URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HOUSING QUESTION IN NEOLIBERALIZED TAIWAN

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submitted by **FANG-TZU TSAO** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, the Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University** by,

Prof. Dr. Sadettin KİRAZCI
Dean
Graduate School of Social Sciences _____

Assist. Prof. Dr. Ömür BİRLER
Head of Department
Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments _____

Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL
Supervisor
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Examining Committee Members:

Prof. Dr. Attila AYTEKİN (Head of the Examining Committee)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL (Supervisor)
Middle East Technical University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Prof. Dr. Helga RITTERSBERGER-TILIÇ
Middle East Technical University
Department of Sociology _____

Prof. Dr. Tayfun ÇINAR
Ankara University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ayşe Çolpan YALDIZ
Ankara Yıldırım Beyazıt University
Department of Political Science and Public Administration _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last Name: Fang-Tzu TSAO

Signature:

ABSTRACT

URBAN SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND HOUSING QUESTION

IN NEOLIBERALIZED TAIWAN

TSAO, Fang-Tzu

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This study explores the complex dynamics of housing issues and grassroots movements in Taiwan, employing Chris Pickvance's contextual framework alongside Bourdieu's field theory to illuminate the multifaceted nature of Taiwan's housing market. Through a mixed-methods approach that combines qualitative analysis, case studies, and theoretical synthesis, the research aims to offer insights into the interplay between external factors and internal dynamics affecting housing. It highlights the roles of urbanization, rural-urban migration, government initiatives, and market speculation in shaping housing inequalities and the distribution of opportunities. Bourdieu's concepts of symbolic capital, habitus, and social capital are utilized to examine the power dynamics within the housing sector, focusing on how localized

housing movements challenge established beliefs and influence policy decisions.

The study emphasizes the significance of equitable housing policies, community involvement, and the recognition of housing activists' symbolic and cultural capital in shaping policy outcomes. By integrating theoretical perspectives with empirical research, the study provides a comprehensive analysis of the structural and cultural factors influencing Taiwan's housing market. It underscores the necessity for policies that address the needs of economically and socially marginalized groups, advocating for community-based approaches to ensure a more equitable distribution of housing resources.

This research contributes significantly to housing studies by offering a detailed examination of the challenges and movements within Taiwan's housing sector. It presents a model for understanding the intricate relationship between grassroots activism, power structures, and socioeconomic inequality, with implications for policymakers, activists, and scholars both within Taiwan and globally.

Keywords: housing movements, Taiwan, contextual analysis, field theory

ÖZ

KENTSEL TOPLUMSAL HAREKETLER VE KONUT SORUNU

NEOLİBERALLEŞTİRİLMİŞ TAYVAN'DA

TSAO, Fang-Tzu

Doktora, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Bölümü

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Bu çalışma, Tayvan konut piyasasının çok yönlü doğasını aydınlatmak için Bourdieu'nün alan teorisinin yanı sıra Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal çerçevesini kullanarak Tayvan'daki konut sorunlarının ve taban hareketlerinin karmaşık dinamiklerini araştırmaktadır. Nitel analiz, vaka çalışmaları ve teorik sentezi birleştiren karma yöntem yaklaşımı sayesinde araştırma, konutu etkileyen dış faktörler ve iç dinamikler arasındaki etkileşime dair içgörüler sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Kentleşme, kırdan kente göç, hükümet girişimleri ve piyasa spekülasyonlarının konut eşitsizliklerini ve fırsat dağılımını şekillendirmedeki rollerini vurgulamaktadır. Bourdieu'nün sembolik sermaye, habitus ve sosyal sermaye kavramları, konut sektöründeki güç dinamiklerini incelemek için kullanılmakta ve yerelleşmiş konut

hareketlerinin yerleşik inançlara nasıl meydan okuduğuna ve politika kararlarını nasıl etkilediğine odaklanılmaktadır.

Çalışma, politika sonuçlarının şekillendirilmesinde eşitlikçi konut politikalarının, toplum katılımının ve konut aktivistlerinin sembolik ve kültürel sermayelerinin tanınmasının önemini vurgulamaktadır. Teorik perspektifleri ampirik araştırmalarla bütünleştiren çalışma, Tayvan'ın konut piyasasını etkileyen yapısal ve kültürel faktörlerin kapsamlı bir analizini sunmaktadır. Ekonomik ve sosyal olarak marjinalleştirilmiş grupların ihtiyaçlarını ele alan politikaların gerekliliğinin altını çizmekte ve konut kaynaklarının daha adil bir şekilde dağıtılmasını sağlamak için toplum temelli yaklaşımları savunmaktadır.

Bu araştırma, Tayvan'ın konut sektöründeki zorlukların ve hareketlerin ayrıntılı bir incelemesini sunarak konut çalışmalarına önemli bir katkıda bulunmaktadır. Tabandan gelen aktivizm, güç yapıları ve sosyoekonomik eşitsizlik arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi anlamak için bir model sunmakta ve hem Tayvan'daki hem de küresel ölçekteki politika yapıcılar, aktivistler ve akademisyenler için çıkarımlar sağlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: konut hareketleri, Tayvan, bağlamsal analiz, alan teorisi

To the shell-less snails and housing justice

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CSO	Civil society organization
CSSTA	The Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
HSA	The Homeless Solidarity Alliance
KMT	Kuomintang / Chinese Nationalist Party
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
NPP	New Power Party
NSM	New social movement
OURs	The organization of Urban Re-s (re-design, re-plan, re-build, review, revolution)
PIR	Price-to-income ratio
PPT	Political process theory
PR	Proportional representation
RMT	Resource mobilization theory
ROC	Republic of China, Taiwan
SHA	The Homeless Solidarity Alliance
SHAC	Social Housing Advocacy Consortium
SM	Social movement
SMD	Single-member district
SMO	Social movement organization
SNTV	Single non-transferable Vote
TMM	TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Services
TPP	Taiwan People's Party
USM	Urban social movement

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Research Background

Amidst the collective outcry on Zhongxiao East Road on 26 August 1989, at the heart of the first housing movement in Taiwan-The Shell-less Snail Movement, stood its leader, Li Hsing-Chang, a figure whose personal plight encapsulated the dire circumstances that had propelled thousands onto the streets that humid summer night in the fanciest area in Taipei.

Li Hsing-Chang, a primary school teacher, had made a significant life decision in 1988, selling his first home to cover the cost of his newborn daughter's future and his own graduate school tuition fees. However, the rapid and relentless increase in housing prices during this period swiftly eroded the value of his sacrifice. What money he had left after these expenses fell woefully short of securing even a smaller, more modest home for his family. To his dismay, even the prospects of repurchasing his original home had become an impossible dream, as its price had soared beyond reach, a stark testament to the volatility and exclusion inherent in the housing market at the time.

This personal crisis served as a catalyst for Li, transforming his individual grievance into a collective call to action. Recognizing that his experiences were far from isolated, Li mobilized his colleagues and fellow primary school teachers who were not even the

direct victims of this wave of housing price increases, and established the Homeless Solidarity Alliance, the first housing movement organization in Taiwan. After organizing several open talks and meetings, more and more public and mass media paid attention to this collective action, despite the pressure from the government, which was not fond of these ‘troublemakers.’

Amidst the mounting tensions, the Homeless Solidarity Alliance received significant backing from the students and faculty of the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University. These individuals sympathized with the plight of the displaced teachers and were eager to advocate for the principle of “the right to the city.” This alliance forged between academia and the streets bolstered the protest, lending it a sense of legitimacy and purpose. The faculty’s endorsement highlights the moral and intellectual foundations underpinning the demonstrators' demands, casting the struggle for affordable housing as not only an economic issue but also a fundamental human right. It was a powerful affirmation of the protesters' entitlement to the city and to a life of dignity, further amplifying the movement's call for action.

The historical context of the movement, coupled with the emotional landscape of hope, frustration, and fear of reprisal experienced by its participants, offers a rich narrative for exploring the ongoing struggle for affordable housing. This study aims to shed light on the ways in which collective action, grounded in the lived experiences of the populace, can shape and transform the urban policy landscape. Through the examination of the lasting effects of the Taiwanese housing movements, this research endeavors to contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of how societies can address the challenges of urban development while ensuring equal access to housing

for all citizens.

1.1.1 Neoliberalized Urban Space in Taiwan

Globalization has impacted developing countries in East Asia and the character of the state in those countries since the 1980s. This has enhanced the instabilities of the Asian housing market, leading to other housing issues. Taiwan, located in East Asia, is regarded as one of the typical developmental states of other Asian tiger countries. This research aims to investigate the housing movement in Taiwan, triggered by the commodification and financialization of the housing market and neoliberalized housing policy, and to provide the practice of decoding the characteristics of the movement. However, it is necessary to illustrate the background of the housing movement before describing the story.

The four Asian tigers, South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, have experienced rapid economic growth since 1970, largely due to the widespread application of the developmental state model. Leftwich (1995) identified six defining traits of the developmental state: a strong-willed development elite, autonomous state institutions controlled by the nobility, a powerful, knowledgeable, and secluded economic bureaucracy, a weak and submissive civil society, the strategic management of non-state financial interests, and a mix of occasional violent suppression of civil rights, widespread legitimacy, and rational economic planning to promote growth. In essence, the developmental state functions as an agent within the global capitalist system, utilizing various combinations of state-market interactions to respond to changing global market conditions. Castells (1988) found that in the Four Asian Tigers, Taiwan exemplified a "flexible capitalism guided by an inflexible state."

Even though Taiwan is cultivated in a developmental state in which the government plays a leading role and intervenes economically for rapid growth, the state's policy has been neoliberalized in response to the impact of globalization. The Taiwanese formed altered strategies, methods of involvement, or regulations neoliberalized to react to political, social, and economic compression.

Neoliberalism, which began as an economic, political, and social strategy, believes that free, competitive, and uncontrolled markets free of state intervention are the optimum mechanisms for economic growth (Brenner & Theodore, 2002). To compete globally, governments seek to foster a favorable political climate and provide massive infrastructure for investment, aided by public-private partnerships. Taiwan's neoliberal transformations occurred synchronously with its democratic shift at the end of the 20th century. Between 1987 and 2000, the Kuomintang (KMT), the Chinese nationalist party, privatized state-owned companies and allowed the governing party to maintain dominance over the newly privatized enterprises via ownership of shares and appointment to boards of directors (S. Y. Wang, 2020). Even though Taiwan achieved rapid economic growth through neoliberalist development, neoliberalism brought several urban crises concerning the social, political, ecological, and financial aspects of neoliberalized urban space.

1.1.2 The Taiwanese Housing Movements in Response to Housing Question

The housing crisis in Taiwan, characterized by the unaffordability of prices and the lack of access to social housing, has been a contentious issue in urban areas since the late 1980s (C.-C. Chen, 2018; Y.-L. Chen, 2020). The emergence of housing movements in Taiwan can be traced back to the establishment of the Homeless

Solidarity Alliance in 1989, which was initially supported by a group of primary school teachers (Y.-L. Chen, 2019). The movement gained momentum with the involvement of university students and faculty from the Graduate School of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University, who leveraged their expertise in spatial planning and social movement theories to lobby the government for intervention in the housing market. Their actions, including a public visit to the Ministry of the Interior and participation in televised debates, aimed to challenge the commodification of housing and assert housing as a fundamental human right, in contrast to the government's approach, which viewed housing policy as a means to financially assist people in purchasing property.

The movement was inspired by Lefebvre's concept of "the right to the city," which emphasizes the need for urban residents to participate in the use and production of urban space. This concept was employed to counteract the dominance of housing as a speculative commodity. Despite initial public interest and governmental concern, the movement's impact was short-lived, and no significant housing movements emerged for two decades. The initial momentum was lost due to a lack of grassroots foundation and the subsequent inability to sustain mass support. As a result, the Shell-less Snail Alliance transformed into three NGOs focused on rental housing policy and legal consultancy, urban affairs, and housing policy advocacy, respectively. Unfortunately, however, the Homeless Solidarity Organization, the last of these NGOs, was dismissed in the early 90s.

The resurgence of Taiwan's housing movement occurred in the late 1990s, sparked by the Asian financial crisis and the controversial housing finance policy of 1999. This

policy, rather than alleviating speculation, intensified affordability issues. During this time, the government demonstrated a preference for policies that promoted homeownership, neglecting the need for affordable rental options and social housing, thereby exacerbating the housing crisis. As Taiwan's economy restructured, leading to increased unemployment and a rise in non-regular workers, the housing movement expanded and formed new alliances with the social welfare field, resulting in the establishment of the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC) in 2010 (Y.-L. Chen, 2019).

SHAC has implemented various strategies, such as policy advocacy, legislative promotion, oversight of housing projects, and international collaboration, with the aim of engaging policymakers and the public in the incorporation of social housing into policy agendas (Y.-L. Chen, 2019). Despite facing numerous challenges, SHAC has managed to maintain its status as a key player in the housing movement, demonstrating a sustained effort to tackle the systemic issues driving Taiwan’s housing crisis. The movement’s development from its inception to its present form reflects an enduring struggle against neoliberal housing policies, advocating for the inclusion of housing rights in the constitution, the reform of property tax systems to curb speculative investment, and the expansion of public and social housing to meet the needs of a diverse population.

The housing movements in Taiwan, ranging from the Shell-less Snail Movement to the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium, exemplify an ongoing journey towards achieving housing justice, grappling with structural obstacles, and navigating political terrain to advocate for policies that recognize housing as a fundamental right rather

than a commodity. This journey elucidates the intricacies of mobilizing for housing rights amidst neoliberal policies, underscores the significance of grassroots support, and highlights the evolution of advocacy strategies to adapt to shifting socio-economic conditions. The persistent struggle for housing justice in Taiwan epitomizes the broader challenges of urban contestations, the dynamics of urban social movements, and the necessity of policy reforms to address the complex issues of affordability, accessibility, and the right to the city.

1.2 The Problem Statement

The problem to be underscored through this study is the complex relationship between urban social movements and housing question in Taiwan in neoliberal era needed to be clarified. In the academic community, research on Eastern Asian cases, particularly those related to Taiwan, has been relatively scarce. This lack of representation is particularly evident in scholarly investigations.

The existing body of literature tends to be limited in examining the intricate relationship between urban social movements and the housing question within the context of the neoliberal era in Taiwan. Additionally, within Mandarin Chinese literature, the predominant focus is often centered around discussions of housing policy and its repercussions rather than actively engaging in the reform of these policies. This study endeavors to address this significant gap by bringing attention to the complexities of urban social movements and housing issues specific to Taiwan, thereby contributing a unique perspective to the broader academic discourse on housing dynamics and activism in the Eastern Asian context.

The activism of Taiwanese civil society in the realm of housing presents a compelling narrative of people collaborating to improve their communities. A diverse array of groups, including tenant associations, urban activists, and social welfare advocates, contribute to grassroots housing movements that challenge established authority and offer an alternative viewpoint. These movements exemplify the power of individuals to influence the urban environment, question official decisions, and affect the distribution of resources. By employing Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical framework to study the strategies, alliances, and tactics of these movements, one can gain a deeper understanding of the intricate interplay between symbolic and material capital and the trajectories of housing advocacy.

This study delves into the reactions of urban social movements in Taiwan to the housing issue during the neoliberal era. Utilizing an advanced research framework, it scrutinizes the diverse tactics, advocacy, and mobilization initiatives employed by these movements both within and outside their respective communities. The examination encompasses both external factors, such as rapid urbanization exacerbating the housing problem, and internal dynamics, including the engagement of the middle class and urban professionals.

A critical aspect of the study is to evaluate the agency of each actor involved, acknowledging the distinct contributions, motivations, and impacts of individual stakeholders within the urban social movements. Moreover, the research methodically identifies and analyzes the specific housing challenges encountered at each stage of the movements' development, providing an understanding of the obstacles faced and the strategies employed to navigate them within the context of Taiwan's neoliberal

urban landscape. This approach significantly contributes to the scholarly discourse, offering insights into the intricate interplay of actors and challenges in addressing the housing question in the specific socio-political context of Taiwan.

1.3 The Research Aim and Focus

This study aims to analyze the external contextual influences and internal field dynamics of Taiwanese housing movements and mark their achievements. It utilizes Pickvance's contextual framework to examine policy shifts, economic trends, and urban development trajectories. Bourdieu's field theory investigates how stakeholders, including residents, activists, developers, and policymakers, interact, negotiate power, and compete for resources within the housing domain. This study also explores the emergence, evolution, and impact of housing movements in Taiwan, integrating insights from both frameworks to understand the role of collective action in addressing housing challenges. It provides valuable insights for policymakers, urban planners, community organizations, and other stakeholders, guiding the development of more effective, equitable, and sustainable housing policies and interventions.

In order to achieve this aim, this study offers a twofold contribution to the current discourse on the housing issue in Eastern Asian countries and the urban social movements that have been mobilized in response. Firstly, it presents an integrated analytical approach that combines Chris Pickvance's contextual analysis framework with Bourdieu's field theory. This approach can elucidate the complexity of the housing issue and housing movements in the neoliberal urban context by analyzing the broad urban space externally and the sophisticated actors and their agency internally. Secondly, the study effectively demonstrates the practical application of this

alternative approach through a case study of the housing question and the movements in response in Taiwan. The goal of this research is to provide valuable insights and perspectives on the housing question and the urban social movements that have arisen in response to it in Eastern Asian countries. The study's findings can be useful for policymakers, urban planners, and scholars who are interested in understanding the dynamics of the housing issue and the social movements that have emerged in response to it in the region. The study does not involve any changes to the citation, reference, or in-line citations, and the numbers in the text remain unchanged.

The current literature on Taiwan's housing crisis delves into the market dynamics, urban governance, environmental sustainability, and policy proposals surrounding the issue. However, it is lacking in a comprehensive analysis of civil society's response to the housing policies. This gap in research underscores the necessity for future studies to explore how civil society, including grassroots movements, NGOs, and community organizations, interact with, influence, and react to housing policies. This understanding is critical for evaluating the efficiency of proposed solutions and for formulating policies that are responsive to the needs and aspirations of Taiwan's civil society. Such research would offer invaluable insights into the dynamics of policy evolution, resistance, and modification, leading to more inclusive and effective housing strategies.

This study employs Pickvance's contextual framework and Bourdieu's sociological concepts to explore housing movements within the neoliberal urban context. By examining both internal agencies, including grassroots organizations, NGOs, and community participants, and external environmental factors, such as political,

economic, and social culture, the analysis unveils the intricate interactions of mobilization dynamics, strategy development, and impact on housing policy. The application of habitus, field, capitals, and field struggles provides a novel understanding of how housing movements navigate and are shaped by both their internal structures and the broader neoliberal landscape, emphasizing the crucial role of contextual interactions in determining movement effectiveness and outcomes.

The Taiwanese housing sector, situated within a neoliberal framework, serves as a suitable empirical case for examining the strategies employed by civil society to resist neoliberal encroachments. This context offers a unique perspective from which to analyze the mobilization, resilience, and innovative approaches utilized by civil society in challenging and mitigating market-oriented policies. By examining this case, the broader contestations and negotiations between state mechanisms and civil society aspirations can be illuminated, providing insights into the effectiveness of grassroots activism in shaping policy direction and promoting more inclusive, equitable housing solutions within the constraints of neoliberalism. Employing solely American English, adhering strictly to its spelling, specific terms, and phrases, this analysis sheds light on the Taiwanese context as an exemplary study that reflects the broader dynamics of civil society's engagement with neoliberal regimes.

1.4 The Research Objectives

The objective of this research is to explore the intricate relationships between urban social movements and housing policies in Taiwan's neoliberal context. By integrating Pickvance's contextual framework analysis and Bourdieu's field theory, this study aims to shed light on the dynamics of civil society's involvement with, and reaction to,

housing challenges. The research endeavors to enrich the scholarly discussion by presenting a fresh perspective on the processes by which grassroots activism, community organizations, and NGOs navigate and influence the neoliberal housing environment, with the ultimate goal of promoting more inclusive solutions in the face of market-oriented pressures.

Considering the essential role that housing and housing policies play in civil society and the policy arena and given that the housing movement in Taiwan has progressed through various stages over the course of three decades, it is worthwhile to investigate the Taiwanese housing movement, which is considered a strategy for combating the tsunami of neoliberalism and associated urban issues. In order to achieve the aforementioned objectives, the following research questions have been established:

1. What are the key factors, and who are the critical roles of the housing question in Taiwan?
2. According to Pickvance's contextual framework, how does the external neoliberalized urban context influence housing policies and housing movements in Taiwan?
3. According to Bourdieu's field theory and related core concepts, including habitus, capitals, and struggles, how do the internal dynamics of housing movements mobilize, sustain, and attempt to reform housing policies with their evolving strategies?
4. What is the effectiveness of the Taiwanese housing movements?

To respond to the research questions above, Pickvance's contextual framework (C. Pickvance, 1985) and Bourdieu's field theory (Bourdieu, 1977) are primarily applied

to this research. In-depth interviews are also employed to testify to the corresponding literature and closely examine these skilled social actors.

1.5 The Research Structure

This introductory chapter discloses background information on housing issues in Taiwan and the research gap in social movement studies. The research questions provide a novel perspective on the Taiwanese housing movement, which this study aims to answer.

Chapter 2 of the current study delves into a thorough examination of concepts related to social movements, focusing on the significance of emerging social movements, social capital, and framing techniques. The paradigm presented in this research offers a comprehensive approach to studying housing movements and addressing various complex issues. Analyzing social movement concepts will provide insights into the evolution of collective action conceptions throughout history. Moreover, investigating social capital and framing techniques will help clarify how housing movements garner support and influence the public discourse.

Chapter 3 introduces the theoretical foundations that form the basis of the analytical method employed in this research. This includes a discussion of Pickvance's views on urban social movements, an examination of the contextual analysis framework, and an exploration of Bourdieu's fundamental principles. This hybrid analytical framework is valuable for understanding the complex interplay between external and internal forces that influence housing movements in Taiwan.

Chapter 4 offers a birds-eye view of the methodological framework, which serves as

the cornerstone of the empirical research presented in this study. This framework comprises various techniques, including exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory methods. Integrating qualitative and quantitative methodologies affords a holistic perspective commensurate with the intricate nature of housing matters and movements.

Chapter 5 investigates Taiwan's political, social, and civil contexts, highlighting persistent housing issues. This inquiry includes an examination of housing policies and the emergence of housing movements in Taiwan's contemporary setting.

Chapter 6 explores the Taiwanese housing policies and housing question in three dimensions: the home-buying market, the rental house market, and social rental housing provided by the state. In response to this inequitable housing landscape, which is profoundly influenced by neoliberalism trajectory, the Taiwanese housing movements are crucial to understanding the civil force attempting to reform and request for a more inclusive housing policies by applying advocacy as the activism strategy, decreasing the housing disparities in Taiwan.

Chapter 7 delves into the analytical phase by analyzing the external variables that influence housing movements in Taiwan. This chapter uses Pickvance's contextual analysis methodology to investigate the intersections of these elements, providing valuable insights into how external pressures combine to create housing inequities and stimulate grassroots movements.

Chapter 8 examines the internal dynamics within housing movements in Taiwan by utilizing Bourdieu's theoretical framework to investigate the power structures, social interactions, and the accumulation of symbolic capital within the Taiwanese housing

sector.

The final chapter summarizes the research and offers a thorough understanding of Taiwan's housing issues and social movements. Furthermore, it suggests possible areas for further exploration and underscores the potential positive impacts on society.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Social Movements

A social movement is a collective, organized, sustained, and extra-institutional challenge for authorities and power holders. It occurs when a sense of discontent grows, and institutions that are not sufficiently adaptable cannot react (Della Porta & Diani, 2020). In response, groups dissatisfied with the system collectively assemble and use resources to change the situation. There are five main trends in the current social movement studies: collective behavior, resource mobilization theory, political process theory, new social movements theory, and urban social movements theory. The first three are popular in the United States, and new social movements theory is gaining popularity in Europe. In this research, urban social movements theory is the primarily applied theory, which explores the context of the movements against the conflicts of urban affairs, such as housing and environmental protection.

Before the 1960s, the social movement field traditionally centered the social problem by locating individual engagement, such as mass society theory and the comparative sense of deprivation. The emergence of Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) noted the connections between physical actions and organized efforts, the logical thinking of individuals involved in movements, the challenges that movements face in achieving their goals, and the ways in which movements serve as agents for transforming society

(J. C. Jenkins, 1983).

Charles Tilly (1978), who is iconic in Political Process Theory (PPT), proposed the primary analytical dimensions of social movements are the groups and organizations that make up a collective action, the events that are part of the action repertoire, and the ideas that unify groups and guide their protests. The political opportunity structure shows the political landscape and whether the social movement could achieve its goal if mobilized. It emphasizes the significance of mobilizing structures, which serve as collective instruments through which people organize and begin to participate in continuous collective action (McAdam, 2017), such as social movement organizations and communication networks.

New Social Movements theory (NSM) has been gaining popularity in Europe since the early 1970s. The rise of NSM theory is seen as a reaction to the constraints of classical Marxism and the prevailing RMT and PPT paradigms, which originated in the United States (Buechler, 1995). Drawing from European social thought and political philosophy, NSM theory changes the analytical focus to the symbolic, identity, and cultural aspects of social movements, stressing their role in challenging and transforming societal norms and values beyond traditional class conflicts (Buechler, 1995).

Urban Social Movement theory (USM) has been frequently applied by Pickvance and Manuel Castells (Manuel Castells, 1978, 1983a, 2018; C. Pickvance, 1975, 1985, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1999, 2003). Castells classifies organized social unrest, uprisings, pressure groups, and oppositional fronts as USMs, which assert political power and participation using Louis Althusser's structuralism.

All the social movement theories mentioned above are expanded in the following section by introducing the definitions of social movements according to every theory and their research achievements. However, the criticisms and insufficiencies are also presented to highlight the research gaps in the current empirical application, which gives the research niche and necessity to this study.

2.1.1 Resource Mobilization Theory

Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT) is proposed as a modified theory of Collective Behavior Theory, which assumes a close link between the frustrations or grievances of a collectivity of actors and the growth and decline of movement activity" (Zald & McCarthy, 1989). The Collective Behavior Theory posits that movements involve people intensifying grievances or deprivation. According to this approach, social movements (SMs) directly result from resentment arising from structural tensions, accompanied by universal beliefs about the roots and possible answers to these frustrations. McCarthy and Zald proposed RMT, which concentrates on the rational individual, putting early versions of resource mobilization in diametrical opposition to collective behavior approaches. In RMT, SM actors actively make intentional choices regarding the advantages and disadvantages of movement engagement. Therefore, mobilization can be conceptualized and analyzed as the product of realistic, methodological, and functional processes, which is the Resource Mobilization model attempts.

According to the RMT, the organizational processes of SMs function in mobilizing resources. One of RMT's most important contributions to the field of SM study is that movements need help if they are to become movements at all. Under the collective

behavior approach, theorists seek to comprehend why collective grievances are cultivated, assuming no logical complexities in the translation between emotion and joint mobilization. On the contrary, "[r]esearch from the resource mobilization perspective finds people's shared grievances, interests, and aspirations considerably less problematic than their capacity to act on them collectively" (Fireman & Gamson, 1977). The crucial element of RMT is how movements develop and sustain themselves.

To explain how movements inspire rational individuals to work for collective goods, McCarthy and Zald (1989) proposed an inclusive set of analytical classifications beneficial to understanding mobilization processes, the most significant of which is the social movement organization. They viewed SM as a collection of ideas and beliefs held by a population that expresses desires to alter certain aspects of a society's social structure, wealth distribution, or both. A social movement organization is a sophisticated or formal organization that aligns its objectives with the social movement's preferences and works to achieve these goals.

SMO is imperative because it captures the fundamental technical and organizational work movements that must be achieved to persuade rational actors to engage in SMs. SMOs implement the decisive mission of mobilizing inducements that make involvement available and of further mobilizing resources such as technical proficiency, lobby influence, media, and capital that make SMs achievable. In other words, SMO is at the core of social movement research as it functions as the heart of collective action in the RMT pattern, employing primary resources.

SMOs are likely to collect one or more of the following three broad strategies: public education, which entails attempting to bring social circumstances to a wide audience;

direct support to victims of social conditions defined as unacceptable by the movement's figurehead and adherents; and structural change, which entails attempting to alter legislation, governments, and regime (McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996).

Despite RMT's negligence of several critical factors in social movements, Piven and Cloward (1995) argue that it normalizes protests, which may lead to an underestimation of the distinctions between organized and spontaneous forms of collective action. Buechler (1993) delves deeper into the limitations of RMT, contending that it overlooks the importance of collective identity, movement diversity, and the cultural and symbolic dimensions of social movements. He also emphasizes that RMT focuses too heavily on formal organizational structures at the expense of informal networks and social movement communities, as well as neglecting both macro and micro-level factors.

2.1.2 Political Opportunity Theory

Political opportunities are structural factors that affect the actions and outcomes of social movements but are external to them. Tarrow (1992) identifies channels of access to political decision-making, the availability of political allies to challenge groups, the stability of political alignments and institutions, and division among political elites as joint political opportunities. When these factors are available, they create openings that enable challengers' demands to be heard. When these factors are absent, mobilization is constrained, and opponents may be forced underground into submerged networks or abeyance structures, where innovative frames are often elaborated.

Political opportunities can be considered as variables that shape how challenging

groups perceive the likelihood of success. In practice, political opportunities differ depending on the scope of the research. For example, in analyses of contentious politics in a single nation-state, political opportunities are dynamic, referring to "changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations" (McAdam, McCarthy, & Zald, 1988).

However, political opportunities are more static, referring to "differences in the political characteristics of the nation-states" in which the movements occur (McAdam et al., 1988). Variations in the latter conception occur across space rather than time. Most discussions on the relationship between political opportunity and framing processes take the former perspective, focusing on the relationship between changes in institutional structures and informal power relations in the state and society as movements develop over time.

Meyer and Minkoff (2004) and Giugni (2011) address the limitations of the political opportunity structure. They argue that it is too broad and encompasses every aspect of the social movement environment without clear boundaries or operational definitions. This broad application of political opportunity can confuse researchers due to varying interpretations and a lack of clarity in its definition.

2.1.3 Political Process Theory

Tilly and McAdam are the primary scholars of the political process model, which shares an introductory discourse on SM activity's rationality and organizational foundation. Political Process Theory (PPT) emphasizes the relationship between movements and institutions and concentrates on political opportunities as the most

imperative resource for movement action. Like RMT, PPT alters the highlighting of the SM study from common grievances to the organizational motion of mobilization itself.

The political process method is effective in refocusing attention on connections between new and established players, as well as on links between less traditional modes of action and institutionalized interest demonstration structures (Della Porta & Diani, 2020). According to Tilly (1978), SM is a persistent challenge to state authorities in the name of a population with little official force on the state. Taking his perspective from history, he enters a state of collective action and believes that reviewing history is beneficial for creating more suitable models of power conflicts. Therefore, to conduct social movements successfully, participants should penetrate and become involved in the state's political opportunity structure.

However, McAdam's political process model for investigating SM is more inclusive and depends less on history than Tilly's theory. According to McAdam, SM should be understood as a political rather than a psychological phenomenon. In other words, the elements coining institutionalized political processes are of equivalent logical utility in accounting for social insurgency. Furthermore, a movement demonstrates a continuous process, from origination to diminishing, instead of unconnected developmental phrases. Therefore, any complete model of social insurgency should provide the researcher with a framework for analyzing the entire process of movement development instead of a single episode. In other words, since SMs originate and are functional in the same political context, which creates and nurtures political institutions, institutions should also receive abundant analytical attention.

However, Goodwin and Jasper (1999) argue that PPT has a strong structural bias, as it places undue importance on structures rather than agency, culture, and strategy. This bias results in an excessive focus on stable, institutional factors in explaining social movements, while overlooking the dynamic and active choices made by movement actors and the cultural context in which they operate. To address this, they propose a more comprehensive understanding of culture that includes traditions, idioms, rituals, and collective identities as essential in shaping social movements.

2.1.4 New Social Movements

The concept of new social movements (NSMs) appeared in the 1980s in Europe to explain social movements that have occurred since the 1960s (Buechler, 2022; Melucci, 1980). In contrast to the "old" social movements, which were labor-class movements under the Marxist framework to challenge the high bourgeoisie class, new social movements were mobilized based on the issues of gender, human rights, sexuality, ethnicity, and other values. Habermas (1981) provided a broader concept of new social movements: social reproduction, socialization, and social integration, which are included in the contemporary struggles of new social movements. He also mentions that new members and politicians have younger individuals, a new middle class, and a better education.

According to Offe (1985), the NSM theory concerns topics, ideals, modalities of action, and actors. Offe (1985) suggests difficulties may include living situations, identity, culture, health, or ethnicity. Autonomy and individuality are the components of this ideal. Members can exercise autonomy within the organization, including decentralization, self-government, and self-help, while fighting bureaucracy, control,

and reliance. Actions may be both internal and external. Individuals collaborate with the internal method of action, but the organization outwardly rejects politicians or the outside world. Instead of concentrating on socioeconomic or political ties, the participants were concerned with problems.

Melucci (1985, 1995) points out that the characteristics of new social movements are solidarity, conflict, self-realization, autonomy, visibility, collective action, and identity. In collective action, these individuals convey a message about relational and symbolic patterns to the public, establishing a new language and objective (Melucci, 1995). New social movements are evolving away from political structures and toward a network of social life and political advancement.

Despite the NSM theory, which consists of diverse variations, it is a significant method for researching social movements (Buechler, 2013). Buechler (2013) distinguishes eight prominent points that can be observed in most of the new social movement theories. First, they describe a particular social structure that facilitates the creation of collective action. Second, they replied directly to post-industrialism, late modernity, advanced capitalism, and postmodernism. Third, according to some observers, these movements are anchored in a portion of the emerging middle class, which leads to a fourth issue regarding the importance of collective identity. During the decoupling of activism from the class structure and the fluidity and plurality of identities in late modernity, their capacity to create an identity in the first place became more dependent on their ability to do so. The fifth theme is the politicization of daily life, as the distinction between the individual and communal blurs, and once private and personal areas of social life become political. Sixth, although some have claimed that the sheer

diversity of values and ideas is the distinguishing characteristic of such activities, others have emphasized the relevance of postmaterialist principles. Instead of desiring power, control, or economic gain, post-materialist groups tend to want autonomy and democracy. In addition to traditional political methods, the seventh theme focuses on culturally symbolic forms of resistance (Cohen, 1985). Finally, there is a penchant for decentralized, egalitarian, participative, prefigurative, and ad hoc organizational structures (Melucci, 1980).

On the other hand, The NSM theory has been subject to critical review, which has highlighted its shortcomings in effectively tackling class dynamics and economic conditions within the context of social movements (Weir, 1993). Barker and Dale (1998) argue that the theory neglects the persistent significance of class and economic factors. Additionally, Philion (1998) aims to reconcile NSM theory with class analysis, criticizing the theory's disconnection from class issues, and proposes an alternative framework to account for the intricacy and diversity of social movements (Buechler, 1995; Philion, 1998; Vahabzadeh, 2001).

2.1.5 Urban Social Movements

Urban social movements (USMs) are a distinct subset of new social movements due to their non-class foundation, activities outside the realm of production, and participatory culture (Fainstein & Hirst, 1995). These movements typically challenge the state’s role in perpetuating an unequal distribution of power and resources, and they are more politically charged than formations centered on feminism or cultural radicalism, which Touraine (1981) identified as the most illustrative examples of movement occurrences in post-industrial societies. However, these objectives extend

beyond specific policy concessions. Manuel Castells (1983b) characterized the aim of USMs as altering the urban sense, which implies dismantling the material and social hierarchies that structure urban life and creating a city based on use values, local cultures, and decentralized participatory democracy.

Castells (1983) defines USMs by applying the four characters below.

1. To convert urban interpretation to the maximum capabilities of its political and cultural consequences, a USM should express the three objectives of collective consumer demand, community culture, and political autonomy.
2. They should be aware of its function as a social movement in the city.
3. It must be linked to society via various management carriers, notably media, experts, and political groups.
4. USMs must be tied to the political system to accomplish their objectives, but they must also be organizationally and intellectually independent of any political party.

Owing to Castells' study in the 1970s, USMs have undergone significant transformations. According to Pickvance (1995), several factors, including regime changes and interactions between parties, USMs, and state duties, have contributed to the evolution of USMs. Mayer (2000) suggests that new competitive formations and urban growth have driven the evolution of USMs, loss of conventional welfare entitlements, and transition from government to governance.

During recent discussions, the exploration of USM theory has been more extensive

and comprehensive. Mitlin (2018) delves into USMs employing strategies beyond conventional protest, such as policy advocacy and collaboration with local governments to bring about systemic changes in urban governance and society. Domaradzka (2018) focuses on the engagement of USMs with Lefebvre's concept of the right to the city, demonstrating movements' efforts to assert and enact rights to urban spaces, which directly impacts urban policy and the democratization of urban space. Bradlow (2024) investigates the interactions between USMs and local governmental capacities, analyzing how local states' administrative, financial, and political capabilities shape the effectiveness of these movements. Domaradzka and Hamel (2024) present a comprehensive framework for understanding the diverse themes, methodologies, and impacts of USMs worldwide, emphasizing their crucial role in urban development, social justice, and environmental concerns. These recent research studies indicate that the USMs concept is increasingly being applied in contemporary times, ranging from mobilizing around spatial rights and engaging in policy reform to navigating the complexity of local governance for urban transformation.

In this study, the term "urban social movements" more effectively captures the essence of Taiwanese housing movements due to their particular focus on issues related to urban settings. These movements directly confront the challenges that are unique to cities, such as housing affordability, accessible housing, and the right to the city. Their activism is deeply rooted in urban contexts, as they engage explicitly with urban policies and governance to advocate for transformative changes in housing policy, the implementation of social housing projects, and reforms to address the urban housing crisis. This active engagement with urban-specific policies and practices, combined

with their commitment to addressing the structural contradictions within urban systems, further strengthens their identity as urban social movements.

The Taiwanese housing movements highlight the importance of urban public spaces, community development, and fostering social connections in urban life. These elements are crucial to the urban social movements' broader concept. The movements' objectives, such as driving inclusive and equitable urban development and shaping future urban areas, show their impact on the urban landscape. By advocating for affordable and social housing policies, these movements seek to create a more inclusive urban living environment for all residents. Their concentration on urban concerns and their capacity to influence urban policy and discourse place them firmly within the realm of urban social movements, making this term the more suitable descriptor for their activities and aims.

2.2 Social Capital

Social capital research has received little attention in the SM field. One of the primary reasons for its underutilization is the difficulty of measuring social capital and the absence of a standardized definition. Social capital can be broadly defined as connections marked by trust and reciprocity that can be used to accomplish collective and personal objectives. Putnam (2020) believes that the core belief of social capital is that social networks contain value, which is described as shared resources and concepts that can be employed for the advantage of both sides.

Coleman (1988) identifies two dimensions of social capital indicative of interpersonal and group relationships: obligations, expectations, and information conduits. People

and organizations establish reciprocal relationships as individuals in the network of trade resources. The duty to reciprocate between two or more actors is heightened when players are embedded in a dense network, where links between people often overlap via reciprocal shared ties.

Additionally, social capital enables the creation and preservation of information channels, which allows people and organizations to exchange resources that benefit all network participants (Coleman, 1988). Information on local events, current events, new fields of study, etc. may be shared through networks of trustworthy people or groups. Maintaining these connections to knowledgeable people keeps people updated about subjects they would not explore independently, since they do not always choose to get news through other channels, such as the Internet. In other words, information networks and their benefits are indicators of existing social capital since they are often a consequence of social capital. Access to knowledge and resources motivates individuals to act toward organizational goals, reflecting the critical nature of social movement organizations.

From a network perspective, social capital can be classified as bonding or bridging. Social capital possesses a strong connection that is usually emotionally intense, exchanging relationships within a particular cluster, such as kinship and class. In most cases, networks with bonding social capital are comparatively closed, and members are tightly linked to each other (Putnam, 2001). On the bright side, bounding social capital enables members to implement reciprocity and mobilize collective action. In addition, this type of relationship can prevent emergency accidents that occur in members from every aspect. Through this frequent communication, the cultures are

alike, have identical socioeconomic backgrounds, shared values, and more, and there is a chance for solid, bonding links to organize, usually observed in the local community. For Instance, people living in the same neighborhood tend to help each other, as they might also need help one day. Repeated community interactions strengthen the foundation of social capital. Some disadvantages include bonding social capital and the fact that members are less successful in reaching further interaction outside of the network to attain new opportunities and resources because it is a comparatively closed web.

Portes (1998) suggests four possible disadvantages of bonding social capital. This type of network can prevent strangers from joining the network because they are unreliable for existing network members. Moreover, connecting social capital can foster excessive limitations on memberships that cost time or money to take part in. In addition, the self-determination of a single member can be constrained due to network regulations, and the member has no choice but to obey them to maintain membership. Finally, a discrimination classification of norms may occur when a member reveals their educational or occupational background to the network. Accordingly, norms can restrict the enhancement of the social status of group members and prevent novelty from stimulating the group and making connections with other organizations. Finally, the participants in the group preferred to stay in the same circle rather than jump out from it and approach new opportunities.

In contrast, bridging social capital links people or groups from diverse backgrounds and displays how social capital accelerates opportunity achievement. Unlike bonding social capital, which consists of members with shared resources, bridging social capital

is essential for attaining broader resources and enabling knowledge circulation among various groups. Even though compared to bonding social capital, the ties of bridging social capital tend to be weaker, it is more accessible for newcomers to join the existing social networks and more possible for SMOs that focus on different issues to collaborate for a higher level of mutual benefit when it comes to SM.

However, Putnam is not the only scholar applying the term social capital. Bourdieu proposes four types of capital, and social capital is one of them. Nonetheless, Bourdieu's concept of social capital is not identical to what Putnam promoted. Both Putnam and Bourdieu emphasize the importance of social networks and shared norms in fostering collective action, yet they differ significantly in their practical applications.

According to Putnam, social capital is a collective asset crucial for promoting societal cohesion, coordination, and cooperation. Trust, norms, and networks play a significant role in this regard. Social capital is also applied to understand the importance of civic engagement and community organizations in fostering democracy and economic success.

Bourdieu's concept of social capital is built upon a critical theory framework that highlights the power dynamics and inequality within society (Bourdieu, 1986). He characterizes social capital as the accumulation of resources that an individual or group acquires through a durable network of mutual acquaintance and recognition (Bourdieu, 1986). This perspective enables a more in-depth examination of how marginalized groups utilize social networks and cultural capital to challenge and negotiate power structures in urban contexts. Thus, Bourdieu's approach is better suited for analyzing USMs. In this study, Bourdieu's theory and the application of his theoretical approach

are comprehensively explored in chapters three and seven.

2.3 Framing Approach and Social Movements

Gregory Bateson introduced the term “framing” to sociologists and political scientists who research social movements and employ it in various fields of study today, including linguistics, social psychology, media studies, and policy studies (Benford, 1997). A frame is an explanatory structure that summarizes and solidifies the “outside world” by deliberately punctuating and encoding objects, circumstances, activities, and events (D. Snow & Benford, 1988; D. A. Snow, Rochford, Worden, & Benford, 1986). Goffman introduced the idea into sociology to understand the micro-sociology of daily encounters and communication activities. Social movement academics were attracted to this notion because they shed light on the many types of interpretations intrinsic to social movement dynamics (Goffman, 1974, 1981).

Early in the 1980s, the main theories of social movements were anchored to organizational theory and decision-making models that emphasized the cost-benefit calculations of individuals (William A. Gamson, 1992). By explaining these procedures at the core of spontaneous collective action, some scholars (William A. Gamson, Fireman, & Rytina, 1982) made it feasible to revive the social psychology of collective action, which had gone out of favor under previous theoretical forms and manifestations. Throughout subsequent years, some social movement academics followed Gamson’s example and articulated a comprehensive critique of social movement theories as too structural and unable to account for the diverse types of meaning work engaged in social movement processes (Tarrow, 1992). Meanwhile, David Snow and his colleagues advanced the research on framing processes by

extending the core notions of framing viewpoints: frame alignment, frame resonance, and master frames (D. Snow & Benford, 1988; D. A. Snow et al., 1986). Investigating framing processes was generally accepted as one of the most essential methods for comprehending social movements in the 1990s (Benford & Snow, 2000; McCarthy & Wolfson, 1996).

Snow and his colleagues devote most of their effort to the link between social movement entrepreneurs and their prospective constituents. They discuss (1) how social movement entrepreneurs connect movement frames with those of potential members, (2) changes in a frame's mobilizing potential, and (3) the clustering of social movements based on general frames. This groundbreaking research has the practical consequence of shifting the focus of framing analysis from how frames influence the negotiation of meaning by potential movement members to the strategic activities of social movement entrepreneurs (Tarrow, 1998).

2.3.1 The Core Concepts of Framing Approach

At its most basic level, a frame identifies a social or political problem, the parties responsible for causing pain, and a solution. Most studies of framing processes, however, begin not with this basic conceptualization of a frame, but with Snow and Benford's identification of the core functions of a collective action frame, namely, what frames must do. Collective action frames offer strategic interpretations of issues to mobilize people to act. Snow and Benford (D. Snow & Benford, 1988) identify the three basic framing tasks as diagnostic, prognostic, and motivational. Diagnostic framing presents potential recruits with new interpretations of issues or events. Like a medical diagnosis, it tells us what is wrong and why. Prognostic framing offers a

solution to the problems suggested in the diagnosis. Motivational framing attempts to give people a reason to join collective action, namely, that the problem defined in the diagnosis and the solution in the prognosis are usually insufficient to get people to act.

Focusing on how people negotiate meaning, Gamson (1990) offers an alternative list of the essential components of a collective action frame: identity, agency, and injustice. The identity component specifies an aggrieved group with shared interests and values. It identifies the "we" and the "them." The agency component recognizes that the grievous conditions defining the "we" and the "them" can be changed, which encourages those in the "we" to become agents of their history. The injustice component places the blame for the grievances on the individuals or institutions that compose the "them" and sparks members of the "we" to respond.

The significant difference between these alternative conceptions of collective action frames concerns the role of injustice in mobilization. Gamson argues that collective action frames contain an injustice component, namely that something is wrong and should be changed. While acknowledging that injustice frames are ubiquitous in political and economic movements, Benford and Snow (Benford & Snow, 2000) observed that injustice frames are not found in all collective action frames, pointing to religious and self-help movements as examples. Otherwise, the overlap between these approaches is substantial enough to consider the two sides of the same mobilization coin. Snow and Benford explain the work of frames in the mobilization process from the perspective of social movements and Gamson from the perspective of potential participants. Moreover, there is considerable overlap between Gamson's conception of a frame and Snow and Benford's conception of a collective action frame if the

identification of responsible parties in Gamson's schema is collapsed into the diagnosis of the problem and a requirement that the schema motivates people to action is added, and they are almost identical.

2.3.2 The Construction of Collective Action Frames

There are two approaches for responding to the construction of collective action frames. First, if we accept that framing may be deliberate, the question can be answered by studying who constructs the structures (Tarrow, 1998). Even though framing processes are "active, ongoing, and continuously evolving" (D. A. Snow & Oliver, 1995) and no individual or group has complete control over the process, social movement organizations play a prominent part in building collective action frames. Second, frames are created from a multicultural nature and have particular features. We may explain the components of an interpretative schema, that is, the elements that makeup frames. Movements must construct interpretative packages that explain various problems in relatively restricted terms, accentuate concerns, and disregard others to justify their activities and encourage members. The procedure for creating these bundles is historically unique, although there are parallels in the materials used throughout the movements.

Collective action frameworks are seldom constructed from scratch. However, to maximize the intelligibility of the frames to prospective constituents, movement organizations create them using the cultural symbols and themes of the target recipient (D. Snow & Benford, 1988). As Swidler (1986) suggests, culture may be compared to a collection of skills that a person takes. Typical components of a skill set are significant to a person's social experiences. People employ cultural elements to

construct action strategies that govern their decisions and activities.

Social movement organizations also used this collection. They look for methods to match their collective action frameworks with different components of the cultural capital of their target recipients or to connect new or controversial ideas with pre-existing topics or virtues in cultural capital (D. A. Snow et al., 1986). Framing processes, however, are not simply fishing expeditions in which social movement entrepreneurs seek to hook potential participants with whatever frame mobilizes the most people. Nevertheless, framing processes are not just "fishing expeditions, in which social movement leaders attempt to snare prospective members with the most mobilizing frame. Even though the press sometimes depicts political activists as professional troublemakers who would protest anything, most social movements strive to rectify grievances or achieve policy objectives rather than participate in collective action as an end. Leaders of social movements must combine their appeal to popular culture and understand regional heterogeneity in norms and values with the group's aims and principles. In addition to having a recognizable ring, collective action frames must motivate individuals to engage in collective actions. Because popular culture mainly consists of perceptions of circumstances synchronized to favor the existing quo, a structure that incorporates too much of the popular toolkit loses its oppositional edge and does not motivate collective action (Tarrow, 1998).

With these allowances, social movement leaders usually take framing devices from two broad sources: preceding or ongoing social movements, and the symbolism of the dominant group. Leaders of social movements often use tried-and-true frameworks from one or more current or prior movements, which gradually adapt to their

distinctive cultural contexts (Mooney & Hunt, 1996). Consequently, certain groups might frame their allegations of discrimination and demand for equality regarding well-known prognoses and diagnoses, such as the denial of constitutionally given rights and a mix of public protests and legislative measures. This raises the possibility that they would resonate with prospective constituents and the public.

Additionally, Valocchi believes that effective framing identifies compelling cultural symbols that appeal to prospective constituents and inspire them to take collective action (Valocchi, 2014). The link between a joint action frame, the aggregated community that is the object of mobilization efforts, and the larger culture is described as frame resonance. A collective action framework resonates if prospective constituents find their interpretation and articulation of complaints persuasive. They are more likely to do so if the frame is expressed by cultural symbols that they see as natural and familiar (William A. Gamson, 1992). However, repackaging the existing political culture to represent the grievances of potential constituents is fraught with potential missteps (William A. Gamson, 1992).

As with other crucial elements of framing processes, Gamson and Snow created differing viewpoints on frame resonance and stress of various characteristics. Gamson (1992) emphasizes the political awareness of the audience, describing how people and organizations use direct experiences, the conventional knowledge of their communities, and news reporting to make sense of the many frames they confront. Potential constituencies are most likely to be mobilized by frameworks that resonate with all three resources. Instead, Snow and Benford (D. Snow & Benford, 1992) concentrated on tactical decisions made by movement leaders and target-specific frame features.

Movement leaders are crucial to frame resonance. They point out six factors that affect frame resonance: frame consistency, empirical credibility, the credibility of the frame's promoters, experiential commensurability, centrality, and narrative fidelity.

Frame consistency indicates that resonant frames are rationally compatible in many dimensions, such as tactics, diagnosis, prognosis, fundamental values, and ideologies. The empirical credibility of a movement lies in its compatibility with the worldview of its intended audience. It seems reasonable that credible and compelling speakers would increase the resonance of the frame described by credible and persuasive speakers. Experiential commensurability refers to a frame's unity with a target's daily experience. Centrality refers to the significance of the fundamental principles and beliefs defined by the movement framework to the life of a target. Finally, narrative integrity indicates that resonating frames tend to mesh, draw from, and synchronize with the dominant culture of the target, as well as its tales, myths, and fundamental beliefs.

2.3.2.1 Applying Framing to the Taiwanese Housing Movements

The concept of framing is crucial in the process of analyzing how the public discourse of the Taiwanese housing movements contour. Framing plays a critical role in constructing a particular narrative or interpretation of the housing crisis, which can resonate with the public's experiences, values, and beliefs, thereby facilitating greater engagement and support for the movement. In the context of Taiwan, where rapid urban development, gentrification, and displacement have become pressing issues, how housing movements frame these issues can determine their ability to galvanize public support, draw attention to the plight of affected communities, and pressure

authorities for policy changes.

By adopting a public discourse framing that emphasizes the social injustice and inequalities inherent in the housing market, Taiwanese housing movements can effectively garner support. The strategic framing resonates with a broad spectrum of society, enabling the movements to mobilize not just those directly affected by housing issues but also a wider audience that may share concerns about social equity, community sustainability, and democratic governance.

Reframing the housing issue in public discourse allows social movements to challenge dominant narratives propagated by the government or private developers, which often prioritize economic development over social needs. By shifting the focus from purely economic considerations to human rights, social justice, and the right to the city, housing movements can mobilize support from the public and other civil society organizations, creating a coalition that can exert significant pressure on policymakers to adopt more equitable housing policies. This strategic use of framing in public discourse is a key tool for Taiwanese housing movements to advocate for systemic change and ensure that housing policies reflect the needs and rights of all citizens, particularly the most vulnerable.

CHAPTER 3

AN ALTERNATIVE APPROACH TO SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

3.1 Introduction

Previous chapters have presented fundamental theories on social movement, resource mobilization, and political opportunities. However, the research gaps in theory discourse mentioned in the previous chapter prevent researchers from relying solely on fundamental theories to comprehensively understand social movements.

There are gaps in the existing theories of resource mobilization and political opportunity that require further research to understand the dynamics of resource interactions, the creation of new resources, cultural dimensions, and their impact on outcomes. Resource mobilization theory should examine resource relationships, analyze new resources, and explore their implications for social movement outcomes (Buechler, 1993; Meyer & Minkoff, 2004). Political opportunity theory should examine informal structures, the interactions between opportunities, cultural influences, and the mechanisms linking opportunities to outcomes (Angelopoulos, Canhilal, & Hawkins, 2023).

Consequently, this study proposes an alternative approach to social movements that integrates Pickvance's contextual framework analysis for urban social movements and Bourdieu's core concepts related to field theory. Before offering this synthetic

analytical framework, Pickvance's and Bourdieu's core concepts are introduced individually in order to explore the nature of their perspectives. Subsequently, the convergence of these two theories is presented to prove that it is possible to combine them theoretically. Finally, an integrated analytical framework was proposed to shed light on social movement studies.

3.2 Chris Pickvance's Approach to Urban Social Movements

Chris Pickvance[1], an influential British urban sociologist, with the publication of "Urban Sociology: Critical Essays' in 1976 facilitated the introduction of French Marxist urban theory to English-speaking audiences, thus stimulating a subsequent surge of scholarly investigations in urban studies. Pickvance undertook significant comparative studies of various subjects in post-socialist contexts, including housing, social movements, environmental legislation, and cities. His research mostly centered on urban social movements, housing concerns, comparative urban research techniques, environmental regulation, Eastern European towns in the post-socialist era, and issues related to deprivation. His contributions were crucial in redirecting urban studies to contemporary global society. In the following section, Pickvance's theories of urban social movements are thoroughly explored for further research framework.

3.2.1 Urban Social Movements

Pickvance emphasizes that research on urban and social movements has diverted into different routes (C. G. Pickvance, 1985, 1986, 2003). Urban social movement researchers (Brenner, Marcuse, & Mayer, 2012; Manuel Castells & Sheridan, 1977;

[1] He contributed to the formation of the contemporary global urban studies community through his involvement with IJURR, RC21, and the publication series Studies in Urban and Social Change.

Harvey, 2009; Lefebvre, 2003) have placed a strong emphasis on the characterization of urban conflict and the identification of macro-trends that alter urban areas.

Brenner, Marcuse, and Mayer focus on the transformation of urban spaces and the role of social movements in contesting neoliberal urban changes, emphasizing equitable urban development (Brenner et al., 2012). Castells and Sheridan's foundational work in urban sociology, particularly "The Urban Question," uses a Marxist lens to analyze how social, economic, and political forces shape and contest urban environments (Manuel Castells & Sheridan, 1977). David Harvey, in his 2009 publication, critiques neoliberal urban planning and policies, exploring the concept of the right to the city and the interplay between capitalism, spatiality, and urbanization (Harvey, 2009). Lefebvre's posthumous publications or translations continue to influence his ideas on the production of space and the right to the city, advocating for a participatory urban experience against the commodification of space (Lefebvre, 2003).

In contrast, very few attempts have been made to uncover the mechanisms that link local political processes with urban mobilization dynamics (Andretta, Piazza, & Subirats, 2015). In analyzing how the politics of place create common collective identities (Della Porta & Piazza, 2008), how social movements strategically approach and produce space, and how transnational social movement networks affect local organizations, the literature on social movements has addressed the concept of space (Diani & McAdam, 2003)

Pickvance also fills the gap between social movement theory and urban sociology with the term "urban social movements" he promotes(Andretta et al., 2015). He emphasizes the need to study the concrete and specific outcomes of such urban movements and

how they change people's lives; the relationship between the state, local authorities, and urban protests; and the political context in which such movements develop, noting that they do not arise from spontaneous answers to objective inequalities or deprivations but are easily formed under certain social and political conditions (C. G. Pickvance, 2003).

According to Pickvance, urban social movements may be characterized as collective endeavors around urban spaces and service issues. These movements can be categorized into three primary types: movements focused on housing, services, infrastructure, local control and management, and movements aimed at safeguarding neighborhoods and housing. These movements are associated with many conceptualizations of urbanity, including the communal utilization of facilities, engagement in local political activities, and the significance of geographical closeness and community bonds.

3.2.2 Four Types of Urban Social Movements

According to Pickvance's typology, urban social movements can be classified into four distinct categories (Table 3.1) (C. G. Pickvance, 1985). These categories include movements that aim to secure and enhance housing and urban services, and movements focused on exerting control and management, and movements dedicated to safeguarding housing and neighborhood interests. These movements are associated with three diverse conceptualizations of urban areas: social consumption, local political activity, and physical proximity. The influence of contextual factors such as urbanization, state intervention, political environment, middle-class growth, and economic and social circumstances varies across different movements(C. G.

Pickvance, 1975).

Table 3.1 Pickvance's typology of urban social movements

Category	*Goal*
Type 1	Movements regarding the provision of housing and urban services
Type 2	Movements over access to housing and urban services
Type 3	Movements regarding control and management
Type 4	Defensive movements against physical threats

Source: (Pickvance, 1985)

The objectives of movements advocating for the provision and accessibility of housing and urban services encompass the influence of collective services, such as housing, transportation, healthcare, and education. Simultaneously, these movements strive for enhanced control and management by seeking more significant decision-making and service-management authority. Furthermore, these concepts are intricately connected to urbanity as a localized political phenomenon.

Movements of types 1 and 2 are urban in the collective consumption sense, whose costs are partially socialized through government subsidies and whose provision is exceptionally regulated (Dunleavy, 2019); type 3 movements are urban in the local political process sense; and movements of type 4 are urban in the spatial proximity sense, which raises problems for institutions as well as for households, and is the condition to which individuals and groups respond.

Type 1 movements concentrated on the provision of housing and urban services. They are prevalent in fast-urbanizing countries or societies where state involvement in consumption has failed to keep pace with urbanization, and they demand state action in consumption where it is lacking. Type 2 movements concerned housing access and

urban services. They arise when the state intervenes in consumption, and their primary concern is access to consuming facilities. This encompasses financial access, the degree of service supply, housing eligibility, and service coverage. One rationale for differentiating Type 1 from Type 2 is that distinct environmental factors influence Type 2.

Type 3 movements involve control and management, which may include housing and urban services (3a) and overlap with Type 2 movements. They seek involvement in urban planning and self-administration of public housing complexes. Type 4 movements may react to physical challenges to houses and neighborhoods, such as destruction, urban renewal, or commercial redevelopment. This is because individuals have an interest in communities that extend beyond their homes and urban services.

There are discernible distinctions between these movements, wherein the influence of economic conditions on housing and service movements is more pronounced than that on neighborhood defense movements. Illustrative instances encompass the provision of cheap housing, healthcare, education, and transportation accessibility; the exercise of control and management via participatory budgeting; the enforcement of local government accountability; and safeguarding against gentrification and eviction through anti-gentrification measures.

Pickvance's typology offers a conceptual framework that facilitates the comprehension of the diverse objectives and settings of urban movements. It establishes connections between various forms of movement and the urban concept, enabling comparative study across different movements and circumstances. Nevertheless, this approach has been criticized for its excessive focus on contextual factors at the expense of

movement characteristics. It is said that the urban environment should also be considered a significant locus for constructing identity and cultivating cultural practices.

3.2.3 The Contextual Analysis of Urban Social Movements

Pickvance's typology (Table 3.1) is limited in its ability to precisely identify USMs because of the overlap between the categories he identifies. Nevertheless, this typology is vital for comparative studies because it can account for the reasons, conditions, and militancy of mobilization. These four forms of urban movement are impacted differentially by contextual characteristics and have distinct incidence and militancy patterns; consequently, Pickvance developed the five contextual features needed to build the submodel (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Five Contextual Features Affecting the Incidence of Urban Social Movement

Dimensions	***Details***
Rapid urbanization	■ Yes/no
State action	■ Towards movements (tolerant/intolerant) ■ Intervention on consumption (yes/no)
Political context	■ Presence of broad political mobilization (yes/no) ■ Cultural meaning of urban politics (class-based or not) ■ Effectiveness of political institutions in expressing political conflicts (no opposition parties/no alternation/alternation)
Development of middle class	■ Yes/no
General economic and social conditions	■ Encourage/discourage protest

Source: (Pickvance, 1985)

Pickvance's contextual analysis of urban movements emphasizes the broader context in which these movements occur, including factors such as urbanization conditions, state intervention, political circumstances, the growth of the middle class, and overall economic and social conditions. This method differs from the exclusive emphasis on internal movement features. The approach developed by Pickvance was used to

examine the dynamics of social movements in France, Italy, and Spain (C. G. Pickvance, 1985), thereby uncovering the varying effects of contextual factors on each specific type of movement. In the following section, each factor is explored respectively to achieve a more comprehensive understanding of this contextual framework.

3.2.3.1 Urbanization

Urbanization is the process through which urban regions experience growth because of both rural-urban migration and natural population growth. This phenomenon leads to an increased population density and the extension of cities (Gu, 2019). This phenomenon has significantly impacted urban social movements, leading to complaints and tensions as cities grapple with the challenge of meeting increasing demands for housing, services, employment opportunities, and infrastructure. These developments initiated the emergence of novel social movements focused on housing rights, adequate wages, and gentrification.

Urbanization has significantly impacted the approaches and methodologies employed by social movements, leading to a heightened emphasis on activities such as demonstrations, the occupation of land and spaces, and the deliberate disturbance of urban spaces. Various social movements have modified organizational structures to suit urban environments better. This has led to the establishment of neighborhood committees and the formation of city-wide coalitions. Urbanization significantly influences how social movements construct their perspectives on the right to the city, the utilitarian value of urban space, and conflicts surrounding urban citizenship (Domaradzka, 2018; Mitlin, 2018).

Urban social movements have significantly impacted urban planning and policy, advocating the development of cities characterized by inclusivity, justice, and sustainability (Manuel Castells, 1983b; Özdemir & Eraydin, 2017). Nevertheless, their progress is tenuous and susceptible to reversals. Ongoing urbanization is anticipated to stimulate subsequent episodes of urban movement. However, the consequences of these movements are contingent on prevailing political circumstances, available resources, and the capacity to establish extensive alliances.

The influence of urbanization on urban social movements has had a dramatic impact on their grievances, strategies, impacts, and evolution (Manuel Castells, 1983b; van Haperen, 2022). The factors mentioned above encompass a range of housing challenges, such as insufficient housing availability, unhygienic living conditions, instances of homelessness, inadequate provision of essential services, forced relocation resulting from urban redevelopment and gentrification, limited access to quality employment opportunities, and prevailing poverty and inequality. Additionally, various approaches and methods have been employed to address these issues, including rent strikes, housing squats, land occupations, protests aimed at advocating for improved services and housing, disruptions to traffic, commerce, and government operations, and the establishment of coalitions between unions, tenants, and marginalized communities (Mitlin, 2018). Neighborhood associations, committees, citywide federations, and transnational networks also play a significant role in addressing housing and service-related concerns (Mitlin, 2018). Future ramifications of urbanization, particularly in developing regions of the world, are expected to give rise to subsequent waves of urban movements, wherein housing, services, and employment issues will continue to be contentious focal areas (van Haperen, 2022).

3.2.3.2 State Action

Urban social movements emerge from the interaction between urban actors and other social practices that bring about structural changes in the urban system. Pickvance's theoretical framework emphasizes examining the structural conflicts manifested within these movements, rather than solely focusing on movements in isolation. The influence of state action is a significant contextual element that plays a crucial role in the formation of urban social movements. It operates with other factors such as urbanization circumstances, political context, middle-class development, and general economic and social conditions. The influence of state intervention on urban social movements has significant implications for urban reform, control, and power dynamics.

According to Pickvance's conceptualization, state action refers to the government's need to establish accountability for the infringement of rights. This phenomenon is often characterized by the predominance of governmental authorities. To establish constitutional violation in domains such as discrimination or free expression, state activity must be demonstrated (C. G. Pickvance, 1975). The influence of governmental intervention on urban social movements exhibits variability among distinct categories of urban movements in terms of collective consumption, local political dynamics, and physical proximity (C. G. Pickvance, 1975, 1985).

Pickvance (1985) examined urban social movements in France, Italy, and Spain as illustrative examples (C. G. Pickvance, 1985), and movements related to the defense of housing and neighborhoods were included in the analysis (C. G. Pickvance, 1996). The researcher's comparative investigation demonstrated the varying influence of state

action and contextual elements on each type of movement. Pickvance's research examined the structural factors contributing to urban social concerns rather than solely analyzing the associated movements.

3.2.3.3 Political Context

The development, strategy, outcomes, and overall impact of urban social movements are significantly influenced by the political context in which they operate. The political context consists of several crucial elements: political opportunity structure, state-society connections, regime type, state capacity, and party politics (Domaradzka, 2018). The political opportunity structure, which includes factors such as the ability to participate in political decision-making, alliances among the elite, and the presence of state repression, plays a crucial role in shaping the motivations and limitations of mobilization efforts. The dynamics of state-society relations, which range from clientelism to co-production, significantly impact how social movements engage with the state (Stoker, 1998). These engagements can vary from confinement, where movements are restricted or suppressed by the state, to collaboration, where movements actively work with the state to achieve goals. Regime type influences the feasibility of mobilization, with democracies often offering more opportunities for open protests and involvement than authoritarian nations that suppress dissent (McAdam & Tarrow, 2018). The execution of movement demands is influenced by the state's capacity, where weak states often have an insufficient ability to fulfill these demands.

The political context in which urban social movements emerge is crucial to understanding their timing, location, and motivations. Closed political opportunity

structures hinder mobilization, but the presence of political allies, fissures among elites, and low levels of state repression create openings for social and political movements (McAdam & Tarrow, 2018). The dynamics of state-society relations play a significant role in determining whether movements develop as autonomous or clientelist (W. G. Pansters, 2023). The regime type also matters, with authoritarian regimes suppressing mobilization, while democracies offer better opportunities for expression.

The political climate influences the formation of strategies and tactics, where social movements navigate between disruptive protests and collaborative engagement, depending on the level of political receptivity (Domaradzka, 2018). Clientelist relationships encourage limited mobilization and discourage independent organizations, whereas a strong state capacity enables effective policy implementation (W. G. Pansters, 2023). Party politics are crucial in shaping alliances, but they also carry the risk of co-optation as groups may be willing to sacrifice their autonomy for influence (K. T. Andrews, 1997).

The political environment influences the success of urban social movements. When discord among the ruling elites and the state is receptive, these movements are more likely to achieve their goals by adopting favorable policies. However, when the state employs repression, it hinders the progress and victory of these movements. Joining clientelist party politics allows for acquiring patronage resources, but it comes at the cost of losing autonomy (W. G. Pansters, 2023). Authoritarian regimes may impede short-term benefits but ultimately lead to pressure for democracy. In contrast, party politics expedites policy implementation, but can hinder the mobilization of movements by co-opting them.

Understanding the relationship between political context and urban social movements is essential (McAdam & Tarrow, 2018). Several theoretical frameworks, including political process theory, resource mobilization theory, and the new social movement theory, help explain this connection. These theories provide insights into how post-industrialism and democratization impact urban identity movements. Comprehending this intricate link is crucial for understanding the diverse paths and outcomes of urban mobilization.

3.2.3.4 The Development of Middle Class

The urban middle class impacts urban development and housing types, as there is a growing demand for high-quality formal housing in desirable locations. Class identity, which includes principles such as democracy, equality, and meritocracy, is crucial for promoting socioeconomic stability and resilience. The vigorous middle class also drives economic growth by increasing consumption and promoting entrepreneurial activities (Mitlin, 2018). However, defining the middle class is complex because many disciplines use different methods to address this issue (Domaradzka, 2018).

The middle class can either spur grassroots activism for improved living conditions and urban services, leading to greater democracy and civic participation, or support policies that protect their interests at the expense of lower-income groups, creating tension between their aspirations and the essential needs of the urban poor (Singh, 2005).

The complex and ongoing process of the rise and transformation of the middle class has significantly altered the urban environment. To fully grasp its impact on urban

social movements, thorough examination of the middle class within specific contexts is crucial. Although significant variations exist, income-based classifications are commonly used in academic discussions (Y.-h. Chu, 1996). These classifications encompass various concepts such as democracy, equality, meritocracy, and economic stability. The middle class is crucial in driving economic progress and ensuring stability by promoting the desire for democratic governance, active civic engagement, and improved quality of life (Mitlin, 2018).

3.2.3.5 Economic and Social Conditions

Urban social movements arise because of the prevalence of economic and social issues in metropolitan areas, including socioeconomic disparities, insufficient affordable housing, privatization of public spaces, and urban planning decisions (Aalbers & Gibb, 2014). Economic factors, such as high unemployment rates, widespread poverty, and limited economic prospects, can trigger urban social movements that advocate for better employment opportunities, higher wages, and improved social services (W. Pansters, 1986). Movements advocating for housing equity and preserving neighborhood residency are often sparked by social issues, such as segregation, gentrification, and the displacement of economically disadvantaged individuals (Domaradzka, 2018).

Urban planning decisions that have adversely impacted communities, such as the demolition of neighborhoods to make way for motorways or the displacement of residents for new developments, have given rise to urban social movements that oppose these changes (Jou, Lund Hansen, & Wu, 2012; Özdemir & Eraydin, 2017). These movements employed various strategies to influence legislative changes,

including protests, occupations, and negotiations. The process involves a dynamic interplay between the states of visibility and invisibility and a shift between conflict and collaboration. Those involved must address immediate survival needs and strive for long-term political transformations.

The ‘right to the city’ concept has become a widely used framework that combines various urban social movements and their associated demands (Mitchell, 2003). This idea encompasses many aspects including transformative change, procedural reforms, and the pursuit of social justice. Urban social movements are defined by their dynamic and interconnected nature, operating across various levels of engagement ranging from local and grassroots initiatives to broader national or even global alliances. The perspectives and goals of individuals or groups evolve over time because of changing political and economic conditions.

Economic factors influencing urban social movements include various transformations and crises, such as the shift from industrialization to a service-based economy in the latter half of the 20th century (D. Fields, 2017; Ibrahim, 2016). Several socioeconomic causes, such as segregation, gentrification, and the displacement of low-income city dwellers, have led to urban social movements. The segregation of minority communities within metropolitan areas and the implementation of urban renewal initiatives that resulted in the demolition of these communities sparked civil rights movements and activism centered on the concept of community control (Alvarez, 2016; Ergun & Hüseyin, 2014; McFarlane, 2005; Mele, 2013; Muzio, 2009; Uitermark, Hochstenbach, & Groot, 2023). Recently, the gentrification of neighborhoods and the subsequent increase in rental prices have given rise to anti-displacement groups and

demonstrations against the proliferation of upscale urban development in several regions, from Western countries to Asia (Darcy & Rogers, 2014; Glass, Woldoff, & Morrison, 2014; W.-Y. Hsu, 2018; Jou, Clark, & Chen, 2014; Novy & Colomb, 2013; van Haperen, 2022). The pursuit of the "right to the city" unites a range of strategies and methodologies, all aimed at advocating for urban development that is fair, inclusive, and participatory, with a focus on meeting the needs of local communities.

Urban social movements arise in response to unequal and unjust economic and social conditions within urban areas (C. G. Pickvance, 1996; Pruijt, 2007; Rutland, 2013). These movements unite several demands, such as ensuring adequate housing, promoting environmental justice, and empowering communities to control development processes. The individuals involved employ diverse strategies and methodologies that incorporate confrontational and cooperative elements (Schipper, 2015). Urban mobilization operates as a decentralized, multi-tiered system aimed at redesigning cities to improve services for residents. Further research is necessary to fully understand the complex and evolving dynamics of urban social movements.

3.2.4 The Summary of Pickvance's Approaches

Pickvance's methods underscore the significance of contextual factors in shaping urban social movements by employing comparative analysis and an interdisciplinary framework that are particularly adept at elucidating the complex external factors affecting these movements. These elements include urbanization conditions, state intervention, the political environment, middle-class growth, and economic and social circumstances. Pickvance's theory critically evaluates the shortcomings of universal theories and suggests the creation of customized sub-models that cater to specific

contexts. He applied his theoretical framework to study urban movements in France, Italy, and Spain, establishing a taxonomy for them and identifying connections between them and the relevant contextual forces. By systematically contrasting movements across different contexts, Pickvance's approach facilitates a granular understanding of the mechanisms through which state policies, economic structures, and urbanization processes exert influence on the trajectory of these movements. This method not only identifies patterns and divergences but also helps in contrasting a generalized theory of urban social movements that accounts for the influence of external variables, offering a substantial contribution to the field of movement studies.

The work of Pickvance is characterized by its interdisciplinary nature, which fuses theoretical viewpoints and empirical evidence from sociology, political science, urban studies, and geography, thereby creating a multifaceted lens through which urban social movements can be scrutinized. This all-encompassing approach highlights the necessity of considering an extensive range of external elements, such as economic disparities, policy frameworks, spatial dynamics, and social networks, in shaping the genesis, tactics, and final results of urban social movements. By emphasizing the significance of material factors and the role of the state, Pickvance's research outlines how movements are not simply reactions to localized grievances but are deeply ingrained within the broader context of societal forces. This perspective significantly enhances the analysis of urban social movements by positioning them within the larger discourses on urbanization, governance, and social transformation, thereby offering incisive insights into the interplay between urban phenomena and societal changes.

Pickvance's focus on the evolutionary dynamics of urban social movements, such as

their formation, evolution, and eventual decline or institutionalization, incorporates a temporal dimension into examining external factors. This dynamic approach acknowledges the fluidity of urban social movements and the varying influence of external influences over time, including changes in governance, economic fluctuations, and shifting cultural narratives. Utilizing an understanding of political and cultural contexts, this approach emphasizes that external factors are not constant but rather dynamic and multifaceted, ultimately having a significant impact on movements. As a result, it serves as a suitable theoretical framework for this study.

3.3 Pierre Bourdieu's Core Concepts

Bourdieu, a well-known French sociologist and prominent public figure, significantly contributed to sociological theory and empirical research on education, culture, media, and politics. He developed several critical theoretical concepts such as habitus, field, and various forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, and symbolic). These concepts help explain how power operates and how social disparities are maintained. Bourdieu's empirical investigations demonstrated the influential role of cultural capital and habitus in shaping educational attainment. He also demonstrated how aesthetic preferences are linked to social class, revealing the interplay between these factors. Furthermore, his work has revealed how higher education perpetuates social elites, contributing to the reproduction of existing social hierarchies. Finally, he examines the intersection of the media field with the political and economic domains, uncovering the complex dynamics in these interconnected spheres.

Bourdieu's research objective was to uncover the subtle mechanisms that sustain the perpetuation of privilege and disadvantage while advocating for a reflective approach

in sociology to expose inherent biases. His books[2] form a comprehensive body of work that seeks to expose the intricate power dynamics in society. Bourdieu's research aims to unveil the hidden mechanisms of power and privilege within society, and his impact as a prominent public intellectual continues to inspire social justice efforts. His insights into inequality and power relations continue to influence multiple disciplines. The following sections explore his core concept in order to provide a theoretical ground for further application in this study.

3.3.1 Habitus

Bourdieu's dialectical link theory posits a connection between objective structures and the cognitive and motivational structures they create, repeating these structures (R. Jenkins, 1992). Bourdieu rejected the idea that individual actions can fully explain social existence and objectivism's approach to describing practice solely in human decision-making or supra-individual structures (R. Jenkins, 1992). This rejection can be attributed to his desire to move beyond the limitations of both subjectivism and objectivism. Swartz (2012) suggests that Bourdieu aimed to merge the micro and macro components of human behavior and voluntarist and determinist explanations into a continuous conceptual process rather than separating them as mutually exclusive explanations.

Bourdieu presented the concept of 'habitus' as a means of bridging the explanatory gap between these two extremes to resolve this dichotomy (R. Jenkins, 1992). Habitus is intended to address the fundamental duality in social sciences and to align with the

[2] such as "Distinction," "Homo Academicus," "The State Nobility," "The Field of Cultural Production," and "Pascalian Meditations."

duality between social structures and the cognitive structures of social actors. Habitus is created and shaped by lifelong learning processes such as early socialization, schooling, and education, which incline agents to behave and respond in specific ways in specific contexts. Thus, habitus is both a structure that shapes behavior and a structure that is shaped by behavior as it organizes both actions and the perception of customs. The principle that governs the perception of the social world is the result of internalization of the social world (Bourdieu, 1984).

Habitus emphasizes external structures that are internalized and incorporated into the cognitive framework of individuals, which are then manifested through behavior, including institutions, social connections, and resources (Husu, 2013). Bourdieu does not believe that human behavior is predetermined. Yet he stresses that it is motivated by habitus, which he describes as deeply ingrained and socially formed inclinations of social classes that prompt actors to decide in ways that perpetuate existing social structures and class distinctions (Bourdieu, 1984). Therefore, every agent, whether intentionally or unintentionally, generates and perpetuates an objective meaning (Bourdieu, 1977).

Based on Bourdieu's argument, specific consequences of research on social movements have been formulated. First, regardless of a protestor's socioeconomic and sociological background, protests influence his or her habitus. Crossley's (1999, 2002) conception of habitus enables the biographical effects of pretest to be understood more systematically than other researchers (McAdam, 1998; Schmitt, 2016). Nonetheless, this does not imply that habitus is nothing more than a product. However, it is a source of public demonstrations and movements. Second, the habitus notion makes it simpler

to comprehend why some people are able and ready to voice their unhappiness with whatever conditions exist in public, while others, including the disadvantaged, are not. Some people who have grown up in disadvantaged circumstances, for instance, may not be aware of the potential of protest and may not believe it is appropriate to identify the disadvantages publicly (Schmitt, 2016).

Subsequently, one can concentrate on a movement entrepreneur in a non-overly rationalistic manner by evaluating the movement entrepreneur's habitus and placement in a social space, also known as the field. Bourdieu's explanation of delegation may prove helpful in this instance. He describes how the advocate who speaks on behalf of the group can only exist because of delegation by the group and how the group itself exists only when someone says on its behalf (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). The final aspect is the issue of activists building or employing suitable frames (D. Snow & Benford, 1992), and having a specific repertory of argumentative strategies (Chris Tilly & Tilly, 1994). These two methods of movement study might be systematized and placed on a sociological footing by examining what range of collective habitus the applied frames and symbols must target or how praxis becomes habitualized (Crossley, 2002).

Besides Bourdieu, Nick Crossley (1999) explores the concept of habitus further that the term "radical habitus" was coined. This concept suggests that individuals are not only influenced by prevailing norms but also have the ability to challenge and modify them, especially when faced with significant shifts in their social surroundings. Crossley (2003) notes that movement participation produces more mobilization and shapes the habitus. In addition to practical knowledge, it permits the acquisition of an

ethos that fosters participation and gives protest and organizing a feel, allowing agents to gain purpose and satisfaction from it, to believe in it, and to feel safe and secure while doing so.

3.3.2 Field

One of the key foundations of Bourdieu's theories is the concept of field. He argues that social inequality is passed down and accepted through symbols, which can obscure the social origins of institutions (Schmitt, 2016). This calming effect enables repeated participation in social activities with minimal effort. As symbols conceal social inequality, they are widely accepted, and subaltern actors internalize these hierarchies. Instead of engaging in class struggles, which Bourdieu defined as the collective revelation of power structures, making symbolic violence apparent motivates actors to climb the symbolic ladder themselves (Schmitt, 2016). Consequently, collective class struggles are transformed into individual competitive battles (Bourdieu, 1986; Schmitt, 2016).

Bourdieu's notion of the field is congruent with the idea of political process theory (Husu, 2013) that broader social processes can transform established power structures. The field's structure is influenced by external socioeconomic factors such as urbanization, capitalization, and the commercialization of housing. Certain types of transformation can alter a field's balance of power. Thus, agents may be better equipped to negotiate new agreements. Similarly, the political process theory recognizes that these processes may create transformations in political structures, either by eroding the political system's foundation or by strengthening the challenger's strategic position (McAdam, 2017).

Bourdieu coins several core elements of a field (Wacquant, 1989). He explains the dynamics of a network or set of relationships between different positions determined by the distribution of important species of capital within that field. According to Bourdieu (1993), the structure of the field is shaped by power struggles between its members, which are influenced by capital distribution. He emphasizes that these relationships are not solely determined by the connections between individuals within the field but also by capital distribution (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu (1996) also suggests that it is not only the relative distribution of capital that identifies these relations, but also the relative struggles for this capital that define and transform the field. Society comprises several mainly autonomous fields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), each with its specific logic and different values granted to the various forms of capital depending upon their worth within that field. Other fields can indirectly affect a specific field by influencing the forms and forces within it, such as the value of different forms of capital.

While fields are generally self-governing, Bourdieu notes that they all possess some 'homologies' or common characteristics arranged in a specific way in each field (Wacquant, 1989). All fields encompass notions of dominance, subordination, and struggles for capital, but the precise nature and function of these concepts depend on the specific field. Bourdieu posits that each field has its own laws independent of those in other fields. Bourdieu (1993) explains this apparent contradiction by suggesting that while all fields have unique specific characteristics, they also have 'secondary variables' that are universal across all fields.

Bourdieu shaped several primary features of a field (Wacquant, 1989). He explained

that the field is a network or arrangement of objective connections between locations, with these positions determined by the relative distribution of important capital species in the field. According to Bourdieu (1993), the structure of the field arises from the power dynamics between its participants, and it has been plainly demonstrated that these relationships are contingent upon the distribution of capital, not just the connections between field members (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu (1996) posits that capital distribution among individuals and groups within a particular field shapes their relationships and the competition dynamics within that field. Society encompasses multiple, largely autonomous subfields (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), each with its own logic and distinct values assigned to the various types of capital based on their relative importance within that field. Other fields influence a specific field not by intervening directly with its members, but by mediating its unique characteristics and movements, especially the worth of various types of capital.

Bourdieu (1990) posits that habitus is the subjective aspect of his sociological endeavor, while the field is its objective counterpart. According to Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992), an individual's experience with a field shapes the dispositions inherent in habitus, which imbues the field with meaning. The habitus, shaped by exposure to the field, leads the actor to feel 'at home' in the field and to recognize and acknowledge its immanent rules (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu applied the metaphor of a game to illuminate the idea of the field that the stakes of a game are established through the connection between habitus and the field, as well as the sensation of the game and the game itself. This statement suggests that the field shapes the techniques used by the game participants, which in turn influences their habits. The habitus then affects the way in which they value capital.

3.3.3 Capitals

Fields are characterized by struggles between those in dominant and subordinate positions, and the struggle for dominance is a battle for monopolistic control over the definition and uneven distribution of resources or capital. These resources or capitals within fields serve as 'social relations of power' and become the target of conflict (Bourdieu, 1986). Therefore, according to Bourdieu, the presence of resources and capital is essential for determining one's location within a specific area. Bourdieu conceptualizes four forms of capital: economic capital, social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. The value of capital is unique to all competitive and maneuvering environments.

3.3.3.1 Economic Capital

Bourdieu (1986) sees economic capital as the root of all other forms of capital and treats other types of capital as transformed and disguised forms of economic capital. Other forms of capital can be converted into economic capital, which can then be used to pursue different forms. Economic capital, by definition, is monetary revenue, including other capital and valuable assets, and has institutional meaning in property rights.

Economic capital has traditionally been viewed as the primary determinant of various types of housing consumption, with social housing providing affordable housing options for those who lack the economic capital to access private sector housing in an ideal situation. Various social and financial factors impact the economic capital available to specific groups, and government fiscal policies also influence the

allocation of resources and their impact on human behavior and housing consumption patterns. In Taiwan, numerous initiatives have been taken to promote the homeownership rate, including the liberalization of mortgage banking in the 1990s, interest subsidies for homeowners, and adoption of the right to own one's dwelling.

3.3.3.2 Cultural Capital

Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital is arguably the most innovative component of his theorization of forms of capital. The concept of cultural capital is central to Bourdieu's analysis of how the education system contributes to social stratification. Bourdieu (1973) defined cultural capital as an instrument for appropriating symbolic wealth, socially designated as worthy of being sought and possessed. This wealth appears to be an undivided property of the society. Cultural capital has diverse features, from long-lasting dispositions and practices obtained while engaging in the social sphere to the accumulation of esteemed cultural characters, including formal educational diplomas and knowledge. According to Bourdieu's discourse (1986), cultural capital exists in embodied, objectified, and institutionalized states. The displayed state has roots in the early childhood family environment, in which values, skills, and manners are cultivated, contributing to the formation of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body.

Bourdieu identified a specific form of cultural capital that he referred to as the ability of individuals to appreciate and consume cultural items, including art, food, and housing. This aesthetic aspect of housing consumption is intertwined with the moral obligation attributed to tenants, resulting in a new narrative of appropriate behavior in what has been termed the new ethics of housing (Flint & Rowlands, 2003).

3.3.3.3 Social Capital

In Bourdieu's definition, social capital is an actual or potential resource associated with a durable network of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition. It is the amount of concrete and possible resources that can be employed owing to membership in the social networks of individuals and groups (Bourdieu, 1986).

These groups are formed through symbolic interactions, institutionalized naming of the group, or institutionalized articulation of membership qualities. This intangible social capital can only be recognized by converting it into other forms of capital or links within a network. A person's social capital is proportional to the size of their network, the number of other types of capital, and the linkages they possess.

Bourdieu's essays have shed light on this topic, and his theories suggest that the various types of capital a network accumulates can be leveraged to give it a competitive edge within an economic area. To accumulate social capital, members must invest time and effort in establishing connections. This includes intentionally transforming economics into social capital (Bourdieu, 1993). Bourdieu's (1986) theory of credit (Bourdieu, 1986) also plays a role in this process. Agents must implement investment methods that impose responsibility on other network members to accrue credit. The quantity of capital that may be traded in such creditor trades depends on the individual creditor's capital and the network's overall capital. For instance, housing service organizations in Taiwan have provided local communities with services for more than three decades, which renders their social capital in the housing movement field.

Bourdieu’s and Putnam’s distinct conceptions of social capital differ significantly. While Putnam views enhanced networks and strengthened social relationships as a means to achieve more effective policy outcomes through increased civic engagement and cooperation (Putnam, 2001), Bourdieu’s social capital context is rooted in his theory explaining the social processes that perpetuate class inequality. In contrast to the two theories, the paradigmatic level reveals their most glaring divergence, as Bourdieu's theory focuses mainly on competition, inequality, and social reproduction, whereas Putnam emphasizes collectivity and community.

3.3.3.4 Symbolic Capital

Finally, Bourdieu (1990) uses symbolic capital to demote the power of the dominant class to impose meanings through legitimation. According to Bourdieu, symbolic capital is a disguised form of power that demands recognition, deference, and obedience to legitimacy (D Swartz, 1997).

Bourdieu’s concept of symbolic capital highlights how individuals' social class positions are represented through cultural symbols and values. Symbolic capital is created and maintained through social processes. It is used to justify certain types of consumption by providing individuals with a means to differentiate themselves within their social context. Prestige is established and social divisions are reinforced through the finite supply of symbolic capital accumulated through activities such as housing consumption. The government’s rhetoric and actions also play a role in shaping and changing symbolic capital, and individuals' ability to consume is influenced by the form of capital they possess.

This type of capital confers symbolic authority or influence over other actors within a sector (Conway, McDonagh, Farrell, & Kinsella, 2016). Swartz (1997) defines symbolic capital as "authority that is not recognized as power, but rather as reasonable demands for acknowledgment, reverence, obedience, or the services of others." Fundamental to symbolic capital is the fact that it is not innate to the person, but rather produced through social interaction (Conway et al., 2016).

3.3.4 Symbolic Violence

To inform Bourdieu's broader theory on power and dominance, symbolic violence was established to describe how social hierarchies and inequalities are perpetuated less by physical force and more by symbolic dominance. Bourdieu (2003) depicted symbolic violence as primarily exerted solely through symbolic channels of communication, cognition, recognition, and even emotion. Symbolic and semantic systems are imposed on groups or classes of individuals so that they are perceived as legitimate (R. Jenkins, 1992). Thus, the gradual adoption and absorption of ideas and systems that tend to subjugate groups of individuals conceal underlying power relationships. The concept of symbolic violence was initially applied to gender studies (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), in which the dominance of men is legitimized as the natural order of things and women are relegated to inferior social positions. It is still widely used in gender studies (Cerroni & Simonella, 2012; D. M. Martin, Ferguson, Hoek, & Hinder, 2021; Morgan & Björkert, 2006; Thapar-Björkert, Samelius, & Sanghera, 2016). It has also been applied to other urban concerns, including politics, activism, and financial matters (Harrits, 2011; Kerr & Robinson, 2012; Lohmeyer, 2021).

Symbolic violence is imperceptible, insidious, and invisible (Thapar-Björkert et al.,

2016). Invisibility helps to maintain dominance in silence and silence controls. Typically, dominant discourse attempts to suppress peripheral or subaltern discourse. To guarantee that subalterns are heard and agency allowed, structural transformation is required beyond enabling them to speak (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Identifying the institutional culpability of suppressing certain segments of society is an objective. In addition to acknowledging the operation of institutional silencing, Bhambra and Shilliam (2009) proposed that silencing also forms our reality by structuring dialogues of intersubjectivity so that one voice becomes monolithic and naturalized. Language is a dominant method (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Language may both constitute and co-constitute violence. Language includes and excludes discourses through which social reality is produced and, as a result, has powerful implications.

The dominance that results from symbolic violence is less a result of physical force and more a result of controlled individuals ceasing to challenge established power relations and perceiving the world and social situations as natural, given, and immutable. However, individuals do not question their involvement in the development and replication of dominance and subordination (Bourdieu, 1977). According to Jenkins (1992), symbolic violence is the imposition of systems of symbols and meaning (i.e., culture) on groups or classes such that they are perceived as legitimate. This legitimacy obscures the power dynamics that allow this imposition to be effective (R. Jenkins, 1992). Through the subtle inculcation of power relations upon the bodies and dispositions of individuals, symbolic aggression and dominance are performed by individuals through their everyday social habits (Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). Symbolic violence can occur through ordinary activities and procedures.

3.4 Applying Bourdieu's Concepts to Urban Social Movements

Despite focusing on habitus and its representing social status, Bourdieu's principles provide fertile ground for social movement studies. His work may be viewed as synthesizing several social movement ideas and explaining the interconnectedness of social positions, resources, and cultural competencies underlying housing movement actions. Bourdieu's sociology of practice offers a robust theoretical lens through which to examine social movement. This perspective places significant emphasis on the role of social positions and power dynamics in understanding collective actions. The paradigm proposed by Bourdieu provides a comprehensive understanding of the origins and evolution of social movements, with particular emphasis on the crucial role played by resources and cultural competencies in facilitating their growth and impact. His theoretical framework also highlights the influence of social position, class status, and symbolic power on social movement.

In the domain of movement studies, researchers have utilized Bourdieu. Eder (2001) attempts to position new social movements socio-structurally within the social space outlined by Bourdieu and explores the link between the symbolic character of protest and demonstrators' collective identity. Crossley (2002, 2003) and Husu (2013) also utilized Bourdieu's ideas in their empirical studies of social movements, providing empirical soil for Bourdieu's concepts of how social struggles and movements may be studied.

The social class of an individual has a considerable impact on the objectives, principles, beliefs, and methods utilized by social movements. The concepts of symbolic power and violence also help understand how power dynamics are perpetuated through

routine behaviors and early socialization processes. Bourdieu's theoretical framework offers insights into how social institutions and cultural norms maintain disparities in society, shedding light on the ongoing dynamics of power and advantages in social interactions.

Most studies that have applied the concept of capital to social movements have focused on the middle-class position of activists and the vast amount and volume of money they handle (Schmitt, 2016). As Husu (2013) demonstrates, economic and cultural wealth serve as symbolic power in identity movements, allowing movements to legitimize their social vision. Cultural capital promotes a nuanced comprehension of societal problems and empowers social movements to use current opportunities for change (Orchowska, 2023). Husu (2013) also argues that middle-class activists are more successful and convincing when demanding recognition in symbolic struggles. The same holds for social capital, which, as Diani (1997) demonstrates, generates new social links and trade possibilities while enhancing the likelihood of success. Economic wealth enhances mobilization and separates basic needs, which may shift the focus to symbolic and/or social components (Husu, 2013).

The application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework to the study of social movements provides a comprehensive structure that incorporates multiple perspectives, such as political processes, resource mobilization, framing, and identification approaches. This framework effectively addresses prominent dichotomies within social movement theory and illuminates the personal transformation objectives within various movements. However, it is essential to acknowledge the limitations and criticisms of this perspective. One such limitation is the challenge of precisely defining social fields,

which may lead to ambiguity and subjectivity in analysis. Additionally, there is a concern that this approach may underestimate the ability of marginalized groups to understand and challenge power dynamics. Further research is necessary to clarify the complex interplay between classes and the various identities within this framework.

In short, Bourdieu's sociological framework of practice provides a robust theoretical framework that can effectively analyze social movements. This framework addresses significant gaps in the social movement theory and highlights the impact of resources, skills, social position, class, and power. Further conceptual refinement and empirical research would strengthen the explanatory power of this subject matter.

3.4.1 The Summary of Bourdieu's Theory

Bourdieu's sociological framework, emphasizing habitus, capital, and field, provides a novel lens for analyzing urban social movements. His concepts elucidate the intricate dynamics of social positions, resources, and cultural competencies that underpin these movements. Bourdieu's approach synthesizes key theories of social movements, shedding light on the role of symbolic power and class status in shaping collective actions. Researchers have applied Bourdieu's theories to understand how social class influences movement strategies and goals, revealing how economic and cultural capital function as symbolic power, legitimizing movements' social visions. This theoretical perspective offers insights into the maintenance of social disparities and power dynamics, emphasizing the significance of cultural norms and institutions.

Furthermore, Bourdieu's framework addresses gaps in social movement theory by integrating political processes, resource mobilization, and framing approaches,

providing a comprehensive structure for examining personal transformation objectives within movements. Despite its strengths, challenges in defining social fields and potential underestimation of marginalized groups' agency are noted limitations. The relational interplay between habitus, field, and capital is central to Bourdieu's theory, highlighting the importance of understanding social practices as outcomes of these interconnected elements. His critique of substantialist perspectives and advocacy for a relational mode of thinking underscore the necessity for further empirical research and conceptual refinement to enhance the explanatory power of urban social movement analysis.

3.5 A Synthetic Approach to Urban Social Movements

3.5.1 The Convergences of Pickvance and Bourdieu

Bourdieu and Pickvance underscored the importance of social structure and status in influencing individuals' access to resources and opportunities for agency. This perspective considers social inequality and disparate access to power and resources to be fundamental factors in comprehending social phenomena. Examining housing issues involves analyzing their correlation with social class, status, and power, emphasizing how resources and power associated with one's social standing influence individual behaviors and the ability to avail oneself of possibilities (C. Pickvance, 2001). The convergence of Bourdieu and Pickvance's perspectives underscores the need to analyze the influence of wider social structures and disparities on the formation of grievances and the potential for mobilization within urban contexts. In the following sections, these convergences are comparatively discussed to ensure that the nature of these two approaches is compatible for further integration of the theoretical framework.

3.5.1.1 Habitus and Identity Formation

In the field of sociology, there is great interest in understanding the complex social dynamics, identity formation, and collective action. This interest is furthered by Bourdieu's concept of habitus and Pickvance's examination of identity creation in urban social movements. This synthesis examines the intersections and connections between Bourdieu's habitus and Pickvance's identity formation, revealing how both ideas offer complementary perspectives on the socially constructed nature of identity and its potential for transformation through collective action.

Bourdieu's theory centers on the notion of habitus, a theoretical framework that encompasses the skills and social resources people use to navigate the world. Individuals' social interactions are guided by an unconscious "feel for the game" shaped by their ingrained routines, which are determined mainly by their upbringing and social environment. Habitus, which varies based on factors such as socioeconomic status, gender, and ethnicity, produces behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions that reflect the social context from which it emerges. Each type of habitus possesses its own package of skills and knowledge. However, the persistence of a distinct habitus across a variety of situations may reinforce inequity. As habitus develops behaviors corresponding to the environment that produces it, it might unwittingly reinforce existing social hierarchies and divides, which can be referred to as the reproduction of culture, according to Bourdieu.

Pickvance focuses on the role of urban social movements in shaping collective identities that challenge hegemonic beliefs. He argues that social movements play a crucial part in creating identities that contrast with established structures and that these

new identities influence participants' interests and goals. Pickvance stresses that identity formation is closely linked to an individual's habitus and social position, demonstrating how individuals experience intertwining with collective mobilization.

It can be observed that there is an unusual convergence emerges when investigating the connection between habitus and identity formation. Both Bourdieu and Pickvance emphasize the vital role of social position in creating identity, rejecting the idea of isolated identity formation. Instead, identity is extensively shaped by an individual's sociocultural background, indicating that identity is not merely an individual construction but also a product of one's social status.

Bourdieu's notion of habitus explains how shared origins and habits among social movement participants contribute to the formation of collective identities. When participants have similar habits, they are more likely to resonate with one another, leading to the creation of united identities. In another way, Pickvance's approach suggests that social movements can modify habitus, resulting in the creation of new oppositional identities that challenge existing norms. Through this process, social movements can produce new identities contrary to prevailing norms.

Bourdieu's habitus and Pickvance's identity development theory offer a comprehensive perspective to understand the intricate processes of identity creation and social change within the context of urban social movements. The shared habitus serves as a foundation for the formation of collective identities, allowing individuals from similar backgrounds to unite in opposition to the dominant systems. Furthermore, collective action and identity formation can modify habitus, demonstrating a reciprocal relationship between identity and habitus that challenges the established social norms.

These interconnected concepts illustrate the relationship between social status, identity, and collective action. Shared habitus fosters the construction of communal identities, while identity formation serves as a catalyst for altering the shared habitus and challenging prevailing systems. This synthesis adds to a more nuanced understanding of the delicate link between habitus, identity, and the transformative power of mass mobilization for social change.

3.5.1.2 Symbolic Capital and Mobilization

Bourdieu's central theoretical framework focuses on symbolic capital, which highlights the importance of prestige, respect, and honor in shaping an individual's social standing. This type of capital is intangible, arising from the fulfillment of societal obligations and duties that elicit admiration and differentiation. Individuals can leverage symbolic capital to exercise power and influence across various contexts, thus enhancing their ability to shape discourse and garner support. An examination of the symbolic dimensions of urban social movements further deepens our understanding of this concept. Pickvance (2003) identified three key dimensions along which symbolism operates within these movements: the formation of collective identities, the articulation of grievances and objectives, and the development of legitimacy and moral authority.

The correspondence between Bourdieu's principle of symbolic capital and Pickvance's stress on the notion of symbols is evident in the realm of social movements. Activists and leaders possess symbolic capital, including heightened credibility, increased influence, and enhanced competence derived from their esteemed status and recognition, which they can leverage to further the movement's goals.

The concept of collective identity is reinforced by symbolic capital, which is essential for fostering a shared sense of purpose and belonging among individuals. The use of framing and messaging strategies is crucial in social movements, as it enables the enhancement of symbolic capital, which allows the movement to effectively communicate its goals and align with cultural values. In other words, the presence of activists with symbolic capital can enhance the legitimacy and diffusion of a movement, thereby increasing its capacity to influence and expand its potential effect.

Therefore, the combination of Bourdieu's concept of symbolic capital and Pickvance's emphasis on symbols within urban social movements provides a comprehensive framework for understanding how recognition, prestige, and symbolism affect the growth and implications of such movements.

3.5.1.3 Space and Social Practice

The theoretical framework proposed by Bourdieu, which incorporates the concepts of social practice and habitus in conjunction with Pickvance's contextual analysis, provides a comprehensive lens through which to analyze the intricate dynamics among structural circumstances, individual predispositions, and urban mobilization. Bourdieu's theoretical framework examines the complex relationships among social class, economic capital, and personal dispositions in shaping urban social movements. Central to this framework is the concept of habitus, which encompasses the range of dispositions, perceptions, and behaviors that individuals develop as a result of their social surroundings and upbringing. This comprehensive understanding aids in illuminating the motivations and tactics employed by activists, revealing how their positions within the social framework influence their perspectives and actions.

Pickvance's research focuses on thoroughly examining the urban context and exploring how structural elements within the setting influence the formation and characteristics of social movements. Individuals acknowledge that urbanization patterns, state policies, political contexts, and economic conditions play a significant role in creating contradictions that lead to protests and collective action. This macro-level approach offers insights into how urban dynamics give rise to grievances that serve as catalysts for social movements.

The relationship between Bourdieu and Pickvance's viewpoints becomes more explicit when examining the interplay between class interests and urban structural changes. Bourdieu's advanced class analysis enhances Pickvance's analysis of structural tensions by providing a deeper understanding of the motivations that drive urban social movements. Likewise, Pickvance's framework for contextual analysis offers a comprehensive way of situating movements within a broader social landscape.

By combining Bourdieu's theory of social practice and habitus with Pickvance's contextual analysis, a robust foundation is established for grasping the intricate mechanisms of urban social movements. The intricate interplay among class interests, capital, individual inclinations, and structural conditions provides a detailed framework for comprehending the complexities of collective action and societal change.

3.5.1.4 Cultural Reproduction and Change

Bourdieu's concept of cultural reproduction emphasizes the intergenerational transfer of cultural capital and norms as a means of perpetuating social and cultural disparities.

In his research on the French high education system (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990), he argues that educational institutions legitimize and sustain these disparities by favoring those possessing greater cultural capital. Cultural reproduction originates from the concept of cultural capital, which encompasses cultural knowledge, skills, preferences, and behaviors. However, this cultural wealth is not equally allocated across societies, as privileged classes and bourgeoises possess more valuable cultural capital. This uneven distribution leads to advantages in educational attainment and professional success, reinforcing existing social structures and cultural norms.

In Pickvance's urban social movement studies, individuals take collective actions to assert rights for various features in the urban arena, such as physical spaces, social relationships, and political processes. These movements frequently arise in response to urban issues, such as housing, gentrification, inadequate services, and exclusion from decision-making. Pickvance stresses that these movements are shaped by multiple factors, including urbanization, government policies, political contexts, economic conditions, and the growth of the middle-class (C. G. Pickvance, 1985).

Bourdieu's discourse on cultural reproduction and Pickvance's analysis of urban social movements intersect in an intriguing manner. Both scholars stress the importance of social class in shaping cultural norms and patterns of urban activism. Not only can socially privileged classes maintain their position within society, but they also have the means to articulate their grievances and frame urban issues successfully because of their greater possession of cultural capital. Contrarywise, disadvantaged groups may lack the cultural capital necessary to initiate and sustain mobilization efforts.

Subsequently, cultural reproduction perpetuates the socioeconomic and cultural

inequalities that urban social movements often face. These movements typically form in response to issues arising from cultural reproduction processes, such as inequality, restricted access to resources, and exclusion from areas of decision-making. Consequently, cultural norms reinforced through cultural reproduction influence complaints and demands that motivate urban social movements.

This junction is significantly affected by the potential for social transformation. Cultural reproduction usually maintains existing social hierarchies; however, urban social movements attempt to challenge these hierarchies and advocate for change. However, the extent to which they can influence depends on several variables worth exploring, including available resources, current political conditions, and the direction of the movement.

The combination of Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction and Pickvance's research on urban social movements provides a comprehensive explanation of the intricate interaction between cultural norms, inequality, and collective mobilization. This confluence of ideas emphasizes the centrality of social class and cultural capital in determining the genesis, goals, and potential influence of urban movements. By examining how cultural norms impact the emergence of urban movements and how these movements challenge or reinforce the elements of cultural reproduction, this perspective deepens our understanding of the complex dynamics at play. This relationship also highlights the various ways in which cultural reproduction and urban social movements interact, offering opportunities for further research across cultural and political contexts.

3.5.1.5 Agency and Collective Action

The integration of Bourdieu's field theory with Pickvance's focus on agency and collective action furnishes a novel analytical framework for scrutinizing the complexities of urban inequalities. Bourdieu's conceptualization of social spaces as fields governed by specific laws, logic, and forms of capital provides a foundation for understanding the competitive and collaborative dynamics through which agents negotiate their positions and influence within these fields. This theoretical apparatus transcends a purely structural analysis by incorporating the agency of individuals, whose habitus guides their engagement within a field. Symbolic struggles, as conceived by Bourdieu, underscore the contestations between dominant and subordinate actors over the rules, norms, and evaluation that delineate field boundaries, especially in urban arenas where the fight for resources and power mirrors broader social stratification.

Contrastingly, Pickvance's examination of urban social movements underscores the potential of human agency and collective mobilization to confront and reshape structural constraints, advocating for a dualistic perspective that recognizes the capacity of actors to instigate structural transformations conducive to their objectives. This approach challenges deterministic interpretations of urban dynamics, positing that through collaboration, urban actors possess the transformative power to address disparities and reconfigure the urban fabric in favor of equitable outcomes. Such a perspective is harmonious with Bourdieu's acknowledgment of the influence of various capital on agents' positioning in an urban context, suggesting a complementary view where collective action serves as a lever for challenging entrenched inequalities

and injustices within these domains.

Bridging Bourdieu's and Pickvance's theoretical contributions illuminates the intricate interplay between structure and agency in urban settings, revealing how urban social movements can transcend structural limitations by leveraging the power dynamics within fields. Driven by their habitus and collective strategies, actors unite to contest and reformulate prevailing urban injustices situated within the broader framework of field dynamics. This synthesis offers a multifaceted lens through which the contestation and transformation of urban systems can be examined, underlining the dynamic nature of urban environments where fields are not only shaped by but also shaped by agents' actions and strategies. The amalgamation of field theory with an emphasis on the transformative potential of agency and collective action invites further empirical investigation across diverse urban contexts, aiming to elucidate the bidirectional shaping of urban landscapes through the continuous interaction between structural conditions and agency. This paradigm significantly advances our comprehension of the mechanisms underpinning urban change, highlighting the role of urban social movements in navigating and remolding the contours of urban inequalities.

3.6 Towards an Integrated Analytical Framework

The use of a synthetic theoretical framework is essential for analyzing the intricate and various aspects of urban social movements. These movements arise from a complex interplay of social, political, economic, and cultural factors, necessitating a comprehensive and innovative approach to understanding their internal dynamics and external interactions. An integrated framework effectively combines structural and

agency-driven perspectives, offering a balanced view that acknowledges the constraints and opportunities of urban environments while highlighting the significance of individual and collective agency in shaping the trajectory of these movements. This inclusive approach not only captures the diversity of urban social movements but also enhances the level of analysis, enabling a deeper understanding of the factors that contribute to movement success, mobilization strategies, and their broader societal consequences.

Adopting a theoretical framework that is synthetic in nature is instrumental in fostering interdisciplinary research, as it enables the incorporation of insights from sociology, political science, urban studies, and geography to develop a comprehensive portrayal of urban social movements. Given the intricate interplay between urban social movements and the broader urban context, this interdisciplinary approach is essential, encompassing issues such as spatial justice, urban governance, and community resilience.

In essence, an alternative theoretical framework is essential for analyzing the intricate relationship between structural conditions and the agency involved in urban social movements. This framework not only enhances our comprehension of the circumstances in which movements emerge and evolve but also supplies actionable insights for policymakers, practitioners, and scholars striving to promote fairer urban environments. By adopting a holistic, adaptable, and interdisciplinary approach, this study can provide a clearer understanding of the dynamics within urban social movements, leading to the development of more effective strategies for social change and policy intervention in urban settings.

3.6.1 The Synthesis for External Factors Analysis

It is imperative to identify and assess the various external factors that impact social movements before applying the hybrid framework for evaluation. Social movements are influenced by a wide range of elements, such as political, economic, media, social, and cultural aspects of urban environments. Therefore, it is crucial to consider these factors while evaluating any social movement using a synthetic framework.

Rapid urbanization exerts a profound influence on urban social movements (Harvey, 2003), as it engenders a plethora of impediments, including overcrowding, suboptimal living conditions, and diverse groups of people. Social movements promote enhanced living arrangements, housing, and collective action while concurrently grappling with issues such as gentrification and privatization. Pickvance ranked urbanization as the initial parameter to scrutinize the contextual framework of urban social movements, thereby illuminating the urban predicaments that provoke public discontent.

Political variables, including governmental policies and the dynamics of international relations, exert a significant influence on public discourse and draw attention to various societal issues (Robnett, 2002). The strategies employed in damaged movements are aimed at impairing the effectiveness and reputation of a group or organization. This includes the cultivation of negative public perceptions, the acquisition of sensitive information, the disruption of resources, the discouragement of participation, the neutralization of leaders, the promotion of internal discord, and the sabotaging of operations. (Maher, Martin, McCarthy, & Moorhead, 2019). Facilitated movements typically encompass the provision of legal protections, the dissemination of information, and the allocation of resources. The government's

intervention in such movements is often rooted in its domestic intelligence-gathering operations, perceived imminent threats, self-justification by officials, and the tendency for intervention to escalate. The political climate and economic conditions exert considerable influence on social movements, as well as international relations and the actions of other governments, which can ultimately determine the success of these movements. (Goodman, 2022). These external elements relating to the political climate and interventions from the state can be examined from the dimensions of state action and the political context in Pickvance's contextual framework.

According to various economic indicators, such as income inequality, joblessness rates, and spending patterns, there is a strong correlation between social unrest and the emergence of protest movements. Unfavorable economic factors often serve as catalysts for complaints that can result in the formation of social movements. These movements can lead to disruptions in markets, which may have negative effects on GDP and stock prices, especially in countries with weak governance structures (Davenport, 2015).In Pickvance's contextual framework, economic variables were shown to have a direct relationship with the various dimensions of general economic conditions. During economic downturns or when the economic climate is unfavorable towards the public, such as in situations where housing is extremely unaffordable, citizens tend to organize and engage in additional movements.

Mass media play another crucial role in social movements by directing attention toward important issues and influencing public opinion (McCurdy, 2012). The impact of media coverage on causes and protests is substantial and affects the level of participation. Media reporting on topics and protests raises public awareness and

sways public opinion toward social causes (Hart, 1996). Its outlets employ specific narratives to frame public discourse, and social media accelerates information dissemination and encourages engagement in social movements (Kidd & McIntosh, 2016). Meanwhile, the advent of social media has brought about significant changes in the dynamics of social movements, primarily through facilitating the swift dissemination of information, efficient coordination, and widespread mobilization on a large scale (Earl, Maher, & Elliott, 2017). The widespread sharing of emotive images and videos from protests can elicit strong emotional responses and motivate individuals to participate in such events (Loader, 2008). Although the content of mass media is part of the general social conditions, it is at the crux of promoting the value of the movement, framing public opinions, and even manipulating opinions, especially in the current era. Thus, it is necessary to consider this when analyzing social movements.

Cultural factors, including values, norms, identity, and public opinion, play a significant role in shaping the dynamics of social movements. These factors encompass common cultural attitudes, identities, values, and beliefs, which influence the ability of individuals to coordinate and participate in collective movements. The process of socialization and education plays a critical role in the formation of cultural preferences, ultimately shaping the trajectory of various movements. Understanding the broader cultural context is essential to examine the growth and implications of social movements. To analyze the cultural variables in social movements, Pickvance's contextual framework can be utilized to distinguish whether individuals with greater cultural capital are the primary components of the initial mobilizing actors. It is crucial to investigate the development of the middle class in this context to gain a deeper

understanding of the cultural factors that contribute to social movements.

3.6.2 The Synthesis for Internal Factor Analysis

Identifying the internal factors of a social movement is crucial before selecting a case study for examination. Such factors, including leadership, organizational structure, communication, resources, and the beliefs or ideologies of members, significantly impact the outcomes of social movements.

Leadership inspires dedication by harnessing charismatic power, exemplifying desired behaviors, and guiding individuals toward collaborative efforts (Shoshan, 2018). Persuasive leaders are involved in the process of making strategic decisions regarding goals, tactics, and organizational structure, which is beneficial for establishing links between various groups (Morris & Staggenborg, 2004). Effective leadership plays a crucial role in determining the outcomes of social movements by driving success through resource mobilization, demand framing, exerting influence on political elites, and strategic planning. The decisive element of leadership is the main actors' amount of capital (Jentges, 2017), especially cultural and social capital, which refers to the knowledge and education level and coverage area of social networks, respectively, and the embedded habitus according to the main advocators' social class as well.

Communication networks can share information and distribute discourse rapidly, while new media platforms allow decentralized message sharing and strategy discussions to expand (Diani, 1997). Interestingly, informal communication is not always weaker than formal communication (Osa, 2003). Actors are crucial in shaping and framing messages to effectively unite individuals through consensus. Public

conversation and media coverage have significantly increased the exposure and agenda-setting of various topics within social movements. Strong communication processes within social movements are necessary to disseminate information, establish agreements, and facilitate collective efforts (Oliver & Myers, 2003). In Bourdieu's framework, the ability to expand social networks and communicate effectively with other agents is considered social capital.

The longevity of movement is determined by the availability of resources and adequate financing, including staff, facilities, and financing (K. T. Andrews & Edwards, 2004). Professionalization, which maintains continuity within an organization, can lead to purpose displacement and moderation, while patronage provides valuable resources but can also result in reliance on external sponsors (Staggenborg, 1988). The depletion of resources requires the development of innovative strategies and the adoption of informal networks. According to Bourdieu, these resources can be categorized as capital forms.

Bourdieu's theoretical constructs of capital, habitus, and field provide a valuable lens through which to examine the internal workings of social movements. These theories highlight the impact of capital, habitus, and field on the formation and character of social movements, particularly regarding how activists' various forms of capital, including economic, cultural, and symbolic dimensions, influence the creation and nature of social movements.

The activists' habitus is influenced by their life experiences and dispositions, which shape their understanding of issues and approach to effecting change. Social movements can be seen as functioning within a 'field of contention' that is defined by

specific principles and regulations, requiring activists to navigate this domain carefully. Bourdieu's framework helps explain the ideological differences that arise among social movements because of the varying class positions and interests held by their activists.

The term 'field' refers to a social realm defined by its unique set of principles, rules, and competitions related to resource accumulation. Cultural capital involves acquiring the skills required to analyze and understand political challenges, as well as the authority to take action. Founders' social capital is vital in facilitating mobilization by utilizing existing networks. Habitus encompasses enduring attitudes, perceptions, and actions shaped by an individual's experiences and social status.

Middle-class movements focus on maintaining societal structures, emphasizing personal endeavors, and attaining favorable outcomes in terms of financial investments. To achieve success in this domain, activists may need to employ suitable strategies and resources, as marginalized groups may face inherent disadvantages when navigating the field. Bourdieu's conceptualizations of capital, habitus, and field provide a robust theoretical framework to examine the intricate dynamics inherent in social movements. By carefully analyzing the components of capital, individual behaviors, and governing principles of the 'field of contention,' scholars and practitioners can better understand the internal mechanisms of social movements.

The application of Bourdieu's theoretical framework to social movements requires an examination of the amount and composition of capital, as well as the impact of habitus and the guiding principles of the 'field of contention.' Capital exerts a determining influence on the growth, strategies, and ideology of social movements, whereas habitus significantly affects the likelihood of participating in activism.

3.6.3 The Summary of the Synthetic Analytical Framework

The work of Pickvance and Bourdieu offers complementary perspectives for analyzing urban social movements. Pickvance's framework examines external factors such as urbanization, state actions, political climate, middle-class development, and economic and social conditions. Bourdieu's field theory, on the other hand, focuses on intrinsic factors within a given social field, such as positions, rules, capital, and power dynamics. By combining these two methodologies, a comprehensive framework can be developed to study urban social movements, considering both external and internal determinants. Pickvance's approach provides a deeper understanding of how movements are influenced by broader societal conditions, while Bourdieu's tools offer insight into the internal dynamics and conflicts within the urban social movement field.

The methodology put forth by Pickvance encompasses five primary external contextual factors, namely conditions of urbanization, state actions, political setting, development of the middle class, and overall economic and social conditions. According to this framework, urban social movements are significantly influenced by the broader urban and socioeconomic context in which they arise. Pickvance (1985) categorizes urban social movements into four main categories, which include the provision and accessibility of housing and services, the control and management of local politics, and movements aimed at safeguarding housing and neighborhoods.

Bourdieu's field theory delves into the analysis of social fields as sites where social actors occupy specific positions, which are governed by internal regulations and diverse forms of capital. These factors shape the dynamics of conflicts and competitions within these fields. In the urban social movement field, individuals who

seek to challenge the prevailing order aim to change norms and compete with those in power. This has resulted in the emergence of distinct interests and motivations that propel challengers to take action. Bourdieu argued that social fields possess a certain level of autonomy, with their own unique logic, boundaries, positions, rules, and forms of capital that set them apart from one another.

The integration of Pickvance and Bourdieu's perspectives presents analytical tools for examining the impact of external factors on urban social movements as well as the internal dynamics and conflicts within the movement field. The combination of these two theories offers a comprehensive methodology for examining the genesis and development of urban social movements. Pickvance's framework provides tools for analyzing the impact of external societal factors on social movements, while Bourdieu's field theory enables the examination of internal dynamics and conflicts within the urban social movement field. The framework proposed in this research offers a robust multilevel methodology for understanding both internal and external factors that influence the emergence and evolution of urban social movements.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The methodology chapter connects the research aims to the empirical investigation by detailing the rationale for the chosen methods and the steps taken to ensure the rigor, validity, and ethics of the study. This chapter elucidates complex Taiwanese housing issues by explaining the research strategy, data collection, and analysis. This chapter delves into the intricacies of research methodologies and strategies, as outlined by Pickvance and Bourdieu, to explore the impacts of external contexts and dynamics within a particular field.

A comprehensive methodology that considers both external and internal factors is necessary to incorporate Pickvance's contextual framework into Pierre Bourdieu's field theory to explore housing issues and movements. The methodology chapter discusses qualitative research methods, such as in-depth interviews, participant observation, and academic literature analysis, to gain a deeper understanding of the diverse perspectives, experiences, and interactions of stakeholders in Taiwanese housing. The methods chapter addresses research ethics, as the study adheres to ethical principles such as informed consent, confidentiality, and respect for cultural norms, given the sensitive nature of the topic and the potential vulnerability of the participants.

The research process employed in this study is outlined in Figure 4.1, which presents a comprehensive and iterative approach to analyzing housing issues and movements in Taiwan. The process begins with an extensive examination of urban issues in Taiwan, which is followed by a focused investigation of housing, a critical component of the urban context. The researcher utilizes a combination of in-depth interviews, extensive literature reviews, and participant observations to ensure a multifaceted understanding of the subject matter. Through active engagement with key activists and attendance at relevant movement activities, the researcher collects valuable data that is carefully organized and classified for further analysis. A rigorous descriptive analysis is conducted, accompanied by the development of a theoretical framework that underpins the study. The researcher remains reflexive throughout the process, allowing for continuous refinement of the research approach in response to new insights. This adaptability ensures that the research remains grounded in the evolving realities of the field. The final output of the analysis is research outputs that contribute to the field of urban social movements and housing issues in the context of a neoliberalized Taiwan.

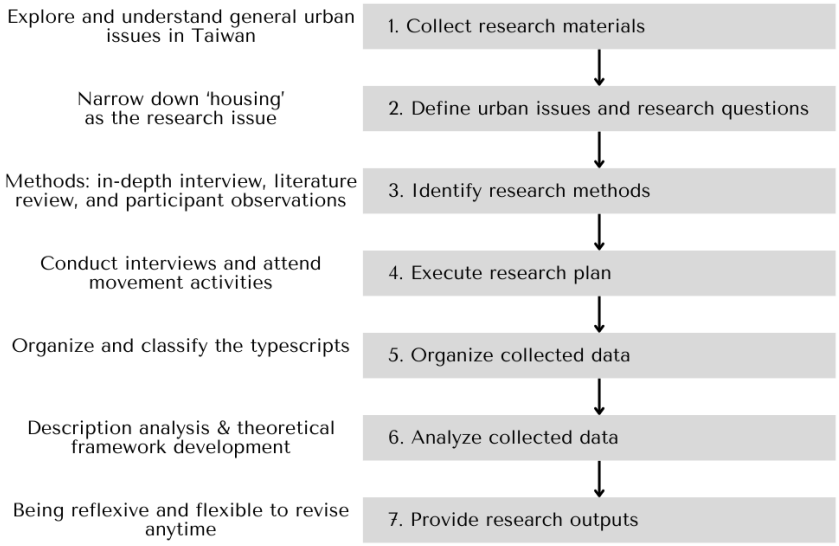

Figure 4.1 The Research Process of the Study

4.2 Research Philosophy

The realm of social research is enhanced by a varied assortment of philosophical viewpoints that impact the manner in which researchers undertake investigations. The research philosophies of interpretivism and constructivism have emerged as crucial lenses through which to understand the intricate interplay between external contextual influences and internal field dynamics in the context of Taiwanese housing.

Interpretivism, grounded in hermeneutics, postulates that social reality is inherently subjective and can only be understood through the interpretation of individuals within a particular context (Rabinow & Sullivan, 1979). This perspective encourages researchers to engage directly with participants, seeking to grasp the nuanced meanings and intentions that underlie human actions and behaviors. By conducting in-depth interviews and qualitative analysis, researchers can capture the intricate narratives and interpretations of residents, activists, policymakers, and other stakeholders who are closely involved in housing issues and movements (Babones, 2016).

Constructivism posits that individuals create an understanding of reality through social interactions, experiences, and cultural contexts (Fierke, 2015). This theory highlights the impact of social and cultural factors on individuals' beliefs and identity. Within the scope of this thesis, constructivism has both theoretical and practical implications. First, constructivism aligns seamlessly with Bourdieu's field theory, which emphasizes the agency of actors in shaping the social field through their interactions and struggles (Knafo, 2016; Pouliot, 2007; Pouliot & Mérand, 2012). This thesis explores how different stakeholders in the housing field contribute to the co-creation of their realities,

negotiate power dynamics, and are instrumental in the emergence of housing movements.

Constructivism places strong emphasis on the agency of individuals in shaping their environment (Bell, 2011). This perspective aligns with the thesis's focus on internal field dynamics, enabling a comprehensive examination of how individuals and groups navigate the housing field, access and mobilize resources and exert influence. Through the adoption of a constructivist lens, this research can gain deeper insights into how the agency shapes housing responses and movements (Stetsenko & Arievitch, 1997). Constructivism also challenges the idea of objective knowledge and highlights the social construction of knowledge (Young & Collin, 2004). This urges researchers to perceive knowledge as adaptable and context-dependent, shaped by interactions and shared understanding. In this study, this philosophy can be employed to analyze how housing challenges and movements are constructed, contested, and negotiated within the housing field, shedding light on the multi-faceted aspects of these issues (Charreire Petit & Huault, 2008).

The quoted interview dialogues emphasize the subjective nature of social reality and the significance of comprehending it through the perspectives and interpretations of those directly involved in Taiwan’s housing sector. This stance recognizes that a full understanding of the housing issue and associated social constructions is not achievable without considering the complex experiences and meanings attributed by residents, activists, policymakers, and other stakeholders.

The theoretical perspective informs the research approach for collecting and analyzing data of interpretivism. This perspective emphasizes the use of in-depth interviews and

qualitative methods to uncover the nuanced stories and personal experiences within the context of Taiwan's housing market. The interpretivist approach places great importance on individual viewpoints and the interpretive process in revealing the underlying meanings that shape social behaviors and interactions in the housing sphere.

Guided by constructivism, a crucial approach for analyzing the collaboration between stakeholders in the housing sector and the creation of their realities, this study delves into the negotiation of power dynamics and the development of housing movements. By adopting a constructivist viewpoint, the study investigates the agency of individuals and groups in shaping the housing environment, including their access, mobilization, and navigation of resources, as well as their impact and reaction to the neoliberalized housing landscape in Taiwan.

By integrating Bourdieu’s field theory within a constructivist framework, this research examines the intricate dynamics of the housing field. It delves into the processes by which social actors exercise their agency, negotiate their positions, and mold the field's structure and broader housing movements. This approach emphasizes the relational nature of power and the ongoing contest for resources and recognition that characterizes the housing sector.

The main goal of this study is to comprehend the housing issue and associated urban social movements in neoliberalized Taiwan by examining the perspectives and interpretations of relevant stakeholders and analyzing how these stakeholders shape and navigate their social realities. By employing this method, the research highlights the intricate interrelationship between individual agency, social and cultural structures, and the political context, thereby offering a comprehensive understanding of the

dynamics of housing and urban social movements in Taiwan.

4.3 Research Methodology

4.3.1 In-depth Interview

To gain a deeper understanding of the intricate housing issues and social movements in Taiwan, in-depth interviews are a vital and enlightening research method. In-depth interviews provide a qualitative and detailed approach to capture individuals' experiences, perceptions, motivations, and actions in the housing movement field. This includes influential individuals who play a role in shaping the field. The utilization of this research method enhances the understanding of the complex relationship between external contextual influences and internal field dynamics by providing depth and authenticity for exploration.

By asking open-ended questions and engaging in interactive dialogue, researchers can understand the difficulties that individuals encounter, the approaches they use to navigate the housing environment, and the significance they attach to their housing circumstances. Including personal accounts in the contextual framework provides a deeper understanding and more nuanced perspective on housing problems and movements. This allows researchers to gain insights into the human experiences associated with these issues.

> "There are still more scholars, teachers, and advocators in Taiwan advocating for housing justice besides two of us (engaging in housing advocacy). But yeah, there are not many of them, not more than 10 people."

According to the pre-interview dialogue above with the primary activist (interviewee

1), which occurred after his public talk about the challenges to Taiwanese housing justice and his publication at the Taipei International Book Exhibition on 5th February 2023, the scale of the advocating group is very limited. There are not as many participants as in other urban social movements, which could be a shortcoming and limitation of this research. However, it is possible to capture the whole picture of housing advocacy activists because of the limited number of participants. As a consequence, the six interviewees (Table 4.1) were selected as the skilled social actors (Fligstein & McAdam, 2015), according to purposive sampling, along with the primary activist's recommendation. The criterion is based on their involvement and production role in the overall housing movements, from the main policy researcher, the member organizing the first housing movement (the 1989 Shell-less Snail Movement), to volunteer lawyers offering legal consulting services. In order to present a broader scenario of the housing movements, another 30 people who have been involved in Taiwanese housing movements are interviewed online via Zoom. These 30 interviewees include the staff in SMOs who are responsible for other housing-related projects and policy researchers who collaborate with SMOs.

Table 4.1 The Basic Information of Interviewed Skilled Social Actors

No.	***Level of Education***	***Years Engaging in SMs***	***Role in the Taiwanese Housing Movements***
1	Master's degree	> 10 years	Primary research & activist
2	Master's degree	> 20 years	Primary activist
3	Master's degree	> 30 years	Primary activist
4	Master's degree	> 10 years	Primary activist
5	Master's degree	5 years	Volunteer
6	Master's degree	5 years	Volunteer lawyer

In-depth interviews were conducted one-on-one in order to obtain first-hand materials in detail without interview time pressure. Prior to a face-to-face interview, all the interviewees had received the outline of in-depth interview questions in Mandarin

Chinese version (Table 4.2) via email, which is semi-structured and could be extended according to the interviewees' answers to each question.

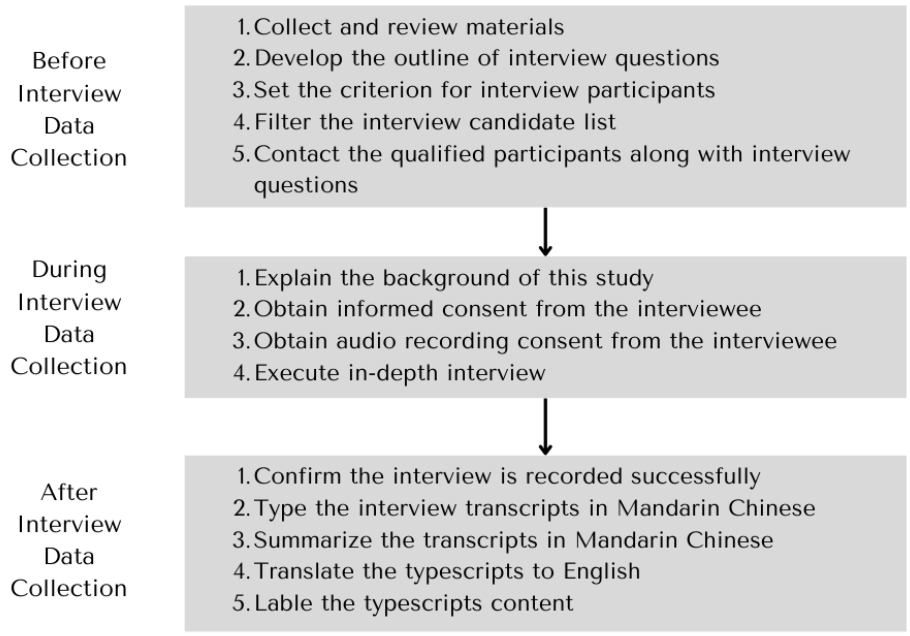

Figure 4.2 The Process of In-depth Interview

The interview process can be labeled into three phases: before, during, and after interview data collection (Figure 4.2). Before the interview, every interviewee had reviewed and consented to the interview questions. After the confirmation of dates and physical venues, in-depth interviews were conducted. This study obtained informed consent and audio recording consent from all interview participants with their signatures. During the conversation, the questions were flexible based on participants' answers, their viewpoints, and the incident or activities they would like to underline. Even though there was no time limitation, every interview took one hour averagely. In the end of the dialogue, it was confirmed that all the conversations were recorded successfully. After data collection, the interview audio files were typed into transcript and organized in Mandarin Chinese first, then the typescripts were translated to

English, which were quoted by this study.

Table 4.2 In-depth Interview Questions

Question Category	***Question Content***
Interviewee background	1. What is your level of education? 2. How long have you been involving social movements? (not limited to housing movements) 3. Do you consider yourself a victim of the housing crisis? Why? Or why not?
Taiwanese housing movements *1989-1990*	1. How was the Shell-less Snail Movement mobilized? 2. How was the profile of the activists? 3. What role did the mass media play? 4. Were there any threats or pressure from the state? 5. Why did the Shell-less Snail Movement divide into three NGOs? 6. What were the achievements of SMO at this stage?
Taiwanese housing movements *1990-2010*	1. Why there was no significant activism at this stage? 2. Was there any collaboration with other SMOs? If so, who were they? 3. Why (not to) collaborated with other SMOs? 4. How did the collaboration operate?
Taiwanese housing movements *2010-present*	1. Why and how did the strategy alter to advocacy at this stage? 2. How is the advocacy agenda formatted? 3. Who are the primary leaders in policy advocacy? 4. How is the content of policy advocacy framed? 5. What are the steps of policy advocacy? How to advocate? 6. What kind of role do mass media and internet play in the policy advocacy?

In-depth interview is able to promote researcher reflexivity. By actively participating in open and empathetic conversations with participants, researchers have developed a heightened awareness of their own biases, assumptions, and perspectives. Self-awareness plays a crucial role in enriching the research process, as it helps minimize potential biases and enhance the validity of the findings. Furthermore, researchers can modify their interview techniques and questions in response to the evolving insights obtained from participants. This allows for a dynamic and adaptable research approach (Porta, 2014).

Bourdieu's field theory highlights the importance of actors within a particular domain, recognizing their ability to exert influence and mold their surroundings. In-depth interviews provide researchers with the opportunity to thoroughly explore strategies,

negotiations, and interactions among different stakeholders in the housing field. Researchers can gain insights into the dynamics of the housing field by discussing the decisions individuals make, resources they use, and challenges they face. This can be achieved by engaging in conversations that apply Bourdieu's theory. This method illuminates how actors position themselves within the field and participate in struggles for symbolic capital, authority and change.

Pickvance's contextual framework highlights the significance of historical, political, economic, and social contexts in influencing housing challenges. In-depth interviews provided participants with a platform to discuss and explain how these broader influences relate to their own personal experiences. Researchers can investigate the intersection between external factors such as policy shifts, economic trends, and personal narratives and experiences. This method provides a thorough analysis of how structural forces and individual realities intersect, providing valuable insights into how external contextual factors influence the daily lives of residents and stakeholders.

These interviews contributed to a thorough understanding of how external and internal factors interact within the housing sector. By incorporating this method, theoretical analysis is enriched from a human perspective. This guarantees that the research effort prioritizes the voices and narratives of individuals who are directly impacted by housing challenges and actively involved in movements.

4.3.2 Participant Observation

Participant observation involves actively participating in the social settings and activities of the subjects under study (Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014). By embedding

oneself within housing communities, grassroots organizations, or advocacy groups central to Taiwanese housing problems and movements, the researcher gained firsthand experience of the lived realities, challenges, and dynamics that shape the housing landscape. This immersive approach aligns well with Pickvance's contextual framework, which underscores the importance of understanding the historical, political, economic, and social contexts that influence housing issues.

Bourdieu's field theory highlights the complex relationships, power struggles, and agency of individuals within a particular domain. By employing participant observation, researchers can closely examine the inner workings of these fields, including how various stakeholders negotiate their roles within the housing field. This approach allows researchers to gain insights into the distribution of resources, formation of alliances, and contests for authority and recognition. Through sustained engagement, researchers can uncover the subtle mechanisms underlying housing movements and responses to external influences.

This research employs a participant observation methodology (Figure 4.3) designed to account for the constraints and opportunities presented by the COVID-19 pandemic. It emphasizes the importance of ethical research practices in the study of housing movements. Due to the pandemic, the observation activities comprised a series of online open talks and one physical exhibition, but the researcher maintained accurate records of the dates and platforms of these virtual activities. The researcher's identity was openly disclosed during the registration process to ensure adherence to ethical considerations. The principles of participant observation were adhered to, and the researcher attended the housing movement activities as a non-intrusive observer,

preserving the integrity of the study. The virtual environment facilitated direct data export, which was then organized and labeled in a systematic manner. To guarantee the reliability of the observations, the collected data was cross-referenced with other data sources, resulting in a robust, ethically conducted participant observation process.

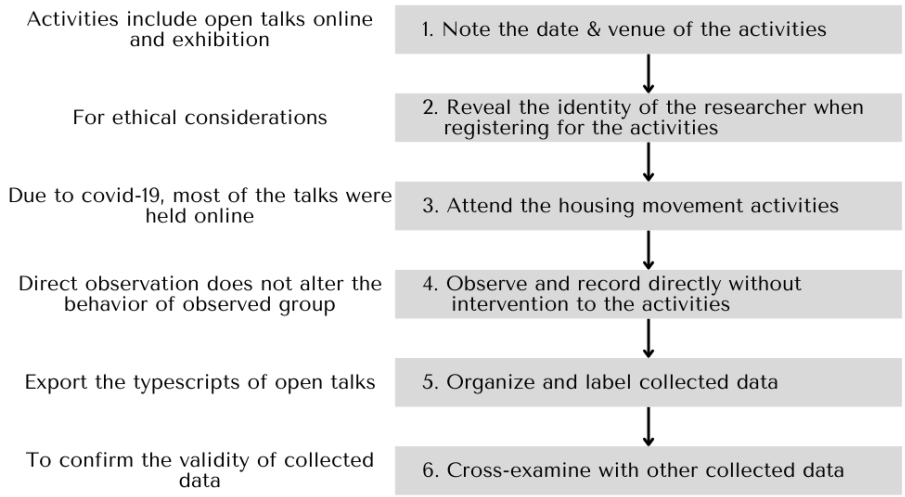

Figure 4.3 The Process of Participant Observation

Participant observation enables the generation of thick descriptions, comprehensive and contextually rich accounts of social phenomena (Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014). This aligns with the research objectives of this research, as it enables a thorough examination of the multifaceted aspects of Taiwanese housing challenges and movements. Through meticulous observations, field notes, and interactions, the researcher captured the intricacies of housing practices, social interactions, and power dynamics, leading to a holistic understanding of the external and internal factors at play.

Participating in observer participation enhances reflexivity on the part of the researcher, as the researcher becomes an integral part of the housing context, and personal biases and assumptions are illuminated, leading to a deeper understanding of the complexities

and nuances involved. This introspection enhances the researcher's ability to critically analyze and interpret findings, ensuring that the research remains sensitive to the voices and perspectives of the participants.

Although participant observation provides valuable insights, ethical considerations are of utmost importance. Researchers must obtain informed consent, protect the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants, and establish their roles within the field (Balsiger & Lambelet, 2014). This approach requires striking a balance between becoming immersed in the field and maintaining ethical boundaries to safeguard the well-being and rights of participants.

The research method of participant observation aligns seamlessly with the theoretical frameworks of Pickvance and Bourdieu, providing a dynamic means of analyzing Taiwanese housing problems and movements. This approach involves immersion in the context of external influences and internal dynamics, allowing for an in-depth exploration of individuals lived experiences, strategies, and agency. Participant observation thus offers a pathway for uncovering the multifaceted interplay between external influences and internal dynamics in relation to Taiwanese housing challenges and social movements, contributing to a nuanced understanding of the complexities that shape these issues.

4.3.3 Literature Review

The literature review method is foundational and essential in unraveling the intricate dynamics of Taiwanese housing problems and movements, using contextual analysis of external factors and field theory to elucidate internal dynamics, as per the

frameworks of Pickvance and Bourdieu. This involves an extensive review and analysis of scholarly works, research papers, and theoretical writings relevant to housing issues, social movements, and the specific theoretical perspectives employed.

The theoretical framework of this thesis is built upon academic literature, which serves as its foundation. By studying the work of Pickvance and Bourdieu, the researcher gained a comprehensive understanding of their respective frameworks. The writings clarify key concepts, principles, and methodologies, allowing the researcher to apply and contextualize these theories to the Taiwanese housing context. By conducting a systematic review of the existing literature, researchers can critically evaluate the relevance and applicability of these theoretical lenses, ensuring a robust theoretical foundation for the analysis (Lindekilde, 2014).

The academic literature process involves combining ideas and insights from multiple sources to create a comprehensive and integrated understanding of the research topic. Researchers may draw upon various sources of housing policy, urban development, social movements, and related topics to expand the scope of the study. By combining ideas from diverse academics, researchers may uncover the complex interplay between external contextual factors and internal field dynamics, as proposed by Pickvance and Bourdieu.

A broad array of resources, each rooted in distinctive evidence, contribute to the research (Table 4.3). The materials listed in Table 4.3 are all in Mandarin Chinese except for the academic literatures and published books, which are in English mainly. Official documents and reports issued by the Taiwanese governments play a vital role in furnishing precise and authoritative information that forms the basis of the study's

factual foundation. On the other hand, grey literature, journalistic accounts, and non-official text materials offer alternative perspectives and insights that are essential for situating the research within a broader socio-political context. Unofficial sources are particularly adept at capturing the rapidly changing city dynamics, providing timely insights into developments that impact the housing industry. Moreover, video and audio materials are recognized as crucial formats for documenting recent discussions among housing movement organizations and activists, as well as for disseminating information due to their widespread availability and accessibility. By employing this multimedia methodology, a comprehensive and constantly evolving collection of information is obtained, accurately reflecting the complex and dynamic nature of housing movements in Taiwan's neoliberalized urban environment.

Table 4.3 The Category of Reviewed Materials

Category		***Materials***
Official[3]		■ Real estate-related Acts, Regulations, and Enforcement Rules ■ Population and Housing Census Reports ■ Gazette ■ Annual Reports of Municipalities
Non-official	*Text*	■ Academic literature (e.g., journal article, report, and thesis) ■ Column articles about the housing issues and housing movements[4] ■ Annual reports of SMOs[5] ■ Published books ■ Reports from non-government research institutes[6] ■ Reports from real estate-related enterprises[7]
	Audio & Video	■ Taiwanese podcast episodes noted 'housing' as the keyword ■ Videos of the meeting/speech of housing SMOs ■ Housing activists' interview videos and podcast episodes

[3] All the official documents in Taiwan are announced in Mandarin Chinese, which is the official language of Taiwan.
[4] "Future City" column in CommonWealth Magazine, the 1st financial news magazine in Taiwan.
[5] The annual reports of OURs and TMM
[6] Center for Real Estate Research, College of Social Sciences, National Chengchi University
[7] SINYI Research Center for Real Estate, Cathay Real Estate, and Honda Real Estate Group

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Frame Analysis

Frame analysis enables researchers to discover the dominant discourses and narratives surrounding Taiwanese housing problems and movements by examining media coverage, policy documents, public debates, and advocacy materials (Lindekilde, 2014). This analysis aligns with Pickvance's contextual framework, as it reveals how external factors, such as political agendas, economic interests, and cultural norms, influence how housing issues are depicted and understood at a societal level.

Bourdieu's field theory highlights symbolic struggles and power dynamics within a specific domain, and frame analysis provides a method for exploring these symbolic battles within the housing field. By examining the framing strategies used by various actors, such as government agencies, developers, community organizations, and residents, the researcher can reveal the ways in which these actors compete for legitimacy, recognition, and authority within the housing arena. This approach sheds light on the internal field dynamics identified by Bourdieu's theory, showing how different stakeholders frame their positions to influence their perceptions and outcomes.

By examining how frames shape collective action and mobilization efforts, this thesis investigates how specific frames resonate with different segments of society and motivate them to engage in housing activism. Analyzing how frames are disseminated, contested, and adapted by activists and grassroots organizations provides insights into how housing movements emerge and evolve. This approach aligns with both theoretical perspectives, as it captures the agency and struggles of actors within the

housing field and acknowledges the broader contextual factors that shape mobilization.

Frame analysis enables researchers to uncover inconsistencies and concordances between external contextual pressures and internal field dynamics (Lindekilde, 2014). By comparing how various actors frame housing issues and movements, this thesis exposes areas of contention, convergence, or tension. This analysis enhances our understanding of how external forces interact with internal struggles and negotiations, providing a more nuanced depiction of the complex interplay between structural forces and individual agency.

Ultimately, the insights gained from frame analysis can lead to policy recommendations and advocacy strategies. By understanding how frames shape public discourse and influence policy agendas, researchers can suggest ways to reframe narratives and promote more equitable and sustainable housing solutions. This aligns with the overall objectives of this thesis, which aim to contribute to positive social change within the context of Taiwanese housing challenges and movements.

4.4.2 Thematic Analysis

Thematic analysis involves systematically examining and thoroughly studying qualitative data such as interview transcripts, field notes, and textual documents (Lindekilde, 2014). Researchers have become familiar with data to develop a comprehensive understanding of its content. This process supports Pickvance's contextual framework, enabling researchers to fully consider the historical, political, economic, and social contexts that influence housing issues and movements in Taiwan. By deeply engaging with the data, the researcher gained a comprehensive

understanding of the various external factors that contribute to housing challenges.

Thematic analysis employs both inductive and deductive coding. Inductive coding allows for direct identification of themes from the data and captures the perspectives and narratives of the participants. It captures the interplay between external contextual factors and internal field dynamics using both coding approaches. Themes such as historical legacies, policy shifts, economic forces, social interactions, and power struggles provide insight into the multifaceted dimensions of Taiwanese housing issues.

Thematic analysis involves the detection of recurring patterns, connections, and discrepancies within a dataset. This procedure aligns with the objectives of both theoretical frameworks by allowing the researcher to uncover patterns that correspond to Pickvance's contextual analysis of external factors and Bourdieu's examination of internal field dynamics. By scrutinizing the intersections of external influences and internal conflicts, this analysis provides a comprehensive understanding of the intricate interactions that give rise to housing problems and movements.

Thematic analysis requires researchers to adopt a reflective stance toward the data, acknowledging their own perspectives and preconceptions. This reflexivity aligns with Bourdieu's notion of recognizing actors' habitus and positions within the field. By critically examining their roles, researchers can expose how their interpretations and biases impact the analysis, resulting in a more nuanced understanding of the external and internal factors at play.

Finally, thematic analysis provides a contextualized interpretation of the data, which is consistent with both theoretical perspectives. By identifying meaningful themes in

the data, the analysis captured the complexity of housing challenges and movements in Taiwan within a broader societal context. The analysis also helps synthesize external contextual influences and internal field dynamics, providing a comprehensive understanding of how historical trajectories, policy shifts, power dynamics, and agency intersect to shape housing realities and responses.

4.5 Ethical Considerations

Ethical research practices require participants to obtain informed consent. To ensure that all participants have comprehensive information about the study's goals, methods, risks, and benefits, this information must be provided to residents, activists, policymakers, and other interested parties (Milan, 2014). The research participants must be able to ask questions and receive answers before making a well-informed decision about participation. Informed consent forms should be developed in a culturally sensitive and linguistically appropriate manner, considering the diverse social aspects of Taiwan.

Ensuring the confidentiality and anonymity of participants is crucial. The researcher of this study has handled all the information shared by participants with utmost privacy. Reports are generated in a way that prevents the identification of individual participants, and pseudonyms or codes are used instead of real names in transcripts or reports to protect privacy (Milan, 2014).

The researcher of this study has accurately and transparently reported the findings, even if they contradict initial expectations. Maintaining transparency in data analysis and interpretation increased the credibility of the research. Recognizing the essential

contributions of the participants is crucial in the research process, and their efforts should be recognized and valued. Researchers should consider ways to return to the communities or groups involved, such as communicating research results clearly and concisely or sharing information that may be beneficial to the participants (Milan, 2014).

CHAPTER 5

THE CIVIL SOCIETY AND POLITICS OF TAIWAN

5.1 Introduction

Located at the crossroads of East Asia, Taiwan has become a unique and fascinating topic of study in political science. Its political landscape is a complicated tapestry woven from historical legacies, democratization efforts, and cross-strait relationships. This chapter serves as an introduction to Taiwanese politics, laying the foundation for a deeper dive into the country's shifting political dynamics throughout the course of this study.

A look back at time is essential to make sense of Taiwan's current political climate. Taiwan's identity and political orientation have been affected by waves of external influence throughout the country's history, from the island's indigenous roots to periods of colonial authority and foreign occupation. The Kuomintang (KMT) government fled to Taiwan from mainland China after losing the Chinese Civil War and the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945). These turning points in history have permanently etched themselves into the fabric of Taiwan's society and politics, laying the groundwork for the country's subsequent political development.

The change from an authoritarian to a thriving democratic government in Taiwan is an interesting chapter of the island's history. The development of democratic institutions,

the rise of rival political parties, and the foundation of the rule of law have all played significant roles in establishing Taiwan's modern political landscape. This chapter examines the motivation for this democratization process and the roles of key political leaders, civil society movements, and external factors. Democracy in Taiwan has matured, as evidenced by the widespread adoption of electoral methods and established mechanisms for citizen participation.

The prominence of the identity discourse in Taiwanese politics is undeniable. Political learning, social cohesion, and cross-strait contacts are profoundly affected by how Taiwanese identity is constructed in relation to Chinese identity. This chapter examines the ways in which changing political attitudes are reflected in the rise of young activism and social movements as well as the influence of education, media, and public discourse on the formation of these identities. Identity politics and civil society actions in Taiwan reveal the role that ordinary people can play in influencing their governments.

In a nutshell, the political content in Taiwan that will be comprehensively investigated in this research has many facets, and this chapter serves as a preface to those facets. Taiwan's political landscape offers a diverse tapestry of topics and processes, from its historical foundations to its present-day democratic system, cross-strait ties, and identity politics. In the following chapters, this thesis will delve deeper into these aspects using rigorous theoretical frameworks and empirical analysis to untangle the complex threads that make up Taiwan's political mosaic.

5.2 The Historical and Cultural Background

5.2.1 Colonial Period and Influence of Chinese Dynasties

As an island located in the West Pacific Ocean, Taiwan has been included in other dominating countries' territories since the 16th century, including the Chinese Emperor, Spain, and the Netherlands, because of its unique location connecting northeast and southeast Asia (Gold, 2015). Among these dominant regimes, Chinese empires dominated Taiwan for the longest span.

Although part of China's territory from 1683 to the end of WWII, Taiwan had been generally overlooked by the Ching Emperor in Peking, and the citizens in Taiwan had been responsible for their own concerns. At the end of WWII, Taiwan's economy was founded on local peasant owner-to-tenant farmers, akin to Fukien and Kwangtung, from which most of the residents came. Local social and political leadership was given by a landlord-gentry elite, regardless of whether Peking dispatched qualified officials (Gold, 2015). In fact, Taiwan had not developed a modern industry until the Japanese colony in 1895. Following the loss of the Ching Empire during the Sino-Japanese War, Taiwan became a Japanese colony. It was part of Japan's territory for the next five decades until the closure of World War II (Fell, 2018).

The Japanese wrought profound changes in Taiwan's politics, economics, and society over the period of five decades (Gold, 2015). Using coercive measures in the beginning, the Japanese authoritarian led the way in establishing what is now known as a favorable investment climate on the island, including enforcing law and order; unifying weights, measures, and currency; guaranteeing private property rights; constructing a modern infrastructure; mobilizing natural resources; making investment

capital available; and developing human capital (Gold, 2015).

These investments and industrialization events caused Taiwan to experience an entirely different period from that of China between 1985 and 1945. Taiwan prospered from decades of rapid economic growth and political stability following the violent Japanese occupation. When Taiwan was returned to Chinese authority, it was more economically developed than the mainland, and its citizens enjoyed a greater quality of life than those of any other Chinese province (Fell, 2018).

5.2.2 Post-WWII Developments and Kuomintang

World War II's unconditional surrender of Japan in August 1945 did not make the Taiwanese people sovereign over their own land. Before the Japanese colonization, Taiwan was a province of imperial China. In 1945, Allied officials devised a plan to retrocede it to China,. Despite Taiwan's apprehension about the new regime, ROC troops and the government were initially welcomed. However, the mismanagement of the Kuomintang dictatorship meant that this goodwill was swiftly eroded (Fell, 2018).

In October 1911, the Ching dynasty collapsed because of an internal decline and a planned revolutionary assault. Although officially a unified entity ruled by Beijing, the nascent ROC quickly dissolved into a swarm of warring regional kingdoms ruled by warlords (Gold, 2015). Taiwan was not at the center of the regime picture during the 1949 struggle against Communists, which led to the establishment of the People's Republic of China.

The KMT leadership viewed Taiwan as a spearhead of the Communist Party rather than as an integral regime member. The relationship between the Taiwanese and their

new overlords deteriorated swiftly. The tensions culminated in the February 28, 1947, incident (The 228 Incident). The incident began when the KMT government monopoly agents accidentally shot a bystander during an unsuccessful attempt to seize illegally marketed cigarettes, inciting protests and eventually leading to the outbreak of revolt. In a few days, the Taiwanese took control of most of the island's towns and cities, with several mainlanders killed or injured. In March, to stop the KMT forces arrived to stop the incident. They started a wave of revenge killings, primarily targeting the Taiwanese elite who had criticized the KMT and those attempting to negotiate and maintain order (Fell, 2018).

This incident significantly impacted Taiwan's ethnic relations, causing conflicts between mainlanders and native Taiwanese. The KMT viewed the 228 Incident as proof that the Taiwanese could not be trusted, providing them with justification to ban islanders from high-party, government, and military positions for the following three decades (Fell, 2018). For many Taiwanese, the Incident engendered antipathy against the Chinese mainland, a sentiment politicians attempted to exploit during election campaigns until this decade (Fell, 2018). The 228 Incident has become the most recognizable symbol of the battle between the Taiwanese and the KMT government and a wound that will never be healed in Taiwanese society.

The situation in mainland China was likewise tragic for the KMT regime. It gradually lost control of its remaining territory in mainland China, culminating in the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in October 1949 in Beijing. After consecutive setbacks on the mainland, what was left of the ROC army and administration retreated to Taiwan. Between 1948 and 1950, one to two million

mainland migrants fled to Taiwan. Considering that Taiwan's population was only six million after Japan's colonial authority, this significantly altered Taiwan's ethnic composition, with mainlanders now comprising roughly one-fifth of the population. Taiwan struggled to accommodate the enormous population growth during a period of high unemployment and inflation.

Being challenged internally by the severe inflation and the 228 Incident, and externally by the PRC, the KMT decided to rule Taiwan in a harsh political manner. Martial law was imposed in 1949 (Kagan, 1982). Under martial law, primary constitutional rights were suppressed, notably the freedoms of the media and organizations. General elections to the National Assembly and other representative organizations were deferred. Chambers of commerce, industrial groups, labor unions, and professional associations were founded and operated under the KMT tutelage. Other civic organizations that were not approved by the authorities were prohibited. This authoritarian structure remained secure for nearly four decades until martial law was lifted in 1987 (Ngo & Chen, 2008).

Due to the emergency rules in effect between 1949 and 1987, notably martial law and the Temporary Provisions Effective During the Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion, the formation of new political parties was prohibited. Taiwan was a one-party state under the KMT, notwithstanding the ROC constitution's presumption that different political parties would contest public office in free elections (Rigger, 1999).

5.2.2.1 The Impacts of the U.S. Aid

During the martial period, another crucial factor that deserves discussion is the U.S. aid, which impacted social, economic, and diplomatic perspectives. Due to the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950, the U.S. raised its interest in Taiwan's strategic importance. Against this background, the aid program directly resulted from the Korean War, when the U.S. involved Taiwan in its containment policy against the communist PRC. The aid came as direct and indirect military assistance. The direct forces support included the provision of naval vessels, warplanes, and combat aircraft. Mutual defense assistance provided military munitions for Taiwan and aimed to maintain the operating capacity of the army and troops (Ngo & Chen, 2008).

The aid also included economic support. Technical collaboration, defense support, and agricultural commodities comprise financial assistance. In addition, some institutional changes have been implemented, considerably improving administrative accountability in authoritarian settings. One of the most significant achievements was the establishment of supra-ministerial institutions for planning, coordinating, and supervising economic and social development programs (Ngo & Chen, 2008). Together, these agencies and measures aimed at enhancing planning capacity not only revived the pre-war technocratic legacies of the KMT government, but also laid the groundwork for the institutionalization of a more technocratic mode of policy planning, which has become the defining future of the so-called developmental state (Ngo & Chen, 2008).

From 1950 to 1965, the United States offered Taiwan $1.5 billion in funding (Cullather, 1996). It saved Taiwan from the economic depression of the 1950s and contributed

significantly to the subsequent economic expansion. However, the U.S. government also pushed the KMT to implement political liberalization without threatening to cut off financial help, and consequently, for KMT human rights abuses (C.-y. Lin, 1992). In short, US funding was an unquestionably vital component in bolstering the KMT government's responsibility under authoritarian control.

5.2.3 Cultural Factors Affecting Political Behavior

Political behavior encompasses formal participation, such as voting and activism, and illegal activities, such as coups and revolutions. It shapes laws, resource allocation, public opinion, social norms and values, and group identity. The positive impacts of political behavior include promoting participation, advocating for equality, and encouraging civic engagement. Adverse effects include corruption, polarization, and erosion of trust in institutions (Carmines & Huckfeldt, 1998).

Political behavior is shaped by cultural context and socialization in the long run (Saenger, 1945; Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022). The cultural factors affecting Taiwanese political behavior are as follows: From a historical perspective, Taiwan has been a part of the territory of ancient Chinese dynasties since the 17th century. Japan then colonized Taiwan for five decades since 1895, impacting the political development of the native Taiwanese. After WWII, the KMT government took over Taiwan and imposed authoritarian single-party rule over Taiwan for another four decades until 1987 (C.-F. Shih, 2003). Even though democratization in Taiwan began in the late 1980s, it can be observed that traditional Chinese social norms and the suppression by the dominant regime (T. Y. Wang & Chang, 2006) have significantly influenced Taiwanese cultural content for centuries that the duration is long enough to

embed traditional Chinese norms and tolerance of suppression in the society code (Y.-t. Chang & Chu, 2002; Fetzer & Soper, 2013; Ginsburg, 2002; Ma, 2011; Ulaşan, 2022; ULAŞAN, 2022).

Confucianism has been the backbone of traditional Chinese norms since BC 134 (Zhao, 2018) and has become a social and public administrative embeddedness in Taiwan (Ma, 2011; Ulaşan, 2022; ULAŞAN, 2022). Confucianism is an ideology that reverses the autonomous individual in all aspects of life, from personal to political. Its core theme is unapologetic humanism with dynamic socioeconomic consequences and explanations.

Confucius identified five relationships as the foundation of social order: son and father, husband and wife, subject and ruler, younger and elder siblings, and friends. The rulers were expected to be generous and courteous to their people, whereas the individuals were expected to be loyal to the monarch. Fathers were supposed to be generous and compassionate toward their children, while boys were expected to be faithful and obedient. In a marriage, the husband is expected to treat his spouse respectfully, while the woman is expected to be submissive. Senior brothers or friends were required to be considerate of their younger brothers or friends, who were expected to be courteous towards their elder brothers or friends. He believes that a link between parents and children is essential. A nation is similar to a large family. A subject was expected to be faithful to the monarch just as a son was expected to be devoted to his father. If families are harmonious, the government and society will work well (Creel, 1929; Zhang, 2003).

Therefore, the Confucian tradition does not accept democracy but rather centralizes authority (Ginsburg, 2002; Ulaşan, 2022; ULAŞAN, 2022), which is hierarchical,

authoritarian, and monolithic. Taiwan actively accepted Confucian ideas, such as arranging government structures (D. A. Bell, 2003; Ginsburg, 2002) and a civil-service examination with similar functioning to the original (D. Bell, 2003; Ginsburg, 2002). Confucianism exists at all levels, including state, popularity, and intellect.

Despite the embeddedness of obedience to hegemonic Confucianism, researchers recognize that Taiwan has paved its own way to democracy (Y.-t. Chang & Chu, 2002; Fukuyama, 1995; J. T. Martin, 2014). Girvin (1989) notes that a specific response will emerge when an existing political tradition is subjected to pressure that compels it to change. Micro-level culture is the first to change, followed by meso-level culture, and then macro-level culture, which consists of the values and symbols of collective aims. This last structure is exceptionally robust because it is founded on the collective beliefs of society as a whole. Although Confucian values and democratic consciousness are two conflicting value systems, education is the only intersection between these two ideologies (Y.-t. Chang & Chu, 2002), given that the length of education and average age plays a crucial role in the development of democratic awareness, democratic awareness increases as education increases and average age decreases. Zhang (2003) also emphasizes the significance of education in Western democratic society and traditional Chinese values. Even though there are different opinions on when Taiwan became a democracy, it is undoubtedly one of the core shared values in Taiwanese society (Fell, 2018).

5.3 The Political Institutions in Taiwan

5.3.1 Overview of Taiwan's Political System

Under its 1947 constitution, the Republic of China's political system contained aspects

of Imperial Chinese heritage and Western parliamentary and presidential democracies. It was based on the Weimar Republic of Germany to a great degree (Fell, 2018). The system consisted of two key leaders, the President and the Premier. As head of state and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, the President had the authority to choose the Premier.

The President was indirectly chosen by the National Assembly and was limited to two six-year terms. Nonetheless, the Premier led the Executive Yuan, the state's highest executive body, which oversaw the administration of numerous government departments. The Premier presided over the cabinet of ministers, not the President, and all new legislation needed the Premier's countersign. In addition, Legislative Yuan approval was necessary to select the Premier. The constitution was somewhat ambiguous regarding the division of authority between the Premier and the President (Fell, 2018). However, the 1947 constitution was never permitted to be implemented entirely in a united China, as planned.

The implementation of martial law and temporary provisions effective during the period of communist rebels essentially suspended the 1947 Constitution and consolidated authority in the President's office. Since Chiang Kai-shek was also KMT's chairman, he had uncontested political control until the early 1970s. Under martial law, contrary to the Constitution, the Premier and Executive Yuan became the President's policy execution department. In addition, the Temporary Provisions eliminated the president's two-term restriction, making Chiang Kai-shek and, subsequently, his son rulers until they passed away.

Vice President Lee Teng-hui, a native Taiwanese, became President in 1988 upon the

death of President Chiang Ching-Kuo. However, Lee's political influence within the KMT was insufficient to instantly dominate political change. In 1992, the Taiwanese political system's new stage was inaugurated due to pressure from the DPP and the worldwide liberalization trend (Fell, 2018).

5.3.2 The Semi-presidential System

Taiwan's semi-presidential political system combines elements of the presidential and parliamentary systems. This unique arrangement includes a president and prime minister who are directly elected and a cabinet that is accountable to the legislature (Wu, Tsai, Elgie, & Moestrup, 2011). A fixed four-year term for the president provides the government with stability. In addition, a vote of no confidence can be used to remove the prime minister, allowing for the flexibility to change governments as needed. This combination encourages a system of checks and balances between the executive and legislative branches, ensuring democratic legitimacy and preventing the excessive concentration of power in any one branch.

Several benefits of Taiwan's semi-presidential system are apparent (Shen, 2018). First, the fixed presidential term ensures stability and continuity in the government by allowing the president to implement their policies and initiatives over a predetermined period. In addition, the ability of parliament to remove an unpopular prime minister through a vote of no confidence contributes to the stability and effectiveness of the government. This system also permits changes in the ruling parties without requiring time-consuming and resource-intensive new presidential elections. In addition, checks and balances prevent the executive branch from acquiring unchecked power, thereby promoting a more accountable and transparent government. The legitimacy of the

government's decisions is enhanced by the president's election and parliament's approval of the prime minister.

However, Taiwan's semi-presidential system is not devoid of obstacles. The potential for conflict and stalemate between the president and legislature is a significant disadvantage. A dual executive structure can result in ambiguous accountability, making it difficult for citizens to assign responsibility for particular policy decisions or actions. Additionally, there may be confusion between the president and the prime minister regarding policy and personnel decisions, which may hinder effective governance.

Over the years, Taiwan's semi-presidential system has undergone significant change. Initially, the presidency played a ceremonial role, but its power and influence grew over time. The constitutional reforms of the 1990s formally established a semi-presidential system, paving the way for a presidency with greater power. The inherent tension between the president and parliament was highlighted by President Chen's consolidation of power following the 2000 election despite opposition from the legislative branch. Recently, power has returned to the prime minister and parliament, indicating the system's constant rebalancing of authority (Fell, 2018).

In conclusion, Taiwan's semi-presidential system offers a unique blend of presidential and parliamentary elements that promote internal checks and balances (Wu et al., 2011). The advantages of the system are its stability, adaptability, and capacity to prevent the accumulation of excessive executive power. Nonetheless, it faces obstacles, such as potential conflicts between the president and parliament and accountability issues. The ongoing development of Taiwan's semi-presidential system reflects the

complexities of dual executive power and the search for an optimal balance between legislative and executive branches. Taiwan continues to refine its governance structure, ensuring effective and accountable leadership for its citizens by navigating these challenges.

5.3.3 The Lawmaking Process

Taiwan's legislative procedure is a multistage one involving multiple government branches and political actors. Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Examination, Control, and political party caucuses and individual legislators can all propose legislation, resulting in a diverse and inclusive legislative agenda. The Legislative Yuan is the unicameral legislature of Taiwan responsible for reviewing, debating, amending, and voting on bills. For a bill to become law, it must undergo three readings in the Legislative Yuan, ensuring scrutiny and thorough consideration (Baum, 1999).

During the proposal phase of the legislative process, various governmental bodies and political entities can initiate bills. The Executive Yuan plays a pivotal role in shaping the legislative agenda as it is notably active in proposing legislation, especially significant policies, and the annual budget. Once introduced, bills are forwarded to the Procedure Committee of the Legislative Yuan, which determines the agenda and assigns bills to the committees for examination (Baum, 2005).

In the Legislative Yuan, bills undergo three readings during deliberation (Baum, 2005). The initial reading is brief and sets the stage for subsequent discussions. During the second reading, bills were dissected article by article and amendments were proposed and considered. The third reading signifies the final amendments and prepares a bill

for the vote.

After completing these three readings and amendments, the Legislative Yuan approved the final bill. To pass a bill, a simple majority is required. Once the bill is approved, it is sent to the president for promulgation. Within ten days, the president may either sign the bill into law or send it back to the Legislative Yuan for reconsideration. If the Legislative Yuan passes the bill with a majority vote a second time, the president must either promulgate it or resign (Yeh, 2008).

The government bodies involved in Taiwan's legislative processes have distinct functions. As a unicameral legislature, the Legislative Yuan is responsible for the legislation's final review and approval. As the highest administrative body, the Executive Yuan proposed and implemented policies including the annual budget bill and significant policy initiatives. The Judicial Yuan can propose legislation regarding the judicial system and its interpretations of the legislation's impact. In contrast, the Examination and Control Yuans cannot propose legislation, as they focus on the oversight of examinations and auditing/impeachment (Baum, 2005).

Compared to majoritarian parliamentary systems, Taiwan's legislative process prioritizes consensus-building and inclusivity, making it less likely that the majority party will pass legislation quickly. This attribute provides smaller parties a disproportionate sway over forming policies and laws. In addition, the president of Taiwan has less authority over legislation than presidents in presidential systems, as he or she can only request reconsideration or resign, in contrast to the U.S. president's ability to veto legislation.

In conclusion, Taiwan's legislative procedure is robust and inclusive, involving multiple branches of government and political entities. It aims to promote consensus building and to prevent the consolidation of power in the hands of a single political actor (John F Copper, 1992). The Legislative Yuan plays a crucial role in reviewing and passing bills, while the Executive Yuan wields considerable sway in proposing significant policies and annual budgets. This consensus-based, multiparty approach enables broad participation but can also lead to obstacles such as gridlock (I. S.-h. Huang & Sheng, 2022; S.-h. Huang, 2019). Briefly, Taiwan seeks to preserve a responsive and democratic government structure that addresses the needs and concerns of its citizens by continuously adapting and refining its legislative processes.

5.3.4 Political Parties and Electoral Systems

Since the advent of democracy in the 1980s, Taiwan's political party system has changed significantly. The once-dominant KMT that ruled Taiwan under authoritarian principles was forced to adopt democratic principles. In contrast to the KMT's traditional emphasis on Chinese reunification under the Republic of China (ROC) framework, DPP has emerged as a formidable opposition advocating for Taiwanization and emphasizing Taiwan's distinct identity (Reilly, 2007).

As Taiwan transitioned to a democratic system, the party landscape shifted from single-party dominance to a more competitive two-party dynamic, as smaller parties emerged. This change challenged KMT's long-held hegemony and ushered in a new era of political competition and pluralism (G. Lin & Wu, 2017).

Taiwan's electoral system has also undergone significant changes over time (Hellmann,

2011). The 1996 electoral reforms included direct presidential elections, allowing citizens to directly choose their leaders. This action has increased democratic accountability and political participation. In 2005, legislative elections changed from a single non-transferable vote (SNTV) system, which favored the organizational strength of the KMT, to a mixed system comprising single-member districts (SMD) and party-list proportional representation (PR) (Stockton, 2010). The mixed electoral system allowed the DPP to become more competitive in SMD elections and improved the representation of smaller parties through PR, reflecting their actual vote share more accurately. In 2017, the party vote threshold reduced from 5% to 3%, making it easier for smaller parties to attain legislative seats (Cutchin, 2014).

Political parties have been notable proponents of electoral system reforms, as they sought to maximize their competitive advantage and improve their representation. During one-party rule, the KMT favored electoral systems that allowed it to consolidate its power. However, as the DPP emerged as a formidable opponent, it pushed for reforms that included more SMDs and PR, which was viewed as beneficial to the DPP's chances. The KMT collaborated with these efforts' modifications, recognizing their potential electoral benefits. Parties have therefore played a central role in shaping electoral rules to suit their interests and maximize their influence (Chi, 2014).

Future challenges for Taiwan's political parties include generational shifts in the electorate, the complexities of cross-strait relations, and the delicate balance between the issues of unification and independence (Hellmann, 2011). Parties must also address and adapt to the public's discontent with government performance and policy priorities.

Increased youth participation in politics allows parties to engage with new and diverse segments of the electorate.

Since the beginning of democratization, Taiwan's political parties and electoral systems have evolved significantly. The transition from a single-party monopoly to a competitive two-party system, and the implementation of electoral reforms, have shaped Taiwan's political dynamics. Political parties have actively influenced electoral changes, with each seeking a competitive advantage. As Taiwan's political landscape continues to change, parties must navigate obstacles and seize opportunities to address the diverse needs and aspirations of Taiwanese people. This interaction between political parties and electoral systems continues to fundamentally shape contemporary Taiwanese politics.

5.4 Political Economy and Development in Taiwan

5.4.1 Neoliberalism and Developmentalism

The term 'neoliberalism' was first coined in post-World War I Germany by a small circle of economists and legal scholars affiliated with the Freiburg School to refer to their moderate program of reviving classical liberalism (Steger & Roy, 2021) and the economy and politics all over the world have been impacted profoundly by it for approximately half a century. The United States, the United Kingdom, and many other English-speaking countries were royal followers of neoliberalism in the 1980s. It is a rather broad and general concept referring to an economic model or paradigm that has risen in prominence. Building upon the classical liberal ideal of the self-regulating market, neoliberalism comes in several strands and variations. Steger and Roy conclude three dimensions of neoliberalism: ideology, a mode of governance, and a

policy package (Steger & Roy, 2021).

Neoliberal ideology pursues a consumerist, free-market world, and the codifiers of neoliberalism are global power elites that include transnational corporations, influential journalists, state bureaucrats, and politicians. This group of elites skillfully interacts with the media to sell their preferred version of a single global marketplace to the public, portraying globalizing markets positively as an indispensable tool for realizing a better world. Their ideological claims are laced with references to global economic interdependence rooted in the principles of free-market capitalism.

According to Foucault, the second dimension of neoliberalism refers to governmentalities that are specific modes of governance based on premises, logic, and strong relations (Audier & Behrent, 2015). A neoliberal governmentality is rooted in entrepreneurial values such as competitiveness, self-interest, and decentralization (Steger & Roy, 2021). Rather than operating along more traditional lines of pursuing the public good by enhancing civil society and social justice, neoliberals call for employing governmental technologies taken from the world of business and commerce, such as risk management and cost-benefit analyses. Neoliberal modes of governance encourage the transformation of bureaucratic mentalities into entrepreneurial identities, where government officers no longer see themselves as public servants and guardians of the qualitatively defined public good, but as self-interested actors who respond to the market and contribute to the monetary success of the state.

Third, neoliberalism is a concrete set of public policies that includes deregulation, liberalization, and privatization (Steger & Roy, 2021). These public policies include massive tax cuts, the reduction of social services and welfare programs, and new

commercial urban spaces shaped by market imperatives. Neoliberal public policies aim to reproduce this neoliberal paradigm.

Not only Western countries but also Asian countries are sincere followers of neoliberalism. Japan, which was the first to adopt the neoliberal policy, and the four Asian Tigers (Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan) have been studied by many scholars on their neoliberal development models (K. J. Fields, 2012; Haggard, 2018; Jacobs, 2019; Rossi & Vanolo, 2015; Steger & Roy, 2021; Woo, 2007), 2007). It should be noted that these market-oriented ideas of liberalization, deregulation, and privatization had to contend with the strong tradition of state interventionism and economic centralism. The bonds between the state and private sector are particularly deep in East Asia.

Developmentalism is another crucial ideology that cannot be ignored in the East Asian development models. Developmentalism is an ideology first proposed by Johnson (1982), holding that economic progress is best achieved when the state leads the nation to promote economic change (K. J. Fields, 2012). Public ownership, planning, and goal setting are institutional means of achieving national economic development. The public and private sectors cooperate under the guidance of a pilot planning agency. The state further encourages cooperation among businesses and between business and labor to speed the adoption of new technology, reduce production costs, and expand the nation's share of global markets.

However, it is worth noting that neoliberalism and developmentalism are apparently unidentical. Neoliberalism is free and market-oriented, with deregulation indicating that the state should play a minimal role, and developmentalism, on the contrary,

requires fierce interventions from the government aiming at significant economic enhancement. They clash because the two ideologies reflect the outlook and interests of different groups in society and because they must be implemented through politics in society and the exercise of state power (Hill et al., 2012). The neoliberal market worship conflicts with the developmental ideology of state-led economic growth. Norms, social relations, and cultural expectations, shaped by the influence of developmental institutions and regulatory systems, hinder neoliberal efforts to institute a free market and commodify public goods.

However, they are not entirely antagonistic or mutually exclusive. Both share common elements. Both neoliberalism and developmentalism prioritize economic performance and capital accumulation over other values. Both developmental and neoliberal state value methods of state intervention are based on market incentives. Owing to ideological clashes, political accommodations, and selective appropriations, East Asian countries, including Taiwan, have developed a unique ideology: developmental neoliberalism (Hill et al., 2012). From the perspective of Taiwanese history trajectory, it can be concluded that it is more than a coincidence that Taiwan chose the route of developmental neoliberalism. First, Japan colonized Taiwan for half a century since the end of the 19th. At the same time, the Japanese state applied neoliberalism policies (Steger & Roy, 2021) and rapidly developed modern industry. As part of Japan, Taiwan introduced mass production methods and Western concepts, including neoliberalism. After World War II and the end of Japanese colonization, the United Nations assigned a group of professionals from the United States to Taiwan for post-war recovery and formulation of economic policies, including urban planning strategies. Since then, Taiwan and the United States have had close economic and political relationships

against communism (Steger & Roy, 2021; Stubbs, 2017). All of these historical events led Taiwan to a developmental state, especially from the early 1960s to the late 1980s (Stubbs, 2017). Until now, urban development and policy in Taiwan have been highly influenced by neoliberal developmentalism; thus, some urban problems have emerged, weaving in the neoliberal structure tightly, and the next section will subsequently display more on this phenomenon.

5.5 Social and Demographic Factors of Taiwan

5.5.1 Ethnicity and Social Diversity

As an immigrant society, Taiwan boasts a rich tapestry of ethnic diversity, with various groups contributing to its vibrant cultural landscape. The main ethnic groups in Taiwan include Taiwanese indigenous peoples, Hoklo Taiwanese, Hakka Taiwanese, and Mainlanders. Throughout history, there has been a significant degree of intermarriage between different ethnic groups, particularly between Han Chinese settlers and indigenous peoples, during the early settlement periods. This historical intermingling has resulted in fluid ethnic boundaries, making the concept of the “four great ethnic groups”: Hoklo, Hakka, Mainlanders, and Indigenous peoples, more of a social construct that only emerged in the 1990s (F.-N. Chu & Tsai, 2020).

The indigenous population in Taiwan comprises 16 officially recognized groups, accounting for approximately 2% of the total population. The largest groups are the Amis, Atayal, Bunun, and Paiwan. The Hoklo, descendants from Fujian, form the largest group among the Han Chinese, accounting for approximately 70% of the population. The Hakka, with ancestors hailing from Guangdong, comprise approximately 15% of the Han Chinese population. Lastly, the Mainlanders, who

arrived in Taiwan after 1949, speak Mandarin and constituted approximately 10% of the total population (Simon, 2011; Yang, 2007).

Throughout history, the dynamics of intermarriage between indigenous women and Hoklo or Hakka men have played a significant role in shaping the social fabric of Taiwan. Moreover, the influence of Japanese and KMT rules led to the assimilation of plains indigenous groups into the Han society. Additionally, the influx of around two million mainlanders in the aftermath of the Chinese Civil War in 1949 further contributed to the island's diverse cultural mosaic (Yang, 2007).

In recent decades, Taiwan's democratization has catalyzed the rise of a distinct Taiwanese identity and consciousness, transcending traditional ethnic boundaries. This shift in identity has profound implications for politics and culture by reshaping the landscape of societal norms and values. The embracing of diversity and inclusion is evident in Taiwan's efforts to improve accessibility and LGBTQ+ rights (C.-Y. Hsu & Yen, 2017; Kong, Kuan, Lau, & Friedman, 2021). There have been advancements in gender equality, but workforce disparities between genders have persisted. Although there have been strides in addressing gender-based discrimination, the stigma surrounding mental health issues remains a challenge that requires further attention and understanding. Laws against employment discrimination have been enacted in response to concerns about workforce diversity and inclusivity. However, there is still room for improvement in ensuring equal opportunities for individuals from different backgrounds. Taiwan has made considerable strides in ensuring safety, protecting women's rights, and setting a positive example in many areas. However, conservative social attitudes persist, reflecting the need for continued efforts to foster an open and

inclusive society that embraces all citizens (Kong et al., 2021).

Taiwan's status as an immigrant society with a diverse mix of ethnic groups underscores the richness and complexity of its cultural heritage (Fong, Chiang, & Denton, 2013). The historical intermarriage and assimilation processes have shaped fluid ethnic boundaries, challenging the notion of rigid categorization. The rise of Taiwanese identity accompanied by democratization has sparked a profound transformation in politics and culture. Despite progress in promoting diversity and inclusion, further efforts are required to achieve true equality and inclusivity. Taiwan's commitment to nurturing an open and inclusive society reflects its ongoing journey toward a more harmonious and equitable future.

5.5.2 Civil Society and Social Movements in Taiwan

5.5.2.1 The Content of Civil Society

Civil society is never a simple concept. It is a political area where volunteer organizations aim to consciously shape the regulations governing a particular aspect of people's lives. This view of regulations includes specific policies, general standards, and underlying social structures. Consequently, civil society actions may focus on official instruction, informal construction, and social order (Scholte, 2002). Edwards (2011) focuses on the space of civil society, in which residents interact with one another and with the institutions of the state and the market, rather than the forms or norms of civil society in and of themselves, and utilizes civil society as a theoretical structure because it provides a mechanism for holding distinctions between associations and their objectives. Kumar (1993) notes that civil society has been used to refer to the social system of citizenship, the arena of self-interested market actors,

an ethical life value, a procedure of intervention in society, and voluntary cooperation in social space.

Researchers have frequently explored the connection between civil society and democracy (Cohen & Arato, 2016; Diamond, 1997; McLaverty, 2002; Newton, 2001). Warren (2011) believes that it is indispensable to envision the ideology of democracy with the innumerable units of civil groups, accumulated knowledge, opinions, and suggestions provided by civil society associations in the public arena. Civil society not only deepens democracy but also becomes an essential element of democracy where civic improvement, discussion and demonstration of public affairs, mobilization, and collective action take place. Although a few scholars do not entirely agree with the direct relationship between civil society and democracy (McLaverty, 2002), it cannot be denied that there is a positive link between them.

Edwards (2011) describes civil society types using two cautionary statements. First, civil society groups encompass diverse forms, volumes, goals, and degrees of uniformity, such as neighborhood or local groups, social movements, labor unions, professional associations, advocacy groups, NGOs, legal entities, nonprofits, and social enterprises. Second, the ecosystems of civil society usually do not promise predictable influence because they are organic, persistently absorbing the complex of public inventions, and most fruitful when grassroots circumstances and assistance surround them.

Among the forms of civil society mentioned above, social movements have been broadly explored as an element of civil society (Briguglio, Briguglio, Bunwaree, & Slatter, 2023; Daniel & Neubert, 2019; Della Porta, 2020; della Porta & Diani, 2011;

Veltmeyer, 2004). According to Porta and Diani (2011), social movements and civil society groups drain and develop social capital when they advocate for social rights and the political duty to fulfill them, and when they provide realistic options. Briguglio et al. (2023) also argue that civil society groups, such as social movement organizations, may be an essential catalyst in advancing the value of ideals via lobbying, protest, provision of services, and other types of activity. These groups advocate a bottom-up government style. Veltmeyer (2004) shows how poor neighborhoods in Latin America are empowered through the process of social movements against neoliberal state policy.

Based on the studies above, the following section will explore the social movements in Taiwan, especially housing movements that are deeply influenced by neoliberal policies, to decode how the Taiwanese civil society responds to the invasion of neoliberalism

5.5.2.2 Social Movements in Taiwan

Since the 1980s, several waves of social movement have occurred in Taiwan's civil society (Fell, 2018; Ho, 2010; H.-H. Hsiao, 2011). These social movements played an important role in bringing about the end of martial law and political liberalization. Hsiao (2011) points out that organized social movements significantly push and persuade authoritarian regimes to opt for democratization.

Generally, there are three waves of the Taiwanese social movement (H.-H. Hsiao, 2011). The first occurred between 1980 and 1986, before martial law was lifted in July 1987, before political liberalization. To avoid political conflicts against the state, the

first wave of movements concerned environmental protection, consumer rights, students, and women. The second wave of organized civil protests and social movements began in 1987 when the KMT finally took steps towards liberalization and democratization by lifting martial law, granting the formation of new political parties, and permitting the establishment of new vehicles of the press. These changes interacted with the emergence of seven social movements, including labor, farmers, teachers, handicapped and disadvantaged welfare groups, political prisoners' human rights, and mainlanders' home visits. The most recent wave arose in the decade after the lifting of martial law when the government restructured Taiwan's political institutions. "Shell-less Snail (SLS) Movement," the first housing movement in Taiwan, was one of them in the third wave.

In short, Taiwan's social movements are central to the new civil society (Fell, 2018), including gender equality, judicial reforms, and social welfare. They have an intimate relationship with the island's democracies. Social movements contributed to the democratic transition but were also given space to develop due to democratization. This means that political parties and civil societies developed a complex relationship of mutual dependence after the transition. However, social movements continue to play a vital role in supervising political parties, sometimes supporting and challenging them when they abandon their ideals (Fell, 2018). Social movements have also enriched Taiwan's democracy by ameliorating the failure of Taiwan's national identity and election-crazed parties.

5.5.3 Generational Dynamics and Political Participation

Since Taiwan's transition to democracy in the late 1980s, the country has undergone

significant political, economic, and social changes that have profoundly impacted the values and political behavior of younger generations (Sheng and Liao, 2017). Born after the beginning of democratization, the post-reform generation identifies as "Taiwanese" rather than "Chinese" more frequently than their predecessors (Rigger, 2011). This shift in identity can be attributed to the more open media, education, and greater personal freedom with which they have grown, which allows them to embrace a distinct Taiwanese identity.

The transition from passive engagement to more active and involved engagement is a notable change in youth political participation, particularly among those under 40 years of age. The Sunflower Movement in 2014, a significant event that mobilized youth activism and fostered generational consciousness, marked a turning point in their political participation. This generation is more committed to democratic values, emphasizing Taiwanese sovereignty, progressive social views, and political distancing from China. Generational differences also significantly influence party support, with younger voters favoring DPP and older voters preferring KMT (Yu and Miller, 2003). Both major parties have acknowledged the importance of reaching younger voters and have made efforts to do so.

Multiple factors influence youth's political participation and perspectives. The post-reform generation's identity and values have been shaped by the democratization of the media and education brought about by the post-reform social configuration (Tsai, 2017). Their strong sense of "Taiwaneseness" is also influenced by historical and cultural ties with China. Youths' sense of crisis regarding Taiwan's democracy and economic ties with China at the beginning of the 2010s sparked generational

consciousness and identity formation. Consequently, younger generations have become more politically active, advocating for progressive values and defending Taiwan's sovereignty.

Several phases can be identified in the development of youth's political participation. In the 2000s, youth demonstrated limited politicization and passive political engagement, devoid of a strong sense of generational identity. Nonetheless, from 2010 to 2013, a sense of crisis regarding Taiwan's democracy and ties with China emerged among young people, increasing their participation in various social and political movements (Wang, 2017).

The 2014 Sunflower Movement, in which thousands of young activists mobilized against the Cross-Strait Service Trade Agreement (CSSTA) with China, was a watershed moment for youth political participation (Lepesant, 2022). This movement strengthened generational consciousness and identity while building organizational capacity and leadership. As the 2010s progressed, youth adopted more progressive perspectives and actively participated in politics through protests, involvement in civil society, and election participation (Brading, 2017).

Since the 1980s, significant political and social changes have shaped Taiwan's younger generations' experiences and values, allowing them to forge distinct political identities. The Sunflower Movement catalyzed their transition from passive to active political participation, and as a result, they exhibited a stronger identification with Taiwanese identity and values. Recognizing the significance of generational divides in shaping Taiwan's political landscape, parties have adjusted their strategies to appeal to this demographic. As post-reform cohorts age, their perspectives and political behavior

will continue to shape the nation's political direction.

5.6 The Political Culture and Ideologies of Taiwan

5.6.1 Democratic Transition and Consolidations

After four decades, the KMT lifted martial law in 1987, and the last authoritarian KMT President, Chiang Ching-Kuo, passed away one year later, which can be marked as the historical closure page of the authoritarian regime. The lifting of martial law has significant implications for civil rights. It removed most restrictions on parades and assemblies, so long as they did not advocate communism, Taiwanese independence, or overthrow the constitution.

This new page has completely altered the face of Taiwanese politics. With the lifting of martial law, it was no longer viable to justify routine censorship on military grounds (Rigger, 1999). Thus, the government relaxed the moratorium for new newspaper licenses in January 1988. With the end of martial law, restrictions on new political parties have been lifted. As the new rules did not apply retroactively, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) was theoretically still unlawful. However, the state took a tolerant stance towards it, and a few months later, it was granted legal recognition. With the removal of the ban, numerous parties, including the Labor Party, Workers Party, Social Democratic Party, and Green Party (Rigger, 1999). Even though the KMT was still the only political party in power, civil society started developing empowerment, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

However, democratization is a long-developing and transitional process, and it took Taiwan a few decades to reach the current democratic society since the lifting of

martial law. According to Fell (2018), Taiwan has rich and diversified literature on democratic transition. In fact, the beginning of the transformation occurred before the end of martial law. New politicians who were critical of KMT began to differentiate themselves from KMT candidates as early as 1969 and 1970. They refer to themselves as "dangwai," which literally translates to "outside the ruling party," and progressively garnered broader support for their candidates in local and national elections (Chao & Myers, 2000). This was the birth of the DPP. The integrity of the dangwai movement thwarted the KMT approach of seeking to maintain dictatorship by plum personnel appointments and other special privileges to designate Taiwanese nationalists, embracing pseudo-Taiwanization while opposing democratization. Based on the propagation of underground journals and the staging of snit-regime protests, the dangwai's active, organized resistance to the KMT authority undercuts the KMT's intellectual dominance and sets the stage for democratization (Lynch, 2002).

There has been debate on whether Taiwan was democratic until the end of the last century (Fell, 2018; Rigger, 1999). However, the DPP won the presidential election for the first time in the spring of 2000, providing a suitable answer to this question. Since then, Taiwan has been widely viewed as a model of Asian democracy, peacefully negotiating transition, consolidation, and the first change of ruling parties through elections. Since then, Taiwan has held free and fair multiparty elections, attesting to its democratic consolidation. In addition, there have been three peaceful power transfers between parties, demonstrating the stability and maturity of the country's democratic process.

Despite these accomplishments, Taiwan's democracy faces several obstacles that

require attention and action. The majoritarian electoral system can result in polarization between parties and gridlocks in decision-making. This discontent with government performance has manifested as protests and referenda intended to circumvent representative institutions.

China’s ambition is one of the most divisive issues in Taiwanese politics. Divergent perspectives among parties and factions on this issue continue to impede policymaking as there is no consensus. Future challenges for the country include economic development, an aging population, and low birth rate. Despite the consolidation of Taiwan’s democracy through the holding of regular elections and the protection of civil liberties and political rights, continued polarization and protests highlight the need for improved governance and consensus on crucial issues, especially those involving China.

Despite these obstacles, Taiwan’s democratic consolidation has had a considerably positive effect. Regular multiparty free elections are now the norm, enabling citizens to exercise their democratic rights. Expanded civil liberties and political rights have granted Taiwanese people greater freedom. The implementation of universal health insurance in 1995 represented a watershed moment in the history of social welfare policy. In addition, the three peaceful transitions in power demonstrate the maturity and stability of Taiwan's democracy.

The prospects for Taiwan’s continued democratic consolidation appear promising, provided that governance is improved and parties and factions reach a consensus on divisive issues. The continued stability and consolidation of Taiwan’s democracy will be ensured by addressing polarization and finding common ground on critical issues,

such as China's policy and economic and demographic challenges.

Taiwan's transition to democracy has been a remarkable journey marked by significant events and major turning points. Taiwan has transitioned from authoritarian rule to holding regular, free elections, protecting civil liberties and political rights, and demonstrating democratic consolidation. However, ongoing challenges, such as polarization and protests, highlight the need for improved governance and promotion of party consensus. Taiwan's prospects for continued democratic consolidation are promising, ensuring a bright future for its democratic system if these challenges are addressed through diligence.

5.6.2 Political Values and Ideology Cleavages

The pillars of Taiwan's political landscape are democracy, economic development, and national identity (Schubert, 2004). Although there is broad support for democracy in theory, there is some discontent with its operation in practice. Relations with China and the question of national identity are at the center of ideological schisms, which influence perspectives on unification versus independence (John F. Copper, 1989; Schubert, 2004). Taiwanese political values have shifted from authoritarianism to democracy under martial law, with an increasing emphasis on Taiwan's distinct national identity, as opposed to Chinese identity.

Taiwan's core political values revolve around the conviction that democracy is the best form of government (Fell, 2018). However, there is some discontent regarding the functioning of democracy. Alongside the importance of democracy, there is a consensus that economic development, education, and cross-strait relations should be

prioritized. Major ideological rifts in Taiwan are intricately intertwined with the questions of Taiwan's relationship with China and national identity. The main divide is between those who favor unification with China (Blue camp, which is usually referred to as KMT) and those who favor independence or maintain the status quo (Green camp, which is usually referred to as DPP). In addition, there are variations within these camps, with extremist factions (Deep Blue/Deep Green) and moderate factions (Light Blue/Light Green/White) holding divergent views on cross-strait relationships (Fell, 2018).

Taiwan's political value has evolved significantly over time. The country transitioned from an authoritarian one-party state under the KMT to a vibrant democracy by adopting democratic principles. In addition, there has been increased emphasis on Taiwan's distinct national identity and decreased emphasis on Chinese identity. Taiwanese people increasingly identify themselves as Taiwanese rather than Chinese (Fell, 2018).

Taiwan's domestic politics and cross-strait relations are significantly impacted by Taiwan's ideological divisions regarding China. The polarization between the Blue (KMT) and Green (DPP) camps frequently compromises crucial issues. Some groups have sought alternative methods of addressing their concerns, such as protests and referendums, due to their frustration with the political gridlock. The presence of extremist factions within each camp hinders cooperation in China's policy, making it difficult to reach a consensus on this issue.

Scholars consider Taiwan's democracy robust, but concede that it faces challenges, particularly in governance and performance (Y.-h. Chu, 1996; W.-C. Lee, 2010).

Structural factors such as the majority-rule electoral system influence the polarization of political parties. Developing a coherent Chinese policy is incredibly difficult because it requires striking a balance between deterrence, engagement, and conflict avoidance (G. Lin, 2019). Taiwan's political values have undergone significant transformations, with a growing emphasis on democracy and national identity (Muyard, 2018). China-related ideological divisions significantly impact domestic politics, making it difficult to reach a consensus on vital issues. Some research argues that there is room for improvement in Taiwan's democratic performance, particularly in formulating a coherent Chinese policy (Garver, 2013; W.-C. Lee, 2010). Taiwan's future as a liberal democracy committed to democratic values and national identity largely depends on its decisions regarding its relationship with China.

5.7 The Summary of Political and Social Context in Taiwan

Taiwan's political system, which is characterized by periodic elections, a legislature with multiple political parties, and the peaceful transfer of power, is a significant aspect of the country's political environment. The political landscape in Taiwan is primarily dominated by two major parties: the KMT and DPP. The DPP advocates a closer relationship with China, while the KMT adopts a more cautious approach by maintaining current affairs. Taiwan's democratic system faces various obstacles, including party division and public dissatisfaction with the government's handling of economic issues. The current primary opposition party, the KMT, prefers to establish closer relations with China, while the DPP adopts a more measured approach.

The primary focus of political discourse is cross-strait relationships, economic growth, Taiwanese identity, and the consolidation of democracy. The KMT still supports the

ideology of Chinese nationalists and favors interaction with China, while the DPP takes a more measured approach that enlarges the distance between China. In addition to the two big parties, new parties at a smaller scale have started emerging, such as the New Power Party (NPP), which advocates for Taiwan's independence and supports progressive policies, whereas the Taiwan People's Party (TPP) represents a centrist party that prioritizes reform.

Despite the challenges mentioned previously, Taiwan's democratic system has shown remarkable resistance to Chinese pressure and must continue to adapt to new challenges to maintain its democratic achievements. The preservation of democratic consensus regarding strategies to address political and economic difficulties is crucial for Taiwan's long-term democratic success. The rapid development of democracy has also been remarkable. Considering that civil society has been suppressed for four decades, Taiwan's political climate changed significantly in the 20th century, and civil society is becoming more inclusive of the concepts of innovative human rights.

However, as displayed previously, unaffordable housing prices and limited access to social housing have triggered grievances in civil society. On the other hand, housing advocacy groups, which have developed over more than three decades, have successfully reformed several housing-related acts, yet housing prices have never inclined significantly. To challenge this inferior situation, engaging organizations have started applying various advocacy strategies, attempting to pose a threat to the state. The comprehensive movement activities are reviewed in the following chapters, along with the integrated analytical framework proposed in Chapter 3.

5.7.1 The Political Characteristics of Taiwan

Taiwan is a semi-presidential democratic republic that operates as a system of representative democracy. The country is primarily governed by two major political parties: the KMT (Kuomintang) and the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). In the 1990s, Taiwan transitioned from an authoritarian one-party KMT government to a democratic system. The political system in place includes a unicameral legislature, an independent judiciary, and oversight organizations such as the Control Yuan.

The political landscape in Taiwan is significantly influenced by China's insistence that Taiwan is its sovereign territory as well as its pursuit of reunification. The KMT supports the enhancement of economic ties with China, whereas the DPP adopts a more cautious approach. In recent years, under the leadership of Xi Jinping, China has intensified its military, economic, and diplomatic pressure on Taiwan, thereby exerting considerable control over its political scene.

The first direct presidential election was held in 1996, and subsequent democratic reforms expanded the scope of local elections and oversight. However, China's policy remains unclear. Taiwan is highly ranked on democracy indices and is considered the most resilient democracy in Asia, after Japan and South Korea. The country's political structure comprises a powerful presidency, unicameral parliament, and competitive political environment with multiple parties.

Taiwan's electoral system is a blend of district-based and proportional representation. However, Taiwan faces unique challenges due to the Chinese factor, and effectively managing this essential relationship and addressing internal governance issues will be

the primary obstacle for the political system.

5.7.2 The Social Characteristics of Taiwan

Taiwan is a vibrant and diversified civil society that encompasses various social issues. In Taiwan, civil society plays a crucial role in political decision-making, as both major political parties closely collaborate with civil society organizations (CSOs). Taiwan ranks highly in global assessments of civil liberties and human rights, but there are still unaddressed concerns regarding the rights of migrant workers (Hsia, 2008; Komarudin, Pramuji, Handoko, & Irawati, 2023).

Taiwan has an impressive of 127 political groups, 11,324 occupational associations, and 61,863 social associations (Bing-Yan Lu, 2015; C.-S. Lee, 2012; Marsh, 2003). These organizations are deeply involved in various sectors, including the environment, democracy, human rights, labor, women's issues, humanitarian relief, and social services. Registering civil society organizations (CSOs) in Taiwan is a relatively hassle-free process that contributes to the functioning of many religious organizations without proper registration or regulation.

Taiwanese CSOs have been instrumental in facilitating the country’s transition to democracy by advocating human rights and promoting the establishment of an autonomous civil society during martial law. Presently, these organizations are actively monitoring government policies, fighting for the rights of marginalized communities, and working to enhance transparency and accountability. They also collaborate with the government on important issues, such as digital governance, pandemic response, and combating disinformation.

Prominent organizations in Taiwan, such as the Taiwan Association for Human Rights, the Judicial Reform Foundation, the Taiwan Environmental Protection Union, the Consumers' Foundation Chinese Taipei, and the Taiwan Health Reform Foundation, face several challenges and obstacles. These include limitations in collaboration with Chinese and Hong Kong civil society organizations, inadequate legal safeguards for marginalized populations such as migrants, disinformation campaigns orchestrated by China to weaken Taiwan's democratic system, public resistance to stricter government regulation of media and online platforms, and a lack of strong organizational infrastructure and networking among civil society organizations.

CHAPTER 6

THE UNDERSTANDING OF THE TAIWANESE HOUSING QUESTION

6.1 The Neoliberal Urbanization in Taiwan

Many studies have addressed the effects of neoliberal policies on urban arenas and governance (Afenah, 2009; Beer, Kearins, & Pieters, 2007; Brenner, Peck, & Theodore, 2010; Drozdz, 2014; Hackworth & Moriah, 2006; Harvey, 2003; Hill et al., 2012; Rolnik, 2013; Rossi & Vanolo, 2015), highlighting the interiorization of neoliberalism in urban policy through reorientation from redistribution to competition, institutional rescaling, and through the revitalization of the urban economy through privatization, liberalization, decentralization, deregulation, and increased fiscal discipline. Harvey (2009) also suggests that urban entrepreneurialism is valuable for analyzing socio-political issues that arise with urban governance and policy changes. According to Harvey, we are witnessing a shift from Keynesian cities' urban managerialism to neoliberal cities' urban entrepreneurialism. Cities are increasingly entering global urban competition to attract production and investment. This is done by redeveloping existing and new consumption-oriented urban spaces to attract the global urban elite by reproducing the perceived ideals of waterfront development, cultural spectacles, and enterprise and trade zones (Afenah, 2009).

In addition to witnessing changes in the existing articulations of citizenship, formal

citizenship refers to standard membership in a nation state. By contrast, substantive citizenship relates to citizens' civil, economic, political, and cultural rights within a given society (Afenah, 2009). Access to substantive rights is, in theory, dependent on full formal citizenship, and globalization and neo-liberalization are increasingly challenging this correlation. Urban development policies increasingly grant substantive citizenship rights to owners of global capital that lack proper citizenship rights. By contrast, substantive rights are increasingly withheld from marginalized residents with de facto legal citizenship rights, including the right to housing.

Aalbers et al. (2020) believe that housing policy reform, with all its components of homeownership, private property, and binding financial commitments, has been central to political and ideological strategies through which the dominance of neoliberalism is maintained. Meanwhile, the crisis reflected the inability of market mechanisms to provide adequate and affordable housing. The commodification and increased use of housing as an investment asset integrated with a globalized financial market have profoundly affected the enjoyment of the right to adequate housing worldwide. The belief that markets could regulate housing allocation as the most rational means of resource distribution, combined with experimental financial products underpinned by housing, has led public policymaking towards abandoning the conceptual meaning of housing as a social good.

Housing has become a means to distribute wealth in neoliberal urbanism (Rolnik, 2013). Therefore, value is the possibility of creating more value that depends on the speed and number of transactions capable of generating value appreciation. In addition to capital accumulation, the Taiwanese state uses housing policy as an economic and

political strategy in response to internal and external pressures. State intervention in the market is not only a privatization process with the state in retreat; instead, the state reformulates and guides the means of private and public partnerships. Consequently, market rules have entered government policy through state regulations (Y.-L. Chen, 2020).

In Taiwan, neoliberal housing policies prioritize homeownership promotion, market provision, and financial integration. Consequently, public housing has been marginalized, comprising only 3% of the total housing stock, and the state has failed to play a role in housing provision (Tsai, 2001). The financialization of housing has also increased, with mortgages reaching a significant 46 percent of GDP in 2015, resulting in housing bubbles and aggravating housing unaffordability (Tsai, 2001).

Housing market volatility has been exacerbated by actively encouraging speculative real estate investments through tax incentives, luxury development, and foreign investments. This has substantially affected urbanization and exacerbated inequality, displacement, and segregation in Taiwanese cities. Due to market-oriented housing policies and the withdrawal of the state from housing provision, low-income and marginalized groups face substantial barriers to accessing decent and affordable housing. The median house price in the capital city of Taipei has reached 15 times the median household income (Interior, 2023). As urban redevelopment policies tend to favor elite interests at the expense of people experiencing poverty, gentrification has accelerated.

Taiwan's shift towards neoliberal urbanization and housing policies has resulted in the commodification of housing, increased dependence on private markets, and integration

with global capital flows. Nonetheless, this strategy has exacerbated housing sector inequality, displacement, segregation, and affordability issues (Jou, Clark, & Chen, 2016). Access to affordable and adequate housing is difficult for low-income groups. The Taiwanese experience highlights the need to re-evaluate market-centric housing policies and consider rebuilding public and collective alternatives to address the urgent issues of housing affordability and accessibility for all citizens. The following section will illustrate how the Taiwanese government intentionally interferes with the housing market and places neoliberal developmentalism before the right to housing.

6.1.1 State Intervention and the Commodification

Housing provided directly by the state originated in 1949, when the KMT government, a nationalist party, fled from Mainland China to Taiwan, bringing many government employees, veterans, and relatives. The lack of housing remained severe as only a few houses were constructed for relief and restoration (L.-C. Chen, 1991). In 1959, the Provincial Government of Taiwan formed a Planning Committee for Public Housing. However, house buildings progressed slowly, with only 125,534 units erected between 1959 and 1975, the bulk of which were tiny and of poor quality (Mi, 1988).

Public housing development began in earnest in 1975 when a new Public Housing Ordinance was established and integrated into the city's six-year economic development plan the following year. Due to land acquisition challenges, public housing created at the time was either unattractive (because of its placement in less costly but inaccessible places) or unaffordable (because of high land prices in prime areas). There appears to be an oversupply of public housing (Mi, 1988). To expedite the creation of public housing and increase sales, the Public Housing Ordinance was

revised in 1985 to remove roadblocks for land acquisition and encourage more private sector involvement. However, the ensuing housing crisis in the mid-1990s significantly affected the sale of public housing. In 2000, the government chose to phase down the direct distribution of public housing in favor of mortgage interest subsidies.

Another intervention approach that gained traction in the 2000s was financial subsidy. Mortgage interest subsidies for house purchases began in 1990 as a substitute for direct funding, and were phased out in 2000. In addition, mortgage assistance programs are available for certain types of households. For example, the Labor Commission conducts the Housing for Workers Scheme, whereas the Executive Yuan's Human Resource Bureau offers a loan program for workers of state enterprises. Two more types of governmental engagement in housing were also in place, neither of which included direct provision nor subsidies. The first is the extension of financing beyond what first-time purchasers can acquire from commercial banks. These loans are contingent upon the availability of capital and market interest rates. The second type is tax benefits for homeowners, which include a deduction for mortgage interest payments, an exemption from tax on imputed rent, and preferential treatment for the residential property inheritance tax.

This approach appears to promote the economy and encourage home purchase. The government declared that this policy would result in a decline in the supply of new public houses and the vacancy rate, support people in changing residences and improving living standards, elevate the supply chain, aid low-income householders and youth with stable jobs to fulfill their desire to purchase homes, promote financial

system safety, and accelerate the rate of middle and southern Taiwan's public construction and industry.

After the policy was implemented and its performance was evaluated, it became evident that the government's claimed outcome had not been realized; thus, the government amended the claim in its policy propaganda, highlighting that the policy's expenses were significantly less than those required to construct public houses and that property investors, purchasers, and financial institutions would benefit. This strategy enabled the government to prevent inefficiency and waste in the construction of public housing, and to use money flexibly to lower the cost of policy execution—the rate of interest. Subsidized individuals may more easily afford houses and have greater freedom of choice regarding living spaces and products. For banks, house prices indicated the value of guarantees, and the likelihood of recognizing bad loans would decrease if house prices were not too low.

Nonetheless, the administration attempted to address how this policy contributed to the widening of the national poverty imbalance. To begin, this program provided subsidies without regard for applicants' financial circumstances; hence, better-off customers would be subsidized, widening the poverty gap between people with and without property investment. Consequently, consumers who were temporarily unable to purchase homes did not significantly enhance their fortune due to asset appreciation. As the government's resources were scarce, the loose review criterion allowed house purchasers who did not require a subsidy to acquire it. Excessive subsidy provision indirectly impacts the availability of other mortgage interest-rate subsidy projects. Second, while public workers and teachers earned more than average in Taiwan, the

government provided housing subsidies to these individuals, infringing on the rights and interests of the comparatively disadvantaged. Additionally, higher-level officials received additional subsidies, which contradicted the subsidy's original objective. Third, low-interest loans harmed low-income households and newly graduated individuals who could not afford to purchase properties in advance; their monthly payment raised their living expenses and precluded alternative spending, lowering their quality of life.

When the government's stated impacts and outcomes were evaluated, it became evident that the administration deliberately chose and exaggerated the positive benefits, while concealing the policy's execution faults. The government issued low-interest loans to encourage homeownership and stabilize housing prices. The government was even worried that the remaining real estate values of developers would not be able to be sustained and that they would be exposed to danger, and as a result, the government granted interest rate subsidies to people purchasing the remaining properties at one time. The primary benefactors of this program were real estate developers and lending banks. While the customers who received subsidies purchased houses at reduced loan rates, they did so at a higher price. Among these customers, low- or middle-income households and low-income teenagers thought that the government was taking care of them by paying for reduced loan rates on home purchases; however, the costs might have been lower. When these customers received subsidies and purchased houses, their living expenditure increased beyond their means, forcing them to sacrifice their quality of life and contribute to maintaining housing prices. However, these consumers are unaware of their genuine losses. For customers who did not qualify for subsidies, purchasing a home became more difficult because housing prices should have

decreased, but did not widen the poverty gap.

Despite the market being the primary arena for housing consumption, the housing industry's infrastructure is still relatively underdeveloped. However, these three points are particularly contentious. First, the insufficient institutionalization of the sector and scattered market information impair market efficiency and obstruct efforts to correct market anomalies. For example, in Taiwan, the employment of housing agents as a means of circulation is uncommon. Numerous house transactions continue to be conducted in an unofficial or semi-formal manner. This method is prone to conflict and thus erodes market transparency. Even though actual price registration on the government system was implemented as one of the mandatory procedures of real estate transactions in 2012, the public can access the information database, including the location and area of the unit and the final transaction price. However, a counterpart in the rental market is desired. In the current rental market, the final rental prices are kept confidential. One reason for keeping the market transparent is that the landlords tend to refuse to pay additional income tax from the rent income; hence, the rental contracts are usually under the table to dodge the audit from the National Taxation Bureau. While efforts have been made to build a more organized and connected existing system on the property, such actions must be bolstered to overcome the abovementioned constraints.

Second, although dwellings are already oversupplied, the pre-sale system remains popular in Taiwan, a characteristic of the housing sector defined by recurrent undersupply problems. In the housing sector, the pre-sales mechanism operates as a double-edged sword. On one hand, it lowers the barrier to entry for new providers and

increases competition. Small builders can obtain development funding at a lower cost through pre-sale revenues and compete with prominent, well-financed developers. However, many small developers have increased the possibility of market disruptions. As seen previously, when tiny speculative builders become the main participants in housing development, significant oscillations in housing supply may ensue (Ball, 1988). Owing to the limited resources available to such small builders, they tend to overinvest in market booms to mitigate financial risk.

Meanwhile, they are more susceptible to market downturns, and the resultant bankruptcy further depresses property value. This is consistent with the empirical data on Taiwanese housing price changes. Additionally, pre-sale housing is related to purchasers' concerns about substandard construction (W. D. H. Li, 1998). For example, an unregulated market results in improper contractual commitment. Conversely, a pre-sale system can quickly become a breeding ground for speculation when starting capital is minimal. It is suspected that most purchasers during the early 1990s housing bubbles were speculators looking for instant profits (W. D. H. Li, 1998). The acute demand for speculative homes pushed up housing prices in an already overheated market, significantly impairing its healthy functioning. Furthermore, the pre-sale method is vulnerable to tax evasion and criminal activities.

Finally, Taiwan's home financing system requires significant improvement. The concise amortization term suggests a conservative approach for lenders, which creates additional liquidity issues for first-time purchasers. Further deregulation of the housing finance sector and improved product variety are necessary to promote a more functional consumer credit market (C.-O. Chang & Chen, 2012). Despite the

oversupply of housing in Taiwan, home prices have continued to rise for an extended period. This finding contrasts with the theoretical assumption that an oversupply of housing would decrease home prices to promote demand and eliminate oversupply. According to Hua (2000), such economically illogical actions are attributable to the high percentage of owner-occupations. He investigates the link between home price, vacancy rate, and owner-occupation rate. He contends that the owner-occupation rate is no longer a byproduct of market choice, but a significant component in market decision-making. Thus, an overwhelming demand for owner-occupation fueled by cultural predisposition, structural faults in the rental market, and pro-ownership housing legislation have removed economic logic from tenure choice.

6.2 The Dimensions of the Taiwanese Housing Question

Land laws, housing finance, urban planning, and the tax system have been designed to hinder Taiwan's commodification processes (Grange, Chang, & Yip, 2006). Legislation and policy have been inconveniences rather than barriers to reaping the benefits of rapid commodification associated with urban development and economic growth by the political-business alliance. The need to maintain stability and ensure allegiance in a challenging political environment encouraged the state to collude with the undermining of its own legislative intentions regarding the redistribution of the increase in the residual value of the land because of urban development and economic growth to the community. Structure-based policies and consequences exacerbate the housing challenges that the Taiwanese are confronted with. To identify these challenges, Taiwanese housing issues can be reviewed in three dimensions: the home-buying market, house rental market, and social housing and subsidies. However, the proportion of each dimension in the Taiwanese housing arena is unbalanced: the home-

buying market holds more than 80%, while the rental market and social housing are only about 10% (Figure 6.1). In the following paragraphs, these three dimensions discuss housing issues in Taiwan.

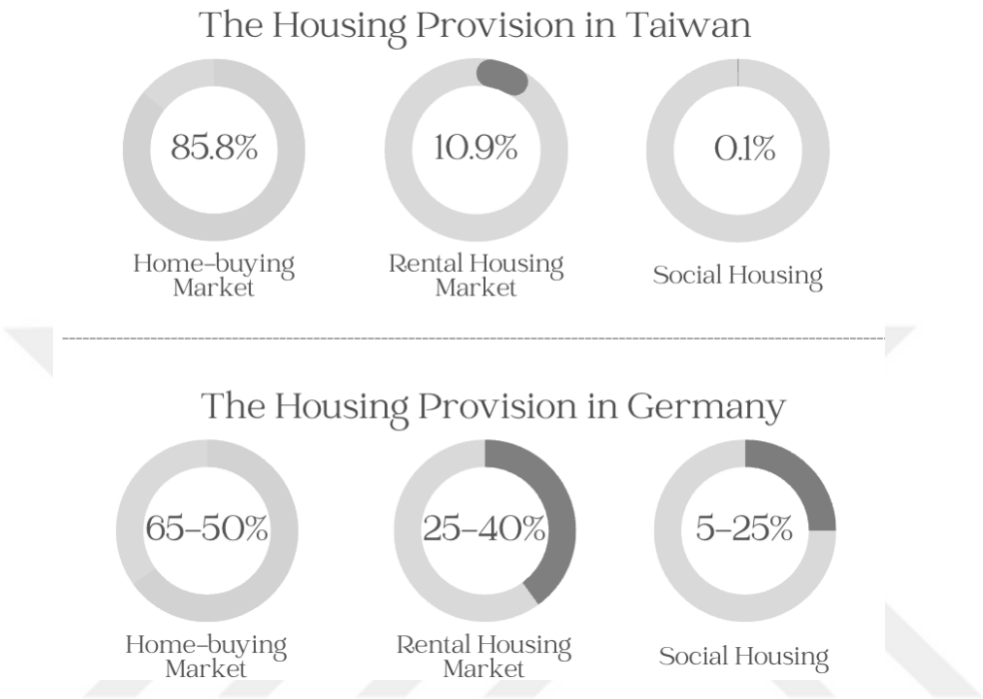

Figure 6.1 The Comparison of Housing Provision between Taiwan and Germany

Source: TMM

6.2.1 The Home-buying Market

For more than four decades, Taiwan's housing policy aimed to help every household own a home (Peng, Hsieh, & Chang, 2019). The state provision for the purchasing market can be traced back to the 1950s. Due to the retreat of the KMT military and officers from mainland China, very few public dwellings were built, and they were often distributed to central government officials and congressmen. Since then, the state has played a subtle role in the housing provision in the purchasing market (Grange et al., 2006; W. D. H. Li, 1998); instead, the private sector has controlled the home-

purchasing market (Liao, 2022). There are two types of housing provisions in the private sector: pre-existing housing and pre-sale housing. The former includes second-hand and newly built housing, while the latter is the primary source of newly built housing. Therefore, land acquisition is crucial for developers. In addition to purchasing land, urban renewal projects with key landowners and buying development rights from the state are other standard methods of acquiring land (Grange et al., 2006; Peng et al., 2019; M. Shih & Chang, 2016).

Private sector development has long been hampered by the state control of credit for private initiatives. Before the domestic financial market was decontrolled in the mid-1980s, almost all commercial banks were government-owned, and the government could direct resources to the industries they wished to promote. Industries not favored by the government, such as housing construction, have limited access to credit (W. D. H. Li, 1998). In the context of a long-term credit shortage, developers employed several ways to acquire sites: buying land for rapid development, land banking, and joint venture development with landowners. A significant advantage of developing sites for rapid growth is that they can be used as collateral for a construction loan, and the larger the loan, the less the developer pays upfront for the site. Banks are willing to allow sites to be used to secure loans because of the pre-sale production system for the supply of new houses in Taiwan. Developers can legally begin to sell homes after a building permit is issued, whereas even pre-sale without a building permit is not uncommon in Taiwan. This pre-sales system ensures that developers can repay the loan with interest (W. D. H. Li, 1998). Developers have also used land banking to secure sites, which offers opportunities from house price inflation (Grange et al., 2006; W. D. H. Li, 1998). Long-term land banking is highly lucrative. However, publicly owned

banks cannot provide loans on vacant land without a housing construction proposal. Large companies circumvented this restriction by acquiring life insurance companies or having close associations with privately run quasi-banking institutions. Joint ventures with landowners or other developers, often associated with tax concessions, are generally more viable in market slumps (Grange et al., 2006).

These characteristics result in three phenomena in the home-purchasing market: a high price-to-income ratio (PIR), exceptionally high homeownership rates, and high housing vacancy rates (Grange et al., 2006). The first is regarded as the most severe housing market problem: unaffordability. According to the OECD (2023), the price-to-income ratio is the nominal house price index divided by disposable income per head. This can be considered as a measure of affordability. Based on the accessed data from the Real Estate Information Platform of the Ministry of Interior, the PIR represents the ratio of the median home to the median household's annual disposable income. The PIR trends of Taiwan and Taipei have increased over the last two decades (Figure 6.2), and the PIR of Taiwan and Taipei at the end of 2022 reached 9.61 and 15.77, respectively.

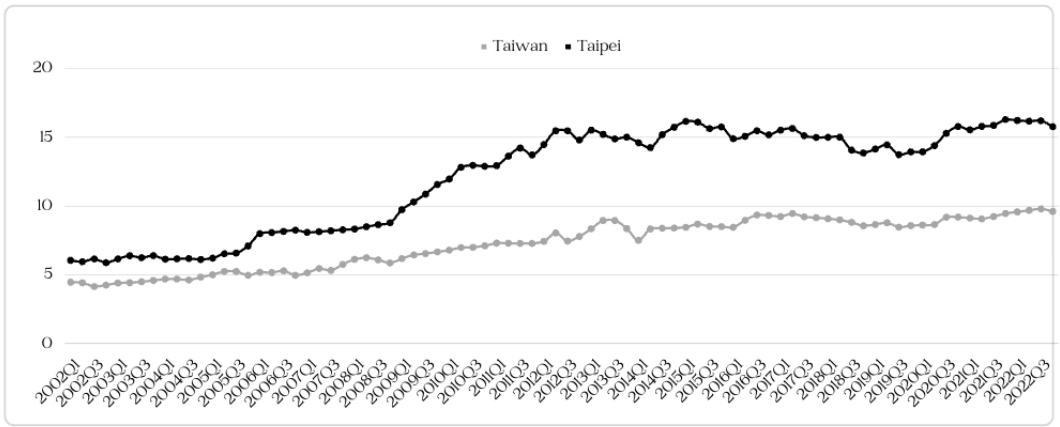

Figure 6.2 The Price-to-Income Ratios of Taiwan and Taipei from 2002 to 2022

Source: Real Estate Information Platform, the Ministry of Interior, Taiwan

https://pip.moi.gov.tw/V3/E/SCRE0201.aspx [access date:16/06/2023]

However, this disadvantage does not prevent an increase in housing transactions. According to the Ministry of Finance, more than 50% of Taiwan's 526,000 new residential units in the past six years were owned by non-self-occupied households. In other words, these buyers own at least one home. The number of individuals holding non-self-occupied dwellings has increased from 336,000 in 2015 to 526,000 in 2022, indicating that the average annual growth rate of multi-housing households is approximately 7%. According to Hua's research (C.-I. Hua, 2010), only 10% of the households in Taiwan have multiple housing, and this minor group is the beneficiary of high housing prices. 60% of the households have only one house. Although this group has secure accommodation, it cannot afford to change their homes in the future. The remaining 30% of the households do not have any houses, of which 20% are young people who cannot afford housing, while the other 10% are economically disadvantaged (Figure 6.3).

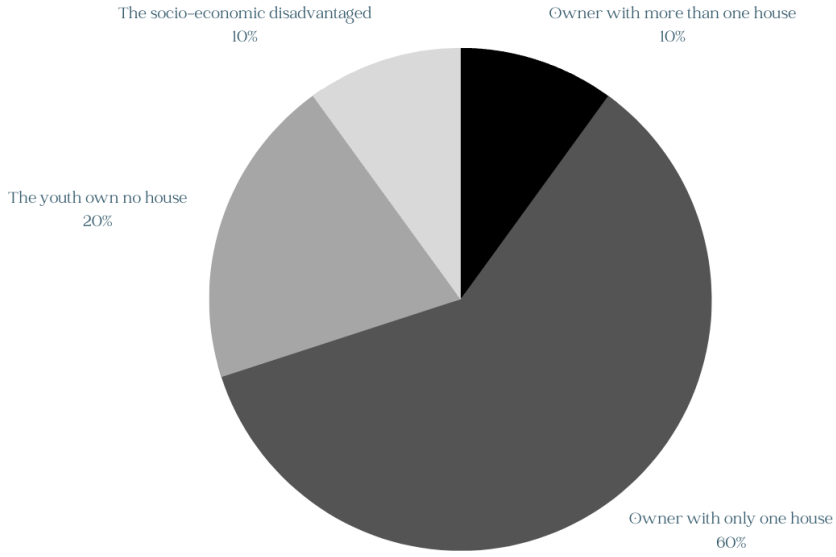

Figure 6.3 The Real Estate Ownership Structure in Taiwan

Source: (C.-I. Hua, 2010; Liao, 2022)

6.2.2 The Rental Housing Market

There is minimal literature on the Taiwanese rental housing market (C.-C. S. Lin, 1993) due to the limited transparency level of the rental housing data. Central and local governments have issued several reports on housing demand and provided similar policy suggestions that the government should regulate the rental market with more concrete policies instead of rent subsidies. In addition, the socioeconomically disadvantaged and physically or mentally challenged groups have been confronted with severe obstacles in the rental market. They cannot afford an ideal rental house, or the landlords tend to refuse rent because of stigma. Unfortunately, there has been no innovative reform in the rental housing market in Taiwan until 2023.

The latest official report on rental housing was announced by the Taipei City Government in 2019 (Liu, 2019). According to the report, in Taipei City, 53.2% of those who do not own a home are economically or socially disadvantaged, and 32% of the head of the household are over 60 years old. In addition, 59.6% of the household members have exceptional circumstances or status, 59.6% are elderly people over 65 years old, 27.8% are physically and mentally challenged, and 27.1% are low-income or low-middle income households. Only 19.8% of those who do not own a home have applied for housing assistance measures. Among them, 60.2% were used for rent subsidies and 37.3% were used for social housing. Moreover, 31.8% of those who wished to receive housing assistance from the government were also granted rent subsidies, and 26.6% built social housing for rent only. House renting has always been regarded as a temporary choice because of Asian housing culture and the welfare system.

According to the “2015 Housing Situation Sampling Report” released by the Ministry of the Interior’s Department of Construction in 2017, 67.84% of Taipei City’s main reasons for renting from 2016 to 2018 were that they could not afford to buy a house, and 13.43% were for work or schooling. Tenants are often involved in rental disputes because of the uncertainty of the rental market. According to the Taipei City Government, in the past five years, 28.2% of renters were unwilling to make repairs, 25.8% had arbitrary rent increases, and 19.8% were forced to move out due to landlords’ premature contract termination. However, the same report also shows that to protect themselves, landlords naturally generate renters who are reluctant to rent to economically or financially disadvantaged groups, including the elderly over 65 years old, physically and mentally challenged, low-income households, and those with unstable jobs, to avoid creating derivative problems and having no way to seek compensation. This plight of tenants and landlords is attributed to the lack of sound rental housing market regulations. Simultaneously, economically or socially disadvantaged groups highlight the challenges of fundamental housing rights.

6.2.3 From Public Housing to Social Rental Housing

The transition from public housing to current social rental housing can be divided into three stages. Before the 1980s, accommodation provided by the state in Taiwan was only for a minor group of people (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013). In the authoritarian period under the KMT, public housing was planned and constructed only including residences and dependent dormitories for officials, congresspersons, and officers who retreated from mainland China with the KMT.

In 1975, the government published the “Public Housing Act” and claimed that it could

help achieve multiple goals. First, it can be an indicator of economic development. The policy was swiftly adopted into national economic development projects as the "6-year public housing construction project", and it was estimated that 100,000 units could be built from 1976 to 1981. This policy would imply 12 major construction projects, and it was estimated that 600,000 units could be constructed between 1980 and 1989. Second, this act could help reach the goal of homeownership, the principle of people's livelihoods. Furthermore, the Act could counteract the speculative real estate business; the government could build a large amount of cheap public housing to care for people with low or medium incomes. Third, these public houses could be model houses, removing the image of low-quality public housing and enhancing people's living and environmental quality. The government pacified people's feelings, improved the country's ability and appearance, intended to suppress the real estate market, and supported economic development by promoting public housing policies.

The implementation results differed significantly from the stated objectives for the following reasons: (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013): First, the progress of this project was slow. The public housing department was not well organized, manpower and funds were not yet ready, and the land was not easy to obtain (Mi, 1988; Yip & Chang, 2003); therefore, only 68,347 units were constructed by the end of 1985 (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013). Second, few units are allocated and open for civilians to buy. The distribution and selling processes were not open; households of military dependents and households relocated due to demolition often had priority, while others had to line up and draw lots. Third, the percentage increase in the provision of loans was lower than the increase in prices; thus, low- or middle-income households could not afford to buy houses. Fourth, the planning, design, and construction quality of public housing was

low because of the corruption and fraud of some local politicians or factions (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013).

The second stage began with the abolition of the martial law. At this stage, Taiwan faced the problems of political wrangling between the KMT and the DPP, economic stagnation and the decline of the GDP growth rate, a recession of the real estate market, and high business risks for real estate developers. Meanwhile, the government has failed to provide public housing. Therefore, the government postponed building public housing and returned to a policy that considered the housing needs. Consequently, the government has pursued a public housing policy for mortgage interest rate subsidies and tax reforms.

The mortgage interest-rate subsidy policy undoubtedly increased short-term demand for housing and stimulated the real estate market. House prices and quantity reduced the business risks of real estate developers; furthermore, in 1999, the government subsidized the interest rate for those buying the real estate developers' inventory of new buildings. At the beginning of enforcement, the real estate market boomed slightly; however, the effect of this policy later diminished because the overall interest rate decreased to a level even lower than that of this policy.

Rental social housing was not legalized until a decade ago. At this stage, the KMT government passed the Housing Act on December 30, 2011, facing pressure from the presidential election of January 2012. It was the first time that Taiwan protected the housing rights of minority groups through housing policy and legislation, and the government could provide more social welfare than just rent subsidies. The Housing Act required that social housing be built by the government or that the government

encourage the private sector to build social housing. These houses are only for rental, and 10% or more should be provided for persons with circumstances or identities such as low-income households and physically challenged people. The act also included "Anti-discrimination clauses" to ensure the fairness of housing rights, and people should not prevent housing users from doing necessary repairs, letting guide dogs get in and out, and using public space, facilities, equipment, and related legal services. By 2012, social housing had become a critical housing policy in other advanced countries, and Taiwan's social housing units made up only 0.9% of the total housing stock, which was much lower than demand. Compared to Taiwan, the percentages of social housing in other Asian Tiger countries are all far higher than Taiwan's 0.25%: Hong Kong's 29%, Singapore's 8.7%, and South Korea's 6.8% (Figure 6.4) (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013; Chung, Kim, Park, & Kim, 2020).

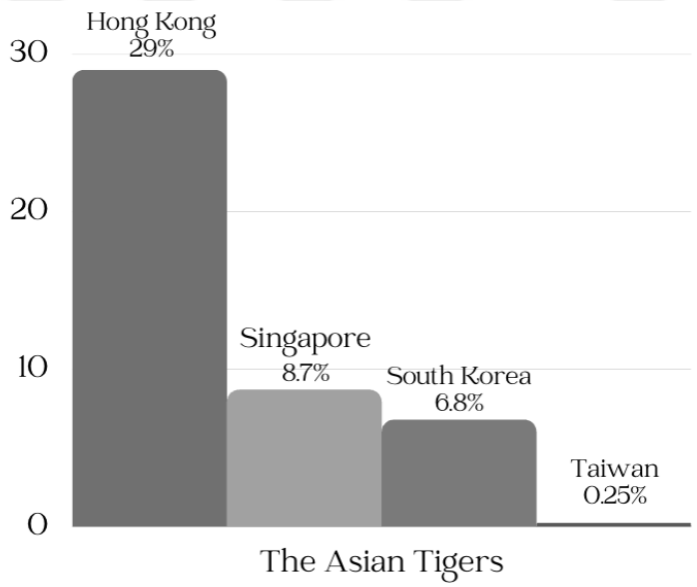

Figure 6.4 The Percentage of Social Housing Stock among the Asian Tigers Countries

Source: (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013; Chung et al., 2020), Real Estate Information Platform, Ministry of Interior, Taiwan https://pip.moi.gov.tw/V3/B/SCRB0501.aspx?mode=7

6.3 The Background of Housing Movements in Taiwan

In Taiwan, unaffordable housing prices and insufficient access to social housing play a significant role in urban contestations. The housing social movement in Taiwan can be traced back to the late 1980s when it was at a nascent stage in Taiwan.

In 1989, when the housing price increase rate in Taiwan reached nearly 100%, a group of primary school teachers founded the Homeless Solidarity Alliance (HSA) after the government announced its social housing and mortgage policies for first-time house buyers (Liao, 2022). Later, it was supported by university students and faculty, especially from the Graduate School of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University, who had spatial planning professions and were familiar with social movement theories. This group aimed to lobby the government to act against high and rising housing prices. Through their publicized visit to the Ministry of the Interior and other activities, such as participating in debates on TV, the group's agenda and ideas about the rising cost of housing became well known.

On the night of August 26, 1989, they organized a housing protest before the General Election. Rising house prices generated widespread support for this group's frustration with the situation. They lie in the middle of one of the busiest streets in one of the most expensive areas of Taiwan. The main points of their platform assert that housing is a fundamental human right. The rising housing prices have left people unable to afford them. The HSA asserts that housing is not simply a commodity to be bought and sold to accumulate wealth.

The assertion that housing was a right and not a commodity illustrates the

organization's perspective on the issue. They were not appealing for charity-like social housing but for their deprived housing rights by confronting market operations. As the organization's leader, Lee Shin-Chang, said they were not looking for sympathy. This directly challenged the government's housing policy as a social policy directed at helping low-income families to solve their housing needs.

The university faculties provided the mobilization strategy and value the movement fought for; thus, the concept of the right to the city was employed as the signature. The right-to-the-city paradigm was developed by Lefebvre in 1986. In the context of the continuing marginalization of the Parisian working class, Lefebvre sought to empower urban inhabitants to participate in the use and production of the urban space they live in to shift the increasing importance of the city exchange value relative to its use value (Afenah, 2009). According to Purcell (2013), two essential citizens' rights lie at the heart of Lefebvre's ideas: the right to an appropriate urban space and the right to participate in producing this space. Lefebvre's right to the city concept has become the working slogan for many local and international urban and housing rights movements, including the Shell-less Snail Movement in Taiwan.

The organization implied the problem of rising house prices (Figure 6.5), derived from people using housing as a speculative commodity. Therefore, the organization believed that it was necessary to protect the social right to shelter through rent control policies and extra taxation for those involved in speculation. The Shell-less Snail Movement caught public attention and attracted governmental concern. The agenda of the routine meeting of the Executive Yuan was changed to focus on housing issues.

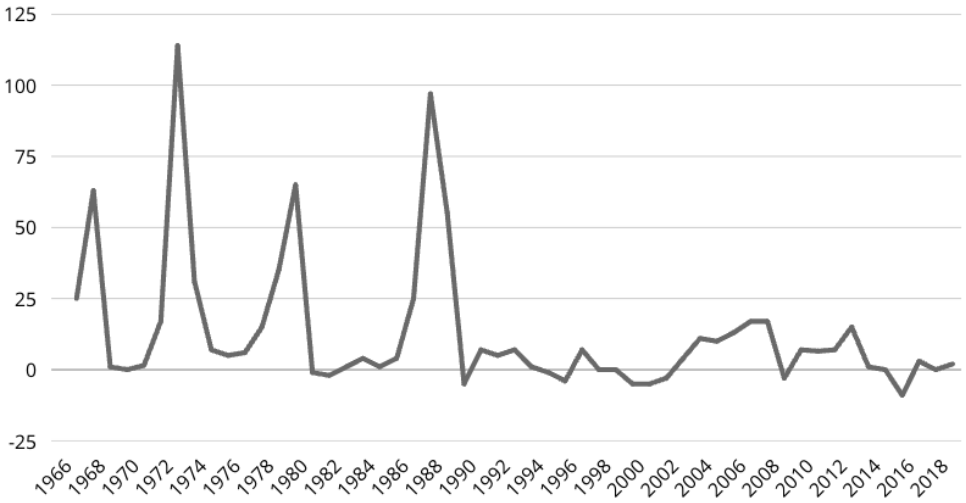

Figure 6.5 The Housing Price Increasing Rates in Taiwan

Source: TMM

However, the sparks in this movement did not last long. They failed to illuminate the darkness of obsolete housing policy because, since then, there have been no housing movements on the same scale have taken place in the following two decades, and the Shell-less Snail Alliance had shifted to three NGOs that keep their eye on rental housing policy and provide law consultants for the people who are looking to rent a house. Rather than taking control of the stalemate, they exist under the web of rules woven by the state and conglomerates.

Hsiao and Liu (1997) have concluded why the Shell-less Snail Movement could not bring new life to Taiwanese housing policy with its first attempt. The movement's mobilization was due to the promotion of the media, although it was an era in which newspaper, radio, and television channels were mainstream, unlike the rapid broadcast nowadays; hence, it lacked a grassroots foundation. They noted that this movement failed to play a crucial role in the policy-making process because the subsequent protests could not create more mass endorsement.

Subsequently, the Shell-less Snail Alliance transformed its mission from social protests to social services. It was divided into three NGOs: TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Services (TMM), The Homeless Solidarity Alliance, and the Organization for Urban Reformers (OURs). TMM focuses on tenants who offer rental housing knowledge and legal consultants. The Homeless Solidarity Alliance was intended to operate for future housing-related movements, but it was dismissed in the early 1990s. OURs are NGO whose members include scholars and other urban planning and architecture professionals. Only TMM and OURs are in good function and have been crucial parts of the housing movement until now.

Besides the lack of local connections, the discourse of the Shell-less Snail Alliance was limited to house speculation rather than the whole environment as a speculating mechanism, which is the core of the conspiracy. Furthermore, the Shell-less Snail Alliance leaders declined to connect with politicians or policymakers, leading to a lack of far-reaching collaborations with solid political forces and difficulties amplifying their discourse. This was the main structural reason for the gradual decay of movement. However, there are other outer restraints that prevent the signal from existing. Even though Taipei is a city where significant land speculation takes place, it does not indicate that it never happened in other main cities in Taiwan. Other cities, such as Kaohsiung and Taichung, also suffer from an upsurge in housing prices due to immigration from suburban to urban areas, and the residents' income is comparatively less than their counterparts in Taipei, which makes them more vulnerable to land speculation. Despite similar organizations in other cities, they did not take a further step in allying, and other organizations eventually diminished. However, this was not the end of Taiwan's housing movement. In contrast, it was just the prologue of the

movement that lasted for more than three decades.

6.3.1 The Rise of Social Housing Advocacy Consortium

Another wave of the housing movement emerged in 1999 due to the Asian financial crisis of 1998, which deepened the challenge of over-supply housing. The government accepted developers' suggestion to provide NT$150 billion for low-interest mortgages. The housing finance policy in 1999 was controversial, and the policymaking process again demonstrated the political influence of developers. Regarding the Shell-less Snail movement, the financial crisis presented a chance to cool down speculation and high housing prices. However, the help of the mortgage stimulated demand and thus assisted developers in resolving overproduction problems and preventing the decline in housing prices. The mortgage did not set any limits on income criteria and provided tax subsidies, which exacerbated the affordability problems. The Shell-less Snail Alliance was firmly against this policy. Nonetheless, the mortgage fund was drained within six months.

While the state has established an alliance with developers, the political party in power could not ignore the complaints from those who did not benefit from this mortgage program. For those unable to buy a house, the Ministry of Finance implemented a rent allowance (USD 4,000) for income taxes in 2000. This small amount of rent allowance was the first housing subsidy for renters. This case illustrates a pattern of policymaking that becomes typical of the democratic era, giving a big piece of the pie to the more influential developers first and a small amount to policy opponents later. After 2000, as mentioned previously, more low-interest mortgages were offered to homebuyers, an approach that dominated the housing program.

Housing policies have provided very few housing options outside the market. The only way to enjoy better housing quality in Taiwan has been through homeownership. However, the housing boom in 2005 made even people consider upper-middle income incapable of affording their own homes (Y.-L. Chen, 2011).

The formation of the new poor further worsened the housing crisis of the 2000s. As Taiwan began the process of deindustrialization in the 1980s, labor-intensive industries gradually began to move overseas to seek cheaper labor. After 2000, high-tech industries began to follow this path. Economic restructuring has caused unemployment and increased the number of non-regular workers. The number of part-time workers tripled from 2001 to 2009, and the number of low-income households that received social welfare also doubled from 1998 to 2009 (J.-H. Li, 2010).

For these reasons, another wave of housing movements attracted a more comprehensive range of supporters than previous movements. Additionally, many social organizations flourished after the democratization. Whenever a social issue comes to the fore in public debate, there has been a greater propensity for organizations with shared interests to unite to take collective action. Therefore, in addition to middle-class supporters, social movements have included more people with different identities, such as young people, women, LGBT people, and disabled people. The two organizations, TMM and OURs, are still significant organizers, but Social Housing Advocacy Consortium members are mostly disadvantaged. Because of the diversity of participants, including the middle class, who have difficulty entering the real estate market, and underprivileged people marginalized in the rental housing market, it has two goals: to change the speculative housing system and advocate for social housing.

During the decades after the Shell-less Snail Movement, housing policy in Taiwan has developed; however, the same housing problems remain to be solved. The government has been concentrating on enhancing the percentage of homeownership since the 1990s, which reached 84.7% in 2019 and is higher than that in most other countries worldwide. This accumulated contradiction finally triggered the second wave of the housing movement in Taiwan.

Table 6.1 The 13 Members Organizations of the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC)

	The name of the organization	***Target Groups***
1.	The Organization of Urban Re-s (OURs)	The general public for urban issues
2.	TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Services (TMM)	Tenants
3.	Eden Social Welfare Foundation	Physically-challenged and mentally-challenged people
4.	The Garden of Hope Foundation	Abused female, teenagers and children
5.	Foundation for the Welfare of the Elderly	The elderly
6.	The Alliance for the Mentally Ill of Taiwan	Mentally-challenged people
7.	Taiwan Labour Front	The general labor
8.	Sunshine Social Welfare Foundation	The facial-damaged people
9.	Taiwan Social Welfare League	The general disadvantaged people
10.	Parents' Association for Persons with Intellectual Disability	Families with mentally-challenged children
11.	Taiwan Alliance for Advancement of Youth Right and Welfare	Teenagers
12.	The League for Persons with Disabilities	The general mentally-challenged and physically-challenged people
13.	Taiwan Community Living Consortium	The general disadvantaged people

Therefore, the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC) was established in 2010. As an advocacy group, SHAC has used several strategies: policy advocacy, promotion of legislation, oversight of housing projects, social education and campaigning, and international learning. These actions target people in policymaking circles and the public. SHAC was formed by 13 organizations (Table 6.1) that work with various disadvantaged people who have suffered the most from unaffordability and

discrimination in the housing market. Most groups were established after democratization in the late 1980s. These groups have experience in policy advocacy, fundraising, social service provision, policy research, and networking. Their connections with policymakers, legislators, representatives of city councils, and the media help advance social housing issues.

Regarding policy advocacy, SHAC targets politicians and policymakers to incorporate social housing into the policy agenda. During elections, SHAC visits candidates and proposes policy recommendations. Since the 2010 mayors' elections in the five major cities in Taiwan, social housing has become a key campaign issue, especially in the Taipei metropolitan area. Most of SHAC's protests are in Taipei's urban areas, particularly Taipei City because housing prices in these areas are about twice as high as the average housing prices in Taiwan. In 2014, mayors elected to the six major cities started their goals to increase the number of social housing units in their election pledge.

Changing housing legislation has been an important focus of this movement. SHAC has cooperated with a few legislators and representatives of Taipei City who support housing reforms. SHAC is the primary, but not the sole actor in the social housing movement. Strong public support is crucial to sustaining this movement. According to an interest survey by the Executive Yuan of Taiwan in 2009, high housing prices were the most common complaint (Constructing and Planning Agency, 2015). The ratio of median housing prices to median annual household income in Taipei City rose from 8.9 to 15.7 between 2005 and 2014. While this ratio is lower than Hong Kong's 17, it is higher than that of most North American, Japanese, and European cities. This ratio

is 7.7 in Seoul and 5.0 in Singapore (Kim & Park, 2016). Taipei City is one of the most unaffordable cities in the world, according to the Demographia International Housing Affordability Survey (International, 2015).

On 4th of October, 2014, more than 20,000 youth "slept out" at one of the most expensive locations in Taipei City, Ren-Ai Road, building "The People's Palace," according to the spokesperson of the movement, Peng Yang-Kai, described the most expensive housing in Taiwan: the Palace Mansion, with sarcasm, and highlighted that what people want is a 75 square-meter apartment, rather than a luxury mansion in the city center.

This is one of the significant protests of the Nest movement, consisting of 19 main SMOs and 74 collaborative SMOs, including those that engage in LGBT, labor, and other social issues related to the urban housing issue. Evolving from the protest in 1989, the Nest Movement claimed to have inherited the historical ties attained from the Shell-less Snail movement. It attempts to provide policy suggestions covering broader aspects called "The Five Demands," which are "incorporating housing rights into the constitution and ending forced demolition and eviction,"; "reforming the property tax system and curbing speculative investment,"; reviewing public land regulations and terminating the construction of affordable housing"; "increasing the percentage of public housing to 5% and establishing a housing corporate"; and "expanding the rental market and drafting the Residential Tenancies Act." It was evident that, unlike the counterpart mobilized in 1989, the Nest Movement proposed more solid and comprehensive policy suggestions to the government; meanwhile, it maintained closer ties to legislators from different political parties to attempt to channel their proposal to

the decision-making process in the state (Liao, 2022). Currently, SHAC is the only advocacy group that focuses on housing problems. It has been actively engaged in a policy process against the neoliberal housing policy proposed by the state.

6.4 Summary

The Taiwanese housing question reflects the profound impact of neoliberal policies on urban development and housing affordability, emphasizing a shift towards market-driven urban planning and housing provision. These policies have commodified housing, promoting homeownership and private market solutions while sidelining public housing and exacerbating issues of affordability and inequality. The response to these challenges has been the emergence of housing movements, from the Shell-less Snail Movement in 1989 to the current SHAC, advocating for the right to affordable housing and challenging neoliberal policies. The housing question in Taiwan spans several dimensions, including an unaffordable home-buying market, a poorly regulated rental housing market, and an inadequate supply of social housing. These issues highlight the broader implications of neoliberal urbanization, such as rising housing prices, speculative investment, and accessibility gaps for marginalized groups. The Taiwanese experience underlines the need for policy reevaluation towards prioritizing public welfare over market mechanisms, showcasing the significance of grassroots advocacy in pushing for equitable housing solutions.

CHAPTER 7

THE CONTEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF THE TAIWANESE HOUSING MOVEMENTS

7.1 Introduction

Examining the dynamics of social change and the interplay between political, economic, and sociocultural elements has relied on understanding urban migration patterns. Pickvance's paradigm for contextual analysis provides a powerful lens for investigating these movements and their nuances, allowing for a thorough examination of their effects. In this essay, we use Pickvance's framework to analyze housing movements in Taiwan, considering their political, economic, and sociocultural contexts. The case study of these movements presents a fascinating intersection between social action and city planning.

Pickvance's theory, which highlights the interconnections among civil society, governmental institutions, and political power structures, is a valuable tool for understanding the political dimensions of housing movements in Taiwan. These uprisings, which are frequently sparked by issues such as housing costs, eviction, and lack of access to urban spaces, illuminate the dialogue between citizen-led initiatives and official policies. By examining the tactics used by housing activists, the coalitions they form with political actors, and the policy changes that result, one can gain insight into how social movements impact and are influenced by political landscapes.

Pickvance's proposed methodology for analyzing the economic drivers of housing activism, including the involvement of property developers and real estate markets, and the market implications of alternative housing models advocated by the movements, is helpful in understanding the economic factors, obstacles, and consequences of these movements.

By applying Pickvance's paradigm to the cultural context of Taiwanese housing movements, we can observe how urban activism is influenced by an intricate network of values, identities, and social norms. To grasp the profound societal upheavals that these movements engender requires an awareness of the ways in which housing struggles are intertwined with cultural legacy, community solidarity, and perceptions of urban space. His paradigm for contextual analysis provides a comprehensive approach for analyzing Taiwanese housing movements from multiple perspectives. By examining the political, economic, and sociocultural factors at play, one can gain a fuller understanding of the complex dynamics and revolutionary impact these movements have had on urban landscapes and beyond.

7.2 The Application of Pickvance's Urban Social Movements Theory

7.2.1 The Theoretical Overview

Pickvance, a well-known British scholar in the field of urban sociology, has made significant and notable contributions to the study of urban phenomena, with a particular focus on urban social movements. The academic contributions made by this individual have greatly enhanced scholarly conversations within the field of urban studies, particularly regarding fostering a connection between French Marxist urban sociology and the English-speaking academic community in the 1970s. In his work

titled “From Urban Social Movements to Urban Movements,” Pickvance (2003) provided a description of urban social movements, defining them as social movements through which citizens attempt to achieve some control over their urban environment. This environment encompasses the built environment, social fabric of the city, and local political process.

From Pickvance’s perspective, urban movements concentrate on specific local objectives and issues within the urban setting as opposed to having a broader revolutionary orientation (C. G. Pickvance, 2003). Their primary concerns include housing, urban services, built environment, local planning, and politics. This understanding of urban movements differs from earlier perspectives, such as that of Manuel Castells in “The Urban Question” (1972), who saw urban social movements as revolutionary actors capable of producing far-reaching structural changes in tandem with worker movements. In contrast, Pickvance accentuates the local focus of urban movements and aims to acquire greater control over the urban environment, rather than striving for wider societal transformation.

Pickvance’s research encompasses the entire duration of urban movements, with a particular focus on the interrelatedness of urbanization conditions, government interventions, political contexts, the emergence of the middle class, and broader economic and social circumstances (C. G. Pickvance, 1985). These highlight the crucial influence of repression, co-optation, protest techniques, and political possibilities on the trajectory of urban movements across temporal dimensions. Pickvance made significant contributions to the field of urban studies through his organizational efforts, facilitating cross-border conversations among urban researchers

and serving as a founding editor for the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research.

Essentially, Pickvance's significant influence on the field of urban studies may be attributed to his multifaceted contributions as both a pioneering theorist and an innovative organizer. His conceptualization of urban social movements resonates with its emphasis on localized ambitions and aims, thus offering a thought-provoking reworking of the debate. His examination of the emergence and decline of these social Pickvance's significant impact on urban studies can be attributed to his diverse contributions as both a groundbreaking theorist and an original organizer. His theory of urban social movements, which emphasizes local goals and aspirations, offers a thought-provoking reinterpretation of the discussion. Additionally, his research on the emergence and decline of these movements deepens our understanding of urban mobilization and has created a lasting international community of urban researchers.

7.2.2 The Applicability to Taiwanese Housing Movements

The contextual framework developed by Pickvance provides a comprehensive perspective on the dynamics of urban social movements(C. Pickvance, 1985). This highlights the multiple connections between these movements and the wider urban, political, and economic environments, indicating that their development is not entirely determined by internal factors. He identified five crucial contextual variables that influenced the trajectory of urban movements(C. Pickvance, 1985). These factors include the circumstances of urbanization, actions taken by the state, political climate, emergence of the middle class, and prevalent economic and social conditions. The framework, which was initially applied to examine urban movements in European

countries such as France, Italy, and Spain, yields significant insights that can be extrapolated to understand housing movements in Taiwan.

The Taiwanese housing movement emerged within a unique backdrop marked by significant historical changes in land ownership and escalating housing costs. From the 1940s to the 1970s, the government primarily focused on redistributing privately owned land through various land reforms. However, these reforms had unintended consequences for the housing market, resulting in costly and scarce housing availability (You, 2014). These issues led to the formation of the housing rights movement, which advocated affordable and suitable housing for all while also implementing regulations on real estate speculation.

Upon examining the suitability of Pickvance's framework in the context of the Taiwanese housing movement, several discernible discoveries emerged. The critical role of government intervention through land reforms and housing policies in shaping Taiwan's housing landscape is crucial. The housing issues that the public faces can be attributed to the historical interventions undertaken by the government. In addition, the political situation had a significant impact. The phenomenon of democracy has enabled the emergence of civil society movements, such as housing activists, allowing them to express their grievances and participate in collective mobilization. This aligns with Pickvance's emphasis on political possibilities in a given context.

This framework attaches great significance to historical heritage as a factor that influences present-day challenges, which is evident in the housing movement in Taiwan. The lasting impact of past policies and acts continues to shape the housing landscape and requirements of the movement. However, it is crucial to recognize that

the framework may have limitations when applied directly to a specific setting in Taiwan. The early development of the framework was shaped primarily by European situations, necessitating adjustments to ensure its applicability to the unique conditions of Taiwan.

A critical oversight in the framework is its failure to recognize Taiwan's past encounters with authoritarian governance and its subsequent transition to a democratic system. Ignoring this omission disregards the crucial influence of the authoritarian past on shaping the dynamics of the housing movement and the socio-political landscape. Furthermore, the current paradigm does not fully consider the consequences of Taiwan's integration into the global economy, which has significantly affected the housing market and its affordability. Another issue with this framework is the limited recognition of ethnic diversity as a critical factor affecting social movements. The housing movement in Taiwan is significantly influenced by ethnicity and the treatment of migrant workers, which are important factors that the original framework did not adequately address.

Several modifications have been suggested to enhance the framework's relevance and suitability in the Taiwanese context. Inclusion of the historical impact of authoritarian regimes and their influence on contemporary social issues within the conceptual framework is crucial. Moreover, it is essential to expand the political framework to cover the complex cross-strait relations between Taiwan and China, as these interactions significantly impact housing movements. Examining the involvement of civil society networks and their influence on the development of the housing movement in Taiwan within the established framework is crucial. Understanding civil

society's ability to organize, advocate, and cooperate can be enhanced by incorporating this aspect.

The framework developed by Pickvance, known as the contextual paradigm, for analyzing housing movements in Taiwan provides valuable insights. The framework emphasizes the significance of government intervention, the political environment, and historical heritage but requires modifications to fully capture the unique conditions of Taiwan. To enhance the relevance of the framework, several components must be added, including authoritarian heritage, global economic integration, and ethnic diversity. Subsequently, this revised framework can be applied to the study of urban social movements in Taiwan and other settings, leading to a deeper understanding of their complex nature.

7.3 The Application of Contextual Analysis

7.3.1 The Political Context

The interaction between Taiwan's political environment and its housing movements is complex and demonstrates a mutually influential relationship within the nation's democratic landscape. The electoral system in Taiwan is a combination of single-member districts and party-list proportional representation, which tends to favor dominant political parties such as the DPP and the KMT, resulting in their overrepresentation. This leads to polarization between the DPP and the KMT, fostering a climate of policy reversals and difficulty in achieving agreement. This has resulted in an increase in collective action, such as demonstrations and the development of minor political parties, to enhance their influence in decision-making. The policymaking process for housing matters has become increasingly complex because

of these dynamics, as it is a central arena for political contention.

The political openings in Taiwan during the democratic period, starting in the 1980s, allowed for increased public engagement, resulting in the emergence of several social movements, including housing-related ones. The DPP and KMT have debated the use and regulations of referendums as a means of gauging public opinion, reflecting the dynamic nature of democratic culture. In 2016, the DPP used its parliamentary majority to expedite the implementation of referendums, but the KMT utilized the exact mechanism in 2018 to challenge DPP initiatives. These referendums provide further evidence of the complex interplay between political forces and housing movement goals.

The origins of housing movements in Taiwan can be traced back to significant milestones in the country's economic and political development. In 1989, the Shell-less Snail Movement emerged as a response to the rising cost of housing in the context of economic liberalization in the late 1980s. This movement paved the way for subsequent activist efforts and helped bring housing issues into the public sphere. Subsequently, in 2010, the social housing movement emerged with the goal of advocating increased government involvement in housing through the promotion of social rental housing, with the SMO named "Social Housing Advocacy Consortium" (SHAC). These movements employ a variety of tactics and procedures to advance their objectives.

Taiwan's political structure has influenced the development of housing movements in the country. The establishment of SHAC in 2010 demonstrates the importance of collaboration within the housing movement. By strategically leveraging election

seasons, SHAC successfully advocated for and advanced changes in the political sphere, including the enactment of the Housing Act before the 2012 election. The Act aimed to provide adequate housing for all individuals. Furthermore, in 2014, mayors of major urban centers made a collective promised to increase the accessibility of social housing units, highlighting the impact of housing advocates on political dialogue and obligations.

However, Taiwan's political system is not without its own set of issues. The potential for polarization inherent in the majoritarian election system poses a challenge to housing movements that associate themselves with minority parties. The era of KMT predominance, spanning 2008 to 2016, instilled housing activists affiliated with the DPP with the perception that achieving progress via political means was unlikely. This sentiment served as a catalyst for many rallies, including the 2014 Sunflower Movement, which sought to advocate more openness and accountability within the government (Ho, 2015). Additionally, the phenomenon of political polarization has impeded the effectiveness of the policymaking process. The legislative progress of cross-strait business accords, pledged in response to the 2014 protest, has been hindered by disputes among the involved parties (C.-m. Wang, 2017).

Although political systems may impose limitations, they also provide opportunities for housing movements to influence policymaking processes. The promotion of democratization and increased public involvement has been crucial in enabling the emergence of these movements, directing their efforts towards institutionalized channels such as elections and lobbying. However, the movements' dissatisfaction with the representative government also led to the adoption of alternative approaches,

including protests, as a means of expressing opposition and driving transformative change.

Housing policies in Taiwan that prioritize the market have resulted in a restricted amount of social housing provision. Housing movements advocating for increased state involvement in housing issues have faced challenges, including NIMBYism, limited public land availability, fiscal constraints, and developer influence on policy-making (Y.-L. Chen, 2011). Despite these obstacles, housing movements have achieved gradual progress, enacted the Housing Act, and secured commitments from urban mayors to increase the number of social housing units.

The impact of Taiwan's political environment on housing movements is a complex and diverse phenomenon. The combination of majority voting systems with democratic principles presents both opportunities and obstacles for housing reform advocates. Political divisions can hinder policymaking, but the democratization of society has enabled the emergence of housing movements that have actively lobbied for policy changes and have had a significant impact on the housing situation in the country. The ongoing development of housing policies in Taiwan is closely linked to interactions between political institutions and housing movements. It has the potential to shape the social fabric of a country (C.-O. Chang & Yuan, 2013).

7.3.2 The Economic Context

The complex relationship between Taiwan's economic conditions and its housing movements reveals a multifaceted array of elements that have exerted considerable influence on the housing situation within the nation (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). The economic

trajectory of Taiwan, which was characterized by rapid industrialization and expansion driven by exports from the 1960s to the 1990s, had a significant impact on the socioeconomic circumstances that contributed to the emergence of housing movements. The period of substantial economic growth saw a significant increase in personal earnings and growth in an emerging middle-socioeconomic group. However, a concomitant outcome of this economic growth has been a rise in income disparity, which has been especially pronounced since the beginning of the 21st century. One significant figure highlights this disparity: the proportion of income held by the top 1% of earners increased from 9% in 2000 to 11% in 2014, accentuating the growing divide between affluent individuals and the remaining population (K.-M. Chen, Leu, & Wang, 2019).

Taiwan's economic path has displayed intriguing manifestations in the realm of housing. On one hand, the country shows a notable homeownership rate of 84%, which signifies a culture rooted in strong connections to property ownership (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). However, it is crucial to acknowledge that this phenomenon coexists with an almost 19% vacancy rate (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). This seemingly incongruous situation underscores the substantial disparity between the availability and actual demand for housing. These conflicting realities offer insights into housing challenges in Taiwan. Although a considerable number of citizens own property, the current state of exorbitant housing costs and limited housing options for specific groups present a somewhat intricate scenario.

Taiwan's housing market has experienced a substantial and rapid increase in prices, surpassing a 100% growth rate since 2005. This trend has made homeownership

unaffordable for a significant portion of the population (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). The situation is particularly acute in Taipei, where the ratio of housing prices to income now stands at 17 (Interior, 2023). This issue is exacerbated by the fact that housing is often used as a speculative investment instrument, driven by low property taxes and interest rates (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). This results in the formation of housing bubbles and further diminishes the affordability of housing. The existing economic situation indicates the ineffectiveness of pro-market policies to address the needs of the general population. Therefore, it is imperative to implement policy changes that align with actual circumstances and conditions.

The complexity of the equation is exacerbated by the significant discrepancy between the high demand for social rental housing and its limited availability. Despite strong public support for the concept of social rental housing, with 86.8% of respondents expressing approval, the current supply of housing allocated for social rental purposes is disproportionately low, comprising only 0.08% of the total housing stock (W. D. Li & Hung, 2019). This disparity underscores the inadequacy of the current housing policies in addressing the needs of the majority of the population.

Given the current economic climate, housing movement has emerged as a powerful force for change. The Shell-less Snail Movement in 1989 was a response to the unaffordability of housing caused by financial deregulation and speculative investment. Recently, the Social Housing Movement has gained traction, advocating for more affordable rental housing options for marginalized and economically disadvantaged communities. This movement reflects disillusionment with market-driven policies that have contributed to the ongoing housing crisis.

The application of Pickvance's contextual framework in analyzing Taiwan's economic environment reveals the significant role of economic factors in shaping housing movements. Taiwan's growth trajectory was marked by urbanization and industrialization, resulting in increasing income inequality and housing unaffordability, which sparked social movements, such as the Shell-less Snail Movement. These events demonstrate the impact of urbanization and broader economic and social contexts. Moreover, the prevalence of speculative housing investment driven by pro-market policies highlights the influence of state intervention in shaping the dynamics that housing movements aim to address.

The convergence of these elements also highlights the political influence of the growing middle class, as demonstrated by growing support for social housing solutions. The pursuit of affordable and equitable housing options reflects the desires of a population that has experienced profound effects of economic growth but is now grappling with the negative consequences it has brought about.

The contextual framework provides a clear understanding of the complex interplay between Taiwan's economic circumstances and the rise of housing movements. The interplay between accelerated industrialization, socioeconomic disparity, speculative investment, and the scarcity of social housing highlights the fundamental economic factors that have fueled these phenomena. Addressing these determinants through substantial changes is crucial to mitigating Taiwan's urgent housing issues and ensuring that economic expansion benefits all population segments.

7.3.3 The Socio-cultural Context

The complex interplay between Taiwan's sociocultural milieu and its housing movements exposes a multifaceted array of factors that shape the country's housing scenario. The widespread cultural value of homeownership has had a profound impact on the sociocultural landscape, giving rise to both speculative behavior and the persistence of elevated housing prices, even in the face of substantial vacancy rates. This prevailing cultural preference for homeownership has contributed to the persistent issue of housing unaffordability, perpetuating a situation in which property ownership remains an unattainable goal for many, particularly among the younger population.

The younger population in Taiwan is significantly affected by the reverberations of the housing crisis, as they face the paradoxical challenge of having respectable wages and insufficient affordability. This highlights the intricate nature of the housing problem, in which societal and cultural ambitions intersect with economic constraints. Taiwan's sociocultural milieu is subject to an additional impact due to its demographic trajectory, given its status as a country in transition. Considering a population that is now static and on the verge of decline, there is an impending decrease in housing demand that has significant implications for the future of the housing sector. This phenomenon is expected to have a transformative influence on the dynamics of the housing movement as it adapts to the changing sociocultural context.

Urban governance in Taiwan is complex and involves a network of interactions between government entities, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), local leaders, and other stakeholders. The housing movement's approach and methods are influenced

by the international framework, which allows NGO involvement and engagement. Taipei's dynamic environment and multiple stakeholders have led to contentious public hearings. In this context, local residents have demanded concessions to support social housing programs. This statement relates to the complex negotiations and dialogue inherent in Taiwan's housing movement.

The influence of Taiwan's sociocultural surroundings on housing trends underscores the intricate connections that shape the country's social structure. The cultural inclination towards homeownership is inextricably linked to economic factors, which subsequently impact the orientation and objectives of housing movements. More importantly, it is linked to traditional norms "Land is the wealth." Consequently, the invention of real estate has always been a priority for speculators. The housing crisis disproportionately affected the younger generation, serving as a stark reminder of the discord between sociocultural norms and the current housing ecosystem. The looming decrease in population demographics adds an additional layer of complexity, thereby raising concerns regarding future housing requirements.

Taiwan's urban governance framework plays a crucial role in the evolution of housing movements because of its intricate network of relationships. The course of action is determined by the sociocultural environment, including complex stakeholder dynamics in Taipei and the state-led approach in Taoyuan. These examples illustrate how a combination of social and political factors can lead to varying housing regulations, even within the same country.

The sociocultural context of Taiwan plays a crucial role in shaping the direction of its housing movements. Multiple factors, including the cultural significance of

homeownership, challenges of the younger generation, impending demographic change, and the complex municipal government structure, drive the country's housing movement. Understanding the intricate interplay between these factors is essential to understand the reasons, techniques, and obstacles that define Taiwan's pursuit of affordable and equitable housing.

7.4 The External Factors Shaping Taiwanese Housing Movements

7.4.1 The Political Influences

This section examines the influence of external political factors on the evolution of housing movements in Taiwan by utilizing Pickvance's contextual framework, which sheds light on the linkages between housing movements and the broader sociopolitical landscape.

Political institutions in Taiwan, including its majoritarian voting system and implementation of referendums, significantly impact the housing movement in the country. These mechanisms contribute to the division among political parties, making it difficult to achieve policy agreements and address housing issues. Discontent with the system of the representative government further complicates the process of developing and implementing housing policies. Political tension in Taiwan was demonstrated in 2014 when protesters stormed the legislature to oppose a cross-strait trade agreement, resulting in the suspension of its ratification. Additionally, KMT, using referendums in 2018 to undermine the policies of the DPP, highlights the political nature of housing issues in Taiwan.

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Throughout history, housing movements in Taiwan have undergone transformations in response to significant socioeconomic issues. The emergence of the Shell-less Snail Movement in 1989 was a direct result of escalating housing costs during a period of economic liberalization. Subsequent social movements, such as the social housing movement, focused on promoting government involvement in housing through the establishment and provision of social rental housing. These movements serve as symbols of the complex relationship between external political forces and socioeconomic elements, where the ever-changing economic environment is influenced by and impacts the housing movement's requests.

The influence of external political forces on the strategic approaches of housing movements such as SHAC is highlighted by their acts. The use of elections to facilitate policy change shows the complexity and diversity of political possibilities as many groups strive to impact policy outcomes through the electoral process. SHAC's efforts, along with the broader development of housing movements, illustrate the dynamic

interplay between external political forces and advocacy for housing.

Taiwan's housing policy has been heavily impacted by political factors, which reflect a strong inclination towards a pro-market and pro-homeownership attitude. The lack of significant governmental interference in the housing market created an environment conducive to speculation, resulting in a decline in affordability. The state's role has undergone a progressive shift that may be attributed to the influence of the social housing movement. This transformation can be seen as a direct reaction to the changing political landscape, where there is increasing emphasis on the need for a fair and just housing policy.

Despite these challenges, housing movement in Taiwan continues to face obstacles. The progress of the movement has been impeded by several factors, including the effects of NIMBYism, limited availability of urban public land, constraints caused by low property taxes on government capacity, and the influence of developers in policy decisions. These issues highlight the intersection of external political pressures and multiple constraints that housing advocates must contend with.

The complex interplay between external political factors and housing movements in Taiwan involves a multifaceted interaction in which political institutions, opportunities, and dynamics intersect with the goals of activists seeking a fair housing policy. The impact of political structures on polarization, the emergence of democracy as a catalyst for change, and the varied reactions of housing movements to socioeconomic difficulties all contribute to the development of housing policy and political discourse in Taiwan. Despite the significant progress made by these groups, obstacles remain, resulting in a continuous story of reform and advocacy aimed at creating a fair and

affordable housing environment.

7.4.2 The Economic Forces

The housing market in Taiwan has experienced a tumultuous journey, influenced by a blend of external economic factors that have not only altered its trajectory, but also spurred the formation of housing advocacy groups seeking fair housing policies. Through the lens of Pickvance's contextual approach, we can delve into the nuanced ways in which external economic pressures have affected the development of housing movements in Taiwan.

Taiwan's housing market has undergone significant changes due to various economic factors. The sharp increase in property prices in recent years can be attributed to factors such as low-interest rates, foreign investment, limited housing supply, and speculative demand (Y.-L. Chen, 2020). As a result, many people are unable to afford a home, highlighting the urgent need for change in a market that is becoming increasingly unaffordable. These factors underline the impact of external economic influences on the housing market and the emergence of housing movements, necessitating a change to address this issue.

The Taiwanese economy has experienced strong growth, with an average annual GDP growth rate of approximately 4% in the previous decade (Welle-Strand, Chen, & Ball, 2011). This sustained expansion has led to increased income levels, resulting in greater demand for housing. The surge in economic activity has also attracted foreign investors to the property market, exacerbating demand forces and driving prices (Pi-Ying Lai & Fischer, 2007). However, the current global slowdown and reduced export

performance moderated Taiwan's expected GDP expansion, suggesting possible changes in the housing market trajectory. These economic fluctuations highlight the adaptable nature of the relationship between economic development and housing demands.

The impact of external economic factors is clearly visible in interest rates (Pi-Ying Lai & Fischer, 2007). The reduction in the benchmark interest rate by the central bank to stimulate economic growth, combined with low mortgage rates, has led to an increase in speculative demand (T. C. Lin & Lin, 2011). This has allowed buyers to secure larger mortgages, thus contributing to an ongoing rise in prices. The central bank's recent decision to raise interest rates may be viewed as a strategic move aimed at addressing issues related to inflation and speculative property demand. This situation highlights the mutually beneficial relationship between the lobbying efforts of housing movements toward policy change and the adaptability of economic policies in response to market dynamics.

The impact of foreign economic factors on the housing sector includes the inflow of funds from Taiwanese and mainland Chinese investors (C.-O. Chang & Chen, 2012). Although measures have been put in place to manage the influx of money, it is challenging to monitor transactions, making it unclear what precise impact these funds have on the housing market. The issue of housing supply is further complicated by land scarcity and strict urban planning regulations, leading to a shortage of available housing. This situation creates intense competition among buyers and drives up housing prices (Chien, Lee, & Cheng, 2019). This complex relationship between the movement of money and the availability of housing highlights the various ways that

economic and regulatory factors influence the

Taiwan's housing market is characterized by a significant lack of social housing, which accounts for only 0.2% of the total housing supply. This shortage highlights a more prominent issue within the housing sector, namely the challenge of ensuring affordability (Yu, Lin, & Dąbrowski, 2023). The combination of high prices and heavy mortgage obligations has significantly contributed to the creation of an unaffordable housing market. The interplay between external economic factors and the scarcity of social housing options emphasizes the urgent need for change as called for housing movements.

The complex interplay between external economic factors and housing movements in Taiwan significantly affects the housing market. The relationship between economic growth, interest rates, foreign investment, housing supply, and affordability has led to the emergence of housing movements that advocate for change. The policy reforms demanded by activists are closely linked to the impact of external factors that fundamentally transformed the housing environment. Given the ongoing evolution of economic variables, it is likely that housing movements will continue to play a crucial role in advocating housing policies that promote fairness and address the pressing issues of unaffordability and inequality within Taiwan's housing market.

7.4.3 The Socio-cultural Dynamics

Housing movements in Taiwan are deeply intertwined with the socio-cultural dynamics of the society in which they operate, with cultural influences exerting a profound impact on their mobilization, longevity, and the formulation of their goals,

strategies, and outcomes. The confluence of family values, cultural norms, and gender roles is crucial in shaping the emergence and growth of these movements.

Taiwanese society places significant importance on family values, often including the desire for multigenerational cohabitation (Y.-H. Chang, 2023). The phenomenon of adult children living with their parents has implications for housing needs, and shapes the notion of homeownership as a symbol of success. As a result, there is increased pressure to own a home, which is seen as a crucial milestone in achieving societal norms and aspirations (Hu & Chiang, 2021). The cultural inclination towards property ownership as a means of family stability and achievement was reflected in the high homeownership rate of 84.3% in 2017. The cultural context in which housing movements occur is a significant backdrop as these movements strive to reconcile the disparity between conventional societal norms and the practical challenges associated with housing affordability.

Gender dynamics in Taiwan's housing movements also play a role in shaping its trajectory. The presence of obstacles, such as gender disparities in professional domains, results in housing designs that may not sufficiently accommodate the needs and preferences of all individuals (D. T. Chang, 2022). The lack of consideration of gender-specific issues, such as the impact of housing constraints on women, is a notable deficiency in understanding housing disparities (Brysk, 2021). The exclusion of gender-specific issues in housing movements has significant consequences for inclusiveness and efficacy. It is necessary to address these concerns in order to engage in full advocacy.

The historical context of housing reforms in Taiwan underscores the profound impact

of sociocultural factors. The emergence of the Shell-less Snail Movement in 1989 can be attributed to the issue of housing unaffordability resulting from a significant rise in property prices relative to income. The movement's demand for increased access to public and nonprofit housing aligned with the prevailing cultural value of homeownership as a symbol of success. Although some policy adjustments were implemented, such as price restrictions, the movement's short-lived nature may have been due to the persistence of cultural norms that prioritize property ownership.

SHAC, which gained popularity in 2010, focuses on campaigning for affordable rental housing options for low-income individuals. Although it recognizes the housing affordability crisis, the movement has not fully incorporated gender-specific housing concerns into its discussions, hindering its effectiveness in advocating comprehensive housing solutions that address a variety of needs.

Sociocultural factors in Taiwan, including family values, social expectations, gender roles, and the visibility of women's issues, have a significant impact on the development, goals, and methods of housing movements. Although significant progress has been made in achieving more equitable housing laws, there is still an opportunity to integrate gender-specific concerns and perspectives further. A comprehensive strategy that recognizes the intersections between housing challenges, cultural norms, and gender dynamics has the potential to enhance the effectiveness and inclusiveness of housing advocacy efforts. By acknowledging and addressing these interconnections, housing movements can improve the ability of the Taiwanese population to serve diverse needs and contribute towards creating a housing environment that is both inclusive and fair.

7.5 The Periodicity Analysis of Taiwanese Housing Movements

7.5.1 The First Stage of Taiwanese Housing Movements

Abolishing martial law in the late 1980s was a crucial turning point on Taiwan's path to democracy. Lee Teng-Hui succeeded Chiang Ching-Kuo as president the next year and was elected the first president by direct vote in 1996. In the late 1980s, democratization altered state-capital ties. The capitalists and the KMT state, the pro-Chinese nationalist party, were challenged by popular movements, mainly labor and environmental groups. At the same time, the low production costs in Southeast Asia and mainland China provided other manufacturing options, resulting in a significant capital drain from Taiwan. To retain capitalists in Taiwan and win their support, the developmental state incorporated them into policy execution. Subsequently, as they constructed worldwide manufacturing networks and became increasingly internationalized, capitalists expanded authority independently of the state and had a more significant say in policymaking.

In municipal and national elections, democratization facilitates the formation of local groups and commercial organizations. Subsequent housing policies motivated the housing market to become a top priority, introducing more low-interest loans for people planning to buy housing and expanding financing options for private developers. However, the governing political party could only partially disregard those who did not benefit from this pro-market system. This resulted in the configuration of policy implementation throughout the age of democratization, which first allocated a substantial share of the pie to innovators (Y.-L. Chen, 2011).

The Shell-less Snail Movement was initiated in 1989 by the ideas and assertions of

primary school teachers. In response, some elementary school teachers, architects, and urban planners formed “The Homeless Solidarity Alliance.” and evolved to “The Shell-less Snail Alliance” later in the same year. It gathered over 50,000 people to sleep on the Chung-Hsiao East Road as part of a series of effective public protests by speculative businesses. In this process, urban planning experts independently contributed to establishing rural land policy. They contacted the government and concerned members of the public about everyone’s housing rights. They requested the government to take steps to maintain affordable housing prices. It drew many white-collar employees, as opposed to the usual blue-collar crowds, to camp out and protest in Taipei’s luxurious housing area.

The first stage of the Taiwanese housing movements, marked by a period of significant socio-political transformation and burgeoning civil society activism, laid the foundational stones for addressing the acute housing issues facing Taiwan (

Table 7.1). The Shell-less Snail Movements and the lay-down protest on the 26th of August 1989 are notable achievements of this era, which saw an unprecedented gathering of over 50,000 people, demonstrating the deep-seated concerns over housing affordability and availability. This period also witnessed the establishment of critical SMOs after the protest in August 1989, such as the Organization of Urban Re-s (OURs) and the TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Services (TMM), which played influential roles in framing housing not merely as a need but as a critical urban issue, deserving of comprehensive policy approaches and public attention. These movements were instrumental in accelerating the provision of public housing and enhancing loan limits for first-time homebuyers, thereby making strides toward

increasing homeownership.

However, the journey was not without its setbacks. The 825 Return of the Shell-less Snail Movement in the next year underscored the challenges grassroots movements face in sustaining momentum and achieving lasting policy changes. At the same time, the Homeless Solidarity Alliance's struggles in policy advocacy highlighted the complexities of navigating the political landscape and influencing housing policies effectively. These failures underline a critical learning curve for the housing movements in Taiwan, pointing to the need for stronger policy advocacy strategies and the importance of building enduring coalitions.

Reviewing the setback of the 825 Return of the Shell-less Snail Movement in 1990 reveals that the Shell-less Snail Movements shrank significantly within one year. According to one of the interviewees who was responsible for the press release of the movements in 1989, he argues that the internal reason why the movement was put off within one year was that it could not deepen the discourse of housing policy rather than merely requesting the state to decrease housing prices. Meanwhile, 1989 was in the end of the first wave of price increases impacted by global trends, which made housing prices comparatively stable in the following decade. Thus, the lack of grievance brought more difficulties to movement mobilization; also, the general public misunderstood that it was the movement curbing the escalation of housing prices. As for the government, even though the authorities attended to give an open talk in response to the protests and requests, the state still focused on increasing homeownership and proposed a loan limit increase for first-time homebuyers, which became the rotten root of the housing crisis.

Despite these setbacks, the initial stage of Taiwan's housing movements laid the groundwork for future activism and policy reform, highlighting the dual nature of grassroots movements as both catalysts for change and reflective mirrors of the challenges inherent in addressing deeply entrenched urban issues. It took a lot of work for movement workers to acquire the necessary people and material resources to sustain the pace of movement. They believed that an active social movement was the best method to grab people's consideration but that there were better ways to sustain the reformation. To maintain grassroots civic power, The Homeless Solidarity Alliance was split into three organizations in 1989: TMM, OURs, and the Homeless Solidarity Alliance. TMM provides free and reliable house leasing services. OURs are associations comprising urban planning and architecture experts. The first stage ended with the reorganizing of the Shell-less Snail Alliance. The individual development of these three SMOs based on their different missions marked the beginning of the second stage.

Table 7.1 The Outcomes of the 1st Stage of the Taiwanese Housing Movement

Stage 1: 1989-1990	
Achievements	***Failures***
■ The mobilization of the Shell-less Snail Movements (gathered more than 50,000 people in August 1989) ■ The establishment of the Organization of Urban Re-s (OURs) ■ The Establishment of TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Services (TMM) ■ Framing housing as one of the urban issues ■ Accelerating the increase of public housing provision ■ Accelerating loan limit increase for the first-time homebuyer	■ The 825 Return of Shell-less Snail Movement ■ The Homeless Solidarity Alliance failed in policy advocacy

In summary, according to Hsiao and Liu (Hsiao & Liu, 1993), the initial wave of the movement was supported mainly by middle-class individuals, and access to homeownership was the primary concern. In response, the government created low-interest mortgage programs in the 1990s, which excluded low-income individuals. Consequently, the first wave resulted in state interference with housing provision and consumption. Once the state intervened by boosting housing provision, this generation of activists pushed for access to housing. The initial wave of activity spawned Pickvance's type 1 and 2 movements.

7.5.2 The Second Stage of Taiwanese Housing Movements

The second stage is from 1991-2009. At this stage, OURs and TMM participated in housing struggles and enhanced their housing rights. TMM shifted its action plan to continue safeguarding the living rights of tenants and enhancing the rental market. Initially, the direction of social change centered on the connection between the state and civil society citizens. TMM suggested to the government a housing strategy and laws that would ameliorate the housing market disparity. Continual rental services have been essential in supporting social reform activities to sustain long-term social reforms. OURs began working on urban policy, community development, the protection of cultural assets, and social construction.

After the Asian financial crisis in 1998, which exacerbated the problem of large, unsold houses, a second protest occurred in 1999. The government accepted developers' proposal to give NT$150 billion (USD$5 billion) in low-interest rate (5.95 percent) mortgages. The 1999 housing financing policy was contentious, and the policymaking process once again revealed developers' political power. The financial crisis allowed

the Shell-less Snails Alliance to curb speculation and rising house prices. However, mortgages have contributed to increasing demand, assisting developers in overcoming overproduction issues and preventing a decrease in home prices. Mortgages lack income restrictions and include tax rebates, which aggravates affordability issues. The Shell-less Snail Alliance was vehemently opposed to the policy. Nonetheless, the mortgage money dried after six months.

Even though the state partnered with developers, the political party in power could only partially disregard the grievances of people who did not benefit from this mortgage scheme. For people unable to purchase a home, the Ministry of Finance introduced a rent allowance (NT$120,000) for income taxes in 2000. This low rent stipend was the first housing assistance provided to the tenants. This example exemplifies a policy-making trend that became characteristic of the democratic age, namely, providing a large portion of the pie to more influential developers early and a smaller portion to policy opponents afterward. A significant number of low-interest mortgages have been made available to homebuyers since the 20th century; this strategy has grown to dominate the housing program. Very few home alternatives exist outside the market because of housing policies. In Taiwan, homeownership is the sole means to enjoy greater housing quality. Nonetheless, the 2005 housing bubble made it impossible for even upper-middle-income people to purchase their own houses.

The emergence of the “new poor” exacerbated the housing crisis of the 2000s. Beginning in the 1980s, when Taiwan began the process of deindustrialization, labor-intensive companies began to go overseas in search of cheaper labor. At the end of the 19th century, the high-tech industry went in the same direction. Not only did economic

restructuring raise the unemployment rate, but it also boosted the number of regular workers. From 2001 to 2009, the number of part-time workers quadrupled (J.-H. Li, 2010). In 2009, 34.2% of those under 30 years of age were long-term jobless, including 20% of those with degrees above bachelors. From 1998 to 2009, the number of low-income households that received social assistance doubled.

During the second stage of Taiwan's housing movements, the strategic pivot of organizations such as OURs towards community development and consulting projects marked a significant evolution in addressing urban issues. Even though the movements did not mobilize to protest nor advocate due to the stable housing prices in these two decades, this period saw notable achievements in community empowerment and engagement, with OURs participating in or organizing 55 events dedicated to fostering community development. These efforts were instrumental in not only enhancing the social fabric of communities but also in raising awareness and participation in urban development processes. Furthermore, OURs' engagement in cultural property protection through 43 events underscored the movements broader commitment to preserving Taiwan's urban heritage amidst rapid development. The organization's dedication to promoting urban philosophies and engaging in urban policy, through 68 and 65 events respectively, reflected a deepened understanding and critique of urban dynamics, contributing to a more novel public discourse on urban planning and development. Additionally, the undertaking of 30 planning consulting projects demonstrated OURs' ability to influence urban development practices directly, marking a transition from street protests to active participation in shaping urban landscapes.

However, the second stage was not devoid of challenges, as evidenced by the dismissal of the Homeless Solidarity Alliance and the unsuccessful advocacy efforts of the Shell-less Snail Alliance. These setbacks highlighted the difficulties faced by housing movements in sustaining momentum and achieving substantial policy change in the face of evolving urban challenges and complex policy environments. The dismissal of the Homeless Solidarity Alliance, in particular, pointed to the precarious nature of coalition-building in the realm of housing advocacy, while the Shell-less Snail Alliance's struggles underscored the obstacles in translating grassroots mobilization into effective policy influence. In 1999, the Shell-less Snail Alliance had planned to mobilization another protest of housing issue; however, due to the 921earthquake, which stroke Taiwan severely, they decided to pause the protesting plan and engaged in urban rebuilding because most of them are urban planning professionals in OURs.

Table 7.2 The Outcomes of the 2nd Stage of the Taiwanese Housing Movement

Stage 2: 1991-2009	
Achievements	***Failures***
■ Community development and empowerment (55 events) ■ Engaging in cultural property protection (43 events) ■ Promoting urban philosophies (68 events) ■ Engaging in urban policy (65 events) ■ Conducting planning consulting projects (30 events)	■ The dismissal of the Homeless Solidarity Alliance ■ The unsuccessful advocacy of the Shell-less Snail Alliance

These failures and incidents reflect the inherent challenges in navigating the transition from grassroots activism to professionalized consultancy, underlining the need for housing movements to continuously adapt and refine their strategies in the face of changing urban landscape and policy context. Despite these challenges, the achievements (Table 7.2) of this stage demonstrate the enduring impact of the housing movements on Taiwan's urban development, highlighting the potential of community-

based approaches in contributing to more inclusive and sustainable urban futures.

7.5.3 The Third Stage of Taiwanese Housing Movements

The third stage started with the establishment of the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC) in 2010. SHAC was founded by 13 groups that deal with underprivileged individuals who have suffered the most from the housing market's unaffordability and discrimination. Most of these organizations were founded following the democratization of the late 1980s. These organizations have extensive policy advocacy, fundraising, social service delivery, policy research, and networking expertise. Their relationships with policymakers, lawmakers, municipal council representatives, and the media enable them to push for social housing problems.

SHAC has employed several techniques, including policy lobbying, promotion of legislation, monitoring of housing developments, social education and advocacy, and international learning. These measures are directed at policymakers and society. Regarding policy advocacy, SHAC targets legislators and policymakers to bring social housing into the policy agenda. During elections, SHAC contacts the candidates and presents their policy proposals. Since the 2010 mayoral elections in Taiwan's five largest cities, social housing has become one of the most prominent campaign concerns, particularly in the metropolitan region of Taipei. Many SHAC demonstrations occur in the Taipei metropolitan region, notably in Taipei City, because the property costs in these locations are approximately double the national average. The lowest homeownership rate in Taiwan was observed in Taipei City. Since 2014, mayors elected in the six largest cities have made electoral promises to expand the number of social housing units. SHAC's advocacy during elections has been an effective tactic.

Altering housing laws has also been a significant emphasis of the campaign. SHAC has collaborated with a few Taipei City legislators and representatives who favor housing changes. Moreover, SHAC is not the only participant in the social housing movement. Strong public support is necessary to improve the survival of movement. In 2009, according to a study conducted by the Executive Yuan of Taiwan, the most common public concern was the high cost of housing(Constructing and Planning Agency, 2015). Between 2005 and 2014, the ratio of Taipei City's median property prices to its median yearly household income increased from 8.9 to 15.7, surpassing that of most North American, Japanese, and European cities. Demographia International indicates that Taipei City is one of the most expensive cities in the world(International, 2015).

In October 2014, the housing movement planned a large-scale demonstration in front of Taipei's most opulent residential complex. Thousands of people in the pricey part of Taiwan are supine. They carried placards with phrases such as "Destroy cronyism, pursue justice" and "Give me housing rights, make housing cheap." These slogans demanded that the state play a significant role in limiting housing speculation, safeguarding housing rights, and promoting justice.

The five goals of the 2014 housing protest were as follows: (1) the incorporation of housing rights into the constitution and the closure of forced displacement; (2) the reform of real estate taxes and the prohibition of speculation; (3) the construction of social housing to reach a five percent target and the provision of public housing by either the public or private sectors; (4) the amendment of public land law and the closure of buildings for public housing; and (5) the improvement of the traditional

rental market and rental housing regulations. These objectives required a robust state to adopt legislation on public land, taxation, rental housing, social housing, eviction, and housing rights. Subsequently, the objectives were organized into three crucial directions: tax reform, rental housing market regulation, and social housing growth. It is believed that strengthening the state's function is vital to altering long-standing laissez-faire and speculative housing markets.

SHAC supported that more housing rules should restrict the excessive profits of real estate corporations and prioritize housing utility and equity. In addition to social housing movements, some urban movements, particularly forced relocations, have been active in Taipei. Squatters and underprivileged individuals residing on public land, as well as a minority of landowners who opposed redevelopment projects, questioned who had the right to remain in the city, and the justice of urban redevelopment. The social housing movement also coined the phrase housing justice, which has been extensively adopted by numerous displacement groups.

Since 2010, the social housing movement has advanced in several ways. In 2011, the Legislative Yuan of Taiwan announced its luxury tax bill. The Housing Act and housing pricing transparency rules were enacted before the 2012 presidential election. In addition, the Legislative Yuan accepted a property tax proposal submitted by the Ministry of Finance prior to the 2016 presidential election. However, these legislative provisions are imperfect because they maintain safeguards for the real estate industry. The Rental Housing Bill was enacted by the Legislative Yuan in 2017. The fundamental objective of the measure is to establish a framework for the government to sublease and manage privately owned flats on behalf of its owners. It does not seek

to develop organizations to control the quality of rental dwellings or to settle rental disputes. The objective was to enhance the availability of rental housing by providing private landlords with incentives and by increasing state aid.

In this advanced stage of Taiwanese housing movements, a strategic shift towards housing policy advocacy by SMOs has led to substantial legislative and societal achievements, marking a significant period of influence and reform in Taiwan's housing sector. The series of legislative success initiated with the legalization of the Housing Act in 2011, and follow by critical reforms including the introduction of three Act for actual price registration of real estate transaction in 2011, the implementation of the integrated housing and land tax in 2015, multiple amendments to the Housing Act in 2016 and 2017, and the amendments of the Condominium Administration Act and the Equalization of Land Right Act, collectively signify a transformative shift in the legal and regulatory framework governing housing in Taiwan. These achievements not only reflect the effectiveness of targeted advocacy but also underline the movement's role in driving forward policies aimed at improving transparency, equity, and fairness in the housing market. The establishment of the SHAC in 2010, as a leading force in housing advocacy, alongside the mobilization of the Nest Movements in 2014, the innovative Yuan-Ho social housing cooperative co-housing program, and the engagement in international dialogue through conferenced and workshops, further exemplify the movement's accomplishments in fostering a comprehensive and participatory approach to housing reform, demonstrating the potential of collective action and international cooperation in addressing complex housing issues.

Despite these significant strides, the movement faced challenges, notably the dismissal

of the collaboration of the Nest Movement, which highlights the dynamics and potential fragility of coalition-building in social movements. This failure underscores the complexities of sustaining unified action and cohesion among diverse groups with varying agendas and strategies, especially in the context of long-term advocacy and policy engagement. The dissolution of this collaboration presents a critical learning opportunity for housing movements, emphasizing the need for strategic flexibility, effective communication, and the nurturing of solidarity to overcome internal and external challenges. This setback, while highlighting the difficulties of maintaining momentum in social advocacy, does not detract from the overall achievements of the housing movement in Taiwan. Instead, it serves as a reminder of the continuous effort require to balance advocacy goals with practicalities of coalition dynamics, reinforcing the important of resilience and adaptability in the pursuit of sustainable housing reform. Through reflecting on both its successes and failures, the Taiwanese housing movement can continue to evolve, leveraging its experiences to strengthen future strategies and further contribute to meaningful policy change and social justice in housing.

Nevertheless, the third stage of movement was in its initial period. Nevertheless, these movements provide essential points for considering what sort of city we want to live in and how to transform our cities independently. The potential for these grassroots movements to profoundly construct new cities and alter people's daily lives exists since each move has prompted society-wide issues about inequality and unfairness. A fair society assures distributive justice and realizes that greater socio-spatial equality solves these problems. Consequently, new themes, such as economic democracy, universal welfare, and housing rights, garner more attention, and addressing them can

contribute to developing a more equal, just, and democratic society. This lobbying strategy might help address the structural inequality that has resulted in the unequal allocation of resources for economic growth over the past five decades. It is premature to infer that these new initiatives will significantly improve democracy, justice and diversity. Nonetheless, they have shifted the focus of the state and society away from urban expansion and toward creating a just city and proposed the establishment of alternative urban development.

Table 7.3 The Outcomes of the 3rd Stage of the Taiwanese Housing Movement

Stage 3: 2010-present	
Achievements	***Failures***
■ Housing policy advocacy: The legalization of the Housing Act in 2011 The legalization of three Acts for actual price registration of real estate transactions in 2011 The legalization of the integrated housing and land tax in 2015 The 1st amendment of the Housing Act in 2016 The legalization of the Rental Housing Market Development and Management Act in 2017 The 2nd amendment of the Housing Act in 2017 The amendment of the Condominium Administration Act in 2020 The amendment of the Equalization of Land Right Act in 2023 ■ The establishment of the Social Housing Alliance Consortium in 2010 ■ The mobilization and protests of the Nest Movement in 2014 ■ Yuan-Ho social housing cooperative co-housing program ■ The establishment of the Tenant Alliance in 2023 ■ International conferences/workshops/exchanges (27 events)	■ The dismissal of the collaboration of the Nest Movement

Table 7.4 The Three Stages of Taiwanese Housing Movements

	The first stage	***The second stage***	***The third stage***
Period	1989-1990	1991-2009	2010-present
Conflict relationship	The public vs. the state The public vs. the market	Tenants vs. landlords Homebuyers vs. the market	Advocacy group vs the state Advocacy group vs the market
Goals	· Access to homeownership · Housing rights for all	· Keep the grassroots civil power going	· Housing rights · A just social housing provision · Tax reform · The development of formal rental market and rental housing laws
Strategies	· Collective social protest · The request of controlling housing price affordable · Involvement from the middle-class and urban planning professionals	· Division of the 'Citizen Solidarity against Urban Speculation' · A wider range of support to take collective action. · Social service provision	· SHAC as the main advocating actor · The mobilization of the young generation · Policy research and lobbying · Organization networking · Collective social protest
Outcome	· Several low-interest mortgage schemes · Government increased housing provision	· The establishment of 2 main housing issue organizations · NT $150 billion low-interest mortgages to stimulate demand. · The implementation of rent allowance · The formation of 'new poor'	· Introduce new social housing policies · Advocacy as the main instrument · The establishment of the Tenant Alliance
Pickvance's typology	Type 1, Type 2	Type 1, Type 2	Type 3, Type 2, Type 1

Nevertheless, the third stage of movement was in its initial period. These movements provide essential points for considering what sort of city we want to live in and how to transform our cities independently. The potential for these grassroots movements to profoundly construct new cities and alter people's daily lives exists since each move has prompted society-wide issues about inequality and unfairness. A fair society assures distributive justice and realizes that greater socio-spatial equality solves these problems. Consequently, new themes, such as economic democracy, universal welfare, and housing rights, garner more attention, and addressing them can contribute to developing a more equal, just, and democratic society. This lobbying strategy might help address the structural inequality that has resulted in the unequal allocation of resources for economic growth over the past five decades. It is premature to infer that these new initiatives will significantly improve democracy, justice and diversity. Nonetheless, they have shifted the focus of the state and society away from urban expansion and toward creating a just city and proposed the establishment of alternative urban development.

7.6 Summary

Pickvance's Urban Social Movements Theory provides a comprehensive view of the local focus and goal of urban environmental control for social movements in urban areas. Pickvance's research examines the interconnections between urbanization, government actions, political contexts, the middle class, and economic and social situations and how these factors impact the development of housing trends and the political climate in each area. His approach, originally applied to France, Italy, and Spain, can be used to explain Taiwan's housing trend and highlights the importance of government land reforms in shaping the country's housing landscape and enabling

civil society movements such as housing activists to express their grievances and mobilize.

This contextual paradigm highlights the significance of the political surroundings, historical legacies, and housing migration in Taiwan. However, this approach may be limited by Taiwan's specific circumstances. It fails to consider Taiwan's authoritarian history and democratic transition as well as the impact of globalization and ethnic diversity on social movements. To enhance the relevance of the framework, the influence of authoritarian regimes, ethnic diversity, and Taiwan-China relations should be considered. The housing movement in Taiwan is influenced by various political groups, including the KMT, the DPP, and other small-scale parties. Meanwhile, the founding of the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC) in 2010 demonstrates how housing activists can impact political discussions and obligations.

Taiwanese housing regulations promote the market and limit social housing. Despite NIMBYism, limited public land, fiscal restraints, and developer influence, housing movements have made progress, passed the Housing Act, and led urban mayors to create social housing units. Political institutions and housing movements shape Taiwan’s housing policy, contributing to the country’s social fabric.

Housing movements in Taiwan have gained significant influence due to the economy. In 1989, the Shell-less Snail Movement protested financial deregulation and speculative investment, which affected housing affordability. The emergence of the Social Housing Movement reflects the disenchantment of market-driven policies that have led to the housing crisis. The political impact of the growing middle class is evident in their support for social housing. The complex relationship between Taiwan’s

economy and housing movements is vital for resolving the country's housing crisis and ensuring that economic growth benefits everyone. Understanding the interplay between the cultural significance of homeownership, challenges faced by the younger generation, demographic changes, and the complicated local government structure of Taiwan is crucial for comprehending the country's affordable and equitable housing goals, methods, and obstacles.

Taiwan's majoritarian voting system and referendums have a significant impact on the housing movement, dividing political parties and making it difficult to achieve policy consensus and address housing concerns. Political turmoil in Taiwan, such as the 2014 protests and the 2018 KMT referendums, has further politicized housing issues. Additionally, it is worth emphasizing that the span prior to the election campaign is the most suitable timing for the SMOs to advocate housing policy because the political parties are confronted with the pressure to obtain comparatively more votes, according to in-depth interviews. Therefore, in Taiwan, the movement activity cycle is synchronized with the election campaign schedule.

Due to socioeconomic difficulties, the Shell-less Snail Movement and social housing movements in Taiwan have been instrumental in shaping the housing movement. Taiwan's pro-market, pro-homeownership housing policy has been heavily influenced by foreign politics. The Taiwanese housing market has changed significantly because of cheap loan rates, foreign investment, limited home supply, and speculative demand. The complex interplay among political structures, opportunities, and dynamics also affects fair housing activists.

Interest rates, foreign investment, supply, and affordability heavily impact Taiwan's

housing market. These factors contribute to social housing shortages that require immediate attention. Family values, cultural norms, gender roles, and issues of disadvantaged groups shape the movement for affordable housing in Taiwan. Fundamental societal forces influencing Taiwan's housing changes include the Shell-less Snail Movement and SHAC. Addressing these factors can improve housing advocacy efforts, meet the diverse demands of Taiwanese people, and promote a fair housing environment.

CHAPTER 8

THE FIELD ANALYSIS OF THE TAIWANESE HOUSING MOVEMENTS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the complex relationship between habitus and perception within the context of Taiwanese housing movements by applying Bourdieu's core concepts. It focuses primarily on the combination of individual and collective goals. The housing market in Taiwan has undergone significant changes, including rising costs, market dynamics driven by speculation, and a lack of affordable housing options. Activists have emerged as agents of change motivated by a blend of personal inclinations and shared purposes. This chapter explores the interplay between the deeply ingrained habits of Taiwanese housing activists, such as participating in protests and organizing community efforts, and their perceptions of the housing crisis using Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus as a theoretical lens.

The following sections provide a more comprehensive analysis of the psychological aspects involved, emphasizing empathy, moral conviction, and shared identity as critical psychological elements that shape activists' perspectives and motivate people to take action on issues such as evictions and the shortage of social housing.

For instance, some interviewees mentioned the participants of the 1989 Shell-less Snail Movements felt stressed and under threat from the state, which had just abolished

martial law while mobilizing the movements. Despite facing these challenges and risks, they still chose to act and attempted to hear their voices.

> Interviewee 1: These elementary school teachers were conservative because they had just got rid of martial law and were still very scared of authoritarianism. They simply wanted to inform the government about the issue and fade away when more experts were involved. …In 1989, when they were going to protest on the streets, these teachers were terrified actually. Because last year (1988), the 520 Taiwanese peasant movement occurred, and a group of social activists was almost beaten dead. In addition, the government-controlled all the media at that time, overwhelmingly saying that the 520 Taiwan Peasant Movement participants were mobs. Therefore, when the Shell-less Snail Movement was launched, they wanted to raise public awareness peacefully and humorously.
>
> Interviewee 3: The first stage of the Shell-less Snail Movement was confronted with the power of the old authoritarian system and the relatively conservative society. For example, the state would use the police, or even the military, if it were more intense, to deal with such a social movement.

These psychological variables are closely linked to activists' habitus, which amplifies their commitment to promoting housing justice and policy reforms. By examining Taiwan's activist history within its context, this chapter illuminates the evolution of activists' habitus formation, which is deeply intertwined with the country's pursuit of democratic principles and social equity. These practices are firmly grounded in the historical tradition of collective mobilization and are intentionally used to influence policy changes and political outcomes.

The following sections explore the intricate bonds between habit and perception in the context of the Taiwanese housing movement. The aim was to provide a deeper

understanding of the driving factors behind activists, their viewpoints, and their profound influence on formulating policies and discourses related to housing issues in Taiwan.

8.2 Applying Habitus and Field Theory to Taiwanese Housing Movements

Bourdieu's fundamental concepts of habitus, cultural capital, and field facilitate understanding the intricacies of social behavior and dynamics in contemporary societies. These ideas particularly benefit sociologists, as they enable them to scrutinize the interplay between structure and agency, shedding light on the mechanisms perpetuating inequality, stratification, and cultural reproduction.

The concept of habitus is central to Bourdieu's theoretical framework. The term 'habitus' refers to an individual's inherent personality traits, worldview, and aesthetic preferences shaped by their upbringing and interactions with others (Vakalopoulos, 2023). These ingrained traits form a system of enduring and transferable schemas that influences an individual's views of the social world and subsequent actions, operating on a subconscious and practical level. Habitus relies on an intuitive understanding of social games rather than precise calculations. This idea reconciles structural determinism with free will by demonstrating how objective social structures affect subjective mental experiences. Using their predispositions as a compass, habitus is a powerful method for investigating how people navigate their social contexts.

Another fundamental idea is cultural capital, which plays a critical role in maintaining social stratification (Bourdieu, 1986). Cultural capital refers to an individual's credentials, cultural understanding, preferences, and educational level. There are three

types of cultural capital: embodied, objectified, and institutionalized (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010). These forms of capital are frequently passed down through families and communities, thereby perpetuating social stratification. With the “right” cultural capital, one can connect with influential people and gain access to better job and educational prospects, among other things. This idea shows how social capital consists of more than just monetary resources (Kraaykamp & Van Eijck, 2010).

Bourdieu’s concept of the field provides a deeper understanding of the social dynamics. According to Bourdieu, society is composed of interdependent areas, each with unique norms and forms of capital (Bourdieu, 1977). Individuals establish their positions within these domains based on the various forms of capital they possess (Bottero & Crossley, 2011). Bourdieu used field theory to explain how power structures influence social interactions, social stratification, and other aspects of social life. This concept allows for a comprehensive examination of how many disciplines maintain or disrupt existing social orders.

Taken together, these fundamental ideas provide a comprehensive perspective for analyzing the complex interrelations between individuals and their communities. The study of habitus reveals the underlying structural and experiential foundations of personal identity and decision making. Cultural capital highlights how non-monetary assets contribute to social stratification. Field theory demonstrates how power dynamics and competition vary across domains, leading to diverse outcomes.

8.2.1 The Applicability to Taiwanese Housing Movements

Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice, particularly known for its conceptualizations of

habitus, field, and capital, provides a valuable framework for understanding the complex dynamics of housing movements in Taiwan. Utilizing Bourdieu's theoretical principles, this research thoroughly examines the reasons and methods employed by activists involved in Taiwanese housing movements. This perspective offers a deeper understanding of the intricate dynamics that arise from the interplay between cultural values, societal structures, and human agency, specifically within the context of Taiwan.

Bourdieu's theory is particularly strong in its emphasis on habitus, which resonates with the goals of Taiwanese housing activists. These activists share a habitus influenced by their shared experiences and frustrations with housing issues. The habitus of individuals in Taiwanese society is shaped by the cultural significance of homeownership as a symbol of wealth and success, which triggered the 1989 Shell-less Snail Movement.

One interviewee involved in the movement in 1989, when he was a graduate student at National Taiwan University, mentioned that the grievance due to housing unaffordability was the main reason for mobilizing the movement.

> Interviewee 3: The Shell-less Snail Movement mobilized because the average housing price in Taipei City rose from NTD$ 80,000 (USD$ 2,666) per ping (3.3m2) in 1986 to a peak of NTD$ 280,000 (USD$ 9,333) per ping (3.3m2) in 1989. 80,000 to 280,000, a more than threefold increase! Such a rapid increase has significantly impacted young families in purchasing a home. Therefore, the Shell-less Snail Movement was started because of these reasons.

This cultural belief strongly affects their decision-making and approaches to various

activities and methods. Despite high costs, the cultural inclination to prioritize homeownership sustains the housing market through persistent demand. Additionally, the perception of housing as a means of gaining money contributes to the speculative nature of housing investment. By analyzing activists' motivations through the lens of habitus, valuable insights into the cultural influences that drive their actions can be highlighted.

The theoretical framework of the field, as expounded by Bourdieu, is similarly applicable to comprehending housing movements in Taiwan. The domain contains a diverse range of stakeholders, including government entities, real estate developers, inhabitants, and advocators, each with their own unique interests and objectives. Acquiring a comprehensive understanding of the intricacies inherent in this particular domain is of utmost importance for activists to navigate complex sociopolitical terrains. The housing market, propelled by clever marketing tactics and influential lobbying efforts, sustains an ongoing rise in real estate prices. Concurrently, governmental initiatives, such as the implementation of low lending rates and the provision of tax incentives, further enable speculative housing practices. Through a systematic analysis of the area, this study acquired a thorough understanding of the structural factors that influence the motivations and methods of activists involved in housing movements.

The incorporation of symbolic capital, a crucial element in Bourdieu’s theoretical framework, adds a layer of complexity to the examination of housing patterns in Taiwan. Symbolic capital, which encompasses factors such as prestige and legitimacy, becomes a crucial asset for activists seeking to rally support and advocate their cause. In a society in which homeownership is closely tied to success and wealth (C.-C. Lin

& Lee, 2022), activists who view housing as a fundamental social entitlement, rather than simply a commodity, strategically align themselves with prevailing mainstream norms and values.. This not only lends legitimacy to their cause, but also establishes them as champions of collective welfare, enabling them to secure support from a broader range of individuals and maximize their message's impact.

To better comprehend the subject matter, it is crucial to understand Bourdieu's theoretical principles within Taiwanese housing movements. The impact of political processes on the creation of language markets in Taiwan has significant implications for Bourdieu's concept of linguistic capital. The complex dynamics of negotiation and rivalry for the control of the nation-state have led to the development of distinct language hierarchies, raising questions about the direct correlation between linguistic capital and economic value. Incorporating these dynamics into Bourdieu's framework enhances its usefulness and accuracy for examining housing movements in Taiwan.

By analyzing the impact of habitus on cultural values, exploring the dynamics within the field, and recognizing the importance of symbolic capital, a thorough understanding of the intricate nature of these movements is achieved. The contextual adaptation of Bourdieu's notions to the Taiwanese context is crucial as it allows for a deeper understanding of housing movements and their broader societal ramifications. Despite this adaptation, Bourdieu's core principles retain their value as an effective instrument for unraveling the intricate dynamics of housing movements.

8.3 Habitus and Taiwanese Housing Movements

8.3.1 Habitus as a Cultural Activism Base

Habitus, a fundamental concept within Bourdieu's sociological framework, plays a crucial role in shaping the perceptions and behaviors of individuals involved in housing movements in Taiwan. Habitus is a collection of unconscious dispositions, schemas, and acquired knowledge that individuals develop through early socialization. It serves as a cognitive framework that influences individuals' perceptions of and responses to their social environment. In the context of Taiwan's housing environment, habitus has been instrumental in fostering a communal response to the challenges posed by the transition to a market-driven housing system and the subsequent increase in housing costs.

It is necessary to highlight that there is a tendency for housing movement advocators to be from the middle class, not the victims of the housing crisis, and equipped with professional knowledge of urban affairs from their educational background. The interviewees' statements indicated that the middle class possesses a unique habitus toward urban and public affairs, which motivates more participants to engage in movement activities.

> **Interviewee 1**: In fact, my family possesses more than one housing, and I am definitely not suffering from these housing crises, but there must be a few black sheep in a family.
> **Interviewee 1**: In the 1989 Shell-less Snail Movement, it is worth mentioning that these students and faculty were mostly not the victims of the high housing prices at that time, so they organized the campaign purely out of support and empathy for the movement's ideas.
> **Interviewee 5**: My professional background has given me knowledge of urban

> planning and the urban space and skills needed to help with housing issues. I see it as a contribution to support the housing movement with my professional knowledge and abilities, and I am willing to work pro bono towards this goal.

Deeply ingrained cognitive processes, evaluative mechanisms, and behavioral patterns that operate with a near-automatic quality, such as a second nature, are encompassed by the habitus. This concept resonated in Taiwan, particularly in the country's shift towards a pro-market housing system in the late 1980s. This transition led to a significant increase in home costs, resulting in a persistent sentiment of housing insecurity among a significant portion of the Taiwanese population. This shared experience has resulted in the emergence of influential social rental housing movements, which have experienced significant growth and progress since 2010.

Crossley's term "radical habitus" provides a more dynamic perspective on how individuals adapt to changing social structures (Crossley, 2003). The concept of radical habitus has been observed to play a significant role in Taiwanese housing movements, as the country shifted towards a housing system that favored market principles. The rising costs of housing have forced individuals to confront new circumstances, resulting in a transformational reaction. With their traditional inclination towards prioritizing homeownership, Taiwanese individuals have developed a radical habitus that challenges the dominant perception of housing as merely a commodity. This new habitus fostered the development of housing movements that contest prevailing norms, advocating for increased provisions of social rental housing and implementing reforms.

> **Interviewee 5**: Even if I am not a victim of the housing crisis, I think participating in the housing movement will contribute to society as a whole. This is not only a matter of concern for individual rights and interests but also

a matter of concern for social stability and justice, and there is a need for people in society to pay attention to this issue. Therefore, I feel that I have the responsibility to participate in and speak out on this issue. Due to my middle-class background, my family initially found it difficult to understand why I was involved in such activities, especially as the older generation still had negative stereotypes of social movements. However, over time, they began to understand my motivation when they saw that the movements, I was involved in actually helped some organizations and people. Now, they are no longer against it and are even proud of me!

Interviewee 6: The reason for this is quite simple. Housing movements are meaningful for civil society, and the next generation as housing is no longer affordable. It is about justice.

The manifestation of radical habitus is evident in the characteristics of the housing movement in Taiwan. These social movements, spearheaded by marginalized groups such as individuals with disabilities, elderly adults, and the homeless, challenge the established power dynamics by advocating for policy changes. The interviewee who was responsible for coordinating with other social welfare organizations mentioned why OURs and TMM decided to reach out to marginalized groups and advocate for more access to social housing for them.

Interviewee 4: In the mobilization process, we found that the target group of social housing was disadvantaged. Although the general public and young people may be unable to afford housing, we want to emphasize that underprivileged groups have received less attention in the past regarding housing resources and subsidies. It is not that they cannot afford to buy, but they have problems renting a house and lack housing resources. Therefore, we believe that because social housing focuses on disadvantaged groups, housing professionals are less beneficial. Therefore, we decided to collaborate with social welfare organizations and obtain a complete picture of the profiles of

different disadvantaged groups and their housing problems.

Moreover, the strategic use of elections to promote reforms showcases a radical habitus that intentionally disrupts prevailing norms by exploiting political opportunities to reshape housing landscapes. One interviewee mentioned the reason why the youth are the target of the advocacy group and why it is effective when it comes to policy reform, according to his mobilizing experience.

> **Interviewee 2**: Young people are judged to be relatively more symbolic and mobilizing in Taiwanese politics. Mobilization means that politicians are afraid of them. Because Taiwan's electoral slate is very stable, that is, the blue (KMT) and the green (DPP). I always joke that even if a pig is nominated as a candidate, voters will still vote, which will not change. Thus, the most important group is 20% to 30% of voters in the middle. These are the keys to winning or losing the game. According to our social surveys, young people under 40 years of age are particularly unattached to political parties, and they do not necessarily have to vote for anyone. Therefore, we hope to gather this group of people, that is, young people whom politicians think need to fight for their future votes on the issue of rental housing.

The profile presented by the Taiwanese young generation also determines the strategy of the housing advocacy groups, which aims to pressure politicians and gradually revise the housing policy.

> **Interviewee 2**: These young people are already speaking up and saying that their biggest problem is the difficulty in renting a house. So, we think this is an excellent time to form a tenants' association.

Observing individuals as they navigate the conflict caused by their ingrained tendencies and the transformational demands of changing societal circumstances are

key in the framework of habitus and radical habitus. The prevalent perception of housing instability, which arises from both habitus and radical habitus, highlights the pressing need for transformative actions. Advocacy for providing social rental housing, which aligns with the principles of radical habitus, shows a shared commitment to redefining housing as an essential societal entitlement.

A more comprehensive understanding of how individuals involved in Taiwanese housing movements address the issue of unaffordable housing can be obtained by examining the dynamic interaction between habitus and radical habitus. The influence of conventional habitus on individuals' fundamental dispositions is well established, but the rise of radical habitus highlights their capacity to challenge existing norms and catalyze transformative processes. Housing movements demonstrate a balance between preserving cultural values and disrupting prevailing socio-political frameworks. By analyzing the intricate interaction between habitus and radical habitus, a deeper understanding of the complex nature of Taiwanese housing movements and their transformative potential can be achieved.

8.3.2 Habitus and Housing Movements

The complex correlation between activists' behavioral patterns and their interpretation of housing difficulties in Taiwan underscores the significant impact of individual actions on collective social movements. Taiwanese activists involved in housing advocacy exhibit various practices, such as participating in protests, volunteering for non-governmental organizations, organizing communities, and advocating housing rights. These practices serve as a means for activists to engage deeply with the complex challenges marginalized groups face, thereby influencing their perspectives on housing

issues.

The interviewee, the main advocator analyzing housing policy, mentioned how the advocacy group set their agenda and when to advocate, which requires the accumulation of practical experiences. This progress involves the equipment of higher education foundations, especially those related to social science studies.

> **Interviewee 1**: We often generalize from the previous year's situation. For example, in the last year, many things were thought of two years ago. Furthermore, some come from the fact that we have been tracking and requesting information during the advocacy process. Like, we have been following the data on hoarding and vacant houses from 2019 until now, and we have been tracking the information on rental housing until now. So, we already have a lot of information and data we have requested, which is like ammunition that we are ready to shoot, but we are just looking for a good time to shoot it…. So, I would use an analogy: We are the fish. Our scales will sense the flow of water and temperature and follow the flow of water. In other words, we determine what we should do to leverage the maximum results at a minimum cost. If you ask further, how do you estimate the water flow and temperature? I can only say that this is our long-term accumulated knowledge, experience, and analysis.

Participating in protests and rallies allows activists to directly observe the severity of housing issues such as high costs and eviction-induced consequences. By participating in these demonstrations, activists not only voiced their disagreement but also confronted the pressing and significant nature of the housing crisis. This experience influenced their stance on the need for legislative reforms and measures to address housing inequality.

Volunteering for non-profit organizations focused on housing issues provides activists with a hands-on understanding of the difficult circumstances that displaced individuals face. Volunteer labor is unpaid work provided by parties to whom the worker owes no contractual, family, or friendship obligations (Wilson & Musick, 1997). The entire activist labor force can be seen as a mix of volunteer and paid labor that can be distributed differently across SMOs (Minkoff & McCarthy, 2006), as the Taiwanese SMOs. Purely volunteer groups are composed of volunteer leaders, members who volunteer for specific tasks and duties, and less-active members. Alternatively, many SMOs employ paid staff in conjunction with volunteers or are staffed wholly by paid labor (K. Andrews & Edwards, 2006). An increasing number of SMOs are being staffed entirely by paid labor, engaging neither volunteers nor members (Minkoff & McCarthy, 2006), which can be observed in Taiwanese housing advocacy groups.

The interviewees mentioned the scenario of the TMM staff, which comprises full-time paid labor and volunteers.

> **Interviewee 3**: We organized a team of at least 30 lawyers working stable and long-term to assist tenants and landlords in meeting their legal needs. We help them resolve rental disputes, including for students from colleges and universities.
>
> **Interviewee 6**: I have to overcome the stereotypes of lawyers that some people have, and sometimes they may be suspicious of my motives. They may think I am only involved in professional or personal interests rather than genuine concerns. This requires me to continually demonstrate that my motives are genuine and that I am willing to work for their interests. In addition, the law is a complex field, and sometimes, I must spend a lot of time explaining the legal process and legal rights so that people can understand their rights. This requires patience and the ability to explain, especially to those unfamiliar with the law.

Through direct engagement with impacted communities, activists develop deep empathy for challenges caused by unaffordable housing and urban redevelopment. Establishing personal connections strengthens their commitment to advocating for housing justice, as they witness the concrete effects of policy inadequacies on marginalized persons and families.

Activists can use community organizing to establish meaningful connections within communities affected by social issues, providing a supportive environment for the development of empathy. By gaining detailed knowledge of the personal narratives and challenges that individuals face, activists can gain a deeper understanding of the structural disparities in place, leading to a stronger conviction that housing is a basic entitlement of all individuals and should be protected. However, this requires the accumulation of time and trust, according to in-depth interviews with the core members of OURs.

> Interviewee 1: After Shui-bian Chen became Taipei's mayor in 1994, OURs undertook community-building projects for the Cultural Construction Commission and commissioned planning projects for Taipei City. While undertaking these projects, OURs organized local-level leaders to carry out space planning and old tree preservation projects. However, these were not similar to the Shell-less Snail movement, which was, at the central level, rallying and policy-oriented actions. This is what the OURs did from 1990 to 1999.
>
> Interviewee 3: In the early days of the social movement in Taiwan, the government and media discredited it as a small group of people who cried for candy every day but did not fulfill their social responsibilities and obligations. TMM subverts and breaks this social impression through pragmatic services and administrative work. In addition to fighting for their rights and asking for candy, they are socially responsible.

Housing activists employ various strategies to bring about positive changes, such as lobbying, participating in public hearings, and utilizing legal mechanisms. These efforts require a comprehensive understanding of the legislative frameworks, economic trends, and sociopolitical factors that impact housing. By delving into the intricacies of housing policies, activists gain a nuanced and multifaceted perspective that they use to propose potential solutions and push for necessary improvements.

Psychological variables and habitual patterns also influenced activists' perspectives on housing issues. Empathy plays a significant role as campaigners form meaningful connections with those evicted from their homes and marginalized communities.

> Interviewee 3: In the Shell-less Snail Movement at that time, besides the teachers at elementary schools and the public, many university professors and students supported and sympathized with the Shell-less Snail Movement, who were so-called urban professionals. They were urban studies, architecture, and land economics graduate students or university professors.

This strengthens their commitment to promoting housing justice by deeply empathizing with the challenges faced by the individuals they represent. The belief that access to housing is a fundamental entitlement rather than privilege is a motivating factor, supported by a deeply rooted commitment to fairness and equity.

Taiwanese housing activists' perceptions of housing difficulties are shaped by their collective habits, shared experiences, and dispositions. Engagement in demonstrations, involvement in non-governmental organizations, coordination of community initiatives, and advocacy efforts provide avenues for activists to engage deeply in the many obstacles encountered by marginalized populations. Individuals' commitment to

advocating housing rights is bolstered by their empathy, moral conviction, and a strong sense of justice. The interplay of these components, as demonstrated via the analysis of specific cases, serves to cultivate a comprehensive comprehension of the housing situation and mobilize collaborative efforts. To effectively tackle housing challenges in Taiwan, it is imperative for policymakers to carefully consider the perspectives of housing activists and engage in collaborative efforts, recognizing their significant contribution in facilitating constructive transformations. Similar to how habitus influences the formation of individual and community identities, habitus also plays a significant role in shaping a fairer and equal housing environment in Taiwan.

8.4 The Analysis of Housing Field in Taiwan

The housing field in Taiwan, located at the intersection of two prominent fields, the political and the economic fields, is the crux of the research object ().

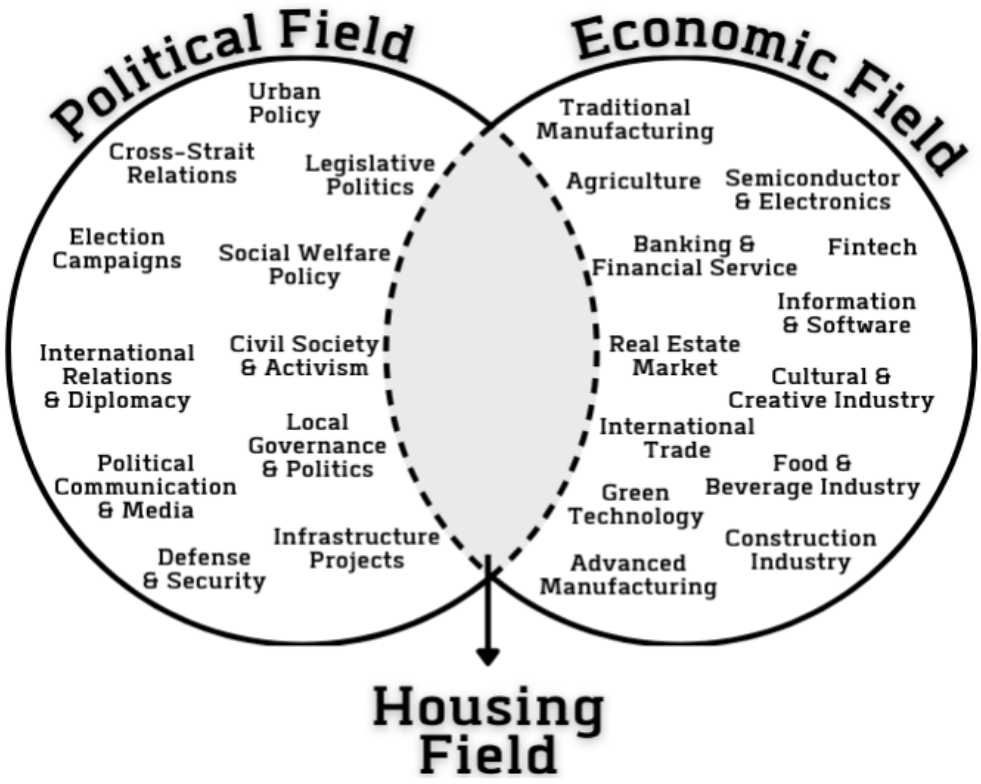

Figure 8.1 The Housing Field in Taiwan

Politics and economy are two primary dynamics that dominate the urban space. Both contain numerous subfields, e.g., local governance, banking and finance, and infrastructure projects. Within each subfield, actors compete against each other to secure their positions in the subfield and obtain more capital. However, the boundary of each subfield needs to be defined individually, and the area may overlap with one another, highlighting the complexity of urban context.

8.4.1 The Political Field

An examination of Taiwanese political actors through Bourdieu's theory of fields and capital provides insights into the power dynamics and constraints that shape the role of politics in the intricate housing field. In this context, the various types of capital held by diverse players determine their positions and influence in the Taiwanese political field.

1. Government institutions: In Taiwan's political environment, both the central and local government institutions play a critical role in maintaining the country's democratic framework and governance system. The central government, comprising the Executive, Legislative, Judicial, Control, and Examination Yuans, is responsible for implementing national policies, creating legislation, upholding justice, ensuring accountability, and preserving civil service integrity. At the same time, local governments, including municipalities and counties, address community-specific needs by implementing central policies at the local level and providing direct services to citizens in areas such as education, social welfare, and urban planning. As key decision-makers in policy creation, local governments possess substantial economic, cultural,

social, and symbolic capital. Their power to shape housing industry rules and standards through legislative frameworks and regulations is unique. However, their ability to prioritize their goals may be constrained by the economic and cultural capital held by the economic field.

2. Civil society and organizations: Civil society organizations (CSOs), advocacy groups, and social movements are crucial in shaping the political and social landscape. These entities bridge the gap between the government and the public, including marginalized groups, advocating for various causes such as environmental sustainability, human rights, and housing rights, thereby influencing public policy and societal norms. Civil society ensures government transparency and accountability through advocacy, public mobilization, and policy development, while also delivering special social services to marginalized communities. Their key asset is their social capital, which is demonstrated through the networks and connections of their advocacy communities. This enables them to mobilize and coordinate collective action, allowing them to challenge dominant interests and influence policy decisions. However, their limited economic capital can hinder their ability to compete with private developers and thus shape policy outcomes. Despite facing challenges such as political sensitivities and funding constraints, the democratic context of Taiwan provides a fertile ground for these entities to effect significant political discourse and social change.
3. Academic experts and researchers: Institutions, including universities, think tanks, and research institutes, play a crucial role in bridging the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical policymaking. They provide evidence-based insights that inform decision-making processes by conducting policy

analysis and participating in public discourse. Furthermore, these institutions often assume advisory roles for governments and political parties, thus contributing to the shaping of policy agendas and driving innovation in critical fields for Taiwan's economic competitiveness and sustainability. Despite their importance, these institutions may face limitations in terms of economic capital due to state budgets, which could restrict their direct influence on policy decisions compared to those with more resources.

4. Political parties: Political parties play a pivotal role in shaping the governance, policy-making, and public discourse of a society. Dominating the legislative process, articulating policy platforms, and mobilizing voter support during elections, dominant political parties such as the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP), the Kuomingtang (KMT), the Taiwan People's Party (TPP), and the New Power Party (NPP) are instrumental in representing societal interests, influencing public opinion, and governing when in power. These parties possess various forms of capital, including economic (e.g., donations from entrepreneurs and subsidies from the state), cultural (e.g., education credentials), social (e.g., connections with the government), and symbolic capital (e.g., the representativeness of the public), which enable them to distribute resources, establish priorities, and influence the course of housing policy.
5. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and community organizations: They are prominent figures in the political realm, actively participating in advocacy, public education, and policy development across a diverse range of issues such as environmental protection, land justice, housing rights, and social welfare. Their influence stems from lobbying efforts that shape legislative outcomes,

conducting research to inform policy, and raising public awareness on crucial societal issues. Furthermore, non-governmental organizations provide essential services where governmental reach may be limited, enhancing social welfare and tenants' rights (e.g., TSUEI MA MA Foundation for Housing & Community Service). Additionally, their participation in international networks extends Taiwan's influence on global issues while introducing international best practices to the local context.

6. The mass media: The media, comprising newspapers, television, radio, and digital platforms, holds significant influence in shaping public opinion, guiding political discourse, and facilitating communication between the government and its citizens. Aside from distributing information, it fosters informed public discussions and determines the political agenda by emphasizing particular issues. Additionally, it wields substantial economic power due to advertising revenue.

Bourdieu's perspective provides an ingenious understanding of stakeholders and their capital in the Taiwanese political field. The interplay between these capitals determines each stakeholder's role and influence, ultimately shaping the Taiwanese political landscape. The prevalence of corporate interests underscores the need for deliberate efforts to redistribute power and promote equitable urban question solutions that prioritize the public interest.

8.4.2 The Economic Field

In the Taiwanese economic field, several actors interact and employ diverse forms of capital to navigate a highly competitive environment. Developers are particularly

important in the housing industry due to their ownership of economic resources and ability to effectively navigate and adjust to local settings. With a variety of resources at their disposal, they can shape development initiatives and influence housing patterns, frequently prioritizing profitability over other factors.

1. Business enterprises: Businesses, ranging from small and medium-sized enterprises to large tech conglomerates, play a crucial role in driving growth, innovation, and global competitiveness. These organizations are instrumental in generating economic growth, creating employment opportunities, and leading research and development, particularly in high-tech industries. By actively participating in international trade, businesses significantly contribute to Taiwan's trade surplus, enhancing its global economic standing. Moreover, they engage in forming strategic domestic and international alliances, which influence economic policies and industrial strategies to create a conducive business environment.
2. Financial institutions: The role played by institutions, such as banks, insurance companies, and investment firms, is indispensable in the realm of finance. These organizations are responsible for channeling funds into investments, facilitating economic growth, and ensuring stability. As crucial intermediaries, they play a pivotal role in facilitating the flow of savings into various sectors, including the real estate market. Furthermore, they offer risk management products and services catering to the financial needs of both individuals and businesses. The influence of these institutions extends beyond their direct operations, as they also play a vital role in maintaining economic stability, influencing monetary policies, and enabling Taiwan's active participation in

international trade and investment.

3. Consumers: These individuals play a central role in the economic arena, as their spending habits and preferences have a direct impact on market trends, economic growth, and business strategies. Their influence also extends to the housing market, where their demand for homeownership significantly affects housing trends, construction sectors, and financial services. Their purchasing power determines broader market trends, motivating companies to innovate and adjust accordingly. Consumer spending, particularly in the form of homeownership, is a crucial component of Taiwan's GDP, and any changes in consumer confidence can have a significant impact on the economy.
4. Government institutions: Governmental institutions play a critical role in shaping the economic policies, regulatory frameworks, and developmental trajectories of a nation. These organizations, which encompass ministries, regulatory agencies, and specialized entities, are responsible for formulating and implementing strategies for sustainable growth, regulating markets to ensure fairness and efficiency, and investing in essential infrastructure and public services. In addition, they support business innovation and small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) through incentives and research and development (R&D) support while also managing social welfare programs to foster a stable and productive workforce.
5. Workers and labor unions: Advocating for the rights and interests of the workforce is a key function of labor unions. They engage in collective bargaining in order to secure fair wages, safe working conditions, and equitable employment terms. Labor unions play an active role in policy advocacy and social dialogue with employers and the government, which helps to shape labor

laws and workplace standards. They contribute to a balanced economic policy framework that promotes social justice and equitable growth. Additionally, labor unions champion workplace democracy and protect workers against discrimination and unfair practices. By doing so, they ensure that workers' voices are heard in policy-making processes.

6. Academia and research institutions: Academic and research institutions play a vital role in driving innovation, shaping policy, and enhancing human capital development. They achieve this by conducting cutting-edge research and development, particularly in sectors such as semiconductors and biotechnology. These entities also contribute to technological progress and economic competitiveness by offering critical policy analysis and evidence-based recommendations. In addition, they bridge the gap between theoretical knowledge and practical application by fostering a skilled workforce through education and training and facilitating industry collaboration through joint projects and technology transfer.

Bourdieu's field theory identifies actors within the Taiwanese economic field, examining how they engage in competition to assert dominance, negotiate power dynamics, and influence outcomes. This concept underscores the hierarchical nature of these domains, where economic, social, and cultural capital interact to determine the positions of individuals and the trajectory of each field. Understanding power dynamics better equips us with comprehending market trends, consumer behavior, and policy impacts in the following Taiwanese housing field.

8.4.3 The Struggles in the Taiwanese Housing Field

Field theory provides an inclusive framework for analyzing the housing field within the larger context as the intersection of political and economic fields. This theoretical framework, grounded in examining power dynamics and the distribution of capital, elucidates the complex network of interactions among diverse stakeholders, endeavoring to transform the housing sector. In Taiwan, the housing field has experienced major impacts from policies that prioritize homeownership and speculative investment. However, the rise of housing movements signifies a noteworthy endeavor to challenge prevailing orthodoxy and promote alternative housing paradigms.

Bourdieu's theoretical framework describes housing as a complex sociocultural domain with its own internal mechanisms and regulations. The domain is influenced by dominant individuals who possess various forms of capital, shaping its trajectory in a way that often maintains the existing order. Housing movements have emerged as influential actors to challenge the dominant ideology and aim to disrupt the established power dynamics that benefit speculators, developers, and homeowners.

Taiwan's housing market is marked by policies prioritizing homeownership and speculative investment, leading to a significant rise in housing prices and a shift in housing from social assets to investment commodities. This prevailing housing paradigm caters to the needs and preferences of privileged demographics, aggravating the issue of housing affordability for a large population segment. Housing movements emerged as a response to the aforementioned crisis, as demonstrated by notable historical events, such as the Shell-less Snail Movement in 1989, the establishment of

SHAC in 2010, and the tenant alliance in 2024. Based on the periodicity analysis in Chapter 7, the Taiwanese housing movements can be defined as three stages: the initial stage (1989-1990), the developing stage (1991-2009), and the current stage (2010-present). In the following sections, the main actors of the Taiwanese housing field and the struggles in each phrase and are discussed individually.

8.4.3.1 The Initial Stage of the Housing Movements: 1989-1990

In the period of 1989-1990, the Taiwanese housing movement navigated a tumultuous landscape marked by a profound struggle between the state apparatus and the elements of civil society represented by the Homeless Solidarity Alliance. This Alliance articulated a set of demands directed at the government, aimed at fundamentally restructuring the housing market's regulatory framework. Their proposals included the enactment of policies to regulate the rental housing market rigorously, the implementation of a vacancy tax and a progressive tax on excess property, and initiatives to incentivize employers to provide housing for their employees. These demands were rooted in a vision of a more equitable housing system that addressed the needs of all societal segments, but these were still based on the discourse of homeownership.

Contrary to these aspirations, the government’s response was tepid and misaligned with the transformative changes advocated by the Alliance. The state’s countermeasures were limited to enhancing the provision of public housing and easing the mortgage rate limit. This response illuminated the government’s steadfast commitment to the homeownership paradigm, effectively sidestepping the critical issues of rental market regulation and the need for a comprehensive overhaul of

housing policy. The state's reluctance to engage with the broader questions posed by the housing movement underscored a significant disconnect between the aspirations of civil society activists and the policy priorities upheld by the governments.

This stage of the housing movements was characterized by its inability to achieve its stated objectives and effectively frame the housing question within the broader policy discourse. A significant contributing factor to this shortfall was the activists' lack of prior mobilizing experience, which hampered their ability to set the agenda and galvanize broader public support for the cause. The inexperience of the movement's members in navigating the complex terrain of political activism limited their impact and rendered their effort less effective in influencing policy reform.

Moreover, the pervasive atmosphere of fear concerning surveillance by the Intelligence Agency played a crucial role in dampening public enthusiasm and participation in the following protests in 1990, the movements ultimately fell short of exerting a significant influence on housing policy reform. This outcome highlighted the challenges faced by civil society movements in effecting policy change within an environment marked by state resistance and public apprehension. Meanwhile, Lee[8], the initial activist of this housing movement, ran the Legislator campaign in 1992 to maintain the public's focus on housing issues; however, he lost the election and was in debt of approximately one million Taiwanese dollars ($ 33,000 USD). It marks the temporary disconnection between the Alliance and the political arena.

[8] To pay off the debt, Lee was selling dumplings in the evening market after his primary school teacher job in the daytime. After three decades, the dumpling stand has expanded to an entrepreneur that has more than 200 branches in Taiwan.

8.4.3.2 The Developing Stage of the Housing Movements: 1991-2009

During the developing stage, the Taiwanese housing movement was characterized by a complex struggle between the state and SMOs, set against the backdrop of evolving economic conditions and shifts in housing policy discourse. This era witnessed a deceleration I the peace of housing price increases, a phenomenon directly attributable to the broader economic downturn triggered by the 1998 Taiwan financial crisis, itself a fallout of the 1997 Asian financial crisis. Despite the moderated increase in property prices, the affordability of housing for households experienced a significant decline, highlighting a growing chasm between housing costs and household financial capacities.

Confronted with these challenges, SMOs articulated a set of demands to address the burgeoning housing affordability crisis. Their advocacy focused on pressing for measures to suppress property prices, the development of social rental housing initiatives, provision of rental subsidies, and the establishment of a dedicated government office to oversee these interventions. Despite these concerted efforts, the government's response was largely limited to the introduction of more mortgage subsidy programs, a solution that, while providing immediate relief, fell short of addressing the structural issues plaguing the housing market.

Although the SMOs did not achieve the policy reform they sought, this period marked as a significant phase in the evolution of housing activism in Taiwan. The collaboration among various social welfare organizations during this time underscored the importance of social capital in broadening the movement's social network and enhancing the cohesion among its members. This phase of collaboration was

instrumental in laying the groundwork for the establishment of a new alliance in the subsequent stage, signifying a strategic expansion of the movement's base and influence.

Moreover, this era was characterized by the SMOs' concerted efforts to amass a comprehensive body of professional knowledge and data pertaining to housing issues. The development of specialized knowledge and the adoption of a professional work division within the organizations underscored a strategic shift towards a more informed and structured approach to advocacy. This effort contributed significantly to the movement's capacity to engage with housing policy discourse on a more substantive and informed basis.

Overall, despite the inability of SMOs to secure their primary demands from the state during this period, the era of 1991-2009 emerged as a critical juncture for the development of housing activism in Taiwan. This phase was pivotal not only for the accumulation of social and cultural capital within the movements but also for fostering an environment conducive to the strategic growth and maturation of the SMOs involved. The legacy of this period in the Taiwanese housing movement is marked by a deepening of advocacy expertise and the establishment of a foundation for future collective action and policy engagement.

8.4.3.3 The Current Stage of the Housing Movements: 2010-Present

The current stage of the Taiwanese housing movement, commencing from 2010 to the present, unfolds within a dynamic field of interaction involving the state, SMOs, and the broader public. This period is distinguished by a focused struggle over housing

policy, particularly regarding social rental housing. The genesis of this stage saw the emergence of a pivotal new SMO, the Social Housing Advocacy Consortium (SHAC), which marked a significant shift in the housing discourse from a predominant focus on homeownership towards a reconceptualization of the right to housing. SHAC's advocacy is directed towards urging the state to increase the provision of rental social housing, enact more inclusive housing policies that encompass marginalized groups, and implement regulations to safeguard tenants in the rental housing market. To amplify the voice of renters, whom state policies had historically sidelined, SHAC facilitated the creation of the Tenant Alliance, exemplifying a strategic mobilization to represent the interests of those with limited access to adequate housing.

In this era, SMOs strategically employ policy advocacy as a tool to exert pressure on the state to adopt more inclusive housing policies, securing a position as critical stakeholders in governmental policy discussions. This approach signifies a maturation in the movement's tactics, leveraging policy advocacy not merely as a form of protest but as a constructive instrument for engaging with the policy-making process.

Notwithstanding the process made in advocacy and mobilization, it is important to acknowledge that economic capital within the housing field remains predominantly controlled by the government, financial institutions, and a spectrum of housing consumers, including speculators. This stage is, however, notable for the significant accrual of social capital, particularly through the establishment of SHAC and the Tenant Alliance. These entities not only represent public interests in the housing discourse but also symbolize a collective assertion for the right to adequate housing. The expertise accumulation from previous stages of the movements underpins the

SMOs' policy advocacy, positioning this cultural capital of SMOs, bolstered by their increasing representativeness of public opinion on housing issues, enhances their legitimacy and influence in the policy arena.

Evaluating the strategic achievements of SMOs in this period, the adoption of policy advocacy emerges as a potent strategy to pry open the previously opaque process of policy formation and to impact it decisively, particularly during electoral campaigns. This strategy underscores the movements' ability to leverage political moments to advocate for substantial policy changes, reflecting a sophisticated understanding of the political landscape and the timing of policy interventions. The movement's evolution into a significant force in housing policy reform is emblematic of its growing capacity to influence the trajectory of housing policy in Taiwan, advocating for a more equitable and inclusive housing system that recognizes and addresses the needs of all citizens, particularly the marginalized and disadvantaged.

8.4.3.4 The Symbolic Violence in the Taiwanese Housing Field

Bourdieu's concept of symbolic violence refers to the subtle subjugating effects of hidden institutions that reproduce and uphold social dominance in covert ways. This includes many institutions and beliefs that underpin global social dominance (Colaguori, 2010). As Althusser (1971) notes, social control can involve the imposition of irrational beliefs on others that restrict their freedom of thought, as in the ideology of a group. However, social control also encompasses the dissemination of the ideologies required to reproduce the conditions of production (Colaguori, 2010). The idea of property ownership has been respected for generations, and the features of an established agricultural-based society further reinforce this ethos. Purchasing a house

has always been considered the ultimate achievement and a symbol of success that represents financial ability and a guarantee of retirement welfare in Taiwan, a state with welfare policies strongly skewed toward military and civil servants (Holliday, 2000).

The purpose of symbolic violence must be understood In relation to the social structure established through violent political control as it serves to maintain social order through constant forceful tactics (Colaguori, 2010). Symbolic violence is not an isolated manifestation of power that operates outside the regular functioning of society but rather a constrained expression of power that typically and routinely operates through violence.

There is a clear pattern that the Taiwanese government has consistently prioritized economic growth and regulated the financial market, such as in the textile and semiconductor industries, only when policies are closely tied to the financial market. Singapore and Hong Kong, as newly industrialized countries, have also actively intervened in the housing market to balance supply and demand (Chiu, 2008; W. D. Li & Hung, 2019; Ronald, 2008). In essence, the government has historically chosen to ignore housing issues and address them using passive strategies rather than actively intervening.

Taiwan's presale system, which dominates the housing market, is another issue that the government must address. There are suggestions to raise interest rates and landholding costs to control the overheating of the presale housing market (W.-K. Wang, Lin, & Tsai, 2022). Li (1998) also argues that the presale mechanism exposes purchasers to potential abuse by promoters. While not the only way to purchase a home

and not all promoters engage in such practices, the presale system leaves buyers in a less secure position than when buying second-hand or already-built homes.

Since the early 1990s, 25 percent of Consumers' Foundation complaint cases have been housing-related, with presale transactions accounting for the majority. Three categories of complaints from presale sales are detrimental to self-use purchasers: poor-quality construction, reduced living space, and erroneous housing information. However, the scenario for the purchasers of speculation is different. In the presale system, purchasers may sell presale homes after signing a contract with promoters. Some purchasers speculate by purchasing a pre-sale home and reselling it before its completion. This has occurred since the beginning of the presale program in the early 1970s. Although the Equalization of Land Rights Act was ultimately amended in 2023 to prohibit presale house buyers from reselling within five years, this law does not apply to transactions before 2023 and the presale system has been a forced choice for self-use buyers.

Misrecognition plays a crucial role in symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 2003; Thapar-Björkert et al., 2016). In Taiwan, people have misrecognized the ideology of homeownership and housing culture for many generations. The Shell-less Snail Movement, the first wave of the housing movement, focused on increasing homeownership, as it was the only method to fulfill the right to housing. This misrecognition has trapped citizens in a domination web of homeownership, which is market-oriented with minimal government regulation. However, the housing movement in Taiwan is still active in policy advocacy, social housing projects, and other engagements aimed at improving the right to housing. It also offers a novel

definition of the right to housing. This reflexivity and complicity with symbolic violence are central to Bourdieu's theory of symbolic violence.

The application of field theory offers a multifaceted view to examine housing movements as a subfield within the housing landscape of Taiwan. By examining the interactions between various actors and their diverse forms of capital, this conceptual framework sheds light on the challenges, obstacles, and modest achievements of housing movements in contending with the prevailing speculative housing paradigm. The incorporation of the traditional Chinese societal norm, "Land is the wealth," serves to emphasize the intricate nature of power dynamics and symbolic violence within the domain. From this perspective, housing movements can be seen as significant drivers of change, as they strive to reshape the housing sector by promoting alternative housing models that prioritize affordability, equity, and social well-being over financial gain.

8.4.4 The Summary of the Field Analyses

The theoretical framework developed by Bourdieu, which includes key concepts such as capital, habitus, and field, provides a valuable perspective for examining the complex dynamics of the housing sector in Taiwan. This sociological perspective offers a comprehensive understanding of the complex housing landscape in Taiwan by illuminating the interactions between various players and the intricate distribution of capital. It sheds light on how power dynamics, interests, and influences converge to produce this multifaceted domain. Within this analytical paradigm, the traditional Chinese social norm of "Land is the wealth" assumes significant importance, as it pervades the domain with symbolic violence and highlights the complex dynamics at

play. The main actors in the Taiwanese housing field are as follows:

1. Government and policymakers: The government, including the Ministry of Interior and other Housing and Urban Development Administrations at the local level, has a significant role in the public state's housing sector. Policymakers and government officials occupy a dominant position in the field, navigating and mediating competing interests while utilizing their economic and cultural capital to balance economic growth with social equity. Their policy decisions, informed by their habitus or ingrained beliefs and dispositions, shape the doxa of the field, such as the value placed on homeownership. Through their actions, the government and policymakers respond to the field's dynamic tensions and shape societal norms and economic practices surrounding housing in Taiwan, demonstrating the interplay of power, capital, and social forces.
2. Real estate developers: The influence of developers on the housing market is substantial and multifaceted. Their investments and projects have a significant impact on the availability and affordability of housing, as well as market trends. Additionally, their connections with policymakers and financial institutions enable them to navigate and shape the regulatory landscape. Developers not only respond to market demands and regulatory frameworks, but they also actively participate in symbolic struggles over housing values and norms. As a result, they can shape the common beliefs and assumptions about what is desirable in housing, known as doxa. Through their activities, developers play a

critical role in structuring the housing field, affecting not only the economic dynamics but also the social perceptions and policies that govern Taiwan's housing market. This highlights their substantial impact on both the material and symbolic dimensions of the field.

3. Homebuyers: Homebuyers and prospective homebuyers play a crucial role in grappling with the challenges of housing unaffordability. Despite their efforts to leverage economic, social, and cultural capital, they face systemic barriers that reflect broader societal and economic inequalities. The struggle of young homebuyers to afford housing highlights the impact of the distribution of economic capital on access to housing. Their reliance on social networks and market knowledge underscores the importance of social and cultural capital in navigating these challenges. However, the symbolic struggle within the housing field also reflects societal pressures and aspirations around homeownership, further complicating young people's ability to secure housing. This complexity emphasizes the need for policies that address the unique barriers faced by young homebuyers and recognize their role in shaping and being shaped by the dynamics of Taiwan's housing market.
4. Renters: The establishment of the Tenant Alliance in 2024 has amplified the challenges faced by renters, including the inability to afford decent housing and a lack of sufficient market choices that align with their needs and budgets. This underscores a disparity in economic capital as renters confront pressing issues of housing affordability and limited market options. The formation of the Tenant Alliance represents

a strategic mobilization of social capital, providing a collective platform for advocacy and negotiation to address these challenges. This movement also signals a shift in cultural capital, as it challenges entrenched societal norms that prioritize homeownership over renting, suggesting a reevaluation of what constitutes acceptable living standards. By engaging in symbolic struggles within the housing market, renters, through their collective efforts, are contesting the doxa that undervalues rental housing, advocating for a broader recognition of their rights and the necessity for more affordability.

5. Speculators: The role of speculators in economic, social, and cultural capital is extensive in shaping market dynamics. By holding multiple non-owner-occupied properties vacant for future sale at higher prices, they contribute to inflated housing costs and a shortage of affordable homes for the average buyer. Their activities are bolstered by insider knowledge and networks, which represent social capital, as well as a deep understanding of market trends and financial strategies, which represent cultural capital. As a result, they reinforce the perception of housing as an investment rather than a social necessity, exacerbating affordability issues and highlighting the tension between housing as a commodity and a basic human need.
6. Banks and financial institutions: Banks and financial institutions possess substantial economic and symbolic capital, which significantly impacts the housing market. By dictating access to mortgages and loans, they determine who can afford to purchase homes, thereby affecting demand and prices. Moreover, their lending practices influence

consumer behavior and perceptions, while their decisions on lending criteria and interest rates not only signify their authority in the housing sector but also actively shape the market's structure, contributing to the prevailing beliefs and ideologies about homeownership and real estate investment.

7. The mass media and advertising agencies: The individuals in question hold considerable economic and symbolic capital, playing a vital role in marketing presale properties. This relationship with real estate developers is symbolic in nature and drives both market dynamics and consumer perceptions. By creating engaging narratives about home ownership and investment possibilities, they stimulate demand and direct financial flows towards new developments, while also shaping societal norms and expectations surrounding real estate. This collaboration has a significant impact on the doxa of the housing market, bolstering the appeal of presale investments and solidifying real estate's status as a valuable asset.
8. Academia and research institutions: Their research and analysis offer profound insights into the trends, policy impacts, and sustainable practices related to housing, which significantly influence the development of policies and public discourse. By leveraging their extensive networks and authoritative voice, they effectively bridge the knowledge gaps among different stakeholders, challenging and shaping the housing field's doxa, such as norms around homeownership and development priorities. Their contributions not only inform policy and market strategies but also actively participate in the symbolic struggles

over housing values, equity, and sustainability, significantly impacting the field's dynamics and societal perceptions of housing in Taiwan.

9. The housing movements and activists: They are vital forces in the housing sector, exerting significant influence on social and symbolic capital to challenge prevailing practices and beliefs about housing. Through the formation of networks and public advocacy, they confront the commodification of housing and market-driven dynamics, advocating for policies that prioritize affordability, accessibility, and the right to housing. They aim to redistribute power and capital within the field, challenging established actors such as developers and legislators, and shaping policy and public opinion towards more equitable housing solutions. By engaging in both symbolic and tangible struggles, housing activists seek to redefine housing norms and promote real changes in housing policies, demonstrating their crucial role in fostering a more just and inclusive housing landscape in Taiwan.

The application of Bourdieu's conceptual framework for analyzing the housing field reveals a complex dynamic power. The housing sector is controlled by powerful actors from political and economic fields who own significant economic resources and have a vested interest in maintaining their dominant position. Those involved in the speculative housing market, including developers, investors, and homeowners, contribute to the perpetuation of a housing paradigm that prioritizes financial gain over social welfare. In contrast, housing movements assume a subordinate role within this domain, challenging conventional beliefs and promoting the concept of housing as a fundamental social entitlement rather than a mere commodity.

These movements demonstrate specific forms of capital, particularly cultural capital, in the form of knowledge, lobbying experience, and community mobilization ability. The possession of cultural capital enables housing movements to challenge prevalent ideologies and advocates for alternative perspectives, such as the implementation of social housing, speculation taxes, and market controls. However, their efforts could be improved by opposing forces that influence the regulations and assets within the domain.

Incorporating the traditional Chinese social norm “Land is the wealth” within Bourdieu’s framework adds further complexity. This deeply ingrained norm in Taiwanese society serves both as a social prescription and a means of exerting symbolic aggression. The connection between property ownership and wealth reinforces the dominance of economic capital in housing, thus perpetuating the dominant speculative housing paradigm. This phenomenon symbolically reinforces the authority of those in power while marginalizing those who are unable to participate in this framework.

In the Taiwanese housing field, entrenched Asian housing culture and the traditional Chinese norm that land is the only property are two prominent examples of symbolic violence. Despite the longstanding connection between housing and familial, communal, labor, and state relationships, Ronald (2008) argues that the growing reliance of households on housing property and mortgage debt, as well as the state’s dependence on housing markets for economic and social stability, has made housing a central aspect of social relations. This shift is associated with changes in governance, the distribution of risk, and deepening of individual experiences. Ronald (2008) also

examines the ideology of home ownership in Anglo-Saxon and East Asian societies, highlighting differences between the two. In contrast to Anglo-Saxon homeowner cultures, in which homeownership is linked to property-based citizenship rights and neoliberal self-making, housing policies in Asian tiger societies, including Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea, have primarily emphasized consumption patterns and kinship welfare. The ideology of homeownership in these cultures has not been oriented towards promoting personalized neoliberal subjects.

Meanwhile, the Taiwanese state does not fit the definition of a welfare state like that in the West, as the development of comparable welfare policies has not accompanied economic development. The limited welfare systems that have been developed have focused on economic growth, with social housing policy being a good example. Rental social housing policies were not implemented until recently, and social policies in Taiwan were strictly subordinate to the overarching policy objective of economic growth. This has resulted in limited social rights that are tied to productive activity, strengthening the position of the productive elements of society and state-market-family relationships that prioritize growth.

There are two crucial points in Taiwanese housing culture: family and high ownership due to the complexity of traditional ethos, the welfare system, and housing commodification. Families have played a crucial role in the housing field in Taiwan and are often central to the welfare mix (Ronald, 2008; Ronald & Doling, 2010). They have benefited greatly from the housing system's ability to facilitate welfare care and services and have used this to acquire owner-occupied homes that increased in value, serving as the foundation of family welfare in terms of shelter and emergency funds.

In Taiwan, 56% of first-time home buyers receive financial assistance from their parents for the initial down payment in the pre-sale system (Center, 2015), indicating that purchasing a home is a significant concern for families in Taiwan. Unlike families in Western countries, young adults in Taiwan tend to live with their parents rather than strike out on their own (W. D. Li & Hung, 2019). For young adults in their 30s, living with their parents is more common unless their families can afford to support their housing mortgages. Therefore, family resources play a crucial role in determining young adults' living arrangements in Taiwan.

Taiwan has consistently maintained a high homeownership rate of over 80% since the beginning of this century, with an average homeownership rate of 84.68%, as per the Ministry of Interior data. This trend has resulted in owner occupation becoming the core of housing policy; however, this has only worsened the situation.

Table 8.1 The Homeownership of the Countries

Country	***Percentage(%)***	***Country***	***Percentage(%)***
Singapore	89.30	Australia	66.00
South Korea	86.30	France	62.50
Taiwan	84.68	Türkiye	57.90
Norway	83.17	Japan	55.04
Belgium	71.30	Austria	51.40
Netherlands	70.60	Hong Kong	51.20
Ireland	70.00	Germany	49.50
Canada	66.50	Switzerland	43.10

Source: note[9]

Although there is limited English literature on traditional Chinese norms, it has been

[9] Singapore(https://tradingeconomics.com/singapore/home-ownership-rate)

South Korea (https://kostat.go.kr/board.es?mid=a20107030000&bid=11740)

Hong Kong(https://www.legco.gov.hk/research-publications/english/2021rb02-socioeconomic-implications-of-home-ownership-for-hong-kong-20210301-e.pdf)

Japan (https://stats-japan.com/t/kiji/23131)

The rest of the countries on the list (https://tradingeconomics.com)

deeply rooted in Taiwanese habitus and has significantly influenced Taiwanese housing purchasing behavior and housing policies implemented by the state. Purchasing one's own house has been regarded as the main criterion for success; thus, housing has been a compulsory commodity in Taiwan. To respond to the eager needs of the people and attract more votes in the election campaign or sustain the power of the political party, increasing the homeownership rate has been the main target of housing policy, which has emphasized the traditional value of real estate, which is the primary source of wealth. This research argues that the Taiwanese housing culture and ideology of homeownership explored above can be viewed as symbolic violence in the Taiwanese housing field.

Meanwhile, the interplay between various types of capital further underscores the intricate and diverse nature of the housing sector. Cultural capital, which encompasses knowledge, expertise, and cultural credentials, enables civil society organizations and advocacy groups to effectively navigate a landscape where financial resources may be limited. Armed with a profound understanding of housing issues, these organizations leverage their cultural expertise to engage communities, disseminate knowledge, and shift the discourse, thereby challenging existing power structures and promoting fair housing and renters' rights.

Therefore, the importance of social capital should not be overlooked. The housing sector is greatly influenced by the presence of networks, relationships, and alliances, which play crucial roles in enhancing the influence of the individuals involved. The formation of partnerships between developers and government entities facilitated by social connections provides developers with the opportunity to participate in policy

development. Similarly, civil society organizations leverage their social capital to establish collaborations, raise collective voices, and impact the discourse surrounding housing justice.

The concept of symbolic capital, which includes factors such as reputation, prestige, and moral authority, helps clarify relationships within the field. Government agencies, due to their institutional standing, possess significant symbolic capital that empowers them to create and implement housing policies. Conversely, civil society organizations intentionally convert their cultural and social resources into symbolic resources, thereby increasing their ability to shape public opinion, challenge dominant discourses, and advocate for underprivileged populations.

The correlation between this cultural norm and capital allocation amplifies the complex characteristics of the housing sector in Taiwan. This phenomenon serves to enhance the prevalence of economic capital, exerting its influence on consumer behavior, housing practices, and societal perspectives. The marketing methods utilized by developers, strategically matched with prevailing cultural norms, effectively support the dominance of economic capital, perpetuate established power imbalances, and influence the direction of the industry.

8.5 Cultural Capital and Identity

8.5.1 Cultural Capital in Taiwanese Housing Movements

Cultural capital, which includes educational attainment, intellectual ability, and cultural understanding, has a strong influence on the housing movement in Taiwan. The intangible nature of this type of wealth is very important, as it gives individuals a

higher social standing and influence within Taiwanese society. The distribution of cultural capital creates clear social rankings, with those who have more cultural capital and often better access to valuable resources and opportunities. Bourdieu's theory explains how cultural capital maintains social inequality and shapes individuals' involvement in social movements such as housing advocacy.

The housing movement in Taiwan has emerged in response to the mounting challenges of rising housing costs and limited affordable housing options. These challenges have disproportionately affected individuals with limited cultural capital who often face difficulties in securing housing and influencing housing regulations. According to Bourdieu (1977), cultural capital plays a critical role in shaping the relationship between social movements and fundamental social institutions, with those possessing more outstanding cultural capital being more likely to effectively advocate for their interests and shape the dynamics of housing movements.

The influence of cultural capital on social movements in Taiwan is highlighted by this study, which shows that individuals from higher socioeconomic backgrounds are more likely to participate in these movements. This supports the idea that cultural capital can shape an individual's level of involvement, as suggested by Bourdieu's theory. Those with higher levels of cultural capital tend to have greater influence over institutions and policies because of their educational attainment and social connections.

Bourdieu provided further insight into the mechanisms through which cultural capital operates within the educational system, thereby contributing to the perpetuation of social disparities. In Taiwan, where educational achievement is closely linked to cultural capital, it becomes clear that individuals from higher socioeconomic

backgrounds have an advantage. They have the privilege of accessing educational systems that prioritize and value their cultural capital, thereby reinforcing their dominant position of influence and power. This perpetuates social inequity, limiting individuals' capacity to actively engage in movements that challenge existing societal norms such as the housing movement.

The use of Bourdieu's theories in analyzing the housing movement in Taiwan suggests that those with higher levels of cultural capital are better equipped to advocate for alternative housing policies and influence decision-making processes. The media tends to prioritize the perspectives of individuals with more significant cultural capital, leading to a distorted discourse in which their voices carry significant weight. However, it is essential to note that the housing movement transcended class barriers and gained widespread support. This implies that, although cultural capital plays a role in movement dynamics, the combination of economic pressures and the urgent issue of expensive housing has prompted individuals from diverse backgrounds to take action.

Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital highlights its role in shaping the housing movement in Taiwan. The framework emphasizes the perpetuation of social disparities and their impact on individuals' activism. Those with higher cultural capital have an advantage in advocating for their interests and in influencing policy decisions. However, widespread support for the movement across socioeconomic groups suggests that economic pressures and the urgency of the housing crisis can overcome the constraints of cultural capital. Further investigation is needed to understand the complex relationship between cultural capital and engagement in housing movements and to gain a comprehensive understanding of this correlation.

8.5.2 Identity Formation and Housing Activism

The process of identity formation is important for shaping the dynamics of housing movements in Taiwan. Bourdieu's conceptual framework, which includes habitus, field, and capital, provides valuable insights into how activists involved in these movements construct their identities and navigate the housing sector's complex landscape. The housing sector in Taiwan is characterized by conflicts surrounding land, housing, and urban areas that involve multiple stakeholders, such as activists, government agencies, developers, and other relevant parties. Activists often find themselves in a subordinate position within this domain, lacking the political and economic resources held by more influential stakeholders. This role significantly affects one's identity and influences one's strategies.

Bourdieu's concept of habitus is particularly relevant when examining the process of identity formation among activists involved in housing movements. Activists develop a habitus shaped by their hostility towards the dominant social order, which arises from their subordinate position in society. Individuals' habitus is formed through their active engagement in housing issues, which serves as the foundation for their activist identity. The accumulation of various types of capital, including social, cultural, and symbolic, through their involvement in the housing movement significantly influences the shaping of their habitus and contributes to the development of an identity that challenges prevailing power dynamics.

A key aspect of identity within the housing movement relates to Bourdieu's concept of 'cleft habitus' (Ingram & Abrahams, 2015). Activists often experience inherent tensions because of the contradiction between their marginalized societal status and

their political goals of bringing about transformative change. This contradiction gives rise to a radical habitus directed towards challenging the dominant housing model and promoting housing justice. The process of developing an activist identity is heavily influenced by the tension between occupying a subordinate position and striving to create meaningful and lasting change.

The influence of democratization and indigenous activism is a critical factor shaping the identities of activists involved in the housing movement. The democratic transition in Taiwan has created a platform for alternative discourses and practices to emerge within the housing sector. Additionally, the integration of indigenous perspectives into the advocacy efforts of housing activists has been affected by indigenous activism that focuses on land rights and self-determination. This phenomenon illustrates dynamic changes and expands opportunities within the housing sector, resulting from shifting power relations and the evolution of social movements.

Identity also influences the formation of strategy and collaboration within the housing movement. The habitus and capital accumulation of activists play a significant role in shaping their approaches to challenging the dominant housing paradigm, advocating alternative policies, and collaborating with multiple stakeholders. A person's innate desire to be contrary motivates them to question and change their existing state of affairs, especially in the realm of housing. Additionally, various identification elements such as generational gaps, economic motivations, and symbolic authority impact the development of movement objectives and interactions with other stakeholders within the housing domain.

8.6 Summary

Bourdieu's ideas of habitus, cultural capital, and field provide insight into modern social behavior and dynamics. Habitus refers to an individual's personality, worldview, and aesthetic preferences that shape their social perspectives and actions. However, cultural capital is also pivotal for social stratification. Bourdieu's field theory explains how power structures impact social interactions and stratifications and can be applied to the Taiwanese housing movement. The cultural significance of property as a symbol of wealth and success influences the decisions and actions of the Taiwanese people. The field's theoretical framework comprises of government institutions, real estate developers, residents, and activists, making it suitable for understanding the Taiwanese housing movement. Bourdieu's theories illuminate the complex relationships between individual agency and societal structures, revealing the mechanisms that perpetuate inequality, stratification, and cultural reproduction by analyzing the motivations and methods of housing activists.

Symbolic capital, habitus, field, and capital influence Taiwanese housing movements (Table 8.2). Activists need symbolic capital – prestige and legitimacy–to gain their support. Housing, as a social entitlement advocate, utilizes its symbolic power to align with mainstream norms and values in a society in which homeownership is closely linked to success and money. Understanding Bourdieu's theoretical concepts of Taiwanese housing movements is crucial for understanding their complex dynamics

In the late 1980s, Taiwan transitioned to a pro-market housing system that left many people feeling insecure.

Table 8.2 The Forms of Capital in Housing-related Fields in Taiwan

	The Political Field	***The Economic Field***	***The Housing Field***
Economic Capital	■ The amount of capital invested in social housing and infrastructure projects by the government. ■ The economic capital from NGOs, grassroots advocacy groups. But they have less economic capital.	■ The financial capital from the developers, the mortgage from bank institutions, individuals' income and assets that give the power to access housing, and political donations.	■ The funding of housing movement organizations. Which have financial difficulties that need the donation from the civil society.
Cultural Capital	■ The domination power of the government, including policy-making and legitimization and the amount and location of social housing. ■ The SMOs' power to influence housing policy and challenge the dominant players, the knowledge to protect their own rights, and election votes. But they are comparatively less than what the dominant players have.	■ Language skills, educational credentials, social connections, knowledge of real estate trends, and agent licenses.	■ Communication skills, professional knowledge of housing policy, educational credentials, and framing ability.
Social Capital	■ The connections with developers and bank institutions, political donation, and financing assistance from banks. ■ Facilitating collective action by tenants and activists, empowering citizens to participate in policy, and enabling partnerships between tenants, professionals, and government.	■ Lobbying officials, access to insider information, political connections for development permits, and the priority access to buy state-owned land.	■ Relationships, connections, trust that facilitate action, information sharing, solidarity building, the leveraging between housing activists and organizations, and collaborations.
Symbolic Capital	■ The authority from credentials such as educational qualifications, government positions, expertise, reputation, and legitimacy. ■ The power to criticize housing policy, advocating for neighborhoods, leveraging symbolic meanings for housing.	■ Luxury high-rise apartments, owning multiple properties as a benchmark of financial success and confers social status.	■ Housing as a social right which possesses a moral position, representative the marginalized and youth, strategic use of elections and local reforms building symbolic capital within institutional channels.

This shift gave rise to social rental housing movements that sought to balance the preservation of cultural practices and the potential for socio-political disruption. The complex interplay between activists' activities and their perceptions of housing issues in Taiwan illustrates how individual actions can impact broader social movements. Engaging in protests, working for non-profit organizations, organizing communities, and advocating housing rights enables activists to form deep connections with marginalized groups and understand their complex issues, ultimately influencing housing policy.

The cultural background of Taiwanese housing advocates influences their perception of housing. Participating in non-profit organizations, attending public hearings, and lobbying for change helps activists understand overpriced housing and urban development issues. Mental and behavioral factors also play a role in shaping the views of housing advocates. Through case studies, it is clear that the interaction of these factors is crucial in explaining housing situations and inspiring collaboration. Policymakers must carefully consider the opinions of housing activists and collaborate to make positive changes. Many different groups, including government agencies, public housing residents, advocacy organizations, academics, politicians, non-profits, and community organizations, have different forms of capital that impact the public housing sector in Taiwan. The interaction of these various forms of capital affects stakeholder roles and influences housing policy, emphasizing the need for equitable and public interest-driven solutions that prioritize the well-being of all.

Field theory provides a comprehensive framework for analyzing Taiwan's housing market by focusing on the dynamic relationships between economic, social, and

cultural resources. The market subfield includes actors, such as developers, financial institutions, customers, firms, entrepreneurs, government and regulatory organizations, and housing. By examining the power dynamics between these actors, one can gain insights into the development of the housing market, consumer behavior, and policy implications.

Housing movements within the housing field shape housing discourse and advocate for equity. These groups gain public recognition and moral influence through the use of symbolic power derived from cultural and social capital. However, developers and government organizations that view housing as a marketable commodity often oppose them. Taiwanese housing movements are motivated by cultural capital, which includes knowledge, experience with lobbying, and community mobilization. These movements advocate for social housing, speculation taxes, and market regulations to challenge dominant ideologies. However, competing influences such as the Chinese social norm “Land is the only wealth” present challenges and approaches. Taiwan’s housing industry is influenced by economic, social, and symbolic capital. Housing movements aim to promote affordable, equitable, and socially beneficial outcomes over profits to reform the housing sector.

Taiwanese housing movements rely heavily on cultural capital, which is closely tied to the Chinese saying, Land is wealth. This saying promotes symbolic violence and marginalizes the poor, further emphasizing the value of economic capital. The impact of this norm extends to consumer behavior, housing trends, and social movements, including housing activism. Cultural capital, which includes education, intelligence, and cultural understanding, perpetuates social inequalities and drives social change.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS

9.1 Introduction

This study addresses the intricate relationship between urban social movements and the housing question within Taiwan's neoliberal context, a topic that has received limited attention in Eastern Asian academic research, particularly regarding Taiwan. The scarcity of scholarly investigations into this area, both in Mandarin Chinese and English literature, has led to a predominant focus on the repercussions of housing policies rather than on the reform of these policies themselves. This research aims to fill this significant gap by highlighting the complexities of urban social movements and housing issues in Taiwan, thus contributing a unique perspective to the broader academic discourse on housing dynamics and activism within the Eastern Asian region.

At the heart of Taiwanese civil society's activism in housing lies a compelling narrative of collaboration aimed at community improvement. A diverse array of groups, including the Tenant Alliance, urban activists, and social welfare advocates, drive grassroots housing movements that challenge established authority and introduce alternative viewpoints. These movements demonstrate the capacity of individuals and collectives to impact the urban environment, question official decisions, and influence the distribution of resources. Employing Bourdieu's theoretical framework, the study provides a deeper understanding of the complex interactions among economic, social,

cultural, and symbolic capitals within the trajectories of housing advocacy in Taiwan.

The research focuses on the response of urban social movements in Taiwan to housing issues during the neoliberal era. It employs a synthetic research framework to scrutinize the diverse tactics, advocacy, and mobilization initiatives utilized by these movements, considering both external factors like rapid urbanization and internal dynamics such as the involvement of the middle class and urban professionals. A critical aspect of the study is to evaluate the agency of each actor involved, acknowledge their distinct contributions, motivations, and impacts within the urban social movements. Moreover, the research methodically identifies and analyzes the specific housing challenges encountered during the three phases of the movements' development, offering insights into the obstacles faced and the strategies employed to navigate them within Taiwan's neoliberal urban landscape.

9.2 The Key Findings

The application of Pickvance's contextual analysis framework to the examination of Taiwanese housing movements yields several salient conclusions that elucidate the intricate dynamics of these movements with respect to their political, economic, and socio-cultural dimensions. The following findings are presented, encompassing topics such as cultural identity and space, political participation and influence, economic disparities, the development of the middle class, and the role of property developers in shaping real estate markets.

This study delves into the complex interplay between political, economic, and sociocultural factors in shaping housing movements. By collaborating and forming

coalitions, such as the Tenant Alliance and SHAC, and engaging in protests, such as the Shell-less Snail Movements in 1989 and the Nest Movements in 2014, activists work to amplify their voices and influence decision-makers. These actions put pressure on the political system and impact policy agendas related to housing affordability and urban development. The emergence of cooperative housing and community land trusts offers economic alternatives to address affordability issues and sheds light on the inequalities that exist. The decisions made by property developers and the real estate market have a significant impact on the built environment and its governing regulations. Housing movements frequently emphasize the importance of preserving cultural heritage and community spirit, which helps promote cultural identity and a sense of place.

The examination of the behaviors and views of activists within Taiwanese housing movements with respect to housing issues discloses not only their impact on policy but also the societal changes that have ensued. The importance of engagement is evident as a habitus of the middle class, including participation in public affairs, strategic use of advocacy, and lobbying for modifications in legislation. The interplay of individual and collective action as factors contributes to the multifaceted nature of activists' views, and their activism strategies that bring about policy changes must be considered.

Moreover, undertakings that focus on reforming housing solutions have effectively leveraged their extensive experience, social capital, and cultural capital to shape their position as key stakeholders in the housing sector. By engaging in dialogue with policymakers and presenting evidence-based arguments, these initiatives advocate for

policy reforms that address the pressing need for change in the housing industry. Their profound comprehension of the political landscape empowers them to effectively navigate the complexities of legislative processes, ultimately influencing decision-making from within. The use of questionnaire reports on housing issues serves as a potent resource, providing quantifiable data that reflects the public's concerns and needs, thus reinforcing the foundation of their advocacy and lobbying strategies.

The efficacy of these movements in implementing policy alterations is significantly augmented by the social, cultural, and symbolic capital. Social capital, which is evident in a network of trust, reciprocity, and cooperation, facilitates the collaboration among various stakeholders, including civil society organizations, NGOs, and legislators. This collaboration is crucial for mobilizing support and garnering the necessary impetus for policy change. Cultural capital, on the other hand, enables these movements to devise compelling narratives that reverberate with the public and policymakers alike, thereby enhancing the persuasiveness of their advocacy endeavors.

Even though the SMOs comparatively possess less economic capital in the Taiwanese housing field, their representativeness of the public consensus enables them acquired symbolic capital. This symbolic capital allows them to act as credible negotiators in policy discussions, facilitating access to decision-making arenas that might otherwise be closed to urban social movements. By capitalizing on their reputation for advocating social justice and housing rights, these movements can mobilize public support and apply pressure on political leaders to prioritize housing reforms. Additionally, the respect and moral authority they hold enable them to frame the housing debate in terms that emphasize human rights and social equity, shifting public

discourse and potentially leading to a more favorable policy environment. By strategically employing these resources, housing movements in Taiwan have been able to play a pivotal role in the formulation of revised housing policies, demonstrating the potency of collective action and the significance of grassroots initiatives in shaping public policy. These endeavors underscore the potential for urban social movements to effectuate substantial change, highlighting the transformative impact of civic engagement on the housing policy landscape.

Last but not least, in the concluding analysis of policy advocacy within Taiwanese housing movements, the timing of advocacy efforts emerges as a crucial factor, profoundly influenced by electoral cycles. The in-depth interviews with key advocacy actors reveal a pattern of peak and slack seasons in advocacy activism, significantly impacting media framing and exerting pressure on policymakers to adopt more inclusive housing policies.

Notably, the year 2023, marked by local elections in November and a presidential election in January 2024, represented a critical juncture for assessing political commitments to housing issues. This period was identified as a peak advocacy season, as voters critically evaluated previous housing policies amidst growing concerns over housing affordability for the youth and the marginalized groups. Housing advocacy groups capitalized on this electoral context to engage with political candidates, presenting their housing policy proposals and compiling these engagements into public reports for voter information. This strategic timing ensured heightened visibility and attention for housing issues, allowing SMOs to exert considerable pressure on the state and advance their advocacy agenda. Conversely, the post-election period of 2024,

devoid of electoral events for the next three years, was seen as a slack season. Despite this, the interviews indicate that advocacy efforts persist, focus on data accumulation, policy formulation, and the maintenance of social and cultural capital through collaboration with other SMOs. This cyclical nature of advocacy activism, closely tied to the electoral calendar, underscores the strategic adaptability of housing movements in Taiwan.

9.3 The Theoretical and Empirical Implications

This study employs Pickvance's contextual framework and Bourdieu's field theory to examine housing issues and movements in Taiwan. The research findings have profound implications for housing policy and practice in Taiwan, emphasizing the necessity of formulating inclusive housing policies that take into account external contextual factors and internal dynamics. These policies should tackle the consequences of urbanization, migration, environmental concerns, and power dynamics within the housing field.

The civil engagement is a critical aspect of housing policies, as it fosters cooperation among government agencies, activists, and neighborhood residents. Equitable resource allocation is crucial in promoting symbolic and economic capital, ensuring that marginalized communities have equal access to housing resources. It is imperative to establish responsive regulations that can adapt to the dynamic nature of housing. These regulations must be sufficiently flexible to address rapid urbanization, shifting migration patterns, and emerging grassroots movements, while maintaining a focus on social equity.

Recognizing the symbolic capital of activists in the housing movement, which is hardly traded off with economic capital, is crucial. It empowers activists to have a more significant influence on policy decisions and shapes the narrative surrounding housing issues. Collaboration among various sectors, including government agencies, academic institutions, NGOs, and grassroots activisms, can result in the integration of diverse viewpoints and the development of more effective and sustainable solutions.

The importance of transparency and accountability in housing policies cannot be underestimated. Through a critical examination of power dynamics, valuable insights can be gleaned that can facilitate enhanced transparency and accountability in housing policies. To achieve long-lasting sustainability, it is essential to prioritize sustainable housing practices, such as incorporating energy-efficient design, creating green spaces, and implementing smart urban planning.

This study can also facilitate education and awareness while promoting an understanding of housing rights, social disparities, and the value of civil engagement. This knowledge can then be utilized to provide tailored housing solutions that address the diverse needs of various groups within the housing sector while considering external factors and internal dynamics. Incorporating academic insights through research-informed decision-making is crucial for policymakers to make informed decisions that are supported by solid evidence and research. This approach can enhance the fairness and sustainability of housing solutions, address population needs, and promote a supportive environment for grassroots movements and housing activism. Incorporating these implications into housing policy and practices in Taiwan will improve the fairness and sustainability of housing solutions, allowing for more

effective addressing of the population's needs and fostering grassroots movements and housing activism.

The study of activists' behaviors and their impact on the public perception of housing issues in Taiwanese housing movements has significant implications for the implementation of housing policies. Such implications include recognizing activists as knowledgeable stakeholders, understanding the intricate nature of housing challenges, and creating policies that address both immediate and underlying issues. It is crucial to consider several key implications, such as the need for inclusive stakeholder engagement, taking a comprehensive approach to housing challenges, adopting a human rights perspective, developing empathy-driven solutions, addressing both short and long-term issues, promoting collaborative solutions, leveraging the expertise of activists, evaluating and adapting policies, prioritizing communication and transparency, and strategically utilizing the habits of activists.

In order to promote the welfare of vulnerable populations, empathy-based solutions advocate for the implementation of policies that prioritize the provision of equitable access to housing, the prevention of large-scale evictions, and the preservation of social housing. It is crucial that effective housing policies address both short-term and long-term challenges, are rooted in practical experience, and take into account the viewpoints of those advocating for change.

Policymakers can greatly enhance their capacity to devise robust and enduring housing policies in Taiwan by gaining a thorough comprehension of the techniques and viewpoints employed by activists. This understanding will enable them to address both immediate difficulties and underlying systemic problems. By leveraging their

expertise and insights, policymakers can craft solutions that tackle the underlying causes of housing challenges, thereby achieving more favorable long-term results.

Empirically, the strategic alignment of advocacy efforts with electoral cycles emerges as critical factor, emphasizing the importance of leveraging political sensitivities to maximize impact on housing policy discourse and decision-making. This study reveals that periods preceding elections serve as critical windows of opportunity for movements to exert influence, resonating with Pickvance's contextual analysis framework, which considers the impact of the external political environment on urban social movements.

Moreover, the role of media framing in amplifying the visibility and urgency of housing issues highlights the significance of strategic communication. Movements must adeptly navigate media relations to shape public perceptions and pressure policymakers, indicating that proficiency in media engagement, including the traditional media, social media platform and the new online media, is a crucial component of effective advocacy.

The findings mentioned previously also feature the continuous nature of advocacy, indicating that efforts do not cease during periods of reduced political activity but instead shift towards SMOs development and the strengthening of organization capitals. This ongoing commitment ensures that movements remain prepared and potent, ready to open fire to the neoliberal housing context for peak advocacy.

Additionally, the importance of coalition-building is affirmed through the collaboration of SHAC, the cooperation of housing activism groups and social welfare

organizations. Such partnership enriches advocacy effort, enabling a diversified approach and a stringer collective voice in policy discussions. The empirical implications of this study, therefore, not only contribute to a deeper understanding of strategic advocacy within the realm of housing policy reform but also offer a template for other movements seeking to navigate the complex interplay between political cycles, media dynamics, continuous engagement, and coalition-building in their quest for social change.

9.4 Limitations

This research has generated valuable insights into housing issues and movements in Taiwan by combining Pickvance's contextual framework and Bourdieu's field theory. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the limitations of this study, as they highlight the boundaries of the research and offer opportunities for future researchers to address these constraints and expand upon the findings.

This study draws primarily from Pickvance's contextual framework and Pierre Bourdieu's field theory to establish its theoretical foundation. However, it is crucial to bear in mind that these theories may not provide additional perspectives or interpretations that could deepen the understanding of housing issues in Taiwan. This study might have oversimplified the multi-faceted external context and internal dynamics associated with housing problems and movements in Taiwan. Consequently, this could result in an overly simplified understanding of the intricate realities that exist on the ground.

The study's focus on specific case studies, regions, or groups within the Taiwanese

housing context may have limited its representation of various housing challenges and movements throughout the country. Therefore, these findings may not be widely applicable because of their limited scope. However, the use of qualitative data or case studies in the research limits the ability to conduct a quantitative analysis of trends and patterns, which is necessary to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the scope and distribution of housing issues, as well as the effects of social movements on these issues. A comprehensive quantitative analysis would offer a more thorough understanding of this subject.

Temporal constraints may restrict the scope of the study to a particular period, which could lead to the omission of recent developments or changes in housing issues and movements that occurred after the data-collection phase. Additionally, the presence of language barriers may have resulted in the exclusion of significant sources or perspectives that were published in languages other than the one used, thereby affecting the comprehensiveness of the literature review and data collection process.

The researcher's personal background, biases, and perspectives may have influenced the formulation of the research questions, interpretation of data, and drawing of conclusions. Additionally, the scope and depth of the collected and analyzed data may have been influenced by ethical considerations such as privacy, informed consent, and potential power dynamics between researchers and participants. The research may not have fully captured the perspectives and experiences of all relevant stakeholders, particularly marginalized or underrepresented groups within housing movements, which could lead to a limited understanding of their struggles and complexities.

9.5 Recommendations for Future Research

This research offers significant contributions to the understanding of the changing dynamics of housing issues and movements in Taiwan, paving the way for further exploration. Potential areas for future research include temporal analysis and longitudinal studies, comparative examinations across various regions, intersectionality and identity investigations, the influence of digital technologies on activism, dynamics between urban and rural areas, assessments of policy impacts, community-led development initiatives, global connections, transnational movements, alternative housing models, and the implications of post-pandemic housing realities. The research directions outlined in this study aim to expand the existing frameworks of analysis and explore new areas of investigation. These include temporal analysis, comparative studies across different regions, intersectionality and identity, the impact of digital technologies on activism, dynamics between urban and rural areas, assessment of policy impacts, community-driven development, global connections, transnational movements, alternative housing models, and housing realities that have emerged in the wake of the pandemic. Researchers can enhance their understanding of housing difficulties and prospects in Taiwan and other regions by adopting interdisciplinary techniques, engaging with multiple stakeholders, and staying informed about evolving socioeconomic contexts.

9.6 Summary

This study explores and presents the relationship between urban social movements and the housing question in Taiwan's neoliberal context, a subject underrepresented in Eastern Asian academic discourse. By employing Pickvance's contextual framework

alongside Bourdieu's field theory, this study not only bridges a significant gap in the literature but also sheds light on the complexities of housing advocacy and the dynamics of urban social movements within Taiwan. This research reveals the crucial role of civil participation in shaping housing policies, highlighting the necessity for policies that are inclusive, adaptable, and considerate of the interactions between urbanization and socio-economic disparities.

The key findings indicate the strategic importance of timing in advocacy efforts, particularly in relation to electoral cycles, and the critical role of media in framing housing issues. This study emphasizes the continuous nature of advocacy work, including during slack periods, and the significance of building coalition across diverse participants to amplify voices and influence policy. It also brings to light the unique role of symbolic capital held by activists and the impact of leveraging social, cultural, and symbolic capitals to navigate the legislative landscape and influence housing policy reforms.

Meanwhile, the study acknowledges limitations, including the potential for oversimplification of complex dynamics and the focus on specific case studies, which may limit the generalizability of findings. Future research is recommended to explore broader temporal analyses, comparative studies across regions, and the impact of digital technologies on activism. This study paves the ways for a more sophisticated understanding of the multifaceted nature of housing challenges and the potential for urban social movements to effectuate meaningful change in the housing field, not only in Taiwan but in a wider context, highlighting the transformative power of collective action and civil participation in shaping public policy and promoting social equity.

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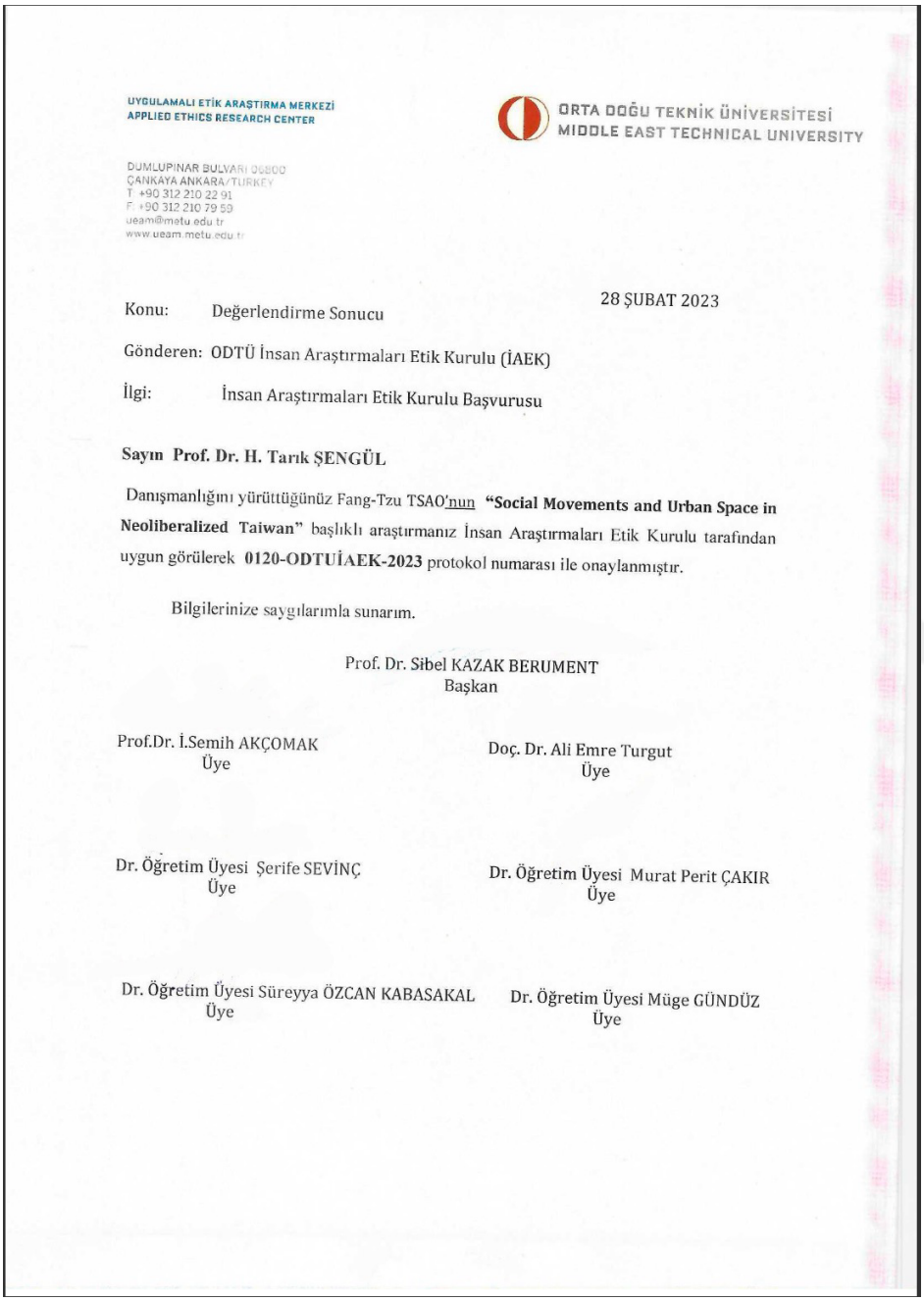
APPENDICES

A. APPROVAL OF THE METU HUMAN SUBJECTS ETHICS COMMITTEE



UYGULAMALI ETİK ARAŞTIRMA MERKEZİ
APPLIED ETHICS RESEARCH CENTER

ORTA DOĞU TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTESİ
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

DUMLUPINAR BULVARI 06800
ÇANKAYA ANKARA/TURKEY
T: +90 312 210 22 91
F: +90 312 210 79 59
ueam@metu.edu.tr
www.ueam.metu.edu.tr

28 ŞUBAT 2023

Konu: Değerlendirme Sonucu

Gönderen: ODTÜ İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu (İAEK)

İlgi: İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu Başvurusu

Sayın Prof. Dr. H. Tarık ŞENGÜL

Danışmanlığını yürüttüğünüz Fang-Tzu TSAO'nun **"Social Movements and Urban Space in Neoliberalized Taiwan"** başlıklı araştırmanız İnsan Araştırmaları Etik Kurulu tarafından uygun görülerek **0120-ODTUİAEK-2023** protokol numarası ile onaylanmıştır.

Bilgilerinize saygılarımla sunarım.

Prof. Dr. Sibel KAZAK BERUMENT
Başkan

Prof.Dr. İ.Semih AKÇOMAK
Üye

Doç. Dr. Ali Emre Turgut
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Şerife SEVİNÇ
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Murat Perit ÇAKIR
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Süreyya ÖZCAN KABASAKAL
Üye

Dr. Öğretim Üyesi Müge GÜNDÜZ
Üye

B. CURRICULUM VITAE

Personal Information

Surname, Name: Tsao, Fang-Tzu

Mobile:

Email:

Nationality:

Date of Birth:

Place of Birth:

Education

Degree	*Institution*	*Year of Graduation*
PhD	Department of Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments, Middle East Technical University, Türkiye	
MSc	Department of Urban Planning, National Cheng Kung University, Taiwan	
MSc	Department of Planning, University of Manchester, United Kingdom	
BA	Department of Land Economics, National Chengchi University, Taiwan	

Work Experiences

Year	*Place*	*Position*

Language Skills

Mandarin Chinese: Native

English: C1

Turkish: B2

Conferences

Tsao, F. T. & Şengül, H.T. (2023, June) *The Skyrocketing Housing Prices and Housing Movements in Neoliberalized Taiwan,* Paper presented at the 3rd İstanbul International Geography Congress, İstanbul, Türkiye

Tsao, F. T. & Şengül, H.T. (2023, October) *The Confucian Violence in Taiwan's Housing Crisis: Exploring Taiwanese Housing Movements from a Bourdieusian Perspective,* Paper presented at the International Congress of Sociology (BUSOC 2023), Ankara, Türkiye

C. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Tayvan konut piyasasının çok yönlü doğasını aydınlatmak için Bourdieu'nün alan teorisinin yanı sıra Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal çerçevesini kullanarak Tayvan'daki konut sorunlarının ve taban hareketlerinin karmaşık dinamiklerini araştırmaktadır. Nitel analiz, vaka çalışmaları ve teorik sentezi birleştiren karma yöntem yaklaşımı sayesinde araştırma, konutu etkileyen dış faktörler ve iç dinamikler arasındaki etkileşime dair içgörüler sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Kentleşme, kırdan kente göç, hükümet girişimleri ve piyasa spekülasyonlarının konut eşitsizliklerini ve fırsat dağılımını şekillendirmedeki rollerini vurgulamaktadır. Bourdieu'nün sembolik sermaye, habitus ve sosyal sermaye kavramları, konut sektöründeki güç dinamiklerini incelemek için kullanılmakta ve yerelleşmiş konut hareketlerinin yerleşik inançlara nasıl meydan okuduğuna ve politika kararlarını nasıl etkilediğine odaklanılmaktadır. Tayvan, diğer Asya kaplanları ile birlikte 1970'lerden bu yana hızlı bir ekonomik büyüme yaşamış ve ekonomik kalkınmada güçlü bir devlet rolü ile karakterize edilen kalkınmacı bir devlet modelini benimsemiştir. Ancak, 1980'lerden bu yana küreselleşme ve neoliberal politikaların etkisi, konut satın alınamazlığı ve sosyal konut kıtlığı da dahil olmak üzere önemli kentsel krizlere yol açmıştır. Tayvan'da demokrasiye geçişle aynı döneme denk gelen neoliberal politikalar, özelleştirme ve piyasa odaklı konut çözümlerine doğru bir kayışa neden olarak konut sorunlarını daha da kötüleştirmiştir.

İlk olarak 1989 yılında Evsizler Dayanışma İttifakı tarafından başlatılan Tayvan konut

hareketleri, konutun metalaştırılmasına karşı çıkmaya ve konutun temel bir insan hakkı olduğunu savunmaya çalışmıştır. Başlangıçtaki ivmeye rağmen, hareketin etkisi taban desteği eksikliği nedeniyle sınırlı kalmıştır. Ancak 1990'ların sonlarında Asya mali krizi ve tartışmalı konut finansmanı politikalarının etkisiyle konut aktivizminde yeniden bir canlanma görüldü. Bu durum 2010 yılında Sosyal Konut Savunuculuğu Konsorsiyumu'nun (SHAC) kurulmasına yol açmış ve SHAC o tarihten bu yana sosyal konutları teşvik etmek ve politika yapıcıların ilgisini çekmek için çeşitli stratejiler uygulamıştır.

Bu araştırma, neoliberal kentsel bağlamı Tayvan'daki konut politikalarını ve hareketlerini etkileyen kritik bir dış faktör olarak tanımlamaktadır. İçeride, hareketler orta sınıf profesyonellerin, üniversite öğrencilerinin ve öğretim üyelerinin uzmanlığı ve sosyal sermayesi etrafında harekete geçmekte ve konut reformunu savunmak için politika savunuculuğu, yasama teşviki ve uluslararası işbirliği gibi stratejiler kullanmaktadır. Zorluklara rağmen, bu hareketler konut haklarının politika gündemlerine dahil edilmesi için çaba gösterme konusunda ilerleme kaydetmiştir.

Çalışmanın hedefleri arasında Tayvan'daki konut sorunundaki temel faktörleri ve rolleri analiz etmek, neoliberal politikaların konut hareketleri üzerindeki etkisini incelemek ve bu hareketlerin konut politikalarında reform yapma konusundaki etkinliğini değerlendirmek yer almaktadır. Derinlemesine mülakatlar ve Pickvance ile Bourdieu'nün çerçevelerinin bir kombinasyonu aracılığıyla araştırma, Tayvan'daki konut sorununa ilişkin kapsamlı bir anlayış sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Araştırma yapısı, Tayvan'daki konut sorunlarının arka planını, teorik temelleri, metodolojiyi, siyasi ve sosyal bağlamların analizini, konut hareketlerini etkileyen dış

ve iç dinamikleri ve bulguların bir özetini ana hatlarıyla ortaya koymaktadır. Bu kapsamlı yaklaşım, konut aktivizmine ilişkin akademik tartışmaları zenginleştirmeyi ve Tayvan ve diğer Doğu Asya bağlamlarında kentsel toplumsal hareketler ve konut sorunlarıyla ilgilenen politika yapıcılar, şehir planlamacıları ve akademisyenler için uygulanabilir içgörüler sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Özetle, bu çalışma Tayvan'ın neoliberal bağlamında kentsel toplumsal hareketler ile konut politikaları arasındaki karmaşık ilişkinin anlaşılmasına katkıda bulunmaktadır. Teorik çerçeveleri ve ampirik analizleri entegre ederek, konut hareketlerinin zorlukları ve stratejileri hakkında incelikli bir bakış açısı sunmakta ve piyasa odaklı baskılar karşısında kapsayıcı ve eşitlikçi konut çözümlerine duyulan ihtiyacı vurgulamaktadır.

Bölüm 2'de, literatür taraması, kolektif eylemin dinamiklerini ve toplumsal etkilerini anlamak için merkezi olan teorilere ve çerçevelere odaklanarak toplumsal hareketlerin karmaşık manzarasını araştırmaktadır. Özellikle Tayvan'ın neoliberal çerçevesi içinde, konut sorunlarını ele alan kentsel toplumsal hareketleri incelemek için bir temel oluşturmaktadır.

Toplumsal hareketler, sistemik hoşnutsuzluktan doğan, otoriteye karşı örgütlü ve kalıcı meydan okumalar olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Toplumsal hareket çalışmalarını beş ana eğilim karakterize etmektedir: Kolektif Davranış, Kaynak Mobilizasyonu Teorisi (RMT), Siyasi Süreç Teorisi (PPT), Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler (NSM) teorisi ve Kentsel Toplumsal Hareketler (USM) teorisi. Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde ilk üç teorinin yaygınlaştığı görülürken, Avrupa NSM teorisini tercih etmiştir. Bu araştırma, başta konut ve çevre sorunları olmak üzere kentsel çatışmaları incelemek için ağırlıklı olarak USM teorisini uygulamaktadır.

1980’lerden bu yana gelişen Kaynak Mobilizasyon Teorisi (RMT), analitik odağı bireysel şikayetlerden hareketlerin örgütsel ve stratejik yönlerine kaydırarak başarı için kaynakların mobilize edilmesinin çok önemli rolünün altını çizmektedir. Charles Tilly’nin öncülüğünü yaptığı Siyasi Süreç Teorisi, siyasi fırsatların, harekete geçirici yapıların ve çerçevelemenin toplumsal hareketleri şekillendirmedeki etkisini daha da inceleyerek hareketler ve siyasi kurumlar arasındaki etkileşimi vurgulamaktadır. Yeni Toplumsal Hareketler teorisi, klasik Marksizm'in sınırlamalarına tepki olarak ortaya çıkmış, toplumsal hareketlerin kültürel, sembolik ve kimliksel yönlerine vurgu yaparak, geleneksel sınıf mücadelelerinin ötesinde toplumsal norm ve değerleri dönüştürmeyi amaçlamıştır.

Chris Pickvance ve Manuel Castells gibi akademisyenler tarafından savunulan Kentsel Sosyal Hareket teorisi, kentsel bağlamlarda örgütlü sosyal huzursuzluğu inceler, siyasi katılımı savunur ve kullanım değerlerine, yerel kültürlere ve katılımcı demokrasiye dayalı şehirleri teşvik etmek için maddi ve sosyal hiyerarşilere meydan okur.

Sosyal sermaye, toplumsal hareket araştırmalarında daha az vurgulanmakla birlikte, güvene dayalı ve karşılıklı bağlantılar yoluyla kolektif ve kişisel hedeflere ulaşmak için çok önemli olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Belirli kümeler içinde güçlü, duygusal olarak yoğun ilişkiler gerektiren bağlayıcı sosyal sermaye ve farklı grupları birbirine bağlayan, daha geniş kaynak erişimi ve bilgi paylaşımı için çok önemli olan köprü kurucu sosyal sermaye olarak ikiye ayrılır.

Gregory Bateson tarafından sosyal hareket alanına tanıtılan ve sosyologlar tarafından genişletilen çerçeveleme yaklaşımı, desteği harekete geçirmek için stratejik konu yorumlarını vurgular. David Snow ve Robert Benford’un çerçeveleme üzerine

çalışmaları üç temel görev tanımlar: sorunları dile getirmek, çözüm önermek ve eylemi motive etmek için gerekli olan tanısal, öngörüsel ve motivasyonel çerçeveleme. William Gamson buna kimlik, eylemlilik ve adaletsizlik bileşenlerini ekleyerek, mağdur grupları tanımlayarak ve kolektif eylemi teşvik etmek için suç atayarak katkıda bulunur.

Kolektif eylem çerçevelerinin oluşturulması, hareket liderlerinin stratejik seçimlerini ve hedef kitlede yankı uyandıran kültürel sembollerin kullanımını içerir. Liderler genellikle mevcut hareketlerden veya baskın grup sembolizminden ödünç alarak yankı uyandıran çerçeveler oluşturur ve popüler kültür ile hareketin hedefleri arasında uyum sağlar. Başarılı bir şekilde yankı bulan çerçeveler, inandırıcı ve ikna edici savunuculukla desteklenen, kitlenin dünya görüşüyle senkronize olan çerçevelerdir.

Tayvan bağlamında, konut sorunlarını halkın deneyimleri ve değerleriyle örtüşen bir şekilde çerçevelemek, daha geniş bir destek toplamak için çok önemlidir. Hareketler, konut konusunu salt ekonomik kalkınmadan ziyade bir sosyal adalet meselesi olarak çerçeveleyerek hakim anlatılara meydan okuyabilir, etkilenen topluluklara dikkat çekebilir ve adil politika değişikliklerini savunabilir. Kamusal söylemde çerçevelemenin stratejik kullanımı, kamu politikasını şekillendirmede ve sosyal eşitliği teşvik etmede kolektif eylemin ve sivil katılımın gücünü göstererek desteği harekete geçirmek ve politika yapıcılara daha kapsayıcı konut çözümleri için baskı yapmak için çok önemlidir.

Literatür, teorik temellerinden Tayvan'da konut adaleti için kamu desteğini harekete geçirmede çerçevelemenin pratik uygulamalarına kadar toplumsal hareketlerin çok yönlü doğasının altını çizmektedir. Çerçevelemenin stratejik önemini vurgulayan bu

inceleme, hareketlerin konut politikasında dönüştürücü değişiklikleri savunmak için kültürel, sembolik ve siyasi faktörlerin karmaşık etkileşimini nasıl yönlendirdiğini göstermektedir. Bu kapsamlı araştırma, kentsel toplumsal hareketlerin dinamikleri ve neoliberalizmin kısıtlamaları dahilinde sistemik konut sorunlarını ele alma potansiyelleri hakkında değerli bilgiler sunmakta, tabandan gelen aktivizmin politikalara yön verme ve daha eşitlikçi ve kapsayıcı bir kentsel yaşam ortamını teşvik etme konusundaki önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Üçüncü bölümde, Chris Pickvance'ın kentsel toplumsal hareket analizi ile Pierre Bourdieu'nün sosyolojik teorilerinin entegrasyonu, kentsel toplumsal hareketlerin dinamiklerini anlamak için incelikli bir çerçeve sunmaktadır. Bu sentetik yaklaşım, Pickvance'ın kentleşme, devlet eylemi, siyasi bağlam, orta sınıf gelişimi ve ekonomik ve sosyal koşullar gibi dış faktörlere yaptığı vurguyu, Bourdieu'nün habitus, alan ve çeşitli sermaye biçimleri de dahil olmak üzere iç dinamiklere odaklanmasıyla birleştirmektedir.

Pickvance'ın çalışması kentleşme ve toplumsal hareketler arasındaki karmaşık etkileşime ışık tutmakta, hızlı kentsel büyümenin konut sıkıntısı gibi sorunları nasıl daha da kötüleştirdiğini ve kolektif eylemi nasıl tetiklediğini göstermektedir. Kentsel toplumsal hareketleri, barınma ve hizmetlerin güvence altına alınmasından mahallelerin fiziksel tehditlere karşı savunulmasına kadar uzanan hedeflerine göre dört türe ayırıyor. Bu tipoloji, kentsel aktivizmin ardındaki çeşitli motivasyonları ve bağlamın hareket hedef ve stratejilerini şekillendirmedeki kritik rolünü vurgulamaktadır.

Chris Pickvance'ın kentsel sosyal hareketler üzerine çalışmaları, kent sosyolojisi ve

kentsel politikalar alanında dikkate değer bir teorik katkı sunmaktadır. Pickvance, kentsel alanların sosyal mücadelelerin merkez üssü olduğunu ve bu mücadelelerin kentsel dönüşüm süreçleriyle iç içe geçtiğini vurgular. Bu yazıda, Pickvance'ın kentsel sosyal hareketler teorisinin temel öğeleri, kentsel dönüşüm ve sosyal hareketler arasındaki ilişki, kentsel politikalarla etkileşimleri ve bu hareketlerin kentsel mekânda nasıl etkili olabileceği üzerinde durulacaktır.

Chris Pickvance, kentsel sosyal hareketleri, kent içinde yaşanan ortak sorunlara ve çıkarlara dayanan örgütlü toplumsal tepkiler olarak tanımlar. Bu hareketler, kentsel mekânın kullanımı, yönetimi ve gelişiminde söz sahibi olmayı hedefler. Pickvance'a göre bu hareketlerin temel özellikleri; mekânsal odaklanma, katılımcı demokrasi talebi ve çok katmanlı kimlik ve ittifak yapısını içermesi şeklinde sıralanabilir. Bu hareketler, genellikle mekânsal adaletsizlikler, konut politikaları, çevre sorunları gibi kent planlamasının getirdiği sosyal sonuçlara odaklanır.

Pickvance, kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerinin sosyal hareketlerin ortaya çıkışı ve evrimi üzerinde önemli etkilere sahip olduğunu belirtir. Kentsel yenileme, gentrifikasyon ve büyük ölçekli kentsel gelişim projeleri, sosyal dışlanma ve ekonomik eşitsizlikler gibi sorunları beraberinde getirebilir. Bu durum, kentsel sosyal hareketlerin müdahale ettiği ana konuları oluşturur ve alternatif çözüm yolları aranmasına neden olur.

O, kentsel sosyal hareketlerin kentsel politika yapım sürecindeki rolünü detaylı bir şekilde inceler. Bu hareketler, kentsel gelişim süreçlerinin daha adil ve kapsayıcı olmasını sağlamak için kent yönetimleri ve politika yapıcılar üzerinde baskı oluşturur. Hareketlerin başarısı, örgütsel yapısına, katılımcılarının sosyal ve kültürel sermayesine ve kamuoyu ile medya desteğine bağlıdır.

Pickvance, kentsel sosyal hareketlerin kullanabileceği strateji ve taktikleri analiz eder. Bu hareketler, genellikle kamuoyu dikkatini çekmek, politik değişiklikler talep etmek ve kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerine müdahale etmek için çeşitli yöntemlere başvurur. Ayrıca, yerel halkın katılımını teşvik eden etkinlikler düzenler ve kentsel mekân üzerindeki hak iddialarını güçlendirir.

Pickvance'ın teorisi, kentsel sosyal hareketlerin kentsel mekânın sosyal adalet mücadelelerinde nasıl merkezi bir role sahip olduğunu gösterir. Bu yaklaşım, kentsel alanların mücadele alanlarına nasıl dönüştüğünü ve sosyal hareketlerin kentsel politikaları nasıl şekillendirebileceğini anlamamıza olanak tanır. Kentsel sosyal hareketlerin analizi, kentlerin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik yapısını derinlemesine anlamak için önemli bir perspektif sunar.

Chris Pickvance'ın kentsel sosyal hareketler üzerine yaptığı çalışmalar, kentsel mekânın ve politikaların sosyal mücadeleler tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini ve bu mücadelelerin kentlerde nasıl somutlaştığını ortaya koymaktadır. Bu çalışmalar, kentsel dönüşüm süreçlerinin daha adil ve kapsayıcı hale getirilmesine yönelik stratejiler sunar ve kentsel araştırmalar için zengin bir analitik araç seti sağlar. Pickvance'ın teorik çerçevesi, kentsel sosyal hareketlerin ve kentsel politikaların anlaşılmasında kritik bir öneme sahiptir ve kentlerin geleceğini şekillendirmede sivil toplumun rolünü vurgular. Bu nedenle, Pickvance'ın çalışmaları, kentsel mekân ve politikaların kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmesi için değerli bir referans noktası olarak hizmet eder ve kentlerin sosyal, ekonomik ve politik yapılarını dönüştürme çabalarında önemli bir katkı sunar.

Bourdieu'nün teorileri bu hareketlerin sosyal temellerine ilişkin derin içgörüler sunmaktadır. Habitus kavramı, bireylerin geçmişlerinin toplumsal hareketlerdeki

algılarını ve eylemlerini nasıl etkilediğini açıklarken, alan kavramı bu hareketlerin faaliyet gösterdiği rekabetçi ortamın altını çizmektedir. Bourdieu'nün sermaye tanımı -ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal ve sembolik- aktivistlerin davalarını ilerletmek için yararlandıkları kaynakları daha da açıklığa kavuşturmaktadır.

Pierre Bourdieu, sosyoloji alanında derin izler bırakan, eserleri günümüzde de sosyal bilimlerin birçok alanında etkisini devam ettiren önemli bir düşünürdür. Bourdieu'nün teorileri, toplumsal sınıfların yapısını, bireylerin toplum içindeki yerlerini ve bu yerlerin nasıl meydana geldiğini anlamamıza yardımcı olur. Bu yazıda, Bourdieu'nün anahtar kavramlarından olan habitus, sermaye türleri, doxa ve sembolik şiddet üzerine detaylı bir şekilde odaklanılacaktır.

Bourdieu, habitus kavramını toplumsal yaşamın anlaşılmasında merkezi bir role yerleştirir. Habitus, bireylerin sosyal dünyayı nasıl algıladıklarını, bu dünyaya nasıl anlam yüklediklerini ve ona nasıl tepki verdiklerini şekillendiren derinlemesine içselleştirilmiş bir yapı ve düzenlemeler sistemidir. Bu kavram, bireyin geçmiş deneyimlerine dayanarak gelecekteki eylemlerini önceden şekillendirir. Bireylerin günlük pratikleri, habitus tarafından yönlendirilir ve bu durum, farklı toplumsal sınıfların, grupların ve toplulukların kendine özgü yaşam tarzlarını ve dünya görüşlerini nasıl geliştirdiklerini açıklar. Habitus, bireylerin eylemlerinin ve tercihlerinin "doğal" olarak görülmesinin arkasındaki sosyal yapılandırmaları açığa çıkarır.

Bourdieu'nün sermaye kavramı, toplum içindeki güç ve statü farklılıklarını anlamada kilit bir role sahiptir. Bourdieu, sermayeyi dört ana kategoride inceler: ekonomik, kültürel, sosyal ve simgesel. Ekonomik Sermaye, maddi varlıkları ve finansal

kaynakları ifade eder ve en açık şekilde ölçülebilir sermaye türüdür. Kültürel Sermaye, eğitim, dil, bilgi ve beceriler gibi öğeleri kapsar. Bu sermaye, bireylerin sosyal hareketliliğinde önemli bir rol oynar ve genellikle eğitim sistemi aracılığıyla edinilir. Sosyal Sermaye, bireyin ilişkileri, ağları ve grup bağlantılarından oluşur. Bu, bireyin sosyal çevresinden elde ettiği güç ve imkanları tanımlar. Simgesel Sermaye, diğer sermaye türlerinin toplum içindeki tanınması ve prestiji olarak görülebilir. Bu, bireyin veya grubun sosyal prestiji, onur ve tanınmasıyla ilgilidir.

Doxa, Bourdieu'nün toplumsal gerçekliklerin ve inanç sistemlerinin bireyler tarafından sorgulanmadan kabul edildiği durumları ifade etmek için kullandığı bir kavramdır. Doxa, toplumun temel varsayımlarını, değer yargılarını ve normlarını içerir ve genellikle bilinçdışı bir süreçtir. Bu kavram, mevcut sosyal düzenin bireyler tarafından "doğal" veya "kaçınılmaz" olarak görülmesini sağlar ve böylece sosyal hiyerarşilerin ve eşitsizliklerin sorgulanmadan kabul edilmesine yol açar.

Sembolik şiddet, Bourdieu'nün toplumsal ilişkilerdeki güç dengesizliklerinin nasıl içselleştirildiği ve normalleştirildiğini açıkladığı kavramdır. Bu, baskın sınıfın veya grubun değerlerinin, normlarının ve estetik anlayışının, daha az baskın olanlar tarafından doğal ve meşru kabul edildiği bir süreci ifade eder. Sembolik şiddet, bireylerin kendi konumlarını ve sosyal koşullarını sorgulamadan kabul etmelerine neden olan farkında olunmayan bir mekanizmadır.

Bourdieu'nün bu kavramları, sosyal bilimlerde derinlemesine analiz ve tartışma için zengin bir temel sunar. Özellikle habitus, bireylerin toplumsal dünyayı nasıl yapılandırdıklarını ve sosyal yapıların bireyler üzerindeki etkisini çok yönlü bir şekilde ele alır. Bu, sosyal bilimcilerin toplumda meydana gelen değişimleri ve

bireylerin bu değişimlere nasıl tepki verdiklerini daha derinlemesine anlamalarını sağlar. Ayrıca, Bourdieu'nün teorileri, sosyal adalet ve eşitlik mücadelelerinde, mevcut sosyal yapıları ve bunların bireylerin yaşamları üzerindeki etkilerini sorgulama ve dönüştürme çabalarında önemli bir teorik temel sunar.

Sermaye türleri kavramı, sosyal eşitsizliklerin yalnızca ekonomik faktörlerle açıklanamayacağını, aynı zamanda kültürel ve simgesel faktörlerin de bu eşitsizliklerin sürdürülmesinde önemli rol oynadığını vurgular. Örneğin, kültürel sermaye, eğitim sistemi aracılığıyla nasıl pekiştirildiğini ve sosyal mobilite üzerinde nasıl etkili olduğunu anlamamızı sağlar. Bu, daha az baskın sosyal gruplardan gelen bireylerin eğitim sistemi içinde kendilerini nasıl yetersiz hissettiğini ve baskın kültürel sermayeye sahip olmanın avantajlarını doğal ve meşru olarak nasıl gördüğünü açıklar.

Doxa ve sembolik şiddet kavramları, mevcut sosyal düzenin nasıl sorgusuz sualsiz kabul edildiğini ve bu düzenin nasıl içselleştirildiğini ve normalleştirildiğini açıklar. Bu süreçler, sosyal hiyerarşiyi pekiştirir ve sosyal değişim çabalarını engeller. Ancak, Bourdieu'nün teorileri aynı zamanda sosyal değişim potansiyelini de barındırır. Sosyal yapıları ve bunların bireyler üzerindeki etkilerini anlamak, mevcut düzenin dönüştürülmesi için stratejiler geliştirmemize olanak tanır.

Sonuç olarak, Pierre Bourdieu'nün kavramları, toplumsal yapıları, iktidar ilişkilerini ve sosyal eşitsizlikleri anlamada kritik bir öneme sahiptir. Bu kavramlar, sosyal bilimlerdeki araştırmalara derinlik katmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda sosyal adalet ve değişim mücadeleleri için de önemli araçlar sunar. Bourdieu'nün çalışmaları, bireylerin ve grupların sosyal dünyayı nasıl algıladıklarını, bu dünyayı nasıl yapılandırdıklarını ve mevcut sosyal yapılarla nasıl mücadele ettiklerini anlamamıza

yardımcı olur. Bu nedenle, Bourdieu'nün teorileri, toplumsal sınıf, iktidar ve eşitsizlik üzerine süregelen tartışmalarda merkezi bir yer tutmaya devam edecektir.

Pickvance ve Bourdieu'nün bakış açılarının birleşmesi, kentsel toplumsal hareketlerde yapısal koşullar ve eylemlilik arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi ortaya koymaktadır. Habitus ve kimlik oluşumu, paylaşılan geçmişlerin kolektif kimlikleri nasıl beslediğini gösterirken, sembolik sermaye ve mobilizasyon, destek toplamada tanınma ve prestijin öneminin altını çizmektedir. Mekân ve sosyal pratik, kentsel ortamların toplumsal hareketleri nasıl şekillendirdiğini ve toplumsal hareketler tarafından nasıl şekillendirildiğini vurgularken, kültürel yeniden üretim ve değişim de toplumsal normların sürdürülmesi ve bunlara meydan okunmasını yansıtmaktadır. Vekalet ve kolektif eylem, bireylerin ve grupların çevrelerinin kısıtlamaları dahilinde değişimi gerçekleştirme kapasitelerini vurgulamaktadır.

Bu içgörüleri sentezleyen bütünleşik bir analitik çerçeve, hem kentsel toplumsal hareketler üzerindeki dış etkileri hem de onları yönlendiren iç dinamikleri incelemek için kapsamlı bir araç sağlar. Bu yaklaşım, liderlik, örgütsel yapı, iletişim, kaynaklar ve ideolojilerin hareket sonuçlarını belirlemedeki öneminin altını çizmektedir. Ayrıca, hareketlerin ortaya çıktığı ve faaliyet gösterdiği daha geniş siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel bağlamı anlamanın önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Bu sentetik çerçeveyi kentsel toplumsal hareketlere uygulayarak, akademisyenler hareketin ortaya çıkışına, harekete geçirme stratejilerine ve etkilerine katkıda bulunan faktörler hakkında daha derin bir anlayış kazanabilirler. Bu yaklaşım sadece kentsel toplumsal hareketlerin çeşitliliğini ve karmaşıklığını yakalamakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda kentsel eşitsizlikleri ele almak ve daha eşitlikçi kentsel ortamları teşvik

etmek isteyen politika yapıcılar ve uygulayıcılar için eyleme geçirilebilir içgörüler sunar.

Özetle, Pickvance'ın bağlamsal analizi ile Bourdieu'nün sosyolojik çerçevesinin entegrasyonu, kentsel toplumsal hareketleri anlamak için sağlam bir metodoloji sunmaktadır. Bu sentetik yaklaşım, dış toplumsal güçler ile iç grup dinamikleri arasındaki etkileşimi hesaba katan çok boyutlu bir perspektif sunarak bu hareketlerin doğuşu, gelişimi ve etkisinin kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmesine olanak sağlamaktadır.

Metodoloji bölümü, Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal çerçevesini Pierre Bourdieu'nün alan teorisiyle bütünleştirerek Tayvan'daki konut sorunlarını incelemek için kullanılan araştırma stratejisini özetlemektedir. Çalışma, Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerini etkileyen dış etkileri ve iç dinamikleri incelemek için derinlemesine görüşmeler, katılımcı gözlem ve akademik literatür analizi gibi nitel araştırma yöntemlerini kullanmaktadır. Araştırmanın hassas doğası ve katılımcıların potansiyel kırılganlığı nedeniyle bilgilendirilmiş onam, gizlilik ve kültürel normlara saygı gibi etik hususlara öncelik verilmiştir.

Araştırma, politika değişimlerini, ekonomik eğilimleri ve kentsel gelişimi incelemek için Pickvance'ın çerçevesini ve paydaşlar arasındaki etkileşimleri ve güç dinamiklerini keşfetmek için Bourdieu'nun alan teorisini kullanarak Tayvanlı konut hareketlerini etkileyen dış ve iç faktörleri analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Amaçlar arasında tarihsel konut politikası gelişimini analiz etmek, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel faktörleri değerlendirmek, güç dinamiklerini incelemek için Bourdieu'nun teorisini uygulamak, konut hareketi stratejilerini incelemek ve politika önerileri sunmak yer almaktadır.

Kilit aktivistler ve paydaşlarla yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler, konut hareketinin bakış açıları ve stratejilerine dair içgörüler sunmakta ve amaçlı örnekleme ile yönlendirilmektedir. Konut topluluklarında ve savunuculuk gruplarında COVID-19 kısıtlamalarına uyarlanmış katılımcı gözlemi, konut zorluklarının ilk elden deneyimlenmesine olanak tanır. Literatür taraması, konut sorunları ve toplumsal hareketlerle ilgili akademik çalışmaları, politika belgelerini ve teorik yazıları analiz ederek temel oluşturmaktadır.

Veri analizi, Tayvan'daki konut sorunları ve hareketlerini çevreleyen baskın söylemleri, anlatıları ve temaları ortaya çıkarmak için çerçeve ve tematik analizi kullanmaktadır. Çerçeve analizi medyada yer alan haberleri, politika belgelerini ve savunuculuk materyallerini incelerken, tematik analiz yinelenen kalıpları ve içgörüleri belirlemek için nitel verileri sistematik olarak incelemektedir. Etik hususlar, bilgilendirilmiş onam, gizlilik ve bulguların doğru bir şekilde raporlanmasını sağlar.

Bu metodoloji, dış bağlamsal faktörleri iç saha dinamikleriyle bütünleştirerek Tayvan'daki konut sorunlarının ve hareketlerinin kapsamlı bir şekilde anlaşılmasını sağlamayı ve daha etkili, adil ve sürdürülebilir konut politikalarının ve müdahalelerinin geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

5. Bölümde, Tayvan'ın siyasi ve sosyal manzarası, tarihi mirasları, demokratikleşme çabaları ve karmaşık boğazlar arası ilişkilerden örülmüş karmaşık bir dokudur. Bu bölüm Tayvan'ın siyasi gelişiminin çok yönlü doğasını, sivil toplumun siyaseti şekillendirmedeki önemli rolünü ve adanın karşı karşıya olduğu acil kentsel ve konut sorunlarını incelemektedir. Otoriter yönetimden canlı bir demokrasiye geçiş, Tayvan'ın siyasi kimliğini ve mevcut yönetim yapısını derinden etkileyen tarihi olaylarla

işaretlenmiştir.

Tayvan’ın tarihi arka planı, Çin hanedanlarından Avrupalı sömürgeci güçlere ve Japon yönetimine kadar uzanan dış egemenlik dönemleriyle karakterize edilir. Bu tarih, Tayvan’ın siyasi ve kültürel kimliği üzerinde önemli bir iz bırakmış ve modernleşme yolunu şekillendiren benzersiz bir etki karışımı yaratmıştır. Özellikle Japon sömürge dönemi, Tayvan’ın siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal alanlarında önemli değişiklikler getirerek daha sonraki gelişimine zemin hazırlamıştır. Kuomintang (KMT) yönetimi altındaki İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası döneme, Tayvan'ın kolektif hafızasında derin bir yara olan trajik 228 Olayı ve gerginliklere yol açan otoriter yönetim damgasını vurmuştur. Sıkıyönetimin kaldırılması ve demokratikleşme hareketlerinin ortaya çıkması daha açık bir siyasi ortamın başlangıcına işaret ederken, ABD bu dönemde önemli bir rol oynayarak Tayvan'ın ekonomik ve siyasi yörüngesini etkilemiştir.

Tayvan’ın siyasi sistemi, parlamenter ve başkanlık sistemlerinin unsurlarını bir araya getirerek başkan, başbakan ve yasama organı arasında bir güç dengesi oluşturan yarı başkanlık sistemine dönüşmüştür. Bu sistem zaman içinde önemli değişikliklere uğramış, başlangıçta cumhurbaşkanına önemli yetkiler tanınmış, ancak daha sonra gücün yoğunlaşmasını önlemek için denetim ve denge mekanizmaları eklenmiştir. Tayvan’daki yasama süreci, yasa tasarılarının kapsamlı bir şekilde incelenmesini sağlayan teklif, tartışma ve değişiklik aşamalarını içermektedir. Bu kapsayıcı süreç, Tayvan’ın çeşitli hükümet organlarını ve siyasi aktörleri içeren demokratik bir yasama sürecine olan bağlılığını yansıtmaktadır.

Bu bölümde ayrıca Tayvan’ın neoliberalizm ve kalkınmacılıktan etkilenen ekonomik modeli incelenmektedir. Devlet müdahalesi ve piyasa teşvikleri ile karakterize edilen

bu benzersiz yaklaşım, Tayvan'ın ekonomik başarısını beslemiş ancak özellikle kentsel ve konut sektörlerinde zorluklar da ortaya çıkarmıştır. Neoliberal politikalar önemli sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizliklere yol açmış, konutun metalaşması ve spekülatif emlak uygulamaları satın alınabilirlik sorunlarını daha da kötüleştirmiştir. Kamu konutlarından mevcut sosyal kiralık konutlara geçiş, hükümetin politikalarının ekonomik ve sosyal baskılara yanıt olarak geliştiği aşamalara ayrılabilir.

Tayvan'ın çeşitlilik arz eden toplumu yerli halkları, Han Çinli yerleşimcileri (Hoklo ve Hakka) ve anakaradan gelenleri içermekte ve zengin bir kültürel doku oluşturmaktadır. Demokratikleşme süreci, adanın siyasetinde ve sosyal dinamiklerinde önemli bir rol oynayan farklı bir Tayvanlı kimliğini teşvik etmiştir. Tayvan'daki sivil toplum, demokratikleşmeyi etkileyerek ve çeşitli sosyal meseleleri savunarak önemli ölçüde genişlemiştir. Toplumsal hareketler, özellikle de konutla ilgili olanlar, Tayvan'ın kentsel gelişim ve konut politikalarındaki zorlukları ve eşitsizlikleri vurgulamıştır.

Tayvan'ın siyasi değerleri demokrasi, ekonomik kalkınma ve ulusal kimliğe vurgu yapmaktadır. Özellikle Çin ile ilişkiler ve ulusal kimliğe ilişkin ideolojik bölünmeler Tayvan'ın siyasi manzarasını önemli ölçüde etkilemektedir. Demokrasiye doğru yolculuk, sıkıyönetimin sona ermesi, yeni siyasi partilerin ortaya çıkması ve demokratik kurumların konsolidasyonu ile işaretlenmiştir. Zorluklara rağmen Tayvan, Asya'da canlı bir demokrasi olarak kendini kabul ettirmiştir.

Bu bölüm, Tayvan'ın demokratik sistemi, canlı sivil toplumu ve karmaşık sosyo-ekonomik zorluklarıyla karakterize edilen siyasi ve sosyal bağlamını özetleyerek sona ermektedir. Siyasi söylem büyük ölçüde boğazlar arası ilişkilerden, ekonomi

politikalarından ve köklü bir Tayvanlılık kimliği duygusundan etkilenmektedir. Demokratikleşme ve ekonomik kalkınmadaki başarılarına rağmen Tayvan, parti kutuplaşması, halkın yönetimden memnuniyetsizliği ve acil kentsel ve konut sorunları gibi zorluklarla karşılaşmaya devam etmektedir.

Tayvan'da neoliberalizmden etkilenen kentleşme ve konut politikaları önemli sosyal ve ekonomik eşitsizliklere yol açmıştır. Bu zorluklara yanıt olarak haklar ve politika reformlarını savunan konut hareketleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Kabuksuz Salyangoz İttifakı'ndan Sosyal Konut Savunuculuğu Konsorsiyumu'na kadar bu hareketler, uygun fiyatlı konut ve daha adil kentsel gelişim politikaları için artan kamu talebini yansıtmaktadır. Tayvan bu zorlukların üstesinden gelirken, demokratik ilkelere ve sosyal adalete olan bağlılığı, halkının ihtiyaç ve isteklerini karşılamak ve tüm Tayvan vatandaşları için uyumlu ve adil bir gelecek sağlamak açısından önemini korumaktadır.

7. bölümde, Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal analiz çerçevesi aracılığıyla Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerinin kapsamlı bir incelemesi için gereken analizin karmaşıklığı ve derinliği göz önüne alındığında, bu hareketleri etkileyen siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel boyutların daha derinlemesine incelenmesi gerekmektedir. Bu keşif sadece Tayvan'ın özel bağlamına dair içgörü sağlamakla kalmayıp, kentsel toplumsal hareketleri anlamak için daha geniş çıkarımlar da sunmaktadır. Bu makale, ilk taslağı genişleterek Tayvan konut hareketlerinin inceliklerini, köklerini, gelişimini ve etkilerini yapılandırılmış ve ayrıntılı bir anlatı içinde incelemektedir.

Tayvan'ın kentsel peyzajı, siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel faktörlerin etkileşimine yanıt olarak ortaya çıkan konut hareketleri tarafından önemli ölçüde şekillendirilmiştir. Bu hareketler, Tayvan'ın hızlı kentleşmesi ve ekonomik dönüşümünün ortasında,

konut sektöründeki satın alınabilirlik, erişim ve haklar konularını ele almak için kolektif bir çabayı temsil etmektedir. Bu makale, Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal analiz paradigmasını uygulayarak, Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerinin nedenlerini, stratejilerini ve sonuçlarını çok yönlü bir çerçevede inceleyerek, bu hareketlerde rol oynayan dinamiklerin kapsamlı bir şekilde anlaşılmasını sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır.

Chris Pickvance'ın kentsel toplumsal hareketler çalışmalarına yaptığı katkılar, Tayvan örneğini incelemek için değerli bir teorik mercek sunmaktadır. Pickvance'ın kentsel hareketlerin yerel hedeflerini ve kentsel çevreyi etkileme arzularını vurgulayan çerçevesi, Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerinin incelikli hedeflerini ve eylemlerini anlamak için gerekli zemini sağlamaktadır. Bu hareketler, önemli tarihsel toprak reformları, sanayileşme ve otoriter yönetimden demokratik sisteme geçişin damgasını vurduğu karmaşık bir ortamda ortaya çıkmış ve evrim geçirmişlerdir.

Tayvan'daki siyasi bağlam, konut hareketlerinin yörüngesini şekillendirmede kritik bir faktör olmuştur. 1980'lerin sonunda demokrasiye geçiş, sivil katılım ve aktivizm için yeni yollar açarak konut hareketlerinin politika reformları ve konut haklarını savunan önemli güçler olarak ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır. Bu hareketler hükümet politikaları ve siyasi partilerle dinamik bir etkileşim içine girmiş ve değişimi savunmak için siyasi fırsatlardan yararlanmıştır. DPP ve KMT gibi büyük siyasi partiler arasındaki kutuplaşma, sivil toplum girişimleri ve hükümet eylemleri arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi yansıtarak konut politikalarını ve hareketlerin stratejilerini etkilemiştir.

Tayvan'ın ekonomik yapısı, konut hareketlerinin yönlendirilmesinde önemli bir rol oynamıştır. Hızlı sanayileşme ve büyüme, konut fiyatlarının artmasına yol açarak nüfusun önemli bir kısmı için ev sahibi olmayı giderek daha karşılanamaz hale

getirmiştir. Konut hareketleri bu ekonomik zorluklara, spekülatif piyasa uygulamalarını ele alacak ve alternatif konut modellerini teşvik edecek reformları savunarak yanıt vermiştir. Ekonomik faktörlere odaklanılması, hareketlerin piyasa odaklı dinamiklere meydan okuma ve kamu refahı ile konut satın alınabilirliğine öncelik veren politikaları savunma çabalarının altını çizmektedir.

Tayvan'daki sosyokültürel bağlam, konut hareketlerinin hedef ve stratejilerine karmaşıklık katmaktadır. Ev sahipliğini ve toplumsal istekleri çevreleyen kültürel değerler, genç nesillerin ve kentsel yeniden yapılanmadan etkilenen toplulukların karşılaştığı zorluklarla kesişerek hareketlerin sosyal konut ve konut hakları savunuculuğunu etkilemektedir. Bu hareketler, mülk sahipliğine değer veren sosyokültürel bir ortamda faaliyet gösterirken, Tayvan nüfusunun farklı ihtiyaçlarını karşılamaya çalışmakta, topluluk dayanışmasını ve kapsayıcı konut politikalarını savunmaktadır.

Tayvan'daki konut hareketleri yıllar içinde değişen odak noktaları, stratejiler ve sonuçlarla çeşitli aşamalardan geçerek gelişmiştir. Hükümetin konut piyasasına müdahalesini talep eden ilk protestolardan, kapsamlı politika reformları ve sosyal konut hükümlerine odaklanan daha yeni çabalara kadar, bu hareketler Tayvan'ın konut politikalarını ve kentsel manzarasını önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Sosyal Konut Savunuculuğu Konsorsiyumu (SHAC) gibi kuruluşlar bu evrimde kilit rol oynamış, politika savunuculuğunun etkinliğini ve konut sorunlarının ele alınmasında uluslararası işbirliğinin önemini vurgulamıştır.

Kayda değer başarılara rağmen, Tayvanlı konut hareketleri siyasi kutuplaşma, ekonomik kısıtlamalar ve sosyokültürel engeller gibi zorluklarla karşılaşmaya devam

etmektedir. Bu engeller, savunuculuk çalışmalarında esneklik ve uyum sağlama ihtiyacının altını çizmekte ve sürdürülebilir konut reformlarına ulaşmak için stratejik koalisyon kurma ve politika süreçlerine katılımın önemini vurgulamaktadır.

Pickvance'ın bağlamsal çerçevesi üzerinden Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerinin analizi, bu hareketlerin çok yönlü doğasına ve kentsel politika ve konut uygulamalarının şekillendirilmesindeki önemli rolüne dair derin kavrayışlar sağlamaktadır. Tayvan'ın kendine özgü koşullarını tam olarak yakalamak için teorik çerçevede ayarlamalar yapılması gerekse de, bu inceleme konut hareketlerinin kentsel konut sorunlarının ele alınmasındaki kritik katkılarının altını çizmektedir. İleriye dönük olarak, bu hareketlerin devam eden evrimi, muhtemelen daha eşitlikçi, adil ve sürdürülebilir bir kentsel gelecek için çabalayan kentsel yönetişim, piyasa güçleri ve toplum ihtiyaçlarının değişen manzarasında gezinme yeteneklerine bağlı olacaktır.

Sonuç olarak, Tayvan'daki konut hareketleri, kentsel bağlamlarda sosyal aktivizmi yönlendiren siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyokültürel faktörlerin karmaşık etkileşimini örneklemektedir. Bu hareketleri bağlamsal analiz merceğinden inceleyerek, aktivistlerin konut hakları ve reformlarını savunurken karşılaştıkları zorluklar ve fırsatlar hakkında daha zengin bir anlayış kazanıyoruz. Bu hareketler ilerlerken, deneyimleri, kentsel konutlarda sosyal adalet ve eşitlik arayışında uyum sağlama, koalisyon kurma ve stratejik savunuculuğun önemi hakkında dersler sunmaktadır.

Yedinci bölüm, Pierre Bourdieu'nün habitus, kültürel sermaye ve alan teorisine odaklanan teorik kavramlarının merceğinden Tayvanlı konut hareketlerinin dinamiklerini incelemektedir. Bireysel ve kolektif hedeflerin bu hareketlerde nasıl birleştiği, artan maliyetler ve spekülatif dinamikler de dahil olmak üzere Tayvan'ın

konut piyasasındaki önemli değişikliklerin uygun fiyatlı konut seçeneklerinin azalmasına nasıl yol açtığı araştırılmaktadır.

Bourdieu'nün paradigması, Tayvanlı konut aktivistlerinin kökleşmiş alışkanlıklarını ve algılarını anlamak için uygulanmıştır. Protestolara katılmak ve toplumsal çabaları organize etmek gibi eylemleri, ortak deneyimler ve sosyal koşullar tarafından şekillendirilen bir dizi eğilim olan kolektif bir habitusun ifadeleri olarak incelenmektedir. Bu kolektif habitus, aktivistleri empati, ahlaki inanç ve ortak bir kimlikle motive ederek konut hareketine katılmaya yönlendiriyor.

Bu bölümde ayrıca Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerini etkileyen siyasi ve ekonomik alanlara da değinilmektedir. Devlet kurumları, sivil toplum örgütleri ve siyasi partiler, her biri konut politikalarını ve uygulamalarını etkileyen farklı sermaye biçimlerine sahip olan siyasi alandaki kilit aktörler olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Benzer şekilde, ekonomik alan, etkileşimleri ve sermaye dağıtımları konut piyasası dinamiklerini önemli ölçüde etkileyen ticari işletmeleri, finansal kurumları ve tüketicileri kapsamaktadır.

Konut alanında, hükümet politika yapıcıları, gayrimenkul geliştiricileri, ev alıcıları, kiracılar ve konut aktivistlerini içeren karmaşık bir güçler etkileşimi vurgulanmaktadır. Bu paydaşlar kaynaklar, nüfuz ve konut politikasının yönü üzerinde bir mücadeleye girmekte ve her biri konut ortamını yönlendirmek ve şekillendirmek için kendi sermaye biçimlerini kullanmaktadır.

Kültürel sermayenin konut hareketleri üzerindeki etkisi derindir. Daha yüksek sosyoekonomik geçmişe sahip ve daha yüksek düzeyde kültürel sermaye ile donatılmış

bireylerin bu hareketlerde daha aktif olduğu görülmektedir. Bu sermaye, onların çıkarlarını etkili bir şekilde savunmalarına, kamusal söylemi ve politika sonuçlarını etkilemelerine olanak sağlamaktadır. Bununla birlikte, konut krizinin aciliyeti ve ekonomik baskılar, sosyoekonomik katmanlardaki bireyleri harekete katılmaya teşvik etmiş ve kültürel sermayenin getirdiği kısıtlamalara meydan okumuştur.

Konut aktivistleri arasındaki kimlik oluşumu süreci incelenmiş ve egemen konut modeline meydan okuyan bir "radikal habitus" gelişimi vurgulanmıştır. Bu kimlik, aktivistlerin deneyimleri ve konut hareketine katılımları ile şekillenmekte, konut adaleti ve politika reformu için kolektif bir arzuyu yansıtmaktadır.

Bu bölüm, konut alanındaki sembolik şiddet kavramını tartışmakta ve geleneksel Çin toplumsal normu olan "Toprak zenginliktir" ilkesine odaklanmaktadır. Bu norm, konut piyasasına katılamayanları marjinalleştirerek ve spekülatif konut paradigmasını güçlendirerek ekonomik sermayenin egemenliğini sürdürmektedir. Konut hareketleri, bu sembolik şiddete meydan okuma çabaları olarak görülmekte ve sosyal bir hak olarak konuta doğru bir değişimi savunmaktadır.

Özetle, 8. bölüm Tayvan'daki konut hareketlerinin Bourdieu'nün teorik çerçevesi üzerinden incelikli bir analizini sunmakta ve habitus, sermaye ve alan arasındaki karmaşık etkileşimleri vurgulamaktadır. Kültürel sermaye ve kimlik oluşumunun, hareketlerin dinamiklerini şekillendirmede ve hakim konut paradigmasına meydan okuma çabalarında nasıl önemli roller oynadığını ortaya koymaktadır. Analiz, Tayvan'daki konut aktivizminin tüm kapsamını kavramak için bu sosyolojik boyutları anlamanın öneminin altını çizmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Doğu Asya araştırmalarında nispeten göz ardı edilmiş bir konu olan kentsel toplumsal hareketler ile Tayvan'daki konut sorunları arasındaki ilişkiyi neoliberal bağlamda incelemektedir. Bu hareketlerin karmaşıklıklarını ve Tayvan'daki konut dinamikleri üzerindeki etkilerini inceleyerek, Doğu Asya bölgesindeki konut aktivizmi üzerine daha geniş bir söyleme benzersiz bir bakış açısı katarak, akademik alandaki boşluğu gidermeyi amaçlamaktadır.

Tayvan sivil toplumundaki aktivizmin merkezinde, Kiracı İttifakı, kentsel aktivistler ve sosyal refah savunucuları gibi çeşitli gruplar tarafından yönlendirilen, toplumun iyileştirilmesi için bir işbirliği anlatısı yer almaktadır. Bu taban hareketleri, yerleşik otoriteye meydan okumakta ve alternatif bakış açıları sunarak bireylerin ve kolektiflerin kentsel çevreyi ve politika oluşturma süreçlerini etkileme kapasitesini göstermektedir. Bourdieu'nün teorik çerçevesini kullanan çalışma, Tayvan'daki konut savunuculuğu yörüngelerinde ekonomik, sosyal, kültürel ve sembolik sermayeler arasındaki etkileşimleri incelemektedir.

Araştırma, hızlı kentleşme ve orta sınıf ile kentli profesyonellerin katılımı gibi iç dinamikler zemininde, kullanılan çeşitli taktiklere ve savunuculuk girişimlerine odaklanarak kentsel toplumsal hareketler içindeki aktörlerin eylemliliğini vurgulamaktadır. Hareketlerin gelişiminin farklı aşamalarında karşılaşılan belirli konut zorluklarını değerlendirmekte ve Tayvan'ın neoliberal kentsel manzarasında gezinmek için kullanılan stratejiler hakkında içgörüler sunmaktadır.

Çalışmada Chris Pickvance'ın bağlamsal analiz çerçevesi ve Bourdieu'nün alan teorisi kullanılarak konut hareketlerinin siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyo-kültürel boyutlarına ilişkin bulgular elde edilmiştir. Bu bulgular kültürel kimlik, siyasi katılım, ekonomik

eşitsizlikler, orta sınıfın gelişimi ve emlak geliştiricilerinin emlak piyasası üzerindeki etkisini kapsamaktadır. Eylemciler, protestolar ve ittifaklar yoluyla siyasi sisteme baskı yaparak konut satın alınabilirliği ve kentsel gelişimle ilgili politika gündemlerini etkilemektedir. Kooperatif konutları ve topluluk arazi tröstleri gibi ekonomik alternatifler, emlak geliştiricilerinin etkisi ve kültürel mirasın korunmasının önemi ile birlikte incelenmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Tayvan'daki konut politikası ve uygulamaları için çıkarımlarda bulunmakta, dış faktörleri ve iç dinamikleri dikkate alan kapsayıcı politikalara duyulan ihtiyacı vurgulamaktadır. Sivil katılımın, adil kaynak tahsisinin, duyarlı düzenlemelerin, aktivistlerin sembolik sermayesinin tanınmasının ve çeşitli sektörler arasında işbirliğinin teşvik edilmesinin önemini vurgulamaktadır. Araştırma, şeffaflık ve hesap verebilirliğin, konut uygulamalarında sürdürülebilirliğin ve konut hakları ile sivil katılımın değerinin anlaşılmasını teşvik etmenin öneminin altını çizmektedir.

Çalışma, değerli içgörüler sağlamakla birlikte, potansiyel aşırı basitleştirme, belirli vaka çalışmalarına odaklanma, dil engelleri ve araştırmacının önyargılarının etkisi gibi sınırlamaları da kabul etmektedir. Zamansal analiz, karşılaştırmalı çalışmalar, dijital teknolojilerin etkisi, kentsel ve kırsal alanlar arasındaki dinamikler ve pandemi sonrası konut gerçeklerinin etkilerini keşfetmek için gelecekte araştırma yapılması önerilmektedir.

Bu çalışma, Tayvan'daki kentsel hareketler ve konut sorunları arasındaki ilişkiyi analiz eder, sivil katılımın konut politikaları üzerindeki etkisini vurgular. Zamanlamanın, medyanın rolü ve savunuculuk çalışmalarının sürekliliği gibi faktörlerin önemine dikkat çeker, gelecekteki araştırmalar için öneriler sunar ve kolektif eylemin kamu

politikası ve sosyal eşitlik üzerindeki potansiyel dönüştürücü etkisini ele alır.

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YAZARIN / AUTHOR

Soyadı / Surname : Tsao
Adı / Name : Fang-Tzu
Bölümü / Department : Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler / Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

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