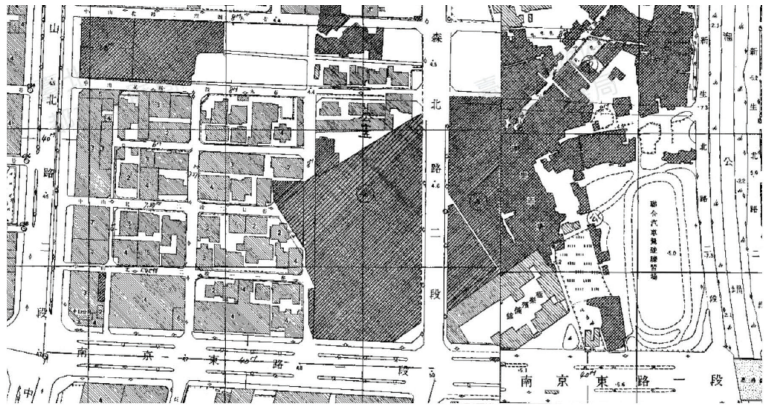
1.1.2 Renewal for whom? Informal settlements and planning conflicts in Taipei's urban development

After World War II, the Taipei municipality tolerated informal settlements because they provided self-help housing solutions and alleviated the government's burden of addressing the housing shortage following the massive migration influx from mainland China. While these settlements helped with housing affordability, they were often characterised by poor living standards. However, because they were primarily located in city centres, they offered locals better opportunities for small businesses, leading to many of these informal settlements becoming mixed-use areas with dwellings, restaurants, and small retailers. Informal housing was a common sight in Taipei during this period, with over 40% of the population living in self-built shelters or informal dwellings (Mi, 1988).

Starting in the 1960s, the government, which had previously disregarded these settlements, adopted a more stringent law-and-order approach in response to new urban development demands. Taipei City's urban renewal policy aimed to improve both the city's aesthetics and functionality (Jou, 1999, p. 18). Urban renewal efforts focused on clearing these informal settlements, which were seen as obstacles to development – especially since the land they occupied was originally intended for specific planning purposes, such as parks. These clearance initiatives were not just about municipal planning but also reflected the state's broader planning objectives. As the capital city, Taipei's renewal efforts addressed illegal housing and evolving urban demands while also facilitating economic growth by resolving critical issues such as traffic congestion (Shen & Fu, 2015, p. 57).

One notable example is the 'No. 14 & 15 Preserved Parklands' (Figure 1.3), initially a Japanese cemetery planned for parks that later became Taipei's largest informal settlement. This community persisted until gentrification and green space demands led to its clearance in the 1990s, a process known as the 'Green Bulldozer' (Huang, 1997).

On 4 March 1997, a massive fire – allegedly not accidental due to its close proximity in time to demolition plans – destroyed over 135 housing units. By dawn, bulldozers were on-site to clear the area, marking a tragic end to the settlement.



1969
Topographical map of the blocks preserved for two parks.
(No.14 and No.15 parks in Taipei Master Plan 1939)
Hatched (darker) area indicates the informal settlement



1991
Aerial map
An aerial view showing the relationship of the informal settle ments to the surrounding urban plan residential areas and roads



2018
Aerial map
After the demolition of the infomal settlment in 1997, the plannd parks were opened, 60 years later, in 2002



FIG. 1.3 The informal settlements of 'No. 14 & 15 Preserved Parklands' encroaching on planned parkland in different periods. (Source: Original maps from 'Historical map collection' of Urban Development, Dept. of Urban Development, Taipei City Government)

Urban renewal for whom? Whose urban renewal?

The fire was undoubtedly a tragedy, yet it underscores a broader debate about urban renewal. Activists from the anti-bulldozer campaign questioned why the planning system opted to demolish the self-built community rather than revitalise it. They also asked who would benefit from such clearances (see Huang, 1997). In contrast, an interview conducted on 11 November 1996 with the mayor suggested that the urban renewal efforts aimed to address the issue of slums in Taipei as the city evolved into a modern metropolis. The mayor argued that, given Taipei's prosperity, the slum could be seen as a blemish on the city and a source of embarrassment for its citizens. He noted: 'It is uncomfortable to see that while internationally renowned figures like Michael Jackson stay in the five-star hotel, the view from its windows overlooks this slum, a sight I find deeply embarrassing (*United News*, 1996, translated by the author, in Figure 1.4)'.

These debates on urban renewal, regardless of one's stance, underscore the prolonged persistence of various urban planning issues. The lack of green space, inadequate housing, and the resulting hope for a complete solution through the massive demolition of informal neighbourhoods reflect an attempt to wipe the slate clean and start anew.



FIG. 1.4 (Left) The unknown fire in the squatter community in 'No. 14 & 15 Preserved Parklands'. (Source: Huang, 1997 (Right): The news article interviews the mayor of Taipei regarding the city's stance on the upcoming demolition of 'No. 14 & 15 Preserved Parklands'. (Source: United News, 11 November 1996)

In Taipei, the urban renewal of the '14th and 15th Reserved Parkland' and the removal of informal dwellings raises critical questions about the notion of public interest in urban renewal. If urban renewal should improve a city for the greater public interest, it begs the question of whether the interest of those displaced should not be a significant consideration. The residents of these informal communities are integral to the city's life, as they contribute to the neighbourhood's vibrancy and support its daily functions. These people seem to be the 'Foot People' that Jane Jacobs advocated to protect. However, from the perspective of city planners, these squatters occupy public land intended for park use, which conflicts with the original urban planning goal. Planners tasked with optimising land use might argue that these informal settlements are illegal and lack legal titles. As a result, allowing these squatters to stay may not align with the public interest as defined by planning principles. Following this, it would seem like the mayor was right when suggesting that such inner-city slums do not fit the city's desired image and that urban renewal serves the public interest at large by enhancing the city's appearance.

Investigating urban regeneration as a process: Motivations, public interests, and the role of participation

Urban renewal, or urban regeneration, reflects diverse motivations across different post-war cities and historical periods. Both terms have converged over time to indicate the creation of new urban functions through the demolition, reuse, or repurposing of older areas to address emerging public needs. This concept drives the research focus, as it involves decision-making concerning public interests – asking whose interests are prioritised and who holds decision-making authority – and the way these interests shape spatial development. These questions underscore the ethical and political dimensions of urban regeneration that this research seeks to explore.

The historical narratives outlined above inspired this project, as they highlight the tensions between policy, planning ideals, and lived urban experience—framing key debates early in the thesis. Notably, while considerable research exists on urban renewal in European and North American cities, studies exploring the impact of public participation on spatial changes within the urban renewal process remain rather limited in the context of East Asian cities like Taipei. These cities often do not receive as much focus within Western academic discourse. Taiwan, having transitioned to democracy relatively recently, presents a distinct opportunity to investigate the relationship between public participation and spatial development.

In the following section (1.2), the result of an exploration of the literature about public participation in urban regeneration will be briefly presented, establishing the foundational framework for the research. This discussion highlights the necessity of examining not only the process of participation but also spatial outcomes when assessing urban regeneration initiatives (1.3). Additionally, it addresses the research gap in terms of Taiwan (1.4). The subsequent sections will introduce the research objectives, aims, and questions (1.5), followed by the outline of this book (1.6).

1.2 Participation in urban regeneration

1.2.1 The evolution of urban renewal towards regeneration: From large-scale demolition to contextual urban upgrading

Although 'urban regeneration' and 'urban renewal' are terms often used interchangeably, more specific definitions have emerged in academic discourse. Urban regeneration is considered a dynamic term reflecting the 'changing contexts' (Stouten, 2010a) 'of urban renewal, emphasising extensive demolition. Urban renewal was applied in varied ways in post-war Western European cities; its core principle consistently focused on widespread demolition and reconstruction. This approach often cleared space in certain areas but led to issues related to housing, employment, and industry, which were pushed further from city centres. The political repercussions of large-scale demolitions, including social displacement and community backlash, have prompted a shift away from urban renewal towards less invasive strategies.

As a result, planners and city councils today are more reluctant to propose such bold interventions in built-up areas. For example, in the Netherlands, urban renewal (often referred to as *stadsvernieuwing*) followed a similar large-scale model in the 1960s, when it was known as sanitation and reconstruction (*sanering en reconstructive*). However, like elsewhere in Western Europe, this approach has since evolved towards strategies that focus on upgrading neighbourhoods in a way that is tailored to local contexts. This shift reflects a broader movement away from large-scale demolition towards more sustainable and socially inclusive models of urban regeneration.

To distinguish this new approach from earlier practices, the term 'urban regeneration' has been introduced. Urban regeneration embodies the use of multifaceted strategies that address spatial, economic, social, and cultural dimensions of urban development. Rather than focusing solely on building new infrastructure, it emphasises the renovation and adaptive reuse of existing structures. These practices not only preserve the urban fabric but also foster a holistic revitalisation of neglected areas, demonstrating a commitment to sustainability and inclusivity in urban planning (Lehmann, 2019; Roberts & Sykes, 2000; Stouten, 2010b, 2010a).

1.2.2 Urban regeneration in local contexts

Since the late 1990s, similar terms have emerged, such as 'urban revitalisation' or 'urban renaissance', each reflecting subtle variations in localised planning practices (De Magalhães, 2015; Zheng et al., 2014). This variation of 'urban re-' has been widely implemented in policy, intertwining global and local perspectives, which adds complexity to its interpretation (X. Chen & Duan, 2022). Moreover, the specific meaning of such concepts can be lost in translation when used across different languages and periods.

Understanding these terms requires sensitivity to local nuances that shape the objectives, strategies, and methodologies associated with them. For instance, terminologies vary across languages, reflecting specific goals: European discourse tends to align with conventional urbanism and governance perspectives, exemplified by terms like '*stedelijke vernieuwing*' (Dutch), '*renouvellement urbain*' (French), '*stadterneuerung*' (German), and '*renovación urbana*' (Spanish).

East Asian studies, whether academic or policy documents, frequently highlight the reuse and revitalisation of urban spaces, and tourism and cultural-oriented regeneration play significant roles. Examples include Taiwan's '都市更新' (literally, 'urban regeneration' or 'urban renewal', *dūshì gēngxīn*) and '都市再生' ('urban rebirth', *dūshì zàishēng*), as well as Japan's '地域コミュニティの活性化' ('revitalising local communities', *chiiki komyuniti no kassei-ka*) and '地方創生 or ちほうそうせい' ('place revitalisation', *chiho sosei*). After 2010, research on Chinese cities has highlighted local governance and small-scale, neighbourhood-focused practices such as '微更新' ('micro regeneration', *wēi gēngxīn*), which prioritise local governance and context-specific regeneration strategies.

Each of these terms connects to a general concept of 'urban re-s' but is embedded within specific urban scales, policies, and planning frameworks. Urban regeneration remains a crucial spatial development theme within rapidly growing urban regions.

Given the diverse approaches and temporal variations in achieving urban regeneration, the term itself provides a broad framework focused on spatial transformation and revitalisation to address evolving urban needs (Pugalis & McGuinness, 2013). For this reason, this project consistently employs the term 'urban regeneration' throughout.

1.2.3 Democratic planning practices and the theoretical influence of the communicative turn

The 'communicative turn' in planning, significantly shaped by Healey (1996), offers a vital theoretical perspective for this research. As urban planning increasingly embraced democratic frames from the late 1960s, the 1990s marked a shift where scholars across various fields advocated for more democratic, equitable, and inclusive urban development. Concepts like governance, communication, and postmodern politics became integral to these discussions. Healey's framework draws on the idea that planning can realise democratic potential within economically developed and socially diverse contexts. Her approach, inspired by Habermas's inter-subjective reasoning, encourages dialogue among varied communities, merging technical, moral, and aesthetic insights. This communicative approach responds to the challenges of economic evaluation in public policy and critiques of scientific rationalism, making it a key source of inspiration for advancing the research objectives.

The broader paradigm shift moved away from seeing urban planners as rational, objective professionals focusing on creating optimal spatial plans through government intervention. Instead, there was a growing emphasis on collaboration with citizens, civil society, and the market as partners in defining public interests. This redefinition of citizenship and civil society placed democratic practices at the heart of planning, reflecting the need for a participatory approach as the field evolved throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.

1.2.4 Participation in identifying and validating public interest in urban regeneration

The key focal point of this study is to understand urban regeneration as a comprehensive strategy aimed at addressing diverse urban challenges while advancing the public interest, possibly including participatory planning. Urban regeneration extends beyond mere redevelopment by focusing on resolving specific urban issues that hinder community well-being. It emphasises improving social and environmental conditions across regional, urban, and local contexts.

As an example of this, the ideas of urbanists like Jane Jacobs and Jan Gehl illustrate the public interest in creating vibrant urban spaces. Jacobs (1958) advocates for mixed-use developments and community participation, while Gehl (1989, 2004) emphasises the importance of human-centred urban design that fosters social interaction. Likewise, planning approaches such as New Urbanism (Cysek-Pawlak, 2018; Cysek-Pawlak & Pabich, 2021) focus on enhancing human-scale urban functionalities, promoting walkability and public space accessibility. The '15-minute city' concept (Moreno et al., 2021) serves as another instance of urban regeneration, promoting resilience and liveability by advocating neighbourhoods where essential services are within walking distance, fostering community well-being and sustainability (Khavarian-Garmsir et al., 2023). These examples reflect how urban regeneration, although not always explicitly noted, remains deeply rooted in the public interest. They support the creation of sustainable and socially integrated urban environments, aligning with the broader goals of urban regeneration, which seek not only functional renewal but also the creation of inclusive and dynamic urban spaces.

The research further seeks to investigate the meaning and roles played by participation, which functions as a crucial mechanism for identifying urban challenges and upholding the public interest. Through inclusive participation, communities not only help to define the issues that urban regeneration seeks to address but also ensure that the outcomes align with collective aspirations. This collaborative engagement informs the objectives of regeneration projects, ensuring that their goals are intrinsically linked to both the challenges faced and the broader public interest.

Therefore, this project frames urban regeneration as a process driven by various claims connected to the public interest, requiring strategic planning that integrates mixed-use development, sustainable design, and the careful management of public and private spaces (Carmona, 2014, 2019). These efforts are ultimately aimed at improving urban life for the community, ensuring that regeneration projects enhance

both the physical and social fabric of neighbourhoods and cities at large. In this context, urban regeneration allows for the evaluation of participative processes and an exploration of the inclusion of the public interest.

1.3 Problem statement

1.3.1 The need for context-specific empirical research

Since the communicative turn in planning theory emerged, the literature has emphasised collaboration and stakeholder dialogue as essential for achieving social fairness and challenging traditional technocratic approaches (Innes, 1995; Sager, 2017). Grounded in Habermas's theory of communicative rationality, this approach redefines rationality as a process shaped by how individuals use knowledge in social contexts, stressing that planning should reflect 'what planners actually do' rather than adhering to fixed, technocratic notions (Innes, 1995, p. 184).

However, the transition from theory to practice has proven difficult. As John Forester highlights in his 2023 editorial in *Planning Theory & Practice*, the real challenge lies in applying communicative planning in the field. While the approach is often considered 'the right thing to do', it offers little practical guidance on what and how it should be followed in complex, real-world scenarios (Forester, 2023). For example, planners must frequently improvise when dealing with authorities in uncertain and politically charged environments. Communicative planning is further complicated by the need to navigate communication barriers and conflicts, requiring a deep understanding of political systems. These systems, as Sager (2013) observes, often deter powerful stakeholders from engaging in genuine dialogue, instead using strategic manipulation to influence planning outcomes (Sager, 2013, pp. 34–65).

Much of the literature on participatory planning, however, tends to focus on theoretical issues, often emphasising what should be done rather than offering practical roadmaps for implementation. Prolonged deliberation processes, as Sager (2017) argues, can increase costs, delay benefits, and even introduce democratic inefficiencies. Despite its focus on dialogue and stakeholder involvement, communicative planning theory lacks sufficient consideration of the varied political, social, and institutional contexts that planners face in practice.

Thus, while communicative planning remains an influential theory, it struggles to offer sufficient practical guidance when dealing with uncertainty, conflict, and diverse local conditions. As a result, communicative planning is frequently required to improvise, making communicative planning a challenging and fluid endeavour in practice.

1.3.2 Addressing complexity in participatory practice

Building on the challenges of communicative planning, the evolution of participatory planning introduces further complexity. Agonistic planning, in particular, has been critical of communicative planning's often idealised view of stakeholder equality, arguing that it neglects the deeper, asymmetric power relations present in planning processes. Agonistic planning reaffirms the inherently political nature of planning, emphasising that planning involves navigating conflicting interests within urban societies (Gualini, 2015). Spatial planning, therefore, becomes a process deeply intertwined with governance, and it is shaped by tensions between conflicting actors (Pløger, 2001).

Participatory planning today allows planners to navigate numerous challenges, such as managing power imbalances, defining the planner's role, and effectively resolving conflicts, which are integral to working alongside a diverse range of stakeholders, each with unique interests and perspectives (Kleinhans et al., 2022). The departure from rigid 'blueprint' and 'synoptic' planning models towards more hybrid, adaptive, and pluralistic approaches acknowledges the inevitable communication and conflict that arise in these settings. This fragmented, hybrid approach illustrates how various communication processes converge in response to the social and political realities of planning. While theories of participatory planning provide foundational concepts, they do not offer a universal toolkit; instead, they demand that planners remain flexible, contextually aware, and adaptable to the ever-shifting power dynamics within specific contexts involving a complex mix of negotiation, alliance-building, and bargaining to balance consensus-building with conflict resolution.

Consequently, researchers have argued that the nexus between planning systems and political entities is intricate and multifaceted. Participatory planning, much like communicative planning, cannot rely on a 'one-size-fits-all' toolkit. Theories provide foundational concepts, but the practical realities demand flexibility, contextual awareness, and an ability to adapt to shifting power dynamics.

1.3.3 Evaluating participatory planning influences and spatial outcomes

In participatory planning, there has been an increasing focus on the process of communication, highlighting its role in sensitising power dynamics and enhancing stakeholder engagement (Innes & Booher, 1999). Effective, transparent communication is essential for fostering strong engagement, thereby elevating the influence and effectiveness of participation. This approach, however, may not fully capture the complex realities of participatory practices, which are shaped by the synergy of communicative actions, conflicts, disputes, and competing interests among stakeholders (Forester, 1999; Healey, 1996). Defining the communicative practices in urban regeneration practices, such as the development of dialogues and the factors influencing them, is crucial. It allows for a comprehensive evaluation of such processes and their spatial impacts, which is vital for enhancing the role of a broader network of interested parties.

Several evaluation frameworks have already been proposed, highlighting various forms of participatory communication. One widely recognised model is Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation (1969, see the left of Figure 1.5). This 'ladder' illustrates different levels of participatory communication in decision-making, ranging from manipulation and tokenism to authentic citizen empowerment. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation is a classic model that evaluates different levels of public participation in the policy-making process (Laskey & Nicholls, 2019). However, over time, the model has been criticised for its linear and hierarchical approach to citizen engagement and for not fully capturing the complexity and diversity of participation in contemporary governance (Fung, 2006; Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015).

To analyse participation more comprehensively, researchers have taken different approaches. For instance, Hurlbert and Gupta (2015) propose a 'split ladder' (the right in Fig 1.4) that evaluates the conditions for effectiveness by considering factors such as trust levels, shared values, and uncertainty in communication. It assesses when participatory approaches are likely to be successful and when more structured conversational engagement is necessary, depending on the complexity of the policies and problems at hand (Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015).

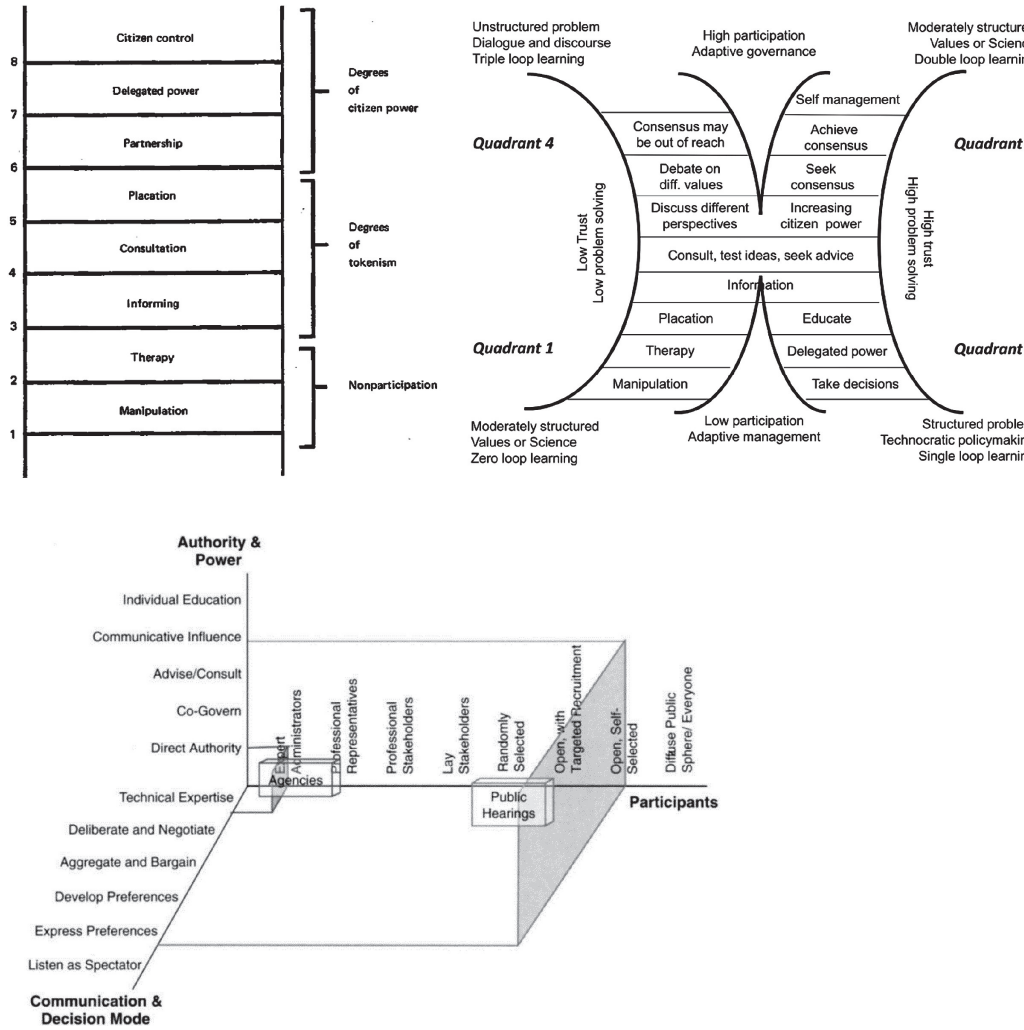


FIG. 1.5 Top left: the 'Ladder of Participation' (Arnstein, 1969); Top right: the 'Split Ladder of Participation' (Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015, p. 104); Bottom: Archon Fung's Democracy Cube for analysing policy engagement, the original diagram was a demonstration for illustrating public hearings and agencies (2006)

This conceptual model emphasises the complex interaction of factors shaping participatory mechanisms in policy formulation. However, it does not thoroughly address the communication dynamics involved. To fill this gap, Fung's democracy cube (2006) provides a framework for evaluating public participation mechanisms through three key dimensions: participant involvement, communication and decision-making processes, and the connection between discussions and policy outcomes. These dimensions include the composition of stakeholder groups, the forms of decision-making, and the breadth of discourse in deliberation.

1.3.4 Spatial results of participatory practices in urban regeneration

The aforementioned frameworks often overlook spatial outcomes, which are critical to urban regeneration. On the one hand, spatial transformation is central to urban regeneration processes, and assessing this aspect helps to connect participatory planning to tangible spatial results. Thus, the spatial outcomes dimension is essential for thoroughly evaluating the influence of participatory planning. On the other hand, policymakers usually approach urban regeneration from the standpoint of the public interest, but these interests are not always clearly defined or seem to be situated on a large scale, like the city itself. While the objectives of urban regeneration vary, the overarching aim is to provide significant new benefits to the public. The concept of public interest remains at the core of planning, legitimising decision-making and the planning process. This study, therefore, seeks to explore how the concept of the public interest in urban regeneration is defined and shaped through participatory processes.

It further investigates the spatial outcomes, ranging from private to public urban spaces, which emerge from these urban regeneration processes through an empirical case study. The research addresses the question of who holds institutionalised entitlement for inclusion in the participatory planning process (beyond primary stakeholders), how participants express their interests (not limited to the public interest) regarding urban regeneration, and how these interests interact with policy and planning frameworks to shape the characteristics and materialisation of urban spaces in the name of the public interest.

1.4 Knowledge gaps in the Taiwan context

'This Act is enacted to promote a well-planned urban land redevelopment, revitalise urban functions, improve urban living environments and landscape as the public interest'. – Article I, Urban Renewal Act of Taiwan, enacted in 1998

Researching participatory planning within the context of Taiwan's urban regeneration seems highly relevant: Taiwan is among the rapidly urbanising countries, and Taipei is densifying to a very high degree. Known for its democratisation, Taiwan has increasingly created spaces for public participation, particularly in spatial planning across various scales (Hsia, 1999; L. Huang, 2006; T. Huang & Hsieh, 2013; Y. J. Lee, 2017; Raco et al., 2011). However, how and to what degree participatory planning influences urban regeneration remains unclear. While existing research provides insights into policy development, there is a gap in examining how these policies are applied in actual urban regeneration projects in Taiwan.

Urban regeneration policies often outline broad public interests, yet the definition of what constitutes these interests, how they are implemented, and their effects on urban spaces across various scales remains inadequately explored. This gap highlights a critical need for a deeper understanding of the role and impact of public participation. Research into these participatory processes is essential not only for filling this knowledge gap but also for fostering more equitable and inclusive urban transformations. Such transformations should respond to the needs of local communities, ensuring that development initiatives align with their specific conditions and aspirations.

This study is particularly relevant in the context of Taiwan, where rapid urbanisation, gentrification, and conflicting visions for the future of cities place significant pressure on urban communities. By evaluating the efficacy and inclusivity of participatory processes in urban regeneration, this research aims to propose models that prioritise community needs and facilitate sustainable urban development. In doing so, it seeks to contribute to a more nuanced understanding of how urban policies can better serve the public interest and support the social fabric of cities.

This investigation is particularly timely as Taiwan faces increasing pressures from urbanisation, gentrification, and the need to reconcile competing visions for its cities' futures.

Although numerous studies have investigated urban regeneration policies and planning in Taiwan, much of the existing scholarship centres on private-led urban regeneration policies, which have evolved into state-driven initiatives (Grange et al., 2006; Hsu, 2011; Hsu & Hsu, 2013a; Kwok, 2005; Lan & Lee, 2020a; D. Y. R. Yang & Chang, 2018). Similarly, research on Taiwan's housing policies often reveals a pro-market, less-regulated stance (Y. L. Chen, 2020; A. C.-K. Huang, 1977; J. Lee, 2003; Tsai & Peng, 2011), with some scholars labelling the planning system as neoliberal (Y.-L. Chen, 2005; Y.-L. Chen & Li, 2012; Chiang et al., 2010; Jou et al., 2012). Another research stream has examined civil society's response to market-driven housing policies, focusing particularly on social housing as a response to the housing crisis driven by skyrocketing prices in Taipei (Y.-L. Chen, 2011, 2019; Rietdijk, 2022).

However, much of this literature tends to focus on the analysis of general policies, overlooking their spatial outcomes and direct impact on urban environments. This dearth of information is particularly concerning because Taiwan's urban regeneration projects are mandated to serve the public interest, as outlined in Article I of the Urban Renewal Act. Given this mandate, urban regeneration practices must address pressing challenges while aligning future developments with the broader public interest. Further investigation is therefore required to understand how the public interest is discussed and applied to Taiwan's urban regeneration projects.

Despite the prevalence of participatory planning practices at various scales in Taiwanese society, commonly referred to as 'community building' (in Chinese: 社區營造; Lien & Hou, 2019; Yu et al., 2023), there is a surprising lack of research into its application in terms of urban regeneration. Urban regeneration remains a significant focus for many Taiwanese cities, with numerous communities actively engaging in collaborative decision-making, and varying degrees of cooperation with governmental authorities to improve their neighbourhoods. Local governments and municipal planning authorities have supported these efforts by investing public funds in diverse neighbourhoods. Given this wealth of experience in participatory planning, the degree to which it influences urban regeneration is an important yet underexplored question that warrants further investigation.

1.5 Research objectives and questions

The study embraces two main research objectives. First, from a theoretical and methodological point of view, this study proposes an analytical framework (in Chapter 3) to systematically assess the participatory process and its spatial outcomes in urban regeneration projects.

Second, the case of Taipei is explored to examine the diverse dynamics of different institutional and legal frameworks for urban regeneration. By comparing three types of projects – private-led, public-led, and the project employing social housing as a means for urban regeneration – this study seeks to understand participatory processes in influencing urban regeneration projects.

In accordance, the main research question is framed as:

'What influence do participatory approaches in planning have on the realisation of public interests connected to urban regeneration projects in Taipei?'

In order to answer this question, the project was designed to answer the following sub-questions.

The initial two sub-questions are designed to construct a theoretical and analytical framework for this research. The third sub-question establishes a general empirical basis for different regeneration approaches in Taipei:

1 How does existing literature characterise the role of participatory planning in promoting urban regeneration in a way that is aligned with public interests? (Chapter 2)

2 Which indicators can be used to evaluate the influence of participatory planning on urban regeneration? (Chapter 3)

3 How has Taipei's urban regeneration policy framework evolved? (Chapter 4)

Sub-questions four and five, which are explored consistently across all three empirical cases, examine the actual enactment of participatory roles. Through a cross-case synthesis, these questions aim to uncover comparative findings, seek overarching insights, and identify commonalities and divergences. The sixth sub-question explores the range of statutory methods used in participatory processes within private-led urban regeneration cases:

4 How has participatory planning been implemented across different urban regeneration projects in Taipei? (Chapters 5–7)

5 What influence does participation have on the spatial outcomes across different approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei? (Chapters 5–7)

6 To what extent do different participatory methods, in particular public hearings and meetings, affect the level and quality of public engagement in these regeneration projects? (Chapters 5 and 8)

1.6 Outline of the book

- Chapter 01 introduces the dissertation, providing an overview of its structure and key themes.

- Chapter 02 explores participation theory in spatial planning, moving beyond typological debates to address complex spatial issues. It examines urban regeneration, the interaction between public and private spheres, and the role of participatory practices in shaping the public interest. The chapter highlights the communicative turn and concepts of publicness.

- Chapter 03 outlines the methodology and analytical framework, developing the 'inclusive radar' framework for analysing participation in urban regeneration. It integrates fung's democracy cube and introduces spatial transformation. The chapter also details the research design, case studies, and data collection methods.

- Chapter 04 traces the historical background of Taipei's urban regeneration, covering developments from the japanese colonial period to contemporary practices. It discusses private-led, public-led, and social housing as a meanas of urban regerantion, as well as the evolution of policy and planning frameworks shaping urban renewal and regeneration.

- Chapters 05-07 present empirical case studies, each focusing on a different approach to urban regeneration. Chapter 05 examines a private-led regeneration project, chapter 06 investigates public-led regeneration through specific cases, and chapter 07 analyses social housing as an urban regeneration strategy.

- Chapter 08 analyses public hearings, assessing the impact of the 2014 amendment to the Urban Renewal Act on participatory processes in urban regeneration.

- Chapter 09 provides a comparative analysis, synthesising findings from the three urban regeneration approaches and urban regeneration projecrs with public hearings in Taipei.

- Chapter 10 concludes the dissertation, discussing its limitations, challenges, and implications. It also offers recommendations for enhancing participatory approaches in urban regeneration.

2 Communicative actions in planning

Theories and practices

2.1 Introduction

Participatory planning has grown significantly in contemporary times, and this chapter provides a succinct synopsis of the current theoretical development of participation in spatial planning. Following this synopsis, this chapter argues that it is crucial to avoid entering a typological debate on participatory planning while assessing the effectiveness of participatory practices, especially when addressing multifaceted spatial issues and determining how participation influences planning decisions. Nevertheless, a noticeable change in urban regeneration is the increasing blurring of the boundaries between the public and private sectors. Thus, as urban regeneration policies and planning determine the public interest, the goal of urban regeneration grows more ambiguous. This chapter attempts to review these issues by examining the literature on participatory planning and urban regeneration, with a particular focus on how communication plays a role in shaping the public interest as the planning paradigm increasingly embraces participatory planning.

The chapter starts by exploring the broader discussion about the idea of participation in spatial planning, examining the 'communicative turn' of spatial planning. This approach allows the study to be positioned within the broad academic debate on communicative planning, revealing the gaps in the debate. It narrates the story of planning theory, envisaged and embodied as the changing relationship between society and its environment.

Following this, the chapter unpacks the notion of public interest within urban regeneration, dividing it into two key components: the 'public', which represents a range of stakeholders, and 'interest', which refers to the varying priorities of these stakeholders.

To conclude, the chapter draws attention to the maturity of participatory planning and its integration of power dynamics and diverse stakeholders. It highlights the practical challenges in translating theoretical participatory frameworks into real-world applications. The discussion on urban regeneration considers the shifting dynamics between public and private spaces, emphasising the need for a nuanced understanding of these changes. Finally, the chapter calls for further empirical research to explore the intersections of governance, participation, and public interests within urban regeneration contexts.

2.2 The evolution of democratic thought in planning literature

2.2.1 From technocratic approaches to democratic inclusivity

The late 1960s marked an early pivotal moment for public participation. Driven by social movements and increasing political awareness, there was a growing imperative for democratic inclusivity in planning (Heskin, 1980). An important concept in this period of democratic inclusivity in planning decisions was known as advocacy planning, which Paul Davidoff is credited for introducing. He critiqued traditional comprehensive-rationalistic and technocratic approaches that favoured powerful groups at the expense of marginalised communities (Davidoff, 1965; Peattie, 1968). This advocacy framework broadened the role of planners to include community representation, a topic connected to Faludi's critique that planning often harbours an oversimplified view, failing to capture the intricacies of decision-making (Faludi, 1973).

Yet, advocacy planning is not devoid of challenges. It raises critical questions about the role of planners, how the public interest is defined, and the inherent conflicts that arise. These issues are central to debates and scholarly examination, reflecting the democratic considerations in planning (Davidoff and Reiner, 1963, cited in Faludi, 1973, p.7).

Since spatial planning is considered as "the instrument of managing change in the built and natural environments", it reflects the shifting relationships between governing institutions, society, and the environment (Gunder et al., 2017, p. 2; Madanipour, 2015). The role of public participation has grown, challenging established norms and advocating for a more democratic and inclusive process. This change highlights the intricate and ever-changing debates in planning practice and theory, stressing the need for adaptable and ethically sound planning approaches.

2.2.2 Exploring the nuances of public participation in urban planning

Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Participation' is a widely recognised framework that categorises different levels of public engagement and empowerment in community planning and development. Derived from her work for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (Steyaert, 2010), this metaphorical ladder classifies various degrees of participation, ranging from non-participation and tokenism at the bottom to full citizen power and control at the top (Arnstein, 1969). The underlying premise is that ascending higher rungs of the ladder corresponds to more effective and impactful public participation (see also Chapter 3). As John Forrester highlights, the ladder metaphor serves both as a practical guide for fostering meaningful participation and as a caution against manipulative practices that undermine authentic engagement (Forester, 2001, p.6).

Arnstein contends that citizen participation is more intricate than initially assumed. In spatial planning, the degree of democratic involvement can vary across different planning practices. Her model functions as a metric for examining underlying power dynamics in the planning process. The 'Ladder of Participation' is a foundational way to conceptualise the varying extents of public involvement in planning practices. It categorises engagement levels from complete exclusion, through various degrees of tokenism, to full citizen power (Figure 2.1). The core idea is that higher rungs equate to more substantive participation quality (see also Chapter 3). At the lowest rung of 'consultation', participation is symbolic only, whereas at the highest rung of 'partnership', participants wield significant decision-making power and influence.

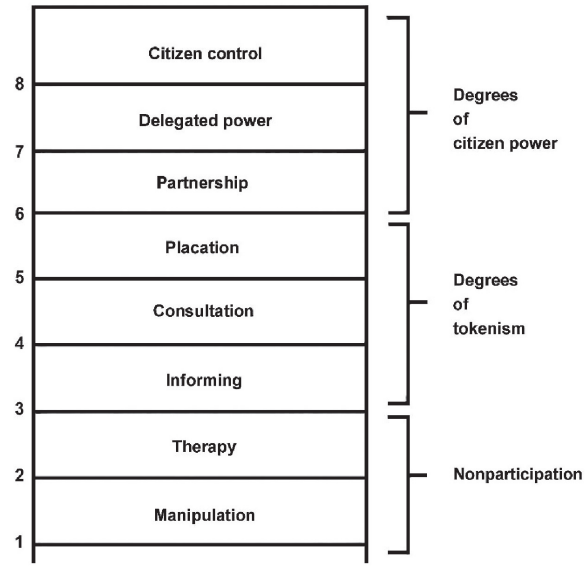


FIG. 2.1 Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (Arnstein, 1969, p.219)

Extending Arnstein's ladder: Contextualising participation in the spatial planning landscape

As spatial planning evolved to incorporate diverse governance strategies involving government, private, and civil society actors in complex networks (Gerometta et al., 2005; Lane, 2005), calls grew for a deeper analysis of the interrelationships between layers of governance, planning methodologies, institutions, technologies, and community engagement levels (Lane, 2005; Lingua & Balz, 2019; Nadin et al., 2021; Nadin & Stead, 2008; Newig & Koontz, 2014; Stoker, 1998; Taşan-Kok, 2010; Van Well & Schmitt, 2015; Weiss & Taylor, 2000).

Building on the ladder concept, Lane's 2005 work aimed to contextually link public participation levels with specific planning traditions, schools of thought, and models (Figure 2.2). Rather than judging participation against external benchmarks divorced from a plan's premises, the goal was to evaluate it within the framework of the planning approach itself (see Figure 2.2).

Level of participation	Planning tradition	Planning school	Planning models
• Citizen control • Delegated power • Partnership	Societal transformation	Pluralism	• Communicative • Bargaining • Marxist • Advocacy • Transactive
• Placation • Consultation • Informing	Societal guidance	Synoptic	• Mixed scanning • Incrementalism • Synoptic planing
• Therapy • Manipulation	Societal guidance	Blueprint	• Blueprint planning • Geddes, Howard • Precinct planners

FIG. 2.2 Lane's table 'Conception of planning and the role for public participation' (2005, p.286)

Lane's work offers a nuanced lens for evaluating participation levels within the context of different spatial planning approaches, models, and decision-making frameworks. Rather than imposing a one-size-fits-all participation benchmark, Lane advocates assessing the extent of public engagement through the premises and assumptions inherent in the specific planning tradition and methodology being employed. This contextualised perspective aligns with and facilitates the researcher's overarching goal – to elucidate the intricate interrelationships among the multitude of factors shaping modern spatial planning, including planning models, governance strategies, institutional settings, and the degrees of community involvement.

In this classification, the communicative planning model emerges as enabling a higher degree of participation. According to Lane, the model champions dialogue, negotiation, and debate by legitimising the involvement of diverse stakeholders (Hillier, 1995), moving beyond mere consultation to incorporate negotiation and debate (Dryzek, 1990; Giddens, 1994; Healey, 1996 cited in Lane, 2005, pp. 295–296).

2.3 Approaches to participatory planning

2.3.1 Communicative planning as a turning point

The framework of communicative planning encompasses a diverse range of practices, including collaborative initiatives and extensive dialogue involving various stakeholders. Rooted in the advancement of deliberative democracy, this approach aims for social fairness (Sager, 2017). Importantly, these methods are united in their intent to challenge, revise, and expand upon traditional planning paradigms, which were once primarily perceived as comprehensive-rationalistic and technocratic (Sager, 1994, pp.3–25;see also Innes, 1995).

Delving into the origins of this paradigm shift, early planning theorists sought to investigate the purpose of of spatial planning (Faludi & Korthals Altes, 1994; Innes, 1995). Various theoretical frameworks emerged to address this inquiry, including public choice theory, neoclassical market theory, and incrementalism (Buchanan & Tullock, 1962; Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1963; Hirschman, 1967; Friedman, 1974, cited in Innes, 1995, p.184; Olson, 1965).

Rooted in Jürgen Habermas's idea of communicative rationality, the communicative planning approach revolutionised planning theory (Faludi & Korthals Altes, 1994; Healey, 1999a, 1999b; Innes, 1995, 1998; Lauria, 2000; McGuirk, 2001; Sager, 2017). Habermas redefines rationality not as the mere possession of specific knowledge but as how individuals gather and utilise that knowledge in social contexts (Baxter, 2013; Bohman & Rehg, 2017). In essence, he focuses on the practical skills required to qualify as an informed participant in social dialogues. This perspective suggests that the essence of planning theory is to define planning based on 'what planners are actually doing, rather than preconceived notions of what planning should be' (Innes, 1995, p.184). Consequently, planning emerges as a set of practices fundamentally rooted in communication and communicative actions.

Power dynamics and the responsibilities of planners

In this context of the 'communicative turn' (Faludi & Korthals Altes, 1994; Innes, 1995, 1998; McGuirk, 2001; Sager, 2017; Taylor, 1998), more nuanced theoretical developments have emerged, with a focus on the role of power dynamics in spatial planning. John Forester has been particularly influential in this regard. He centres his discussion around the ethical obligations and responsibilities of planners, especially when faced with power imbalances (Forester, 2009). Forester suggests that by prioritising dialogue and deliberation in planning processes, distortions in power dynamics can be mitigated, thereby empowering marginalised communities (Forester, 1999, 2009). His contributions offer a practical framework for facilitating participation among various stakeholders, particularly the less powerful groups involved in the planning process (Forester, 2009).

Building on the principles of communicative planning, Patsy Healey has significantly influenced the development of collaborative planning approaches. Central to her ideas is the reframing of decision-making in spatial planning as a collaborative, interactive process involving both institutional entities and individual stakeholders (Healey, 2003, p.104). Healey identifies three key elements to illustrate collaborative approaches in spatial planning: relational, institutionalist, and interpretive. The relational approach focuses on the interactions among people within places, resembling a web of relationships where identities are formed. The institutionalist approach examines the dynamics of social change, particularly in constructing policy agendas and new policies. The interpretive approach considers policymaking and planning as processes shaped through interactive dialogue and engagement (Healey, 1997a). This view provides a deeper understanding of how participation can play a role in the decision-making process, helping to overcome the traditional top-down or bottom-up dichotomy and making spatial planning research more sensitive to social contexts.

This orientation, underscored by a commitment to social justice and open communication, targets the recalibration of entrenched power dynamics to facilitate equitable and effective decision-making (Healey, 1999a, 2006c; McCarthy, 2007).

From a governance perspective, collaborative planning – as proposed by Healey – serves multiple purposes. Rather than merely enhancing existing stakeholder relationships, it aims to expand and decentralise power networks while employing strategies aligned with local governance (Elander, 2002). The framework sets dual objectives: the material construction of 'good cities' and the establishment of 'good governance' through judicious procedural practices (Healey, 2003, p.116).

The multifaceted approaches of communicative planning: deliberative democracy, governance, and community inclusion

The communicative approach has become integral to spatial planning theory and practice, providing a framework that adeptly captures the complexities of participation in spatial planning. Communicative planning is distinguished for its dialogical nature and its emphasis on consensus-building, enabling practitioners to reveal and address overlooked, marginalised, or underrepresented voices in planning processes and decision-making. It effectively navigates the intricate challenges that characterise contemporary society (Sager, 2017). Essential elements underpinning the evolution of this planning paradigm include:

1 Instituting new frameworks that support a communicative approach to deliberative democracy, with particular attention to power dynamics (Forester, 1982).

2 Perceiving communicative planning as an emerging governance paradigm, inclusive of dialogical consensus-building (Healey, 2006c, 2006d) and trust-building (Innes & Booher, 1999a, 2015) mechanisms.

3 Formulating strategies for the inclusion of marginalised communities and advocating for their participative voices (Sandercock, 1975, 2000).

4 Considering the critical role of planning in enabling these dialogical processes (Throgmorton, 2000, 2003), especially in social and political interactions (Forester, 1999) and newly emerging social settings, such as network society in planning discourse (Throgmorton, 2007; Verma & Shin, 2007).

5 Conceptually linking collaborative planning partnerships to governance frameworks, thereby echoing the interactive nature of planning as focused on the symbiotic relationship between institutional actors and individual agencies (Healey, 2003, p.104).

In summary, communicative planning advocates for the development of new frameworks that address power dynamics, foster dialogue, and build consensus and trust. A key emphasis is placed on including marginalised communities and amplifying their voices. Planners are viewed as critical facilitators of these dialogical processes, bridging gaps in power. Overall, communicative planning is a highly normative, consensus-based approach that underscores a symbiotic relationship between institutions and individuals.

Agonistic vs. communicative planning: Debates and implications for participatory democracy

In short, communicative planning incorporates inclusive dialogue and consensus, drawing inspiration from deliberative democracy (Sager, 2017). In contrast, agonistic planning emphasises the constructive role of conflict in a democratic society, rooted in Chantal Mouffe's concept of agonistic pluralism. This standpoint acknowledges that conflict is inherent in pluralist societies and holds that recognising and embracing conflict are defining traits of pluralist democracies (Mouffe, 2013, p.7, cited in Kühn, 2021). Agonistic planning argue that communicative planning, in its pursuit of consensus, might oversimplify the complexities of politics and conflicts (Gualini & Bianchi, 2015; Gunder, 2003).

Agonistic planning reaffirms the political nature of planning, challenging the notion of an era of 'post-politics' and firmly asserting planning as an inherently political practice characterised by a multitude of often conflicting interests within society and urban areas (Gualini, 2015). Agonistic planning suggests that planning is not solely a set of dialogical techniques, but a process intricately intertwined with the complexities of governance (Pløger, 2001).

Despite its theoretical contributions to politics and conflict perspectives within planning, agonistic planning provides limited practical insights into resolving conflicts (Kühn, 2021; Pløger, 2004). Those who support this approach have yet to address topics such as openness, temporality, respect for differences, and the capacity to manage inconsistencies and contingencies. These attributes are vital for fostering open-ended schemes, establishing politically autonomous grassroots and responsive institutional designs, facilitating diverse discourses, and engaging in continuous, never-ending dialogues (Pløger, 2004, p.87).

2.3.2 The hybrid nature of participatory planning approaches

The intellectual tension between the two paradigms briefly discussed above has given rise to nuanced variations in participatory planning approaches. Central to these debates are crucial factors influencing participatory planning, such as power dynamics, the potential role and responsibility of planners, and differing approaches to conflict resolution. Specifically, when planners navigate among a variety of institutional frameworks and political ideologies, the routes to effective participatory planning must also be adapted. This view is underscored by the statement that 'the intricate historical legacy of public participation has underpinned shifts in planning

ideologies, transitioning from blueprint and synoptic planning to a current era marked by theoretical pluralism' (Kleinhans et al., 2022). In addition, this evolving participatory planning has contributed to a shift from traditional approaches to a situation where multiple perspectives coexist. This situation indicates that evolving planning perspectives have enriched practice by encouraging diversity and inclusivity. As a result, it is becoming less common to find planning approaches that adhere strictly to one school of thought, whether pluralist, deliberative democratic, or advocacy based.

Moreover, researchers argue that participatory planning practices are inherently hybrid in nature. On the one hand, these hybrid planning approaches can work in tandem or at separate stages to build agreements and resolve disputes. For instance, spatial justice, as interpreted by Madanipour et al. (2022), is a democratic endeavour aimed at the equitable allocation of social and environmental advantages and disadvantages among diverse groups across various territorial scales and for generations. Consequently, planners should actively participate in discussions and closely consult with stakeholders, using various sorts of planning methods. Such participation is essential to advocate for equitable outcomes and to balance the interests of advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Fainstein, 2009). Therefore, the essence of spatial justice includes both advocating for the needs of disadvantaged communities and using dialogue-based planning to find common solutions.

Thus, the nexus between planning systems and political entities emerges as intricate and multifaceted rather than being straightforwardly determinative. This nuanced relationship is exemplified by the rise of 'tactical urbanism and guerrilla urbanism' and 'insurgent planning' in the creation of public spaces (Hou, 2010a). In contrast to traditional, expert-guided planning, insurgent planning seeks to actively integrate the community, even if this means contravening official policies and guidelines. These practices often focus on 'occupying public spaces' (Cariello et al., 2021; Hou, 2010a, 2010b, 2018; Lien & Hou, 2019), representing a departure from the institutionalised spatial planning associated with master plans and formal policymaking. Supporters underscore local participants' potential to effect significant urban transformations independent of mainstream planning systems (Fraser, 1990; Hou, 2010b). Consequently, participation manifests more as a communal endeavour in the public realm rather than being confined strictly within the formal, legal boundaries of a planning system.

TABLE 2.1 Overview of planning paradigms (adapted from Kühn, 2021, p.149; Zhao et al., 2023, p.5)

	Comprehensive-Rationalistic Planning	Advocacy Planning	Communicative Planning	Agonistic Planning
Political ideology or perceived Forms of Democracy	Representative or authoritarian	Advocate democracy	Deliberative democracy	Pluralist democracy
Approach to Conflict	Passive avoidance of conflict	Reactive (manage)	Proactive, where planning is a platform to deal with conflicts	Geared towards creating arenas for conflicts
Role of Planners	Technocrats	Advocates for those who cannot speak themselves	Facilitators who introduce processes that engender trust, inquiry, and relationship-building	Unclear; may involve creating public arenas for dialogical disputes
Function of participation	No participation	Participation as a supplement	Inclusive deliberation	Invite diverse conflicting interests
Main Features	Technocratic, top-down, minimal citizen participation, avoiding conflict	Advocacy for less powerful groups	Public debate, consensus, and trust-building	Conflict as a productive force, potentially transformative, focuses on accepting dissent and 'strife'
related Planning Practices or notions	Blueprint planning, synoptic planning	Spatial justice	Collaborative planning, community planning, urban commons	Insurgence planning, guerrilla urbanism

2.3.3 Re-conceptualising the role and effectiveness of participatory planning

Participatory planning is not a 'one-fits-all' toolkit for planners

In the discourse surrounding participatory planning approaches, it is crucial to go beyond viewing them merely as 'tools' at the disposal of planners. While different models highlight various facets of participation, their effectiveness transcends mere dialogue or policy formulation. Forester's argument (1999) is instrumental here, indicating that participatory planning is contingent on an environment that nurtures mutual recognition and respect. Without such a context, the planning process is at risk of descending into adversarial, 'us versus them' conflict of interest–based negotiations.

Thus, planning's role extends to facilitating intricate processes that engender trust, inquiry, and relationship building, rendering public participation genuinely viable. This conceptual framework forms the backbone of communicative planning. Even in critiques of agonistic planning – where planning is a public arena for conflicting interests (Kühn, 2021) – it becomes apparent that these conflicts must unfold as ongoing dialogues. This situation requires several key elements, including flexible and adaptable processes, an institutional framework that is politically independent yet accountable, a diversity of perspectives and dialogues occurring simultaneously, and a continuous, never-ceasing exchange of critical and mutually enriching discussions among politicians, planning authorities, and citizens (Pløger, 2004, p.87).

Such dialogues, however, would be ineffective without a foundational environment that assures participants the safety of open discourse. This standpoint serves as a cornerstone in comprehending the nuanced complexities inherent in participatory planning approaches.

Building on this foundational understanding, it is pivotal to assert that participatory planning is not merely a toolbox for practitioners to apply without additional thought. Rather, it should be conceptualised as a proactive mindset of not only planners but also policymakers, who are intricately attuned to addressing socio-spatial issues within the planning framework. This orientation necessitates a nuanced approach that considers the dynamics of community engagement, social justice, and spatial inequities, among other factors. Following the above discussion, participatory planning essentially calls for a paradigm shift, one that compels planners to adopt a more encompassing, multi-dimensional perspective that is inherently sensitive to the complexities of the socio-spatial landscape, the topic of the following sub-section.

Bridging the gap: Theoretical insights and practical challenges in participatory planning

The literature discussed above identifies a gap in participatory planning. While there is a growing consensus that participatory planning ought to be viewed as a tool for understanding socio-spatial complexity – the relationship between societal dynamics and physical spaces, it is often oversimplified, and scholars have yet to find the nexus between this theoretical insight and its practical application (Zhao, Liu, et al., 2023).

The intricacies of communicative planning pose a challenge, as it requires planners to navigate communication barriers and conflicts. A deep understanding of political systems and their strategies is essential, as these systems are often steered by

powerful individuals who may favour tactics other than using cogent arguments to shape planning outcomes (Sager, 2012, 2016, 2017).

Following the line of this argument, the conclusion is that a universal solution is unattainable. The distinct dynamics inherent to various societies and planning mechanisms necessitate context-specific approaches. Any strategy that overlooks these distinct dynamics risks irrelevance (Sager, 2017), as highlighted by Yu et al. (2023). They argue that current research often offers limited insights into the practical application of collaborative planning within specific contexts. Forester (2023) illustrates this by noting the limitations of communicative planning practices: Planners often must improvise in confrontations with authority figures, operating in a new environment rife with uncertainties.

Lastly, while communicative planning emphasises the pivotal role of planners in shaping deliberative spaces, it often overlooks the aspirations and motivations of other stakeholders. Contemporary literature on participatory planning adeptly chronicles the shifts in planning theory. It subsequently delineates the varied trajectories adopted in practical domains. However, as Sager (2017) elucidates, this offers only limited guidance for actual participation, particularly when confronted with lengthy planning processes driven either by conflict or deliberation, which can increase costs, delay benefits, and even present democratic challenges.

2.3.4 Complexities and consequences of urban regeneration: Public and private interests in transition

An obvious challenge to urban regeneration arises from its unpredictability, which may entail socio-spatial outcomes, including gentrification and social segregation (R. G. Atkinson, 2004; Bailey & Robertson, 1997; Bunce, 2009; Earley, 2023; Hochstenbach, 2017b, 2017a; Jou et al., 2016; Rutten, 2016; Smith, 2002). This process leads to the formation of enclaves or gated communities (R. Atkinson & Blandy, 2005; Caldeira, 1996; Grant, 2007; Korkmaz & Alkan Meşhur, 2021; Manzi & Smith-Bowers, 2005; Masías et al., 2023; Tammaru et al., 2016).

Among those, one significant trend is ‘privatised public space’ (Kohn, 2004; Sorkin, 1992) or privately-owned public space, generally defined as public spaces that gradually transition from direct state ownership and management to private sector control (De Magalhães, 2010). This shift often has major consequences in terms of access, control, and the various regulations concerning what sort of

behaviour is allowed. Consequently, the demarcations between public and private spaces and management are becoming increasingly blurred and challenging (Kohn, 2004; Leclercq & Pojani, 2023).

The strategy of public-private partnerships (PPP; Codecasa & Ponzini, 2011; Hodge et al., 2016; Kort & Klijn, 2011; Leung & Hui, 2005; Stoker, 1998; Van Boxmeer & Van Beckhoven, 2005) signifies that urban regeneration is no longer exclusively public, granting a more prominent role for private sector and commercial forces in urban regeneration.

The transformation is frequently characterised as a reduction in the public realm and a decline in authentic public spaces (Kohn, 2004; Sorkin, 1992). This process is marked by an increase in spatial segregation and the emergence of market-driven interests within public space provision and management, obscuring the public interests that lie at the core of urban regeneration's foundational aims. Although the dichotomy between public and private spaces is significant, urban regeneration involves complex challenges, goals, and methods across various scales. Thus, it is crucial to recognise the diversity of these objectives and the benefits they provide when implemented. As a central question, it is essential to ask the following: who are the beneficiaries of these urban regeneration efforts, and are they tailored to niche groups or designed to promote public interests?

2.3.5 Critical analysis of public interest in urban regeneration

As previously discussed, understanding the complexities of urban regeneration necessitates a sophisticated grasp of who benefits from this type of change. It requires careful analysis and critical evaluation to assess to what extent urban regeneration aligns with the desires and needs of the wide range of stakeholders involved. The intricate aspects of urban regeneration are intimately connected to the complex interpretations of interests and how these norms and values influence practices. Therefore, critical questions arise: how can we define public interests within the context of spatial planning, and is it feasible to measure these interests? This challenge is particularly evident when considering urban regeneration, which frequently implies extensive spatial transformations in property ownership. Ontological questions such as 'Why do we need regeneration?' and 'Who benefits from it?' remain central to these practices.

The twofold meaning of public interest

The concept of 'public interest' necessitates a thorough analysis of its two intertwined components: 'public' and 'interest'. The 'public' component, referred to as the 'scalability of interest' (Zhao, Wang, et al., 2023), aligns with Habermas's notion of a 'generalised interest'. It addresses the core values that planning seeks, indicating a continuum from individual to collective concerns. The term 'public' thus encapsulates the community or groups affected by planning decisions, prompting an examination of whose interests planners value in their deliberations.

The 'interest' component concerns the nature and priorities of these interests, indicating which benefits or outcomes are prioritised and questioning who holds the authority to make these determinations. This aspect is pivotal in planning, which inherently involves delineating beneficiaries and those at a disadvantage.

The conceptualisation of public interest has evolved to be associated with spatial planning as the academic focus has transitioned from tangible planning outcomes to the integrity and quality of the decision-making process (Forester, 2012; Healey, 1997b; Mattila, 2016). From this perspective, the essence of communicative planning is not to define what constitutes public interest. Instead, it underscores the importance of transparent, democratic dialogue over predetermined narratives set by political discourse or planning professionals, who are often biased due to class, gender, and racial differences (Sandercock & Dovey, 2002, p.152). Public interest in planning is thus accentuated by its connection with broader political concepts such as 'justice', 'rights', and 'democracy' (Tait, 2016).

In summary, the conception of public interest can be understood in two ways. The first aspect is its generalisability, which involves addressing the foundational values of spatial planning, such as spatial justice, environmental sustainability, and climate change adaptation. It includes a broad spectrum of stakeholders and pertains to various locales driven by specific interests. The second aspect is its manifestation in collaborative decision-making processes. Here, it is the public discourse that delineates which values or interests are to be classified as public, exemplifying a planning approach that prioritises communication.

Differences between presumed and actual public interests

Identifying whose interests are at stake is crucial in spatial planning decisions; hence, it is essential to recognise and compare relevant concepts. First, the concept of 'presumed public interest' is pivotal for planning goals, highlighting planners' key role in formulating

plans. It underscores the planners' responsibility in identifying what they believe to be the public's best interests. However, these presumed public interests behind planning decisions are not often determined through collaborative decision-making processes involving the public. Unfortunately, this omission could lead to the creation of regulatory frameworks that steer or encourage public initiatives for collective well-being but rely solely on planners' expertise. Through their lens, presumed to be objective, planners are deemed to represent the broad interests of the community (Campbell & Marshall, 2002b; Miraftab, 2009; Tait, 2016; Zhao, Wang, et al., 2023).

Another related concept is 'private interest', which refers to rights or advantages specific to an individual or a group. While these interests may sometimes align with those of the broader community, they inherently remain focused on individual or group-specific goals. This situation is particularly evident when private property development serves as a key strategy in urban regeneration initiatives (Healey, 1991). The relationship between private and public interests in urban planning is dynamic and complex; they are not mutually exclusive but interdependent, evolving together in various contexts. This dynamic interplay often emerges in urban regeneration projects: the public benefits from revitalisation efforts, while property owners and developers may also experience an increase in property values, reflecting a rise in their private interests.

Balancing these interests necessitates a nuanced and complex exploration of planning practices, extending from the origins of rights to pinpointing decision beneficiaries. It is insufficient to view spatial interests through the lens of property ownership alone, and the phenomenon of privately owned public spaces exemplifies this complexity (Dunlop et al., 2023; Németh, 2009; Schmidt et al., 2011). Such spaces presumably cater to the public interest but may not be publicly owned.

2.3.6 Evaluating the degree of publicness among spaces

Public interest encompasses a twofold concept: the 'generalisability' of interests and a 'collaborative' approach to spatial decision-making. Integral to this is the concept of 'publicness', which assesses the extent of public interest through three dimensions: accessibility, usage, and ownership of space. These elements are crucial in shaping socio-spatial dynamics (Madanipour, 2003). For example, the publicness of a municipally owned park may be compromised by restricted access. Conversely, a privately owned square may increase its publicness through openness to various uses. This interplay extends into the broader socio-economic, political, and cultural-historical milieu (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016).

Another integral aspect of publicness is whether collective decision-making can occur. For example, a democratic sphere is a political arena where citizens can participate, deliberate, and influence change, reflecting the principles of democratic engagement (De Magalhães, 2010; Madanipour, 2003). This notion aligns with the collaborative decision-making process inherent in the public interest. It is an evolving concept that has transformed alongside society and politics, continually being pluralised and reinterpreted through mutual actions and democratic practices in urban spaces (Burton & Mitchell, 2006; Evaluating Public Space, 2014; Hou, 2010a; Mehta & Palazzo, 2020).

Publicness refers to the extent to which spaces span the spectrum of accessibility (De Magalhães, 2010; Li et al., 2022; Varna, 2011; Varna & Tiesdell, 2010). It reflects the degree of interconnectedness within spatial realms, which confers upon a space its essential public quality. The relationship between 'publicness' and 'public space' is complex, influenced by regulatory frameworks, societal norms, and historical contexts, all of which shape the public interest (De Magalhães, 2010). This aspect calls for a research framework on publicness, one that considers both the spatial dimension and how public interests are represented. Such a framework seeks to clarify communication and decision-making processes, identify the beneficiaries of urban regeneration, and explore the inclusivity and generalisability of its use.

Beyond the public-private dichotomy

The distinction between 'public' and 'private' has been used so far, but in spatial terms, it suggests a binary distinction between private and public realms. This rather historic dichotomy has become an anachronism, transcending simplistic associations with either public or private interests and spaces (Li et al., 2022). Societal and economic transformations have led to a re-evaluation of these concepts, challenging established boundaries and rendering the differentiation based on mere property ownership (De Magalhães, 2010; Kohn, 2004; Madanipour, 2003). Indeed, the publicness of space cannot be gauged solely by its ownership status. Privately owned spaces designated for public use are not inherently antithetical to social interaction or public accessibility, contrary to common perceptions. On occasion, such spaces may even exhibit a propensity for more efficacious management compared to their publicly owned counterparts (Németh & Schmidt, 2011). For example, a well-maintained, privately owned public plaza with amenities like furniture installations can be more inviting for people to gather, socialise, and engage in various activities than a neglected publicly owned park or square.

Consequently, binary classifications of space as either private or public are overly simplistic and often misleading. The premise that public spaces inherently support public activities, while private spaces are predisposed to private interests, is an oversimplification that fails to account for the complexities of space utilisation (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2008, cited in Li et al., 2022).

2.4 Conclusion

After reviewing the evolution of spatial planning through a shift from the traditional comprehensive-rationalistic and technocratic approaches to communicative and participatory approaches, this chapter recognises that participatory planning has matured into a more sophisticated form of communicative practice, encompassing power dynamics and the diverse interests of stakeholders. In this context, the distinction between participation that facilitates negotiated dialogue or mediates conflict is less important than its inherent role in the dynamics of the planning process, as participatory planning has moved beyond being a mere procedural tool requirement. This shift highlights the gap between theory and practice in socio-spatial complexity. Participatory planning is often reduced to a toolkit without real-world application. Communicative planning faces challenges like communication barriers, power imbalances, and political influence. Customised strategies are necessary, as a universal approach is impractical. However, researchers lack insight into collaborative planning's application in specific contexts, and there is a need to recognise stakeholders' roles and motivations. While theoretical perspectives exist, practical guidance for genuine engagement is scarce. To address this gap, a more convincing analytical framework is needed.

Moreover, this chapter revisits the concept of public interest and its implication in urban regeneration to comprehend its relevance, particularly concerning the 'publicness' of urban spaces. The analysis presented here illuminates a governance paradigm shift and a reconfiguration in the functioning of public spaces, leading to a call for a critical reassessment of the fundamental concept of 'publicness'. This revision defines it as involving more than just accessibility; it is also about the interconnections that give a place its public essence. Publicness is shaped by rules, societal norms, and history, influencing public interest levels. In the relevant research, a comprehensive framework is proposed for researching publicness, addressing inclusivity and the reach of urban regeneration. The chapter argues

that there is no clear-cut private-public divide, suggesting that private spaces can serve public needs and may be well-managed. It argues that distinguishing spaces as merely private or public is an outdated oversimplification. Instead, the chapter underscores the significance of participation in shaping public spaces beyond property rights and in terms of urban regeneration. It argues for a broader understanding of policy frameworks as policy tools guide regeneration outcomes, focusing on accessibility, functionality, and stewardship and examining the intricate obligations within public-private regeneration efforts and their alignment with public interests.

As such, this chapter links the concepts of participation, public interest in urban regeneration, and the publicness of space, providing a foundation for discussion that will inform later empirical research findings. The theoretical insights gained here will be applied in the upcoming chapters. In a thesis with a strong empirical focus, theory acts as a guiding light, shedding clarity on the subject matter, as well as an interpretative lens, enabling a deeper understanding of the observations. The development of the methodology will be underpinned by these two pillars in the following two sub-sections.

2.4.1 Understanding communications in participatory planning

As researchers may prioritise specific aspects such as building trust, mediating conflict, or achieving consensus, it is crucial to recognise that these aspects converge around communication. These topics are central to planning and, by extension, to participatory planning, which increasingly underscores power relations and equitable communication. The success of participation is strongly connected to the effectiveness of communication: transparent and effective communication often leads to more robust engagement. Relying solely on one method does not capture the full essence of participatory practices. As previously noted, these approaches are not mere instruments for facilitating participation. Instead, they are meant to grant profound insights into how planning is influenced by communicative actions, disputes and conflicts, and inherent interests.

Thus, planning's role extends to facilitating intricate processes that engender trust, are open to inquiry, and build relationships, rendering public participation genuinely viable. This conceptual framework forms the backbone of communicative planning. Even when scrutinising agonistic planning – which perceives planning as a public arena for conflicting interests (Kühn, 2021) – it becomes apparent that these conflicts must unfold as 'contentious dialogues' (Pløger, 2004, p.87). Such

dialogues, however, would be ineffective without an environment that ensures that participants are safe enough to engage in open discourse. This standpoint serves as a cornerstone in comprehending the nuanced complexities inherent in participatory planning approaches.

Hence, benefiting from these participatory frameworks requires a more profound understanding of the nuances of communication. Grasping the intricacies of dialogues, the factors shaping them, and subsequently gauging the effectiveness of participation becomes vital. Armed with this knowledge, practitioners and researchers can better position themselves to enhance the overall effectiveness of participatory planning initiatives.

Ultimately, as Forester (2018) expresses in his pursuit of 'a critical pragmatism', democratic deliberations in spatial planning demand a seamless integration of three fundamental concerns: the inclusion of relevant expertise, the representation of significant values, interests, or concerns, and, importantly, the cultivation of firm commitments to effective actions (Forester 2009, 2016b). In response, the primary contention of this study accentuates the immediate necessity for a meticulous evaluation of the role of participation within urban regeneration approaches, especially its influences on planning.

2.4.2 Understanding the connections among space, public interests, and participation

This theoretical examination highlights the importance of governance and 'contracts' – in the sense of planning and policy frameworks – in shaping the publicness of spaces within participatory urban regeneration. The analysis goes beyond property rights, considering accessibility, functionality, stewardship, and how public-private obligations reflect the public interest in these frameworks.

The study advances the argument that these 'contracts' encapsulate the public interest in the participatory mechanisms of urban regeneration at various scales. It examines the responsibility of the private and public sectors to ensure transparency in newly developed spaces, which is essential for securing government incentives or assuming management duties. Similarly, it encompasses the government's role in guiding urban design and strategic development. This analysis is crucial for appreciating the complex commitments of both sectors in the creation and upkeep of urban spaces, offering a nuanced perspective on the manifestation of public interest and potential constraints within urban regeneration policies. Central to this

analysis is determining whether certain decisions, although made through public participation, truly serve the public interest or cater to niche groups. A detailed examination is necessary to ascertain if the regeneration efforts genuinely benefit the wider public.

Public interest is a critical principle in planning, often used to justify decisions throughout the process (E. Alexander, 2009; E. R. Alexander, 2002, 2010; Campbell & Marshall, 2002a; Moroni, 2004, 2017; Taylor, 1998). Policymakers frequently adopt a deontological approach, focusing on the collective benefits anticipated from regeneration initiatives (C. Allen & Marne, 2016). Despite the ongoing academic debate, these supposed benefits for 'the city as a whole' are often presented without clearly identifying who truly benefits, creating ambiguity around the concept of public interest (Allen & Marne, 2016). While urban regeneration goals may differ based on context, the primary aim remains to deliver meaningful and renewed advantages for the public.

Ultimately, understanding how public spaces are generated is vital to grasping their intrinsic publicness. This definition lays the theoretical groundwork for further empirical investigations into governance, participation, and asserting the public interest in urban regeneration.

2.4.3 Accounting for contextual sensitivity in planning theory

This research will draw conclusions and insights based on an extensive empirical core. After analysing each case study and drawing general conclusions, it is crucial to reflect on the usefulness and validity of the theoretical framework. However, there are some reminders to consider, as Gunder et al. (2017) point out. Empirical strategies for navigating change and adapting in the built and natural environment highlight the dynamic interplay between institutional power structures and socio-environmental conditions.

Historically, shifts in the Western planning paradigm have been closely intertwined with social change, evolving from state-led interventions to favour market-led approaches, thereby steering planning towards a more deregulated posture. In contrast, planning in non-Western contexts has witnessed a markedly different trajectory in state–society relations, highlighting the distinctive role of planning in the development of the state and broad social structures (Gunder et al., 2004).

The theoretical background provided in this chapter esbalishes the groundwork for understanding the case of Taiwan. While it is not specifically rooted in Taiwan's context, it offers a valuable perspective other than Western contexts. This approach aims to engage in a meaningful dialogue with long-established Western theories. Rather than positioning this asa binary distintion between Western and non-Western, the goal is to critically apply existing theories to foster new insights within a society that has not followed the Western trajectory of democracy.

3 Analytical framework and research design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analytical framework and methodology to examine the extent to which participatory planning in Taipei's urban regeneration influences public interests, with a particular focus on evaluating spatial outcomes. The chapter begins by outlining a conceptual framework that defines effective participation as a process in which public interests are translated into policies, leading to physical changes in the built environment that reflect them.

Given the central role of communication in participatory planning, as highlighted in the literature review, the chapter then explores various methods for evaluating participation through a communication lens. Fung's democracy cube is identified as a valuable operational tool for analysing communication in participatory processes from three perspectives: who participates, the modes of communication and decision-making employed, and the level of authority granted to participants.

Subsequently, the chapter adapts the three dimensions of the democracy cube – participants, communication modes, and authority levels – to better suit the empirical study context, considering the influences and interactions within the policy and planning framework.

The analysis focuses on four key dimensions of participatory processes: eligibility criteria for participation, the communication modes employed, the level of influence participants have over decisions, and the links connecting public space, interests, and participation. A key challenge lies in identifying and analysing these connections effectively.

Finally, the chapter outlines the research design, covering case selection methods, data sources for empirical study, and strategies for data collection and management.

3.1.1 Conceptual framework

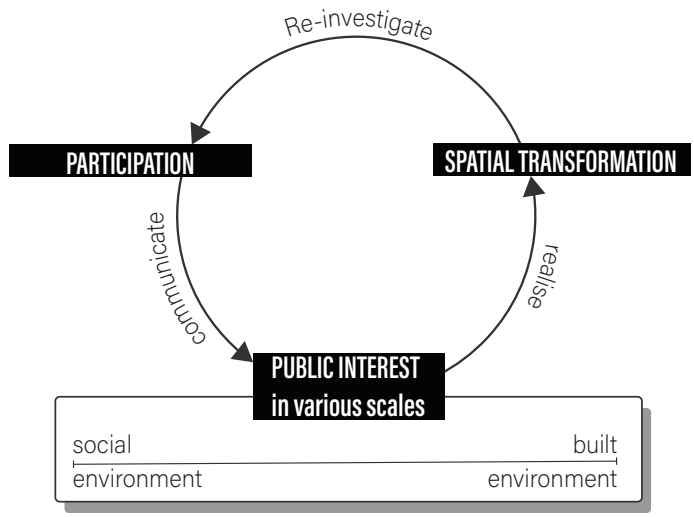


FIG. 3.1 Conceptual framework of the research project

This study frames urban regeneration as a solution to urban challenges, aiming to serve the public interest by addressing both social (social, economic, and political) and built environment dimensions (from local to regional scales). These diverse public interests are shaped through a participatory planning process that explores, addresses, and verifies public needs, creating a continuous cycle of adaptation. In this framework, the participatory process is as essential as urban regeneration itself, with both dynamically reinforcing each other.

This chapter categorises public interests in the context of urban regeneration (detailed in Chapter 2) and uses public participation to identify, understand, and integrate these interests into policy and spatial design. Accurately defining these interests is critical, as reshaping physical spaces is a means to advance public aims and enhance the built environment.

Participation is defined as a process that captures and translates collective community needs into tangible policy and physical changes. For it to be effective, participation must produce observable impacts on the built environment that reflect and align with public interests.

Figure 3.1 illustrates the interconnected relationships of public participation, interests, and spatial transformation in urban regeneration. It also serves as a tool to evaluate how clearly participation identifies public interests and the extent to which spatial transformations in the case study reflect these interests.

3.2 Evaluating participatory planning

While Sherry Arnstein's 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (1969) has been foundational in public engagement theory, recent literature suggests it may not fully address the complexities of citizen participation in modern governance structures (see Chapter 2). Governance today involves aligning diverse interests into coherent policies, a process that demands a more elaborate analytical tool than the one Arnstein provided. Primarily concerned with the public sphere, governance encompasses formal, informal, horizontal, and vertical tools and arrangements of decision-making modes and actors (Kohler-Koch, 1998). It expands beyond Arnstein's binary concepts of citizen control (bottom-up) or manipulation (top-down) in her ladder of participation.

In this project, the concept of governance is crucial for analysing and evaluating participatory planning. This concept views planning as a three-dimensional process comprising multi-level (vertical) governance relations that create an enabling environment for planning decisions alongside multi-actor (horizontal) governance aspects vital for integrating planning with other policy agendas and engaging citizens and stakeholders effectively (Dąbrowski, 2022). A multifaceted analytical approach is therefore necessary to understand and assess participation's role within this complex governance landscape.

The multifaceted 'how' of engagement

As contemporary governance has evolved, new frameworks have emerged to address the complexity of modern engagement. Hurlbert and Gupta's 'split ladder (2015)' (see Figure 3.2) considers factors such as trust, shared values, and uncertainty to gauge when participatory approaches may succeed or require more structured engagement. Similarly, Qu and Hasselaar's 'voice and choice' model (2011) emphasises stakeholders' influence ('voice') and informed decision-making ('choice') throughout the planning process, aiming for alignment between individual and collective interests in pursuit of broader social objectives.

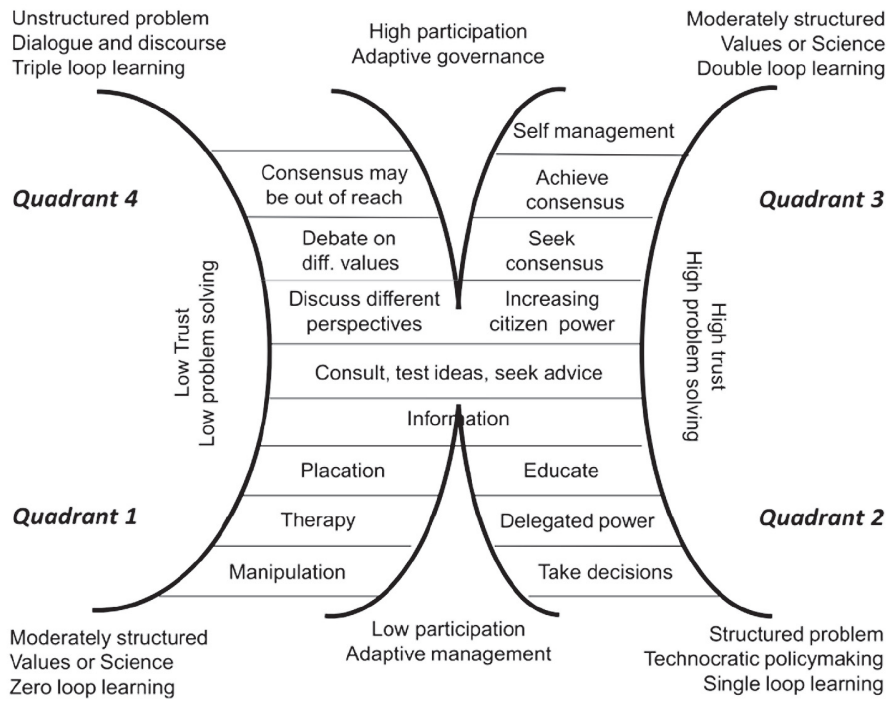


FIG. 3.2 The split ladder of participation (Hurlbert & Gupta, 2015, p.104)

Table 3.1 presents a comparative analysis of different indicators from a range of communication models. Some indicators are distinctly binary, such as 'voice' and 'choice', while others are rooted in complex social learning theories. These indicators collectively underscore the significance of the interplay between communication and decision-making when assessing engagement models, highlighting this interplay as a focal concept.

TABLE 3.1 Comparison of different conceptual sets of communication and decision-making evaluation (adapted from Arnstein, 1968; Qu & Hasselaar, 2011; Hasselaar, 2011, p.92; Fung, 2006)

	Arnstein's Ladder of Participation (1968)	Qu & Hasselaar's Voice and Choice (2011)	Hasselaar's Relation user-decision maker (2011, p.92)	Fung's Democracy Cube (2006)		Hurlbert & Gupta's Split Ladder (2015)
less intense				Communication	Decision-making	
	Ignoring (Manipulation and therapy)		Non-participation	Listen as a spectator / Express preferences	Deploy techniques and expertise	Moderately structured leading to zero loop learning
	Information	Choice	Trust-based relationship	Develop preferences	Aggregation or bargain	Structured problems, technocratic policymaking and single-loop learning
	Consultation and placation	Voice			Deliberation and negotiation	Moderately structured problems and aiming for double-loop learning
	Participating as partners					Wicked problems requiring triple-loop learning
more intense	Citizen's decision-making		Shared power			

Archon Fung (2006) expands on this by introducing the 'democracy cube (Figure 3.3)' as a framework for assessing participation in decision-making. This analytical model divides the participation process into three axes, with one axis dedicated to identifying the range of stakeholders involved:

1. Communication and Decision Mode: Examining how participants interact and make decisions.
2. Authority and Power: Assessing the impact of outcomes on public actions and policies.

To utilise this model, analysts examine each dimension in relation to a participatory process at three stages: before (*ex-ante*), during (*ex-durante*), and after (*ex-post*) its execution. This method facilitates a structured assessment, enabling a comparative analysis of participatory processes. Fung highlights the democracy cube's relevance in addressing governance issues, particularly in terms of legitimacy, impartiality, and efficient public administration. The framework thus serves as a tool for designing and analysing participatory approaches in a wide variety of governance processes (2006, p.66).

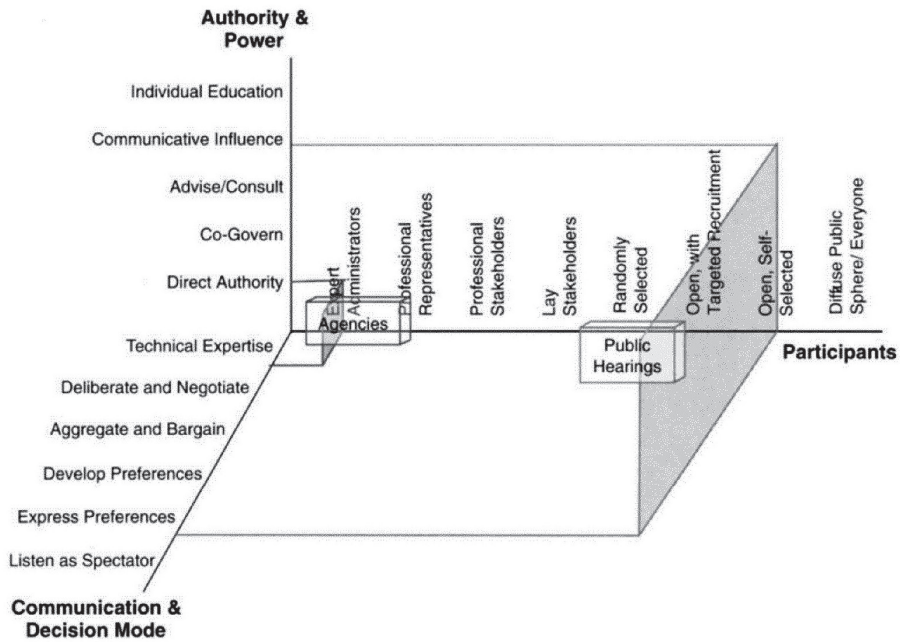


FIG. 3.3 Archon Fung's democracy cube for analysing policy engagement; the original diagram was a demonstration for public hearings and agencies (2006)

The democracy cube model is highly instrumental for dissecting the complexities of participatory practices. For instance, Thoneick (2021) underscores that digital participatory tools do not automatically enhance authoritative influence. Wehn et al. (2015) and Wehn and Evers (2014) apply the model to examine the nuances of participation in flood risk governance, uncovering critical issues of stakeholder engagement and public disengagement. The model translates Arnstein's abstract concept of collective decision-making into quantifiable dimensions: the involved actors ('who'), the employed mechanisms ('how'), and the depth of participation ('to what extent').

Despite its strengths, the democracy cube's focus on procedural elements falls short in addressing the spatial outcomes of participation. Van Maasakkers et al. (2020) argue that the model's omission of the link between participatory processes and their spatial consequences limits its effectiveness in evaluating participatory planning.

Hence, for a more comprehensive assessment, an integrated analysis is needed that considers both the democracy cube's theoretical dimensions and the tangible, i.e. spatial results of participatory actions. Therefore, an enhanced framework for evaluating planning practices should marry the model's dimensions with the outcomes of the participatory process.

3.3 Analytic framework: Dimensions, indicators, and degrees

This section presents the analytical framework of the study. The framework incorporates the three principal axes adapted from the democracy cube, augmented by an additional axis pertaining to spatial transformation, designed explicitly for this analysis. Further, this chapter expounds upon the indicators and levels corresponding to each of the four dimensions. The discussion closes with an application of the democracy cube.

3.3.1 The axis of participants

The multifaceted dimensions of public participation evaluation

The concept of stakeholders, which has been intensively discussed in the literature, refers to a varied assembly of actors that includes individuals and entities bound by contracts (Cornell & Shapiro, 1987; Freeman & Evan, 1990) and vested with personal or shared interests, claims of ownership, and rights (Clarkson, 1995), as referenced by Brenner (1995) and consolidated in Mitchell et al.'s compilation (1997, p.858). It also incorporates those persons or entities who may be indirectly impacted, although they may not be formally recognised and consequently invited as stakeholders.

In practice, the distinction between direct and indirect impacts may be contentious. Hence, the process of identifying and classifying stakeholders is essential.

The key consideration here is the degree to which different parties are affected. Freeman's seminal definition describes stakeholders as 'any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives' (Freeman, 1984, p.46). Thus, stakeholders may be individuals or entire groups who are potentially impacted by policy decisions and interventions, making their identification – or exclusion – a critical task for both policymakers and analysts.

Stakeholders and planning participants

In-depth stakeholder engagement has received substantial attention in urban governance (Czischke, 2018; Czischke & van Bortel, 2018; De Magalhães & Freire Trigo, 2017; Hermans & Thissen, 2009). Examining the complexities of urban governance requires moving beyond simply identifying stakeholders or those officially recognised as such. It necessitates a focus on individuals invited to participate in decision-making as well as those excluded from it. This distinction highlights the difference between 'stakeholders' and 'participants' within planning frameworks. Although these terms may appear similar, they hold distinct meanings. It is essential to acknowledge that not all stakeholders become active participants. Factors such as socio-economic status and educational background significantly influence engagement levels (Docherty et al., 2001) and stakeholders' expectations regarding their investment in participation.

Furthermore, the term 'participant' encompasses a range of roles within planning frameworks. In the urban regeneration context, community members labelled participants may lack the capacity to influence policy priorities, remaining on the periphery of decision-making processes (Dicks, 2014). This discrepancy underscores the divergence between the categories of 'stakeholder' and 'participant' in regeneration (R. J. Yang, 2014).

Institutional forces also play a pivotal role in shaping this dynamic. The ability of stakeholders to engage in decision-making or broader public involvement is not guaranteed. Whether participants are recognised as stakeholders by municipal officials often depends on legislative stipulations. It is important to understand that being a stakeholder does not automatically entail an invitation or entitlement to participate in decision-making processes.

Consequently, a thorough analysis of participants is essential. Such an examination illuminates the potential disparity between those acknowledged as stakeholders and those deemed legitimate participants, shedding light on who possesses the actual capacity to influence decision-making processes.

Who are (legitimate) stakeholders and participants?

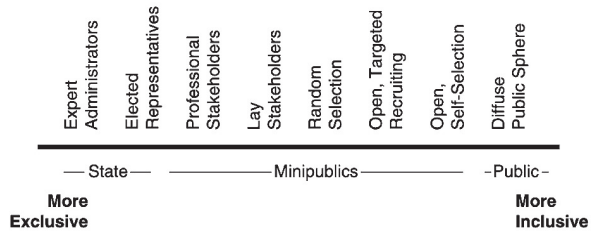


FIG. 3.4 Fung's axis of participants (2006)

Fung (2006) outlines the 'who' aspect of the recruitment process for participation, introducing a spectrum ranging from inclusive to exclusive approaches. This classification prompts the essential question of who is considered eligible to participate. As depicted in Figure 3.4, the participant axis is divided into three distinct categories: 'State', 'Mini publics', and 'Public'.

'State' refers to state-endorsed decision-makers, and Fung delineates these individual indicators as 'Expert Administrators' and 'Elected Representatives '. The definitions and distinctions between these categories are clarified in Table 3.2.

TABLE 3.2 State' indicators (adopted from Fung, 2006)

Indicator	Description
'Expert Administrators'	Public officials who oversee government agencies or experts appointed for comparable tasks who possess specialised knowledge and skills. Their expertise is frequently sought to contribute to and influence decision-making processes.
'Elected Representatives'	Elected political professionals tasked with advocating the interests of a specific electorate or the general public.

According to Fung (2006), 'Mini publics' can be defined as small, deliberative assemblies where diverse citizen groups engage in informed discussions about public issues. These assemblies advocate for deliberative democracy through the assurance

of inclusive representation, thereby alleviating the potential dominance of specific interest groups. The significance of such forums is particularly relevant in spatial planning research, where the direct involvement of residents is often imperative, as they are most affected by planning decisions, and their insights can prove crucial for the decision-making process. Alongside 'Mini publics', the category 'Public' denotes the most extensive form of participation. These indicators are detailed in Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3 Mini Publics' and 'Public' indicators (adopted from Fung, 2006)

Indicator	Description
'Professional stakeholders'	They possess specific skills or professional insights. These might include urban planners, environmental scientists, architects, or economists, depending on the context of the decision or policy in question. Their role in participatory processes is often to provide technical information, professional perspectives, and advice to inform and guide the decision-making process.
'Lay Stakeholders'	Ordinary citizens who have a stake in the outcome of a decision but do not have specialised knowledge about the issue.
'Random Selection' and 'Open, Targeted Recruitment' and 'Open, Self-Selection'	Participants are not direct-related stakeholders; they are chosen through a lottery or random process, which can help to ensure a wide and unbiased group. The other two categories include participants who are directly related by the decision or policy, aiming for a diverse representation or deciding for themselves whether to participate, which can lead to a group of participants that is highly motivated but may not be representative.
'Diffuse Public SPHERE' IN the category of 'public'	The public at large is engaged in dialogue and decision-making, often in an informal and unstructured manner.

It is essential to recognise that the concept of 'mini publics' can sometimes lead to an oversimplified view of small, homogeneous groups, fostering the misleading assumption that a shared neighbourhood or city equates to unified interests and concerns (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). Planning initiatives seldom achieve unanimous community support due to the diverse nature of residents' perspectives (Matzke, 1997).

While 'mini publics' provide a broader platform for engaged participation, the neutrality of these forums is not always assured. This situation is particularly evident in urban regeneration projects, where stakeholders often have conflicting interests; for example, property owners may be affected by changes in property values, while tenants may face displacement or increased rents if they return once construction has ended.

To address this issue, the study adapts Fung's classification to incorporate property ownership as a criterion among residents. By redefining 'lay stakeholders', the study introduces two distinct categories based on property ownership: 'property-owning stakeholders' and 'non-property-owning stakeholders'. The former includes

individuals who own property within the urban regeneration project, whether they are owner-occupiers or absentee landlords. The latter category comprises neighbourhood participants without property ownership in the specific context of urban regeneration.



FIG. 3.5 Modified axis of participation in the research (modified by author)

Furthermore, this study streamlines the analysis by consolidating 'Random Selection', 'Open, Targeted Recruitment', and 'Open, Self-Selection' into a single indicator – 'Random, Targeted, and Self-selection' – as these categories encompass non-direct stakeholders. This refined classification aims to capture the diverse interests within a community, distinguishing between exclusive and inclusive interests. For empirical research, these categories can assess the extent and quality of stakeholder involvement in urban governance. Their attributes include evaluating the representation of stakeholder groups, analysing correlations between stakeholder identities and actual involvement, and assessing the effectiveness of inclusive methods in policy formulation. Additionally, related research may explore the divide between recognised participants and decision-makers, examining how this division influences policy outcomes and the public interest.Bottom of Form

3.3.2 The axis of communication and decision-making



FIG. 3.6 Fung's axis of communication and decision-making model (2006)

Fung (2006, p.68) provides a straightforward series of indicators of 'how participants interact in a virtual or physical venue of public discussion and how decisions are made'. Fung's 'communication and decision-making axis' comprises six indicators of communication and decision-making.

TABLE 3.4 Indicators in the axis of communication and decision-making (adopted from Fung, 2006)

Intensity Level	Indicator	Description
LOW (no attempt to translate participants' views or preferences)	Listen as spectators	Participants passively receive information without engaging in the discussion.
	Express preferences	Participants state their preferences without a follow-up on the impact or response. This mode notes a difference between those unable to voice their preferences and those who choose not to engage further.
	Develop preferences	Participants actively engage by asking questions and expressing views. They are open to modifying their preferences according to new information and discussion. Informative materials are provided to help them understand the issues and moderate their decisions. They consider various options and make decisions by weighing each of them.
	Aggregation and bargaining	This mode is about consolidating individual preferences into collective choices. Participants have a clear understanding of their objectives.
	Deliberation and negotiation	Participants individually and collectively decide on their objectives through negotiation. Deliberative mechanisms encourage knowledge absorption, idea exchange, and perspective development. Participants craft action plans through discussions.
HIGH	Technical expertise*	Participants apply their technical knowledge and expertise to influence discussions and decisions. More than expressing or developing preferences, this intense engagement involves using specialist skills to effect meaningful change in the decision-making process.

**Fung's original indicator is 'Deploy technique and expertise'*

Fung suggests that the initial three indicators of communication often lack tangible impacts on policy, with participants' views considered but not necessarily shaping outcomes. In 'Aggregation and Bargaining', participants gain more influence over dialogue objectives, while in 'Deployment of Technique and Expertise', their

knowledge becomes crucial, diminishing the planner's dominant role and departing from the 'comprehensive rational planning' model. This shift resonates with Arnstein's concept of 'Citizen Control', the peak of her participation ladder.

The deliberative mechanism fosters an exchange of diverse ideas and interests, potentially forming a discourse rooted in the public interest. This approach aligns with Habermas's notion of a generalised or generalisable interest (Mattila, 2016; Tait, 2016), where dialogue enables collective actions by distinguishing widely applicable interests from narrower, sector-specific ones. In this communicative exchange, stakeholders articulate their 'voices', contributing meaningfully to the public domain.

Effective communication and consensus-building rely on openness and trust among stakeholders (Forester, 1982; Hajer, 2003; Healey, 2006a; Innes, 1995, 1996; Innes & Booher, 1999b; Susskind & Cruikshank, 1987), which requires considering stakeholder objectives, assumptions, and future uncertainties. Allowing stakeholders to shape the information can reduce biases and highlight value conflicts, supporting inclusive decision-making (Sørensen & Torfing, 2011). Ideally, stakeholders co-create information, collaboratively defining problems and solutions and fostering outcomes that serve mutual rather than individual interests.

While Fung's communication and decision-making model provides a framework to position empirical data, it lacks a metric to assess communication levels. To address this gap, the following section introduces an indicator to measure communication degree.

The indicator of effective communication: Responsiveness

A crucial but often overlooked concept in the planning model of communication is *responsiveness*, which highlights the flow of information and questions the core purpose of participation. If participation does not influence decision-makers, then what is its purpose? According to Vigoda (2002), responsiveness is defined as 'the speed and accuracy with which a service provider responds to a request for action or information'. Here, *speed* refers to the time between a citizen's request and the public body's response, while *accuracy* reflects how well the response meets the service users' needs.

Responsiveness serves as an indicator of how accurately decisions represent the majority's views within a set timeframe. Communication should have a clear goal, and participation should aim for decision-making that balances timeliness with

accurate representation. Decisions made solely by technocrats may be fast but might lack accuracy or broad representation. Conversely, decisions influenced only by a small group may be more representative but lack speed or accuracy. In participatory decision-making, responsiveness – in terms of both speed and precision – indicates how closely feedback reflects the choices of the wider population.

At a basic level, expression does not require an active response, functioning as individual expression rather than dialogue. As responsiveness increases, stages like aggregation, deliberation, and negotiation emerge, demanding more reciprocal communication and signalling higher levels of two-way dialogue.

In summary, responsiveness is a key metric for understanding communication within participatory decision-making. While Fung outlines axes defining a communication model, responsiveness can serve as an indicator to locate specific practices within this model.

3.3.3 The axis of authority and power

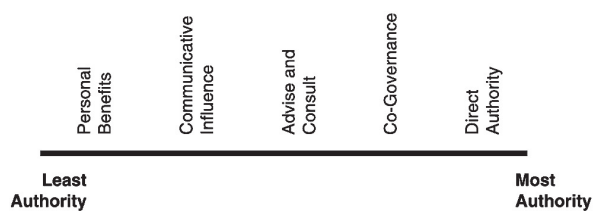


FIG. 3.7 Fung's axis of authority and power (2006)

This axis measures the impact of participation (Fung, 2006, p.69), reflecting the extent to which public involvement can influence and shape policy decisions. The spectrum ranges from minimal impact, where participants have little or no authority, to direct authority, where participants have a substantial influence on the final decision. Fung argues that the level of authority granted to participants, alongside who participates and how they communicate or make decisions, is a critical factor in assessing whether a participatory process can achieve goals such as enhancing legitimacy, promoting justice, or fostering effective governance. He highlights public hearings as an example where influence over policy is limited; these venues often serve more as spaces for expressing preferences than as platforms to influence decision-making (Fung, 2006). Consequently, chapter 8 will present and discuss examples of public hearings.

The participation axis begins with 'Personal Benefits', where individuals engage primarily for the experience, with no expectation of influencing outcomes (Fung, 2006). At this level, participants can express preferences, but they play no active role in shaping decisions.

Moving to the right, 'Communicative Influence' describes a situation where participation subtly guides decisions by shaping public opinion. Participants engage in meaningful dialogues, aiming for consensus to inform decision-making. Although not guaranteed to impact the final decision, their insights contribute to the broader discourse.

'Advise and Consult' represents a key aspect of deliberative democracy, emphasising dialogue and consultation. Unlike direct democracy models that use voting or referenda, this stage centres on advisory processes. While officials retain final decision-making authority, participant input is valued and can shape outcomes, underscoring the importance of public feedback in decision-making.

The subsequent levels, 'Co-governance' and 'Direct Power', reflect deeper participatory mechanisms. 'Co-governance' embodies a collaborative governance model where citizens and officials jointly deliberate and resolve public issues, sharing equal power and responsibility. This approach goes beyond traditional voting, fostering an inclusive, ongoing participatory process through structures like citizen advisory boards or participatory budgeting.

At the peak, 'Direct Power' represents maximum citizen engagement, where the public has direct control over decisions, not mediated through representatives. This model empowers citizens to propose and vote on policies affecting their lives, prioritising active participation and restructuring governance towards a more inclusive democratic process.

TABLE 3.5 Indicators in the axis of authority and power (adopted from Fung, 2006)

Indicator	Description
Personal Benefits	Individuals participate for the experience itself, not to sway the outcome. Typical of initial public forums where people voice preferences without actively shaping the decision.
Communicative Influence	Participants engage in dialogues aimed at building consensus that may indirectly inform the decision process, but there is no guaranteed impact on the final decision.
Advise and Consult	While officials make the ultimate choice, they actively solicit and incorporate substantial citizen advice and consultation into their decision-making.
Co-governance	A governance model where citizens and government officials jointly make decisions through a collaborative process, sharing equal decision-making power and responsibility for outcomes.
Direct Authority	Citizens directly propose, develop, and vote on policies and decisions rather than delegating this power to representatives or other intermediaries.

3.3.4 The axis of spatial transformation

The role of spatial transformation and participatory processes in urban regeneration

The study's conceptual framework (Figure 3.1) focuses on acting in the public interest through planning strategies, which may include various forms of public participation and dynamic spatial transformations across different scales and times. As discussed in Section 2.4.2, incorporating public interest into projects in urban areas goes beyond merely creating public spaces; it requires a mix of spaces (from private to public) that address the diverse needs of the community. This approach aligns with housing planning and design in urban regeneration projects. Consequently, urban regeneration – a complex process involving multiple stakeholders – requires diverse spatial arrangements, including private and public spaces, varied land uses, and other spatial elements, to meet these needs.

Drawing on Carpenter (2016), Gaspari et al. (2017), and Zhu (2023), this component examines how participatory processes influence spatial transformations. It analyses the spatial goals emerging from participatory dialogues, planning, and design within the context of urban regeneration.

Relationship between public interest and urban spaces: Architectural and planning perspectives

As mentioned in 2.4.3, the idea of public interest involves two key aspects: interests that can be broadly applied across society and a collaborative decision-making process in terms of spatial planning. Central to this is the notion of 'publicness', which evaluates the degree of public interest along three dimensions: the accessibility of a location, its purpose, and its ownership structure. These three elements – accessibility, usage, and ownership – play a vital role in shaping the societal dynamics and spatial interactions within an area.

Hence, the term 'publicness' can be used to indicate the degree to which the public can benefit from accessing and utilising a particular space (see 2.4.3). Even though a space may be designed with the intent of fulfilling public interests, its publicness may be limited if certain groups cannot access it or if it is not maintained well or perceived as unwelcoming or unsafe. On the other hand, a privately owned space may exhibit a high degree of 'publicness' if it is frequently used by the community or there is a shared sense of ownership.

As discussed in 2.3.4, dimensions for evaluating publicness in space are control and accessibility and spatial usage, property ownership, and physical configuration (Madanipour, 2003; Varna, 2011; Varna & Tiesdell, 2010); these dimensions are further explained in the following:

Accessibility and spatial usage

Access and usage restrictions can be adjusted to attract or deter users (Newman, 1972). For example, restaurants require customers to pay to gain access. Spaces that are restricted to a particular purpose also attract users or activities. Thus, the greater the restriction of use or access to a space, the more specialised its use. In residential areas, the delineation of areas can also segregate users by determining who can enter and who cannot, who belongs to a particular area and who does not, especially property owners and non-property owners.

Property ownership

The practice of urban regeneration includes changes to property ownership patterns and its potential redistribution. This feature suggests that property ownership, an important neoliberal engine of urban development, can facilitate changes in urban space by making ownership more consolidated or decentralised. A prominent example of this is the effect on the urban landscape based on the division of property rights during urban regeneration – as new development plans increase density and decrease public space to compensate for the financial costs of development (Buitelaar & Segeren, 2011; Sørensen, 2018). Taipei's experience with urban regeneration is especially compelling when it comes to the transfer of private property rights and the privatisation of public property rights (Hsu & Hsu, 2013b; Jou et al., 2016; Shih et al., 2019; Shih & Chang, 2015; D. Y. R. Yang & Chang, 2018).

Management

As discussed in Section 2.3.4, 'contractual mechanisms for the governance of public space' (Leclercq, 2018; De Magalhães, 2010, p.564) are additive tools for the governance of publicness. These tools are pivotal not only for the generation of public spaces but also for their subsequent management. The oversight prior to the space's creation is equally critical. The management perspective demonstrates how publicness is generated and maintained according to the 'contracts' set out in the tools associated with managing public space, an integral aspect when urban regeneration is led by the private sector.

Together, these dimensions shape the spatial patterns of regenerated areas and influence the public nature of the generated spaces. At the same time, the degree of stakeholder involvement in the planning process described above influences the public nature of the regenerated space. While the three dimensions discussed above may be clearly defined, the publicness of a space is not limited to any one dimension but rather results from the interplay of all the dimensions (Varna & Tiesdell, 2010), which is collectively referred to as the planning process. By investigating participation levels within these planning processes, this study can identify the publicness of the urban regeneration spaces they produce. For example, suppose the planning process of an urban regeneration case is heavily engaged with the issue of property rights conversion. In that case, even if it produces a legally public space, it is likely to be conditionally semi-public through various management techniques.

Continuum of private-public typologies as an indicator

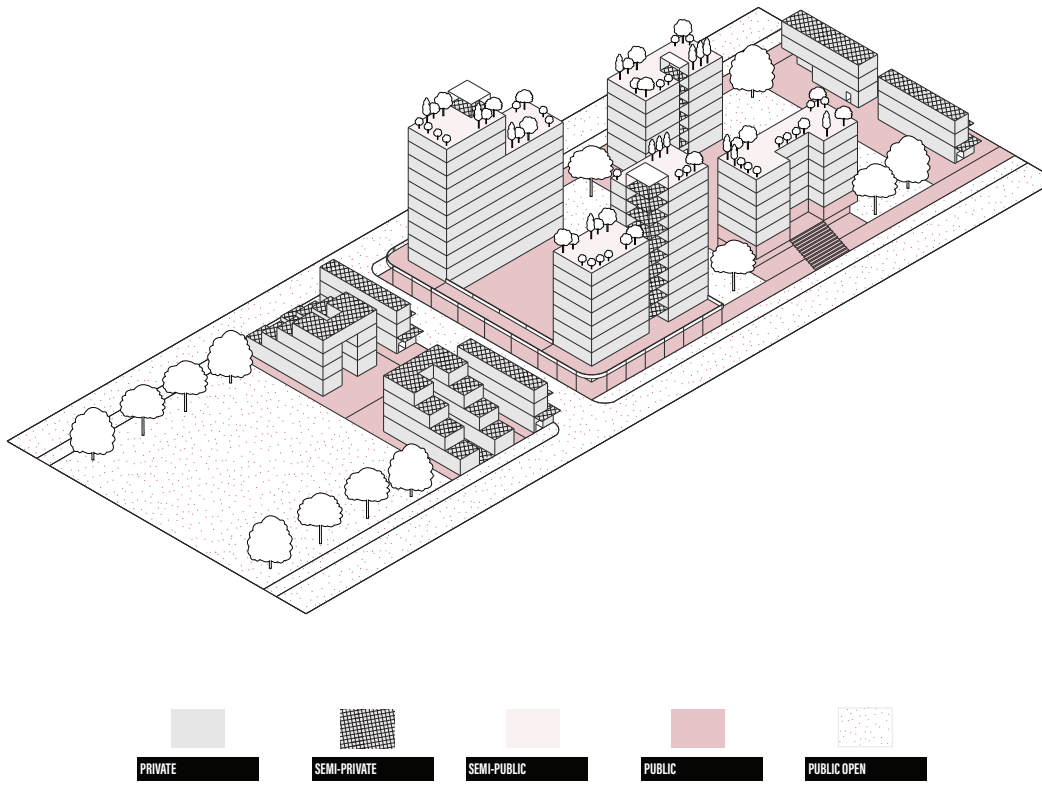


FIG. 3.8 Examples of the continuum of private-public typologies within an urban space

Figure 3.8 illustrates the continuum of private-public space typologies, highlighting the diverse roles these spaces play in urban areas. Each typology – from private to open public spaces – serves distinct or overlapping functions and ownership patterns, offering varying levels of accessibility and control:

— **Private space:** For the exclusive use of the residents who own the property or for the use of tenants who are entitled to use it. The indoor part includes spaces such as the kitchen and living room. There may also be outdoor gardens and terraces. This type of space allows for complete private control, a high degree of security and privacy, and an exclusive area that residents can use exactly as they wish.

- **Semi-private space:** This area is designated as ‘public‘, but only some residents have access to it (i.e., it is public only to certain people). For instance, a location is semi-private if it is only accessible to people who live nearby. Also, a *semi-private space* is a crucial part of a housing complex because it is designed for communal living and frequently serves as a bridge between various households, common areas, or main entrances. In addition, it could be a courtyard or garden that is only used for communal living. These users typically share management duties as well as the collective ownership rights to semi-private spaces.

- **Semi-public space:** Here, the behaviour of users is occasionally restricted for administrative or other reasons, even though access to these spaces is mainly unrestricted. *Semi-public spaces* have a variety of explicit and implicit features that restrict access, including locked doors and guard posts; varying paved surfaces and low fences; and spaces that are for specific purposes but not restricted to specific people (such as shops or public service spaces).

- **Public space:** Urban spaces that are easily accessible and usable by the general public. A *public space* may be expressly set aside in a building plan and is a space that is legally required for public use in the design of a building.

- **Open-air public space:** Also called *public open spaces* (POSs) – a sub-category of public space. This area has two meanings: firstly, it refers to the various open spaces in urban areas that are not taken up by building plans. These spaces are open to the public, can be freely accessed, and can include streets, parks, and squares in cities. An example of this can be seen in Chapter 2 of the *Nolli map*’s figure-ground. It is worth noting that this space is not considered part of a designated sidewalk or square within a building plan but is instead a part of the larger urban plan. This type of space has a wider appeal beyond adjacent neighbourhoods.

  This typology is utilised to comprehend which types of spaces are discussed as issues in participatory processes, which issues participants discuss most frequently, and which types of spaces are determined by this process.

TABLE 3.6 Table 3.6 The private-public typology of urban space, its three components and examples

	components of THE Axis of spatial transformation	Architecture to Planning perspective			
		Openness and usage	Ownership	Management	Examples
Private domain	**private**	Owners only	Private	By owners	Interior of a house, storage units
	Semi-private	Shared only by owners	Private	By common of owners	Corridors connecting different houses, hallways, staircases, backyards, entrances
Public domain	**Semi-public**	Controlled under certain conditions	Mixed	By owners	Affiliated gardens, spaces used for public facilities (i.e. elder care), community roof-top spaces, museums, and public libraries
	Public	Fully accessible	Private, public, or mixed	By owners or by public	Spaces open to the public, plot-based and set-back sidewalks, building overhangs (e.g. arcades, porches, street shelters)
	Open-air public spaces (POSs)	Open	Public	By the public	Street, parks, squares

3.3.5 The inclusive radar

Combining the four axes mentioned in this chapter, this study's analytical framework takes the shape of a radar diagram. Drawing on the concept of the democracy cube as an analogy, this study adopts an Inclusive Radar (Figure 3.9). This diagram also serves as a gauge of degree differences. The degree increases the further the intersection point is from the centre:

1 The participant axis represents the level of participant inclusion. The process moves toward the public sphere and grows more inclusive when the participants are more diverse, i.e. not only government representatives and owners.

2 Communication and decision-making axis: from inside to outside, representing intensity; the further away from the intersection an indicator is, the more frequent and complex the communication and decision-making process becomes.

3 The authority and power axis shifts from inside (represents participation with no real impact on the decision) to outside (participation with the most impact on the decision). The least authoritative is when the participant's voice has no impact, and the most authoritative is when the participant controls all decisions directly.

4 The axis of spatial transformation is its relevance to public use, which can also be used to assess the relevance of public interest to urban regeneration products. From the renovation of buildings in private space, where there is less public interest (or, more likely, no public interest, as it is the owner's building that is being renovated). As more stakeholders are involved in the use, maintenance, and management of public spaces and urban grounds, there is typically a heightened level of public interest.

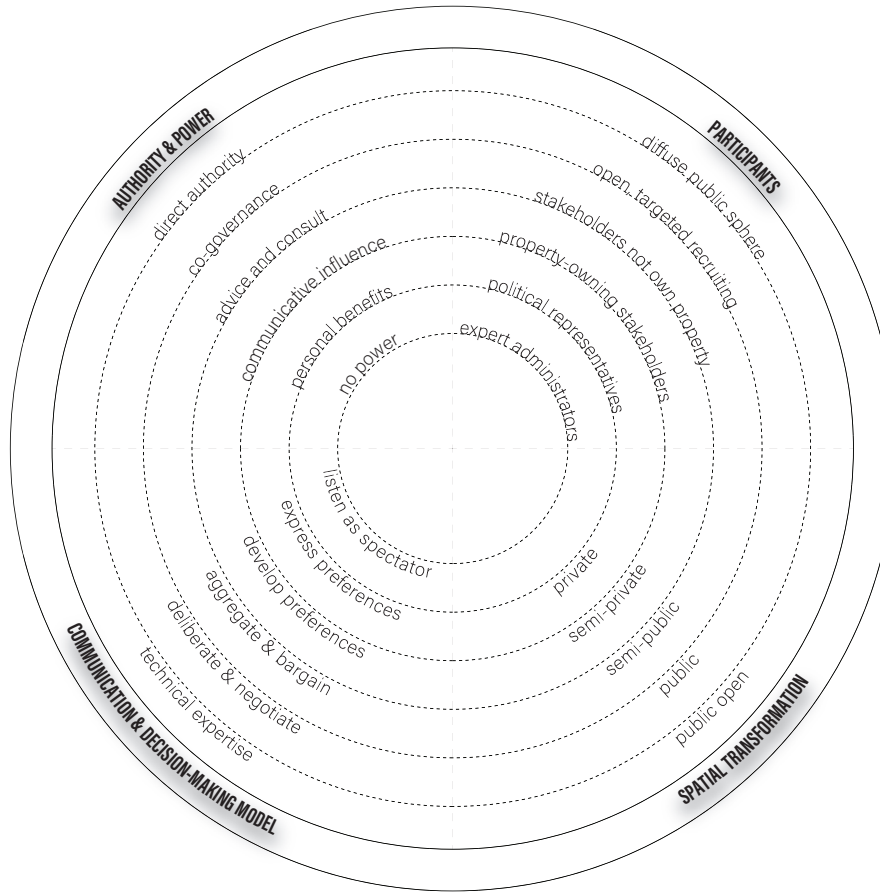


FIG. 3.9 The inclusive radar

3.4 Research design and methods

Case study as a primary research methodology

This study employs case study research as its principal approach. Case study research is described as 'an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project, policy, institution, or system within a "real-life" context. It is a research strategy that integrates various methods and is underpinned by empirical evidence' (Simons, 2009, p.21, cited in Simons, 2014). Defined as a 'collective story' (Simons, 2014, p.456), case study research compiles individual narratives to highlight key aspects of the case, capturing a detailed account of events, time, place, and diverse experiences. This approach is particularly effective in mitigating 'methodological individualism' (Purkarthofer & Stead, 2023, p.13), which tends to interpret all processes through the lens of individual actors.

In this study, urban regeneration is examined as a complex, multifaceted phenomenon. To fully understand the topic, it is essential to consider statutory planning instruments – such as relevant laws and regulations, the structuring of property rights, statutory public participation processes, and the practical realities of communication among stakeholders. The use of case study research is thus essential for achieving this study's objectives.

Additionally, applying a comparative case approach strengthens the research by enabling the identification of anticipated differences across contexts. This approach supports the empirical reconstruction of cases, substantially enhancing the external validity of the findings beyond what a single case could provide (Yin, 2017). This strategy is particularly suited to the research objective of exploring the boundaries and opportunities within varied conditions, such as shifts from public to private leadership in urban regeneration and the specific impacts of property ownership on stakeholder participation.

In essence, the case study methodology permits an exhaustive and nuanced analysis, which is often indispensable for fully grasping the intricacies overlooked by other methods. It emphasises 'developmental factors' to trace how interconnected events shape the case over time and employs the 'relation to the environment' to define the scope of the study, identifying what constitutes the case and its context (Flyvbjerg, 2011).

Case selection methods

Two sampling approaches can be employed in case studies: random sampling and information-based sampling, as suggested by Flyvbjerg (2011). For the former, the sample size is a determining factor. To obtain a representative sample for generalisation to the entire population and to avoid systematic bias in the sample, both random sampling and the selection of subgroups from the population can be employed.

The information-based approach maximises the usefulness of data derived from small samples and single cases. Cases are chosen based on expectations regarding their informational content (see Figure 3.7).

TABLE 3.7 Methods for information-based selection of cases (author summary from Flyvbjerg, 2011)

Extreme/deviant cases	To obtain information on unusual cases, which can be particularly problematic or particularly advantageous in a narrower sense. To comprehend the limitations of existing theories and to develop new concepts, variables, and theories that can account for cases of deviance.
Maximum variation instances (MVI)	To obtain information regarding the significance of various circumstances on case process and outcome, for example, three to four cases that differ significantly on one dimension: size, form of organisation, location, or budget.
Critical cases	To obtain data that enables logical deductions of the form 'If this is valid for this case, then it applies to all (no) cases'.
Paradigmatic case	To develop a metaphor or establish a school of thought for the domain at hand.

This study's case selection employs both the maximum variation instances (MVI) and the critical cases strategies. On the one hand, the MVI strategy prioritises the assessment of various circumstances' significance to the case's process and outcomes. Consequently, the types of urban regeneration in Taipei have been categorised into three distinct approaches: private-led, public-led, and the more recent social housing initiative. These variables entail the objectives of the research and are strongly aligned with the theoretical and analytical framework. As a second step, the critical cases strategy guides the final choice of a specific case within each type (i.e. private-led, public-led, social housing) based on their representativeness.

For the private-led category, the chosen case is distinguished by receiving the highest level of municipal incentives coupled with the greatest level of neighbourhood opposition in Taipei. Regarding the public-led category, the pioneering project of public regeneration, which also presents the complexities of multiple ownership, was chosen. For social housing, the focus is on the municipal government's flagship project, which purportedly utilises a participatory approach.

3.4.1 Data collection and management

Qualitative analysis, encompassing interviews, annotations from meetings, and planning documentation, underpin the study. Further, this research engages in the collection and examination of urban regeneration statistics for Taipei from 2009 to 2018, augmenting the qualitative analysis. The gathered data encompasses the number of regeneration projects, their physical footprint, age, and the location of the properties concerned. Utilising geographic information system (GIS) mapping techniques, the data also unveils the overarching spatial traits of various urban regeneration categories.

Planning and policy review

Policy documents are essential to this research, serving a dual purpose. First, they elucidate the objectives behind urban regeneration initiatives. Their content is used to evaluate the evolution of specific case projects from conception to construction. Additionally, these documents furnish a chronological framework of urban regeneration's legal and statutory structure. The study categorises these documents into two distinct segments for a comprehensive analysis:

1 Strategic policy frameworks, such as laws, regulations, guidelines, and general urban regeneration policy documents released by the government. These detail broad planning and policy resolutions that transcend individual cases, encompassing directives and frameworks pertinent to urban regeneration that include statutory regulations and master plans for zoning and land use. For each policy, regulation, and legislative act, both the title and the year of enactment and amendment are specified and systematically compiled in the appendix.

2 Implementation frameworks, which are essential for accessing policies, resolutions from the municipal council, detailed plans for implementation, and input from municipal committees. This material includes documentation from briefings conducted by the municipality with participants engaged in statutory participatory processes. This body of research is crucial to reconstruct the process of information dissemination and communication within participatory frameworks. They provide insights into how participants are briefed through planning documents and elaborate the regeneration plans. Each piece of information has been assigned an identifier and is systematically documented and collated in the appendix.

Furthermore, the three case studies examined in this project incorporate more detailed and specialised resources, including site layouts, architectural schematics, and project briefs furnished by the municipality, the developers, and the contracted architectural firms.

Semi-structured interviews

The selection of interviewees for this research was informed by an initial exploratory review of policy and planning documents, which identified key decision-makers, including government officials and members of municipal urban renewal committees. Site visits and direct interactions with residents provided an avenue to capture perspectives that may not have been documented in official records. During the Covid-19 pandemic, when travel restrictions were imposed, some interviews were conducted online. Each piece of information collected has been assigned a unique identifier and is meticulously recorded in the appendix.

Meeting notes of statutory participatory procedures

This dataset is primarily used to investigate public hearings (see 5.2.1). This study examines all public hearing meeting notes because required hearings for urban regeneration participatory procedures are a relatively new feature (as of 2014), ensuring that these minutes are comprehensive. Also, a hearing requires a particular type of administrative documentation that includes information on the participants (to be released anonymously), the classification of stakeholders, the questions of the participants and, most importantly, the obligatory answers of the authority or implementer to these questions. A public hearing is held at either community centres or municipalities. The municipal officer carefully records all information and responses, and these public hearings are opened to the public via the municipal website. The researcher also accessed all the meeting minutes of public hearings from the official municipal website.

While these public hearing transcripts provide a complete picture of participation processes, their total of nearly 300 cases and more than 2,000 statements make them challenging to interpret. The content frequently lacks clarity, with some participants merely expressing dissatisfaction, others articulating self-serving interests, such as lobbying for additional developer incentives, and others providing input unrelated to the project at hand. Consequently, these statements necessitate structured classification and coding, a technique essential for distilling relevant, coherent data from unstructured text (Richards & Morse, 2012). This coding exercise aligns with the four-axis analytical framework of this study, entailing two coding phases: identity coding for participant classification and content coding for analysing participant discourse. The coding methodology extracts valuable, coherent data from disorganised, chaotic texts, and its details are elaborated in 8.1.1 and the appendix.

4 Introducing Taipei's urban regeneration

Policy, planning, and regenerationmodels

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the foundation for the empirical examination of the case studies, tracing the trajectory of Taipei's urban regeneration. It also includes an in-depth exposition of the policy frameworks associated with each regeneration approach, the factors driving their inception, and the wider social and economic implications of the policy foundations and planning actions of the origins and development of the three regeneration approaches.

Initially, the chapter provides a historical account of urban regeneration practices in Taipei, spanning from the early 20th century to the latter decades of the 1990s. It charts the evolution from modernist planning during the Japanese colonial period, through the post-war housing crisis triggered by a surge in population, to the onset of central renewal in the 1960s. This narrative encapsulates the transformative impact of these initiatives on the urban fabric of Taipei through to the present day.

The next section begins with an analysis of the policy infrastructure instituted in 1950 and furthers the timeline beyond the 1990s, assuming an established urban framework. It sheds light on the development of policy frameworks that have driven

this advancement. Detailed discussions of institutional structures, planning tools, and legal frameworks are presented alongside the methodologies and strategies derived from these elements.

The final part of the chapter reviews contemporary urban regeneration approaches in Taipei, which are differentiated as 'Private-led', 'Public-led', and 'Social Housing as a Regeneration Tool'. This segment provides a nuanced examination of the policy evolution pertinent to each approach, the impetus for their development, and their broader socio-economic consequences.

4.2 Western influence on early urban planning in colonial Taipei before 1945

During the early period of colonisation, Western urban planning and perceptions of desired urban form were introduced into Taipei (W.-D. Huang et al., 1998; Hung & Fong, 2014; Yoh, 1994). Modern planning and architecture were seen as pivotal tools to establish a sense of modernity and impose a sense of order (Sewell, 2000). This order reflected Japan's national power and political modernisation (Fujimori, 1993) during its rule over Taiwan from 1895 to 1945. The first master plan for Taipei was termed the 'Downtown Reform Plan' of 1905, as illustrated in the upper-right map in Figure 4.1. This initiative marked a departure from the traditional Southern Chinese-style inner-city design, commonly referred to as a 'walled city' and sought to integrate Western urban planning principles into the revamping of the downtown urban fabric.

The urban reform aimed to integrate Western urban planning principles and techniques into the city centre. The initial master plan set out a grid layout for streets and blocks and included essential public health infrastructure such as a sewage system. It also facilitated the city's growth to the east, as shown by the new gridded road maps. In particular, the city's old southwest underwent significant changes with expanded streets, enlarged blocks, and the Qing Dynasty walls replaced by avenues, introducing modern transport features like roundabouts and boulevards. The 1905 master plan marked the city's transition from an enclosed, walled city to a modern urban area with a systematic approach to zoning for residential and other urban functions.

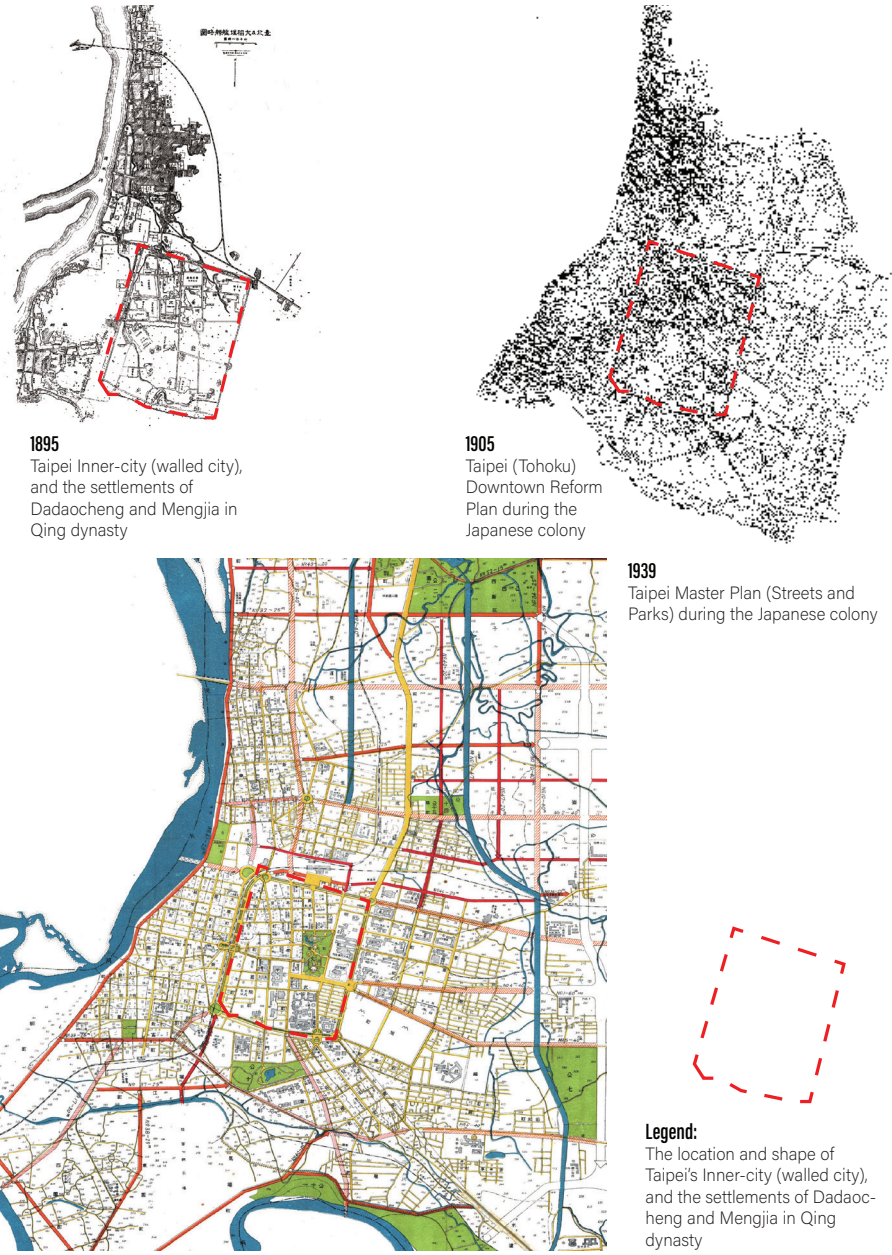


FIG. 4.1 Series of maps showing the modernisation of Taipei. Rrom left to right: 1 Map of Taipei, Dadaocheng and Mengjia, 1895 Source: Sigemitu Tanaka- Cities and Architecture in Modern China: Guangzhou, Huangpu, Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan, Chongqing and Taipei, 2005, Sagami Shobo, Tokyo (Japanese: 田中重光 近代・中国の都市と建築—広州・黄埔・上海・南京・武漢・重慶・台北 東京：相模書房) 2005 年 3 Map of Taipei Downtown Reform Plan, 1905 (Partial) (台北市區改正計畫圖). Source: Centre for GIS, RCHSS, Academia Sinica, Taiwan4 Map of Taipei Master Plan, 1939 (Partial) (台北市區計畫・街路並公園圖). Source: Centre for GIS, RCHSS, Academia Sinica, Taiwan

Under Japanese colonisation, the legislative framework and instruments for urban planning evolved considerably. The enactment of the Town Planning Act in Taiwan in 1936 catalysed a pivotal shift in Taipei's urban development, marking the commencement of formal planning processes with the establishment of the inaugural planning tool, termed the 'Taipei Master Plan of 1939' (the bottom map in Figure 4.1). This tool delineated prospective areas for urban growth, characterised by their systematic, grid-patterned streets (indicated in red) and the integration of parkland (shown in green). It pioneered the designation of specific residential areas and locations for public housing, setting a precedent for subsequent urban planning in post-war Taipei.

4.3 Urban regeneration in post-war Taipei

4.3.1 Housing crisis in post-war Taipei

After the Second World War, Taiwan transitioned from a Japanese colony to the Republic of China amidst the turmoil of the Chinese Civil War. Taipei, the capital, was particularly hard-hit by a housing crisis precipitated by the influx of refugees and rural migrants from mainland China. The island's population swelled from 6 million to 7.3 million between 1946 and 1949 (F. M. Chen, 1988). This rapid increase in population placed immense pressure on the urban housing infrastructure, which was unable to keep pace with the demand in terms of construction rate and residential zoning.

Despite the construction of 275,000 new housing units from 1957 to 1968, the population growth did not abate, with an increase of 3.96 million people. This spike led to a shortfall of approximately 120,000 housing units by the 1980s, with Taipei feeling the most acute shortage (as referenced by the Council for International Economic Cooperation and Development in Taiwan's central government in 1971, pp.58–59, and cited in Mi in 1988, p.109).

The scarcity of land for residential development within the pre-war planned areas of the city resulted in highly crowded living conditions and a proliferation of informal housing. Residents expanded their living spaces into public domains such as streets and backyards, compromising the quality of neighbourhoods. By 1963, around one-third of Taipei's inhabitants were living in such improvised housing, according to Mi (1988).

4.3.2 Urban ‘renewal’ in informal settlements since the 1950s

Resettled tenants housing (RTHs) in Taipei



The newly completed RTH housing in 1970 (source: Taipei Pictorial, 1970)

After forty years of use, one of the RTH houses in Taipei, as shown in the picture, has had its building façade illegally pushed out for internal use and the public space at ground floor level has been occupied.(source: Taipei municipal government, 2015)

FIG. 4.2 Photo collage shows RTH housing after its completion and after 50 years of occupancy

Throughout the municipal ‘renewal’, the municipality functioned not merely as a state ‘bulldozer’ to clear areas but also took on the mantle of a state ‘builder’. In this capacity, it established the resettled tenants housing (RTHs) programme. This initiative, active from 1962 to 1975, was conceived to rehouse inhabitants displaced by the demolition of informal construction, clearing the way for essential public infrastructure works like roadways and sewage systems. During its operation, the programme facilitated 24 RTH projects, culminating in the creation of upwards of 10,500 housing units.

Initially, these units were designed to accommodate single individuals or small families, offering an internal living area of 24 to 36 square metres per household. However, with population growth, the family life cycle evolved (such as the addition of new family members). Following increasing prosperity among the residents, these initial living spaces no longer fulfilled the requirements of housing an extended family. This situation gave rise to a twofold issue: the prevalence of a dilapidated neighbourhood and the illegal annexation of the public space within the building blocks to enlarge the interior living areas. Concurrent with these issues, the persistent neglect in the management and maintenance of public spaces and individual buildings turned the neighbourhoods containing these resettlement houses into some of the most deteriorated areas in Taipei (see Figure 4.2).

Although in many renewal cases, families were not relocated by the municipality, most of them had to find another site to build new housing once their homes had been demolished. The city has undertaken a series of relocation and resettlement projects that combine the demolition of informal settlements, the configuration of infrastructure and the relocation of the original occupants' dwelling and the affiliated spaces for commercial activity.

The first municipal direct intervention regeneration project of RTH housing

Taiwan experienced a marked surge in urbanisation during the 1960s, propelled by rural residents migrating to cities and an overall population rise, alongside a substantial economic boom. This swift urban expansion resulted in the dense aggregation of the population within the confines of urban areas, exerting considerable pressure on the already scarce urban land resources.

Additionally, in Taipei, large-scale reform initiatives, spanning from housing provisions to restructuring broader urban spaces such as commercial sectors and park development, were instrumental in the physical transformation of the cityscape. These initiatives incentivised the urban regeneration process, featuring new housing facilities and enhanced environmental quality in previously underprivileged neighbourhoods. These changes catalysed the emergence of the housing market, marking a second phase of urban regeneration after the clearance of informal urban settlements in the post-war era.

In 1980, the municipality embarked on its first RTH housing regeneration project: the *Willow Country project*. With direct intervention from its planning department, the municipality managed all facets of the project, from land acquisition and land

use planning to housing schemes and the relocation plan (Chang, 1980). The project culminated in the construction of a mixed-use edifice, supplying housing for the resettled residents along with a municipal market. By the late 1980s, there was a policy shift in favour of private-led regeneration endeavours, leading to the cessation of direct municipal involvement. As a result, the *Willow Country project* remained a singular endeavour. Following this policy shift, the municipality endorsed the involvement of private developers to spearhead urban regeneration, marking the cessation of direct government intervention in urban regeneration.

4.4 Policy frameworks and urban regeneration approaches of Taipei

4.4.1 Limitations of the state intervention perspective

Hsu and Chang (2013a) present the development of an urban regeneration policy framework in Taiwan, defining four consecutive eras that shift from state interventions to entrepreneurialism and, more recently, a tilt towards neoliberal policies (see also Lan & Lee, 2020). Their research thoroughly examines the extent of state involvement in urban regeneration from a policy perspective, consequently providing a detailed delineation of the urban regeneration policy framework in Taiwan:

1. State-led era (1950s to mid-1980s): Dominant direct control and execution by the state. Characterised by comprehensive state planning and funding.

2. State-fostered era (mid-1980s to mid-1990s): Shift towards enabling private sector involvement. Introduction of public incentives to stimulate private investment.

3. State-engineered era (late 1990s to present): Continued encouragement of private participation. Enhanced public incentives and regulatory frameworks to guide private regeneration efforts.

4. Dual-track era (since the 2010s): A hybrid approach to adopt and address the areas neglected by the market.

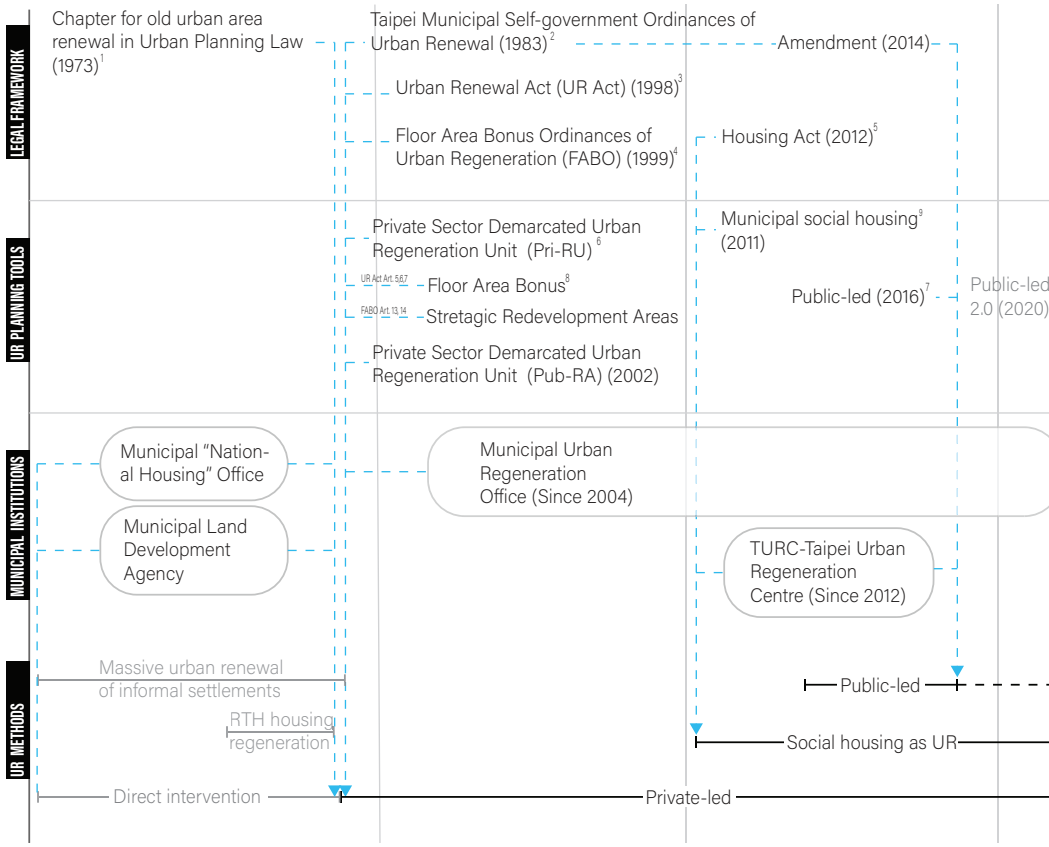
From the ‘state-fostered’ to ‘state-engineered’ periods, there is a progression in the degree of incentivisation for private sector participation, delineating a spectrum between public-led and private-led approaches. The state-led model is encompassed within the public-led category, where the state is the primary driver. The state-fostered and state-engineered models represent a shift towards a supportive role for the state, facilitating private-led regeneration via public incentives. The dual-track model embodies the integration of both public and private efforts, reflecting a pragmatic approach to urban regeneration that draws on the capabilities and resources of both sectors.

These state intervention perspectives, while seemingly linear, do not fully capture the complex and dynamic interplay of public-private relationships that continue to evolve. For example, in periods of less state intervention, who was then taking the lead? Further, these views fail to address the nuances of leadership within urban regeneration projects.

In addition, this perspective sees the state and the market as the only two driving forces of urban regeneration, hence limiting the scope of urban regeneration, which might broaden the dynamics of societal-defined public interests. For instance, municipal regeneration strategies regarding social housing have aimed not just to bolster the housing market but to address broader social needs.

Consequently, the traditional political-economic frameworks of urban regeneration, while providing an outline, fall short of addressing the intricate realities on the ground. There is a growing recognition of the need for a policy framework perspective for categorising urban regeneration, which can provide more grounded, responsive models that can clearly delineate how incentive policies and leading actors, either public or private, are proactively acting in urban regeneration projects.

4.4.2 Taipei's urban regeneration policy frameworks in different periods



1. (In Chinese: 都市計畫法增補都市更新專章)
2. (In Chinese: 臺北市都市更新自治條例)
3. (In Chinese: 都市更新條例)
4. (In Chinese: 都市更新容積獎勵辦法)
5. (In Chinese:住宅法)
6. Taipei Municipal Directions of Demarcation of Private Sector Demarcated Urban Regeneration Unit (Pri-RU) (2002) (In Chinese: 臺北市自行劃定更新單元重建區段作業須知)
7. Taipei Municipal Directions of Public-led Urban Regeneration (2016) (In Chinese: 臺北市公辦都市更新實施辦法)
8. Taipei Municipal Directions of Floor Area Bonus for Encouraging Urban Regeneration(2005)(In Chinese: 臺北市都市更新建築容積獎勵辦法)
9. Social Housing Short Term Programme (2011) (In Chinese: 社會住宅短期實施方案)

FIG. 4.3 Concurrent timeline of urban regeneration developments in Taipei (Source: author)

Evolution of policy framework in urban regeneration

Figure 4.3 presents a concurrent timeline of the evolution of the policy framework with this categorisation. From 1950 to 1990, the period marked by direct intervention, urban regeneration was characterised by a state-led 'bulldozer and builder' method, implemented to meet the demands of swift urban renewal. Post-1990, a gradual understanding of the urban regeneration–related legal framework led to the emergence of a private-led approach. However, after 2010, recognising the limitations of private-led regeneration, particularly in areas of decline and lower market profitability, the municipal government reclaimed a more pronounced role, revisiting public-led initiatives as the 'renewed' strategy for urban regeneration. This strategy is not novel per se, as it echoes the direct state intervention evident from 1950–1990.

This trend also mirrors the inclination of Taiwan's planning system to rely on local governments. Prior to the 1990s, large-scale urban regeneration was predominantly executed by the central government; the local governments (county and municipal governments) served as the implementers, and the provincial government functioned as intermediaries. Post-1990s, with the provincial government no longer in place, the roles and duties of the central and local governments became more distinct: the central government assumed the role of policymaker and regulator, with local governments implementing these directives. As for planning, counties and municipalities have been tasked with creating master plans, and occasionally, the central government collaborates with local governments for specific planning objectives (e.g. the Aerotropolis of Taoyuan Airport). Nonetheless, the central government's principal responsibility is to review these plans, as local plans require central government approval (as per Article 20 of the Urban Planning Law, most recently amended in May 2021). The legal framework displayed in Figure 4.2 further highlights the central government's position as a creator of policy frameworks, with the Urban Renewal Act (UR Act), the Urban Planning Law, and the Housing Act serving as centrepieces of the central government's nationwide regulations, whereas the Taipei Municipal Government establishes all other regulations, planning tools, and planning institutions.

The persistence of urban housing shortages since 2000, further emphasised by the Housing Act of 2012, has led to the integration of social housing into Taipei's urban regeneration strategy. Municipal authorities have thus expanded the scope of urban regeneration to include social housing as a core component, reflecting a comprehensive response to housing needs and contributing to the broader urban regeneration efforts. In short, municipal social housing projects have become a means of urban regeneration.

Leadership within urban regeneration projects is inherently complex, largely due to the evolving dynamics between public and private sector collaboration, often referred to as the state–society relationship. Over time, this relationship has experienced significant shifts, altering the equilibrium between direct state intervention and collaborative partnerships, leading to an increasingly indistinct boundary between these methodologies. Consequently, there is an emerging requirement to delineate the roles and responsibilities of the actors involved more precisely and to identify the leadership and its enforcing body.

As delineated in the 'municipal institutions' section of Figure 4.2, the Municipal Urban Regeneration Office, established in 2004, assumes a pivotal role in orchestrating private-led urban regeneration projects. The primary responsibilities of this municipal entity include developing policies that incentivise regeneration, designating urban regeneration areas, and overseeing and regulating the allocation of incentives.

In 2012, reflecting a strategic pivot towards a public-led approach to urban regeneration, the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC) was inaugurated. Funded entirely by the municipal government and with its personnel under municipal management, the TURC is dedicated to spearheading public-led urban regeneration efforts, thereby complementing the private sector's initiatives with public sector oversight and resources.

The forthcoming sections will elucidate the prevailing urban regeneration approaches in Taipei, which are categorised as 'private-led', 'public-led', and 'social housing as a means of urban regeneration'. The intention is to offer readers an intricate perspective into the progression of policy frameworks associated with each regeneration approach, the factors driving their inception, and the broader social and economic implications.

4.4.3 Private-led urban regeneration in Taipei

From total land expropriation to public-private partnerships

Prior to 1993, the strategy for urban rejuvenation in Taipei was governed by the 'Total Land Expropriation' model. This method entailed the municipal government acquiring and reallocating land in designated zones to meet urban development projections. The municipality's land development authority was charged with the creation of infrastructure. Upon completion, certain lands remained under municipal ownership for public amenities, while proprietors were recompensed with land

shares. Subsequently, the private sector was invited to invest in the remaining land parcels, with the revenue generated being channelled into covering the costs of infrastructure and further development.

This system, however, began to exert excessive financial demands on the government, leading to a transition towards a 'public-private partnership' (PPP) framework. This pivot aimed to attract private investment by introducing new incentives as the primary planning tools for driving urban regeneration.

Private demarcated urban regeneration unit for urban regeneration

The 1998 Urban Renewal Act in Taiwan allows for the classification of certain areas as Public Designated Urban Regeneration Areas (Pub-RA) – 'urgent areas for urban regeneration', providing municipal incentives (see 4.4.4). Despite the provision of Floor Area Ratio (FAR) incentives by municipalities in Pub-RA areas, private developers have regeneration projects within these areas. The General Demarcation Plan for PUB-RA report suggests this, revealing that only 151 projects were implemented in Pub-RAs as of 2018 (Taipei City Government, 2018, p.6). This number accounts for merely 26.3% of the 573 urban regeneration projects undertaken up to that point. Therefore, the effectiveness of Pub-RA in drawing private investment has been modest, with private entities preferring to invest in more lucrative locations.

Private sector entities are not bound to wait for planning authorities to identify areas for urban regeneration. They have the option to establish their own Private Demarcated Urban Regeneration Units (Pri-RU) for projects not located within Pub-RAs. These privately initiated land demarcations must align with the local authority's planning principles, which take into account considerations such as the condition of the site, block dimensions, the feasibility of incorporating adjacent land, and the integration with existing road networks. Additionally, support from a percentage of property owners is required. In contrast to Pub-RAs, these guidelines do not prioritise the immediate need to address below-standard living conditions or poor building quality.

4.4.4 The policy development of public-led urban regeneration in Taipei

Publicly designated urban regeneration areas and incentives

As mentioned in 4.4.3, the Urban Renewal Act was enacted in Taiwan in 1998, mandating that planning agencies scrutinise areas that adhere to specific criteria as stated in Article 6. These criteria comprise the following: 1) unsafe and outdated buildings; 2) narrow streets that are non-compliant with fire and disaster prevention standards; 3) dysfunctional or low-quality building structures; 4) older and smaller edifices near public transit hubs failing to satisfy high-density requirements for transit-oriented development (TOD); 5) neighbourhoods with deteriorating living conditions, and 6) areas necessitating heritage preservation.

Under the Urban Renewal Act, areas conforming to these criteria are perceived as being in a 'condition of urgency'and can be designated Pub-RAs by municipalities. Pub-RA is akin to a distinct zoning category solely dedicated to urban regeneration purposes. Distinct from traditional zoning in land use plans, which guide the land use, density, and form and scale of buildings, Pub-RA is primarily a measure employed by authorities to stimulate more regeneration projects. It could be thought of as an additional layer in the existing zoning system, acting like a 'regeneration waiting list'. As of 2018, in Taipei's most recent General Demarcation Plan,[1] 85 locations had been designated Pub-RA areas

The incentives offered to stimulate development are primarily based on the FAR bonuses provided by various local authorities. These bonuses are granted under the Urban Renewal Act, which allows municipalities to determine their own set of incentives. In Taipei, these incentives are contingent upon how much a project contributes to the following areas: urban regeneration, including the faster speed of materialisation and plot sizes; architectural and urban design quality, including compliance with green building standards and urban design; urban space – providing open areas and parking for public use. Taipei municipality has established its own specific ordinance to govern these incentives, which are elaborated in Table 4.1.

1 (In Chinese: 劃定臺北市都市更新地區暨擬定都市更新計畫案 2018)

TABLE 4.1 Urban regeneration incentives of Taipei municipality (Taipei Municipal Directions of Floor Area Bonus for Encouraging Urban Regeneration, 2005)

Urban regeneration incentives
The legal FAR higher than the origINal (OLD) building's far
fast speed bonus
Donation of land adjacent to the road of the regeneration unit project
Complete block of the site
Architectural and urban design incentives
design that in harmony with the adjacent buildings in terms of building volume, form, colour, and orientation.
Green building certificate
Planning incentives
Open space for public
public Parking lots

Comparing the scales and impacts of Pub-RA and Pri-RU

As shown in Figure 4.4, a distinct contrast is evident between the scales of Pub-RA and Pri-RU. Pub-RA typically encompasses a more extensive area, creating a legally established regeneration 'zone' that includes multiple blocks or neighbourhoods. In contrast, Pri-RU refers to a more confined parcel of land designated for urban regeneration by private developers. This disparity is encapsulated in their respective terminology: 'designation' in the context of Pub-RA suggests the selection of an area for significant improvements, while 'demarcation' in the context of Pri-RU implies setting the boundary for a specific plot of land. Pub-RA often spans several blocks or even entire neighbourhoods, resulting in a more complex execution process, whereas Pri-RU involves a smaller land unit, potentially simpler to redevelop. However, the advantages of Pri-RU may not reach beyond the immediate vicinity, leading to a highly localised impact.

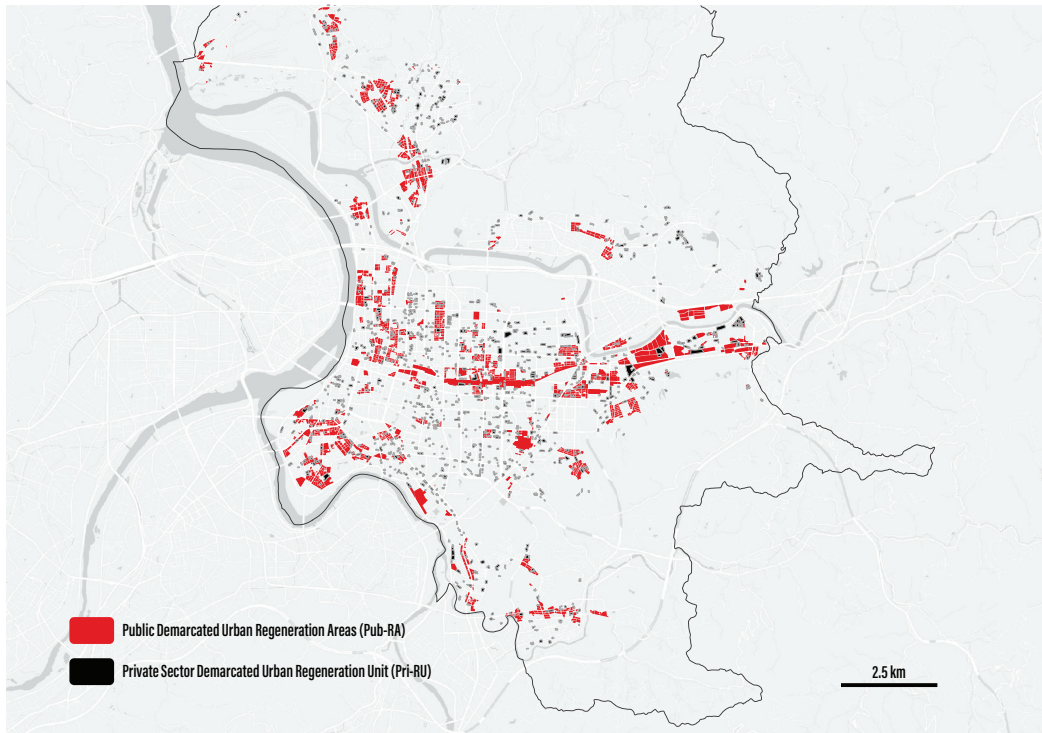


FIG. 4.4 Pub-RAs and Pri-RUs in Taipei until 2018 (map by the author with the data from Taipei city government)

Challenges in private-led urban regeneration in dilapidated areas

While private-led urban regeneration served as a critical strategy, its implementation in dilapidated neighbourhoods was challenging, especially in the context of Taipei's RTH housing programme. Indeed, none of the RTH housing projects were undertaken by private-led regeneration, underscoring a discrepancy between the incentivisation strategy and market response.

The municipality's initiative to foster RTH regeneration projects dates to the year 2000, when it reclassified certain RTH areas as Pub-RAs and introduced a bonus floor area, allowing for an increase of up to 1.5 times the original statutory floor space. Despite this incentive, no private-led urban regeneration was triggered for RTH housing.

A decade later, in 2010, to further stimulate private sector engagement, the municipality designated all RTH sites as strategic redevelopment areas (SRAs).[2] These SRAs represent an enhanced measure for providing more incentives (see Table 4.1), increasing the attractiveness of private-led urban regeneration. The incentives for RTH projects in SRAs were even more significant, allowing for the incentives to be up to two times the original statutory floor area.

Nevertheless, the substantial incentives offered did not result in the anticipated outcome. Despite considerable efforts by the municipality to encourage private sector–led regeneration via these incentives, the regeneration of Taipei's RTH housing failed to materialise under this initiative. This situation emphasises the limitations of relying solely on municipal incentives to stimulate private sector–led urban regeneration.

Public-led urban regeneration: A shift in policy and approach

This limitation of private-led urban regeneration in dilapidated areas became a political issue attributed to the municipality's reluctance to actively participate in urban regeneration. In 2014, when a newly elected mayor took office, he viewed this as an opportunity to shift the method behind the urban regeneration policy, putting forth his vision for more substantial public intervention. In his official Facebook post, the mayor critiqued past practices, noting, 'Urban regeneration projects in Taipei City traditionally took an average of 7.7 years. I often jest that we could send a tortoise to deliver official documents and it would be quicker. … In the past, the government assumed that by providing incentives, the projects would automatically proceed, but the reality was that little progress was made'.[3] To rectify this, he indicated that the municipality had established a project office specifically to promote and expedite public-led urban regeneration.[4]

2 The planning document of this proposal is titled as 'Designating Taipei's RTH Housing Areas as SRA (In Chinese: 指定臺北市整建住宅為策略性再開發地區案).

3 Retrieved from the mayor's Facebook post. Originally in traditional Chinese, and translated by author: https://www.facebook.com/DoctorKoWJ/photos/a.136856586416330/2501012910000674/?type=3.

4 The post was published on 21 May 2020. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/DoctorKoWJ/posts/2501013536667278/.

By 2016, public-led urban regeneration was given a formal statutory role through the enactment of a new municipal ordinance.[5] This legal framework encompasses the municipality's dual role in both devising a comprehensive strategy for area regeneration and serving as an executing body. As an executor, the municipality is tasked with putting forward a Detailed and Comprehensive Urban Regeneration Proposal (DURP), which includes specifics on the land use plan, public facilities plan, transport plan, and housing and residential area plans (refer to 5.2.2 for further details). Beyond these more strategic competencies, the ordinance also covers the implementation of specific initiatives such as construction, finance, and relocation plans for residents.

Moreover, the central government established its own regulations on public urban regeneration. As per the amended Urban Renewal Act, public urban regeneration, guided by the government, is either implemented directly by the competent central or municipal authority or executed by other approved agencies through public selection and recruitment. As detailed in Article 12 of the Urban Renewal Act, policy tools permit direct intervention by municipalities or other ministries and councils, enabling both execution and private sector involvement. Additionally, the amendment underscores the role of public-led urban regeneration in incorporating public interest.

The Act's first article explicitly defines the public interest, stating that urban regeneration projects should prioritise enhancing public safety, improving living conditions, and increasing the availability of social housing. It also advocates for the revitalisation of public spaces and neighbourhoods to adopt new functions. However, as a legal framework providing policy principles, the Act lacks detailed objectives, such as quantifying the increase in social housing provision or delineating the standards for improved living conditions. It also does not offer explicit guidelines or strategies for steering the development of regeneration areas.

The municipality's agent for public-led implementation

The Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC, discussed in more detail in Chapter 6), established and funded by the municipality in 2012, operates as a semi-independent organisation. Though not directly affiliated with the municipality, TURC acts as the Taipei city government's executive agency for urban regeneration. As an

5 Taipei Municipal Directions of Public-led Urban Regeneration (2016)(In Chinese: 臺北市公辦都市更新實施辦法).

administratively independent legal entity, TURC is commissioned to manage and execute urban regeneration projects, ranging from planning and design phases to project implementation. TURC's governance structure includes the deputy mayor as the chairperson, and its board predominantly comprises municipal officials, thereby placing it under the municipality's direct oversight. TURC's workforce is an assemblage of around 50 professionals, including architects, urban planners, and real estate managers, who are recruited transparently to contribute their expertise to the regeneration efforts.

In addition to its core responsibilities, TURC plays a pivotal role as an intermediary, coordinating between different stakeholders (for instance, property owners and residents), conducting community surveys and feedback, overseeing financial planning, and managing the subdivision of property ownership post-regeneration.

Public-led policy 1.0 and 2.0

The policies designed to promote public-led regeneration have witnessed another shift. In 2020, a policy termed Public-led Regeneration 2.0 was introduced, emphasising the reduction of governmental burden by involving private investors. According to the 2020 Public-led Regeneration 2.0 Pilot Plan, the focus is again placed on RTH housing and other dilapidated areas that have suffered from a lack of financing for regeneration. Guided by municipal legal and planning expertise, the 2.0 policy aims to secure a higher level of consent for regeneration from over 90% of property owners. After achieving this consent level, the municipality then assists these property owners in finding private developers, serving only in a facilitating role.

Compared to its predecessor (version 1.0), the role of the municipality in the version 2.0 policy has transitioned from being a facilitator to an assistant, thereby reducing the level of intervention. While this study does not explicitly determine if this deviates from the core concept of public-led regeneration, the 2.0 policy could be interpreted as a type of publicly assisted regeneration. The instances employing the 1.0 policy are unequivocally seen as public-led; therefore, only projects using the 1.0 policy will be classified as public-led in this study, given that they epitomise a model of comprehensive public intervention, encompassing initiation, planning, and execution.

4.4.5 Social housing as a means of urban regeneration

Policy shift: From national housing to social housing (2000–2020)

Post-2000, Taiwan witnessed the rise of the housing movement, the so-called 'Shell-less Snail' campaign, an urban social movement advocating for the prioritisation of social housing on the state's agenda (Y.-L. Chen & Li, 2012). Starting from the 2010s, the affordability of housing became a recurrent topic in political discussions and electoral campaigns, often featuring in candidates' policy proposals (Y.-L. Chen, 2011, 2019). These ongoing debates progressively shaped Taiwan's social housing policy from the late 2000s.

In Taiwan's societal context, the terms public housing, national housing, and social housing were often conflated prior to the widespread adoption of the term social housing. National housing refers to the sale of homes by the state at below-market prices. Public housing, often confused with the other two terms, typically refers to any housing project involving state intervention.

Taipei's transition to social housing: Urban regeneration and public participation (2011–2015)

In 2011, the Housing Act was enacted, providing a legislative framework for social rental housing. The same year saw the launch of the central government's pilot scheme for social housing.[6] In regard to this scheme, the Taipei municipality embarked on planning its pilot social housing projects.

In an ambitious move in 2014, the Taipei city government pledged to increase the social housing proportion from 0.68% to 5% of the total housing stock within eight years. This goal was twofold: it sought to expand the social housing plan to address the housing crisis and simultaneously foster urban regeneration in the city's neighbourhoods. By merging the strategies of social housing development and urban regeneration, the municipality aimed to dispel local apprehensions regarding the potential impacts of large-scale housing projects in their neighbourhoods. Indeed, there was a prevailing belief that Taipei's social housing would adversely affect the quality of life and property market prices in adjacent areas. Hence, to make future social housing projects more community-responsive, the municipality introduced public participation into the planning process.

6 Social Housing Short Term Programme (In Chinese: 社會住宅短期實施方案)(Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of Interior, 2011)

In 2015, a municipal council resolution was enacted, stipulating that the municipality must hold at least two public meetings for residents within a kilometre radius of any proposed project. The objective of these meetings was to secure majority approval before initiating the planning and design stages. Despite its lack of specific guidelines – such as details on the meeting format or the definitive 'resident' categorisation (property owners or inhabitants), the resolution became a fundamental requirement for public-led urban housing projects, signifying its crucial role in obtaining neighbourhood resident support.

In response to this resolution, the municipality committed to enhancing the number of public spaces and services offered within social housing projects. This initiative is geared towards satisfying local needs, assuaging community concerns, and triggering substantial urban regeneration.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has traced the evolution of urban regeneration in Taipei, exploring its historical trajectory from the early 20th century through to contemporary times. The discussion commenced with an analysis of the initial influences of Western urban planning during the Japanese colonial period, highlighting the transformative impact of these early interventions on Taipei's urban landscape. Moving forward, the chapter examined the significant challenges and responses during the post-war period, particularly the housing crisis and the subsequent central renewal efforts initiated in the 1960s.

The narrative then delved into the development of policy frameworks post-1990s, shedding light on the shift from state-led to private-led urban regeneration approaches. The complexities of these transitions were explored, revealing the interplay between public incentives and private sector participation alongside their broader socio-economic implications.

Starting from the 2000s, the establishment of municipal agents such as the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre underscored the municipality's commitment to orchestrating and facilitating these regeneration efforts, highlighting the emergence of a public-led urban regeneration approach in Taipei. In the 2010s, as the housing crisis began to generate political pressure, the integration of social housing as a regeneration tool emerged as a municipal strategy, reflecting a nuanced approach that balances market dynamics with societal needs.

This research identifies three distinct types of urban regeneration in Taipei: private-led, public-led, and social housing as a means of regeneration. Each type represents a unique approach with specific policy frameworks. The chapter has provided a foundational understanding of these approaches, setting the stage for a detailed empirical examination.

In summary, Taipei's urban regeneration journey has been marked by a series of strategic shifts, each responding to evolving urban challenges and socio-economic conditions. The forthcoming sections of this project will investigate each type of urban regeneration in detail, providing an empirical analysis of their implementation, effectiveness, and impact on the urban fabric of Taipei. This comprehensive examination aims to offer valuable insights into the successes and limitations of these approaches, contributing to the broader discourse on urban regeneration.

5 Private-led urban regeneration

A case study of the Heping Mansion project

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an in-depth examination of 'Heping Mansion', an illustrative example of private-led urban regeneration (see Figure 4.4 for the designated zones). In this model, the private sector serves as the investor, developer, planner, and designer, actively shaping the project from its inception through to execution, termed 'UR executors (or UR implementors)' in the statutory urban regeneration process. These executors handle the project's demarcation, planning, design, financing, and management, ensuring the transformation aligns with their vision. Public authorities, particularly at the municipal level, offer incentives such as floor area bonuses and serve in a supervisory role. They oversee adherence to statutory requirements, manage any arising disputes, and ensure that the project's outcomes are in the public interest, conforming to established goals and regulations.

Despite adhering to the same statutory participatory processes as other private-led projects, Heping Mansion underscores the complexities of stakeholder engagement in private-led urban regeneration, as evidenced by a lawsuit filed against the municipality by dissenting neighbours. This situation encourages a critical discussion about stakeholder recognition in statutory urban regeneration.

The chapter proceeds by outlining the statutory stages of private-led urban regeneration and mandated participatory measures. It then delves into the history and spatial typology of the neighbourhood, scrutinising the project's timeline, key developments, and site plan, which encompasses its architectural design, regenerated spaces, incentives, and density. It also addresses property ownership, the consent process involving existing owners, and the disputes and legal actions initiated by neighbouring residents. The chapter concludes by presenting findings on communication and participation and illustrating the concept through a visualised Inclusive Radar.

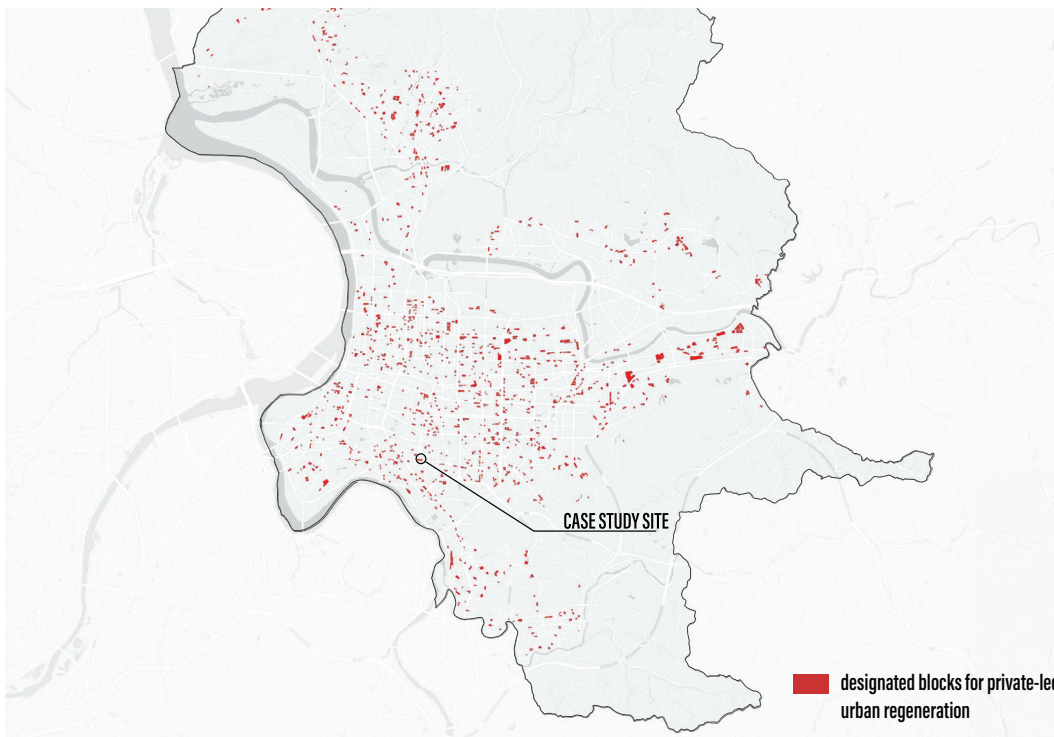


FIG. 5.1 Case study site and private-led urban regeneration areas in Taipei. The red areas on the map represent the designated blocks for private-led urban regeneration. (Source: Taipei City Government (2018), map drawn by author)

5.1.1 Case selection

The selection of Heping Mansion is predicated on two principal considerations:

1 Municipal incentives: The development benefitted from significant municipal incentives, resulting in a floor area 56.21% larger than the original statutory allowance (see Table 5.1). This enabled the construction of a 38-storey residential complex, substantially taller than surrounding buildings, typifying a private-led urban regeneration effort. It necessitates scrutiny of how private developments of this scale contribute to and serve the public interest in the adjacent area.

2 Statutory participation complexities: Urban regeneration mandates often require a statutory participatory process. In this case, however, the process was inadequate for addressing residents' concerns. Residents legally contested the project, challenging the municipality based on the argument that the additional incentives resulted in adverse effects on the neighbourhood. They contended that the project's scale would block the light to surrounding buildings and strain public facilities, including streets and parks. This legal dispute raises critical questions about genuine public interest representation and stakeholder identification in urban regeneration projects.

This case study is intended to provide insights into the impact of private ventures on public domains and the extent of resident involvement in these developmental processes.

5.2 Project context

5.2.1 Phases in the statutory procedure of urban regeneration and participation

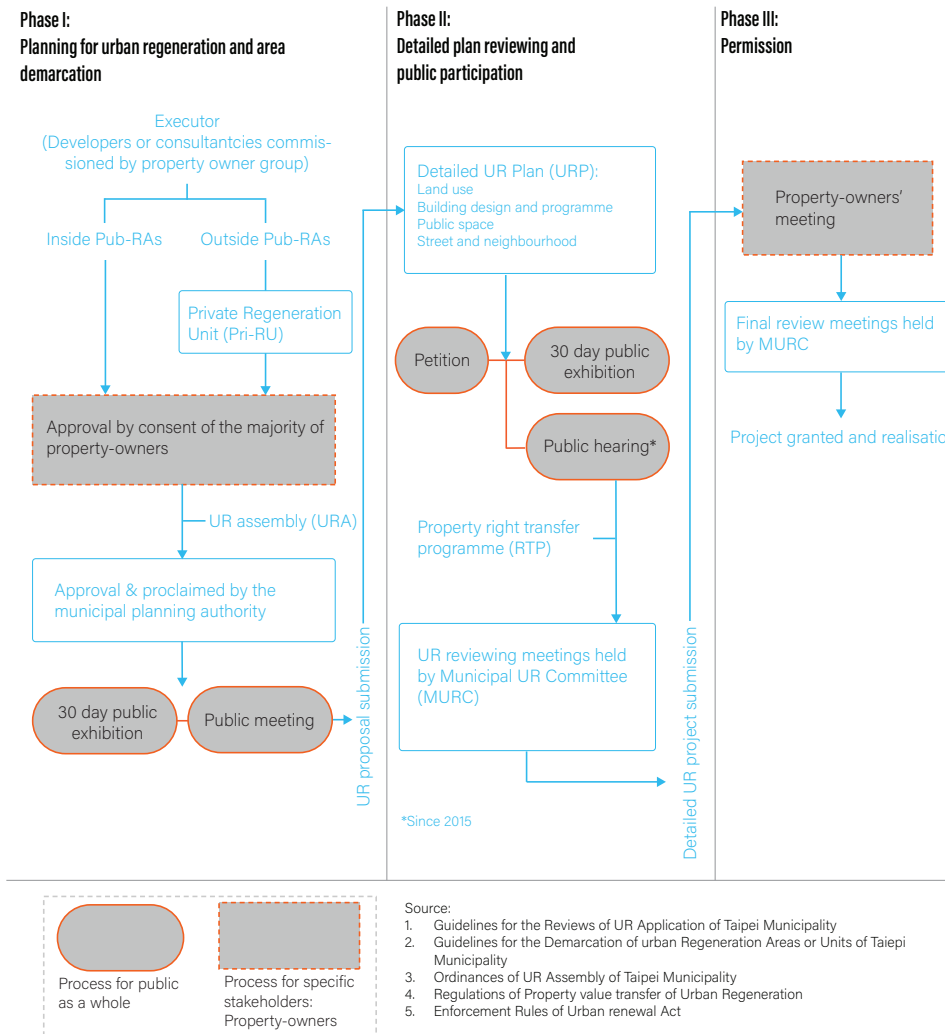


FIG. 5.2 Three phases of the statutory process of urban regeneration (Figure by the author)

Figure 5.2 illustrates the three phases of the statutory process of urban regeneration. In the first phase, private sector actors act as project leads and executive agents. They are responsible for presenting an initial proposal to the private owners. This proposal should outline the design of the building, property distribution, financial planning, and a projected timeline. For the process to move forward, a specific percentage of property owners must accept this proposal. Urban regeneration involves several crucial steps. Among them, the establishment of the Urban Regeneration Assembly (URA) stands out. The URA is explicitly formed to represent property owners. Its primary role is to act as an intermediary between these property owners and executors. Importantly, the formal, statutory process of urban regeneration can only commence after two key events: first, the property owners must give their consent, and second, the planning authority within the municipality must grant its initial approval. It is worth noting that there is no obligation to inform stakeholders who do not own properties until these conditions are met.

The second phase focuses on obtaining a regeneration permit from the local municipal authorities. Private sector entities serve as the project lead (also called executors or implementors) in this phase, handling all required tasks and discussions with both the authorities and the public. Notably, public participation is legally mandated during this phase.

The third phase is a negotiation stage that primarily involves the local municipality and property owners, including executors. Public participation is not a feature of this final phase.

Each of these phases is discussed in more detail in the following sections:

Phase I: Initial urban regeneration plan

When a project is located within a Public Regeneration Area (Pub-RA, see also 4.4.4), private regeneration can commence once the necessary consent is obtained from a predetermined percentage of property owners, as previously mentioned. On the other hand, for projects outside the Pub-RA, the initial step is to define the boundaries of the Private Regeneration Unit (Pri-RU) and then obtain approval from the municipality.

To enhance public awareness, a 30-day exhibition is required. This exhibition is hosted at a nearby public venue and includes details of the project location and cadastral information. Alongside the physical exhibition, a digital version is made available to the public on the municipality's website. After the exhibition period, a public meeting is held, which is open to all interested parties. Additional meetings can be organised at the municipality's request if needed.

However, during the statutory public participation phase, the focus is chiefly on disseminating information and notifying the public. For example, public meetings often do not include a formal question-and-answer segment. While the public's feedback is recorded, their influence remains limited; the authority mainly involves recommending that implementers consider these opinions rather than enforcing changes.

A key player in this context is the Municipal Urban Regeneration Committee (MURC), which is commissioned by the municipality. The MURC takes on the role of reviewing urban regeneration project proposals, amendments, and disputes. Additionally, it oversees the drafting, revising, and resolving of disagreements related to the property value transfer program (PVT). The MURC's structure is a blend of municipal representatives and external professionals, such as planners, academics, and experts. This committee wields considerable power over private-led urban regeneration projects, and it is endowed with the capability to reject a UR project that does not conform to statutory standards.

In summary, this phase primarily informs the public, signalling the commencement of an urban regeneration project within a designated area. Feedback from stakeholders, including those who are not property owners, is collected in written form; however, the process remains largely one-sided. It is essential to note that the municipality and the project implementer are not legally obligated to respond to any concerns raised during this phase.

Additionally, according to Article 32 of the Urban Renewal Act, if all private land and building owners at a project site provide their consent, holding a public exhibition and public hearings is not mandatory.

Phase II: Review of the detailed Urban Regeneration Proposal

During this phase, the responsible party is required to submit a detailed Urban Regeneration Plan (also known as 'Detailed UR Plan' or URP). This proposal should extend beyond mere compliance with existing planning and zoning regulations. It should offer a holistic approach to urban regeneration.

The URP document should clearly outline the initial site plan, the estimated project duration, and the anticipated benefits. It is essential to clarify to the public how it intends to align with public interests in the neighbourhood. This declaration should outline the benefits of urban regeneration, such as enhanced building conditions, disaster preparedness, and climate adaptation. The creation of public spaces should also be a focus. The URP must be organised to facilitate an easy yet detailed exploration of different facets of urban regeneration. Topics should include wide-ranging issues like land use and traffic management, down to specific mechanisms like property rights transfers (PRT) and various financial models, progress steps, incentives, and relocation strategies.

To bolster the textual information, the URP should also include detailed drawings that capture the spatial transformations envisaged. These drawings ought to display specifics like site layouts, building specifications – covering aspects like height and volume, street designs, parking arrangements, and public space layouts.

This phase offers the public their first insight into the prospective urban regeneration project. Unlike the preliminary stage, this juncture presents a vivid depiction of the impending development. It grants stakeholders who are not property owners a clearer visual conception of the upcoming spatial transformation in their vicinity. This clarity aids in cultivating a deeper comprehension of the project.

In 2014, an amendment to the Urban Renewal Act introduced public hearings, also known as administrative hearings, in Phase II as an additional participatory measure to complement existing public meetings. This amendment aimed to address concerns about the limited public influence on decision-making and the constitutional issues observed in previous private regeneration cases. This chapter discusses a case where hearings were not mandated as part of the statutory participatory processes, as the case pre-dated the amendment of the law. However, the introduction of public hearings is seen as a significant development and will be examined further in Chapter 8 of this research.

TABLE 5.1 Required subjects of URP

	subjects
General	1. Planning area for regeneration (Pub-RA or Pri-RU areas). 2. The executor. 3. Analysis of the status. 4. Planning objectives (a declaration of the benefits or the public interest; however, the official translation here is quite confusing). 5. Relationship with urban planning. 6. Management methods and the block division.
spatial transformation	7. Construction and improvement plans of the public facilities within the area, including the layout and design drawings. 8. Renovating or maintaining the reconstruction, repair, and maintenance of the buildings within the areas or changing the design specifications to improve the facilities. 9. Land use plan of the reconstruction block, including the building layout and design specifications. 10. Urban design or landscape plans. 11. Cultural assets to be preserved or a plan for the preservation or maintenance of buildings worthy of preservation.
Property Value Transfer (PVT) scheme	12. Allocation of values to be transferred, selection and distribution guidelines.
Financial schemes	13. Financial plans.
Progressions	14. Expected time frame. 15. Methods of regeneration.
Incentives	16. Incentives to apply for and amounts.
Relocation plan	17. Removing and settlement plans.

Note: These subjects are based on article 36 of the urban renewal act (amended 28 May 2021), quoted terms are official translations, while unquoted ones are researcher-provided translations and categorisations for clarity.

Phase III: Project implementation

Once the public participation phase is complete, the third phase begins when the MURC takes over for assessment and approval. The role of the MURC in Phase III is crucial in ultimately ensuring that the project meets statutory requirements.

In some instances, disputes may arise among property owners and executors, particularly concerning property value transfers (PVTs). Once all procedures are followed and no disputes remain, the project gains approval and moves towards implementation.

In summary, exhibitions and meetings serve as initial platforms for public opinion-gathering. Petitions offer another way for people to voice their concerns. However, it is important to note that before 2014, the sole official channel for public input was public meetings. After 2014, it was expanded to include public hearings as the mandated avenue for formal public participation (see Chapter 8).

5.2.2 Site plan

This area was originally developed as a residential district for forestry management officials during the early phase of urban expansion under Japanese colonial rule in the 1930s. The dwellings, featuring wooden frames and detached gardens, were constructed based on architectural guidelines set by the Japanese colonial administration. These guidelines melded traditional Japanese elements with contemporary Western design principles. Compliant with modern standards for sanitation and urban infrastructure, the homes were equipped with sewage systems and electrical amenities, and they were strategically situated along the newly established grid of streets. After 1945, these residences became housing for central government staff. Starting in the mid-1950s, due to surging population growth, the majority of these Japanese-style garden homes were replaced by four-storey apartment blocks.

These post-war apartments in the neighbourhood were predominantly planned and built by private developers rather than being part of any structured planning initiatives. This situation changed with the introduction of the Taipei Urban Plan of 1956,[7] the first post-WWII land use plan. As a result, the street layouts and widths from the Japanese era were largely retained, built on the original land plots and adhering to the existing grid-based street pattern (see Figure 5.3).

7 (In Chinese: 台北都市計畫). Although in Chinese it is titled 'Urban Plan', it is a land use plan as it focuses specifically on how land within the designated area should be used. It categorises land into types such as residential, commercial, industrial, and open space, and offers guidelines for their development or conservation.

Timeline and key developments

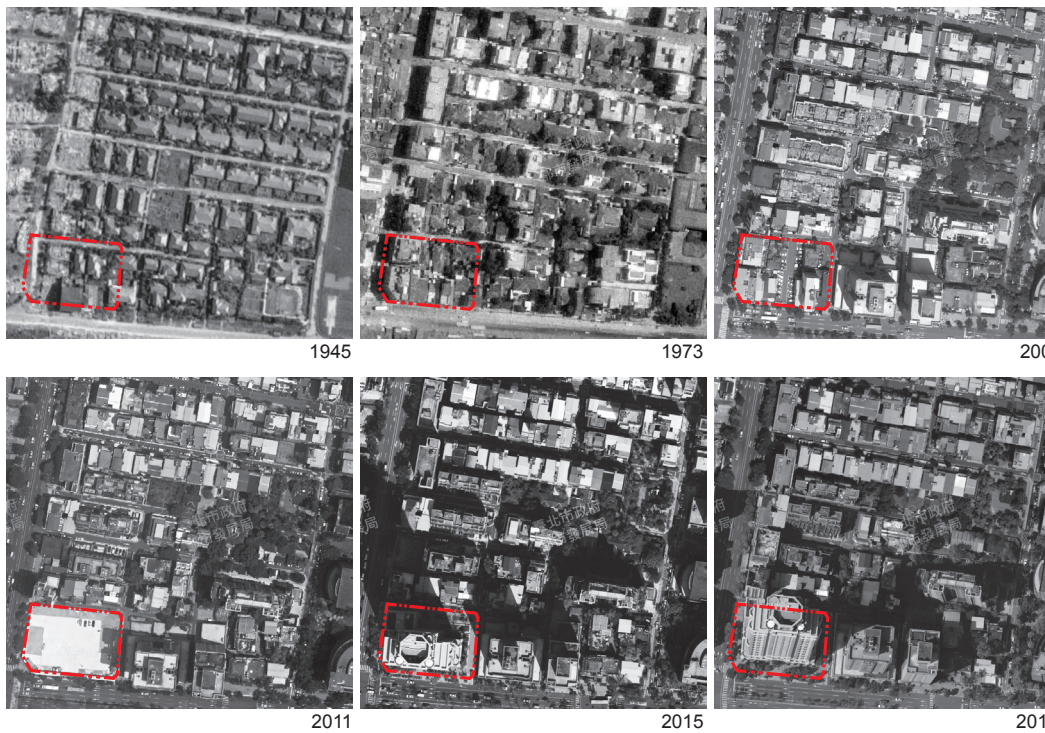


FIG. 5.3 Aerial photographs from different periods (marked and cropped by author. Aerial photos: Taipei City Government)

- 2000 Municipal demarcation of Urban Regeneration Area (Pub-RA)
- 2005 First public meeting (privately held)
- 2006 Second public meeting (privately held)
- 2006 Application for approval of the detailed Urban Regeneration Plan (URP)
- 2006 Third public meeting (held by the municipality)
- 2007 Convene Municipal UR Application Review Committee
- 2007 Approval of URP
- 2008 Public exhibition and meeting for the revised URP (the number of storeys in a building has been revised downward from 42 to 38)
- 2009 Final review meetings held by the municipal UR and Municipal UR Conflict Solving Committee
- 2010 UR project granted
- 2010 Application for building permit
- 2014 Construction completed

FIG. 5.4 Timeline of key project developments

The inception of this urban regeneration model can be traced back to 1993 when municipalities began adopting public–private partnerships (PPPs) as a strategic response to alleviate state fiscal pressures and attract private sector investment through various incentives. A significant turning point came with the introduction of the Urban Renewal Act in 1998, which established Public Designated Urban Regeneration Areas (Pub-RAs). This act aimed to facilitate pressing urban renewal efforts and provided tailored incentives, such as floor area ratio (FAR) bonuses, to promote project-specific developments. The Heping Mansion project emerged under these conditions, commencing in 2000.

The regeneration of Heping Mansion was carried out through a comprehensive and phased approach. It began in 2000 with the municipal demarcation of the area as a Pub-RA and moved through a series of procedural steps, including the submission and approval of the Urban Regeneration Plan (URP), committee reviews, revisions, and a statutory participatory process involving public exhibitions and meetings. Completed in 2014, the project serves as an exemplary model showcasing how municipal incentives can be strategically employed to balance the public interest with private sector involvement.

Figure 5.4 highlights key milestones of the project. In 2000, the local municipality designated the area as a Pub-RA, introducing FAR incentives to attract private developers willing to collaborate with property owners. This move was motivated by prior unsuccessful attempts from different developers to secure property owner endorsements for regeneration efforts. It was not until 2005 that the current developer successfully gained majority consent from property owners, subsequently becoming the Urban Regeneration (UR) executor and formally submitting an urban regeneration proposal to the municipality. Following the approval of the application, the original structure on the site was dismantled, necessitating the relocation of its residents. The vacant site was then temporarily used as a parking facility, generating interim revenue while awaiting further municipal approvals.

Post-2005, the project entered the statutory regeneration process. Amendments to the original plan necessitated a revised version of the URP, which received final municipal approval in 2010.

Before 2014, public participation in private regeneration initiatives typically involved public exhibitions and meetings. For this project, four meetings were held, collectively referred to as Phase I (see Figure 5.2). The project implementer led the first two meetings, while the municipality organised the third. A fourth meeting was later added at the municipality's request to review proposed amendments before the implementer's assessment submission. Although these meetings were primarily

aimed at formal stakeholders, some residents from adjacent areas also attended, facilitated by the open advertisement of the events. They raised concerns about potential environmental impacts, particularly regarding the obstruction of sunlight to surrounding low-rise buildings due to the new high-rise construction. They also expressed worries about the strain on road capacity and open space quality resulting from increased population density. Additionally, some questioned the overall necessity of the project, suggesting that the urban design and planned open spaces might not deliver significant environmental benefits.

Densification and FAR incentives

This project has benefitted from a range of government incentives related to floor area. In planning and building codes, floor area is a metric that governs the total internal space of a building, encompassing individual rooms, hallways, and other enclosed spaces. Within a given plot size, the more floor area that is permitted, the taller and more densely packed the building can be. These incentives can be classified into three principal categories: planning incentives, urban regeneration incentives, and architectural and urban design incentives. Planning incentives encourage provisions for public spaces, such as parking and open areas. Urban regeneration incentives aim to stimulate private-led UR projects by setting criteria for street block sizes and the duration of the regeneration application process. Architectural and urban design incentives focus on elevating the quality of the building, including green and eco-building certifications, as well as the overall urban design. MURC monitors these incentives, which are ultimately approved by the municipality.

In this project, the total area of the site is 2,893 square metres, and according to the land-use zoning of the plot, a standard FAR is specified as 560%, leading to a total floor area of 14,791.01 square metres. Given these guidelines, the maximum height permissible for the building would be 19 stories, which shows a height comparison with an existing neighbouring building. After successfully securing additional FAR incentives, the project received a 56.21% increase over the number of the statutory floor area, resulting in a new FAR of 798.65%. This change allowed for the construction of a building as tall as 43 stories, more than doubling the initial height constraint. After the massive opposition of the neighbouring residents, the final design resulted in a 38-story residential high-rise.

TABLE 5.2 Project acquisition of floor area incentive programs

	Granted floor area incentives (m^2)
Urban regeneration incentives	
The legal FAR higher than the origINal building's far	185.06
fast-track ur period bonus	739.55
Donation of land adjacent to the road of the regeneration unit project	940
Complete block of the site	368.71
Architectural and urban design incentives	
design in harmony with the adjacent buildings in terms of building volume, form, colour, and orientation	984.65
Green building certificate	887.46
Planning incentives	
Open space for the public	2318.59
Parking lots for the public	1890
Total granted Floor area Incentives	**8314.02**

Ownership and consent

Between 2005 and 2011, the building on the plot was dismantled (see Figure 5.3), resulting in an empty site at the time of the project's initiation, and thus, there were no building owners involved. The land was solely owned by 48 private individuals, all of whom agreed to participate in the urban regeneration project in 2005. The total floor area of the building amounts to 7,539.74 square metres and is shared by 52 owners, who also unanimously consented to join the project. The developer, acting as the UR executor for this project, holds a share in the land through its affiliated agencies, making it one of the property owners engaged in the initiative. In Taipei's privately led urban regeneration (UR) projects, it is common for UR executors to acquire and hold a portion of the property. This approach typically facilitates the process of obtaining the necessary consent from other landowners.

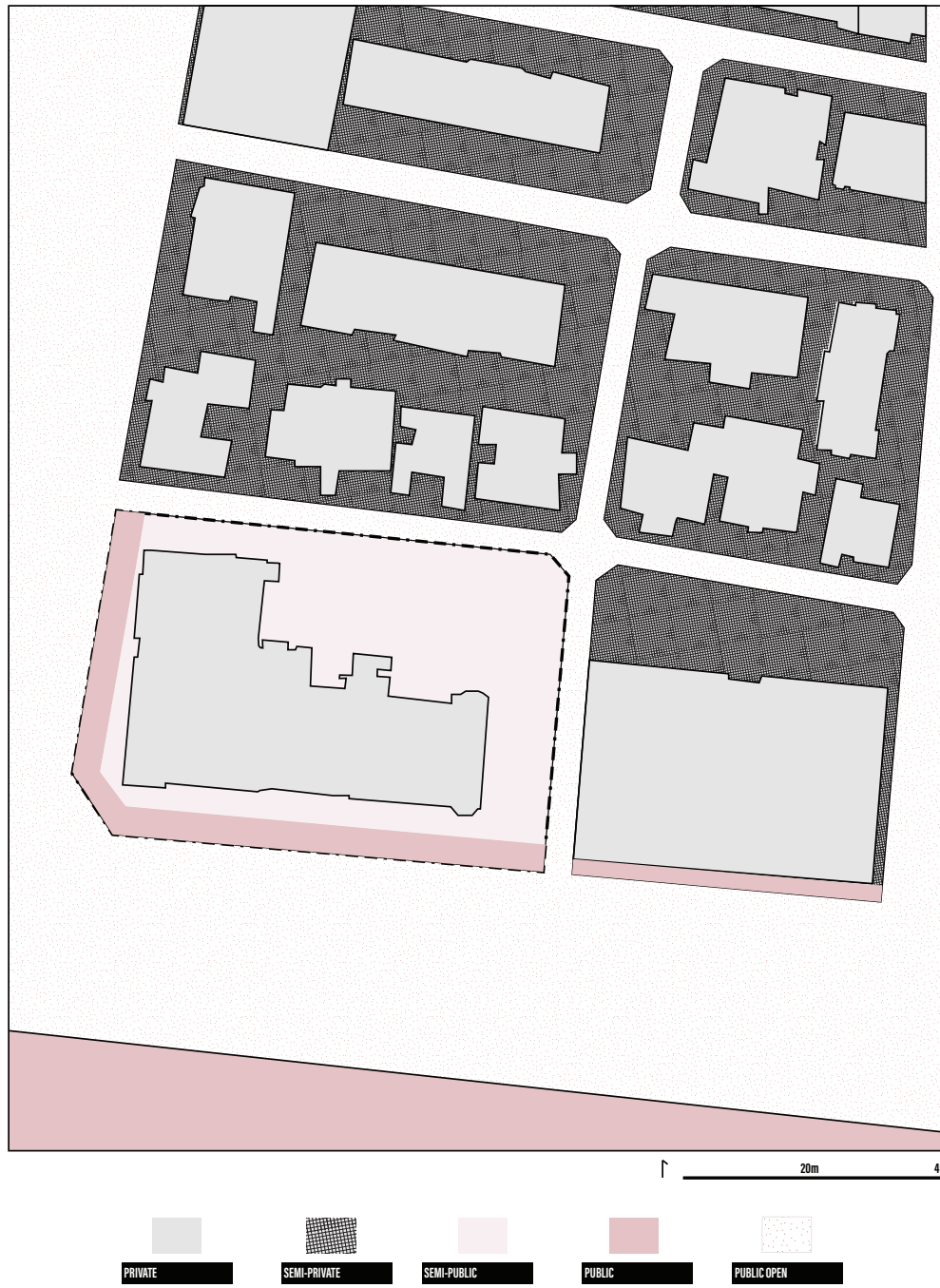


FIG. 5.5 The project's ground plan and space typology. The project's boundary is marked by a dash-lined (classified and redrawn by the author based on the original plan from the Taipei City Government)

Residents' lawsuit against the municipality

During the initial public meeting in 2005, the neighbouring residents articulated their concerns about the proposed urban regeneration project. These concerns were officially noted. Nonetheless, these objections were revisited but not resolved in the Municipal Urban Regeneration Committee meetings and municipal UR Conflict Solving Committee in 2009. Although the project's executor was asked to respond, the project advanced without interruption. By 2010, the municipal processes for urban regeneration and statutory review had concluded, and the project received formal approval.

Lacking confidence that their concerns would be addressed in the formal procedures, the residents initiated an administrative appeal. This official judicial remedy is also known as a 'prayer for relief'. It is the section of a legal complaint where the plaintiff outlines the remedial action sought from the court to safeguard rights they believe have been infringed by administrative actions and decisions. Importantly, this appeal is not an integral part of the urban regeneration process but a legal recourse available after a decision has been made.

Nevertheless, the municipality rejected the residents' appeal, prompting them to file a second appeal with the central government. It, too, was dismissed, as they were not deemed relevant stakeholders. Subsequently, the residents initiated a lawsuit against the municipality. This action was also rejected by the Administrative Court, a decision that was later upheld by the Supreme Administrative Court in 2016.

The court's rulings were fundamentally procedural (in judicial terms: due process of law), evaluating whether the urban regeneration application adhered to the relevant protocols (Supreme Administrative Court Verdict, Case no. 757, 2016, and no. 399, 2016). It was determined that the municipality had committed no procedural errors. For example, the appellant argued that the project should have included an environmental impact assessment due to the significant height of the building involved. The court, however, found that existing regulations did not mandate such an assessment as a prerequisite.

A similar procedural issue arose concerning whether neighbouring residents could be considered stakeholders, which was a key point of contention throughout the lawsuit. The court's decision upheld the provisions of the Urban Renewal Act. Instead, the Act addresses government intervention in disputes between parties, specifying that in the event of a dispute over a property rights transfer (PRT) scheme, the property owner can submit a counterproposal to the municipal committee. Based on this procedural principle, non-owners – who are unable to object – are not considered stakeholders.

Regarding the participatory process of the statutory procedure, the municipality, as the defendant, claimed that they had paid attention to and considered the opinions and emotions of the neighbouring residents before declaring that the project complied with the relevant regulations (Supreme Administrative Court Verdict, Case no. 399, 2016, pp.6–7).

5.3 Findings and analysis

Between 2019 and 2021, ten respondents involved in a particular case were interviewed, including neighbouring residents, professionals, lawyers assisting these residents, municipal experts, officials, and the borough chief.[8] The semi-structured questions in this study focused on the project's implementation, specifically the participatory process, addressing participants' inquiries, communication patterns, authoritativeness, and the spatial transformation of the case. The respondents' perceptions of the participatory process in this case are compiled in Table 5.4. Overall, they indicate a sense of marginalisation from the urban regeneration process. Although they had the opportunity to participate in public meetings and voice their concerns, there was a prevailing sentiment that their input was disregarded.

The experts and government officials perceived that there were few participants without property rights in regeneration projects and primarily sought to have their property included in such projects. The officials argued that people's self-serving nature makes public participation in urban regeneration projects unlikely to achieve consensus. Respondents noted that the public interest is generally overlooked in private-led urban regeneration projects.

Experts also contended that if project implementers were more sincere and dedicated to resolving disputes, they would be more inclined to approve regeneration projects.

8 (In Chinese: 里長) Borough chiefs are elected neighbourhood representatives. Borough chiefs are the lowest level of local government in Taiwan, elected at regular four-year elections with no limit on re-election. neighbourhood managers are unpaid officials but receives a stipend from the township's urban office. They are responsible for responding to local needs, assisting in the promotion of government and organising community activities. Borough chiefs are under the direction and supervision of the municipality and are responsible for the conduct of neighbourhood affairs and matters referred to them.

They believed that the responsibility for communicating with the public lay with the implementers, while the municipality served as a gatekeeper.

Both groups concurred that property owners are the sole primary stakeholders in private-led urban regeneration projects. The central focus of participation in the urban regeneration process centres on property rights transfer (PRT) schemes, and accordingly, major spatial transformations are associated with the transfer of private property rights before and after regeneration. Consequently, designing and planning public spaces are not given priority and are usually considered secondary aspects, often confined to fulfilling the municipality's FAR incentive requirements.

TABLE 5.3 Overview of interviewee responses

	Who can participate?	How is the communication?	To what extent do you think participation can lead to change?	Impact on spatial quality
Refer to the axis of	Participants	Communication and decision-making mode	Authority and power	Spatial transformation
Neighbouring residents (regarded as stakeholders without property ownership)	– Can attend public meetings but receive no response from municipal authorities or UR executors.	– Limited information and misinformation reduce trust. – 'The municipality never listens to us'. – 'Can only hear the discussion, but our voices are not involved in this discussion'.	– Able to listen to discussions, but voices are excluded from conversations.	– Significant impact on the neighbourhood due to high-rise developments.
Members of related municipal committees and municipal officers (regarded as experts and administrators' view)	– The number of participants without property ownership is insignificant. – Majority state: 'my property must be included'.	– Lack of willingness to participate in the public sphere. – UR executors explain the project to the public. – Individuals mainly focus on personal interests.	– Implementers demonstrate efforts in negotiation. – If implementers provide a sufficient explanation, project approval is easier. – Reasonable voices are considered.	– New buildings within PRT schemes. – Public space provision is mandatory for incentives. – Insufficient effort to secure consent results in increased public demands.

5.3.1 Participants

Who is allowed to participate? And who are recognised as stakeholders?

The process of recruiting and informing participants in an urban regeneration project effectively reflects the spectrum from exclusivity to inclusiveness. In the initial stages of a private-led urban regeneration project, consent is sought from landowners and homeowners[9] within a privately demarcated area only (see Phase I in Figure 5.2). At this juncture, there is no requirement for a public meeting or exhibition. The project progresses once the required percentage of property owners' consent is obtained and a property owners' UR Assembly is arranged. Upon reaching this point, the project becomes a formal and registered case with the municipality. During the first half of this phase, communication and active engagement primarily take place between the project's implementor and the UR Assembly.

It is not until the second half of this phase that public exhibitions and meetings are held, as requested by the municipality. While this information is made available to the public through various channels, such as community notice boards, the municipality's website, or publicity by officers, access to notifications about these events is limited to those who are actively interested and seeking information. As a result, apart from the property owners, only a few surrounding residents who are proactively looking for information will be informed.

One respondent (NR1) expressed that the information about these meetings is not as reciprocal as it should be. While the municipality publishes public information on its website, it is not directly delivered to individual households. Instead, borough chiefs are responsible for sharing information with individual residents, but in many cases, they only inform people they know better. Another respondent (NR3) attended a public meeting at the beginning of the case when they 'discovered the notice' posted on a wall. It was only after expressing an objection that they had more opportunities to attend municipal meetings and to receive information to understand the progress and details of the project. The respondent found it challenging to learn about the progress and other specifics at meetings in the neighbourhood, which the project implementer organised. Generally, borough chiefs play a crucial role in informing residents about urban regeneration projects. However, in this case, the borough chief

9 According to the municipal guidance, adjacent landowners must be notified by implementors whether their properties can be incorporated into the project.

did not consider the neighbouring residents to be stakeholders. One respondent recounted an instance at the Municipal Review Committee where the borough chief dismissed their concerns, stating that they were 'irrelevant people'.

In the statutory participatory process, specifically regarding public meetings, the guidelines for participation in public exhibitions and public meetings state that 'all are welcome'. However, the differences in who can be informed and how the information is disseminated mean that only a limited type of stakeholder is able to participate. One respondent (EA1), an expert on the municipal committee, stated that 'there are not that many people without property ownership who want to participate'. Consequently, the ability to participate is already restricted at the preliminary stage, leading to a filtered subset of potential stakeholders being represented.

In summary, the recruiting approach limits access to information and participation opportunities, leading to a narrow representation of stakeholders; only property owners are well-informed and able to participate.

5.3.2 Communication and decision-making mode

Complex terminology and policy in municipal incentives

In this instance, neighbouring residents frequently faced difficulties understanding the complex terminology and policy guidance associated with the statutory regeneration process. Concerns were raised about the impact of building height and the lack of information provided by the municipality to explain incentives. For laypeople, complex terms such as floor area ratio, building setbacks, green space, and building requirements, which are used for granting incentives, can be confusing.

One resident (NR3) highlighted the excessive use of technical jargon and the complex interpretation of regulations, which made it difficult to understand or discuss the allocation of incentives and the height of the building. For instance, one resident questioned why the municipality permitted a 38-storey building solely on the basis that it faced a university campus to the south, an area considered to be permanent vacant land and thus free from legal height restrictions. Although the floor areas approved by the government followed regulations, the municipality failed to offer a clear explanation to those who inquired.

Recognising the technology gap, municipalities occasionally invite experts and academics to public events. However, one expert, who is also a member of the municipal urban regeneration committee involved in this project, noted that this communication operates under the assumption that 'government by nature considers public interest'. The aim is to assure residents that the government and relevant committees are advocating for the public throughout the regeneration process. The expert added that providing more detailed explanations can be effective in gaining public support. Using simpler terminology to make the process more approachable to non-specialists can also help (EA1). Yet, these efforts to transfer and simplify information can lead participants to receive information passively, instead of engaging in active discussion.

Limited transparency and insufficient information

These residents argued that there was insufficient information, and the urban regeneration process's lack of transparency limited their understanding of the entire project, as they could only access the minimal information provided at public meetings and exhibitions or through informal channels. One respondent mentioned that they could only access the details of the project because a municipal officer leaked it to them. However, they were not allowed to make a copy and could only browse them.

In summary, the neighbouring residents faced challenges in understanding complex municipal incentive schemes in a statutory urban regeneration project, and issues included opaque terminology like floor area and limited information on building height. Although experts are sometimes involved in clarifying policies, one expert noted that this usually serves as a technocratic exercise rather than genuine communication. Further complicating matters, residents complained about insufficient information and limited transparency. Most could only access details through public meetings or unofficial channels, with one resident gaining insight only through a leaked document from a municipal officer. The situation highlights the pressing need for clearer, more transparent communication methods in urban planning.

5.3.3 Authority and power

Power dynamics: Owners vs. non-owners

There is a distinct difference in power dynamics between the voices of owners and non-owners. The former, represented by the UR Assembly as a collective and by the implementer, are prominently featured when making the plan, as evidenced by the relevant documents made by the municipality. In contrast, the voices of non-owners are incorporated in the form of petitions, which may or may not influence decision-making and be taken into account when making critical decisions. Also, as private implementers bear the responsibility for achieving urban regeneration, they are asked by the municipality to demonstrate their negotiation efforts and provide explanations to facilitate project approval. The approval process tends to favour implementers who effectively communicate their plans, resulting in a smoother path to project realisation (EA1). When disputes arise, voices deemed reasonable by authorities are considered, while others may be set aside or ignored. This dynamic is particularly evident in the treatment of non-property owners.

Incentives and compromise: Height of the building

Initially, the building was designed to be 43 stories tall, fully leveraging municipal incentives. However, during discussions between the municipality and the executor, the design was revised to 38 stories. The executor clearly stated in their revised plan that this adjustment was made due to opposition from neighbouring residents, resulting in a lowered building. Despite this compromise, municipal documents lack detailed information on how this decision was reached; they only indicate the final outcome – a building shorter than initially proposed. One resident shared, ‘The director of the planning bureau approached us privately to inform us that the building would be 38 stories instead of the originally planned 43. The details of how this decision was coordinated are unclear to us’.

The alteration in design seems connected to a sequence of objections from nearby residents, though the precise mechanism for this change is not explicitly documented. In summary, the balance of authority and decision-making in this urban regeneration project primarily tilts towards property owners. The municipality serves primarily as a gatekeeper, mediating and offering compromises.

The municipality and its incentive methods mainly function as gatekeepers, providing compromises. While the specifics behind these compromises are unclear, it is evident that strong opposition from residents had a tangible influence on the project’s final form.

5.3.4 Spatial transformation

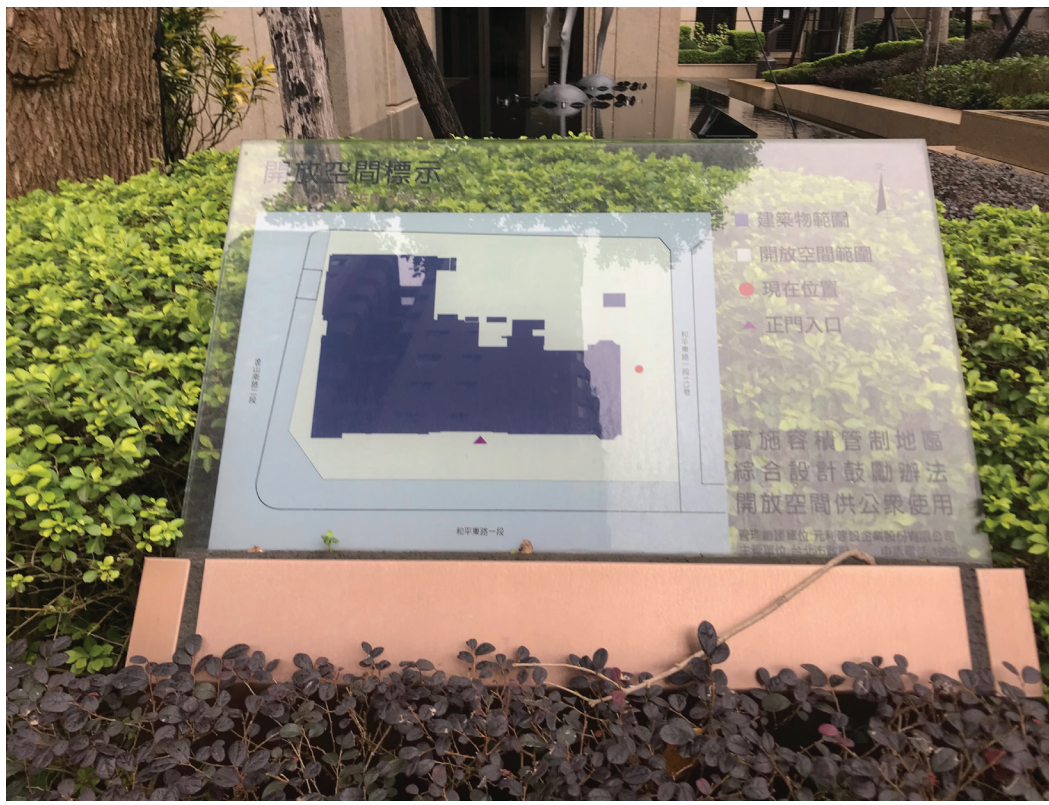


FIG. 5.6 The board displays displays the adjacent public space (where blue represents the building and white signifies the public space) (source: author, taken in 2019). It states: This public space is required under the municipality's floor area incentive scheme and must be accessible to the public.

The municipal floor area incentive significantly influences the outcome of spatial transformation. These factors have emerged as the most critical elements in shaping building plans for the project. Consequently, the architectural plan focuses on transforming private spaces and maximising municipal incentives as the primary objectives of the spatial transformation. For instance, to obtain the maximum floor area incentive from the municipality, the building plan for this project incorporates a significant statutory public space at the ground level (see Figure 5.6). This public space is not enclosed.

Ideally, the space should be accessible for public use without restrictions. However, the arbitrary lingering of non-residents – referring to the unpredictable or spontaneous presence of individuals who do not reside in the building or community – along with the restriction of other uses, render the space conditionally inaccessible. This arbitrary lingering introduces issues of social inclusion and exclusion, making the area less inviting for community use. As a result, it is classified as a semi-private and semi-open area.

Another factor contributing to the FAR incentive is the provision of public parking. During the application process, the implementer pledged to supply additional parking spaces for the surrounding areas. This promise allowed the project to gain an extra 1890 m² of floor area. However, all parking lots are exclusively reserved for the building's residents.

In summary, municipal incentive schemes significantly shape architectural plans. These plans often aim to take full advantage of available incentives to maximise the provision of private spaces. To benefit from the incentives, the design features a sizeable, open public space at ground level. Though mandated to be universally accessible, the space becomes conditionally accessible due to the unexpected presence of non-residents and other usage restrictions. This situation creates challenges in maintaining public accessibility, leading to the space being labelled as semi-private and semi-open. Furthermore, the provision of public parking added an extra 1890 m² of floor area to the project, but these spaces are reserved for building residents only.

Adding to these concerns is the seeming absence of attention to worries from residents in surrounding areas. The increased density resulting from the project raises legitimate concerns about higher use and potential strain on local public spaces and facilities. These concerns were largely ignored, adding another layer of complexity to evaluating the project's alignment with the broader public interest.

5.4 Conclusion

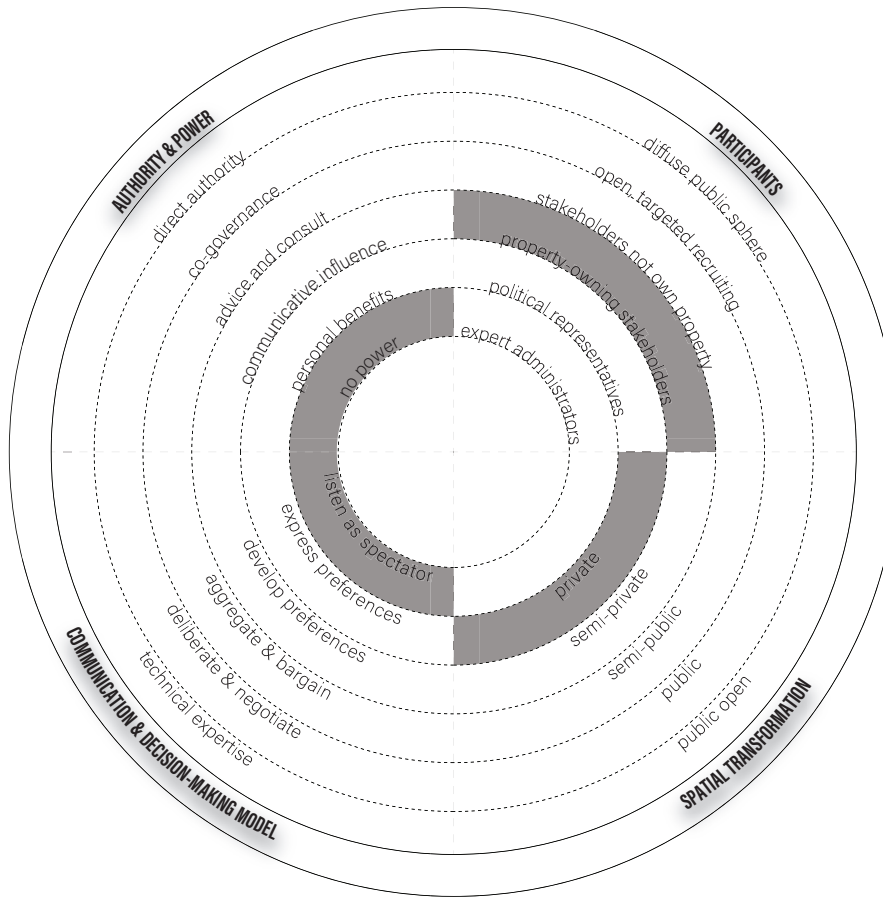


FIG. 5.7 The analysis of inclusive radar of the private-led case of 'Heping Mansion'

This chapter has examined the Heping Mansion project as an illustrative case of private-led urban regeneration, revealing key dynamics in stakeholder engagement, statutory processes, and the spatial outcomes of such initiatives. The findings highlight a recurring focus on maximising private development potential, often to the detriment of public interests and broader community needs.

Figure 5.7 illustrates that the statutory participatory process, although formally present, largely favours property owners and project implementers, marginalising neighbouring residents and other potential stakeholders. The recruitment and communication methods, rooted in exclusivity, reinforce this disparity; hence, it is indicated as 'property-owning stakeholders' on the axis of participation. While public meetings and exhibitions ostensibly provide opportunities for engagement, their limited inclusivity and lack of meaningful responses to diverse concerns undermine their effectiveness. Consequently, the participatory process functions more as a procedural formality, indicating 'listen as spectator' in the axis of communication and decision-making model, which has limited ability to generate dialogues or influence outcomes, showing 'no power' in the authority and power axis.

Spatial transformations driven by municipal incentives further reflect this prioritisation of private interests. Public spaces designed to fulfil incentive requirements often fall short of their intended accessibility and inclusivity. For instance, while the project features a mandated public open space, its conditional accessibility and restricted usability highlight the tension between statutory obligations and practical implementation. Similarly, the provision of public parking, although contributing to increased density, primarily benefits the building's residents, neglecting the broader neighbourhood. Thus, it is only classified as 'private' in the spatial transformation axis.

This project also marks the first legal case in Taiwan where residents asserted their right to sunlight within the planning system. This case has sparked a broader debate on balancing public and private interests within a predominantly market-driven, private-led regeneration approach. It highlights the challenges of densification and high-rise buildings that often accompany such regeneration processes while offering a redefined understanding of who constitutes a stakeholder in the context of urban regeneration.

The Heping Mansion case underscores the limitations of private-led urban regeneration in balancing market-driven objectives with public interests. It raises critical questions about the recognition and representation of stakeholders, particularly non-property owners and neighbouring residents. The legal disputes surrounding this project, including claims of sunlight rights, highlight the growing demand for more equitable and inclusive approaches to urban regeneration. This case thus serves as a pivotal reference for understanding the challenges and implications of private-led initiatives in urban planning and development.

6 Public-led urban regeneration

A case study of the Si Wen Li III project

6.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces a representative public-led regeneration case, focusing on the dynamics of public-led urban regeneration within Taipei's broader initiative to revitalise ageing residential areas. The case study outlines the strategic steps taken by the municipality, beginning with the pilot site of the former Resettlement Temporary Housing (RTH) complex, Si Wen Li III. This project forms part of the larger urban revitalisation strategy known as the Datong Reborn Plan (DRP). This initiative represents a significant public-led effort by the city to address urban decay and advance public interests through targeted interventions.

Central to this chapter is a detailed examination of Si Wen Li III, the only project completed under the initial public-led policy framework by 2022, with a specific focus on its participatory process. The analysis underscores the importance of this project as a pioneering example of fully public-led regeneration, highlighting the active role played by the municipality and its agency in planning, funding, and managing the process. It also explores key themes related to the participatory mechanisms employed and examines how public interests were discussed and prioritised throughout the process.

The chapter is structured to provide an overview of the context surrounding Si Wen Li III and the DRP, followed by an in-depth analysis of the participatory strategies implemented. The findings emphasise the evolving dynamics of public participation, the impact of property ownership on decision-making, and the broader implications for public-led urban regeneration efforts.

6.1.1 Case selection



FIG. 6.1 Case study site and public-led urban regeneration areas in Taipei The grey areas on the map represent the designated zones for public-led urban regeneration. (Source: Taipei City Government (2018), map drawn by the author)

The case analysed below is part of the Datong Reborn Plan (DRP), a flagship initiative of public-led urban regeneration. Since its launch in 2012, the Taipei Urban Regeneration Corporation (TURC) has conducted preliminary planning analysis for the municipality's approach to public-led regeneration, focusing mainly on RTH residential areas in Taipei (see Figure 6.1for the designated zones). TURC assessed the feasibility of regeneration in each potential site prior to realisation. RTH areas were selected for regeneration not only due to their complexity, which made them unsuitable for private-led approaches, but also for their symbolic significance in promoting policies.

In 2017, the municipality concentrated its efforts on an area in the old city of Taipei with the highest concentration of RTH residential complexes. The proposed

urban regeneration plan, as illustrated in Figure 6.2, targeted four RTH housing complexes: Lanzhou State Housing and Si Wen Li I, II, and III. This initiative marks the municipality's first direct intervention in regenerating a dilapidated area under its public-led framework. The plan's objectives include providing social housing, improving the living conditions of former RTH residents, relocating vulnerable tenants, and upgrading public services.

This regeneration project plays a pivotal role in the DRP, demonstrating the municipality's active involvement in addressing urban decline (see Figure 6.3 for the DRP area). The project specifically focuses on enhancing the quality of life in former RTH housing units and promoting social equity by accommodating socially vulnerable populations.



FIG. 6.2 The 2017 municipal extension plan of regeneration in the four RTH blocks (collaged by the author in accordance with the statutory planning document published by Taipei municipality and the aerial photographs of 2015, retrieved from Google Earth)

As of 2022, however, only the regeneration project for Si Wen Li III has been successfully implemented. The other three RTH housing complexes remain at different stages of preliminary planning. Consequently, this research uses Si Wen Li III as a case study to examine the outcomes and challenges of public-led urban regeneration in Taipei.

Furthermore, although this is the only case of public-led (as defined as *Public-led Policy 1.0* by the municipality, see Chapter 4), it has the following characteristics that make it a representative case, enabling it to be comparable to the other cases in this study:

1 The project serves as an emblem of public-led policy: It is one of four RTH housing complexes chosen by the municipality, distinguished as the sole initiative realised under the earlier public-led policy framework (Policy 1.0) since 2015. As previously noted, the primary distinction between Policies 1.0 and 2.0 lies in the municipality's role and its direct financial contribution to the project. In this context, Policy 1.0 is wholly driven by the public sector and takes an interventionist approach. Moreover, due to direct planning interventions, Policy 1.0 could arguably achieve public urban regeneration objectives more decisively than Policy 2.0 by means of a participatory process. Thus, Policy 1.0 can be viewed as a public-led approach to urban regeneration within the theoretical framework of this study.

2 The project encompasses a complex ownership-tenure structure. A defining feature of an RTH housing complex is its high rate of resident turnover, primarily due to unauthorised subletting and property transfers. Given the limited size of the units, households often relocate due to changes in the family lifecycle or deteriorating neighbourhood conditions. Many original inhabitants subsequently sublet their properties, and some even pass on sublets to a third party. Concurrently, some original owners have sold their properties multiple times, resulting in fragmented or unclear ownership. Such intricate ownership-tenure structures can pose significant obstacles to broad-scale regeneration and active participation. Considering this, the case serves as a clear illustration of two main points. First, it demonstrates how public-led urban regeneration navigates these diverse and often opposing voices, including participant inclusion based on disparate stakeholder identities. Second, it highlights how the task of coordinating participation from stakeholders with diverse attributes and complex property rights can become an intense challenge for the municipality. The right strategy in this context is crucial to ensure effective urban regeneration.

3 The project is framed as a participatory process embedded within the scalable urban regeneration initiative that claims to go beyond mere building renewal; instead, it embraces participatory planning on a neighbourhood scale. This approach provides an opportunity to delve into the participatory mechanisms employed in this district-wide initiative, shedding light on the interplay between comprehensive planning and specific smaller-scale interventions for regeneration. This scenario offers a platform to study the interconnection and interaction between participatory processes targeting different degrees of spatial transformation.

4 The municipality claims that the project is centred on community participation. In order to improve the efficiency of participatory planning, it commissioned TURC to implement the project. TURC set up an urban regeneration station in the community and deployed on-site planners. These so-called community planners aim to strengthen communication with community residents. According to the agreement with the city government, TURC's engagement includes: 1) familiarising themselves with the community, recording the lifestyles, housing designs, and future aspirations of residents; 2) assessing current living conditions; 3) determining residents' willingness to participate in urban renewal; 4) collaborating with existing grassroots organisations: TURC needs to get to know these community organisations better and address existing community issues through established networks.

6.2 Project context

6.2.1 Datong Reborn Plan (DRP)



FIG. 6.3 The strategic map of DRP. Three key urban issues and strategies are summarised. Translated by the author (retrieved from the DRP report, Taipei City Government, 2018, p.48)

Datong district, one of the earliest developed areas in the city, is among the 12 administrative districts in Taipei. The district has been experiencing economic decline and dilapidation since the rapid urbanisation of the 1980s, which resulted in the urban core shifting east. To address these issues, Taipei municipality developed a district-wide urban regeneration initiative in 2015, dubbed the Datong Reborn Plan[10] (DRP), intending to comprehensively enhance environmental quality and improve the functionality of the ageing neighbourhood. This strategy incorporated several smaller-scale interventions, which included upgrading residential buildings and enhancing public spaces and services (Figure 6.3):

1 The renewal and reuse of housing complexes and the provision of public housing.
2 The renovation of old markets and the redevelopment of the riverside open space.

Moreover, as posited by the municipality (Taipei City Government, 2015), the DRP encourages a long-term perspective, fostering spatial transformations that are anticipated to facilitate the development of new public amenities and concomitant shifts in user practices in the built environment. These long-term transformation goals include:

1 The regeneration of commercial and retail spaces.
2 The enhancement of social welfare facilities to accommodate the notably high proportion of older individuals in the district.
3 The development of green transport infrastructure and cultural pathways.

The DRP functions as the municipality's strategic approach to district regeneration, articulating its phases of vision and policy direction for the district; it also represents a direct intervention by the municipality, an answer to a longstanding pattern of ineffective private-led regeneration in the district. This strategy begins by using the RTH housing regeneration as a pioneering action plan for subsequent regeneration efforts through the DRP.

10 (In Chinese: 大同再生計畫) .

6.2.2 The selection of the DRP

Before the implementation of the DRP, private regeneration efforts had begun to stimulate the renewal of two out of these four RTH residences. However, these efforts fell through, mainly due to the properties' low market value and the challenge of reconciling the diverse views of the inhabitants for private developers.

The reality of government intervention in RTH housing regeneration only materialised in 2015, when the DRP positioned RTH housing as its pilot project. Even then, only one dwelling, Si Wen Li III, was chosen.

The municipality's decision to select only Si Wen Li III while overlooking the other three RTH buildings in the neighbourhood was influenced by the competence of the existing residents' organisations. It was deemed more practical for the municipality to lean on a pre-existing, functional organisation than to assist in the creation and nurturing of an entirely new one. Typically, the standard and formal residents' organisation based on a residential unit (be it a building, a block, or a neighbourhood) manifests as a management committee, which shoulders the responsibility for the daily management and maintenance of residential and community affairs. If necessary, an ad hoc regeneration committee representing the stakeholders can also be established by law.

As indicated in the TURC (2017) report, Si Wen Li III stands out when compared to the other three RTH housing structures on the block. It possesses a well-organised community organisation, and its residents have successfully formed a management committee as well as an Urban Regeneration Assembly. These committees function effectively, convening regular meetings and maintaining a solid financial standing. Conversely, the other three residential areas, despite having some established residents' organisations, are not performing optimally.

6.2.3 RTH housing regeneration: The Si Wen Li III project

Figure 6.4 presents a chronological series of aerial photographs that capture the transformation of the neighbourhood. The progression starts in 1958 when the area was primarily filled with trees punctuated by a few buildings. By 1973, the construction of Si Wen Li III and other RTH residences had been completed, coinciding with the completion of additional residential buildings, which included a cluster of 3 to 4-storey houses. By 2011, the aerial photographs display a significant increase in the area's residential density. These images also provide a clear depiction of the rooftops of most buildings, including Si Wen Li III, showcasing the illegal extensions made by the residents (see also Figure 6.5).

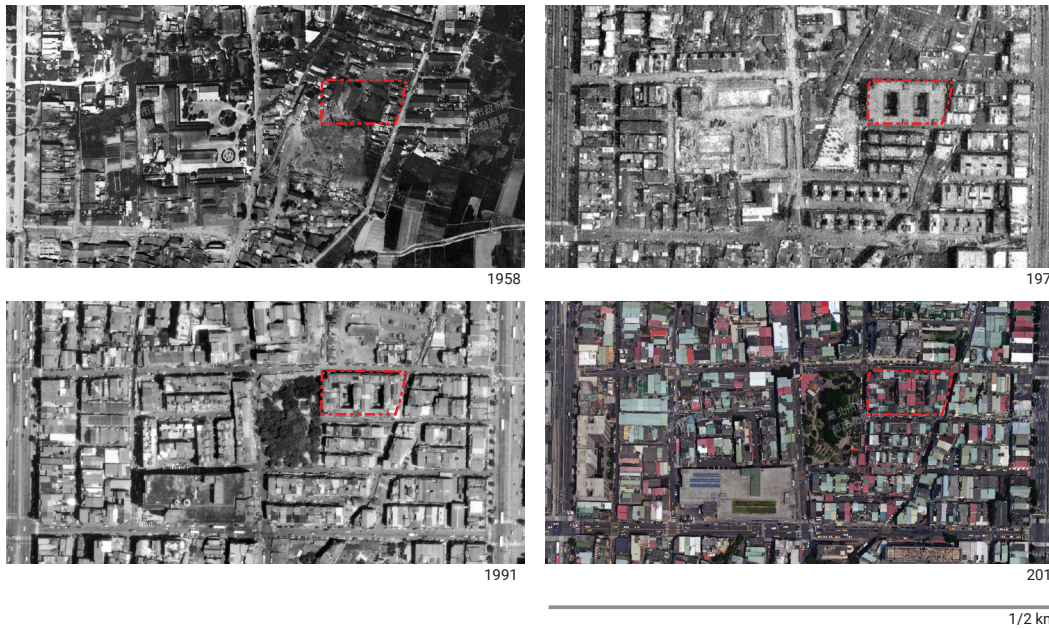


FIG. 6.4 A series of aerial photographs shows the area, with the location of Si Wen Li III indicated by a red dashed line(cropped and drawn by the author, source of the aerial photographs: Taipei City Government)

Dilapidated living environment of RTH housing



Illegal extension due to the small interior space of household units by pushing out the façade and occupying public space



Long-term deficiency of maintenance and management of public space

FIG. 6.5 Photo collage shows the current conditions of Si Wen Li II (bottom) and Si Wen Li I and the other RTH housing complexes (top) in this area (photo taken by author)

Si Wen Li III is a post-war mixed-use housing complex. The complex was initially conceived by an architect commissioned by the municipality, with an innovative plan incorporating a marketplace in the basement, which has since been repurposed into a car park. The original design also boasted 52 ground-floor shops that were outward-facing. However, these commercial spaces were ultimately converted into residential areas, inadvertently contributing to the complex property ownership situation currently observed in the complex.

Originally, the building housed 208 residential units, several of which were owned by the municipality and used as dormitories. Over decades, some of these units have been subdivided into additional smaller ones.

Like many properties under the RTH scheme, Si Wen Li III faces numerous management difficulties, primarily stemming from undefined property ownership and unauthorised occupation. Occasionally, the property owners remain unknown. For instance, one unit serves as a shrine frequented and managed by pilgrims, yet neither party possesses a legal title. As a consequence of these complications, the housing complex has seen a decline in its maintenance, resulting in a physical environment and public spaces that have fallen into disrepair after decades of use (see Figure 6.5).

6.2.4 Site plan

Densification of the site of the public interest

In 2017, the TURC submitted its Action Strategy Plan[11] to the municipality. This task involved surveying fundamental information, such as the socio-economic status of area residents, and initiating communication with them to develop a preliminary public-led urban regeneration program. According to this plan, two principles were established for the pioneering project.

First, a key to public-led regeneration is ensuring that residents, both owner-occupiers and tenants, can return to their familiar neighbourhoods post-regeneration. This approach starkly contrasts with private-led regeneration, where many owners are often 'paid to leave' and do not necessarily reside in the regenerated homes. Consequently, the future housing layouts in Si Wen Li III need to be flexible and consider the different socio-economic conditions of households.

Second, in order to meet the goal of serving the public interest through public-led urban regeneration, the provision of social housing and other municipal public services has been included.

However, these two principles necessitate additional floor space. If the existing floor space is utilised, the municipality will not be able to allocate the required space for social housing or public facilities. This decision could compromise the public interest, a professed objective of urban regeneration. Another hurdle is the relatively small size of each unit in the original RTH housing, with floor areas ranging from 16 to 38 square metres. These dimensions fall short of current living standards, necessitating an increase in the size of each housing unit. The new social housing units must also adhere to the government's standards regarding layout and size. Thus, a significant challenge for urban regeneration is increasing the floor area of the original building.

As such, maintaining the current density does not meet the genuine requirements of urban regeneration. There will need to be a significant increase in the height and density of the buildings based on the original design and current situation.

11 The Final Report of Commissioned Professional Service: Public-led Urban Regeneration Project for Lanzhou – Si Wen Li III RTH housing (In Chinese: 蘭州-斯文里整宅公辦都市更新委託專業服務案 工作成果報告書).

The solution lies in the municipality's incentives. With the authorisation of the Urban Renewal Act,[12] the municipality has officially designated all RTH housing 'strategic Redevelopment Areas (SRA)'. This classification allows for the application of incentives such as the 'Floor Area Bonus (FAB) of up to 200% of statutory capacity'. Consequently, this case is eligible for the maximum 200% statutory capacity bonus to execute the densification of the new building.

Building heights and volumes



FIG. 6.6 Elevation of the regenerated building (original copy from Taipei City Government, 2017, redrawn by author)

The new complex comprises two medium-height towers, each standing at 46 metres. These towers are interconnected via a main entrance situated to the north, which leads to an open square (Figure 6.6). The building's west side offers views of an adjacent park.

In addition to the main northern entrance, there is also a secondary entrance on the southeast side. To maximise outdoor space, distinct open areas are strategically designed on both the northern and southern ends of the building.

These twin towers are primarily meant for residential use, with spaces for public facilities and offices located on the first floor of the podium. To segregate these functions, a separate entrance, which opens up onto the park, has been integrated for the public amenities.

Furthermore, an additional open space has been allocated at the southeast corner. This design decision primarily aims to maintain adequate width for the pedestrian passage in the narrow alleyway and to create a communal area for the workforce.

12 According to Section 44 of the Urban Renewal Act, regeneration projects may be awarded a suitable Floor Area Bonus (FAB) by the competent authority based on their needs. When it comes to public facilities intended for neighbourhood use, the facility's floor area isn't counted in the total amount calculation.

6.2.5 Phases and process of participation

1969 Si Wen Li III building completion
1994 Demarcation of Private Sector Demarcated Urban Regeneration Unit (Pri-RU)
2000 Designation of Public Designated Urban Regeneration Areas (Pub-RA)
2010 Demarcation of Strategic Redevelopment Area (SRA)
2015 Local meetings for public-led regeneration
2017 Initiation of Si Wen Li III regeneration project
2017 Application for approval of Urban Regeneration Outline.
2017 Approval of Urban Design guideline of Si Wen Li III regeneration project
2018 Public hearing (held by the municipality)
2018 Approved for implementation of the project
2021 Public meetings for property rights transfer and selection
2022 Urban regeneration project accomplished

FIG. 6.7 Timeline of key developments of the project

Figure 6.7 illustrates the initiation of an urban regeneration effort on this site, beginning in 1994. The area in focus was earmarked as a Private Sector Demarcated Urban Regeneration Unit (Pri-RU), setting the stage for private-led redevelopment. In 2000, due to emergent conditions, the municipality once more designated the location as a Public Designated Urban Regeneration Area (Pub-RA) and introduced additional incentives to attract developers.

A decade later, in 2010, the municipality escalated its effort by further defining the site as a Strategic Redevelopment Area. This status brought with it an increased FAR as an added incentive. Despite these extra municipal benefits, the interest from potential developers was tepid at best. The complexities of achieving the necessary owner consent, coupled with the site's profitability not being sufficient to offset the costs, were substantial deterrents.

The discussion around the site's regeneration was reignited in 2015 when the municipality initiated the Datong Reborn Plan, providing another potential opportunity for redevelopment. This public-led urban regeneration process commenced with thorough planning and proactive interventions by the municipality within the district. Thus, municipal involvement consists of a series of multi-scalar actions, starting with the renovation of RTH housing and ultimately culminating in the rejuvenation of the entire district. In this context, public-led urban regeneration can be understood as a dynamic, continuous series of various planning and municipal interventions within the district.

Moreover, for the residents in the district, the worsened state of RTH housing, particularly in the instance of Si Wen Li III, has evolved from being a solitary issue impacting only the inhabitants to a broader problem that affects the adjacent areas.

Given these viewpoints, the engagement process scrutinised in this study extends beyond Si Wen Li III and encompasses the DRP. Table 6.1 elucidates the different engagement processes at the two scales and phases, the topics of discussion, the anticipated impact on spatial alterations, and the similarities and differences among the organisers.

TABLE 6.1 Participation framework across scales and phases in DRP and Si Wen Li III

Scale	District (DRP)	Bloc/ building (Si Wen Li III)		
Year	2015–2017	2017–2021		
Phases	Planning	Decision to make Si Wen Li III the pilot project	Property owners' consent	Statutory UR procedure
	District's visions	Regeneration policy transition and the selection of the pioneering site	Go/No-Go survey for property owners	Urban regeneration detailed plan (URP) and property right transfer (RTP)
Participatory methods	Town hall meetings On-site community planners Cooperation with grassroots organisations	No participatory process identified	Public meeting, poll	Community workshops, public survey on public spaces Public hearing
Content	Comprehensive strategic framework for urban regeneration in the district	Transition from private-led to public-led regeneration	Addressing social housing policies and public concerns over NIMBY and stigmatisation	Residential street corner workshops, community-building activities, presentations, and reuse of unused spaces
Subjects for discussion	Upgraded residential and public buildings Neighbourhood restoration	Who pays for the regenerated building	The public interest in social housing (residents raised concerns over building volume and household numbers)	What kind of public space functions are expected to be provided? Can they serve the neighbourhood?
Main Organiser/ Main actor	Municipality	Municipality	Municipality + TURC	The municipality and the commissioned team of architects + TURC

Participatory approaches in the DRP

A distinctive strategy under the DRP is to elevate public awareness and endorse participatory methodologies. In pursuit of this, the municipality has organised a series of events, including 'town hall' meetings and various community

gatherings, under the banner 'Open Government and Public Participation' (Taipei City Government, 2015). This strategy signifies a commitment to broadening the flow of information in both directions through an expanded range of channels. The municipality also posits that it could foster more effective bi-directional communication by situating commissioned planners within the community, supplementing the municipality's role as a facilitator. Given these planners' expertise in engaging residents in relatable terms, their presence is likely to cultivate mutual trust within the community:

Town hall meeting

In 2015, the municipality organised a town hall meeting in the district. The mayor, along with directors from the planning and transportation departments, attended to present the project. Nearly 1,000 residents participated. Some of these participants were mobilised through the district directors, who encouraged community residents to attend, while others were recruited through broader public outreach. The publicity campaign started early, especially given the mayor's attendance, resulting in high participation because residents were informed about the event in advance.

On-site community planners

Two workstations staffed by community planners, outsourced by the municipality, have been established in the district to foster stronger links between the municipality and the community. This initiative enables on-site planners to engage more closely with the daily lives of residents and, crucially, to identify a wider range of stakeholders while gaining deeper insights into their socio-spatial needs. Interaction with the community planners occurs largely through everyday encounters, with residents either initiating contact or receiving visits or invitations to participate in events. As a result, participant recruitment is both open and tailored to the specific needs of the community. Furthermore, the on-site planners actively collaborate with grassroots organisations, striving to understand the community activities already undertaken or ongoing. These insights are then incorporated into their community engagement and urban renewal efforts.

Go/no-go survey of property owners in Si Wen Li III

Unlike private-led regeneration projects, which must meet a specific threshold of property owner consent in the initial phase (as detailed in Fig 5.1 in Chapter 5),

municipalities are under no obligation to solicit consent from property owners. Nevertheless, as this is the first instance of a public-led regeneration project, the municipality intends to consult property owners with the aim of setting a participation benchmark. According to a survey conducted regarding the proposed regeneration, consent was obtained from 92% of the registered legal property owners (TURC, 2017).

The statutory participatory process, in comparison to the private-led approach

At this point, akin to the statutory process of private-led regeneration in phase II, the proposal of the Detailed Urban Regeneration Plan (URP, refer to Figure 2 in Chapter 5) is examined. The URP is a detailed plan encompassing a building plan, a land-use plan, traffic and building regulations, and a corresponding financial plan, all in line with existing planning, zoning guidelines, and urban design guidance. The URP also incorporates a public interest enhancement proposal featuring new public spaces and facilities intended for public utilisation. Consequently, this stage reveals more details of the above elements. Comprehensive site plans, building type plans (including height, bulk and density), street patterns, parking, and public space layouts will be demonstrated as subjects for public participation.

The municipality assigned TURC the role of implementer for public-led urban regeneration. The implementer's responsibility includes the planning (site planning and design of the regeneration project) and implementation (advancing the statutory procedures) of the URP. Much like private regeneration developers, TURC is tasked with helping property owners reach a consensus, implement financial plans, and manage their Property Right Transfer Program (RTP). However, differing from developers, TURC maintains on-site workstations and community planners within Si Wen Li III to conduct household visits, community surveys, and feedback collection, as well as coordinate with various stakeholders.

Parallel to the private regeneration approach, this stage of participation manifests as a public hearing, forming a part of the mandatory statutory due process (legally referred to as an administrative hearing). Following the public hearing, the subsequent stage of committee review can commence. Principally, public hearings contrast with public meetings – they are more tense and combative, requiring authorities and delegated executors to respond with evidence to issues raised by public hearing participants.

The procedure for public hearings in Taiwan is legally regulated. The statutory administrative hearing process, based on debate, is overseen by the head of the administrative authority or a designated representative acting as the hearing officer.

At the hearing, each party has the right to present their views and evidence and to pose questions to the municipality, third-party experts, and other stakeholders. The essence of the issues and statements raised at the hearing, as well as any documents and evidence produced, will be recorded. If the hearing officer deems further clarification is needed on any issue post-meeting, the administrative representative must provide that clarification. In conclusion, the public hearing, as the sole formal means of public participation, is a procedural, statutory process. The impact of this is further elaborated upon in the following sections.

6.3 Findings and analysis

6.3.1 Participants

Who are the DRP stakeholders?

In the policy framework and operational documents of the Datong Renewal Project (DRP), the municipality does not clearly define stakeholders. However, the emphasis on outreach and communication is evident through efforts to engage participants through place-making initiatives, and grassroots organisers in the community have been invited into the policy framework. These visions include the construction of new public buildings and the implementation of landscaping projects to raise public awareness. In addition, the implementation of the On-Site Local Planner program further emphasised the importance of these initiatives.

As a result, the process of recruiting DRP participants was both publicly inclusive and strategically targeted. This approach fosters a broad and diverse participant base by inviting participation not only from residents but also from the broader citizenry.

Who are the stakeholders in Si Wen Li III

In contrast to the DRP, Si Wen Li III presents a different scenario. Statutory public exhibitions and hearings necessitate public recruitment of participants, as the

objective of these participatory processes is to engage with the broadest range of stakeholders possible. They are meant to inform these stakeholders and amplify their voices. The minutes of these meetings do not reveal the identity of the participants; however, it is evident from the minutes of the petitions of the public exhibition (C2-05) that the majority of speakers were property owners, and only a few participants were residents without property rights.

Additional evidence, according to the public meeting minutes of the project in 2017 (C2-07), reveals that 16 out of the 18 participants who spoke at the meeting were property owners. The remaining two were a municipal officer and a committee member of the municipal Urban Regeneration Committee, respectively.

In the initial phase of the project, TURC's on-site community planners made an active effort to engage a broader set of stakeholders in their daily assemblies. This endeavour resulted in their organising seven meetings, extending the invite not just to Si Wen Li III residents but also to the surrounding residents (TURC Public-led UR Outcomes Report, 2017, C2-16).

Thus, apart from the property owners, a small group from outside the project area also attended these events. One community planner described these attendees, stating, 'Most of them showed up out of curiosity. However, beyond curiosity, they felt the project was not their concern. They also exhibited their scepticism about the success of this public-led initiative, which led to their disinterest and reduced engagement afterwards (C2-14)'. The planner's interview did not probe whether his interpretation of these individuals attending 'out of curiosity' also considered the project's potential impacts on their living conditions or property values.

Elected local representatives' role

The role of local representatives, also known as borough chiefs (refer to CH5.2), is crucial, especially in their capacity as advisers to the community planners. These borough chiefs are elected public servants as well as political representatives within the participant axis of the Inclusive Radar (refer to CH3.3.1) in each borough of Taipei. By law, they manage public affairs, assist the municipality in maintaining their borough's living environment, and represent their constituency in local public affairs. It includes, but is not limited to, local spatial planning and management in collaboration with the municipality or other governing bodies. In the participatory process, they typically have the primary responsibility of informing stakeholders and recruiting participants.

In this case, their role is actively focused on bridging the communities and the municipality in this context. For example, the borough chiefs directly engaged with community planners' offices and the municipal urban regeneration agency's office, offering advice or expressing concerns. This approach is unusual because borough chiefs would typically have to navigate certain levels of municipal bureaucracy to find the responsible person or approach a councillor to obtain the information they wanted.

One community planner's statement shed light on this topic:

'The Borough Chief is particularly concerned about this project: how many tall buildings are going to be built in my neighbourhood; how bulky will they be; what colour will the façades be; Will it affect the park or affect traffic? … Even if it is not her property, even if no one asks her, she keeps asking (C2-14)'.

Summary: Shifting participant dynamics in urban regeneration from 'open, targeted recruitment' to 'property-owning stakeholders'

In the Datong Reborn Plan, stakeholders encompass both residents and citizens from other areas, engaged through inclusive outreach and place-making initiatives. In contrast, Si Wen Li III primarily involves property owners, with limited participation from residents without property rights or residents from surrounding areas, many of whom expressed disinterest after initial curiosity.

The participation of individuals from the DRP in their initiative, the Si Wen Li III project, underscores variances in recruitment across diverse stages of participation. Initially, the DRP focused on a distinct public interest or concern in the Datong district, attracting participants via public outreach. This primary target group consisted of district residents or those who showed interest in the issue, a strategy that can be classified as 'open, targeted recruitment' on the participant axis of the Inclusive Radar. Yet, as the project advanced from the visioning stage to material intervention, the focus pivoted towards property owners.

Even though the process was directed by the municipality and its TURC agent rather than a private developer, the urban regeneration participatory process prioritised property rights conversion. This approach led to a decline in non-property-owner stakeholders' willingness to participate in the process. Simultaneously, it induced a demographic shift in participation from the public, solicited initially during the DRP, towards property owners as the Si Wen Li III project's engagement process unfolded.

6.3.2 Communication and decision-making mode

Roles of town hall meetings and community planners in communication

At the 2015 town hall meeting, the municipality unveiled various spatial regeneration initiatives under the DRP. According to the DRP report, the environment fostered open dialogue, with directors of municipal bureaus fielding questions guided by their respective expertise in transport, social affairs, and urban space. Participants also had the opportunity to submit written comments and receive a response from the municipality in the form of a letter. The mayor, deputy mayor, and bureau directors armed with presentations and models, as the municipality claimed, created an 'open government' atmosphere, fostering a novel sense of 'participation' among attendees (C2-17).

For the municipality, the mayor's engagement in town hall meetings and the subsequent community planner program were two mutually supportive approaches. The former was a festival-like event sparking a vision for the future transformation of the neighbourhoods, while the latter endeavoured to establish a communication platform for information exchange between the municipality and the communities. Both strategies sought to foster and maintain public awareness of the district's urban regeneration.

However, concerns were raised regarding the efficacy of this unique approach to communication, especially as the DRP evolved into its various intervention stages. These concerns emerged primarily during town hall meetings, where the municipality frequently responded with a generic statement, 'incorporate it into the planning consideration (C2-10)'. This approach often made it difficult for the municipality to address specific modifications to the DRP promptly. For instance, when participants questioned why Si Wen Li III was given priority and proposed public-led regeneration for their own areas, the municipality did not clarify why the action plan was initiated with Si Wen Li III instead of other RTH housing projects or different neighbourhoods.

Community planners entering different neighbourhoods had a twofold aim: to promote the DRP policy and to facilitate smaller-scale improvement strategies co-developed with locals as micro-regeneration projects under the DRP framework. Their goal was to guide residents toward the process of regeneration.

In essence, the municipality's town hall meetings functioned as a platform for 'express preferences' within the Communication and Decision-making Model of the

Inclusive Radar. However, it was understood that these meetings might not lead to immediate or definitive solutions. On the other hand, the community planner program allowed planners to utilise their expertise to craft micro-regeneration projects under the DRP. This approach compiled voices based on their engagement with residents and property owners, fostering a process of 'developing preferences' in conjunction with the community rather than making decisions independently. However, the extent to which they could influence the interventions under the DRP framework or even impact the overall DRP decisions remains unclear.

The role of the agent of the municipality's projects

The Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC) is a semi-independent organisation that operates as the Taipei City Government's executive agency of urban regeneration. While it is an administratively independent legal entity, it was established, funded, and supervised by the municipality. Despite not being a direct branch affiliated with the municipality, it is financially backed by it and is commissioned to manage and execute urban regeneration projects. These tasks range from planning to design phases to the realisation of projects. The municipality handles aspects such as construction contracting. TURC's leadership includes the deputy mayor as the chairman, and a majority of its board members are municipal government officials. The TURC team comprises professionals such as architects, urban planners, and real estate managers, who are openly recruited.

As a representative of the municipality with a degree of independence, TURC has a unique position that allows for more 'Aggregate and Bargain' opportunities in its communication processes. On one hand, TURC, acting as a non-private entity and the municipality's agent, experienced less resistance when attempting to build trust compared to private-led projects. This difference is primarily due to the negative reputation private developers have garnered over the years from certain regeneration projects in Taipei. A borough chief expressed trust in the agency, perceiving TURC as 'more secure compared to private developers, and backed by the municipality's guarantee … Some developers have tried to negotiate but often backed out without achieving any results (C2-15)'.

On the other hand, TURC's semi-independent status offers greater flexibility. For instance, its on-site community planners and architects are tasked with integrating social housing floor space, as mandated by the city, into their plans to demonstrate their public benefits. They are also required to address some stakeholder concerns regarding the transfer of property ownership. Related programs include current property valuations, the Property Right Transfer Program (RTP), and spatial conversion elements

such as the floor layout and outdoor public spaces. In this scenario, achieving the set objectives necessitates striking a balance between public and private interests. Given that they are not civil servants, TURC experts can potentially leverage more flexible communication strategies to find a satisfactory compromise among all involved parties.

Simultaneously, this flexibility enables TURC to bargain effectively with stakeholders who own property. The benefit emerges during intense exchanges when one party passionately advocates for a particular point against the opposition. In these situations, TURC proactively mediates, communicating to all participants the necessity to halt proceedings due to an unreasonable request from a neighbour. As one interviewee stated, '…we conveyed to the entire group that we must pause because a neighbour is making an unachievable demand (C2-14)'.

This practice, which underlines the need to halt the process when confronted with untenable demands, occasionally sparks disagreements among participants and can sometimes escalate to confrontations. Most frequently, the initial proposition is amended, and ultimately, a consensus is reached. This bargaining process is vital in the public-led urban regeneration process to ensure the public interest is prioritised. Under the RTP framework, property owners naturally aim to augment the value of their private properties. Consequently, TURC, in its role as a municipal agent, has to balance the needs of the public and private ownership's floor area redemption, all within the statutory building capacity limits (including height and floor area, along with the total municipal incentives).

Summary: Aggregating and bargaining for property owners but

At the outset, this public-led project underscores the importance of effective communication and decision-making in the DRP (see Table 6.1). By emphasising open dialogue, it frames the communication model as a way to both express and develop preferences. Yet in the Si Wen Li III case, there is an evident bias towards property owners, often marginalising stakeholders without property rights. Although there were opportunities for aggregations and bargaining in between property owners and the municipality, the process ultimately showed limited inclusivity and restricted public participation in the regeneration.

In this context, it is apparent that town hall meetings and community planners are vital for fostering communication and decision-making. Town hall meetings for the DRP permit open dialogue and maintain public awareness of urban regeneration visions, aligning with 'express preferences' and 'develop preference' in the Inclusive Radar. Conversely, in the Si Wen Li III case, TURC — serving as the municipal

agent and community planner — pursued smaller-scale interventions, proactively encouraging 'aggregating and bargaining' between public and private interests.

However, the Si Wen Li III project emphasises that the existing urban regeneration system, although public-led, appears overly concentrated on stakeholders with property ownership, with aggregations and bargaining revolving predominantly around the RTP scheme. This aspect of the project has marginalised stakeholders without property. It appears that only property owners' voices were heard in various participatory meetings. There is no evidence that stakeholders without property actively participated in communication and decision-making processes. Furthermore, although TURC agents possess bargaining abilities, their role is primarily to carry out the municipality's tasks. There is no evidence to suggest they can bargain for additional spatial transformations or public interests beyond the municipality's predefined objectives.

6.3.3 Authority and power

As suggested in 6.3.1, the DRP emphasises inclusive outreach targeting local participants, while Si Wen Li III is more detailed, involving the government's direct intervention in spatial changes and affecting property rights; it focuses mainly on property owners, often excluding the surrounding residents. Thus, the decision-making power seems to lean heavily towards property owners as opposed to the city and its representatives.

Interestingly, TURC's community planners leaned on the strategies of the DRP when outlining three pivotal concerns for Si Wen Li III (TURC, 2018):

1. Spatial necessities for local enterprises, including those for street vendors, as well as broader community economic enhancements and investment.
2. Enhancement of living conditions, encompassing housing challenges faced by older people, a notable density of senior living spaces, and the availability of local amenities – potentially even at the block or building level.
3. Urban structure: the importance of preserving historical urban textures and addressing the disruption of urban spaces due to major road construction.

However, despite TURC spotlighting these matters, they were conspicuously absent in the discussions documented in the meeting minutes. The dominant voices in these sessions were property owners, with the primary discussion themes revolving around property rights transfers (RTP).

While *property-owning s*takeholders were encouraged to engage with one another and work towards a consensus that could potentially guide decision-making, there is no guarantee that their shared concerns and insights will have an impact on the final decision. This dynamic is aptly termed communicative influence. The specific issues are detailed in the following sections.

TURC's urban design guidelines

In urban regeneration, urban design guidelines play a pivotal role in shaping the design and the future uses of surrounding public spaces. In this scenario, these guidelines were formulated by the architects of TURC. Their stance was clear: 'Guidelines, once established, demand unwavering adherence. To retain the intrinsic street pattern and public spaces of the neighbourhoods, we embedded them directly into our guidelines' (C2-13).

The ambiguous yet obligatory nature of these guidelines serves dual aims: on the one side, they provide adaptability, simplifying compliance with the requirements of the municipal Urban Design Committee. On the other, they equip TURC with a shield, empowering them to assert to residents: 'The instituted guidelines are non-negotiable and mandate strict observance' (C2-13).

However, there have been deviations. For instance, TURC's idea to bridge an open area with adjacent parks was omitted from the final draft, since this is the final draft, no bridges connect the two open public spaces.) This design decision was largely in deference to residents' privacy concerns, a change that admittedly would have necessitated increased dialogue. As highlighted: 'The idea of forging a greenway to the park emerged, yet residents' fears of potential encroachments by outsiders meant we had to rethink. The extended communication that would have ensued led us to abandon the initial proposal' (C2-14).

The tendency to either soften urban design guidelines or not rigorously uphold the quality of urban public spaces during discussions with residents seems rooted in the municipality's primary objective: to expedite the implementation of this public-led initiative by minimising interruptions.

Fast-tracking urban regeneration: Trade-offs in participatory authority

The municipality sought to fast-track the initial public-led initiative while minimising disruptions. Yet, while prioritising this policy, challenges arose, diminishing the authority for participation, making communicative decisions, and pursuing public interests.

1 Vague program of public spaces

The condensed timeline adversely impacted the design of public facility spaces planned for future utilisation. This brief window obstructed efficient communication among various stakeholders, including those like the social welfare bureau and elderly care providers, which are key stakeholders set to use these spaces for their public services. A significant hurdle emerged when the social welfare department expressed the need for an in-depth survey to address the requirements of older people and other societal groups. TURC's tight deadlines led to communication and coordination being compromised. The TURC architects noted that 'during the design phase, I struggled to coordinate with other municipal departments … we just left it unspecified!' (C2-14).

Consequently, the internal space of the Si Wen Li III regeneration project was left undefined regarding future public facilities, devoid of a comprehensive usage plan. Figure 6.8 illustrates the public facility positioned on the building's podium, equipped with an independent entrance and an elevator for anticipated users. However, the lack of a defined program of usage meant that additional design details were left out.

2 Communicating in a pressure cooker

Participants are influenced by peer pressure, leading them to conform to the majority's decisions. During a particular project phase, TURC established on-site workstations in collaboration with the city council to assist the community despite the challenging time constraints. An architectural proposal was promptly drafted and submitted to the Urban Design Committee, aiming for a swift approval process. As a TURC architect noted:

'The circumstances were intense; time constraints were significant, and our eagerness to finish was palpable. Both our TURC team and the municipality devoted considerable resources and human resources to this endeavour. Such pressure is not only internal but also external, as participants sense the weight of consensus; when a majority agrees, it often prompts others to concur'. (C2-14)

The city's allocation of resources, including expertise from TURC and funds from the public urban regeneration initiative, appears to have created a sense of urgency among residents that inadvertently led to a reduction in participative communication authority. Participants, many of whom are property owners, fear that prolonged disagreements could lead the municipality to abandon the project, resulting in greater losses. As articulated by a TURC planner:

'Municipal funding for this project seems to drive greater cooperation from participants. To be honest with the residents, my stance is clear: while I can offer flexibility, the final decision rests with them. If there is no consensus, we might have to pull the plug on the entire endeavour'. (C2-13)

This statement signifies 'communicative Influence'. In this phase, participation subtly directs decisions by shaping public opinion. Participants delve into deliberative democracy, fostering deep dialogues even with those who have contrasting views. The aim is to find common ground that might guide the decision-making. However, despite voicing their concerns and perspectives, there is no guarantee that their input will affect the final verdict.

Summary: Communicative influence and perceived pressures

The ambiguity present in urban design guidelines muddles the objectives of spatial quality, hindering effective dialogue between municipal stakeholders and residents. Furthermore, the urgency, intensified by municipal investments, creates a pressured communication environment. This urgency often drives stakeholders into hasty agreements, compromising genuine collaborative decision-making for fear that the municipality might cancel the project.

In conclusion, while communicative influence characterises the participatory decision-making facilitated by extensive dialogue, it does not guarantee their efficacy. This case study underscores the potential for such influence to be overshadowed by time pressures. Even when participants actively partake in discussions, their contributions may not always exert a significant impact on the final decisions, especially under perceived pressures.

6.3.4 Spatial transformation

When realised in accordance with the proposal, the project will help provide additional neighbourhood activity space for its occupants and the adjacent residential area. This new high-rise and mixed-used housing complex, in addition to the open space at ground level for public use, also reserves space for public services and amenities, which are categorised in this study as follows. As previously discussed, an urban design guideline is required. Consequently, this project underwent the municipality's urban design review process after TURC tailored a specific urban design guideline for it.

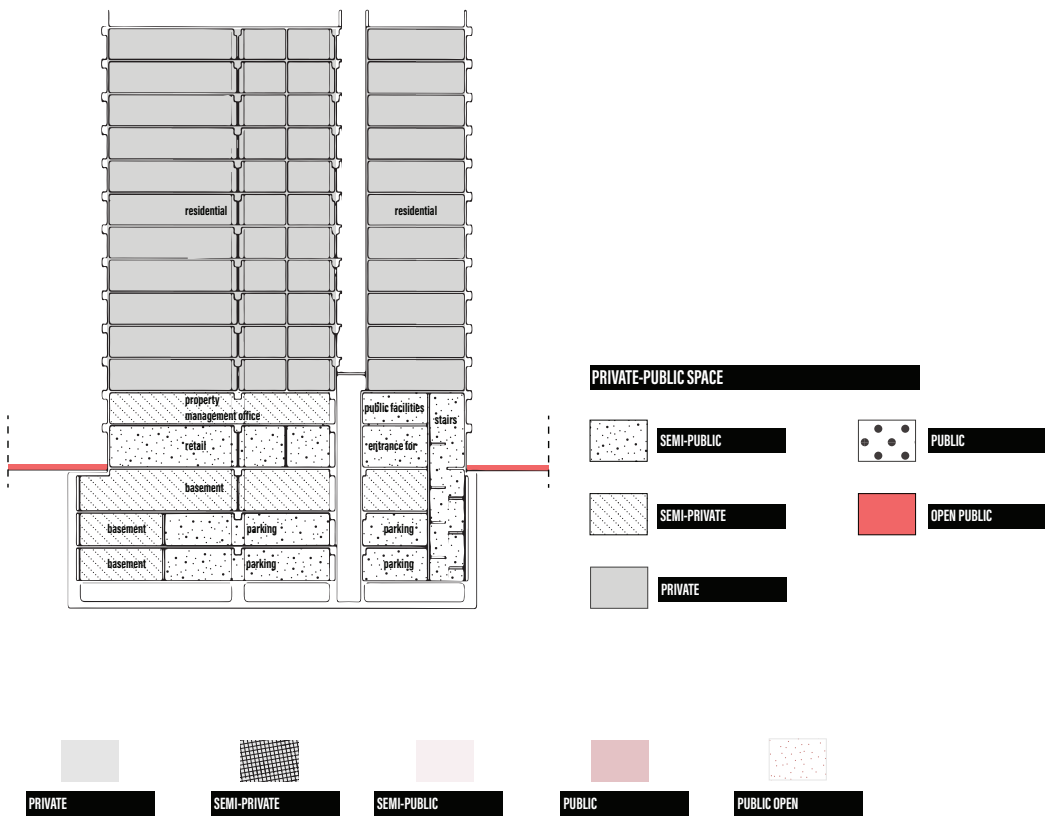


FIG. 6.8 North-South section to indicate the private-public typology of vertical spaces (classified and redrawn by the author with the original plan from Taipei City Government, 2017)

1 Open public space and public space:

Figure 6.9 depicts the urban design guideline for the open public space of this project. It mandates setbacks from the building line reserved for open public space, which should merge with the existing pedestrian area to create a spacious, unobstructed area. This open public space, not designated for a specific purpose, will be reserved as a welcoming space for not only pedestrians but also residents. These walkways also link the existing routes from nearby neighbourhoods, with trees providing essential shade for those passing through.

In addition, an increase in communal space for neighbouring residents was deemed necessary, as was the enhancement of opportunities for resident interaction. To fulfil this objective, the building's primary entrance has been designed as a three-sided enclosure, forming a square. This design simultaneously offers a communal gathering area and creates a buffer for the building's main entrance. Another smaller square, positioned at the building's south-east corner, functions as both a secondary entrance and an outdoor play space.

All of these open public spaces, with the exception of the pedestrian walkways, will be administered by the building's future management and maintenance committee. Even though these spaces are intended to be unrestricted and open public areas per the Urban Design Guideline, these guidelines only apply to the planning and design stages. Therefore, there is no mechanism to guarantee that future users and maintenance managers will commit to keeping these spaces unreservedly accessible.

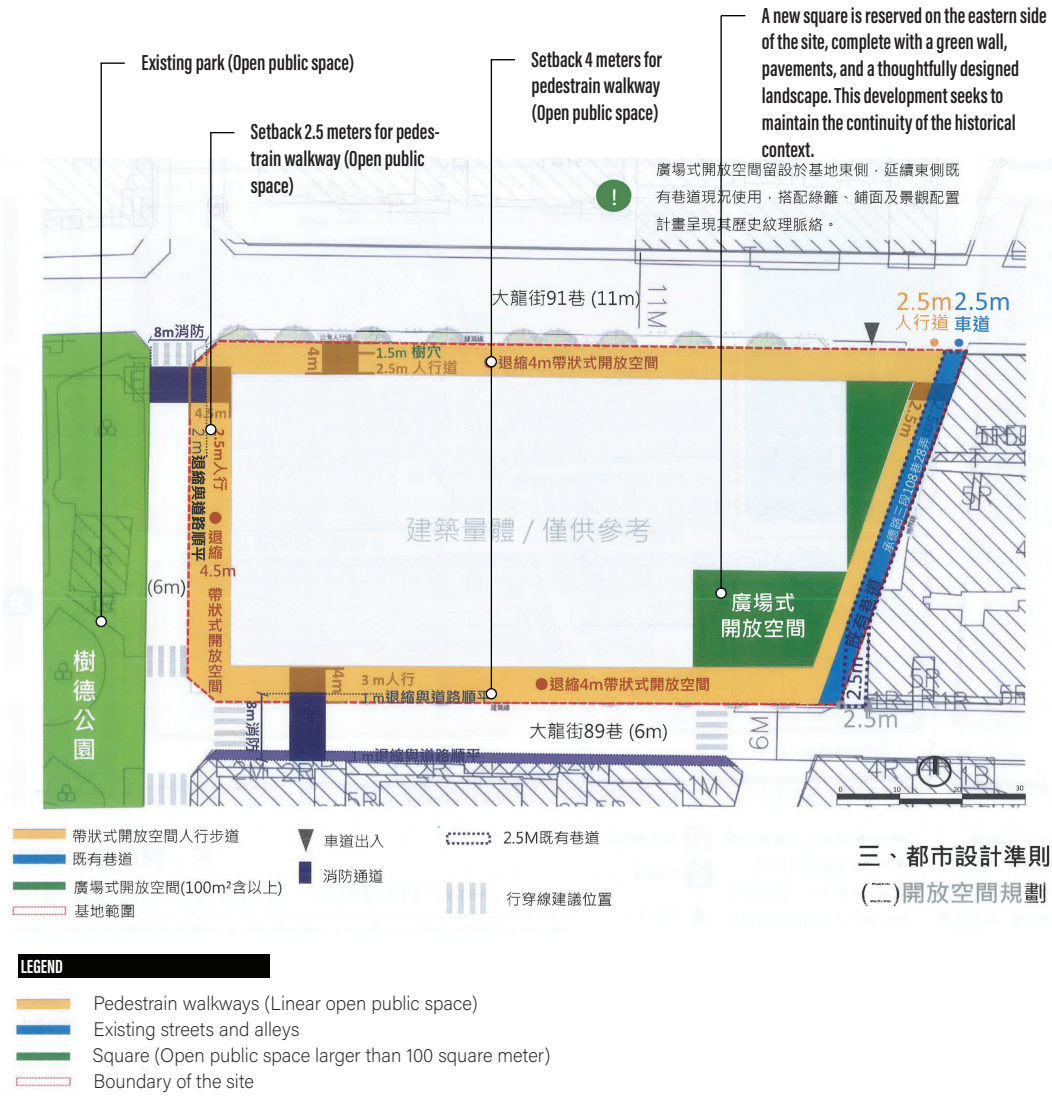


FIG. 6.9 Urban design guideline for the open public space of Si Wen Li III Translated by the author (retrieved from the Urban Design Guideline of Si Wen Li III Public-led Urban Regeneration Project, Taipei City Government, 2017, p.26)

2 Semi-public space:

Semi-public spaces are areas where the management has some control over the users who access and utilise them. In this project, these semi-public spaces serve two primary purposes. First, they provide retail spaces aimed to accommodate pre-regeneration stores. Second, they are designed to deliver the public interest of urban regeneration: semi-public spaces returned to the municipality following a transformation of ownership. While these spaces have been allocated, their exact usage was not finalised in the planning and design phase. As exhibited in URP, the municipality initially identified a significant social welfare need within this disadvantaged community, prompting it to designate a dedicated social welfare space for this regeneration project. As per the regeneration plan, the TURC suggested that this space could potentially serve as a social welfare facility in the future, perhaps an elder care facility or a health centre (TURC, 2017), catering to the local ageing population.

However, after consulting with the municipal social welfare bureau and various social welfare providers, it was found that most of these entities already had established plans, and some were already offering services in the nearby areas. As such, there was no immediate demand to occupy the municipality's social welfare space. Consequently, this space was left flexible during the planning and designing phase, awaiting potential public use in the future. Given the lack of a designated purpose, the architects were unable to design this semi-public space with a specific function in mind. Instead, they envisioned this area, labelled 'public interest', as a blank indoor space.

3 Semi-private space:

The semi-private spaces on the ground floor of this project function as the main entrances for social housing tenants. They also facilitate connections between different housing blocks, public spaces or main entrances, and ground floor entrances spanning various floors. These areas are gated, granting access only to residents and authorised individuals. Additionally, there are semi-private spaces designated as common areas specifically for the use of social housing tenants. As they are only open to the tenants, these areas carry a semi-private status.

4 Private space:

In this project, no private spaces are established at ground level. All private spaces are configured as residential and situated above the first floor. These units are further categorised into privately owned housing units and publicly owned social housing units. The privately owned housing units comprised property returned to the original Si Wen Li III owners based on an RTP calculation. This system accounts for the value of the original property prior to regeneration and determines the amount of space that can be reassigned according to the post-regeneration property value. Given that the size of each unit does not perfectly align with the original property value, some owners might have to cover the shortfall in their original property value, compensate for the deficiency in their former property ownership, or opt for a smaller housing unit.

The municipality is responsible for the administration of all its social housing units. Through the municipal social housing tenant recruitment scheme, these units accommodate regular tenants, who obtain their tenure via a registration ballot, and disadvantaged tenants, who are housed on an ad hoc basis, bypassing the need for a ballot. Notably, while the TURC initially identified the original Si Wen Li III tenants with the prospect of them remaining in the regenerated social housing units in the future, these tenants decided to vacate when they realised Si Wen Li III was set to be demolished. As a result, the original tenants, who had no property rights, opted to leave.

Summary: Semi-private and private spaces

In conclusion, although TURC pinpointed three core directions for Si Wen Li III's spatial transformation (TURC, 2018), the design for semi-public, public, and open public spaces resonated with the spatial requirements of local enterprises, enhancement in living standards, and urban framework. Notably, these considerations were not a focal point during Si Wen Li III's participatory stage but primarily emerged during the DRP strategy formation.

In the context of Si Wen Li III, participatory dialogues largely revolved around semi-private and private spaces. Conversations about semi-private spaces were centred on connectivity and entrance points, differentiating entrances for future social housing tenants and owner-occupied households. Discussions about private spaces were highlighted, emphasising dimensions, ownership rights, and corridors and entrances in the building. These dialogues were intrinsically linked to the anticipations of property-owning stakeholders regarding property values post-regeneration.

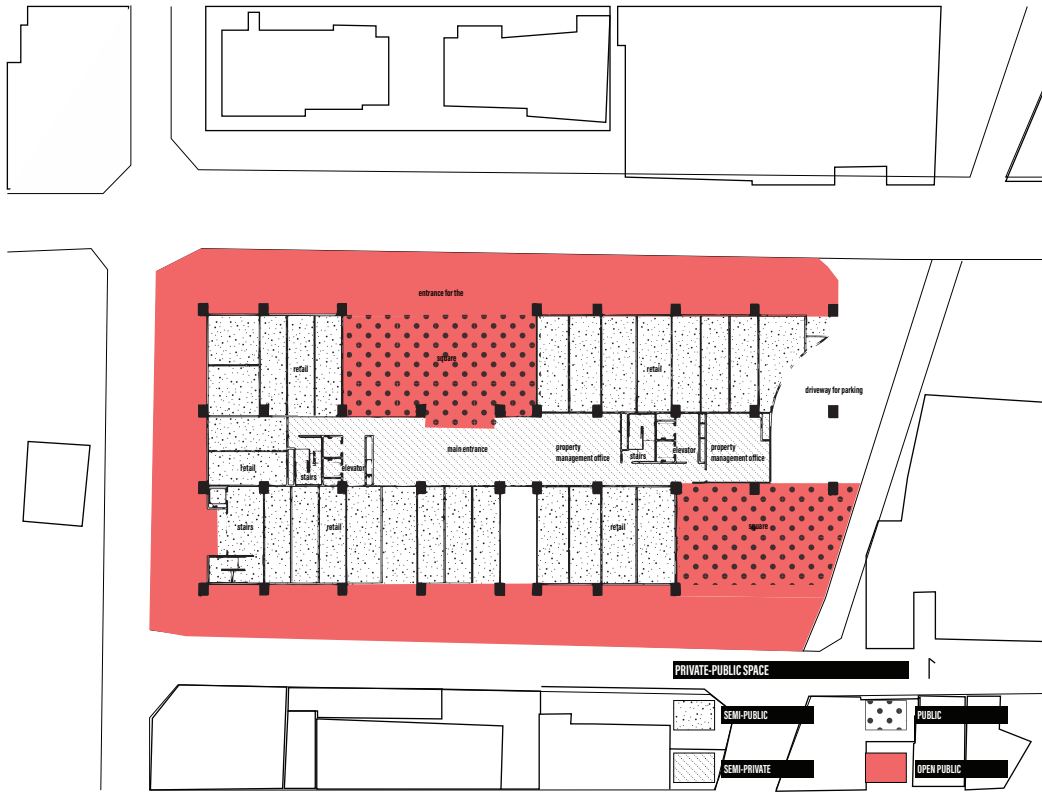


FIG. 6.10 The project plan (classified and redrawn by the author with the original plan from Taipei City Government, 2017)

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter explored the multi-level participatory process involved in the public-led urban regeneration project, which extends from the district-level Datong Reborn Plan to the Si Wen Li III project, the main focal point of the overall urban regeneration practice. The former represents a more strategic approach, establishing the wide-ranging visions of urban regeneration, while the latter is more detailed in its method, involving the government's direct intervention in spatial transformation. All these aspects are facets where urban regeneration is employed to transform space in pursuing the public interest.

Figure 6.11 depicts the Inclusive Radar, delineating varying degrees across its four axes. This visual representation elucidates the multi-tiered participatory processes inherent in public-led urban regeneration, categorising distinct scales of participation. Areas delineated in the diagram are referred to as DRP, while the regions shaded in yellow correspond to Si Wen Li III. Internal arrows emphasise the degree shift from DRP to Si Wen Li III.

On the 'Participants' axis, there is a progression from the DRP process, where participants were more varied and inclusive – encompassing both randomly selected residents from the Datong district and specifically targeted grassroots organisers in the area – to Si Wen Li III, where participation was concentrated on 'property-owning stakeholders'.

On the 'Communication and Decision-making' axis, DRP primarily features both 'Express Preferences' 'Develop Preference', whereas Si Wen Li III incorporates 'Aggregate and Bargain'. Notably, property-owning stakeholders predominantly influenced Si Wen Li III's decision-making processes.

Regarding the 'Authority and Power' axis, 'Communicative Influence' is salient. Though both DRP and Si Wen Li III are characterised by extensive participatory dialogues, these interactions do not necessarily guarantee impactful influence over ultimate decisions.

Lastly, within the 'spatial Transformation' axis, a discernible transition is observed: from the district-wide DRP – which emphasises expansive discussions on public open and public spaces – to the more localised Si Wen Li III, which centres its deliberation on semi-private spaces. These spaces in Si Wen Li III are intricately linked with the project's RTP. This focus is in no small part due to the property-owning stakeholders who played a pivotal role in shaping the latter initiative.

The Si Wen Li III case offers a detailed exploration of the complexities of urban regeneration. Although the initiative began with open recruitment, as the project progressed, property owners emerged as the dominant participants. Their participation, over time, shifted from a comprehensive area plan to a more targeted regeneration of properties within Si Wen Li III, with only occasional considerations given to public spaces and services.

In Taipei, urban regeneration has been synonymous with property renewal or real estate redevelopment, positioning it primarily within the domain of property owners. At the outset of the DRP and Si Wen Li III project, the municipality aimed to challenge and expand this narrow perspective, advocating that urban regeneration benefit the entire district.



FIG. 6.11 The analysis of inclusive radar of the public-led case, from DRP to Si Wen Li III

This shift led to the introduction of participatory mechanisms designed to garner a holistic consensus, encompassing more than just property stakeholders. Yet, a discernible discrepancy arises when comparing the objectives of the overarching DRP with the narrower focus of the Si Wen Li III initiative. While the DRP aims for broad public interest, the latter centres on property owners as the main stakeholders. In this scenario, Si Wen Li III can be perceived as a public-led urban regeneration that intervenes in private property rights. The municipality's vision of enhanced living standards and inclusivity, symbolised by mixed housing for tenants and owners, signifies urban regeneration as a public endeavour to spatial transformation for improving public interests. Yet, the statutory urban regeneration scheme inevitably led the public sector to focus on the transition of property ownership.

Grassroots initiatives initially invited DRP participation, allowing interested parties to voice their concerns about overall neighbourhood quality. However, as the process advanced towards the Si Wen Li III stage, their voices were increasingly marginalised. This exclusion led to a narrowing of the project's focus, prioritising private property ownership and overlooking broader community aspirations. Consequently, DRP and Si Wen Li III – once envisioned as complementary – ultimately emerged as two distinct projects, reflecting a divide between neighbourhood-wide ambitions and property-focused regeneration outcomes.

Further complications arose from time constraints that often predetermine regeneration processes, urging that a project be completed swiftly. Such expedited timelines can potentially stifle comprehensive dialogue, negotiation, and considerations of the public interest. In such a setting, public-led regeneration may address the preferences of property owners but may not fully address the broader spatial integration challenges faced by the city. The tight schedule also hampers the possibility for multi-scalar action plans to influence one another and may prevent participants from engaging with broader public interest perspectives. Although the project's initial focus was not exclusively on property rights, the fast-tracked timeline may have overshadowed more comprehensive community benefits.

In conclusion, launched in early 2017, the Si Wen Li III project rapidly completed all urban regeneration procedures within a year, exemplifying the municipality's 'efficiency and commitment'. Yet, the broader objective of using an old RTH building as a catalyst for revitalising an entire neighbourhood, enhancing public spaces, and promoting housing diversity seems intangible. The short-term timeframe might have disrupted a cohesive consideration of multi-scale spatial concerns, casting uncertainty on future steps in this urban regeneration trajectory, particularly concerning the strategic guidance of the district's urban development in accordance with public interventions and participation.

7 Social Housing as a means of urban regeneration

A case study of the Jian-Kang project

7.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the participatory process of social housing as a means of urban regeneration in Taipei. Since 2010, Taipei's municipal social housing policy has been framed as a dual-purpose strategy: addressing the urban housing crisis through the provision of affordable rental housing while fostering new public services and spaces as a goal of urban regeneration. Unlike private-led or public-led urban regeneration initiatives, social housing in this context serves as a mechanism to address socio-spatial inequalities and acts as a catalyst for creating higher-quality urban environments. By embedding participatory principles, the policy aims to incorporate local concerns and aspirations into the regeneration process.

The chapter focuses on the Jian-Kang project, a pilot social housing initiative led by the Taipei City Government. This case study illustrates how the participatory process shaped urban regeneration efforts by bringing conflicting public interests to light and addressing them through municipal actions. The project highlights how the municipality positioned social housing as a response to a broader public interest – addressing the housing crisis – while simultaneously contending with the specific concerns of the surrounding neighbourhood. Residents raised long-

neglected needs, such as the lack of public spaces and the limited capacity of public services in the area, as priorities. These concerns often conflicted with the implications of high-density social housing development, particularly regarding its perceived environmental impacts on the community. The chapter also explores how the municipality responded to these concerns, employing participatory tools such as public pooling to mitigate resistance and integrate community feedback into the planning and implementation processes.

The chapter is structured to explore the various dimensions of this case study. It begins with an introduction to the rationale for selecting the Jian-Kang Project, followed by an analysis of its policy framework and historical context. The participatory planning and design processes are critically evaluated, focusing on their influence on decision-making and outcomes. Finally, the chapter concludes by discussing the broader implications of using social housing as a strategy for urban regeneration, offering insights into how participatory approaches can revitalise urban spaces while addressing socio-spatial disparities.

7.1.1 Case selection

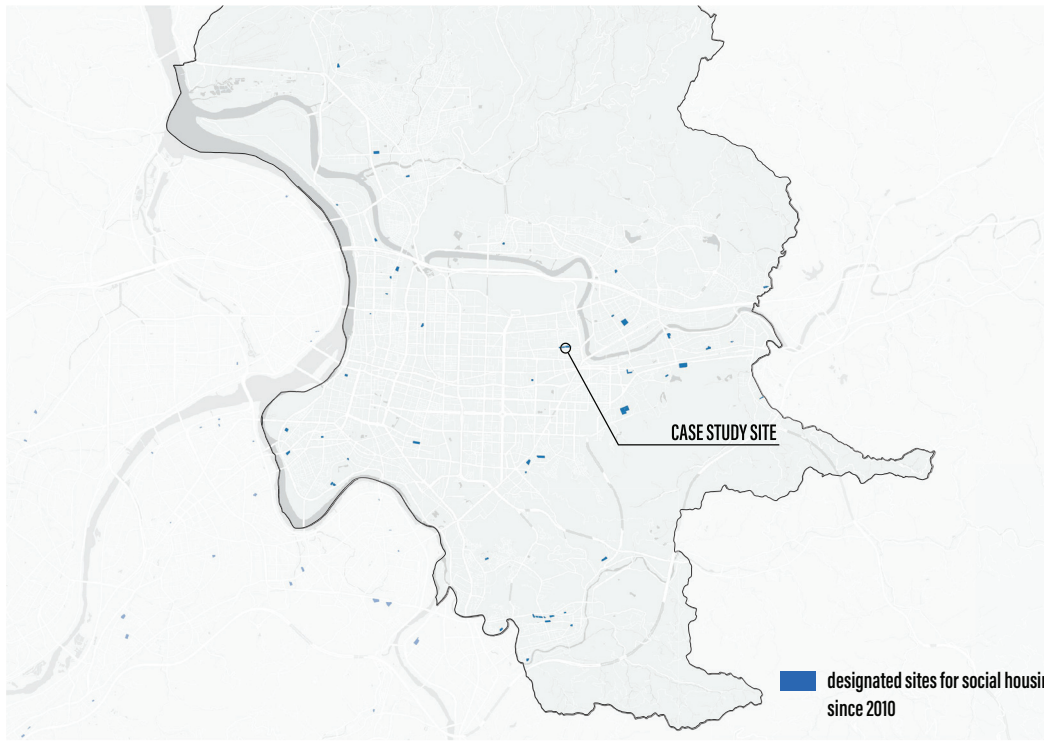


FIG. 7.1 Project location and the mapping of social housing sites of Taipei

Since the 2010s, social housing as a new urban housing policy has generated more than 40 social housing projects in Taipei, which will provide more than 13,000 dwellings, accounting for 1% of Taipei's total housing stock (see Figure 7.1, which depicts many social housing projects that have been completed, are planned, or are under construction). Among the many cases, the Jian-Kang project has been adopted as a case study for the following reasons:

1 The Jian-Kang project is a pilot project for social housing

This project is a pilot project for public-led social housing (Ministry of the Interior, 2011). It was one of five sites chosen by the central government's 2010 Social Housing Short-Term Program[13] to launch a social housing trial. It is also one of the first few pilot projects after the emerging Housing Act defined social housing as 'publicly built or incentivised private construction, specifically for rent'. Furthermore, from a policy evaluation perspective, by locating it in an established residential area with many dwellings, the demand for housing would be guaranteed, which avoids the possibility of policy failure. Accordingly, such a policy realisation process allows for social housing as a method of urban regeneration, which meets the criteria set by this study. Otherwise, it would simply represent a new housing and residential scheme.

2 The project considered the wider effects of urban regeneration

In past state housing projects, the focus was mainly on constructing as many residential units as possible with little regard for the urban context of the surrounding neighbourhood. This approach led to poor environmental and social integration, exacerbated by subpar government management, resulting in a stigmatisation of social housing and a concentration of social issues. Consequently, public sentiment towards social housing construction has generally been negative, especially among residents of affected neighbourhoods. To address these concerns, this pioneering project integrated public spaces and social welfare facilities into the planning and design of social housing. This approach aims to reposition social housing as more than just residential space. The inclusion of well-designed public areas and essential community services aims to mitigate the impact of the housing complex on the neighbourhood while also enhancing the overall quality of life for the entire area where the project is situated.

13 (In Chinese: 社會住宅短期實施方案) See the governantal document proposed by the Construction and Planning Agency, Ministry of Interior.

3 Public participation in the planning stage, as claimed by the municipality

The formation of social housing policy was influenced by growing public awareness of the urban housing crisis. However, public resistance to such projects remains high, particularly among nearby residents who have negative perceptions based on the low-quality legacy of former state intervention housing (SIH). To address this opposition, the municipality integrated the concept of neighbourhood participation into the planning and design stages of social housing projects. This approach received formal backing from the city council (resolution of Taipei City Council, 2015), which mandated that at least two hearings with residents must be held and majority consent must be obtained before initiating a project. Additionally, the mayor pledged to conduct public opinion surveys and to halt social housing construction if most residents were opposed.

4 Neglected planning and ad hoc social housing in high-density areas

In planning documents originating from the 1980s, the shortfall in public spaces within this neighbourhood was acknowledged but remained insufficiently addressed in subsequent municipal strategies. Residents were sharply affected by this neglect, particularly considering the municipality's abrupt decision to allocate a long-neglected vacant public land for social housing without integrating it into a broader strategy that addresses existing high-density conditions. Such a decision risks undermining participatory planning mechanisms, particularly given that the residents prioritise the creation of additional public spaces to serve the public interest of the neighbourhood. At the same time, the municipality appears to focus on ad hoc social housing initiatives to serve the public interest of the city.

7.2 Project context

In the late 2000s, Taipei's housing crisis grew more acute, and policymaking on social housing moved slowly from slogans to actual realisation. With the introduction of the central government's pioneering program in 2010, the municipality selected the site as one of five pilot sites in Taipei. The central government provided public-owned land for this project, and the Taipei City Government executed it. However, this was not a policy welcomed by all citizens. During the realisation phase of the pilot social housing projects in 2010, these met with generally unfavourable reactions from neighbouring residents. These opponents perceive the past SIH projects as a harmful policy that led to the overall decline of neighbouring areas, deterioration in physical environments, and, thus, a decline in the property values of surrounding areas (Mu, 2016).

As opposed to former SIHs, using social housing for urban regeneration in Taipei has had positive effects. It has improved public spaces, added new public facilities, and enhanced social services. This process, in turn, has boosted the value of nearby properties[14] (Hinh, 2021; Y.-J. Huang et al., 2017; T.-W. Yang, 2019). Despite these gains, concerns about potential decreases in property values persist.

This area began in the 1960s with the massive development of the former housing quarters for military personnel and their dependents (MP quarter[15]), which quickly turned the area into a densely populated residential zone. Like the process of densification of residential areas in other areas of Taipei, at first, this residential area was bungalow housing, and after the late 1970s, vertical living flat blocks emerged to accommodate a more significant number of households (Figure 7.2).

14 These empirical studies show that social housing has a positive asset effect. Hinh's study (2021) reveals that with the addition of new public facilities and upgrades to public spaces and social services, property prices around the 3km radius of the case are 3-6% higher than other properties nearby. In other words, social housing as a method of urban regeneration did have an effect and property prices increased (see Hinh, 2021). Another study of Taipei shows that the nearby housing market with State-Intervened Housing (SIHs) have fallen significantly, whereas the recent social housing has caused a significant increase in price of the nearby housing market up to approximately 7.7% (Y.-J. Huang et al., 2017). Also, another result from the adjacent New Taipei City reveals that social housing leads to an increase of about 2.5% in the housing market within 500 metre radius (T.-W. Yang, 2019).

15 (In Chinese: 眷村).

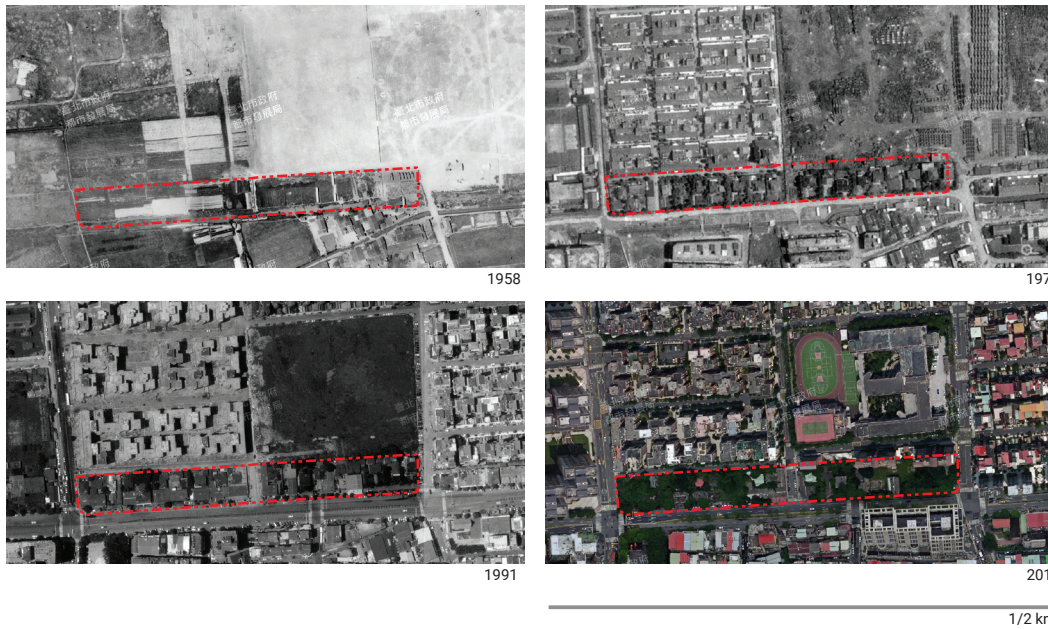


FIG. 7.2 Aerial photographs from different periods (marked and cropped by author, aerial photos: Taipei City Government)

In 1984, a comprehensive review of the Taipei Master Plan highlighted a lack of public facilities and spaces in a particular area. Despite not being the most deprived area in Taipei, it fell short of central government standards for public amenities such as parks, markets, car parks, and schools. The review proposed constructing taller buildings to house more people, thereby freeing up ground-level space for public use. This recommendation was driven by the fact that the surrounding areas were already fully developed, leaving no room for expansion.

Previously, the area known as the MP quarter was managed by the Air Force Authority, which sought 'efficient land use'. This approach led to high-density housing at the expense of open space. The municipality denied the Air Force's request to zone all its land as residential, citing the existing shortage of public spaces (Taipei City Government, 1984, coded as C3-10) and representing the area's first venture into urban regeneration and densification. The public landlord oversaw the process, and the newly converted houses were partially privatised. The original occupants retained some property while the remainder was sold. This initial phase of regeneration led to increased density, which has had a lasting impact on the area, particularly in the reduction of public spaces up to the present day.

In 2012, the Housing Act came into effect, offering a legal framework for municipalities to implement social housing projects. However, residents have resisted such developments near their homes. This opposition is particularly notable for a planned social housing project that aims to add 507 new units. The resistance is rooted in the area's longstanding issues with high density and limited public spaces.

7.2.1 Site plan

The Jian-Kang project site was once an MP quarter and has been vacant for over two decades. The area features wild-growing trees among the remnants of former structures, offering a unique wooded setting in an otherwise high-density residential part of the city. While regulations would allow for building coverage (which refers to the percentage of the site's total land area that can be built upon, also called ground cover) of up to 45% of the site, the project utilises just 39%, aiming to maintain this green landscape at the ground level. The site has a north-south orientation with ample sunlight. However, planning must account for a large cluster of existing residences to the north to ensure their access to sunlight is not compromised. Additionally, the site's southern boundary faces a road, raising concerns about noise pollution (see Figure 7.3).

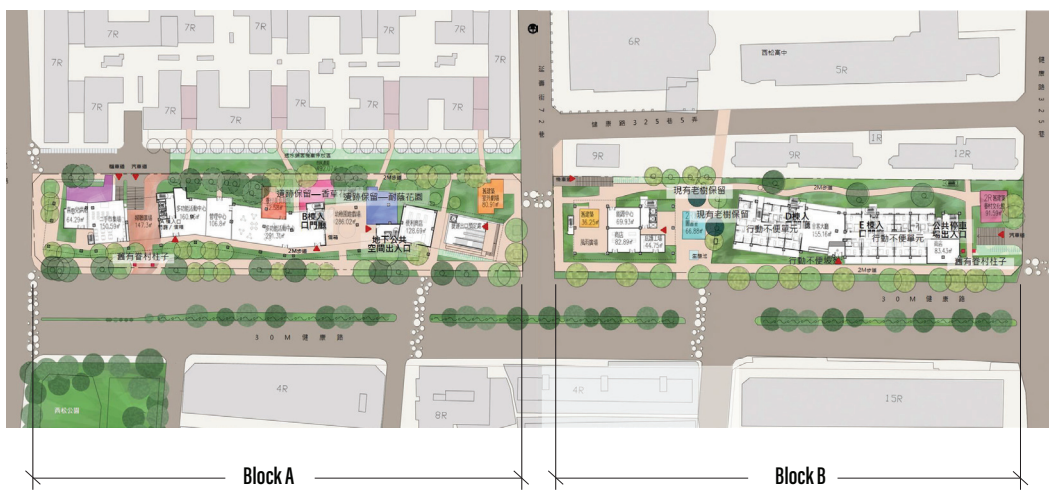


FIG. 7.3 Design concept drawing of the site, presented in the public meeting (cropped by author, Taipei City Government, 2010)

TABLE 7.1 Site area and building coverage ratio

	Block A	Block B	Total
Site area (m²)	4,799	4,885	9684
Building projected area (m²)	1,842	1,961	3803
building coverage ratio	n/a	n/a	39.27%
statutory building coverage ratio	n/a	n/a	45%

Building heights and volumes

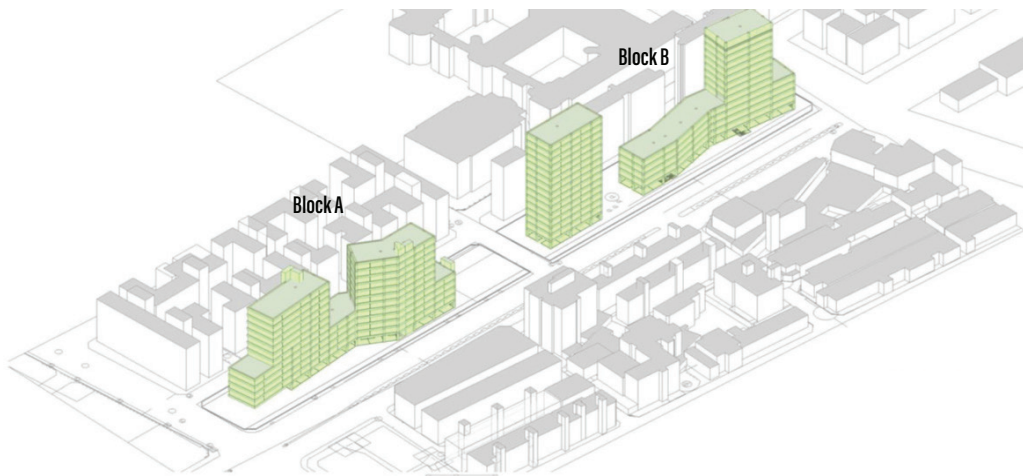


FIG. 7.4 Building volumes with surrounding residential area – the plot was vacant land before the social housing construction (Taipei City Government, 2010)

To safeguard the sunlight access for existing houses to the north, the building's design features a staggered (slightly zigzag formation). This layout minimises the building's shadow impact on the surrounding residences (see Figure 7.4).

TABLE 7.2 Floor area and building heights of the project

	Block A	Block B	Total
Total floor area (m²)	24,239	26,076	50,315
Floor-to-area ratio (FAR)	519.56%		
Number of storeys	2 basement floors, 14 above ground	3 basement floors, 16 above ground	n/a
Height	48.9~55.3m		
Car parking	133	138	271

Tenants and housing units

The municipality wholly owns the social housing. Tenants largely consist of special-status households, making up 77% of the total. This population includes low-income families (10%), ethnic minorities (5%), students (5%), young tenants (7%), and other socio-economically vulnerable groups (20%). General households account for just 23%. Notably, 30% of the general household units are preserved for residents already living in the surrounding areas.

Private-public typology of the regenerated space

The project is designed to create social housing and spaces for public use that benefit both its residents and the nearby community. Drawing on the concept of large residential complexes intended for collective living, the project employs a private-public typology, as detailed in Chapter 3, to classify these spaces. The details of each type are explained in the following:

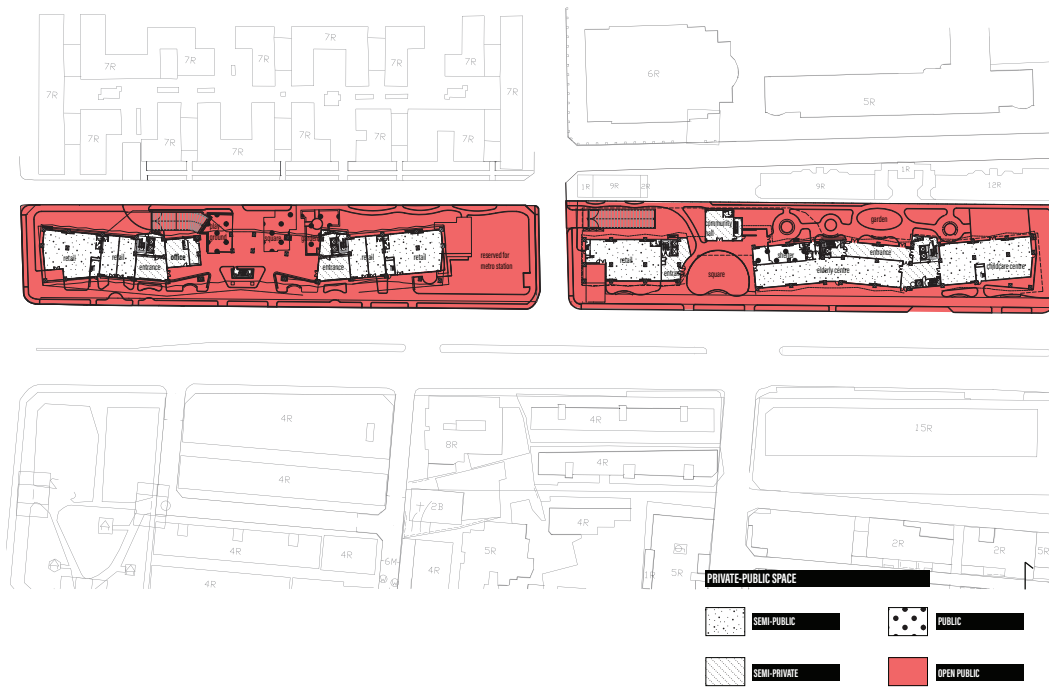


FIG. 7.5 Classification of the project plan (classified and redrawn by the author with the original plan from the Taipei City Government, 2014)

1 Public spaces:

In the layout of the site, public spaces appear in two primary forms. The first encompasses uncovered areas located outside the perimeters of the buildings, serving as a multi-functional public access. The second involves portions of the buildings' ground-floor level, which remain covered yet are open for public access. While the uncovered spaces generally lack a designated function, serving as flexible zones for public use, their covered counterparts are often function-specific. This feature necessitates particular management protocols tailored to their roles, whether as transitional areas leading to private quarters or as spaces with distinct utility.

The open public spaces are ground floor spaces that are carefully aligned with the pedestrian pathways of adjoining residential areas, thus offering a continuous public space for both leisure and transit. Moreover, the design accounts for the site's spatial and historical characteristics. A notable effort has been made to preserve the existing trees, which contribute to the site's environmental aspects. Furthermore,

historical elements, like the remnants of the original MP quarters, have been integrated, serving as tangible links to the site's past. These public areas serve as communal green zones. The design also includes specific types of public spaces like children's playgrounds and courtyards, although it is worth mentioning that some are subject to user restrictions for management purposes.

2 Semi-public space:

By definition, a semi-public space is one in which the future managing body has a degree of control over the users who enter and use it; in this case, the municipality is the only property owner. The semi-public space has been created as a social service facility to serve the neighbourhood, including a social welfare agency, an elder care centre, and a childcare centre. The spatial needs of these service centres were raised by such future institutional users, who would deliver the foreseen public functions at the design stage, and the architects configured their spaces with separate entrances and exits that are not shared with those of the residents to ensure simple management. At the same time, these separate entrances are integrated into the open spaces at ground level to avoid fragmentation.

3 Semi-private space:

The semi-private spaces at the ground floor level of this project are created as the main entrances to serve the social housing tenants. They also provide connections between different blocks of housing, public spaces or main entrances, and ground floor entrances between different floors. They are gated and accessible only to residents and other permitted persons. There are semi-private spaces with common areas created for the sole use of social housing tenants.

It is worth noting that some spaces existed only at the initial conceptual stage and were revealed at public meetings with residents (see Figure 7.6). Still, these physical spaces were not built in the end, such as the amphitheatre, the citizen farmlands, and the organic gardens. Similarly, spaces like the flea market and retail shops are the designer's ideas for the future use of public and semi-public spaces, the former requiring additional management mechanisms to activate them and the latter serving an unspecified public function, although not entirely unregulated. How they are managed will depend on the characteristics of the retail outlet. Also, this illustrates a distinction between public and semi-public space in this study's classification, which is dynamic and varies depending on the strength of management and the presence or absence of activities.



FIG. 7.6 Aerial photograph of the completed project (2019) Bottom: The architectural design's original concept for the ground plan showing the integration of pedestrian routes and open space plan. This concept drawing was also used by the team of architects in the initial meetings with the residents, showing the architects' initial expectations of open space in the project. (Top: drawn by the author, aerial photo retrieved from Taipei City Government, 2019; bottom: translated and redrawn by the author with additional indications, retrieved from the architect's presentation at the public meeting, Bio architecture Formosana and Taipei City Government, 2013)

7.3 Findings and analysis

7.3.1 Phases and process of participation

The Jian-Kang project was initiated in 2010 as an innovative venture. A year later, in 2011, the municipality organised its first public meeting. After two years of planning and design, which integrated a participatory approach, the project received formal approval from the municipality in 2013. Construction commenced in 2014 and was completed by 2017, with tenants moving in during 2018 (refer to Figure 7.6).

In contrast to the case of statutory urban regeneration, there are mandated procedures for public meetings and hearings. For municipality-led social housing projects like Jian-Kang, no such legal stipulations exist. The only obligation, imposed by a Taipei City Council Resolution in 2015, requires the municipality to conduct at least two public meetings with neighbourhoods located within a one-kilometre radius. Moreover, the consent of many of these residents must be obtained before the project can proceed. Therefore, the approach to public participation in this context is relatively flexible and not legally prescribed.

2010 Central government's "Social Housing Short Term Implementation Programme" launched
2010 The project was initiated as a pilot project
2011 First public meeting held by the municipality
2012 Start of the architectural design process, the public engagement activities starts
2012 Public surveys (two rounds, ends in 2013)
2013 Second public meeting held by the municipality
2013 Approved by the Taipei City Government Urban Design Review Committee
2014 Construction starts
2017 Construction completes
2018 Residents move in

FIG. 7.7 Timeline and key participatory developments of the Jian-Kang project

According to the requirements from the municipality (Taipei City Government, 2013, coded as C3-04), this study summarises the tasks requiring participation and separates them into two participatory phases (Figure 7.7):

— The policy promotion and formation phase was mainly conducted through public meetings and public opinion surveys. The municipality also required the commissioned architect to conduct interviews with residents and to assist the municipality in explaining and promoting the municipality's policy to local opinion leaders.

— Detailed planning and design. During this phase, physical space design workshops were held on-site to educate locals about the structure and purpose of potential future public spaces. Residents' needs for public spaces were also gathered through public space proposals for future social housing. At this point, the hired architects incorporated any specific spatial suggestions from the neighbourhood into the building design.

TABLE 7.3 Participation in different decision-making phases

Phases	Policy promotion	Planning and design
Methods and forms	Public meetings, telephone polls	workshops
Content	Promoting social housing policy and responding to public concerns on NIMBY and stigmatisation of social housing	Residential street corner workshops, community-building activities, presentations, reuse of unused space
Effects on spatial transition	Political commitment would affect the realisation of the project	Provide more public space and services for the neighbourhood
Subjects for discussion	Social housing as a matter of public interest, the size of its buildings and the number of occupants	What kind of public space functions are desired?
Organiser	The municipality	The municipality and the commissioned team of architects

Due to time constraints, the various phases of the project, such as planning, design, and public awareness, were not carried out in a strictly sequential manner but instead overlapped (as Figure 7.6 shows). While the planning and design stages were underway, residents were simultaneously being informed about the related policies. As part of its participatory strategy, the municipality conducted a public opinion survey. In addition, if over half the respondents opposed the project, social housing construction in the area would be halted. This survey functioned as an integral component of the municipality's overall approach to public engagement. To manage the project efficiently and expedite its completion, the municipality bundled all tasks, from planning and architectural design to public participation, into a single project. These responsibilities were then outsourced to an architectural firm with the aim of promptly carrying out the pioneering social housing initiative.

Public opinion survey

The survey was conducted by telephone calls, using a random sampling of four adjacent boroughs. A total of two telephone surveys were conducted, with a valid sample number of 1,707. As mentioned earlier, the municipality wrapped this survey into the social housing design project (and commissioned it to the architectural firm). It regarded the survey not only as a participatory tool but also as a way of fulfilling the mayor's promise. It consisted of three components – a combination of polling and questionnaires. The first section was a yes/no poll about the municipality's social housing, followed by a more extensive questionnaire with arguments for or against. The second section inquired about preferences for the future functions of public spaces. The third section examined where information about participatory events (mostly public meetings) could be obtained and the degree of attendance and satisfaction with public meetings.

The survey reveals that nearly 70% of respondents agreed with the municipality's proposal for Jian-Kang social housing (see Table 7.4). The availability of affordable housing for younger generations is the main argument put forth by proponents, whereas the argument advanced by opponents is that the neighbourhoods might have a more complicated demography, making management more challenging. Facilities for older people were the most preferred option the future social housing would offer. Finally, only 7% of respondents reported having attended a public meeting of the project (93% denied having done so), and 49.1% of those who did stated they had expressed dissatisfaction with the meeting they attended but did not provide an explanation.

The survey's results raise various questions, including why individuals dislike participatory methods like public meetings and design workshops; why do people dislike public hearings so much? Why is there such a low attendance rate at public meetings? Paradoxically, why do respondents hope to learn more about social housing through public meetings as opposed to other channels?

Therefore, the four axes of inclusive radar are used to analyse various empirical data in the following section to understand the participatory process better: 1. the briefings, remarks, and reactions from the municipality to attendees' queries and comments at various public meetings and design workshops. These proceedings were meticulously recorded, right down to the speakers' names, the content of their inquiries, and the reactions of the architects and concerned municipal agencies. 2. In-depth interviews with architects, neighbourhood residents, and municipal officials, in addition to planning documentation.

TABLE 7.4 The results of the municipality's public opinion survey

1. For or against Jian-kang social housing project	
Poll: for the municipality's social housing policy (Go/no-Go)	Yes: 69.6%/ No: 30.4%
Questionnaire for the social housing project	
Reasons for supporting the municipality's social housing construction project (top three, single-choice question)	1st: 'to provide affordable rental housing for younger generations'. 2nd: 'to help young people to live'. 3rd: 'the basic need for housing'.
Reasons for disagreeing with the municipality's social housing construction project (top three, single-choice question)	1st: 'the neighbourhood would become much harder to manage'. 2nd: 'the price of the surrounding housing would fall'. 3rd: 'the location is not suitable'.
2. Questionnaire of public facilities and spaces	
What public space and facilities should be provided within the social housing complex and should be available to the surrounding neighbourhood? (top three single-choice questions)	1st: a centre for the elderly 2nd: a community library 3rd: a community centre
3. Survey of public hearing attendance and perceptions of information and participation processes	
How would you like to be informed about the municipality's social housing policy	1st: through briefings and public meetings 2nd: mailing of relevant information/leaflets 3rd: through borough chiefs16
Poll: Have you attended any meetings organised by the municipality in the past year about the social housing project?	Yes: 7.0% / No: 93%
Poll: Satisfaction level for those who attended the above meetings	Dissatisfied: 49.1%/ Satisfied: 38.2%

Data: Collected by the author with raw data from Taipei City Government (2013)

16 (In Chinese: 里長). Borough chiefs are the basic level of local government in Taiwan. They are elected and unpaid officials, but they receive a stipend from the government to run their local offices. They are responsible for responding to local needs, assisting in the promotion of municipalities and organising community activities; thus, they are under the direction and supervision of municipalities and are responsible for the conduct of neighbourhood affairs and matters referred to them.

7.3.2 Participants

Recognised stakeholders by the municipality

The municipality is the owner of all the land for this social housing project, and the property rights of all housing units become the municipality's property after the completion of the social housing. Therefore, in this case, there is no 'stakeholder with property rights' for non-government participants. In other cases, the property owner is considered to be the more overreaching category of stakeholders (see Cases 1 and 2). On the contrary, as this case is a municipal policy, even though the municipality has complete control of the property rights, it instead considers the approval and opposition of the surrounding residents who do not have property rights. The municipality then acknowledged the neighbourhood residents as the primary actors in the participatory process. It is evident from the attendees at the various briefings, neighbourhood gatherings, opinion polls, and design workshops held by the municipality.

However, how much impact does this social housing project, representing a substantial spatial transformation, have on nearby residents? The planning authority lacks access to this data, and no statutory framework specifies the extent to which residents are regarded as stakeholders. Therefore, the municipality's objective is to identify stakeholders more straightforwardly: the four boroughs (see Figure 7.8), contiguous administrative districts, are considered. In this manner, not only could the city council's resolution be fulfilled, but also quickly defined stakeholders, particularly the neighbourhood property owners who, after all, were the primary NIMBY opponents, could be identified.



FIG. 7.8 Map of the four boroughs and the project site (drawn by the author with aerial photos from Google Earth, 2021)

The role of local opinion leaders (elected representatives)

In Taipei, boroughs are the base administrative units, and borough chiefs are elected every four years by residents. These chiefs not only disseminate meeting proceedings but also act as opinion leaders, representing the collective voice of their communities within the municipality's participation process. They are key figures in the Axis of Participation analytical framework (see also 5.3.2).

Borough chiefs play a pivotal role in local spatial planning and management, liaising between residents and the municipality. While not directly involved in policymaking and potentially belonging to different political parties, their responsibilities include information dissemination and participant recruitment for local public affairs. For example, they boost attendance at public meetings if participation is low and often serve as local opinion consultants for the municipality. Their views are commonly seen as representing the collective sentiment of their communities. Ineffective communication by borough chiefs can impede the municipality's ability to engage with neighbourhood residents directly.

Borough chiefs, who are regarded as political representatives in the Axis of Participation, are primarily involved in local spatial planning and management on behalf of residents. Their duty is to aid the municipality in organising local public affairs and disseminating the municipality's policy messages, even though they may not be directly involved in policymaking nor belong to the same political party.

For instance, borough chiefs usually need to encourage more interested parties to attend public meetings requested by the municipality if participation is low; meanwhile, the municipality frequently consults *borough chiefs* as local opinion gatherers, and their opinions are frequently seen as the collective voice of neighbourhoods. Since borough chiefs are a key conduit for the municipality's participation initiatives, it could be difficult for the municipality to establish direct contact with neighbourhood residents if *borough chiefs* lack effective outreach and communication abilities.

Summary: Participations are 'open, targeted recruited', with the ambiguity in stakeholder identification

The importance of information dissemination for public participation is evident. While information about the public meeting was widely accessible through municipal gazettes and the website, the chiefs of four specific boroughs actively promoted participation, leading to a higher turnout from these areas. Residents outside these boroughs had to be more proactive in seeking this information, even though no formal barriers existed. Thus, the approach can be characterised as 'open, targeted recruitment'.

This approach, however, led to ambiguity in stakeholder identification. Specifically, the municipality did not provide a clear rationale for focusing on these four boroughs, often resorting to general arguments about environmental impacts. This lack of clarity caused disputes among residents. The varying proximity to the social housing site meant different levels of impact, complicating stakeholder identification.

When the municipality expanded the survey area, some participants grew suspicious, viewing it as a manipulation to include votes from those less affected by the project. These participants contended that stakeholder interests varied by distance and thus should not be given equal weight. They subsequently argued that the survey should focus only on the most proximate neighbours rather than encompassing all four boroughs, which also reflects broader questions about the fairness and effectiveness of the municipality's participation strategy.

7.3.3 Communication and decision-making mode

The public opinion survey, including polls and questionnaires, was utilised by the municipality as one of the primary communication and policymaking tools. The analysis reveals that it can produce unexpected communication outcomes because only phone calls were used to collect data. First, because telephone interviews are conducted in a way that offers options, it can be challenging to understand the various opinions of residents. Further, some respondents found the questions to be leading and overly suggestive. For example, the questionnaire refers to 'expectations for the social housing project' (multiple-choice question, C3-08); the word 'expectation' in Chinese signifies a positive context. Consequently, the question sounded more like, 'What are the good effects of social housing?'

Additionally, respondents to the multiple-choice questions were required to choose one of the options during a time-limited phone call. Some participants believed that these questions were designed to trick them into providing information. For example, one participant asked: 'You are asking us what we expect from social housing; why don't you ask us through the survey what the adverse effects of social housing might be? You ought to be gathering a variety of viewpoints' (C3-05). They also asked, 'Why not ask what the drawbacks of social housing would be?' (C3-05 P.16).

Another issue with the survey is the lack of clarity surrounding the selection of the four specific boroughs. While the government report states that the sample targeted individuals aged 20 and over living near the project, it does not consider varying levels of impact based on proximity to the social housing. For example, the northern borough, being closest, would likely be more affected than those farther south. Such nuances are not reflected in either the sample selection or the survey questions. Additionally, the questionnaire does not break down questions by age, gender, or family composition, thereby missing the specific needs of various demographic groups.

The yes/no poll made each question a binary choice

The poll was meant to serve as the foundation for the project's go/no-go decision. According to the survey results, only 7% of respondents had attended a meeting organised by the municipality, so the majority of respondents were asked to respond to this question even though they were unfamiliar with the details.

Furthermore, this YES/NO poll is a forced-choice query. Respondents are compelled to give a decisive answer to each question, which pressures them to make a judgement on each response option (M. Allen, 2017). However, according to Fung's Communication and Decision-making Axis (2006), most participants lack a clear preference or point of view and instead take part as observers who merely take in the information (in Fung's words, *listen as spectators*).

Distrust in communication

The public survey was initially designed to engage residents, gather their views, foster policy support, and mitigate opposition. However, the municipality's initial communication objectives were not met. Instead, criticism emerged over the survey's research techniques, fuelling suspicions that the municipality aimed to steer, rather than gauge, public opinion. According to minutes from one public meeting, some attendees believed the municipality would proceed with the project irrespective of the survey outcomes.: 'The entire questionnaire is based on how this social housing would benefit you!' (C3-05 p 14). A different attendee at the same meeting stated that 'the poll was conducted based on a desire to induce the public to support and agree with social housing' (C3-05 P22).

This distrust extends beyond the municipality. The commissioned architects also discovered that they were opposed to residents: 'We have talked a lot with the residents … the result was that most of them were against it' (C3-09). Residents' perceptions of the architects were more complicated than seeing them as professionals to assist them in meeting their spatial needs in the neighbourhood. This is because the municipality hired them to handle the packaged contract that included the social housing design and the participatory scheme. As stated in an interview with the architects: 'the residents do not think we are neutral; they think we are the city's hitman, the conniving businessman, and the conspirator' (C3-09). As a result, it was difficult for the architects to avoid being perceived by the residents as being allied with the municipality.

Responsiveness of communication

In assessing responsiveness, speed and accuracy serve as key criteria (Vigoda, 2002). Speed relates to the efficiency of the agency in responding to a citizen's request, while accuracy evaluates the level of satisfaction the requester experiences with that response (see section 3.3.2).

This study uncovers a gap between the municipality's efforts to meet both individual and collective needs. A review of the information shared during residents' meetings and the documented opinions of those residents highlighted this misalignment.

The municipality portrayed the social housing initiative as a pioneering project designed to alleviate housing scarcity and fulfil the spatial requirements of adjacent communities. Despite this, the municipal communication strategy failed to address residents' specific concerns adequately. Meeting minutes reveal that residents were primarily interested in targeted planning and design issues, such as the reasoning behind the project's location, the appropriateness of proposing 508 housing units, and queries about building heights and volumes. They were also concerned about the initiative's actual impact on the local environment. In this context, the municipality's responsiveness appeared to lack accuracy when it came to addressing these specific issues.

The result of communication and spatial design

The quality of the participation process was significantly affected by the communication strategy employed. A lack of clarity about the meeting objectives led to participants making unrelated requests, such as calls for a swimming pool or a grass-only park (C3-05, C3-07). Additionally, some contributions seemed solely aimed at expressing outright opposition to social housing (a stance that could be categorised as seeking personal benefits within the Axis of Authority and Power framework). This position diminished the architects' ability to gain valuable insights from the participatory process. As they pointed out, '*The results of participation are limited, and I do not think the voices from the participants have played a big part here'* (C3-09).

The architects contended that the actual design and planning benefits derived from public engagement were minimal. Instead, they relied largely on their own professional expertise and previously gathered information to address spatial needs. They explained: *'the public spaces and facilities, I think, can be helped by our experience and the information we have collected …. Whether it is public facilities or public spaces, we have tried our best to look at them from our professional point of view'* (C3-09).

Summary: Persuasion or participation? The communication gap in building stakeholder trust and responsive action

As discussed in Chapter 3, effective communication is based on information transparency and trust. It allows participants to determine information while also considering the goals and positions of the various stakeholders. In general, it helps to reduce the fixation that exists in analyses and position-based discussions, and it allows conflicts between stakeholders' fundamental values to be presented. This case demonstrates that effective communication was not easily achieved, particularly with the public opinion survey approach. Highly formatted questionnaires and closed options have limited participants' ability to discuss and, in many cases, forced them to choose between the provided options. This choice resulted in a communication pattern in which *listening as a spectator* and *expressing preferences* are both options, with the difference being that the latter is more aware of their decisions than the former. Under these circumstances, participants were likely to perceive the participatory process as a governmental persuasion exercise, and the architects, a service provider commissioned by the municipality, were regarded as the municipality's colluding partners.

Access to information, the expression of opinions, and the design workshops in the participatory process were instead perceived by some as tools of the government. Although the architects' design workshops proved to be a communication tool to help residents clarify their needs for public space, it was challenging to discuss the details of spatial needs in greater depth, given the absence of adequate trust. In addition, the municipality's attempts to convince the residents by packaging social housing policies in the name of public interest had not only created more misunderstandings but resulted in a lack of accuracy in responsiveness as many existing spatial questions could not be effectively answered.

7.3.4 Authority and power

Direct authority at the surface

Participation in this way is the same as in many traditional forms of direct democracy: decisions are made by voting. However, voting is based on most people choosing a common decision from a limited number of options within a limited time frame. The outcome is closed, and the options are predetermined, which is very different from the direct exercise of power by participatory mechanisms (Fung 2004; Fung and Wright 2003), as participants cannot join in the decision-making at an early stage of planning and policy formation.

In addition, as mentioned in the thread of the Axis of Communication and Decision-making, the polls raise doubts, which makes it challenging to build trust between the participants and the municipality (see also 7.3.3). This lack of trust led to participants questioning the authority of their participation; as one sceptic stated, 'the number of people who really oppose the project are excluded. If a poll is manipulated in this way, what kind of representativeness does it have?' (C3-05 P12). A further aspect of the poll's authority being questioned is that the residents conducted their own survey. According to the residents, there was a considerable discrepancy between the results of the municipality's poll and the results of the survey they had conducted (C3-05, p.12). They raised such a suspicion at a meeting, but the municipality did not respond.

Property owners have the final say

In addition to other factors, the nature of land ownership also plays a significant role. As the landowner, the municipality ultimately holds decision-making authority. Survey results show that nearly 70% of respondents are not opposed to the social housing proposal (see Table 7.4). As articulated by the architects, '*The municipality retains the final say due to land ownership. This likely led the majority to shift their stance, as they realised the decision was inevitable'* (C3-09).

Summary

The authority and power perspective of participatory planning offers an exploration of the challenges facing participatory approaches to direct democracy in planning, where even though voting has decisive decision-making authority, it does not necessarily facilitate communicative mechanisms in participation, such as consultancy and co-governance. Such a voting system raises concerns about trust and legitimacy between the residents and the municipality, as evidenced by discrepancies between municipal and resident-conducted polls. Additionally, land ownership is underlined, and it significantly influences decision-making authority. In this case, the municipality, being the landowner, exerts ultimate control over decisions like social housing proposals, which further diminishes the agency of participants in the democratic process.

7.3.5 Spatial transformation

Diverging perceptions: Public space and densification

In this participatory process, the threads of spatial transformation focused on public space. However, there was a difference in the perception of public space between the municipality and the participants. For the municipality, the participatory process was about convincing residents that the new public space to be created through this project case was sufficient to improve the quality of life in the community. However, residents were more worried about the community's public space as a whole than they were about the project. They expressed worry that increased competition for the use of public space in their neighbourhoods would result from the densification brought on by the new social housing.

Confusion of two perspectives: Public interest in social housing planning and urban development

There are two different spatial scales used when the municipality discusses the public interest: the public space issues already outlined in the participation process and the planning issues of densification addressed by the voices of the residents. Specifically, the first is the public interest in social housing's open ground floor, services, and public space. The other is the implementation of the social housing policy, which includes social housing in and of itself as well as its effects on the neighbourhood's quality of life. The former is in line with the neighbourhood's new public space, and the latter is with the public interest of social housing policy for the city.

The municipality believed that the increased availability of public space was a response to NIMBY concerns voiced by locals and that the planning and design of social housing, particularly regarding the creation and use of public space, would contribute to improving the environmental quality of the surrounding neighbourhoods. As a result, the municipality and the architectural team organised the participatory events primarily to focus on the design and planning of the public spaces for the project. Yet residents went beyond the municipality's proposal and sought to address a more general spatial issue in this area, namely the planning of social housing and its relationship to urban development.

Predetermined choices and missed opportunities: The limits of public space voting in workshops

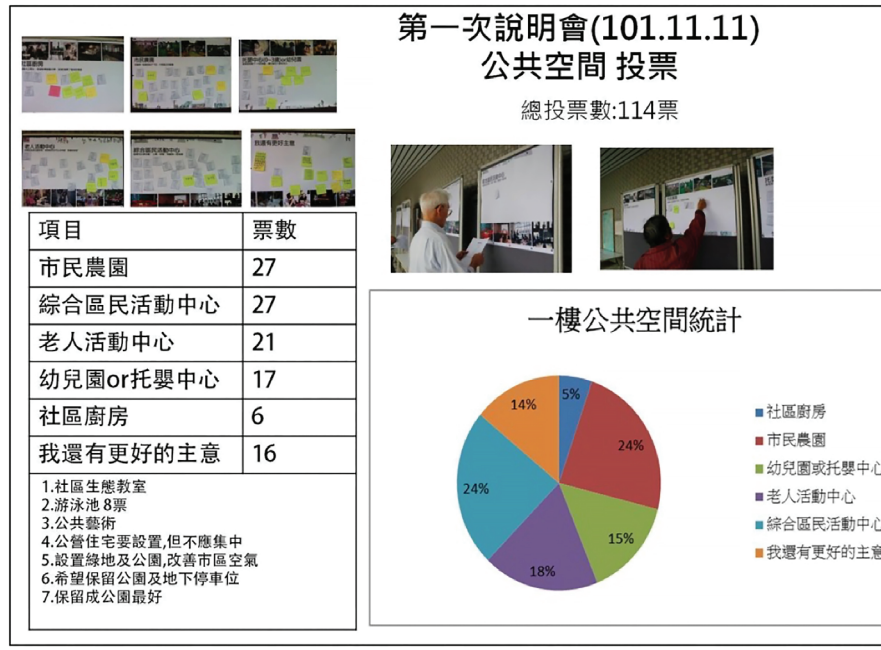


FIG. 7.9 A slide show of the results of the vote on the use of public spaces This is one of the workshops organised by the municipality and the architectural team after the public meeting on 12 January 2013. Following the public meeting, the municipality and the architectural team organised this workshop. The proposals and votes for the ground-floor public spaces are displayed in the left column. Citizen farms and resident activity centres both receive the most votes (27), followed by elder care residences (21), nursery or kindergartens (17), community kitchens (6), and 'I have a better idea' (16), with 114 votes in total. (source: Taipei City Government, 2013).

In the community workshops, residents were invited to cast their votes on a variety of predetermined options for the utilisation of public spaces. These choices were categorised into five standard selections, in addition to an open-ended option entitled 'I have a better idea', which facilitated the proposal of alternative solutions (refer to Figure 7.8). Nonetheless, this participatory approach primarily focused on designating functions to vacant spaces rather than engaging in a comprehensive discourse about the future management and operation of these facilities and areas.

Despite an initial semblance of inclusivity, these workshops falter in establishing effective communication channels between architects and residents. The aim of such participation ought to be the facilitation of robust discussion, thereby heightening public interest in communal spaces and guiding the community towards a consensus. Initially, the pre-labelled options did serve as a catalyst for conversation. However, they inadvertently functioned as the culmination of the dialogue rather than its intended objective.

The workshops consequently neglected key aspects such as the management, operation, and maintenance of the public space, as well as questions concerning its accessibility and utilisation by various demographic groups. Participation should be viewed as a gradual convergence process aimed at yielding decisions that garner widespread approval. Yet, when attendees are presented with an 'I have a better idea' option without the prior elucidation of the linkage between public spaces and communal interest, the resultant ideas may veer towards randomness or impromptu inspiration.

This presented a conundrum for both the architectural team and the municipal authorities. They found themselves in a difficult position to either dismiss these disparate suggestions as irrelevant or risk the negation of the participatory process by ignoring them altogether. Thus, the workshops did not effectively address the complexity and multifaceted nature of public space planning and utilisation.

In fact, the architectural design ostensibly incorporates the voting outcomes related to the uses and functions of public spaces, as evidenced by the inclusion of an infant care centre and a day care facility for older residents. However, it is crucial to note that as early as 2012, the municipality's tender notice had already outlined the integration of these facilities along with outdoor and semi-outdoor spaces, in addition to residential units, within the new social housing scheme.

This juxtaposition suggests a dissonance between the stated aims of participatory planning and the actual outcomes. Although both the municipality and the architectural team argued that the use and function of these public spaces are co-determined with community participants, evidence suggests that the municipality pre-decided on the core functionalities. Thus, the scope of genuine community input appears to be significantly limited, raising questions about the efficacy and authenticity of the participatory process in shaping public spaces.

Neglect and unfulfilled promises from planning: The concern of densification

The lack of public space was highlighted in planning documents from 1984 (see 7.2); the municipality's planning department did not propose new approaches to deal with this problem. Until the latest master plan in 2009, there were no schemes to improve the lack of public areas and open spaces in the area, nor were there any future social housing developments featured in the area, despite the site having been designated as a high-density residential area in zoning. As such, although the municipality presents social housing as a method of urban regeneration, it seems to have emerged more out of the coincidence of having vacant land in the government's hands than from a housing plan derived from an urban regeneration strategy. From the point of view of the residents, especially those living closest to the site, this concern was amplified by the fact that, on the one hand, the site had been left as a derelict, unmanaged vacant lot for decades. Then, it was suddenly designated as a predetermined site for social housing but did not feature in the master plan used to guide the development of the area, such as residential density and capacity, road systems, and public facilities.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that some participants would express their disappointment if the municipal planning was not so linear and strategically oriented, with a large-scale social housing complex suddenly appearing in front of their homes. This view is echoed by some of the participants' voices, particularly those living closest to the site. These participants were the former residents of the MP quarter who had lived in the area for decades. Yet, despite the fact that the site has been zoned for high-density residential for years, not all of them were informed. What they declared they understood was that the site had been a derelict vacant lot for more than two decades, expecting planned open space that did not materialise, and now it was suddenly turned into a high-intensity residential social housing: 'When the original MP quarter was rebuilt, the government promised to increase the amount of green space. Instead, the expected green space was left vacant for many years and was then designated as a social housing site. We had suffered from the lack of open space and expected a green park, but now the government wants to turn it into a large social housing complex that will increase the local population' (C3-08, p.203).

In addition, concerns about competition for public service resources emerged during the participation process. Some residents were concerned that more households would create more competition for the scarce public resources available. As one member of the neighbourhood community committee remarked, the size of the 507 new social housing units that would emerge and new tenants that would live in the area could, therefore, affect the already inadequate public service provision, as the municipality has not yet provided additional capacity for the relevant public services: 'The primary schools in the neighbourhood are not enough, even the private kindergartens are full' (C3-05, p.17). Similarly, competition for public services was considered when another participant was asked about the impact on the surrounding area: 'I have to drive our children to the public kindergarten of this primary school' (C3-05, p.17). This complaint occurred despite the increase in public services in social housing projects, such as care for older people and childcare centres on the ground floor. However, concerns about the number of social housing households may have offset this part of the consideration.

These views once again highlight the problem of neglect by the planning system, which in the past has failed to respond to the provision of public services as the population grew in the area. With the emerging agenda of social housing, this ongoing issue has once again surfaced. For the residents who participated in the meeting, the low standard of public space and public services had been perceived for a long time, but the planning system had ignored it, even though it had been aware of the issue since 1984. The participatory process of social housing was more like an opportunity for them to meet the municipal planning officials face-to-face and address such issues in their neighbourhoods. This desire posed a dilemma for the organisers of the participatory process and these municipal officials, who were required to respond, yet this went far beyond social housing itself, despite their claims that the project could have urban regeneration effects.

7.4 Conclusion

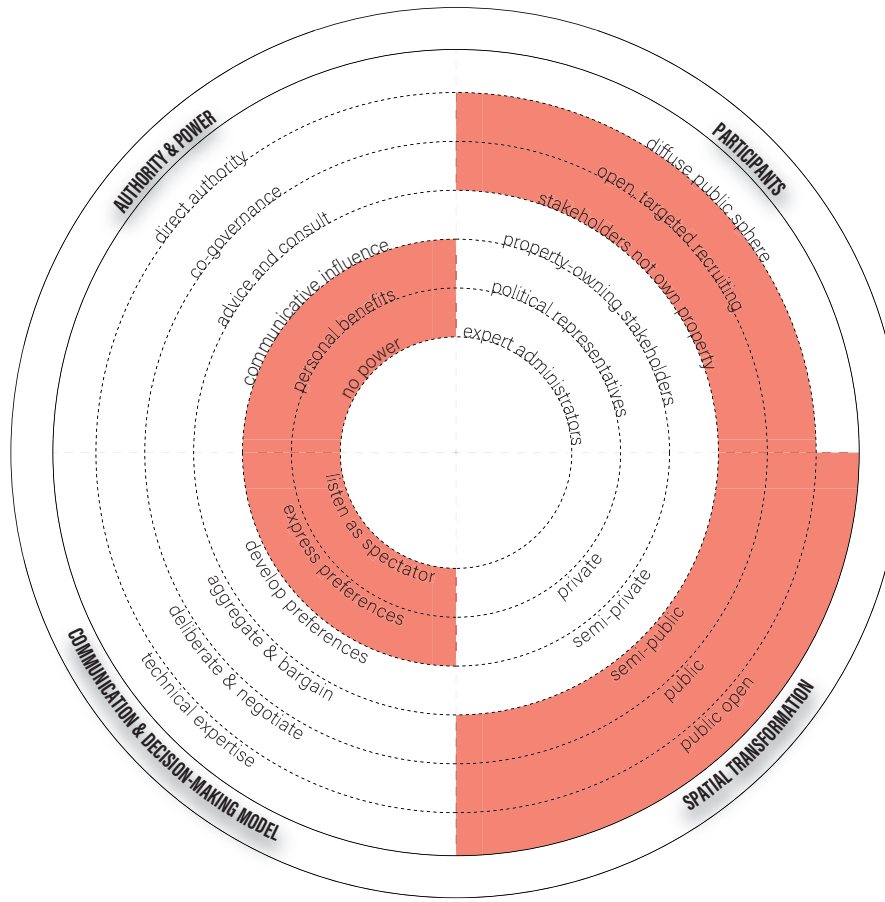


FIG. 7.10 The analysis of inclusive radar of the social housing as urban regeneration case

This chapter explores the participatory processes involved in a social housing project, which also serves as an urban regeneration initiative driven by government intervention in spatial transformation. It examines the 'Inclusive Radar', which delineates varying degrees of participation across four axes, offering a visual framework for understanding the multi-tiered participatory processes within public-led urban regeneration.

Participants

The municipality employed an ‘open, targeted recruitment’ strategy for public meetings, focusing on residents from four adjacent districts. While this approach increased participation rates in these areas, it raised unresolved questions about the criteria used to select the districts and the scope of their inclusion. Furthermore, the strategy failed to consider the differing levels of impact among residents, particularly those living closer to the project site. Meeting minutes revealed criticisms of this stakeholder identification process, with most opposition coming from residents near the development.

Communication and decision-making model

A breakdown of trust emerged through participation mechanisms characterised as ‘listen as spectator’ and ‘express preference’. Initially, the former mayor’s commitment to proceed only with majority resident consent fostered trust. The architectural team, despite their inexperience with participatory planning, demonstrated a willingness to collaborate with the community. However, as the public opinion survey progressed, its execution and results undermined trust.

The community increasingly perceived the participatory process as performative, with the architectural team seen as complicit in the municipality’s superficial outreach. Meanwhile, the architects became disillusioned, viewing residents as prioritising property values over collective benefits. Ultimately, the municipality framed the social housing initiative as a public interest project, which further eroded trust. This unresponsiveness reflects broader limitations of the planning system, which operates on rigid review cycles of five to ten years, impeding adaptive responses to evolving spatial and societal needs. For instance, when participants advocated for fewer housing units and more green spaces, the municipality was unable to offer actionable solutions. This discrepancy highlights the urgent need for a more flexible and responsive planning system to enhance participatory approaches.

Authority and power

Participation revealed a duality in authority. Voting emerged as a limited form of ‘direct authority’, often reduced to concerns over ‘personal benefits’ due to the absence of deeper consultative mechanisms such as co-governance. Moreover, municipal land ownership deprived residents of meaningful influence over decisions. This problem underscores the inadequacy of polling as a tool for fostering nuanced

communication and trust. The rigid structure of polls, with pre-set questions and limited response options, stifles meaningful dialogue, preventing participants from engaging in open, reflective discussions.

Spatial transformation

Spatial transformation discussions centred on the provision of social housing and associated public spaces. A misalignment was evident between the municipality's objectives and residents' concerns. While the municipality sought to promote the social housing project as a means of enhancing public spaces and improving neighbourhood quality, residents focused on the negative implications of densification, such as reduced open spaces and pressure on public services.

This divergence highlights longstanding planning deficiencies. The municipality had identified the lack of public space in its planning documents as early as the 1980s, yet little action was taken. Consequently, some residents' concerns about property values – criticised as 'selfish' by architects – were rooted in the broader context of decades-long planning neglect.

The case also offers insights into densification in Taipei, a densely populated city where urban regeneration often leads to the further reduction of limited living spaces. This situation is particularly concerning in neighbourhoods where green spaces and public services are already insufficient. As a result, the spatial transformation pursued by the municipality did not necessarily align with residents' understanding of the public interest.

The Jian-Kang project, initiated in 2010 and completed in 2018, stands as a significant milestone in Taipei's social housing landscape. By 2023, it had inspired over 20,000 additional social housing units in the city. Despite its success in addressing housing needs, the project exposed critical shortcomings in stakeholder communication. While the initial participatory model sought to balance diverse interests, consensus-building efforts faltered, leaving decision-makers to rely on their authority as property owners to advance the project. This approach expedited completion but sidelined sustained dialogue with residents.

The case illustrates both the potential and pitfalls of social housing as a participatory and place-making process. Conflicts between the municipality and neighbouring residents hindered effective communication and undermined participatory practices. Such conflicts are not merely about personal desires clashing with community interests but also reflect differing values and visions for a shared

space. Spatial planning systems, as noted by Healey (1998), should play a central role in managing these conflicts, yet in this case, they remained largely absent from participatory discussions. While the planning system facilitated the rapid delivery of social housing, it failed to act as a mediator or coordinator within the governance framework.

Moreover, the accelerated pace of project execution limited the scope of participatory involvement. Consensus-building requires open dialogue and iterative feedback, which can be challenging under strict deadlines. It introduces the dual concept of 'cost of time': the need for a well-structured participatory process that is both inclusive and efficient and the recognition that participants often require more time to unify their agendas. While extended or unstructured engagement can lead to participant fatigue and place undue pressure on decision-makers, an early and clear participation plan can alleviate these challenges. Such a plan makes it possible to balance the complexities of stakeholder involvement with the realities of technical and time constraints.

8 Exploring the impact of public hearing as a statutory participatory process of private-led urban regeneration

8.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the role and impact of public hearings as a statutory participatory process in urban regeneration projects, especially following the 2014 amendment to Taiwan's Urban Renewal Act. It focuses on understanding how this mandatory measure, integrated into the urban regeneration process since 2015, has influenced participatory practices in urban redevelopment. To achieve this, the chapter presents a comparative analysis of public hearings, using data from cases of privately led urban regeneration to examine their contributions to participatory processes.

The methodology includes an in-depth examination of meeting minutes from 249 public hearings held between 2015 and 2019, accessible through the official Taipei municipal website. These minutes provide anonymised data on participant identities, distinguishing between property owners and non-owners, and document the topics and issues raised by participants, along with responses from project implementers and municipal authorities.

The chapter is structured around four key dimensions of the Inclusive Radar. It begins by identifying the characteristics and motivations of public hearing participants, highlighting the predominant representation of property owners. It then examines communication challenges, such as knowledge gaps and mistrust towards technical expertise. Following this, the chapter explores the dynamics of authority and power, focusing on the influence property owners exert in the process and the municipal response. Finally, it considers the spatial implications of public hearings, noting how public space considerations are often overshadowed by private interests.

In the synthesis section, this chapter addresses the research question: To what extent do different participatory methods, particularly public hearings, affect the level and quality of participation in urban regeneration projects? It conducts a comparative analysis between the Heping Mansion project – a case study presented in Chapter 5 without public hearings – and the 249 projects that included public hearings. Although these 249 projects are not studied in detail as individual case studies, this comparison provides crucial insights into the efficacy of public hearings in enhancing participatory processes within privately led urban regeneration projects.

8.2 The policy context of public hearing in urban regeneration

In 2013, the municipality demolished two private homes to create space for a privately led urban regeneration project. While legally sanctioned, this action ignited substantial public opposition and led to widespread protests. Subsequently, the Constitutional Court intervened, declaring that the demolitions were 'inconsistent with the due process of administrative procedures as required by the Constitution' (Interpretation No.709, *Review and Approval of Urban Renewal Project Summaries and Plans Case*, 26 April 2013). Here, 'due process' refers to legal protections that guarantee individuals are given sufficient notice and an opportunity to present their case before any deprivation of rights, freedoms, or property. The court underscored the necessity for a regulatory body to oversee privately led urban regeneration projects.

In response, the 2014 amendment of the Urban Renewal Act introduced public hearings as part of the statutory urban regeneration process. This change sought to address public concerns over limited influence in decision-making for urban regeneration projects and to rectify the constitutional issues highlighted in previous cases. Aligning with the Administrative Procedure Act, the amendment mandates that authorities respond to participants' questions, thereby enhancing transparency and ensuring broader public input within the urban regeneration process.

Public hearings are typically held during the second phase of the statutory urban regeneration process. Following the Constitutional Court's Interpretation No.709 in 2014, public hearings remain the sole measure adopted by the central planning authority to address these concerns, underscoring the need to evaluate the impact of this integration on the urban regeneration process.

This chapter examines whether public hearings, based on the principle that administrative procedures should be transparent and inclusive, enhance the credibility and democratic legitimacy of administrative decisions more effectively than traditional opinion-gathering processes.

8.2.1 Public hearing as an enhanced measure of statutory participation in private-led regeneration

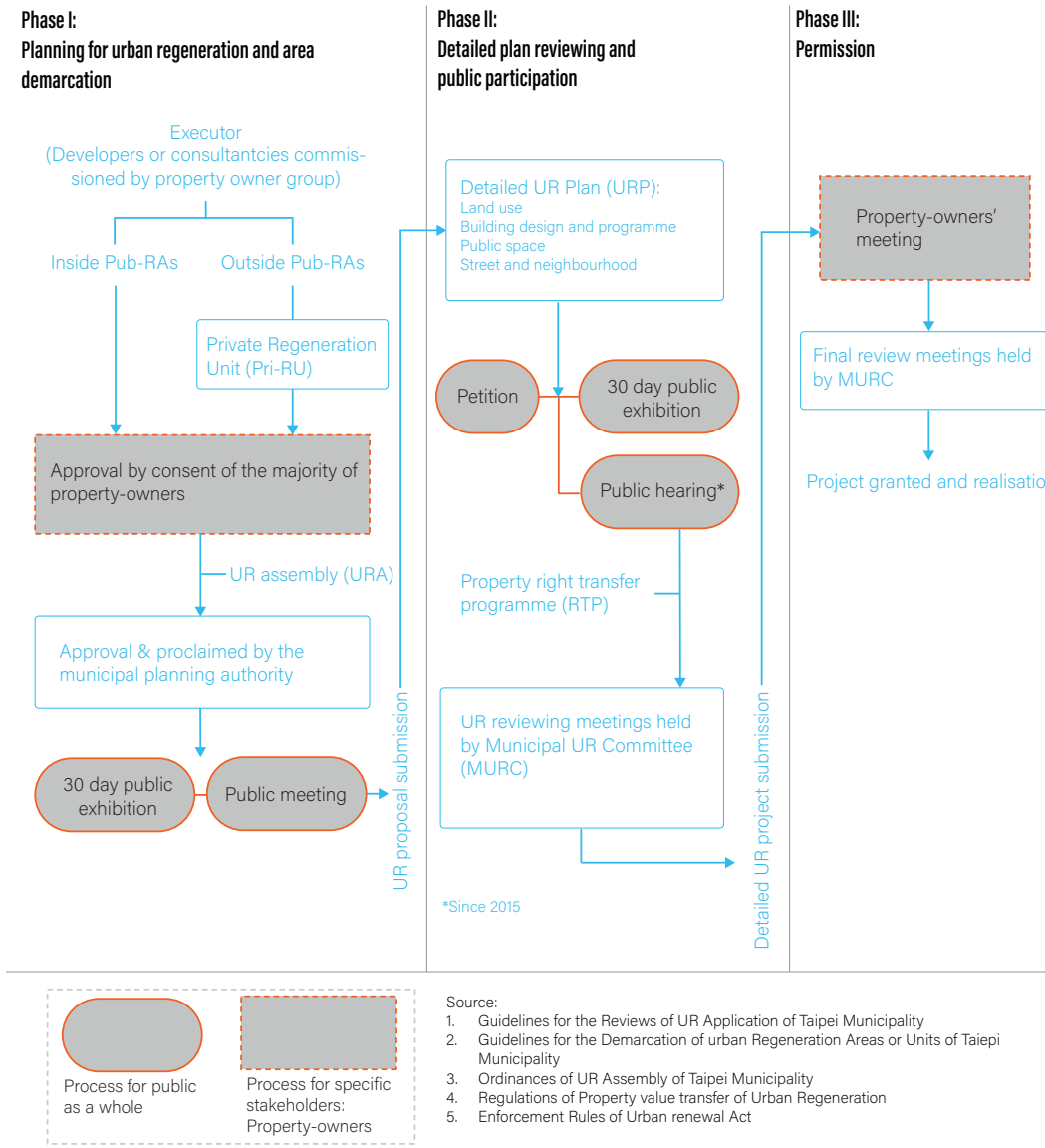


FIG. 8.1 Three phases of the statutory process of urban regeneration (drawn by the author) after 2014, with public hearing as the enhancement of the original process

Public hearings serve as an additional participatory mechanism alongside existing public meetings, introduced during the second phase of detailed plan review and public engagement in Taiwan's statutory urban regeneration process. These hearings are part of a formal, regulated approach to public participation, applicable to general policymaking beyond just the planning system or urban regeneration schemes and are governed by Taiwan's Administrative Procedure Act. Designed to enhance engagement and address previous gaps in participatory practices, public hearings offer a structured alternative to traditional public meetings (see Table 8.1 for a summary of key provisions).

As illustrated in Figure 8.1, the only new measure introduced after the amendment of the statutory participatory process for private-led urban regeneration projects is the addition of public hearings.

TABLE 8.1 The summary of the main points governing public hearings in the Administrative Procedure Act (Amended on 20 January 2021)

Subject	Key Provisions
Applicability	Provisions apply to hearings under this Act or related regulations. (Article 54)
Notification Requirements	Administrative authority must notify parties and affected persons with details on the hearing (subject, participants, date, location, procedure, rights, etc.) and may publicise the notice if legally required. (Article 55)
Rights of Parties	Parties may present opinions, submit evidence, and, with permission, question witnesses and other parties. (Article 61)
Public or Private Hearing	Hearings are generally public unless confidentiality is warranted by public interest or potential harm to parties. (Article 59)
Powers of the Hearing Officer	Officers can question, call witnesses, manage disruptions, adjourn/suspend/close proceedings, admit preliminary hearing statements, schedule further hearings, and take other necessary actions for smooth hearing progression. (Article 62)
Objections	Parties may object to actions they deem unlawful or improper, which the officer must review and potentially revoke if justified. (Article 63)
Hearing Minutes	Detailed records of statements, evidence, objections, and decisions must be kept; audio/video recordings may supplement. Minutes must be reviewed and signed by participants, with refusal or failure to sign noted. (Article 64)

Under the 2014 amendment of the Urban Renewal Act, public hearings within private-led regeneration projects are intended to play a crucial role in fostering participation. These hearings are formal, legally guided discussions conducted by an appointed official or delegate. During the hearing, participants may present their views and evidence and have the opportunity to question other participants, including municipal officials, experts, and interested parties. Key statements, questions, and objections are documented, with any significant issues raised subject to clarification by administrative representatives as needed.

8.3 Findings and analysis of public hearings of private-led urban regeneration

8.3.1 Participant classification and voice distribution in public hearings in private-led projects

The minutes of these hearings classify participants into two distinct groups: those with property ownership within the urban regeneration area and those without, which includes residents and borough chiefs. This categorisation enables the study to differentiate effectively between types of participants. A notable aspect of these hearings is the documentation of each speaker's identity. Accordingly, participants are categorised based on their property rights within the urban regeneration area, with their contributions labelled as follows:

- **VoO**: Voices of participants with property ownership in the project area
- **VoN**: Voices of participants without property ownership in the project area

Table 5.2 indicates that the majority of opinions come from property owners. In some cases, non-property owners' voices also appear, generally represented by borough chiefs. This distribution suggests that the inclusiveness of these hearings may be limited to specific stakeholders.

TABLE 8.2 Counts of voices from two types of participants

	Sum of voices
VoO	1,045
VoN	29

A striking contrast exists, as voices from participants without property ownership (VoN) are notably few – only 29 instances in all public hearings, representing a mere 0.02% of the total 1,074 voices.

Voices in public hearings

Since a participant's contributions might address multiple topics, each statement is dissected and categorised as a separate 'voice' based on its subject matter, which allows the voices to be further classified according to the Inclusiveness Radar, as shown below.

TABLE 8.3 Category of voices in public hearings

Types of voices	Description	Owner of the voice
On decision-making, authority, and procedures		
Questioning the procedure	Inquiries about the urban regeneration process, including timelines, strategies, and phases.	VoO/ VoN
Requesting to be involved	Requests from non-property owners to extend the project boundary to include their property.	VoN
Expressing the unwillingness to join the project	Property owners involved in the project expressing a lack of interest in participating.	VoO
Questioning on property right transfer (PRT)	Inquiries regarding property value appraisals within the PRT scheme.	VoO
Opposing the project	Expressions of disagreement with the projects.	VoN
On Spatial transition		
Questioning public spaces	Inquiries regarding the design, planning, and use of public spaces.	VoO/ VoN
Questioning private spaces	Inquiries regarding the design and use of private spaces, particularly building layouts.	VoO/ VoN
Questioning other non-public issues	Other inquiries or remarks that are not directly related to specific spaces.	VoO/ VoN

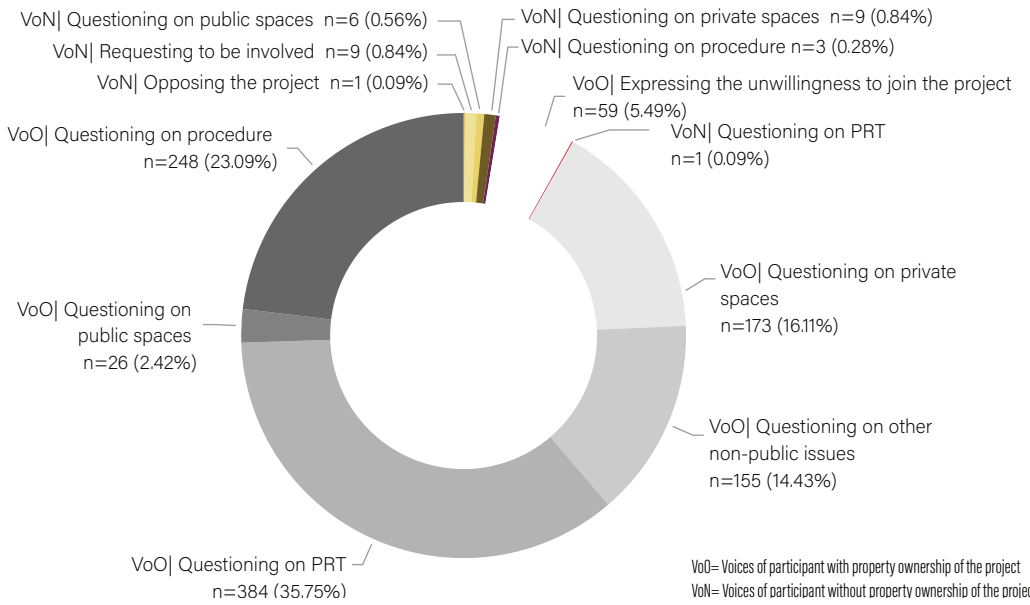


FIG. 8.2 Overview of the voices in public hearings

Figure 8.2 presents an overview of participant distribution and the topics discussed during public hearings. The majority of contributions originate from property owners with a vested interest in the project (VoO). The most frequently discussed topic, comprising 35.75% of all contributions, pertains to procedural inquiries, particularly the time required for municipal authorities to issue permits and delays in permit approvals.

The second most common topic is property rights transfers (PRT), accounting for 23.09% of discussions. These contributions often come from property owners contesting the appraised values of their properties within ongoing urban regeneration projects. Typically, such disputes are addressed in dedicated committees, but they are raised in public hearings to seek additional intervention from authorities.

Architectural design and planning considerations represent the third most common topic, forming 16.11% of the discussions. This category includes detailed conversations on various aspects of building design, such as floor plans, balcony dimensions and placement, internal corridors, lift locations, building materials, and façade patterns, extending from floor layouts to space utilisation.

A minor portion (2.42%) of VoO voices centres on concerns about public space post-regeneration. These participants question whether the redeveloped neighbourhood would incorporate mixed-use residential and commercial spaces if existing shopping streets were preserved and if there would be a holistic approach to public space regeneration rather than merely increasing housing units. Such issues, however, are challenging to address within the scope of these hearings, as they often require broader, higher-level planning interventions rather than adjustments in smaller-scale private regeneration projects.

Contributions that do not fall under the specified categories or relate to non-public issues constitute 14.43% of the total discussions.

Additionally, approximately 6% of contributions explicitly oppose the projects. This opposition mainly comes from property owners included in the project area who do not wish to participate. Whether these owners seek to withdraw their properties from the project or others request inclusion, making such adjustments is challenging. By the time public hearings are held, the project is generally in the detailed plan review stage, with most property owners having consented during Phase I. Objections at this stage may reflect a change of heart or other factors. However, once an area is confirmed in the initial phase, modifications are unlikely unless the entire project is reconsidered or restarted.

8.3.2 Analysis of participants

Notification methods

Effective notification is essential for encouraging public participation, and it operates in two primary forms. The first, **passive notification**, typically appears in local bulletins or on official websites. However, this method has the drawback of uncertainty, as it relies on individuals coming across the information and choosing to engage. The second form, **active notification**, involves borough chiefs proactively informing people they believe are relevant stakeholders – usually property owners – often excluding other residents who might have an interest.

Furthermore, current laws mandate notification only for property owners and other key stakeholders. This requirement is specified in Articles 32-3 and 48 of the Urban Renewal Act and Article 8 of the Act's regulations. Specifically, the law states that 'land and building owners within the renewal area, individuals with other legal rights,

and those with registered restrictions or cautionary rights' be notified (Article 32 of the Urban Renewal Act, amended in 2021). This focus on property ownership limits the diversity of voices in public discussions, thus narrowing the range of community input.

Property owners' dominance in public participation

Although the public participation mechanism aims for inclusivity by applying the least restrictive selection criteria, property owners tend to dominate discussions, while non-owners voices are often outnumbered. This characteristic is largely due to self-selection among participants, who may not reflect the broader population. This observation aligns with Fung (2006), who noted that participants in public processes often form a self-selected subset of the general public with specific interests, thus potentially misrepresenting the larger group. Individual motivations to participate often depend on interests, socio-economic and educational backgrounds, and perspectives on the project. Consequently, despite an ostensibly open approach, property owners' views on regeneration tend to overshadow those of non-owners, especially concerning issues like public spaces and community development.

8.3.3 Analysis of communication and decision-making model

Challenges in communication: Knowledge gaps and distrust of technical expertise

Most participants in public hearings, aside from experts such as architects, planners, and academics, lack specialised knowledge of urban planning and related regulations. This knowledge gap often leads to communication difficulties as non-expert participants struggle to navigate complex regulations and procedures. Preparing for these complexities prior to the process is impractical; as one participant noted, 'Building regulation and urban regeneration incentives are too complex and not easy for participants to understand in a meeting' (PH0801).

Professionals and knowledgeable participants often grasp the objectives of the hearing and may skip over details in their responses. However, the complexity of these procedures can lead to responses that become circular and challenging for others to follow.

A common source of tension in hearings is disagreement between property owners and implementers over PRT issues. Such disputes often revolve around property valuation and shared costs proposed by the implementer, contributing to mistrust and perceptions of deception on the part of the implementer.

The role of technical experts in public hearings

In public hearings, technical experts frequently assume roles as chairpersons or lead participants, setting agendas and facilitating discussions with authorities. While these professionals are well-versed in urban regeneration regulations, they may lack the interpersonal skills required for complex communication, negotiation, and conflict resolution. They also may struggle to manage the delicate balance of private and public interests inherent in urban regeneration processes.

Although these hearings may not significantly enhance the overall quality of communication, they do foster a greater level of attentiveness. The structured nature of the hearings compels participants and organisations to listen and respond to each other, shifting the dynamics from purely technocratic control to a model of 'listening as spectators'. This approach obliges relevant stakeholders to actively engage with the discussion and respond thoughtfully to what is being said.

8.3.4 Analysis of authority and power

In many public hearings, property owners participate to show their support for the project, often without a specific agenda. Their main objective is to express agreement with the project and to urge the municipality to expedite the approval process. Their presence is primarily motivated by personal benefits, and many of their inquiries revolve around why the municipality's approval is taking so long and how much longer the process will last, as some participants noted:

'The majority of inquiries are about the lengthy realisation period'. (PH0702, PH0704, PH0812)
'I am here to support the project'. (PH0606)
'…the government should be more generous and should stand in our shoes'. (PH0717)

While some participants' demands are straightforward, the atmosphere can become emotionally charged. This characteristic is particularly evident in cases such as PH0414 and PH0904, where participants expressed frustration towards 'Nail Houses' – properties whose owners refuse to vacate despite receiving demolition orders for urban regeneration projects. According to the authority and power dynamic, these emotionally driven responses appear to stem more from individual benefits than from broader communal concerns. This sentiment is especially prevalent among property owners who feel that these 'Nail Houses' obstruct their urban development plans, with some even calling on the municipality to forcibly demolish such properties. In response, the government typically reiterates that it must adhere to the official procedures.

8.3.5 Analysis of spatial transformation

Limited discussions on public space

Discussions about public space within urban regeneration projects often struggle to gain momentum. Even public sector representatives sometimes prioritise private interests over community benefits. Although municipal guidelines recommend that public lands be considered for partial use as social housing after regeneration, those in charge may discourage this due to perceived challenges. They cite difficulties in managing mixed-residence communities and concerns that the inclusion of social housing could detract from the development's appeal. This trend can be seen in cases such as PH1017, PH0805, PH0812, and PH1006.

Occasional advocacy for public space

While public space was not a primary focus during hearings, some participants voiced concerns about communal benefits. They advocated for more public spaces in urban regeneration projects, as well as other aspects of urban development. However, municipal responses to these concerns were generally vague, with no clear commitment to act. For instance, in one hearing concerning a regeneration project in a flood-prone area, a participant suggested addressing flooding issues before proceeding with urban regeneration. Yet, authorities provided no direct response, aside from noting a planned 90 cm water gate at the new building's entrance:

PH0817: 'An attendee suggested that the authorities address flooding issues before proceeding with urban regeneration. The response from the implementer mentioned a 90 cm water gate at the new building's entrance'.

Challenges in addressing public concerns in small-scale, private-led urban regeneration projects

Additional challenges arise in addressing public concerns, particularly in small-scale, private-led urban regeneration projects. For example, in one hearing, a participant questioned the rationale for building high-value housing in a commercial zone rather than affordable housing and local shops. The municipality found it challenging to address this, as decisions are typically made within broader planning contexts, with limited scope for small-scale projects to reflect public interest:

PH0901 No.4: A participant asked, 'Why must we build luxury housing? The zoning is commercial, but the implementer's plan includes only high-rise, high-price residential units, disregarding public interest'. The municipality did not respond to this concern.
PH0517: Another participant expressed concern that luxury housing would limit local businesses in the area.

8.4 Synthesising private-led urban regeneration approaches: With and without public hearings

This section provides a comprehensive view of private-led urban regeneration practices by comparing insights from projects with and without public hearings. Specifically, it synthesises findings in this chapter from an analysis of 249 private-led urban regeneration projects in Taipei, undertaken between 2015 and 2019, all of which included public hearings as part of their participatory processes, alongside findings from the Heping Mansion project (in Chapter 5), a private-led urban regeneration effort in Taipei that did not employ public hearings in its participatory approach. The following sections will further explore this synthesis across the four key dimensions of the 'Inclusive Radar'.

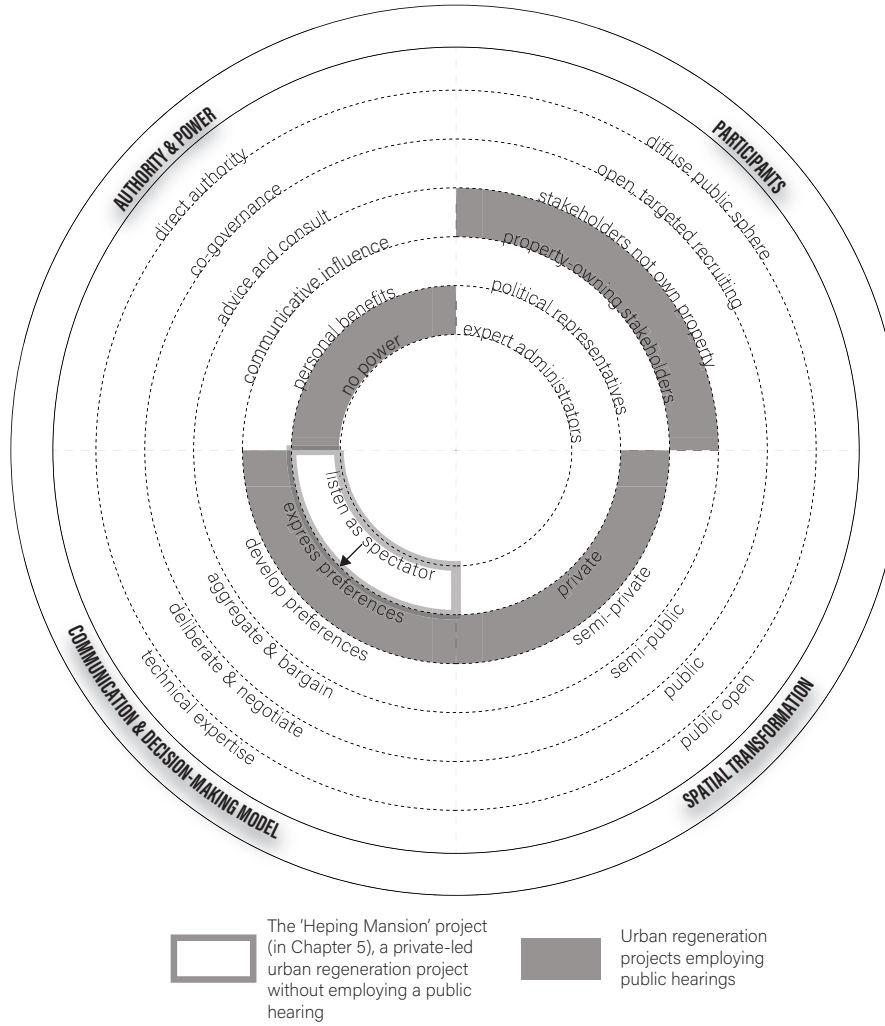


FIG. 8.3 Inclusive Radar analysis of 249 public hearing minutes for private-led urban regeneration (2015-2019)

8.4.1 Participants

This section delves into the identification of participants in statutory participation processes, notably those who are informed, invited, and recruited. Following the 2014 amendment, property owners have become the dominant participants due to the methods employed for delivering notifications. This trend indicates a skewed representation. While the goal of public participation is inclusiveness, the voices of non-owners are often marginalised. The Heping Mansion project, for instance, showcased limitations in accessing public exhibitions and meetings, which were only available to those actively seeking to participate. The borough chief, critical in spreading information, failed to recognise neighbouring residents as stakeholders, thereby excluding them from the participation process. Without such hearings, meetings were largely orchestrated by project executors. Despite these differences, the methods of recruitment in both scenarios limited access to information and diminished stakeholder diversity, with property owners being the most informed and involved.

8.4.2 Communication and decision-making model

In chapter 5, the case of 'Heping Mansion' is examined and found that a communicative environment prioritises property owners. A significant barrier identified is the complexity of regulations and terminology used in the limited number of statutory meetings open to the public. This results in non-property stakeholders being passive recipients of information, without actively participating in the discussions, a situation described as 'listening as spectators.'

In contrast, although the urban regeneration process still involves complex regulations and terminology, public hearings provide a platform where participants—whether property owners or not—can address their queries. This facilitates a more informative and responsive communication process, shifting the model from 'listening as spectators' to a more participatory role, termed 'expressing preferences.' This shift underscores the significant contribution of public hearings in enhancing the participatory process within private-led urban regeneration projects.

8.4.3 Authority and power

Across the case studies, property owners utilise public hearings to voice their support for urban regeneration projects, urging the municipality to expedite approval processes. Their questions often centre on the duration of procedures, reflecting personal interests that drive their support. Responses from the municipality usually stress adherence to procedures. The prominence of property owners is apparent both in the content of urban regeneration plans and public discourse, while concerns of non-owners are typically voiced through petitions. The municipality's role as a gatekeeper is evident in both facilitating and compromising within the approval process.

8.4.4 Spatial transformation

In private-led urban regeneration, the focus overwhelmingly favours property owners, investors, and developers, a trend that public hearings as a new measure in its participatory process have not changed. Both the case study in Chapter 5 and the analysis in this chapter underscore that considerations of public spaces are frequently overlooked or inadequately addressed in decision-making processes. In the Heping Mansion case, this oversight is stark, with neighbouring residents' concerns notably absent from participation processes. The shaping of building plans is primarily influenced by municipal floor area incentives and the Property Rights Transfer (PRT) scheme, emphasising the expansion of private spaces and the optimisation of municipal benefits.

8.5 Conclusion

This chapter assessed the role of public hearings in enhancing participatory processes within urban regeneration projects, focusing specifically on privately led initiatives in Taipei, Taiwan. Despite being formally incorporated following the 2014 amendment to the Urban Renewal Act, public hearings have not significantly enhanced either the level or quality of participation. These forums, designed to promote inclusivity and democratic legitimacy, tend to disproportionately represent property owners, often marginalising the voices of those without property ownership.

A significant observation concerning the role of public hearings is the shift in 'technical expertise' from an active participant to a more passive observer, a phenomenon described as 'expressing preferences'. This shift, illustrated in Figure 8.3, indicates a change in the dynamics of participation when public hearings are utilised, underscoring their potential influence on the process.

In conclusion, while public hearings are legally designed to address the gaps in the statutory participatory process of privately led urban regeneration, in practice, their impact on improving participatory quality and expanding stakeholder engagement appears minimal.

9 Analysis of three cases and discussion

9.1 Introduction

This chapter aims to synthesise the findings from the analysis of three distinct approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei: private sector-led, public sector-led, and social housing as a means of regeneration. In the preceding empirical chapters, each approach has been examined through specific case studies, including an additional analysis of public hearings. These case studies have uncovered patterns and levels of participation across the different models.

The primary objectives of this chapter are twofold: first, to compare the three urban regeneration models in terms of participatory involvement, and second, to synthesise the findings across these models to draw broader insights. The comparison addresses the following key research questions:

- How is participatory planning implemented across different approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei?
- What influence does participation have on the spatial outcomes across different approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei?
- To what extent do different participatory methods, in particular public hearings and meetings, affect the level and quality of public engagement in these regeneration projects?

To facilitate this comparative analysis, the chapter juxtaposes four key factors (axes) across the three case studies. This structured approach visually highlights the similarities, differences, and unique practices of each approach (refer to Figure 9.1). The findings are visually consolidated using the Inclusive Radar, providing a comprehensive overview of the empirical data collected. In the case of the private sector-led approach, both the singular case study (Chapter 5) and those involving public hearings (Chapter 8) are included. The visual outcomes for this approach are supplemented with an arrow, illustrating the impact of implementing public hearings as an enhanced communicative method (see Section 8.5).

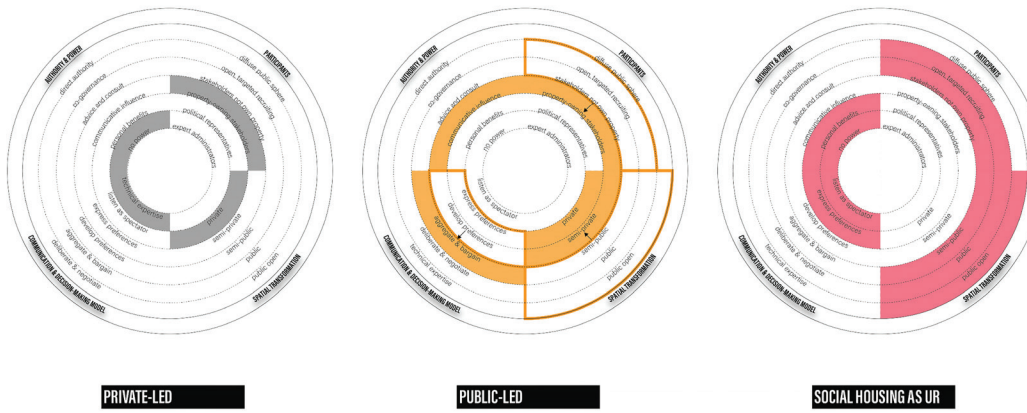


FIG. 9.1 The Inclusive Radar of the three cases

Following this comparison, the chapter synthesises the findings for each factor across the three approaches. It identifies critical insights, including effective strategies that can be replicated and challenges that require attention. These insights are integrated into a cohesive set of findings, from which overarching themes for further discussion emerge. The goal is to provide a comprehensive analysis that informs future dialogue and considerations around community participation in urban regeneration, both within Taipei and in a broader context.

9.2 Synthetic findings of the axis of participants



FIG. 9.2 The axes of participants of the three cases

Figure 9.2 provides an overview of the participants' axis in three cases, emphasising the difficulty in achieving inclusive and unrestricted public participation in practice. Property owners often overshadow non-owners voices, leading to an imbalance that echoes Fung's (2006) observation. Participants in these processes tend to be a self-selected subset with specific motives, failing to represent the broader population.

In the private-led approach to urban regeneration, the focus is initially on obtaining consent from land and homeowners within the project area. The interaction primarily occurs between the project's executor and the Urban Regeneration Assembly (URA). As the project advances, the statutory process involves public exhibitions, meetings, and hearings, with property owners as the exclusive stakeholders.

Public-led cases show more intensive communication as the projects move from general strategies to specific interventions. For example, the Datong Reborn Plan starts with inclusive outreach but shifts to emphasise property owners, resulting in a decline in non-owner participation. This evolution from 'open, targeted recruitment' to a focus on property rights conversion illustrates the complexities in participant recruitment at various urban development stages.

The ‘social housing as a means of regeneration’ approach recruits participants openly but faces ambiguity in identifying stakeholders, leading to disputes and calls for more explicit definitions. In this case, the municipality retains ownership of land and housing units and recognises surrounding residents of the four boroughs as the primary participants.

Urban regeneration, whether carried out privately or publicly, adheres to statutory planning governed by specific regulations. Compliance with these rules leads to a focus on ‘stakeholders of the property rights’. In public hearings, stakeholders are those connected directly to the case, allowing the administrative authorities to recognise property owners as statutory stakeholders in urban regeneration.

The narrative exposes the skewing of public participation in urban regeneration projects towards property owners, failing to represent other stakeholders adequately.

Also, the study revealed that variations in participant recruitment methods yielded divergent effects, and the various roles that community leaders (borough chiefs) have played regarding different urban regeneration approaches have influenced participant recruitment. The following section illustrates these findings.

9.2.1 Discussion of the axis of participants

Notification methods for participation

Notification in policymaking is a complex idea extending beyond mere invitations to public meetings. It is vital for fostering democratic dialogue between governments and citizens. Such notifications encompass not just invitations to forums, town halls, and hearings but continuous communication regarding upcoming decisions, changes, and consultations. By keeping the public informed about decision-making processes and offering feedback opportunities, policies become more robust, representative, and valid.

Within the three cases examined, two forms of notification stand out: passive and proactive. Table 9.1 summarises the characteristics of both. This reference aids in understanding their respective roles, communication channels, target groups, engagement strategies, and their richness in various contexts.

TABLE 9.1 Comparison of passive and active notification methods of the three cases

	Passive Notification	ProActive Notification
Channels	Community bulletin boards, municipal government's website, mail, flyers, gazette	Direct communication, door-to-door visits
Targeted groups	Mainly property owners and engaged community members	Targeted stakeholders, property owners
Engagement	Limited; often reaches only those actively searching or key stakeholders	More direct and nuanced; it includes specific engagement in public-led and social housing regeneration
Level of reach	Typically limited	More effective, especially in public-led projects where planners play a pivotal role

Passive notification primarily uses channels like community bulletin boards, municipal government websites, and governmental mail. Its level of reach, however, is restricted, often reaching only property owners and a small group of engaged community members, as they have more direct interests than others.

Proactive notification requires more notification arrangements. For instance, in private-led urban regeneration, notices are legally required to be displayed on official platforms, but there may be uncertainty over who sees this information. To overcome this, specific stakeholders, like property owners, are sometimes directly informed by borough chiefs or by the executors. In contrast, public-led projects see on-site community planners leading notifications and maintaining regular engagement with residents for more transparent communication. This approach differs from traditional passive municipal notifications or alerts from borough chiefs. Planners here help residents comprehend ongoing stages and their roles in development. A similar strategy is seen in social housing regeneration. Where no on-site community planner exists, architects often work closely with neighbourhood organisations and borough chiefs, ensuring residents stay informed without relying on standard municipal channels.

In conclusion, notification is not merely administrative; it is a vital principle bolstering democratic governance and enhancing communication. In both public-led and social housing regeneration, it is clear that the inclusiveness of participation is greater than in private-led cases.

9.2.2 The role of the borough chiefs

Borough chiefs serve as elected public officials and political representatives within the boroughs of Taiwan's municipalities. As the primary elected administrative unit, their main role is to assist the municipality in managing public affairs at the borough level. As illustrated in Table 9.2, they have different levels of influence in different urban regeneration approaches, with different functions of information dissemination and participation.

TABLE 9.2 Comparison of the roles of borough chiefs in the three cases

	Private-led	Public-led	Social housing as a means of regeneration
Influence	Not significant	Most significant	Fair
Information dissemination	One of the municipal channels for disseminating information	Actively bridging the community and the municipality. Inform stakeholders.	Disseminate policy messages
Public engagement	Challenges in direct delivery; difficulty understanding details; may dismiss residents.	Emphasised role as advisers; crucial in urban planning and development.	Key conduit for participation; effective outreach needed.

Borough chiefs perform the crucial function of acting as information distributors. They aid in notifying and recruiting participants for public affairs and are frequently consulted as local opinion gatherers. Their views are often regarded as the collective voice of the neighbourhoods.

Their role is identified as 'political representatives' within the participant axis of the Inclusive Radar (refer to 3.3.1). Their involvement in both information dissemination and community representation underscore their significance in the local governance structure of Taiwan.

In the private-led context, borough chiefs are mainly responsible for information dissemination through channels such as community notification boards and the municipality's website. However, access to this information is limited to those actively interested, resulting in limited awareness among the public. There are challenges in public engagement, as information is not delivered directly to individual households, and borough chiefs often only inform those they know well. Although they generally play a vital role in informing residents about urban regeneration projects, there was an instance in this specific case where the borough chief dismissed the residents as stakeholders. Observations from respondents in this context also underscored the challenges faced in obtaining sufficient information, both in the representative case and in projects with public hearings.

The public-led case paints a different picture of the borough chiefs' responsibilities. Here, they actively connect communities with the municipal urban regeneration agency's office and community planner's offices, even bypassing certain levels of municipal bureaucracy, an approach that is noted to be unusual. They take primary responsibility in the participatory process, including informing stakeholders and recruiting participants. Their role is not just administrative; they actively concern themselves with projects affecting the neighbourhood, as evidenced by their specific inquiries about building developments. The context's importance in this case is significant, as the borough chiefs' role is emphasised, especially as advisers to community planners, illustrating their crucial part in the urban planning and development process.

In the context of social housing as a means of regeneration, the role of borough chiefs is primarily oriented towards policy communication. In this approach, borough chiefs represent a vital conduit for the municipality to engage in activities and partake in events, often initiating such events themselves and inviting community residents to attend. However, this role does not extend to mediation between the municipality and residents, distinguishing their function from that in the public-led approach.

In sum, the synthesis of the three approaches highlights the complexities in urban planning and public participation, revealing key tensions. In the private-led case, the strive for inclusivity is often undermined by the dominance of property owners. The public-led approach highlights the dynamic nature of participation, with broad public interest at times giving way to a narrower engagement with property stakeholders. The social housing case underscores the importance of clear stakeholder identification, reflecting challenges in balancing open recruitment with transparency in the process.

These insights underline the intricate relationship between participation mechanisms, stakeholder representation, trust, and the evolution of urban planning projects. They emphasise the need for strategies that carefully balance inclusivity with representation, trust, and alignment with both community interests and broader urban goals. This analysis serves to underscore the delicate navigation required in the planning process to foster authentic and meaningful participation in urban regeneration.

Contrasting roles of professionals in different approaches

The role of professionals varies across the models. In the private-led approach, they play a dominant role that can overshadow the public's voice. In the public-led model, professionals are integrated into the community to enhance communication, while in social housing, the alignment with the municipality leads to distrust.

The need for transparent, relatable, and inclusive public participation is a common theme. The private-led approach calls for clearer tools and processes, and the public-led model actively encourages participation, and social housing struggles with perceived manipulation in the participation process.

Private versus public perception is another area where these models differ. The private-led approach and social housing model reflect concerns with private interests, while the public-led approach shows how commitment to openness and community engagement can alleviate these concerns.

TURC's role is paradoxical. On the one hand, they act as the municipality's extended arm for urban regeneration, serving as facilitators for regenerative initiatives aimed at public interests. On the other hand, they function as advocates for property owners, working to make the regeneration proposal more acceptable to this stakeholder group. This dual responsibility requires TURC to navigate and balance the interests of property owners carefully.

In conclusion, these three cases illustrate the intricate balance required in urban planning between professionals and non-professionals, private and public interests, and the critical need for trust, transparency, and effective communication. The lessons drawn from these cases can provide vital insights for future urban planning initiatives, guiding them towards strategies that are more aligned with community needs and values.

9.3 Synthesis of the axis of communication and decision-making model

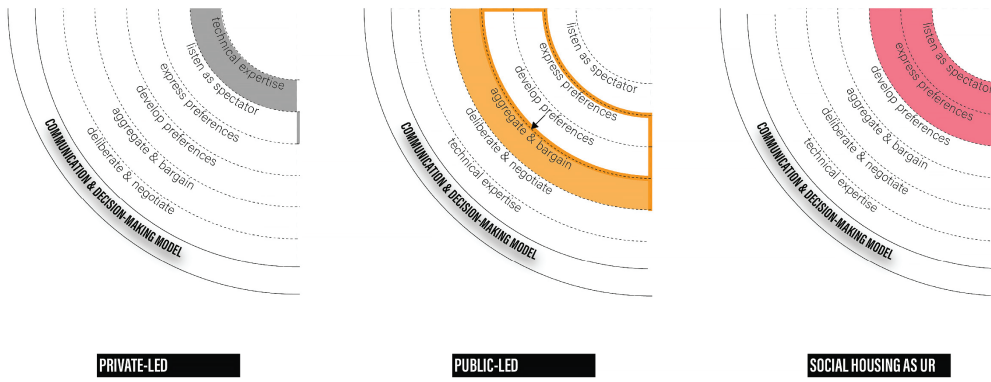


FIG. 9.3 The axes of communication and decision-making model of the three cases

Figure 9.3 illustrates the communication and decision-making model across three cases. In the private-led case, public hearings introduced after 2014 have slightly increased the room for communication, shifting the focus from 'listen as spectator' to 'express preferences' (see 8.4.2). However, significant challenges, such as knowledge gaps and distrust of expertise, persist. Participants lacking specialist knowledge find it difficult to grasp complex regulations and terminology, thereby eroding trust.

Furthermore, the research reveals that the 2014 amendment to the Urban Renewal Act has not successfully balanced public and private interests despite ostensibly opening the public hearing process. As shown in the analysis, the voices of property owners have become dominant, which hinders the involvement of non-property owners.

In the public-led urban regeneration case, the communicative model intensifies from strategic planning (DRP) to tangible intervention (Si Wen Li III). The DRP cases provided an opportunity to 'express preferences' and 'develop preferences' through town hall meetings, thus engaging the public in the visioning process, which, in other words, defined public interests for the district. Conversely, the Si Wen Li III case introduces a different dynamic. Here, TURC, the municipal agents, serve

as community planners and go beyond just facilitating dialogue. They engage in 'aggregating and bargaining', helping to reconcile public and private interests (i.e. property ownership).

However, a significant issue emerges in the Si Wen Li III case: the focus is overwhelmingly on stakeholders who are property owners. This approach marginalises those without property ownership, making the participatory process less inclusive. Communications and decisions are primarily orchestrated around the property rights transfer scheme, and there is no evidence to suggest that non-property-owning stakeholders are included in the dialogue or that TURC agents can negotiate beyond the municipality's predefined objectives. Overall, while these communication methods do enhance public participation, they fall short of achieving inclusivity and diversified stakeholder engagement.

The case of 'social housing as a means of regeneration' exemplifies challenges in communication and trust. Effective communication is challenged by a lack of information transparency and trust, especially with survey methods that restrict participants' ability to discuss options. This can lead to perceptions of the process as a governmental persuasion exercise, and the involvement of architects, despite good intentions, often faces obstacles due to mistrust and misunderstandings about social housing policies.

In short, these cases illuminate the intricate interplay between transparency, trust, inclusivity, and communication in the realm of public participation in urban planning. The 'private-led' model accentuates the imperative of bridging knowledge chasms and fostering trust via forthright and transparent communication. Meanwhile, the 'public-led' instances reveal a nuanced conflict between inclusivity and a pronounced orientation towards property owners, casting light on the complex dynamics of stakeholder engagement. The 'social housing as a means of urban regeneration' approach probes deeper into the facets of communication, trust, and governmental intentions, emphasising accurately responding to spatial necessities.

All these cases underscore the centrality of technical expertise and lucid communication for an effective participatory process. They also highlight the challenge of balancing diverse stakeholder interests and suggest the necessity for strategies that can adapt to these variances. The analysis indicates that urban regeneration ventures need to adopt more discerning approaches that encourage authentic dialogue and mutual understanding.

Additionally, these cases reveal that technical communication remains a persistent hurdle. The use of complex terminology and jargon hinders information accessibility, thereby exacerbating deficits in trust.

9.3.1 Discussion on communication and decision-making model

Knowledge gaps and communication barriers

The case studies highlight the specific obstacles that arose in establishing effective communication across all three approaches. These challenges primarily resulted from gaps in knowledge. The first challenge is the knowledge gap pertaining to the complex laws governing urban regeneration, primarily authorised under the Urban Renewal Act. These laws are divided into central and local statutes, each designed for different objectives. For example, floor area incentives and private-demarcated area regulations exist as separate entities and undergo frequent revisions. Furthermore, parameters like building height, architectural style, and intended use are governed by different planning frameworks, such as zoning, master plans, and land-use plans. Urban regeneration also involves multiple authorities, like the Transport Bureau and land management agencies, further exacerbating the knowledge disparity between professionals and the public.

The second challenge is the ineffective utilisation of technology and tools in public consultations. Information is often presented via slides, which may not be sufficient for the general public to grasp fully. In order to engage in meaningful dialogue with experts and public officials about the quality of proposed spaces, the lay audience might require more comprehensive explanations and guidance.

Challenges and opportunities of trust-building

Table 9.3 depicts the influence of professionals and how levels of trust vary across the three approaches.

In the private-led approach, professionals are typically employed by private developers. Acting as ‘service providers’, architects and planning consultants not only assist the developer in preparing the regeneration plan and conducting various reviews but also provide implementation services for the statutory engagement process. Consequently, communication barriers are evident. As the private sector spearheads the statutory process, the municipality’s role in the private-led approach

is more akin to an overseer, mainly ensuring compliance with existing laws and regulations without assuming a more active role. Given this dynamic, professionals often dominate discussions with their expertise, thereby marginalising public voices. Even after the introduction of public hearings in 2014, which mandated responding to public inquiries, trust between stakeholders and authorities remains fragile.

TABLE 9.3 Comparison of communication and trust of the three cases

	Private-led	Public-led	Social housing as a means of regeneration
Trust in communication	Communication barrier due to complexity and small group dominance.	Trust is fostered through public participation. A clear goal from the municipality. Trust is built with local expertise (TURC's on-site community planners).	'Failed polling': direct democracy leads to distrust in communication. Scepticism and criticism towards the municipality and the commissioned architects; perceived manipulation.
Role of professionals	Knowledge gaps and a general distrust of technical experts, who frequently assume a dominant role, can sideline or ignore the voice of the public.	Professionals integrated within the community to enhance communication.	The perception that commissioned architects are aligned with the municipality contributes to distrust.

In contrast, the public-led approach employed town hall meetings and community gatherings and deployed community planners during the strategic planning phase, effectively building initial trust between the municipality and residents. As it progressed into the Si Wen Li III phase, TURC agents assumed the role of community planners for residents and Si Wen Li III property owners. Their on-site presence fostered mutual trust among residents and the municipality, facilitating the flow of information between successive community interventions. These community planners aided various stakeholders in understanding the complex urban regeneration regulations and the different urban planning systems enforced, as they had more time to do so compared to private projects.

In the case of social housing, the challenges are distinct. Residents are sceptical of the participatory approaches that the municipality has deployed. The process faces criticism and opposition, and some residents perceive it as manipulative. The architects' association with the municipality adds another layer of complexity as they struggle to distance themselves from being viewed as municipal allies, thereby exacerbating their relationship with residents.

9.4 Synthesis of the axis of authority and power

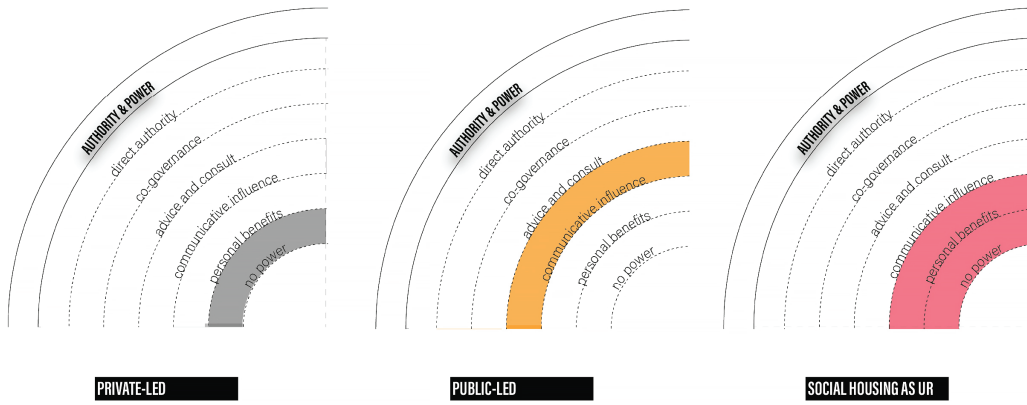


FIG. 9.4 The axes of authority and power of the three cases

In the private-led approach, the power lies firmly with property owners and the municipality, which primarily acts as a regulator, ensuring compliance with procedures rather than actively shaping planning outcomes. This emphasis on legal compliance and procedural correctness overshadows the qualitative aspects of governance. It restricts the participation of non-property-owning stakeholders, who can only influence through petitions or public meetings, with no guarantee that their input will shape the final decisions, rendering their participation in the statutory process powerless. In this specific case, non-property-owning stakeholders ultimately had to seek solutions outside the statutory participation process. Despite the eventual compromise on building height by the municipality, the decision-making process and the impact of public input remained puzzling.

In the public-led approach, the municipality claims that this pioneering project represents a broader approach to community engagement and participation. However, the reality presents a more nuanced picture. While this model facilitates diverse discussions, it still cements authority predominantly in the hands of property-owning stakeholders. This situation became evident after the district-wide strategic planning (DRP) when Si Wen Li III became the focus of the next phase of substantive planning intervention. Although property owners were not visibly involved during the strategic

planning phase, their influence became apparent when working with TURC's community planners in Si Wen Li III. For instance, the mandatory urban design guidelines for architectural design could be modified in response to property owners' concerns, and this modification was discussed without returning to the DRP participation process.

In this sense, TURC's role is paradoxical. On the one hand, they act as the municipality's extended arm for urban regeneration, embodying the district's facilitator for regenerative initiatives aimed at serving public interests. On the other hand, they also function as advocates for property owners, acting on the municipality's behalf to make the regeneration proposal more acceptable to this stakeholder group. This dual responsibility places TURC in a position where they must carefully navigate and balance the needs of property owners' interests.

The social housing approach aims to incorporate direct democracy through opinion polls. However, this polling method restricts open communication and can lead to a lack of trust, as evidenced by the disparities between the residents and the municipality's surveys. Under such a 'direct authority' model, a vote by residents of the four nearest boroughs can determine the outcome of the case, with a simple majority of 'yes' or 'no' votes and no other options allowed. While residents have the right to vote for or against a case, there is no room for detailed discussion or negotiation under this system. Hence, in the absence of more opportunities for communication, the opinion poll serves as an arbitrary tool for decision-making.

The participants questioned the representativeness of the 'direct mandate' as a participatory mechanism. They raised concerns about who the most affected stakeholders are and who can decide the fate of the project. Certain residents even suggested that the municipality was manipulating public opinion, especially when they noticed that those opposed to the project seemed to be systematically marginalised. This major concern could undermine trust in the entire process.

9.4.1 Discussion on authority and power

'Property ownership is king', as owners have the final say

In the three approaches to urban regeneration, property ownership plays a crucial role in determining authority and power. There are two primary forms of ownership: housing ownership and land ownership. While housing ownership often implies some degree of land ownership, there are instances where the land is owned separately from housing.

TABLE 9.4 Comparison of property ownership in the three cases

	PRIVATE-LED	PUBLIC-LED	SOCIAL HOUSING
Land ownership	Private owners	Private owners + partly owned by the municipality	Municipality
Housing ownership	Private owners	Private, partly owned by the municipality (social housing)	Municipality

In private-led projects, both housing and land are predominantly privately owned, with some exceptions involving publicly owned land. In public-led projects, the situation is more complex; the housing units may initially be privately owned but could transition to municipal ownership, typically manifesting as social housing. In these projects, both private and municipal land ownership coexist. In social housing projects, both the housing units and the land are municipally owned.

While each model mandates public participation through legal frameworks, they differ considerably in their actual implementation of inclusive public participation. The private-led model contains inherent power imbalances, while the public-led model initially allows a range of public involvement but tends to become less inclusive when later stages involve property rights transfers. In the social housing model, the municipality represents the public interest and owns the property rights to the land. Resident acceptance in social housing typically arises more from the municipality's role as property owner than from its role as a representative of public interest.

The impact of property ownership on participation is significant. On the one hand, stakeholders with property rights are viewed as the final decision-makers, affecting the willingness of other stakeholders to engage. In a case study focused on a privately led regeneration project, residents without property rights could not influence the municipality's decision and ultimately resorted to legal action. On the other hand, the urban regeneration system is inherently oriented towards the renewal of property rights. Mechanisms such as floor area incentives aim to augment these rights, benefitting both private developers and the costs of operating new buildings. This focus on property rights underlines the system's prioritisation of property owners in the participation process.

9.5 Synthesis of the axis of spatial transformation

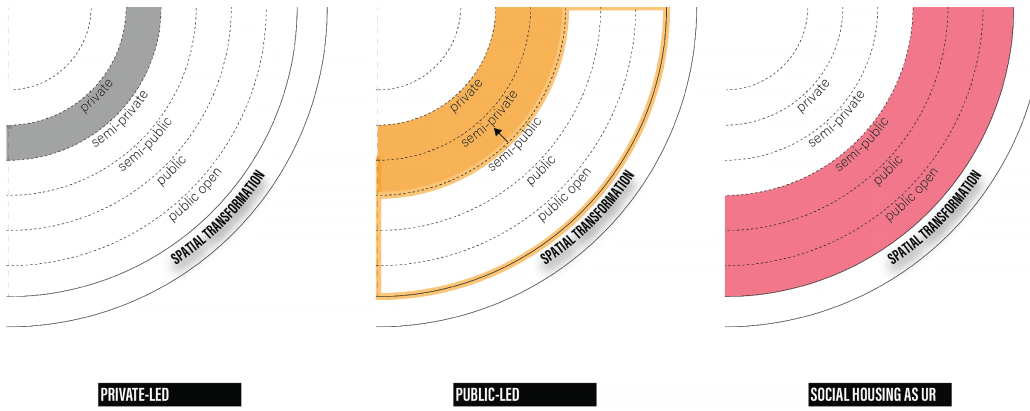


FIG. 9.5 The axes of spatial transformation of the three cases

In the private-led approach, the primary focus of the participatory process is on maximising economic returns for property ownership through incentives like increased floor area ratio and property rights transfer schemes. This process often results in spaces that are technically public but have limited accessibility due to physical or social barriers. The views of neighbouring residents and the broader community are largely ignored.

The public-led approach aims for a more balanced distribution of private and public spaces, with community input through participatory mechanisms in the planning stage. However, these efforts often get sidetracked by a lack of alignment with broader strategic plans, leading to an excessive focus on property value upgrades rather than environmental quality.

Social housing as a means of urban regeneration entails a high level of public participation, with residents' keen to express their views on public spaces. However, the proposals presented to residents often exclude broader spatial issues, and the plans are predetermined by municipal authorities, making the process appear more like a formality than genuine participatory planning. Additionally, these projects struggle to integrate with wider urban regeneration strategies, appearing as temporary solutions rather than part of a larger spatial transformation vision.

In summary, private-led regeneration primarily serves private interests at the expense of public spaces and community interests. In contrast, public-led programs and social housing regeneration involve community participation to varying degrees but often fall short in addressing broader urban regeneration objectives or responding to residents' expectations.

9.5.1 Discussion on spatial transformation

Spatial outcome: Incentives led to densification

In Taipei, most private-led urban regeneration projects are entitled to utilise various floor area incentives provided by the municipality. This statutory incentive scheme is complicated yet can be generally categorised into planning, architectural, and regeneration incentives (see also Table 4.1). Planning incentives focus on the provision of public spaces, like parking and open public spaces; architectural incentives aim to enhance building and urban design quality; and regeneration incentives target goals of regeneration, such as the size of a street block and regeneration timelines. Essentially, the municipality utilises this scheme to permit private developers to build more floor areas in exchange for contributions beneficial to spatial transformations in the name of public interests. In Taipei, most private-led urban regeneration projects receive floor area incentives surpassing the legal FAR. While there is a legal limit for these incentives, many projects secure not just one but all three types of incentives available.

For projects not led by the private sector, there is no need for such a scheme. An adjustment to FAR in planning regulations generally suffices. As a result, these aggregated incentives and FAR adjustments frequently lead to buildings that exceed the original legal height and FAR cap as set out in the zoning regulation, leading to the densification of the neighbourhood.

In all three cases, an evident increase in density is observed, exceeding the original legal FAR cap. As shown in Table 9.5, in the private-led case, the original legal FAR was 560%, and upon securing all incentives, the new permitted FAR reached 798.65%, increased by 142.61% of the statutory FAR cap. In the public-led case, where the local government spearheads the project and designates the site as an ad hoc plan for *Strategic Redevelopment Area*, the FAR sees an enhancement from the 300% cap to 448.3%, aligning with the maximum allowable increase of 150% over the legal FAR. In the social housing regeneration case, led likewise by the municipality, the land-use zoning guidelines permit an unconditional 300% FAR cap for social housing on public lands, and with a cap up to doubled legal FAR, the final FAR approximately exceeds 500%.

TABLE 9.5 Comparison of statutory FAR cap, granted FAR, and incremental percentages across three cases

	the PRIVATE-LED case	the PUBLIC-LED case	The case of SOCIAL HOUSING AS A MEANS OF REGENERATION
statutory FAR CAP	560%	300%	300%
granted FAR	798.65%	448.3%	519.56%
increased by	142.61%	149.43%	173.18%
by which planning tool	Multiple floor area incentives	Ad hoc plan for *Strategic Redevelopment Area*	Zoning for social housing

The statutory FAR cap can be viewed as a 'hard index' that regulates the maximum population density in each neighbourhood. The urban plan is based on the level of public amenities and services provision, street scale, open space, and environmental capacity of a neighbourhood. Therefore, once the legal FAR cap is exceeded, the living environment of the area will be critically affected.

The control that municipalities hold over Floor Area Ratio (FAR) places them in a dual role of 'player and referee'. Property owners who have seen the munificence in FAR concessions in earlier private-led projects tend to expect similar benefits in public-led initiatives. Higher FAR not only serves the property owners but is also a useful lever for municipalities; it facilitates the development of denser and taller social housing units, accelerating the expansion of the housing supply. It is particularly beneficial for Taipei, where the municipality is keen to broaden its social housing offerings.

9.6 Conclusion

The analysis of Taipei's urban regeneration approaches—private-led, public-led, and social housing as a means of regeneration—reveals how varying governance structures shape participatory dynamics and spatial outcomes. In both the private-led and public-led models, property owners consistently emerge as the dominant stakeholders, with participation processes often structured around their interests. This prioritisation tends to marginalise non-owner voices and limits broader inclusivity. In contrast, the social housing approach, built on public land and housing ownership, presents a different configuration of stakeholder engagement. However, it too faces distinct challenges, particularly around trust, transparency, and the definition of legitimate participants.

The following section identifies specific barriers that cut across these approaches and examines how they affect the scope and quality of public participation.**Property ownership and stakeholder imbalance**
In Taipei's urban regeneration system, property ownership plays a decisive role in defining who counts as a legitimate stakeholder. Across all three case types—private-led, public-led, and social housing as a means of regeneration—the right to participate is structurally tethered to ownership status.

In the private-led model (e.g., the case in Chapter 5), the Urban Regeneration Assembly (URA) engages primarily with land and housing owners, sidelining tenants and non-owning residents. The legal framework, primarily the Urban Renewal Act (都市更新條例), defines stakeholders as those with direct property interests. As such, statutory participation mechanisms, like public hearings (introduced via the 2014 amendment to the Act), remain procedurally inclusive but substantively exclusive—offering little influence to non-owners. This exclusion has, in some cases, led marginalised stakeholders to pursue legal action due to their inability to shape planning outcomes.

In public-led projects, such as the Datong Reborn Plan (DRP) and Si Wen Li III, initial efforts include open calls and broader outreach. However, as planning progresses into implementation, engagement centres increasingly on property owners, particularly during property rights conversion stages. Similarly, in the social housing regeneration case (focused on municipally owned land and housing units), while participation was initially broad, stakeholder ambiguity—such as defining affected populations within four boroughs—triggered conflict. The absence of formal mechanisms to include non-owners (e.g. renters, surrounding community groups)

reflects a systemic bias rooted in Taipei's legal and institutional structures, where property is treated as the primary unit of regeneration.**Participatory mechanisms and trust deficits**.

Also, notification mechanisms are either passive—e.g., community bulletin boards or municipal websites—or selectively proactive, targeting property owners through direct outreach by borough chiefs or planners.

In the private-led case, public notification is legally required, but often fails to reach non-specialist audiences. Notices posted on the Taipei City Government website or mailed flyers do not ensure comprehension or engagement. The inclusion of public hearings after 2014 has slightly opened participation, but technical and legal complexity creates barriers. For instance, understanding floor area incentives and land-use frameworks—governed by overlapping regulations and institutions (e.g., Taipei Urban Regeneration Office, the Department of Urban Development)—requires legal or planning knowledge inaccessible to most residents.

In the public-led case, proactive outreach by community planners under TURC (Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre) helps bridge this gap. Planners explain urban planning systems (e.g., FAR, zoning codes) and facilitate ongoing communication. Still, as demonstrated in Si Wen Li III, their capacity to engage beyond the statutorily defined stakeholders remains limited, especially when final decisions revolve around property owners.

In the social housing regeneration case, polling was introduced as a form of direct democracy. However, this approach lacked deliberation and transparency. Residents expressed suspicion about how the municipality conducted these surveys, often perceiving them as instruments of persuasion rather than genuine consultation. The fact that municipal architects and professionals were seen as aligned with government agendas exacerbated this mistrust.

1 Governance and urban development strategies

All three approaches are governed by institutional structures that consolidate authority among municipal actors and property stakeholders. In the private-led approach, the Taipei City Government primarily acts as a regulator to ensure procedural legality. It does not mediate or enforce inclusive participation, leading to cases where non-property owners are excluded despite significant interest or impact.

The public-led model, particularly in Si Wen Li III, presents a more engaged role for the municipality and TURC. However, TURC's dual mandate—to represent both public interests and advocate for property owner buy-in—creates inherent tension. While they act as facilitators of participatory planning, they also work to adjust project proposals in line with property owners' preferences, highlighting a paradox in municipal facilitation.

In the social housing case, the use of binary public polling mechanisms (i.e., Yes/No votes) restricts dialogue and oversimplifies complex issues. Residents questioned the legitimacy of this form of representation, particularly when dissenting voices were systematically marginalised. The process raised questions about who is empowered to decide and what forms of authority are legitimised within so-called democratic participation.

Overall, these governance practices reinforce a property-first ethos, where urban regeneration serves as a tool for managing growth and capital accumulation, rather than promoting equity or environmental resilience. The state's position as both referee (regulator) and player (landowner, facilitator) complicates its ability to implement truly inclusive participation.

2 Structural constraints of the planning framework

The barriers to public participation in Taipei's urban regeneration processes cannot be understood solely through the lens of individual projects. Rather, they are embedded in the broader institutional and regulatory framework that governs urban planning in Taiwan. At the core of this framework is the absence of a clearly articulated public interest in relation to the spatial transformation associated with urban regeneration. Despite the formal existence of participatory mechanisms, there is no overarching vision for urban regeneration at either the city or regional scale. Instead, planning tools remain narrowly focused on the technical efficiency of replacing old buildings with new ones, with limited attention to long-term urban development goals or inclusive spatial strategies.

This structural limitation is further reflected in the way urban regeneration is implemented in practice. In the absence of regional regeneration strategies, efforts are typically fragmented and site-specific, often dominated by private developers whose focus centres on the renewal of individual buildings. As a result, the planning process lacks the institutional capacity to address broader urban challenges such as community cohesion, spatial equity, or environmental sustainability. Even in the two public-led cases analysed in this study, participants found it difficult to engage with or envision a broader, city-scale perspective. Public involvement was constrained by planning procedures that continue to prioritise private property interests over collective spatial concerns.

In addition, the tools available to planners offer limited opportunities for inclusive engagement. For example, the Taipei Urban Design Committee, which plays a key role in reviewing urban design proposals, does not involve public participation in its assessment of individual development projects. Although this study did not directly examine those review processes, evidence from the public-led case in Chapter 6 reveals a preference for procedural expediency. In that case, the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC) was responsible for both drafting the urban design guidelines and serving as the architectural designer, while the City Planning Division conducted the review. This arrangement appears to prioritise streamlined approval rather than participatory planning, leaving little room for public participation.

10 Conclusions and reflection

This chapter seeks to synthesise the findings of this research to address the overarching research question:

'What influence do participatory approaches in planning have on the inclusion of the public interest connected to urban regeneration projects in Taipei?'

The chapter begins by presenting the key empirical findings, starting with the answers to each of the six individual sub-questions of the research. It maintains a focus on the role of participatory planning in urban regeneration and its evaluation through the inclusive radar framework. Section 10.2 explores the evolution of Taipei's urban regeneration policies and their influence on participatory practices. The discussion highlights how these findings collectively contribute to explaining the extent to which participatory planning promotes urban regeneration in Taipei.

Section 10.3 delves deeper into theoretical and practical implications by connecting the empirical outcomes of the research to the academic literature discussed in Chapter 2, particularly the intersection of participatory planning with spatial transformation and governance processes. Methodological reflections on the inclusive radar are presented, emphasising its utility not only as an evaluative tool but also as a framework for shaping more inclusive participatory practices. Finally, the chapter concludes by proposing future research directions, which aim to refine the conceptual understanding of participatory planning and address gaps in practice.

10.1 Summary of main empirical findings

10.1.1 The role of participatory planning in urban regeneration

In addressing the first sub-research question regarding how the existing literature characterises the role of participatory planning in promoting urban regeneration in a way that is *aligned* with the public interest, Chapter 2 reviewed the evolution of spatial planning from traditional comprehensive and technocratic methods to communicative and participatory approaches. It recognises that participatory planning research has focused on sophisticated communicative practice, incorporating power dynamics and diverse stakeholder interests (Kühn, 2021). Other key frameworks such as Healey's Collaborative Planning Framework (1997, 2003), *Urban Regeneration and the Public Interest* (Healey, 1991; Kohn, 2004), Mouffe's *Agonistic Pluralism* (2013), and Forester's work on power dynamics (1999, 2009) were examined to centre the notion that participatory planning is based on a series of communications, including conflicts, consensus and trust-building.

Hence, the research argues that participatory planning is a hybrid model adapting to specific contexts, blending advocacy, communicative, and agonistic traditions. An operational framework emphasising communication responsiveness – actively listening, providing timely feedback, ensuring transparent decision-making, and integrating diverse inputs – is essential for fostering inclusivity and representing a broad range of interests. Despite its potential to fill the gap between theory and practice, participatory planning is often overlooked as merely a toolkit lacking real-world application. Communicative planning faces challenges such as communication barriers and power imbalances, necessitating customised strategies. More importantly, public interest in urban regeneration extends to include the interconnections shaped by governance, societal norms, and history (E. Alexander, 2009).

10.1.2 The role of publicness in spatial transformation in urban regeneration

Evaluating publicness in urban spaces involves both the generalisability of interests and a collaborative approach to spatial decision-making. Central to this is publicness, which assesses the public interest through three dimensions: accessibility, usage, and ownership (Madanipour, 2003). For example, a municipally owned park may exhibit high publicness if it is easily accessible and widely used. In contrast, a privately owned square can enhance its publicness by allowing diverse uses and open access.

Publicness is also shaped by socio-economic, political, and cultural-historical contexts (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016). A critical aspect is the capacity for collective decision-making, where democratic spaces enable citizens to participate, deliberate, and influence urban changes, reflecting democratic engagement principles (De Magalhães, 2010; Madanipour, 2003). This collaborative process evolves with societal and political transformations, fostering inclusive and dynamic urban environments (Burton & Mitchell, 2006).

Moreover, spatial transformation serves as a key metric for assessing the public interest in urban regeneration. Projects involving public spaces engage multiple stakeholders and attract significant public attention, unlike private renovations, which generally garner minimal interest (Staeheli & Mitchell, 2016). A comprehensive framework that considers both spatial dimensions and the representation of the public interest is essential to effectively evaluate publicness, ensuring that urban regeneration initiatives are inclusive, accessible, and reflective of community needs.

10.1.3 Key indicators to evaluate the influence of participation

Chapter 3 introduced the inclusive radar, an analytical framework adapted from the democracy cube, depicted as a radar diagram. This radar is formed by four key axes – participant, communication and decision-making, authority and power, and spatial transformation. The radar is used to assess the degree of influence based on the position of indicators along these axes, with the degree increasing as the intersection point moves further from the centre:

- The axis of participants assesses the level of inclusivity in urban regeneration (see Fig 3.4). To address the context of urban regeneration, the project adapted Fung's classification by incorporating property ownership as a criterion among residents. By redefining 'lay stakeholders', the study distinguished between property-owning stakeholders and non-property-owning stakeholders. Property-owning stakeholders include individuals who own property within the urban regeneration project, whether they are owner-occupiers or absentee landlords. In contrast, stakeholders not owning property comprise neighbourhood participants who do not own property within the specific context of urban regeneration. Consequently, the six indicators of inclusivity range from less inclusive to more inclusive, ranging from 'expert administrators', 'political representatives', 'property-owning stakeholders', 'stakeholders not owning property', 'open, targeted recruiting', and 'diffuse public sphere'.

- The axis of communication and decision-making signifies the intensity of interactions. As communication and decision-making become more complex and frequent, the indicators move further from the centre, reflecting an increasingly dynamic participatory process toward the outer edge. These six indicators are 'listen as spectators', 'express preferences', 'develop preferences', 'aggregation and bargaining', 'deliberation and negotiation', and 'technical expertise'.

- The axis of authority and power captures the degree of impact participants have on decisions. It ranges from limited power, where participants have no influence and are indifferent to whether their voices carry weight, to full decision-making authority, demonstrating a shift towards genuine power-sharing. The indicators are 'no power', 'personal benefits' 'communicative influence', 'advise and consult', 'co-governance', and 'direct authority'.

- The axis of spatial transformation assesses the relevance to the public interest. Projects that affect private spaces often have limited public relevance, whereas initiatives involving public spaces typically engage a broader range of stakeholders and attract greater public interest due to their influence on community use, management, and maintenance. The five indicators, ranging from least to most public, are 'private' 'semi-private', 'semi-public', 'public' and 'open-air public'.

  The purpose of the inclusive radar was to provide a framework to determine and evaluate the influence of participatory planning, capturing varying degrees of inclusion, authority, and relevance to the public interest. This comprehensive approach facilitates a systematic assessment of participatory planning's impact on urban regeneration outcomes, as well as the spatial outcomes of various sorts of participation.

10.1.4 The evolution of urban regeneration in Taipei

Chapter 4 presented the research findings addressing the third sub-research question – *How has Taipei's urban regeneration policy framework evolved, and what distinct regeneration approaches have emerged as a result?* The research identified three distinct types of urban regeneration in Taipei: private-led, public-led, and social housing as a means of urban regeneration. These categories were then explored through an analysis of policy and planning documents, including amendments to relevant urban regeneration legal frameworks. These categories reflect the evolution of the city's policy framework and provide insights into the various strategies that have been adopted over time. A critical factor influencing Taipei's urban regeneration is its geographical context. Nestled in a basin and surrounded by mountainous terrain, Taipei faces significant limitations in expanding habitable urban areas. The scarcity of flat land constrains the availability of space for new developments, compelling the city to focus on vertical growth and the efficient use of existing areas. These geographical constraints shape the strategies for urban regeneration, making the provision of habitable urban areas a complex challenge.

From 1950 to 1990, urban regeneration in Taipei was predominantly driven by direct government intervention. During this period, most decisions on legal frameworks and planning schemes were made by the central government, which often employed 'bulldozer and builder' tactics to facilitate rapid urban renewal. This era was characterised by a top-down approach, with the central government taking a dominant role in these projects.

However, post-1990, a shift towards a private-led approach occurred. This change was driven by a political rationale that encouraged private-sector participation. Despite this shift, the private-led approach faced significant challenges, particularly in areas with lower market profitability. These limitations prompted the municipal government to reintroduce a public-led strategy after 2010, echoing earlier direct intervention methods but in a more strategic manner.

Throughout these phases, the role of local government within Taiwan's planning system became increasingly important. Initially, large-scale urban regeneration in Taipei was primarily planned by the central government, with local and provincial governments primarily implementing the projects. After the 1990s, the roles of the central and local governments became more distinct, allowing local governments to take a more active role in implementing targeted urban regeneration efforts. This change led to the creation of master plans that sometimes involved collaboration with the central government on specific projects.

Persistent urban housing shortages after 2000 led to the integration of social housing into Taipei's urban regeneration strategy. This incorporation expanded the focus of urban regeneration to address the broader need for affordable housing. The establishment of the Municipal Urban Regeneration Office in 2004 and the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC) in 2012 underscores the evolving leadership in urban regeneration, balancing public sector oversight and resources with private sector initiatives. The municipality commissions TURC to conduct urban regeneration tasks, and it is also recognised as the municipality's agent in the neighbourhoods.

In conclusion, the research findings reveal that Taipei's urban regeneration has evolved into three main types. Each type represents a different approach to addressing urban challenges, shaped by historical context, geographical constraints, policy developments, and the need for comprehensive urban renewal strategies. The subsequent sections summarise how participatory involvement is integrated within these three approaches to urban regeneration in Taipei.

10.1.5 Participatory planning patterns: The inclusive radar

Chapters 5 to 9, which consistently examined the enactment of participatory roles across the three empirical cases, explored the implementation and influence of participatory planning in three approaches within Taipei's urban regeneration schemes. These findings will be presented following the four axes of the inclusive radar, facilitating a comparison of the cases.

The axis of participants: 'Property-owning stakeholders' dominate

In the 'He-Ping Mansion' project, a private-led (Chapter 5) approach, the initial emphasis was on securing consent from land and homeowners within the project area. Interactions primarily occurred between the project executor and the Urban Regeneration Assembly (URA). Over time, statutory processes such as public exhibitions, meetings, and hearings have involved property owners as the primary stakeholders.

The Si Wen Li III project – the public-led case (Chapter 6) – demonstrates more intensive communication as projects transition from general strategies to specific interventions. For instance, the Datong Reborn Project (DRP) began with inclusive outreach. However, it later shifted focus towards property owners, resulting in decreased non-owner participation, which included groups like neighbourhood residents and existing neighbourhood organisations. This transition from 'open,

targeted recruitment' to a focus on property rights conversion highlights the complexities of participant recruitment across various urban development stages. Also, initially, the municipality was concerned with tenants' right to stay, but the importance of this issue decreased massively as the municipality accelerated its efforts to secure property owner consent. Consequently, distinguishing between public-led and private-led approaches in terms of the spatial transformation influenced by participation becomes challenging.

This predominance of property owners in both private-led and public-led projects tends to marginalise non-owners. This imbalance arises because participants are frequently a self-selected subset with specific motives, failing to represent the broader population.

The Jian-Kang Social Housing project, as the case of 'social housing as a means of regeneration' (Chapter 7), is different because none of the participants were property owners. This situation led to ambiguity in stakeholder identification, leading to disputes and calls for clearer definitions.

The predominance of property owners in urban regeneration projects stems from the statutory planning framework, particularly the Urban Renewal Act (1998), which prioritises 'stakeholders owning property rights'. This situation is clearly seen in private-led projects with public hearings (Chapter 8), where property rights owners are recognised as statutory stakeholders. In private-led cases (Chapter 5), the issue of whether neighbouring residents could be considered stakeholders became a key point of contention in a lawsuit against the municipality. The court upheld the Urban Renewal Act's provisions, which emphasise government intervention in property rights disputes. According to Articles 32 and 53 of the Urban Renewal Act (2010, 2021), property owners can submit counterproposals in case of disputes over property rights transfer (PRT) schemes.

Another main finding is the use of different notification channels for recruiting participants in Taipei's urban regeneration practices (Chapter 9). The research identifies two types of notifications: passive and proactive. Passive notification methods utilise channels such as community bulletin boards, the municipal government's website, mail, flyers, and gazettes to disseminate information. These methods primarily target property owners and engaged community members who are likely to seek out or notice these communications.

In contrast, proactive notification involves direct communication strategies like door-to-door visits by borough chiefs or municipal officers. This approach targets specific stakeholders and property owners, ensuring they receive the information directly rather than relying on them to find it through public channels.

The axis of communication and decision-making:

The research findings highlight the complexities of participation in urban planning across different approaches. In private-led urban regeneration projects, the introduction of public hearings after 2014 has slightly improved communication by shifting the focus from listen as spectator' to 'express preferences' and 'develop preferences'. Nonetheless, challenges such as knowledge gaps and the general distrust of professional experts commissioned by the municipality persist (Chapter 9). Participants often struggled with complex regulations and terminology. As a result, the 2014 amendment to the Urban Renewal Act – aimed at balancing communication among participants with differing or conflicting interests – has not succeeded. Property owners' voices remain dominant, making it difficult for non-property owners to participate meaningfully.

In the public-led case, the communicative model shifts from strategic planning (the DRP cases) to tangible intervention (the Si Wen Li III case). While DRP cases involve the public through town hall meetings, the Si Wen Li III case presents the municipally commissioned Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre (TURC) as community planners who mediate between public and private interests, shaping the communication as a continuum of 'express preferences' and 'develop preferences'. However, the model still gives priority to property owners, marginalising non-property owners and emphasising property rights transfer schemes. As a result, it is clear that 'aggregation and bargaining' took place primarily between property owners and the municipality.

In the 'social housing as a means of regeneration' case, the municipality introduced new methods of participation, such as surveys and polls, to gather input from the residents. Despite these efforts, challenges in communication and trust emerged, primarily due to the restrictive nature of the surveys, which only allowed residents to approve or reject the project and led to widespread mistrust of social housing policies. This situation involved the communication model 'listen as spectator' and 'express preferences'.

The research identifies two main challenges in communication: knowledge gaps and technological jargon. Knowledge gaps arise from complex urban regeneration laws and diverse planning frameworks, both resulting in various sorts of vocabularies that contribute to disparities between professionals and the public. Laws under the Urban Renewal Act, separated into central and local statutes, involve multiple authorities and frequently revised regulations on factors such as building height, architectural style, and land use, further complicating public understanding. Technological limitations in public consultations, often confined to basic slide presentations, failed to foster meaningful engagement.

Trust-building varies across the three approaches studied. In private-led projects, professionals act as 'service providers' for developers and dominate discussions with minimal municipal oversight, sidelining public input despite mandated public hearings since 2014 and undermining the public trust. Public-led projects, on the other hand, utilise town hall meetings and community planners, such as TURC agents, to bridge information gaps and clarify complex regulations, fostering mutual trust between the municipality and residents. In social housing contexts, trust-building encounters significant scepticism, with residents viewing participatory approaches as manipulative due to architects' association with the municipality, exacerbating distrust. These dynamics collectively underscore the challenges in achieving effective communication and trust between stakeholders and authorities.

The axis of authority and power

In the private-led case, power predominantly lies with property owners and developers, with the municipality playing a supervisory role limited to ensuring procedural compliance. This emphasis on legal adherence limits the engagement of non-property-owning stakeholders: stakeholders can participate only through petitions or public meetings without assurance that their contributions will impact the final decisions. At times, non-property-owning stakeholders have been forced to seek alternatives to the formal participation process. Despite the municipality's eventual compromise on building height, the effects of public input within the decision-making process remain opaque, marked as 'no power'.

Conversely, in the public-led case, the municipality initially promoted the DRP project as a pilot initiative. This decision was intended to encourage participation at a broader district scale, following the planning visions outlined in the DRP. Although the Si Wen Li III public regeneration was incorporated into the DRP's action plan and led by the municipality, with implementation commissioned to TURC, it eventually came under the influence of property owners. This shift redefined the authority and power dynamics, centring around the concept of 'communicative influence'.

The 'social housing as a means of regeneration' case aims to integrate direct democracy via opinion polls. Nonetheless, this approach restricts open dialogue and can foster distrust, evidenced by the discrepancies between residents and the municipality's survey results. Under this 'direct authority' model, a simple majority from the nearest four boroughs decides the outcome, eliminating space for comprehensive discussions or negotiations. This raises questions about the representativeness of the four boroughs and decision-making within the participatory mechanism. Concerns about municipal manipulation and the exclusion of opposing voices are prevalent, potentially eroding trust in the process.

The axis of spatial transformation

The research findings suggest that restricting participation to property owners does not produce significantly different spatial outcomes, whether urban regeneration is private or public-led. This similarity becomes apparent when examining discussions concerning future spatial transitions and participation. In the private-led case, the focus is predominantly on maximising rewards stemming from government incentives, increasing allowable floor area, and urging the municipality to expedite the review process; hence, the spatial transformation is 'private'. This same finding also applies to 240 public hearings for private-led projects between 2015 and 2019. Notably, the public interest or perspectives beyond those of private ownership were seldom raised. Consequently, the needs of urban regeneration for residents, aside from the project owners, were not effectively identified. These spatial needs are, as outlined in the research, connected to the number, size, and quality of new public spaces and facilities accessible to the neighbourhood. The study also finds that in private-led projects, discussions predominantly revolve around the transfer of property rights values (PRT) before and after urban regeneration, from which only developers and property owners may benefit.

Although initiated by the municipal agent, the case of public ownership bears little difference from a privately owned project. Despite local assistance from the TURC, discussions surrounding public space mirrored those of privately owned developments. In this instance (Chapter 6), the municipality prioritised swiftly securing the consent of property owners, often at the expense of deeper discussions on the quality of public space. A pertinent example is the urban design guidelines developed by the TURC for this project. As both the promoter and designer of the project, the TURC crafted guidelines that were tailored to align with the interests of the property owners and to expedite their consent. However, this approach overlooked the potential for enhancing the characteristics of the old city centre through more thoughtful urban design. The spatial transformation for this case then is 'private' and 'semi-private'. The former indicates it is not different from private-led regeneration, focusing on private ownership. The latter suggests that as it is a public-led project, some spaces are reserved for public use without proper regulation or agreement between the property owners and the municipality.

The social housing approach has broad participation because it does not involve the rights of existing property owners, allowing discussions to proceed without the complexities of private property ownership. Based on this, the municipality and its commissioned architects believed that residents were eager to express their views in public; hence, the spatial transformation indicates a continuum from 'semi-public', 'public', and 'open-air public'. However, this study found that residents' discussions of the public interest and publicness of space rarely aligned with the broader goals of the project, which included providing social housing as a public interest to city-wide and public facilities (e.g. elderly day care centres and kindergartens). Instead, the municipality tended to exclude concerns about the consequences of densification raised by residents, which are often predetermined by municipal authorities, making the participatory process appear more formalistic.

A persistent and unanswered question of 'why here?' poses a challenge for the municipality, suggesting that the choice of social housing sites is limited, making these projects seem like temporary solutions rather than components of a larger urban regeneration vision that can bring positive spatial outcomes. These dynamics risk the projects falling into a 'not-in-my-back-yard' (NIMBY) debate, as social housing projects tend to meet resistance when residents fear potential declines in property values and disruptions to the neighbourhood's living quality.

Also, the new measure of introducing public hearings in private-led urban regeneration projects shows very limited impact, as it has not made a significant difference compared to previous public meetings. Although intended to improve communication between municipalities, project implementers, and the public, the hearings have not effectively broadened the inclusivity of diverse opinions. Property owners remain the dominant participants, and their interests continue to overshadow those of the broader community. The hearings, therefore, fail to address the underlying imbalance in representation, rendering the new process no more effective than the earlier public meetings in terms of ensuring that the public interest is adequately considered.

10.2 Overall findings: The influence of participatory planning on spatial outcomes in Taipei's urban regeneration

The synthesis of empirical findings provides a detailed exploration of the complexities inherent in participatory planning within Taipei's urban regeneration context, addressing the core research question: 'To what extent does participatory planning in Taipei's urban regeneration consider the public interest, with a specific focus on spatial outcomes?'

Firstly, regarding spatial transformation, the interplay between market forces and the public interest reveals a complex and often ambiguous relationship. More specifically, private property rights transfer (PRT) frequently dominates participatory processes in both private-led and public-led initiatives, which often results in a primary focus on private spatial interests rather than broader public considerations.

Taiwan's Urban Renewal Act cites the 'public interest' as the foundational objective of urban regeneration in its first article. Although it does not define what 'the public interest' entails, related issues appear straightforwardly from urban regeneration practices: to demolish old buildings and make way for new developments. As the majority of urban regeneration in Taipei is private-led, these new developments are real estate–oriented. This emphasis is particularly observable in the private-led case (Chapter 5), where administrative interpretations by the court and municipal authorities align the interests of property owners with the stated aims of urban regeneration.

Hence, in this sense, both the legal and planning framework follow a rather narrow interpretation of public interest in urban regeneration. It cannot be otherwise as the tools of PRT and floor area incentives play such a dominant role in the participatory process and urban regeneration practices.

Also, the study's findings on the evolution of urban regeneration policy in Taipei illustrate a shift from state-led to private-led and, subsequently, a partial return to public-led initiatives. Private-led regeneration is primarily incentivised by real estate potential, necessitating a system of urban renewal designed to offer various incentives to private stakeholders, predominantly developers. Consequently, the participation process within this framework is primarily structured around property owners, who must navigate complex consent ratios, organise meetings, review

developers' proposals, and submit these proposals for municipal approval. This lengthy process, spanning five to ten years, offers multiple opportunities for property owners to engage actively, while also allowing them to request municipal intervention in disputes with developers. While the city aims to expedite urban regeneration through the private sector, it simultaneously faces challenges from developer-property owner conflicts, which can hinder progress. As a result, the participation process tends to favour property owners.

The answer to the overarching research question is that Taipei's urban regeneration favours a private-led approach driven by real estate incentives, establishing a policy framework where property owners wield considerable influence. The primary conclusion highlights that Taipei's urban regeneration predominantly follows a private-led approach driven by municipal incentives tied to real estate profits. This policy framework grants property owners substantial influence, constraining the participatory process's capacity to prioritise the public interest in decision-making. Consequently, property owners exert significant control over urban regeneration, steering participatory mechanisms to serve their interests.

Even in public-led approaches, which ostensibly aim for greater public interest in the neighbourhood, the reality often diverges from the stated goal. The municipality supports the housing complexes overlooked by private developers, facilitating regeneration projects that mirror the private-led approach. While labelled public-led, these projects tend to produce similar spatial outcomes to private-led initiatives, with minimal provision for public spaces, such as a limited allocation of housing units for municipal social housing or designated areas for public facilities. This ownership-focused dynamic continues to undermine the inclusivity of participatory planning and significantly influences spatial outcomes across regeneration strategies.

In addressing the study's central question on the extent to which participatory planning can determine the public interest in urban regeneration, the findings suggest that 'public interest' in urban regeneration is often defined before participatory processes even commence, albeit without formal or legal definition. Within these regulated, formalised participation frameworks, interests beyond private concerns tend to be inadequately addressed.

The case of social housing as a tool for urban regeneration introduces an additional layer of complexity. Although the municipality assumed the roles of initiator, planner, and property owner – thereby bypassing the complications associated with private property ownership – it faced significant pressure to deliver results quickly due to the limited four-year tenure of the mayor. This urgency constrained the participatory process to a standardised approach, characterised by 'a few explanatory meetings

and several votes'. Consequently, this approach undermined trust in the process, heightened antagonism among residents with differing opinions, and restricted opportunities for meaningful engagement. This scenario underscores a critical challenge in social housing initiatives: reconciling the pressing demands of municipal objectives with the diverse and often marginalised concerns of residents, which are frequently overlooked in the rush to achieve broader urban goals.

10.3 Discussion

In the initial stage, this study identified possible research variables from different empirical cases in Taipei and gradually identified several of the most relevant and actionable concepts through empirical observation, such as urban renewal, property rights, and public interest. Therefore, it can be said that the preliminary research framework of this study was constructed based on inductive observation.

The subsequent steps involved systematically organising the primary theories and concepts of participatory planning, including communicative and collaborative planning. These frameworks emphasise democratic discourse in spatial decision-making. They are crucial for deepening the understanding of how participation can influence the decision-making process and transcend the traditional top-down or bottom-up approaches, such as the interactive collaboration perspective of relational, institutionalist, and interpretive (Healey, 1997).

10.3.1 Theoretical foundations and the communicative turn in planning

This research investigated the communicative turn in planning research, which is helpful for any dialogue on theoretical approaches. This choice allowed for a more layered view of participation, especially as a social interaction process of policy agenda setting, establishing the research's conceptual framework that participation should be regarded as a political action for identifying the public interest. In this way, communication and conflict of interest must be viewed more dialectically in the real world, where they coexist, rather than in solely theoretical discussions. The preparation of these theoretical frameworks has helped this study propose an operational research framework.

The potential novelty of this research is that it analyses not only the participatory process but also its spatial outcome by operationalising the research framework, which focuses on the influence of participatory planning. The spatial outcomes reflect the extent to which the public interest is served, particularly through the transformation of spaces that engage a broad spectrum of stakeholders. These outcomes reveal the degree to which urban regeneration aligns with community needs, thereby serving as a tangible metric for evaluating the success of participatory processes.

In this study and more broadly, the principles and theories of communicative and collaborative planning present a framework that connects planning theory with practical application. They highlight the importance of consensus-building as a means for both planners and citizens to work together in planning contexts (Healey, 1997a; Innes & Booher, 1999a, 2004). Overall, communicative planning guides researchers in sophisticatedly examining communicative processes within spatial decision-making.

While this research does not seek to resolve the long-standing critiques of communicative planning—particularly the view that it can be overly idealistic—it also does not adopt the theory as a normative goal to be achieved. Rather, communicative planning serves in this study as a conceptual foundation for understanding participation as a socially embedded and discursive practice. The critiques remain relevant, especially as the effectiveness of communication and consensus-building strategies is deeply context-dependent, shaped by formal regulations, informal practices, and broader socio-cultural dynamics (see also Ksaraminejad et al., 2020).

The case of Taipei illustrates these challenges. Urban regeneration in this context has been largely structured around property-led development, where planning processes often prioritise consensus among property owners. As a result, the definition of public interest is often narrowly framed—frequently equated with the occurrence of new construction rather than broader social deliberation. This context raises critical questions about whose voices are included in participatory processes and how 'public interest' is defined and legitimised in practice.

Healey (2006b) describes the planning 'arena' as a space where collective dialogue about spatial futures should take place, shaped by institutional arrangements that enable inclusive deliberation. However, in Taiwan, statutory planning institutions often limit participation to developers and property owners, as demonstrated in the private-led case examined in Chapter 5, where legal rulings confirmed that only property owners were formally recognised as stakeholders. In such settings, the communicative ideals of inclusive dialogue and negotiated consensus face significant structural constraints.

10.3.2 Western influence and non-Western contexts

The rise of communicative planning in academia during the 1980s coincided with the growing dominance of neoliberal political-economic regimes. The increasing popularity of communicative planning marked a response from practitioners and scholars, particularly in spatial planning within the UK and the United States, who sought to challenge neoliberal approaches. Many of these intellectuals entered academia to influence political discourse. This era reflected an aspiration for an open society, where diverse social groups and individuals with conflicting interests and values believed that democratic deliberation and communication could foster collaboration on political values and policy goals and ultimately shape spatial development.

This academic orientation introduced a fresh and thought-provoking perspective rooted in emerging social dynamics and the prevailing zeitgeist. It emphasised alternative pathways by examining shifts in social structures and leveraging community, consensus, and shared identity to counteract trends of privatisation and marketisation. The theory, deeply influenced by Habermas's communicative action framework, stemmed from the democratic movements of post-war Western Europe.

However, social dynamics in non-Western societies after World War II evolved differently. For instance, Taiwan remained under authoritarian rule until the late 1980s, experiencing a later and more compressed democratisation process compared to Western societies. Although Taiwan developed a relatively open society with extensive experience in consensus-building, its communication practices emerged from a distinct historical and social context.

In this light, straightforwardly applying communicative planning theory rooted in Western democratic contexts may overlook the nuances of the local environment, or at least there is a need to understand the local context. Consequently, this research views communicative planning as a 'mirror' – highlighting theory-based perceptions of processes of participation. As a result, consensus-building cannot be easily transplanted in a political context where there is no communicative tradition or where the approach may encounter hostility.

10.4 Reflection on the inclusive radar

The inclusive radar, as introduced in this research, provides a structured framework for evaluating and guiding participatory planning processes. Its methodological design has been instrumental in the research. The radar's structure – comprising four axes: participant, communication and decision-making, authority and power, and spatial transformation – demonstrates its potential as a comprehensive tool for understanding participation in various stages of planning. This multidimensional approach not only facilitates reflection on past participatory efforts but may also assist planners and researchers in shaping future decisions. Its comprehensive nature suggests it may also be relevant in other planning contexts, fostering inclusivity and improving participatory approaches.

One of the key reflections from this methodological perspective is how the inclusive radar has the potential to be a 'navigator' for participation, offering guidance for improving participatory frameworks. Rather than merely judging the success or failure of existing efforts, the framework encourages an ongoing engagement with the axes it evaluates. For instance, by considering the evolving nature of authority and power within participatory settings, planners can adjust their strategies to balance influence among stakeholders better, ensuring that participation is meaningful rather than symbolic. This adaptability is particularly important when considering the unique participatory, consensus-building, and conflict-resolution dynamics that vary across different contexts, as highlighted in the theoretical reflection.

Additionally, the radar's potential flexibility across different urban regeneration contexts, as suggested by its application in Taipei, highlights its value for comparative analysis. By adapting the framework to specific cultural and spatial contexts, the research Indicates that the inclusive radar may have the capacity to foster more context-sensitive and adaptive forms of participation. While its broader applicability remains to be fully validated, this adaptability suggests that the framework might be useful not only retrospectively but also in informing future interventions aimed at fostering inclusivity and promoting more equitable outcomes.

Furthermore, the radar's inclusion of spatial transformation as one of its axes emphasises its forward-looking nature. Spatial transformation in participatory planning is not merely a reflection of change but a central goal. The nature of spatial transformation can be used in research to *ex post* – as well as *ex ante* – evaluate (potential) spatial change. As urban regeneration is meant to change the urban

fabric, the use of the transformation axis in whatever form makes this explicit. Thus, the inclusive radar allows urban planners to gauge how effectively participation influences the physical transformation of space, making it a useful tool for linking participatory processes to tangible urban outcomes.

In conclusion, the inclusive radar stands as more than an evaluative instrument in research; it could guide participatory processes, shaping them into more inclusive and dynamic frameworks. Its flexibility and multidimensional focus make it an essential tool for both academic and practical applications, capable of guiding planners toward more inclusive urban futures.

Key characteristics of inclusive radar

A potential limitation with inclusive radars is the relatively fixed nature of the indicators across the four axes. While these indicators can effectively track broad categories – such as elected politicians, property owners, and other stakeholders – they may not fully capture the varied roles and relationships that individuals hold. Participants often extend beyond their 'default job' and engage in complex social networks, carrying diverse interests and preferences. For instance, elected officials do not always act solely on behalf of their constituents; they might also prioritise relationships with developers, especially when political or financial incentives are in play. Thus, although the radar can provide an initial overview of involvement, it may need additional contextual or critical inquiry to account for the more nuanced dynamics of human behaviour.

Also, on the communication and decision-making axis, real-world interactions are fluid and multifaceted, involving a dynamic interplay of various factors. While the current indicators measure communication strength, they overlook subtler aspects, such as non-verbal cues or implicit agreements. Furthermore, negotiation often involves intermediary steps like bargaining or persuasion, as well as backchannel communications where stakeholders influence decisions informally. These subtleties illustrate the complexity of decision-making, which transcends mechanical indicators and involves diverse contextual elements, personal influences, and the complexity of human experiences.

This highlights the critical role of social networks and interpersonal dynamics in participatory planning. These often 'invisible' networks stem from personal relationships, perceptions, and interests within organisations rather than strictly following formal structures. While theoretical models provide a useful framework for analysis, it is crucial to acknowledge and understand these informal, human-driven

dynamics. Real-world scenarios are constantly evolving, pushing the boundaries of our understanding. Over-reliance on traditional indicators limits the ability to capture the full depth and complexity of human communication and cognition, which is shaped by a multitude of factors, including thoughts, emotions, and environmental stimuli.

10.5 Future research orientation

This section outlines key directions for future research, drawing on conceptual frameworks and empirical findings. The aim is to sharpen theoretical discussions and explore practical implications for participatory governance in spatial planning in Taipei and Taiwan. By examining these areas in greater depth, future studies can potentially shape more inclusive practices and stimulate broader dialogues in both academic and policy spheres.

1 Re-examining 'the public interest' in spatial planning

A central issue concerns how 'the public interest' is conceptualised, pursued, and physically realised in spatial planning. Researchers should investigate how it is defined and represented, especially in urban regeneration contexts. Although public participation is often advocated, its effectiveness remains uncertain because private property rights are commonly prioritised over collective interests. Hence, a clearer definition of 'the public interest' is crucial to guide policy and planning (Huang, 2019). Two related points follow:

- **Challenges in implementing the National Land Planning Act (NLPL) of Taiwan**
  The 2016 NLPL sought to redefine public interest by shifting the focus from economic growth to environmental conservation. However, weak coordination between central and local authorities, coupled with the absence of a long-term participatory framework, hinders its effectiveness. Future studies should investigate how socio-political factors affect its implementation and outcomes (Hua, 2010; Huang, 2019).

— **Urban regeneration and density in Taipei**
High-density urban regeneration, incentivised through floor area ratio (FAR) policies, often emphasises private benefits over the public interest. Globally, densification is viewed as a sustainable strategy, yet Taipei's experience indicates possible negative effects on urban quality and spatial justice. Researchers could assess how urban planning might better balance density incentives with public welfare (Bibby et al., 2021; Burton, 2000; Hsu & Hsu, 2013). Existing policies tend to favour higher densities but may overlook local communities' needs, thus exacerbating inequalities. Empirical studies should explore how participatory approaches affect the outcomes of regeneration projects and whether these approaches align with national sustainability objectives.

2 Investigating alternative urban governance models

Taiwan's urban regeneration largely follows a private-led model rooted in real estate incentives. An alternative governance model that promotes civil society participation could provide a more equitable framework. Future studies should explore barriers to adopting such models and examine how policy might foster more inclusive regeneration approaches:

— **The role of civil society and grassroots initiatives**
Despite Taipei's vibrant grassroots movements, their impact on urban governance remains constrained. Community planners often serve as intermediaries between officials and residents but are frequently excluded from urban regeneration schemes. Future research should determine whether this exclusion is deliberate and assess its implications for democratic urban governance (L. Huang, 2006; Hou, 2018).

By addressing these research gaps, future studies can promote more effective and equitable approaches to spatial planning in Taiwan. Although these explorations centre on Taiwan, they hold promise for theoretical and empirical intersections that extend well beyond boundaries. Through deeper engagement with these issues, researchers can contribute to a more robust and diverse understanding of participatory governance, paving the way for broader discussions in spatial planning.

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Appendix

List of interviewees

Profile	Code (ID)	Description	Conducted year
local resident	NR1	Resident of the neighbourhood of Heping Mansion/ Leader of the neighbourhood campaign against the U.R. project	2019
local resident	NR2	Resident of the neighbourhood of Heping Mansion	2021
local resident	NR3	Resident of the neighbourhood of Heping Mansion	2021
local resident	NR4	Resident of the neighbourhood of Heping Mansion	2021
volunteer lawyer	OS1	Provides legal representation and in proceedings before the courts for NR1	2020
volunteer consultant	OS2	Professional consultant of the campaign against the Heping Mansion project	2020
municipal committee member	EA1	Member of the Municipal Urban Regeneration Committee	2021
municipal committee member	EA2	Professor in planning/ Member of the Municipal Urban Planning Committee	2021
government officer	EA3	Chief Engineer in the municipal Urban Regeneration office	2021
government officer	EA4	Staff in the municipal Urban regeneration office	2020
borough chief	ER1	Borough chief of the neighbourhood of Heping Mansion	2021
architect	C2-13	Si Wen Li III project's architect commissioned by the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre	2018
on-site community planner	C2-14	Si Wen Li III project's on-site community planner by the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre	2020
on-site community planner	C2-15	Si Wen Li III project's on-site community planner by the Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre	2020
borough chief	C2-16	Borough chief of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III project	2019
local resident	C2-17	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III owner of a food court	2019
local resident	C2-18	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III	2019
local resident	C2-19	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III	2019

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Profile	Code (ID)	Description	Conducted year
local resident	C2-20	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III	2019
local resident	C2-21	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III	2019
local resident	C2-22	Resident of the neighbourhood of Si Wen Li III	2019
architect	C3-01	Jian-kang Social Housing project's architect commissioned by the Taipei Municipality	2019

List of governmental documents and meeting minutes

CORE (ID)	Data type	Year	Document name (ENG)	Description	Document name (Traditional Chinese)
C2-01	meeting minutes	2017	Public meeting for the Proposal of Urban Regenration of two plots (No.447-2 and other parcels in Datong district)	held by the municipality	擬訂臺北市大同區大同段一小段447-2地號等2筆土地都市更新事業計畫及權利變換計畫公辦公聽會
C2-02	government document	2017	Property right transfer plan (No.447-2 and other parcels in Datong district)	held by the municipality	擬訂臺北市大同區大同段一小段 44 7-2 地號等 2 筆土地都市更新權利變換計畫案
C2-03	government document	2017	Urban Design Guilelines for Public-led urban regeneration	n/a	臺北市大同區大同段一小段447-2地號等2筆土地都市更新案 都市設計準則（公辦都更）
C2-05	meeting minutes	2017	Voices and responses of public meeting (No.447-2 and other parcels in Datong district)	held by the municipality	擬訂臺北市大同區大同段一小段 447-2 地號等 2 筆土地都市更新事業計畫案 106 年 10 月 17日至 11 月 15日公展期間民眾陳情及回應綜理表
C2-06	government document	2021	Proposal of urban regenration: Si Wen Li SIH housing and west part of sec.3 Chende Road (including part of Datung-5 urban regeneration area)	n/a	訂定臺北市大同區-4-蘭州斯尤里整建住宅更新地區暨承德路三段以西街廓（含）部分大同-5攻心地區都市更新計劃案
C3-01	government document	2010	Social Housing Short Term Implementation Programme-Local meeting in the pionerring area of Taipei(Baoqing Section)	held by the municipality	中央政府社會住宅短期實施方案-臺北市試辦基地座談會(松山區寶清段基地)

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CORE (ID)	Data type	Year	Document name (ENG)	Description	Document name (Traditional Chinese)
C3-02	government document	2012	1st Planning and Design Briefing on "Public Rental Housing in Baoqing Section	held by the municipality	第一次說明會簡報
C3-03	meeting minutes	2012	minutes of the 1st Planning and Design Briefing on "Public Rental Housing in Baoqing Section	held by the municipality	第一次說明會會議紀錄
C3-04	government document	2013	Yan-Saw Community forum	held by the municipality	延壽社區座談會
C3-05	meeting minutes	2013	minutes of Yan-Saw Community forum	held by the municipality	延壽社區座談會會議紀錄
C3-06	government document	2013	2nd Planning and Design Briefing on "Public Rental Housing in Baoqing Section	held by the municipality	第二次說明會簡報
C3-07	meeting minutes	2013	minutes of the 2nd Planning and Design Briefing on "Public Rental Housing in Baoqing Section	held by the municipality	第二次說明會會議紀錄
C3-08	government document	2013	"Public Housing Construction Project in Baoqing Section, Songshan District, Taipei City"-Public Opinion Survey Summary Report	held by the municipality	「臺北市松山區寶清段公營住宅興建計畫」民意調查總結報告書
C3-10	government document	1984	Revision of the Area Plan for the Southern Boundary of the New Community at Minsheng East Road, Fuyuan Street, Nanjing East Road and Dunhua North Road (Second Comprehensive Review)	A detailed area plan under the Master plan	修訂民生東路新社區南側界線、撫遠街、南京東路、敦化北路所圍地區細部計畫(第二次通盤檢討)
PH0101-PH0807	meeting minutes	2015-2019	meeting nimutes* of public hearing of privatle-led urban regneration projects	held by the municipality	都市更新事業計劃聽證紀錄

*Note: * The meeting minutes can be found in the official website of Taipei Municipality: https://uro.gov.taipei/cp.aspx?n=EA1389BF6F8DAF4A&s=54773A765800877C*

Abbreviations

Abbreviations	Definition	Traditional Chinese (if capable)	English translated by
Pri-RU	Private Sector Demarcated Urban Regeneration Units	私人劃定都市更新單元	author
Pub-RA	Public Demarcated Urban Regeneration Areas	政府劃定都市更新區域	author
URP	Detailed UP Plan	都市更新事業計畫	author
URA	UR Assembly	都市更新會	author
MUAC	Municipal UR Application Review Committee	都市更新審議委員會	author
EP	executing party	實施者	author
UR Act	Urban Renewal Act	都市更新條例	official translation
FABO	Floor Area Bonus Ordinances of Urban Regeneration	都市更新容積獎勵辦法	author
PRT	Regulations of Property Right Transfer in Urban Regeneration (PRT)	都市更新權利變換實施辦法	author
SIH	State-Intervened Housing	國宅	author
STI programme	Social Housing Short Term Implementation Programme	社會住宅短期實施方案	Construction and Planning Agency,Ministry of the Interior (CPAMI)
MP quarter	Housing (and quarter) for military personnel and their dependents	眷村	Ministry of Defense
RTH	Resettlment Housing	整宅 or 整建住宅	Taipei Municipal Government
SR area	Strategic Redevelopment area	策略更新區域	
URP	Detailed Urban Regeneration Plan	都市更新事業計畫	author
PVT	Property value transfer	權利變換計畫	author
DRP	Datong Reborn Project	大同再生計畫	author
URC	Taipei Urban Regeneration Centre	財團法人台北都市更新推動中心	official English name

About the author

I am an enthusiastic researcher who believes that research can truly drive transitions. I began my professional journey in Taiwan, where I spent five years (2012–2017) as acommunity planner. During this period, I worked with Indigenous People's communities in Taipei, introducing participatory housing design and exploring new ways to shape both housing and public spaces. By engaging with local cultural practices, I developed co-design strategies to transform informal housing into collaborative housing. This experience deepened my interest in urban public space design and theory, while challenging mainstream stereotypes about Indigenous People.

Later, I served as a policy researcher and coordinator in the Taiwanese parliament, aiming at enhancing the participatory policy framework for multi-level governance. In this role, I learned how research evidence can guide decision-makers towards more effective policy solutions. In recognition of these contributions, I received the Social Practice and Altruism Award from the Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University in 2015.

Building on these experiences,I launched my doctoral research on public participation in spatial planning in 2017, particularly concerning urban housing strategies. I sought methods to promote inclusive decision-making and support urban regeneration through active stakeholder engagement. Since starting my PhD, I have also emphasised international policy exchange, drawing on lessons from Taiwan. Beginning in 2018, I organised delegations from Taiwan to visit Europe and study innovative urban regeneration and social housing, focusing on the Netherlands. These visits enabled Taiwanese policymakers to exchange ideas with Dutch experts, including those from the municipality of Amsterdam and various housing associations. Beyond research, I have mentored master's students in Landscape Architecture andUrbanism at TU Delft and in the MADE master programme at the AMS Institute inAmsterdam since 2020.

In 2024, I joined the Chair of Urban Design at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment, TU Delft, as a postdoctoral researcher. My role in the EU-funded Driving Urban Transition partnership: CORPUS project involves integrating physical participation and digital tokenised economy approaches to reinforce circular urban practices, with a specific focus on retrofitting public spaces in neighbourhoods.

My responsibilities include drafting planning and co-design recommendations that incorporate academic knowledge and community-centred practice.

Throughout my career, I have aimed to bridge research-based insights with inclusive action, reaffirming my commitment to community-led initiatives. I remain convinced that robust research, combined with meaningful engagement, can yield practical strategies that benefit diverse urban contexts.