

Dark Heritage Sites and Impacts on Visitors' Engagements with
the Past in Taiwan

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This thesis investigates the features of dark/difficult heritage sites and their impacts on visitors' engagements with the past. Two former prison sites, Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, in Taiwan are chosen as case studies, and both of them represent two difficult historical periods when Taiwan was governed by regimes from 'outside.' This research examines how Taiwanese citizens visit and interact with these two prison sites, testing the assumption that the use of dark/difficult heritage can be observed not only from the ways that relevant heritage sites are established and managed, but also from the interaction between the heritage and local population.

The observed phenomena demonstrate that the public show different attitudes towards the two prison sites and the impacts they bring to them, and the history displayed in the sites provides opportunities and materials for the public to rethink their previous understanding and current society. The two represented histories need to be put in a context to consider the reasons, which the issues of historical distance, comparison between two backgrounds and other potential can together result in the consequence. This thesis is a snapshot of a nation undergoing development and change and heritage performs as epitome of its complex and difficult history. The interactive process illustrates not only the relation of mutual influence between people and dark sites, but also that people become an important medium and potentially influence the society and how the dark sites are understood by the society.

It is expectant that in addition to offering a unique example of heritage in East Asia after WWII, this research and the raised case of Taiwan are able to show the crucial role heritage practices play in presenting hidden, uncomfortable pasts and the extent such pasts impact on people's understanding and their society.

The Acknowledgement

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Last but not least, I would like to dedicate my first academic work to memorialise Mr. K and Mr. J. These two gentlemen are two victims who suffered in the time of White Terror, and I have the opportunities to meet them and talk to them when doing my fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. They passed away before this research is done. I

want to express my appreciation that I am able to know these two kind and wonderful gentlemen, and I am grateful that they are willing to share their painful experiences to me and other later generations, which is an important step for Taiwanese society to achieve reconciliation. Although there is still a lot of matters that can be engaged in this thesis, I still want to dedicate it to memorialise them, and I profoundly hope that they can rest in peace.

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Chapter 1. Introduction: dark/difficult heritage in Taiwan

This research explores how people, specifically the Taiwanese people, deal with their difficult pasts and their existing understanding of the society through the lens of how they visit and interact with dark/difficult heritage. This thesis is particularly engaged with how these dark/difficult heritage sites are managed and operated, what information is provided to the public, how people interact with the sites, and how the interaction and visiting experiences influence the visitors' (existing) understanding.

Heritage is significant to diverse human societies due to its characteristics of conserving important messages and manifesting human achievements (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). These important messages and achievements can be aesthetic, cultural, ethnic, historical and of other kinds, or conceived of in terms of different civilisations (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). The importance of heritage not only influences the region and country where the heritage is located but reaches beyond specific times and geographical boundaries to an international level. Due to the effectual nature of heritage and the potential it holds to generate admiration, reverence and veneration, it is often regarded as an asset, the property, the 'heritage' of all human beings.

Within these essential messages, especially in terms of historical issues, some pieces and objects carry special features; they may be prisons, battlefields, concentration camps, or other places/structures where certain cruel, excessive, sorrowful events once happened. These places/structures, with the capacity to make people feel uncomfortable or to leave negative impressions on the visiting public, are usually understood as 'dark' or 'difficult.' When they are designated as heritage, the implication is that there are important messages (or lessons) related to these

places/structures that need to be conveyed. Combining these characteristics, the places and structures with negative messages may thus be regarded and described as 'dark heritage' or 'difficult heritage.'

This thesis interrogates: what kind of influences that dark/difficult heritage can have upon the public, what effects may be brought about and how dark/difficult heritage and the visiting experiences influence people's (existing) understanding. To proceed with the research, two Taiwanese heritage sites with dark/difficult features are chosen and examined as the case studies of this research. They are Chia-Yi Old Prison (may be abbreviated as 'the Old Prison' hereafter) in Chia-Yi City and Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park (may be abbreviated as 'Jing-Mei Memorial Park' hereafter) in New Taipei City. Chia-Yi Old Prison was constructed in the early 20th century by the Japanese when Taiwan was colonised by them (from 1895 to 1945 A.D.), and Jing-Mei Memorial Park was previously a detention centre, courts and prison simultaneously when Taiwan was under authoritarian control by the Nationalist Government (also known as KMT Government) after WWII.

The fieldwork and data collection for this research show that visitors experience the two sites differently on an emotional level. I argue that visitors in Chia-Yi Old Prison do not really experience negative emotions, whilst the people visiting in Jing-Mei Rights Memorial and Cultural Park have strong impacts regarding the hidden past and the cruel facts which occurred on the political prisoners. Many reasons are possible to result in the phenomena, and the differing phenomena in this research are attributed to the varied historical distance of the two governments/regimes in question and to current concerns of Taiwanese society/population.

Section 1.1. Research aim and objectives

This research aims to explore the features of dark/difficult heritage sites, especially the type of prisons in Taiwan, and their impacts on people's engagements with the past and difficult experiences. The objectives are consequently expanded into:

1. to distinguish different features and nature of the heritage sites with negative values;
2. to investigate the management and strategies of this type of heritage sites (also if there are other alternative potentials), and
3. to figure out the interaction between the public and the 'negative heritage sites,' the instant impacts and further effects the sites can potentially bring about.

The research aim, objectives, design and process were modified several times during this project's journey. Initially, it was planned to explore the characteristics of so-called 'dark sites' by comparing the differences of perspectives on dark tourist/heritage sites between Western and Eastern visitors at a site in the UK (the Tower of London) and another in Taiwan (Chia-Yi Old Prison). Both sites had at earlier times operated as prisons, both represented 'dark' heritage features, and both now open as tourist/heritage sites for the public to visit. A pilot study and then the formal fieldwork were conducted first in Chia-Yi Old Prison. Subsequent to difficulty in obtaining permission to conduct timely research in the Tower of London and on the advice of a School progress review panel, and my supervisors, in June 2017, however, it was decided that a comparator prison/detention centre site in Taiwan be utilized as the second case study instead. Like Chia-Yi Old Prison, this second site - Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park - represents a specific historical period in Taiwan that was related to conflicts between different groups. This revised pair of case study sites also enabled me to focus on the diverse facets which dark/difficult heritage can tackle and contribute to the conflicts (or mutual understanding) in society, rather than

simply compare different visiting patterns. The research focus was amended accordingly, with the aim adjusted to centre on exploration of these two dark/difficult heritage sites and their legacies relating to conflicts amongst diverse groups in Taiwanese society, people's understanding and its (re)formation and long-term influences upon the community.

[Section 1.2. Research context](#)

This research involves two principal concepts: heritage and dark/difficult sites. The basic type of heritage is generally understood; for example, there are tangible and intangible heritage, cultural heritage and natural heritage. Because the case studies of this research are not in the category of natural heritage, there will be no discussion concerning natural heritage in this thesis. Cultural heritage can further be presented in various appearances, forms or shapes. Taking the Cultural Heritage Preservation Act of Taiwan for instance, there are mainly eight types of cultural heritage. They are monuments, historic buildings, commemorative buildings, groups of buildings, archaeological sites, historical sites, cultural landscapes and antiquities (Laws & Regulations Database of The Republic of China, 2016). Regardless of the form, cultural heritage is regarded as 'of cultural value from the point of view of history, art or science' and can 'enrich the spiritual life of the citizenry, and promote the cultural diversity.' (Laws & Regulations Database of The Republic of China, 2016)

Many scholars explore the characteristics of heritage, and in most cases, cultural heritage sites are categorised due to specific positive features, such as its significance and uniqueness in relation to the aspects of history, culture, aesthetics, national values and other qualities it embedded (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). This ties into the UNESCO's global discourse of heritage; for example, the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* drawn up in 1972

states that the purposes of world heritage designation are based upon

‘considering that the existing international conventions, recommendations and resolutions concerning cultural and natural property demonstrate the importance, for all the peoples of the world, of safeguarding this unique and irreplaceable property, to whatever people it may belong,’

‘considering that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole,’

‘noting that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction,’

(UNESCO, 1972)

In addition, ‘world Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located.’¹ According to the UNESCO declarations, it is perceived that heritage has special meanings and values to all human beings. Because of its irreplaceable feature, protecting and conserving these heritage objects from man-made or natural destruction is necessary. In the terms both of Taiwanese regulations and of international conventions, it is those objects, structures, practices and performances deemed to have irreplaceable values and significance, that are usually selected and designated as heritage. In other words, it demonstrates another inference that those heritage objects imply that they bear particular messages and values important to people in the present society.

¹ World Heritage, from the website of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) <https://whc.unesco.org/pg.cfm?cid=160> [Accessed on 25th May 2021].

The literature on heritage draws forth the significant nature of heritage that it is about not only the objects, structures or practices but also the messages borne by the heritage and being interpreted and conveyed to the public. The messages of heritage are further related to and have significant influences on people's interaction with heritage. People go to visit different heritage and learn the significance and other relevant messages of the heritage. The conveyed messages are usually generated and interpreted by the organisations managing the heritage sites and/or by scholars or other stakeholders. It is imaginable then that these 'experts' may produce individual interpretations due to their own diverse backgrounds and knowledge. The situation results in yet further different explanations and understandings of the same object of heritage. A good example is the Watson Monument (Russell and Michael, 2007): the Monument signifies sacrifice and bravery by the Canadian government whilst at the same time the same statue represents invasion and malevolence to the Metis and Native groups (Russell and Michael, 2007). Different (groups of) people generate different interpretations, so the key point lies on who controls the 'rights' to interpret the heritage. In turn, this touches on the issue of power; as a result, it can be seen that heritage is inevitably involved in the subject of power or, in other words, political manipulation.

The example of the Watson Monument reveals another essential nature of heritage as well: heritage and people, no matter if they are the experts or the public, influence each other mutually (Harrison, 2012, 2013a; Smith, 2006). The interaction between them may change the meanings and implications of the heritage object(s). As Russell and Michael (2007) describe, the Watson Monument was later removed because of the discontent of the native population after the importance of their rights have been

emphasised and concerned. This shows that although they are not 'experts' or those with power, the public is nonetheless able to interpret heritage and is potential to transfer or change its nature and meanings as the Metis and Native groups.

Heritage thus has close relation with people, and the relation reveals why heritage is designated and why it is set up as it is in any specific moment. The phenomenon may be explained by exploring the 'past' nature of heritage and heritage as being positive or negative. On one level, heritage is the relics and traces constructed in the past that exist from then until the present time. The histories, events, stories related to the heritage are also matters occurring in and concerned with the past. Passing time, histories and stories make these sites and objects unique, and some of these pieces are noticed and designated as heritage. However, heritage is not just about the past; what really matters is what the society and people in the 'present' regard as the 'past' and what they want from that past, from their heritage. That these sites are designated as heritage reflects the fact that they show distinguishing characteristic(s) which are identified and approved by the current people. The characteristics may have certain effects on people and their community in the society, especially in terms of the messages and significance that become attached to heritage sites (Harrison, 2012, 2013a; Smith, 2006). Thus the Watson Monument may be utilised to manifest the sacrifice and 'brave' achievement of the Canadian government in its early stages, and the Atomic Bomb Dome in Hiroshima, Japan represents the aspiration of world peace, the cruelty of wars and the mourning of the death (Hashimoto, 2011).

From these instances, it can be argued that heritage is usually managed as a medium, an instrument to convey specific messages and values to the public, those in the current society. Moreover, the 'past' nature of heritage and the messages from the past

is related to another issue of the positive/negative features of heritage. As mentioned before, heritage usually manifests human being's rich and splendid culture, civilisations and people's achievements on the aspects of aesthetic, cultural, ethnic, historical and other areas (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). These features can be regarded as presenting the positive facets of human societies. The heritage objects chosen due to these positive features exhibit the merits and pride of the local population or countries. However, there are also heritage sites featured and designated because of their negative features. This kind of 'negative heritage' can be understood as the '... sites that may be interpreted by a group as commemorating conflict, trauma and disaster' (Rico, 2013). Throughout human history, there have been many wars and conflicts between nations or different groups of people. These wars and conflicts may cause different extents of harm or damage to either side or to all the involved groups. The harm and damage could be people's injury or even death, the invasion of human rights, unreasonable imprisonment and trial and others. The sites or structures related to the events/conflicts may be conserved and designated later as heritage to commemorate the conflicts, the harm and the death. Because the type of heritage sites reflects the darkness and weakness of humanity and the histories are not so delightful and willing to be mentioned or repeated, they are regarded as negative or dark heritage.

Combining the concept of dark heritage and the characteristics of general heritage discussed above, it demonstrates an interesting phenomenon that what people need from these dark heritage sites. It can be seen that dark heritage is also regarded as heritage, so the features and principles of heritage more broadly are supposed also to be applicable to dark heritage. In other words, even though these dark sites are related to and represent conflicts or other negative, unpleasant experiences in the past, they

are designated as heritage because they are regarded as necessary in certain (current) circumstances. The necessity and significance may depend on the messages or the 'lessons' attached to the heritage and that need to be conveyed to the public. A concern is raised then: what current people want from these heritage sites with negative or dark features? Why are these dark heritage sites thought of as crucial to the present societies? To enquire into the issue, it is essential to figure out first the nature and characteristics of dark heritage.

Another field fundamental to the research is dark/difficult sites or dark/difficult heritage. A preliminary review of literature (e.g. Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Lennon and Foley, 2010) reveals not only that negative events, histories or features do characterise some (heritage or tourist) sites, but also that there is a distinction between 'dark sites' and so-called 'difficult heritage.' Both dark and difficult sites are related to the events or histories of humans' hurt, harm, suffering and even death. However, difficult sites are more specifically engaged with painful pasts, which cause profound influences and implications upon local people or even beyond the society. Dark tourism refers to the activity of visiting sites or places relevant to people's hurt, suffering or death, and the sites and places being visited are generally called as 'dark sites.' According to Sharpley (2009),

'... for as long as people have been able to travel, they have been drawn – purposefully or otherwise – towards sites, attractions or events that are linked in one way or another with death, suffering, violence or disaster.'

(Sharpley: p.4)

This type of (tourist) activities has a long tradition, and it seems that these dark sites present certain glamour to the public, attracting them to come and visit these sites.

Sharpley (2009) provides an example of the disaster of the SS Morro Castle, happening

in 1934 with 137 dead. The shipwreck attracted many people to visit the shore where it lay (with the varied mentalities of mourning, of taking part in merriment, etc.).

However, the same as the sites relevant to people's hurt, suffering or death, it seems like that the significance and meanings of the wreck accident show great difference from those of WWI battlefields or concentration camps. Logan and Reeves (2009) express that

'... A range of places, sites and institutions represent the legacy of these painful periods: massacre and genocide sites, places related to prisoners of war, civil and political prisons ... These sites bring shame upon us now for the cruelty and ultimate futility of the events that occurred within them and the ideologies they represented. Increasingly, however, they are now being regarded as "heritage sites" ... reflections of ... the destructive and cruel side of history.'

(2009: 1)

It is understood that even though they are the same as dark sites, the type of dark sites as battlefields or concentration camps presents prominent and more ethnic, historical, national or cultural values than those represented in a wreck accident. It is noticed then the distinction between these two kinds of sites that represent different natures and meanings (see Figure 1.1 on p.11). I suppose that it is necessary to make the distinction and difference clear, so that people do not muddle the words together and use them without concern. The phenomenon is observed as well when I conducted fieldwork in the two case studies, the Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Even though it was once operated as a prison, visitors at the Old Prison do not really experience negative feelings whilst Jing-Mei Memorial Park greatly impacts the public regarding difficult Taiwanese history. I argue that the feature of Chia-Yi Old Prison is inclined relatively to those of a dark site whilst Jing-Mei Memorial Park presents more like a difficult site, as I will explain in later chapters. As a result, in order to stress the

different characteristics of dark sites and difficult sites and to bring out the distinction between the two case studies, it is frequently seen throughout the thesis that I use 'dark/difficult' (sites/heritage/histories) abreast to address both the Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, displaying the idea (Chia-Yi Old Prison/Jing-Mei Memorial Park) as 'dark/difficult.'

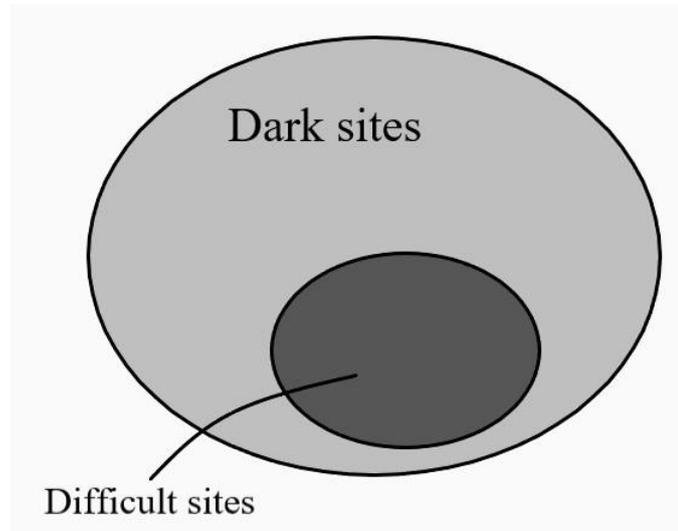


Figure 1.1. The distinction between dark sites and difficult heritage sites.

[Section 1.3. The case studies and Taiwanese history](#)

The concepts of heritage and dark/difficult sites are combined and situated in the context of Taiwanese history for further discussion. The two case studies of this research are Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park respectively. Chia-Yi Old Prison is chosen because of its character as a former prison that is currently open for the public to visit and its relation with the Japanese colonisation over Taiwan. The Old Prison was constructed in 1919 A.D. by the Japanese and completed in 1920. The Japanese Government took over Taiwan from the *Qing* Court of mainland China (1636-1912 A.D.), but the official facilities, such as offices and prison, were too old to be operated. The Japanese officials decided to build a new prison, which is the current Chia-Yi Old Prison. According to the tour guides, the Old Prison was constructed for imprisoning those who really committed crimes, and the Old Prison was operated as a

regular, general official prison until the end of WWII. The Japanese Government was defeated in WWII, and the governance of Taiwan was handed over to the Chinese government at that time, which was the Nationalist Government (also known as Kuomintang or KMT Government). Chia-Yi Old Prison continued to be operated as an official prison under the Nationalist Government until 1994, when a new Chia-Yi Prison was built to contain numerous prisoners. The Old Prison was later designated as municipal heritage of Chia-Yi City in 2002 and became a national heritage site in 2005.

Another case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, shows similar characteristics as those of Chia-Yi Old Prison. Jing-Mei Memorial Park was once performed as a detention centre, courts and a prison when Taiwan was under the authoritarian control of the Nationalist (KMT) government. The period of authoritarian control under the KMT government was usually known as 'the (period of) White Terror.' The reasons for enforcing authoritarian control in Taiwan can be traced back to the time of WWII. The full-scale invasion of Japan to mainland China started in 1937 and was ended in 1945. However, near the end of WWII, the Chinese Communist Party (abbreviated as CCP) had developed rapidly and disunited the Chinese society and the Nationalist (KMT) government secretly. The situation of the Nationalist (KMT) government became hard because they had to war against the Japanese government outwards and guard against the Chinese Communist Party inwards. After the end of WWII, the opposition of CCP became apparent, and the conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the Nationalist Party became frequent and intense. Eventually, the power of the CCP had grown and expanded throughout the whole mainland China; the Nationalist government suffered one retreat after another and could not help but retreated and moved to Taiwan in 1949. After the Nationalist government moved to Taiwan, the officials needed to strengthen the legitimacy of its governance, authority, and power in

Taiwan and continue fighting against the CCP to prevent Taiwan from being permeated by communist thought and from the invasion of communist force at the same time. As a result, the government issued the order of martial law and enforced authoritarian control in Taiwan. The martial law had been put into operation from 1949 until 1987 the law was lifted; this 38-year period is usually called the period of 'White Terror.'

During the White Terror, the Nationalist government and its officials usually arrested, imprisoned or interrogated people on their way to work or home without reasons or following formal judicial procedures. These people could be arrested just because they were (only) suspected of resisting the government, making opposite statements against the government, mistrusting the policies of the government or being a communist and so on. In this kind of circumstances, it was easy to frame others up, putting them into jail and resulting in injustice cases because the government and the officials neither regard truth or evidence as important nor follow the regular trial process. As long as one was suspected, he/she could be imprisoned because the officials would not risk missing anyone who was potential to overthrow the government. Some of these arrested people might be judged, imprisoned or even executed really fast, and their families never knew where their fathers or sons went to and were suddenly informed that they died or were in jail. The White Terror officially ended in 1987, and the harsh situation had consequently subsided. However, the Nationalist (KMT) Party still exists from then until now and did not wither away along with the White Terror. To this day, the Party has not explained what they had done in the White Terror. No official documents are made known to the public, and they have not even apologised to the victims and their families. The White Terror is seemed like a secret that is hard to speak out and also harm inside Taiwanese people's hearts who had lived in the period of the White Terror.

These two periods of Taiwanese history and the related heritage are believed to reveal the characteristics of dark/difficult sites and their relation with the local population. The histories (Japanese colonisation and the White Terror) are able to represent the historical experiences of certain Taiwanese people that are unpleasant or even painful. As a result, the two heritage sites (Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park), which respectively reflect these two historical periods, are adequate to be the case studies of this research. The similar characteristics and backgrounds of the case studies enable these two heritage sites to be compared. It is expected that through the research, not only how the management departments organise and present the heritage sites and the histories to the public can be explored, but also how the visitors react and reflect on the sites and their visiting experiences can be investigated. Moreover, the comparison of the phenomena observed in the two case studies is potential to bring out the interaction and influences between the public and dark/difficult heritage on a broader and higher level, hoping that it contributes to the field of dark/difficult heritage and its engagement with human beings.

[Section 1.4. The anticipation and thesis structure](#)

It is anticipated that this research can contribute to the field and knowledge of dark/difficult heritage on diverse aspects and of the colonial context and circumstance in East Asia. Through the discussion of the two Taiwanese cases, it provides unique perspectives upon the phenomena and provides explanations of the present circumstances and concerns of the Taiwanese population. From the discussion, the thesis engages with the potential functions of (dark/difficult) heritage on both building people's knowledge and influencing their understanding and sentiments towards themselves and others. As the fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Rights Memorial and Cultural Park presents, the visiting experiences can either show the

positive side and contribution of Japanese colonial governance or reveal the tyrannical oppression and limitation imposed upon Taiwanese people by the Nationalist Government. These, to a large extent, depend on the adopted strategies of the management departments of respective dark/difficult heritage sites. The adopted strategies subsequently affect the visiting experiences of the public and how they have another look at the heritage sites and the represented histories. Further, the visiting experiences and the 'new' knowledge may influence how these people understand themselves and other members of the same society and what steps they can take to move forward with/within the society into the future. This drops a hint about how the interaction between dark/difficult sites and people can unobtrusively change each other and how the interactions can affect the society and their understanding of the past. In addition to the discussion of the potential that dark/difficult heritage influence people and their societies, the examination of the distinction between dark and difficult sites is another essential segment of the thesis. It is anticipated that the discussion can contribute to current understanding and the differentiation of the field/those dark or difficult sites, realising their intrinsic qualities and the meaning of differentiating them. Furthermore, the research also contributes to exemplifying the reaction/reflection of an East-Asian country after experiencing Japanese colonisation. Before the outbreak of WWII and during the world war, the invasion and influences of Japan were not only limited to Taiwan but extended to Korea, the northeastern region of China and even to Singapore. Through the description of the historical period and the exploration of the case and experience of Taiwan, the research can provide to other East-Asian countries or even other nations which had been colonised the example of how Taiwan reacted to the colonised past. The example also involves the affair that what kinds of influences still affect current Taiwanese society and population from that time. It is expected as well that this research can be added and included in a broader

circumstance and context of the whole East Asia for consideration. Assembling the cases and experiences of other once-colonised countries, it is able to reveal the East-Asian picture of colonisation, and useful, pertinent comprehension and interpretation regarding diverse facets of the colonial system can be offered.

This thesis examines the roles and impacts of dark heritage in Taiwan subsequently. Chapter 2 explores the concepts, functions and operation of heritage. The exploration raises that heritage is usually regarded as an adequate tool to convey particular messages in the operation of political mechanisms. Additionally, heritage and people are in the relationship of interacting and influencing each other in continuous forming-changing cultural processes. Chapter 3 contextualises this study within Taiwanese History and questions how socio-political circumstances have influenced the identity of Taiwanese people through different time stages. Chapter 4 examines the concepts of dark/difficult heritage and how they have affected the development of tourist sites and their (potential) influences on contemporary societies. Chapter 5 discusses the research methods that were employed within this thesis. In this chapter, I discuss the rationale for taking a qualitative approach to data collection. Chapter 6 presents the fieldwork conducted in Chia-Yi Old Prison and the collected data. This chapter argues that visitors to the site did not experience particular negative emotions; instead, they even hold positive impressions on the Japanese. The phenomenon can result from the introduction of the tour guides and the adopted strategies of the managing department. Chapter 7 shows the fieldwork done in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, and it discusses the visitors' attitudes and perceptions of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, which are markedly different from those at the Old Prison. I argue that at Jing-Mei Memorial Park, visitors produce strong negative impacts concerning the cruel and hidden past, which are the consequences of the staff's intentions. In Chapter 8, I argue

that the possible reasons for Taiwanese people's 'unconcern' with their Japanese colonial past may result from the issue of historical distance (Phillips, 2013), the comparison of the two successive regimes and the current tension in Taiwanese society. Finally, Chapter 9 concludes with a summary of how the thesis contributes to our understanding of the ways in which dark and difficult heritage have been used and how dark heritage can potentially influence people and their existing understanding of the past.

Chapter 2. The Nature and Characteristics of Heritage

In this chapter, the issue and concept of heritage and how heritage can be linked to different facets will be brought out for preliminary exploration. The two case studies of this thesis are heritage sites; therefore, this chapter and Chapter 4. Dark/Difficult Sites will be dedicated to exploring of the concept and implication of heritage. This chapter begins the discussion by considering ‘what is heritage?’ and ‘what heritage means to be?’ Subsequently, sections focus on the relationships amongst heritage, politics and heritage as a cultural process, as these two topics are closely related to the phenomena revealed by my two case studies. The review of heritage in this chapter reveals ‘dark’ or ‘difficult’ characteristics of heritage, which are also central features of the case studies. The ‘dark’ and ‘difficult’ features will form the principal theme of Chapter 4.

[Section 2.1. Heritage in general](#)

The two case studies chosen for this research are both designated as historical sites, a category of heritage in Taiwan (please refer to **Section 3.4.2. Educative role of national identity politics**, especially pp.63-64), and despite any dark/difficult characteristics, histories or conflicts that are attributed to them respectively (relevant discussions of dark/difficult heritage will be engaged in Chapter 4.), they are heritage sites; therefore, it would befit a starting point to explore the nature of heritage and its significance chronologically.

The concept of ‘heritage’ which as people understand it today seems to differ from what it originally meant to be. According to Vecco (2010), heritage gets its origin from the custom of inheritance, which refers to objects and the traditions that passed the objects down from older generations of a family to their younger ones, often from the paternal side to their descendants (Vecco, 2010). In other words, ‘heritage’ was

originally intended to be a private family issue. Later, the similar concepts of inheritance, the inherited objects, the successors and the relationships amongst them were extended to a national level (Vecco, 2010), thus 'heritage' was extended from a private level to a public one. In the 20th century, there was the emergence of World Heritage (Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012) and the concept was again extended into a multi-national and international level. The inherited objects began to encompass diverse materials or activities, including artifacts, buildings, landscapes or even different forms of performances and practices (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011). These materials and activities become public properties that belong to and are shared by the people of the nation and beyond (Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011), from which people are accordingly regarded as the 'successors,' the 'inheritors' of these heritage objects.

From this brief historical overview, it is noticed that although the concept and practice of heritage have been extended to a national or an international level, there are at least two tenets that remain virtually unchanged and therefore define heritage: (a) the concept of heritage consists of 'the process/practice of inheritance,' 'the inherited objects' and 'the successor(s)' (Vecco 2010), and (b) what is inherited. Regarding what is inherited, at the beginning of the practice, the inheritances were often physical materials like houses, land, or property. However, just as the concept of heritage has been evolved, extended and developed, the 'what is inherited' can now be not only physical materials but also performances, practices, and, most significantly, the messages and values attached thereto (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010).

People have gradually become more familiar with the word 'heritage,' and those

interested in the concepts of heritage and in heritage objects pay increasing attention to their diverse social and cultural values and the issues surrounding them. Although the concept of heritage did not originate from it, many people's understanding of heritage grew from the discussions and concerns of UNESCO and the development of World Heritage (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011). Current standards and methods of classifying and categorising heritage in many countries draw from the various conventions and charters of UNESCO. According to the discussions and many formulated regulations, heritage is usually divided into tangible and intangible heritage. Tangible heritage is those physical objects such as artefacts, buildings, structures, sites and so on, and intangible heritage refers to those without certain physical 'forms,' including songs, dances, oral histories, rituals and others (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). The systems and development of heritage in Taiwan follow similar regulations. No matter these objects are designated as heritage at a local, regional, national level or as World Heritage in any country, they are regarded by later generations as bearing significant values, meanings or implication. By being designated as heritage, it means that the messages of the heritage pieces are expected to conserve thereof and convey to others (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). Because these objects or practices have existed for a long time and have been handed down from the past, they are guaranteed of protection and preservation by means of their designation as heritage in order to prevent intentional or unintentional decay, damage, disappearance or destruction, which would result in the loss of their important and irreplaceable values (Aplin, 2005; Harrison, 2012; Lin, 2011). The aims of heritage designation and the subsequent protection and preservation measures illuminate three characteristics related to the current concept of recent 'heritage' and the chosen objects. The first is that people (of the community) recognise or are conscious about the objects

(designated heritage) and their significance. The second is that the heritage carries specific messages about the past, and the last characteristic is that the messages it conveys or want to transmit to the public are relevant to common human values (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010).

With regard to the first characteristic mentioned above, the recognition is subject to diverse social and cultural contexts. The words 'people' and 'community' have varying meanings. They may refer to the government and its officials as heritage is often utilised as instruments to promote particular political, cultural or patriotic thoughts and messages (Harrison, 2012, 2013b; Huang, 2014; Russell and Michael, 2007; Smith, 2006). For example, Huang (2014) relates how a former colonial prison built by the Japanese around the time of WWII in South Korea was later rearranged to commemorate the Korean people's sacrifice and promote patriotism. Similarly, the 'people' and 'community' could also refer to a particular group of people in a country who share similar nature and experiences amongst its members. The particular group wants to share their perspectives with both the later generations of the same group and the people outside their community. Heritage can fulfil this role, too, as memorial sites or objects with which to promote their thoughts and concepts even though these conveyed messages might be opposite and contradictory to the understanding and interpretations held by the members of other groups. These are the issues related to heritage and its political implications which will be explored in the next section.

Regarding the second characteristic mentioned previously, the specific messages of heritage from the past, heritage bears narratives about the past, but it also provides lessons or practices for the present and expectations for the future (Harrison, 2012; Harvey, 2008; Smith, 2006). Undoubtedly, heritage, whether tangible or intangible, is

something existing and handed down from the past. It could be buildings established by ancient civilisations for the purpose of everyday life or ceremonial rituals; it may be social practices or traditions for the comfort and peace of mind (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). Regardless of its form, the 'past' related and represented through the heritage sites or objects are considered worthy of conservation and being remembered. However, the 'past,' 'history' (and their implied lessons, messages, values etc.) are not meant to be simply preserved or remembered. When such objects are conserved as heritage, it means that the messages, values and significance within them are expected to be engaged with by people in current societies, with the goal of influencing them. These messages, values and significance are anticipated to achieve certain effects upon current time and society, which are relevant to the 'present' (Harrison, 2012; Hashimoto, 2011; Hua, 2016; Huang, 2014). It is not just about the messages from the past but also how the heritage and these messages are conveyed (sometimes even 'made' or 'modified' into a 'proper' way; see Huang, 2014 and **Section 2.2** from p.26 to p.30) to their current audience. The impact of the heritage objects is also closely related to how modern people approach them, learn from them and then apply the lessons in their daily lives (Smith, 2006). Therefore, it can be seen as a mutual, bidirectional interaction and influence between the past of heritage and people. Heritage shows a great influence on the process of how people presently learn the past 'now' and then perform what they comprehend 'later' (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994), which, in other words, creates a connection from the past to the present and to the future (Harvey, 2008). In turn, heritage and the values it bears also need people to 'inherit,' develop and pass on the messages so that they are able to survive into the future.

A great instance can be the former Nazi rally ground in Nuremberg, Germany (Tsao,

2017; Macdonald, 2008 quoted in Tsao, 2017): the rally ground lost the original functions and meanings it had during the Nazi era and was repurposed to promote new values. The ground and other structures relevant to Nazi were once considered for demolition due to the 'painful and shameful past' (Logan and Reeves, 2008). However, their features and nature have been 'transformed', and these sites are now symbols of human rights advocacy (Tsao, 2017; Macdonald, 2008 quoted in Tsao, 2017). This demonstrates the interaction and the follow-up cultural process between heritage and people. This issues of 'cultural process' will be explored in depth later in **Section 2.3**.

The last characteristic of heritage, the relationship between the conveyed messages of heritage and common human values, can be presented and observed in various modes. For example, they could be magnificent temples, uniquely designed ethnic artefacts, special landscapes, the combinations of human construction and natural environment. Heritage objects and the values or significances attached to them are utilised to manifest both human achievements and appreciation of the world and history. Heritage objects can be regarded as the witnesses of history and the custodians of messages, meanings and lessons from the past (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). It can be noticed that heritage is usually utilised to compliment a society or community for its achievements and its cultural/communal pride (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Smith, 2006; Vecco, 2010), which are the 'positive' facets. Indeed, the 'common human values' can refer to these positive achievements and ethnic characteristics; however, as heritage and people's understanding of it have been developed, such noticed and emphasised values have also expanded to include a more delicate and sensitive dimension and mode. For example, there are sites and structures throughout the world which are designated as historical sites or heritage,

but the stories and values that these heritage sites represent are those of conflicts or death. The Atomic Bomb Dome in Hiroshima, Japan is a good example. The atomic bomb killed thousands of people and caused long-term physical problems for the survivors; it also made stunning alerts to all people around the world about the terrifying of atomic weapons and the mercilessness of war. The Dome was designated by UNESCO as a World Heritage site in 1996 to commemorate the dead and to warn later generations against wars (Hashimoto, 2011).

The two case studies of this research are also heritage sites that show certain connections with the conflicts in Taiwan. This type of heritage sites reflects negative and 'dark' characteristics, which is quite opposite to the heritage objects mentioned before (Logan and Reeves, 2008; Sharpley and Stone, 2009; Silverman 2010; Williams, 2007). Although these sites are 'negative,' they are still regarded and designated as heritage. Applying the characteristics of heritage discussed above, these heritage sites with 'negative' features must therefore bear different significance for people and current societies. I will explore these relevant issues of 'negative' heritage in all three sections of Chapter 4.

Heritage is not just related to the 'objects, places and practices'² (Harrison, 2012) designated as heritage; it is essential to realise why these pieces become heritage, why people started to emphasise heritage and how current people engage with these heritage objects, places and practices. The key to understand the rise of heritage lies in a series of movements that began in the 19th century, such as the Enlightenment, industrialisation, the development of capitalism and globalisation. These movements have accelerated the pace of life for many people while simultaneously altering the

² Harrison (2012) uses the phrase to describe the most common forms of contemporary heritage, and I think that the phrase is a good way of expressing a rough idea of heritage.

environments in which they live and work; new technologies and global-scale transportation have influenced people's sense of speed and space, and those objects, places, landscapes and practices once far away become available and able to be experienced by both local people and those living outside of the societies where the heritage locates. These changes somehow make people feel uncertain, threatened and risky, and the circumstances and rapid changes also distance people from those they are used to and familiar with, which may be referred to as the 'past' and people's existing memories (Harrison, 2012). It may be because people are now living in a condition, a circumstance in which everything change so fast and rapidly, they may look for something 'unchanging/unchanged' in such an ever-changing world (Tsao, 2017). In response, museums, galleries, cultural heritage sites and other institutions have become the places that store and preserve people's memories and their past (Tsao, 2017; Harrison, 2012). In part, the current concept and understanding of heritage, those acts and operation of designating and protecting heritage and those extended discussions also result from such social, rapid circumstances and phenomena (Harrison, 2012). It can be realised that people recognise that they need the past and build a connection to the past from the present (Harrison, 2012). In other words, they conserve the past by means of the heritage objects, places and practices in order to fulfil present needs (Harrison, 2012); it is because 'we need it/them now.'

These needs can be presented in diverse ways. For instance, it may be the need to know who they are and where they come from (nationally, locally, for a particular group or so on), which refers to one's own identity (Hua, 2016; Huang, 2014; Macdonald, 2009). It can be the need to establish their/individual self-realisation and self-esteem (Harrison, 2012), the need to explain or confirm their positions or the need to protect the interests of a certain group of people with particular authorities (Smith,

2006). In the following sections of this and other chapters, I will discuss how those issues relevant to heritage are operated and functioned, how these needs are interpreted and applied by certain groups and how the interpretation and application affects other groups in the societies on different scales.

[Section 2.2. The political implication of heritage](#)

In addition to the items/objects being designated as heritage, the issues of what is selected for what reasons, who make the decisions and what messages of the selected items are interpreted are also concerned when considering heritage. As mentioned in the last section, heritage is those objects, places, and practices regarded as having particular historical/cultural/aesthetic/ethnic values, implications, and significance. These values, implications and significance are usually interpreted and presented to visitors and the public (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). Because these heritage sites, objects and practices are precious and visitors pay serious attention to them, they are regarded as an effective tool or medium to transmit important and meaningful messages to its visitors or the population of a country and beyond (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). For instance, the former colonial prison built by the Japanese in South Korea is now utilised to exemplify the colonial history of South Korea and to memorialise those who sacrificed themselves during that time (Huang, 2014). Another example is the former Nazi rally ground mentioned earlier. People gather here to remember and feel the vigilance to this past tyranny, and through this chance they recognise the preciousness and significance of human rights. German people can review their collective past, re-considering their historical perspectives and determine their future direction and identification (Tsao, 2017; Hua, 2016; Macdonald, 2009). It can be seen from the case that the rally ground and the influences it brings about are important not only to German people but also to

all people beyond the boundary of Germany. Because heritage is able to exert such strong influences, some governments and authorities are eager to sway the designation and interpretation of heritage, through which they can 'form' and transmit the messages that they want to convey. It can be realized from the mechanism that the selection and formation of heritage are usually in the hand of officials and authorities of a nation so that they hold useful instruments to influence the public, generating central concepts and images of the nation and strengthening people's sense of belonging to the nation (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Huang, 2014). Hence, the governmental control over heritage and the formation of its messages forms a top-down function (Smith, 2006).

Smith (2006) describes this issue of forming heritage as a top-down discourse, an authorised form of heritage. She states that the selection of heritage objects, the interpretation of values and the conveyance of these values to the public are handled, managed or even 'controlled' by certain professionals and elites, usually from within the governments (Smith, 2006). As Smith addresses, there is a kind of 'authorised heritage discourse' in which experts from diverse principles, such as archaeologists, historians and others who have professional knowledge, can 'distinguish' what objects or sites are significant. They are the 'legitimate spokespersons' who can speak for the heritage and the past (Smith, 2006). With this premise, it blocks the possibilities and 'permission' for general people, those not experts, to express and provide their interpretations of a heritage object (Smith, 2006). What is more, since one of the principal points of the authorised heritage discourse is to protect and save the past 'for future generations,' it risks that those new meanings and values generated from the interaction between the present people and the heritage are neglected or even detached (Smith, 2006). Regarding the concept of 'discourse,' it can be understood as

'... a social action, and this idea of discourse acknowledges that the way people talk about, discuss and understand things, such as "heritage", have a material consequence that matters. [N]ot only is discourse "used" to do things by actors, but discourses also do things to actors and are productive independently of actors.'

(Bourdieu and Wacquant 2000; Fischer 2003, quoted from Smith, 2006)

Another understanding of 'discourse' is thought of

'... as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities.'

(Hajer 1996, quoted from Smith, 2006)

Foucault was concerned about the issues of discourse as well, as he states,

'... [D]iscourses are forms of expertise, collected into different disciplines, which deal with the construction and representation of knowledge. Discourse not only reflects social meanings, relations and entities, it also constitutes and governs them.'

(Foucault, 1991, quoted from Smith, 2006)

Within the discussion of discourse, Foucault especially focused on the relationship between power and knowledge, which underlies in diverse fields of expertise. From the arguments raised by different scholars above, it is known that heritage and those relevant issues are deeply connected and involved in certain discourse. The discourse reflects the topics of what objects, places and practices are regarded or even accepted as heritage, of who can make the decisions and later speak for the heritage and represent the past. In other words, those who hold the expertise and professional knowledge hold the authority and privilege to represent heritage.

There is such a mechanism of authority over heritage; however, this kind of 'power operation' may be seemed rather simplistic. Although top-down discourse may be the

main mechanism that forms heritage, it is wondered whether there is an opposite 'bottom-up' effect. Many societal phenomena and activities demonstrate that there is a bottom-up force, which illustrates that the action and impressions of the public often influence the decisions of the officials and the government (Russell and Michael, 2007). Many cases show that civilians can express opinions different from official descriptions of particular heritage, and their actions change, influence, or even 'generate' the designation of a heritage object. Three examples are raised below. Smith (2010) and Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki (2010) mention that the celebration of the Abolition Act of 1807 caused antipathy and resentment from African descendants, and such responses from certain groups resulted in the cancellation of many celebratory activities. A Watson Monument was initially erected in a Canadian city to memorialise those who sacrificed in the conflicts with local aboriginal people (Russell and Michael, 2007). However, following the rise of multicultural sense and the worldwide emphasis on aboriginal groups, the nature and legitimacy of the Watson monument (mentioned earlier) were challenged, leading to its eventual removal (Russell and Michael, 2007). Finally, one of the case studies of this research, Chia-Yi Old Prison, presents a similar effect from the civilians. (This is not the main exploring topic of this thesis, so it is not discussed in detail here nor later chapters.) In 1994, after the new Chia-Yi Prison was constructed and all prisoners were moved to the new prison, Chia-Yi Old Prison was gradually abandoned. Initially, the buildings and structures were planned to be demolished, so that the land could be used for other purposes. In a photography competition, an individual took a photo of Chia-Yi Old Prison, and people started to notice (or were reminded of) the unique architectural characteristics and the history of the building. Because of this and other following campaigns, Chia-Yi Old Prison was not demolished but later designated as a heritage site.

The celebration of the Abolition Act of 1807, the Watson Monument and Chia-Yi Old Prison all illustrate that general people's actions and their expressions can shape the setting, development and interpretation of heritage. Just as the operation of 'top-down discourse' influence heritage (Smith, 2006), this proves the existence of a 'bottom-up' force as well. Therefore, heritage can be used by both official governments and civilian groups as a tool to promote their thoughts and concepts, even if these messages contradict the understandings and interpretations of other groups. The phenomena, at the same time, reflect the relationship between people and their governments/officials as well as the interaction between people and the heritage (Hong, 2016; Smith, 2006; Ye, 2015). No matter it is top-down or bottom-up discourses, they are possible to function simultaneously, powerfully affecting not only the society and people where the heritage is located, but also communities beyond due to increasingly rapid communication and transportation (Harrison 2012).

Heritage continues to be a useful, effective and efficient medium for conveying political, cultural or patriotic ideas and messages (Huang, 2014; Russell and Michael, 2007; Smith, 2006; Smith, 2010; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). No matter who generate what messages, every person has the rights to engage with heritage, including general civilians and the public. The cases above show that the officials often use heritage to convey messages which may be beneficial for their position (Harvey, 2008; Russell and Michael, 2007; Smith, 2006, 2010; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). However, the population may or may not agree with or be resonant with the 'official' interpretations, and it seems that there are spaces for the public to give their voices. It shows the possibility that people from diverse groups and positions could have different attitudes and understanding towards the same heritage object or site. Even the same society in different times could generate different understandings and

interpretations towards the same heritage (Huang, 2014; Phillips, 2013; Russell and Michael, 2007; Ye, 2015). All of these phenomena are related to the relationship between heritage and cultural process, which refer to the interaction and engagement between people and heritage.

[Section 2.3. Heritage as a cultural process](#)

Heritage is inextricably linked to people and their acts, practices, behaviour and beliefs, from what objects are designated to what values and significance are interpreted, from how people interact with heritage objects to how they are conserved and handed down to the future generations. A fact is recognised that 'heritage' is not just about the designated objects themselves, but also the interaction between people and heritage. As mentioned in the last section, the term 'people' can mean a lot and differently and refer to different objects. It can mean the governments (of diverse administrative levels), officials, authorities, scholars and other professionals. Their interactive patterns with heritage could be mainly to inform or 'educate' people and win over the people's resonance and identification through designating certain objects. This operation is understood as the 'authorised heritage discourse' which Smith mentions as a top-down operation (Smith, 2006). The presentation of heritage depends largely on how the heritage is interpreted and what messages are conveyed to the public. However, general people and the civilians interact with heritage as well. They are an even more extensive group that is potential to generate profound significance and influences through the engagement with heritage upon each other.

Regarding the patterns of how general people interact with heritage, it is helpful to refer to Falk and Dierking's observation of the learning process (Falk and Dierking, 2000). People engage with and receive different information and diverse messages, and the process of receiving and integrating these messages influences not only individuals'

knowledge but also their understanding of themselves and the society around them (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). People learn knowledge and information not only from schools and other formal educational organisations but also from other cultural institutions such as museums, galleries and heritage sites (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Kirchberg and Tröndle, 2012). Many scholars are also interested in how people engage in tourism and visit heritage sites (Nawijn and Fricke, 2015; Ong, Ryan and McIntosh, 2014; Poria, Biran and Reichel, 2009; Teo, Khan and Rahim, 2014; Winkle and Lagay, 2012). Regardless of the source, there is a necessary process by which people receive and digest these new messages and integrate them with existing information. Falk and Dierking (2000) divide the process in which people visit museums into three stages: before, during and after the visiting respectively. The same division of the learning process is applicable to other learning activities in different institutions and contexts.

In the first stage, Falk and Dierking (2000) describe that people have their individual existing knowledge and understanding before visiting a museum or exhibition. The knowledge is received, gathered, integrated from their previous education, personal experiences and interactions with other people and the environments/circumstances around them. These previous knowledge and information form a foundation of people's understanding for confronting new information. The next stage is during the visiting process; in this stage, people take in new information through diverse methods and from various sources (Falk and Dierking, 2000). For instance, people can obtain information from reading labels or other text messages displayed with artefacts in exhibitions by themselves, listening to audio guides, attending guided tours (Ong, Ryan and McIntosh, 2014; Weiler and Walker, 2014) or discussing with other visitors, such as

family members or friends who go to the exhibitions with them. During the visiting process, opportunity for visitors to interact with others provides them with different messages which they might lack. The interaction and discussion allow people to interchange respective understanding, asking and answering questions or even receive certain messages through the ways and emotions that people answer or talk (Bowen and Clarke, 2009; Nawijn and Fricke, 2015). Many examples demonstrate that tour guides play a crucial role in the extent to which visitors understand the place or exhibition, in how visitors feel about the exhibition and in how they evaluate their experiences afterwards (Ong, Ryan and McIntosh, 2014; Weiler and Walker, 2014).

The final stage occurs after the visiting (Falk and Dierking, 2000). While visiting, people may receive information that requires time to digest and perhaps further integrate with their previous understanding after the visiting (Falk and Dierking, 2000). In summary, understanding the learning process in these three stages assists in realising the development of people's knowledge reception and formation, which enables me to know what particular matters can be focused on in each stage when doing fieldwork and to perform appropriate reactions to visitors' different expressions.

It should be noted that although all learning or visiting activities follow these three stages and processes, what really matters is whether the information and messages conveyed in the process are received and integrated by visitors and, if so, what parts of the information are received and integrated (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). It is observed that not all information conveyed in a place or an exhibition is received by each visitor. Instead, people tend to receive and accept certain messages that are important to them, similar to their existing knowledge or that assist, support and strengthen it (Falk and Dierking, 2000;

Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012). It is also possible that people do not realise what information has become a part of their understanding until it is triggered by an unexpected occasion/timing, that their reactions cause them to realise that they (maybe unconsciously) accept, integrate and are influenced by the information (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012). Additionally, there is another interesting phenomenon regarding the learning process and received messages. It reveals a condition that people could understand 'what they want to understand,' and 'what they understand' could be different from what the staff and the professionals of museums/other cultural institutions originally want to convey to the visitors, even though the staff or tour guides already express clearly to their guests during the visiting process (Macdonald, 1996; Smith, 2010).

This learning process reflects the cultural process of how people interact and engage with places and structures which are full of meanings and information, such as heritage sites. According to the three-staged learning process raised by Falk and Dierking (2000), it is imaginable how people may engage with a heritage site. People visit heritage with their existing knowledge and receive new messages and values from the heritage. The newly received information interacts with each person's previous knowledge and experiences, so each individual may generate different ideas and perspectives on the same heritage and its conveyed messages (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). People 'learn' or 'comprehend' something from the heritage, and these new learnt matters are possible to be expressed and practiced in these people's daily lives afterwards (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). It seems to me that through this process of receiving messages from heritage, the originally intangible values and messages of the heritage acquire opportunities to be seen in a visible way through

people's daily acts and behaviour. In addition, such expressions could indirectly and imperceptibly create new access for other people who have not visited the heritage before to approach it and its values. In other words, although other people may not visit the heritage in person before, they still have the chance to 'learn' and 'comprehend' the messages, meanings and significance of the heritage through interacting with those visitors who have visited the heritage. Those people who visited the heritage become the representatives of the heritage or even the 'heritage' itself. The processes and possible consequent effects to a great extent echo with Smith's statement (Smith, 2006; quoted in Harvey, 2008) that she 'sees a hegemonic "authorised heritage discourse" that acts to validate a "set of practices and performances, ..."' (Smith, 2006; quoted in Harvey, 2008). Smith uses the words 'practices' and 'performances' to emphasise the utilisation of heritage whilst Harvey applies the concepts to a political context of relevant operation to maintain political force and influence. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the words and concepts of 'a set of practices and performances' have another possible expression regarding heritage.

Heritage does not really 'practice' or 'perform;' it is people who live in current space and time that make these practices and performances possible. As mentioned above, the 'set of practices and performances' can be understood in a political context as how a political force or party gains its power through controlling heritage, its designation and interpretation (Harvey, 2008; Russell and Michael, 2007; Smith, 2006). However, the concept of 'a set of practices and performances' can also be understood as how general people, every member in a society engage with heritage and act, behave accordingly after visiting. This can be regarded as a continuous process and long-lasting development: people approach heritage and interact with it in diverse forms, and they receive something into their personal knowledge and experiences. After the new

information is absorbed and integrated with the person's previous understanding, the composite memories and knowledge are able to be operated, practiced and performed, either consciously or unconsciously, on various occasions (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Harvey, 2008; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Smith, 2006). With this sense, heritage is not merely a building, structure or object; it is more like the mental and cognitive construction, process and condition of people. It is these cognitive processes and conditions that gradually shape people's understanding, knowledge and ideology (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Smith, 2006). Consequently, 'heritage' becomes every individual and their acts, and it is presented in their daily behaviour and the ideas they raise. With this view, those physical, tangible heritage objects can be seen as the presentation and projection of this kind of cognition. As discussed before, heritage is not just about the past, it is more about the present and the future, and it is these people who live in the current society and their practices that make heritage 'performs' in the future. It can be said that the material structures and objects are converted into immaterial action and behaviour. Heritage thus becomes a process and what people practice; it is not only illustrated in those charters and formal regulations but also in people's ordinary acts, daily behaviour and thinking.

It should be mentioned that the 'practices' and 'performances' discussed here are somehow different from those of intangible heritage. In most cases, intangible heritage, including music, dance, oral history and other types, is presented and 'visible' when the successors, performers or craftspeople perform/operate/replicate them (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Smith, 2006; Vecco, 2010). The produced objects, such as paintings or food created from the operation and performances, are also the subjects being conserved. However, the emphases of intangible heritage conservation are

focused particularly on the processes and techniques of making/performing (see Smith, 2006 for more information and an example. Also refer to Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). It can be said that the presentation and conservation of intangible heritage depend largely on the craftspeople's practices and performances; the craftspeople follow regular, normal techniques and procedures to make 'standard' products. It is the processes and the methods themselves that are the key subjects of intangible heritage conservation. However, this is not the 'practices' and 'performances' I mention in previous paragraphs and tend to stress. The practices and performances I state do not show any regular or standard process, technique or result.

After visiting a physical heritage site and integrating new knowledge with one's previous understanding, the new understanding (all of the knowledge and understanding foundations after harmonious comprehension) could be practiced and acted on any possible occasion anytime. It could appear when people (those who visited the site) encounter other people who have certain relation with the heritage site (for example, the victims related to Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the second case study of the research. Please refer to pp. of **Section 7.4. A special presence: victims** in Chapter 7). It could appear when people start to be concerned about the news and events relevant to the heritage site or appear when exchanging views with family or friends. In short, the visiting experience (of a heritage site) becomes people's acts and expressions in daily lives. The acts and expressions show no definite or specific form, mode, method, approach or procedure. Therefore, even though using the same terms of 'practices' and 'performances,' I argue that the practices and performances I claim here are still different from those of intangible heritage, and they are easier to be practiced, seen and transmitted.

Concerning the theme of intangible heritage, there is an interesting statement claiming that all heritage can and should be regarded as intangible heritage (Smith, 2006). Smith expresses that what visitors really engage with at heritage sites are their values and meanings, so

‘... It is value and meaning that is the real subject of heritage preservation and management processes, and as such all heritage is “intangible” ...’

(Smith, 2006: 56)

In addition, she mentions a debate on the case that Australian Aboriginals repainted an ancient rock art, illustrating that

‘... it was the practice and not the types of material used in that practice, or the site itself, that maintained meanings and cultural knowledge.’

(Smith, 2006: 54)

Smith’s statement that the values and meanings of heritage sites are supposed to be the principal matters that people engage with provides us with an essential theoretical understanding of the role heritage plays in society. It is also a truth that those meanings and values of heritages are many people’s visiting aims. Nevertheless, physical heritage sites and places (the tangible and touchable structures and objects) are essential for the ‘heritage,’ and the issues should be discussed depending on diverse contexts and the nature of the heritage. In the case of Australian Aboriginals’ re-painting, what should be focused on is the practice itself, not merely the structures with previous paintings. It was the practice of painting that allows the Australian Aboriginal traditions and knowledge to be passed on to their future generations (Smith, 2006). However, in other cases where the ‘heritage’ refers precisely to the physical structures/buildings/places, it is the particular historical events which occurred there that make them meaningful, irreplaceable and be designated as heritage (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010. Also refer to relevant works which especially

discuss particular heritage objects/sites, such as Macdonald (2009) in exploring the influences and impacts of the former Nazi rally ground in Nuremburg). Since the people who experienced those events are now gone and it is impossible to 'replay' those events, the structures and places must be conserved to remind later generations, to present as proof and to act as the 'witness' of the events. Therefore, in this context, although the concealed values and meanings are important, the physical structures/places have their necessity of existence as vehicles by means of which those values and meanings persist. It is realised that both the Australian Aboriginal painting and physical sites are 'heritage' and should both be regarded as such. It is their nature that distinguishes them, and people should focus on different facets accordingly. Therefore, the key lies in the 'successors' and how they inherit/perform/practice the values, meanings and significance and pass these on to future generations.

In addition to Smith, many scholars also bring up similar perspectives that in the field of heritage, what really matters are not those objects, places and practices designated as heritage but both the meanings, values of heritage and the interacting/engaging processes between heritage and people (Smith, 2006. Also Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2000 and Fischer, 2003 quoted in Smith, 2006). Heritage has been gradually regarded as not just two categories of tangible and intangible heritage and should be more than merely being divided into these two categories. The understanding demonstrates that these two categories are not enough to manifest the characteristics, types, connotations and 'invisible' facets of heritage. Smith (2006) and other experts suggest the ideas that heritage can be regarded as consisting of invisible, intangible and dynamic cultural processes. She argues that

'Heritage, I want to suggest, is a cultural process that engages with acts of remembering that work to create ways to understand and engage with the present,

and the sites themselves are cultural tools that can facilitate, but are not necessarily vital for, this process.'

(Smith, 2006: 44)

She acknowledges that the idea of heritage as a cultural process, or as other forms of dynamic courses, is not a new one. For instance, Harvey (2001, referred to in Smith, 2006), Bella Dicks (2000, referred to in Smith, 2006) and David Lowenthal (1985, referred to in Smith, 2006) all suggest similar statements that the idea and the formation, change and presentation of heritage are closely related to people's actions and thoughts. Harrison (2012) also notices a phenomenon of 'dematerialising' heritage that

'... Part of my argument in this book is that a major outcome of the debates about heritage that have been central to the rise of critical heritage studies as an academic discipline over the past three decades has been a process of 'dematerialising' heritage by introducing an ever-increasing emphasis on the intangible aspects of heritage and tradition as part of an exponential growth in the objects, places and practices that are considered to be defined as heritage.'

(Harrison, 2012: 13)

He uses the phrase 'unofficial heritage' to refer to the customs, traditions and the "everydayness" of such practices' which are related to physical heritage (Harrison, 2012). Harrison uses 'unofficial heritage' to refer to 'a set of repetitive, entrenched, sometimes ritualised practices that link the values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with those of the past.' (Harrison, 2012: p.18). Therefore, Harrison also emphasises those 'practices' and 'performances' that are more intimately and closely linked to general people's daily lives, which contrast to the 'official heritage,' which he considers to be the heritage that is 'remarkable—the greatest, oldest, biggest and best.' (Harrison, 2012). These scholars' arguments provide

interesting perspectives on heritage; they take the viewpoints beyond the material, physical form of heritage to an 'intangible' one. This 'intangible' concept of heritage is recognised as an ever-changing process in which both people and circumstances play crucial roles in how the values and meanings of heritage, along with the sites or objects themselves, become flexible and subject to modification. In this long process, people become a key factor in changing the presentation and meanings of heritage. It can be considered that heritage and people influence each other mutually and continuously (Harrison, 2012; Smith, 2006).

This chapter starts with the origin and basic concepts of heritage, and then it progresses to the relationship amongst heritage, politics and cultural process. From these reviews, it has become clear that heritage is not just about the objects, places and practices designated as heritage, but also its 'successors' and how people interact with and understand these precious pieces. Because heritage bears strong cultural missions and is an effective medium for conveying particular messages, it is usually managed by the officials or authorities. However, the actions and perspectives of the public also form a potent influence which cannot be ignored. The discussed sections above reveal two key issues related to the case studies of this research. One is the existence of heritage objects with a negative, dark or displeasing nature. The other one is the phenomenon that people from different groups of the same society may generate different understanding about the same heritage piece, especially when dealing with conflicts and dark/difficult histories. Before moving forwards and considering these issues in Chapter 4., it is fitting to briefly introduce the history of Taiwan. On one hand, it is necessary as the two case studies are located in Taiwan; on the other hand, after having a basic understanding of heritage, it is essential to know how this is developed and performed in the context of Taiwan. After considering and

combining these two sets of information (the discussed concepts of heritage and Taiwanese history), the focus will move to the more specific issue of dark/difficult heritage.

Chapter 3. Taiwanese History

In addition to the formal research process, it is necessary to provide brief introductions of Taiwanese history, the historical processes at that time and how it has been developed into current conditions. By learning the relevant historical processes around the past 100 years, it helps to provide an idea of what situations result in the conflicts between groups of people, and further lead to the appearance of dark/difficult memories and heritage, which the case studies of this research represent and are engaged with. It is hoped that through the description of Taiwanese history, the potential reasons which lead to (at least partially) current international circumstances amongst Taiwan and other East-Asian countries, including China and Japan, can be revealed. In addition, through the account of Taiwanese history, certain stages that influence the development of Taiwanese own identities and 'how they understand themselves' will be mentioned, too, and that how these consequently influence the nature and establishment of heritage in Taiwan is another key point which is worth paying attention to.

[Section 3.1. Before Japanese colonial period](#)

At the very beginning, it is said that there were only aboriginal people living in Taiwan, that they are possible to be parts or a branch of Austronesians who distribute widely across a part of the Pacific Ocean and the Oceania. It was around the *Ming* Dynasty (1368-1644 A.D.) that the population in mainland China, especially those around south-east coastlands, had frequent interaction with the aboriginal people in Taiwan. Later, in *Qing* Dynasty (1644-1911), Taiwan was formally taken as a part of the territory of *Qing* regime of mainland China, and there were gradually villages and towns that people from mainland China established in different places throughout Taiwan (but most of them were gathered in the Western part). It can be said that from the *Ming*

Dynasty, people from mainland China started to have activities or even reside in Taiwan. From then on, the people living in Taiwan were roughly distinguished into aboriginal people (mainly living in mountain areas and the Eastern part of Taiwan) and those who came from mainland China, who are usually called as *Hans* (漢人, *Han* people).

In late *Qing* Dynasty, the power of the court had become weak, and China was confronted with the challenges and invasion of many Western countries, which also included Japan. Many of the lands and territories of China were occupied by or forcedly became settlements of foreign forces, and the sovereignty and authority of *Qing* regime was challenged. In 1894, a war, which is usually known as the Sino-Japanese War in 1894-1895, between the *Qing* court and the government of the Empire of Japan was broken out; in the next year (1895), *Qing* court was defeated and claimed for damages by Japanese imperial government. As a part of the compensation, Taiwan was ceded to Japanese government; as a result, the government of the Empire of Japan owned the control of and the dominion over the territory and population of Taiwan, and Taiwan became a colony of Japanese imperial government.

When the news was transmitted to Taiwan, ‘... the people in Taiwan fell into the emotions of disappointment, grief and indignation ...’ (Ito, 2004). Some gentry even requested the *Qing* court to recall the order; however, the *Qing* court and its officials were impossible to recall the decision on the one hand; on the other hand, it seemed like that they did not want to care the condition/belonging of Taiwan anymore. In response to this, Taiwanese people started to think about saving themselves. In order to resist the occupation and governance of the Empire of Japan, there had been some armed resistances being raised, and there were some people even considering the ideas of turning Taiwan into an independent regime, but it somehow was not put into

practice or succeeded (He and Cai, 2019; Ito, 2004). Nevertheless, the force and government of the Empire of Japan still 'suppressed the whole island' and took over the overall control of Taiwan in November of 1895 (Ito, 2004).

In the short period from the *Qing* regime decided to cede Taiwan to Japanese government to the Japanese took the control of whole Taiwan, there are some changes of thinking of Taiwanese people that can be discussed. It is reasonable that because most of the population in Taiwan at that time were *Han* people, who came from mainland China, they thought that they were Chinese people, a part of China. As a result, they resisted the control and governance of another state, the Empire of Japan. Using current academic concepts and terms, perhaps it can be regarded as that those people in Taiwan owned the identity of 'being Chinese people.' Nevertheless, the *Qing* court did not intend to help or save the people in Taiwan; it was under this context that the people in Taiwan wanted to be independent. However, I would not say that the people in Taiwan at that time had developed another concept that 'they are Taiwanese people;' it would be more like 'they are Chinese people living in the land/island of Taiwan.' It seemed like that they just want to save themselves from the fate of being governed by the Japanese without the support and help of the *Qing* court (that they could make military deployment and arrangement without the permission and order of the *Qing* court). Even though there might be a primary 'Taiwanese identity' generating, there had no enough time and proper conditions for this primary identity to be developed. Even though there was resistance, the Empire of Japan still took over the control of Taiwan, and it was from 1895 that Taiwan and the people here moved into the 51-year Japanese colonial period.

[Section 3.2. Japanese colonial period \(1894-1945\)](#)

The governance of the Japanese imperial government over and its attitudes towards

Taiwan and Taiwanese people changed in different periods. It is worth mentioning that although the position of Japanese imperial government was the coloniser and many of their policies applied to Taiwan were based on the consideration of their benefits (Chen, Guo, Wang, Xu and Zhuang, 2016), they did make much construction in Taiwan that made it 'transferred' into a modernised environment. In the early stage of colonising/governing Taiwan, the main policies of the government were suppression, preventing Taiwanese population from resistance and used different means to win over Taiwanese gentry, hoping that they could civilise Taiwanese 'lowbrow' people (He and Cai, 2019; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). In addition to stabilising the condition in Taiwan, another key task that needed to be handled in this stage is to improve the environment full of subtropical diseases. The Japanese official constructed basic sanitary facilities in Taiwan and also propagated related sanitary concepts to Taiwanese people (Lin, P., 2011). Later, around the beginning of the 20th century, the Japanese government and its officials started to introduce modern Western systems, structures, thoughts and notions into Taiwan (He and Cai, 2019; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017), such as education, penal systems and new concepts of punishment. Chia-Yi Old Prison, one of the case studies in this research, was constructed under this space-time context that adopted rather up-to-date Western system and mechanism of punishment according to Foucault's theories (1979). In 1899, the Japanese government repealed the old Taiwanese prison laws and built up a new one; tied in the new laws, they established three main prisons in Taipei, Taichung and Tainan (Lin, Sheng, Wang and Gao, 1979). The new laws also specified that other counties were allowed to establish branch prisons if necessary (Lin, Sheng, Wang and Gao, 1979), and Chia-Yi Old Prison was constructed under the rules and circumstance as a branch prison of Tainan Prison then. Additionally, the Japanese government and officials also designed and brought in

improved transportation system (replacing muddy and curving paths with paved and straight roads/streets), the accompanying sense of punctuality, town plan, hygienic circumstances and relevant healthy habits (He and Cai, 2019; Wang, 2017). These construction of new systems/concepts transformed Taiwan into a rather modern society, compared with contemporary mainland China or other East-Asian countries. Although Taiwan was regarded by the Japanese government as a colony (Wang, 2017) and it is said that it was for the sake of proving its prosperity and taking Taiwan as an 'example of managing a colony' (Chen, Guo, Wang, Xu and Zhuang, 2016), these changes undeniably improved the living quality of Taiwan and mended the level of knowledge of Taiwanese people. This could therefore be one of the reasons why Taiwanese people usually hold positive impression on the period.

In the last stage of Japanese colonial period, which was around the time of WWII, in order to cope with the need of wars and cultivate the loyalty to the 'motherland,' the Japanese government gradually strengthened its control, education and propaganda to Taiwanese people. The relevant policies included forcibly limiting Taiwanese people to use/speak local language(s) and to publish magazines, journals or other works using Taiwanese local language(s) (He and Cai, 2019). Later, the government started to recruit soldiers in Taiwan, hoping that Taiwanese people could serve in the Japanese troops and dedicate themselves to the nation of Japan and the Emperor. During the wartime, it was the highest honour for the Japanese to serve in military troops or even sacrifice their lives in battlefields for the country, and this kind of 'honour' had never taken Taiwanese people, as the colonised population, into consideration (Su, 2017). Because Taiwanese people were 'allowed' to serve in Japanese troops, it could be said that it was in this stage that the Japanese started to accept (a part of) Taiwanese people as 'Japanese people,' as their fellow countrymen (Wang, 2017).

It is difficult to say if the Japanese really regard Taiwanese people equally as their fellows. It is more possible that the Japanese government granted the honour of 'being a Japanese' to those who became their soldiers and granted their families for making contribution to the 'motherland' for the sake of dealing with military necessity on the battlefields. For those 'real' Japanese people and the government, Taiwanese people were still the population from a colony, the second-class citizens. Even though they might regard Taiwanese as the civilians of Japan and admit their dedication to the Empire of Japan, they did not intend to accept them as 'real Japanese population' (Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). There are some literature works, which are records or revised fictions, that the authors describe their personal experiences of becoming soldiers and serving in military troops (Su, 2017). It reveals that even though Taiwanese people were 'granted' the honour of becoming a Japanese and dedicating themselves to Japan and the Emperor, they did not receive equal treatment (as general Japanese people) (Su, 2017). In particular occasions, they became the scapegoats and were even forced to take the blame/responsibility/crimes of other Japanese commanding officers (Su, 2017). Although such efforts were made, the government still could not stop the declining tendency of Japan, and in 1945, the government of the Empire of Japan announced their surrender, which also represented the end of Japanese colonial period in Taiwan.

In Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese people had experienced important stages of developing their identities. As mentioned, when Taiwan was taken by the Japanese government, most of the residents were those moved or immigrated from mainland China (or just collectively called them as *Han* people). Hence, it is imaginable that there would be conflicts between them and the Japanese, especially on the aspect of

ideology and identity. As having experienced being 'abandoned' by the *Qing* court and oppressed by the Japanese government, the people in Taiwan, the original *Han* people before the moving-in of Japanese government, had gradually developed the consciousness and the identity of 'Taiwanese people.' They noticed their differences from the Japanese, no matter the differences were in terms of languages, customs, the attitudes or treatment they received from the Japanese (He and Cai, 2019). In addition to the armed resistances raised in the early stage of Japanese colonial period, Taiwanese people later from 1920s started to ask and strive for their rights and benefits (Lin, 1993; Lin, 2007). Their actions and movements included endeavouring to establish Taiwanese Representative Assembly, publishing magazines or newspapers using Taiwanese local language and enhancing Taiwanese people's basic knowledge, fighting for the protection of peasants' and labourers' rights from the exploitation of Japanese enterprises and so on (Lin, 1993; Lin, 2007). The aims of these actions and movements were hoping that Taiwanese people would be 'allowed' to make their own decisions to their own affairs within the permissible range of the Japanese government (He and Cai, 2019).

From the actions and initiatives, it can be known that Taiwanese people in that time gradually formed their own ideology and identity, making themselves different from the Japanese, to a certain extent. However, it is possible that there were Taiwanese people who regarded themselves as 'Japanese people.' These people might be born during the period of Japanese colonisation, and they received Japanese education, habits and customs as their daily and regular routines. Immersing in this 'Japanese' atmosphere and living in this circumstances, it is hard to say with certainty that there were no Taiwanese people who recognised, accepted or identified themselves with the Japanese and their values/characteristics/identity, or even considered and hoped

themselves as Japanese people. Nevertheless, under the control of Japanese government and with their differentiated treatment and obvious unequal relations, those Taiwanese people with 'a Japanese consciousness/identity' could still notice the essential differences between themselves and the Japanese.

There are other two instances which can exemplify the states and circumstances of Taiwanese people and their identification/development of identity. Chen (2016) describes the situations of the changes of Taiwanese people's attitudes towards the Japanese after the announcement of Japanese surrender and before the taking-over of the Nationalist (KMT) government. There are historical records revealing that some Taiwanese people had taken a series of actions to resist or even 'retaliate' the Japanese. These actions included revenge on and violent acts to Japanese police officers/officials/students, warning those Taiwanese gentries who were close to the Japanese and asking them to leave the fields, redressing the unjust trials done by Japanese people and so on (Chen, 2016). In addition, some Taiwanese cultural workers and intellectuals also tried to revive Taiwanese local language and to build/interpret their own history (Chen, 2016). From these records, it is seen that there is certain part of Taiwanese people who were against the Japanese, their control and repression on the development and practice of Taiwanese culture. It may be able to detect and notice from these resistance and violent actions that there were Taiwanese people who had accumulated grievances and complaint against the Japanese for a span.

Another interesting point refers to the terms that are adopted in Taiwanese society to address the period of being governed by the Empire of Japan. There are two of them which are usually used. One is '日本殖民時代,' which is translated as 'Japanese colonial period,' and another one is '日治時期,' translated as 'Japanese dominant

period.’ It is noticed from the terms that the former directly uses the word ‘colonial,’ which plainly brings out a negative impression and reveals an unequal relation. It functions as presenting the shameful past that ‘we Taiwanese had been colonized before’ straightforwardly. On the other hand, although the term ‘Japanese dominant period’ also implicates that a group (no matter it is based on the major number of people, power or forces) dominates/governs/controls another group, it does not plainly express the potential unequal relation. With the rather neutral word ‘dominant,’ it seems like that there is no blame or resentment against the Japanese, either. When I was a student and had history lessons in different levels of schools, the term used in the textbooks was first ‘Japanese colonial period,’ and later the term was replaced by ‘Japanese dominant period.’ The phenomena reflect that Taiwanese people in current society, especially after the end of the White Terror, have developed different perspectives on the history of Japanese colonisation. Their evaluations of the history also change, which the change may result from the ways people review the influences which were formed in the period and still profoundly mould the people and present Taiwanese society.

[Section 3.3. The Nationalist \(KMT\) government and the White Terror](#)

After Japan was defeated in WWII, the governance of Taiwan and the population in Taiwan were handed over to the government in mainland China. The government in mainland China at that time was formed by the members of the Nationalist Party, which is also known as ‘Kuomintang’ (the direct transliteration of Chinese characters ‘國民黨,’ which is usually abbreviated as ‘KMT’), so the government is usually called as the Nationalist (KMT) government. It was near the end of *Qing* dynasty that a lot of Chinese intellectuals had received and been influenced by the modern trends of thoughts from the West, and also because of the weakness and declining of *Qing* force,

the intellectuals expected to build a 'modern China' which was not monarchy and the whole population was able to make their own decision. After *Qing* dynasty was overthrown in 1911, a republic and democratic regime was built, and the Nationalist (KMT) Party was established later in 1912. Turning the timeline back to the end of WWII, for Taiwanese people, 'returning back to the governance of the Nationalist (KMT) government' not only means returning to the environment and circumstance which they were familiar with, with the same language, customs and race as their own on the one hand, but also implying that there was another new breaking-in of different contexts and ideologies that they needed to face on the other hand.

Hearing the news that they would return to the governance of China,

'... There were some people who rejoiced about being liberated from the fifty-year colonial rule, but there were also those who had mixed feeling that "yesterday's enemy" suddenly becomes "tomorrow's motherland". ...'

(Ito, 2004: 219)

Taiwanese people generally felt excited about returning to their real motherland, believing that they could finally be treated equally and be their own master and had wonderful imagination of their future (Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). However, when Taiwanese people went to welcome the officials and troops, they saw the

'low morale, miserable, and inferiorly equipped ... troops, (Taiwanese people) were surprised that they were so much different from Japanese soldiers, and could not believe that Japan had been defeated by China. ...'

(Ito, 2004: 229)

After seeing the scenes, Taiwanese started to feel disappointed and 'uneasy about "returning to motherland" ...' (Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). After the officials arrived Taiwan

and started to take over the administrative affairs and the property and estate left by the Japanese, they did not hire and employ the officials justly, resulting in the proportion of Chinese officials and Taiwanese ones was out of balance (Lee and Xue, 2019). The Chinese officials even refused to appoint Taiwanese people as officials on the grounds of that Taiwanese people had been governed by the Japanese for too long and had been 'slavised,' 'enslaved' or by reason of that Taiwanese people do not know how to speak Chinese³ (Lee and Xue, 2019). What makes the condition worse is that officials from mainland China were corrupt and even embezzled public fortunes and properties (Lee and Xue, 2019), making 'The "lawful country" in the Japanese era ... turned into a "lawless zone".' (Ito, 2004) The situations made Taiwanese people, who had been educated by Japanese and learnt to follow the laws, difficult to accept and gradually felt resentful at and contemptuous of Chinese officials (Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017).

It is possible that under the circumstances, the Taiwanese gradually realised the differences between themselves, as being a Taiwanese, and those came from mainland China even though they speak the same language and share the same customs. Facing the corruption and lawless behaviour, Taiwanese people had expressed their discontent to the Governor's Office, but the Office 'had no ears for the people's complaints ...' (Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019). Regarding the planned application of the Constitution of the Republic of China in Taiwan, the Governor postponed it with the reason that 'after being occupied by Japan for a long time, the Taiwanese people were degenerated in political consciousness and lack the ability of self-government.' (Ito, 2004) All of these made Taiwanese people unbearable; eventually, Taiwanese people's anger broke out

³ In the later stage of Japanese colonial period, in order to respond accordingly to the needs of wartime and to cultivate Taiwanese people's loyal mind to the Emperor of Japan, the officials prohibited Taiwanese people from speaking local languages, including Taiwanese and Chinese/Mandarin, which led to the situation that Taiwanese people gradually became unfamiliar with Chinese.

and led to an island-wide uprising in February 1947 which is called 'February 28 Incident' (Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017).

February 28 Incident was regarded by the Governor and the Office in Taiwan as the resistance and Taiwanese people's refusal to obey, and they started to suppress Taiwanese people. After the news was transmitted back to the Nationalist (KMT) government in mainland China, military and the police were sent to Taiwan and they raked the public who gathered and protested with machine-gun fire, and the action provoked Taiwanese people and led to insurrections throughout the island (Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). In response to this, the Governor's Office and troops suppressed and massacred Taiwanese people, arresting suspects with no reasons, and many of the arrested never come home anymore. The suppression was considered as an indiscriminate massacre; the Governor's Office also used this 'chance' to eliminate Taiwanese intellectuals, elites and those who were discontent with the governance (Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). Although the Incident and the following insurrections came to an end, there were already a lot of Taiwanese intellectuals being killed and massacred in a planned way. Many hard cores and elites of various movements and campaigns were lost in the Incident. Above all, a great scar was deeply caused on the relationship between Taiwanese people and those coming from mainland China.

Later, in 1949, the Nationalist (KMT) Party was somehow 'defeated'⁴ in civil wars against the Communist Party in mainland China and retreated to Taiwan. A lot of people and families followed the KMT government to Taiwan this time, and because

⁴ Regarding the topic of being defeated or not, from the perspective of the KMT Party, I do not think that they regard themselves as being defeated that they just retreated and were not destroyed whilst the Communist Party and current Chinese government may not think in the same way.

there were many people from mainland China immigrating into Taiwan after 1945 (the surrender of Japanese and Taiwan being returned to the KMT government), another distinction between different groups of people appears: those who came to Taiwan from mainland China after 1945, especially the large group who came with the KMT Party and the government in and after 1949, are generally called 'mainlanders' (外省人, people from outside of the province), and those who have already lived in Taiwan before 1945 are called 'islanders' (本省人, people of this province). After retreating to Taiwan, in order to stabilise the condition in and control over Taiwan on the one hand and to continue fighting against the Communist Party, which later established The People's Republic of China in October of the same year, on the other hand, the KMT government enforced martial law and adopted authoritarian governance in Taiwan, and the time of enforcing martial law was called 'the White Terror.'

During the White Terror, the government and officials strictly controlled the circumstances and conditions in Taiwanese society; people could not freely form gatherings, hold parades, deliver speeches or publish a newspaper (Lee and Xue, 2019).

If there is anyone suspicious of

1. having different opinions towards the Nationalist governance and their policies,
2. challenging the Nationalist governance and their policies,
3. criticising the government, the leader(s)/president(s) or
4. being inclined to communist thoughts,

they would be regarded as intending to overthrow the government or as a communist (Lee and Xue, 2019). I only list few matters which were taken by the officials as 'reasonable grounds' to catch/arrest ones without regular procedure, but the fact is that if ones were thought as suspicious by the secret police/officials, it is easy as well for the police/officials to cook up charges and impose the groundless crimes on

innocent ones. These suspects would be caught anytime and anywhere with no reasons or informing, they would be sent to detention centre for unjust interrogation and imprisonment.

The second case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, was the 'product' deeply interwoven in this space-time background, and it was one of the key units of the unjust, oppressive system and institutions. The detention centre of Judge Advocate Department, Taiwan Garrison Command was established in 1949 and dissolved in 1992⁵. In the initial stage, it was not set up in the location of current Jing-Mei Memorial Park but in No.3, Qingdao E. Road, close to central Taipei City. The detention centre was moved to the facilities of current Jing-Mei Memorial Park in 1968, which was usually called 'Jing-Mei Detention Centre' at that time⁶. From then on, the space of current Jing-Mei Memorial Park was turned into the land and use of Judge Advocate Department under the jurisdiction of Taiwan Garrison Command. No matter where the detention centre was set, it was the place and location where military, political cases and the cases of public security were interrogated and taken into custody in the period of martial law, i.e. the White Terror. Many political victims were sent to the detention centre and sentenced (either death sentence or prison term). They might execute the sentences at the same location (in the detention centre directly) or be imprisoned in the centre temporarily before being transferred to Lutao⁷ or the prison in Taitung⁸.

⁵ The detention centre of Judge Advocate Department, Taiwan Garrison Command (Jing-Mei Detention Centre), from the Historical Sites of Injustice Website, <https://hsi.nhrm.gov.tw/home/zh-tw/injusticelandmarks/115317> [Accessed on 30th March 2022].

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Lutao is an outlying island locating on the east side of Taiwan. There is a prison established on the island, and in the time of White Terror, many political prisoners who were tried as committing rather heavy crimes would be sent to this island and imprisoned. As a result, Lutao prison and its accompanying structures are usually regarded as a political prison as Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Later, they are also re-arranged into a memorial park to commemorate and memorialise the White Terror and those political victims.

⁸ The detention centre of Judge Advocate Department, Taiwan Garrison Command (Jing-Mei Detention Centre), from the Historical Sites of Injustice Website,

Before the detention centre entered and was stationed in 1968, the space of current Jing-Mei Memorial Park was the campus of the military school, which was established in 1957 and moved out from the space in 1967⁹. In the next year (1968), the detention centre and other affiliated units of the Judge Advocate Department, Taiwan Garrison Command were moved in and continued their close relationship and manipulation with the White Terror. In different stages of White Terror, the government had different concerns and claimed different accusation of people's resistance. For example, in the 1950s, they paid much attention to the communists and the spread of communistic ideas whilst they concerned more about the idea of Taiwan independence in the 1960s (Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). People who were charged with these two types of accusation would be really difficult to let off easily or released from detention centres/prisons (Wang, 2017). Even though a person's term of imprisonment almost ended, the officials could still lengthen the term (limitlessly) with different kinds of excuses (such as he/she did not pass the performance review) without bringing to another trial. It is imaginable accordingly that these two types of accusation could become great reasons and excuses of frame-up, and much miscarriage of justice was generated (Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). It was until 31st July 1992 that Taiwan Garrison Command was dissolved, the persecution of human rights in Taiwan had come to an end in some ways. In 2002, the Council for Cultural Affairs, Executive Yuan registered the space as heritage, under the category of historical sites, and planned to found a human rights memorial park¹⁰. Finally in 2018, the National Human Rights Museum was established here, and the space was at last transformed from a representative of terror to the memorial place for the victims.

<https://hsi.nhrm.gov.tw/home/zh-tw/injusticelandmarks/115317> [Accessed on 30th March 2022].

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Compared with the February 28 Incident as an indiscriminate massacre, the White Terror is usually considered as a systematic, institutionalised, government-led oppression and persecution throughout Taiwanese society (Lee and Xue, 2019). This horrifying conditions, which were full of uncertainty, had lasted until July 1987 that the martial law was repealed, and it also meant the end of the White Terror¹¹, which lasted nearly 40 years and was so far the longest period of executing martial laws in the world (Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017).

Section 3.4. Post White Terror

3.4.1. National politics and governmentality

After the White Terror ended, the Nationalist (KMT) Party still exists and had been the majority in political field in Taiwan and the ruling party until 2000 A.D., when the first party alternation occurred (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008). When the martial law was lifted, which officially meant the end of White Terror, the conditions of Taiwan did not return to the free and liberal circumstances in a short while; there was still a nervous atmosphere permeating in the society, and people still behaved and acted with fear and worry (Lee and Xue, 2019). This might result partly from the reason that the Act for the Control and Punishment of Rebellion (懲治叛亂條例) had not been lifted yet.

Nevertheless, there were certain political activities and actions which pursued liberal social/political environments that had been developed and carried out. During the time of White Terror, although the KMT government restricted activities, such as gathering and marches, and severely controlled the dissemination of those ideas, thoughts that might risk destabilising its governance, consciousness and claims, there were still some

¹¹ The Nationalist government officially announced the repeal of the martial law in 1987, which was supposed to mean the end of the White Terror. However, some researchers suppose that it was until 1991 that another regulation (懲治叛亂條例, which may be translated as 'the Act for the Control and Punishment of Rebellion.' The Act restricts people's freedom of speech and was originally formulated for suppressing those who rebelled against the government) was rescinded that could be regarded as the real end of the White Terror.

people who held diverse political thoughts and ideals proceeding underground activities or organising underground groups/societies secretly (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Lee and Xue, 2019). These people and groups might be caught, punished or prohibited, and those main figures and activists could be particularly followed and focused on by the official; nevertheless, they did not cease participating in relevant political activities or stifle their enthusiasm.

A few years before the White Terror ended, there was a political party established clandestinely, which is called 'Democratic Progressive Party' (abbreviated as DPP) (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008). The members of DPP take the consciousness and position of 'local Taiwanese people' (the 'islanders' as mentioned on p.55) as their main concern and starting point, presenting steady and strong Taiwanese local consideration and orientation. After the White Terror ended, DPP and other political parties/groups which originally conducted underground activities secretly have been able to participate, hold actions publicly and legitimately. Amongst them, DPP even won the presidential election in 2000, replacing the KMT party and became the leader of Taiwanese people (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008). After 55 years (1945-2000 A.D.), this is the first time of (political) party alternation, and it is regarded by some people as that 'Taiwanese people can finally make their own decision,' 'Taiwanese people can finally be the master of themselves.'

[3.4.2. Educative role of national identity politics](#)

In addition to political activities, education has gradually been changed, too, because the limitation of the government on the taught contents became loosen after the White Terror. Education is regarded as an efficient method/means for controlling and influencing people's thoughts, conceptions and minds (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Tsao, 2017). By 'teaching' people

what to believe and what is right or wrong, it would in a large extent influence the formation of individual/collective identities, and this is especially the case when forming and building citizens' patriotism (Hua, 2016; Huang, 2014; Mao, 2013). As a result, it can be imagined that after the Nationalist (KMT) government 'retreated' to Taiwan, it is crucial for them to control the education in Taiwan, its system and the contents of curricula. Taking my personal experiences as an example, as a local Taiwanese and general student who had received normal and ordinary education in Taiwan until graduating from undergraduate degree, I have experienced the system myself. At least by the time I graduated from secondary school (I graduated in June 2004), there was only one version of textbooks in schools, and the version is generally called 'the official version.' The people who are senior to me received the same education and used the same one version of textbooks, and the contents of the textbook are the same with almost no alteration. It was around 1990s that the government started to lift the restriction and allow popular (unofficial) publishers to compile and publish textbooks. From then on schools, teachers and students have various versions of textbooks to choose from. This also means that there are various versions of interpretation of the same historical events that can be presented, and current students have more opportunities to learn, to find, to consider and to evaluate diverse perspectives on history.

From the time that the martial law was lifted, the end of White Terror, it is a process of gradual liberation, and so as how the KMT government revealed and admitted their own mistake (partly). There was an exhibition entitled 'We after the February 28: how the new generations interpret historical tasks' held in National 228 Museum, Taipei City from 7th December 2019 to 17th May 2020. I visited the exhibition in April 2020; in the exhibition, a special section was designed to present 'the official version' of history

textbooks which were published and used in senior high schools in different years. In these textbooks, the exhibition team used yellow high-lighter to indicate the parts mentioning the February 28 Incident (because this is National 228 Museum, they pay much attention on February 28 Incident rather than the White Terror). It can be seen from the pictures below (see Figure 3.1 to 3.3) that it was until the version in 1990 that there were a few descriptions, but no more than two sentences (see Figure 3.1), not to say that at the very beginning or the first few years after the Incident, none of the contents were mentioned. Later in the following years, the contents related to February 28 Incident were gradually increased (see Figure 3.2 and 3.3). It is said that the KMT government was criticised by international societies due to its cruel suppression and massacre in the Incident. In response to and being constrained by international pressure, the government ended the massacre and perhaps made certain self-examination. The increase of contents of February 28 Incident and the admission of improper disposal/mismanagement presented in history textbooks may be regarded as one of the responses from the KMT government.

In the same exhibition, it also displays current 4 versions of history textbooks, which are edited by popular (unofficial) publishers, and these textbooks are currently adopted in diverse senior high schools (see Figure 3.4). It can be inferred from the existence of different versions of textbooks that current students are able to receive different interpretations of February 28 Incident in a relatively liberal way from those which were taught to earlier generations (such as their grandparents or parents). It is thereby expected that not only adolescent students but general people can start to hear different voices and opinions. The progression also create occasions, circumstances and opportunities for every individual in Taiwan to widely notice diverse standpoints and receive different information, from which it enables people to (re-)position themselves,

their roles and their identities.

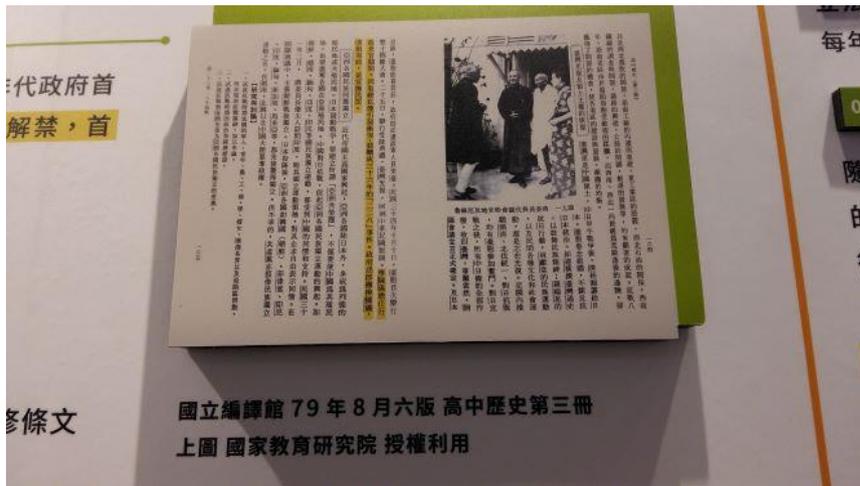


Figure 3.1. History textbook detailing the February 28 Incident [1990 edition].

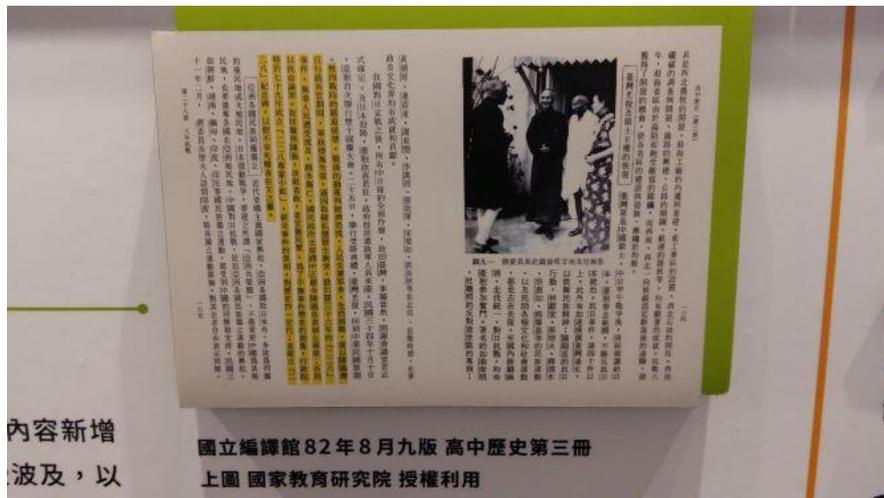


Figure 3.2. History textbook [1993 edition].

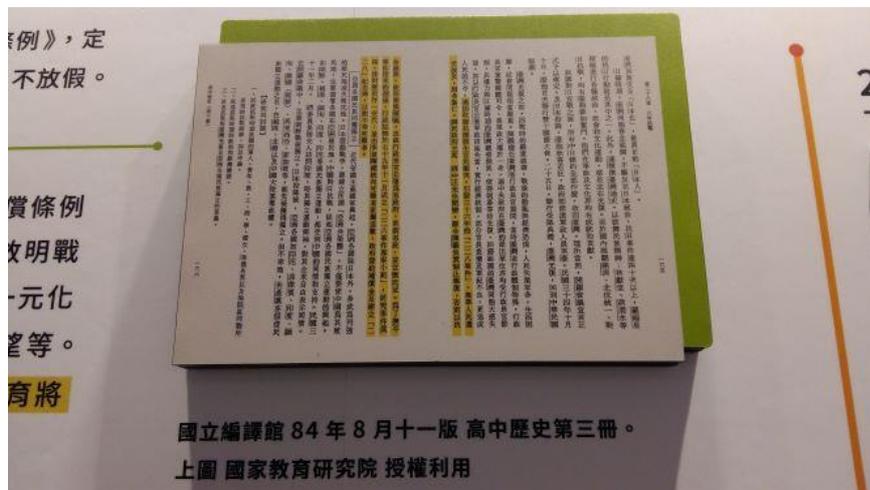


Figure 3.3. History textbook [1995 edition].



Figure 3.4. The 4 versions of history textbooks edited by popular publishers in 2019.

In addition to education and formal curricula in schools, heritage is another key and medium that functions in cultural field and influence people's understanding of the past. The heritage (and the establishment of the concept) in Taiwan actually appeared quite early; at least in the Japanese colonial period, there is a similar act which was formulated by the Japanese government in 1919, named 'Historical Landmark, Place and Natural Monument Preservation Act' (史蹟名勝天然紀念物保存法) (Lin, 2011). The relevant law which was set up after Taiwan was taken over by the KMT government and was corresponded to current concept of '(cultural/natural) heritage' is called 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act,' and the first version of the Act was made in 1982 (Lin, 2011)¹². In the following years, the 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act' has been gradually amended and supplemented; in 2016, the third version of 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act' was passed as the latest version.

In the third version of the Act, tangible cultural heritage includes eight categories, which are monuments, historic buildings, commemorative buildings, groups of

¹² Please also refer to the website of 'Cultural Heritage Preservation Act' by the Ministry of Culture in Taiwan (Chinese) https://www.moc.gov.tw/information_306_19723.html (in English, translated on the website of *Laws & Regulations Databases of The Republic of China*) <https://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001>.

buildings, archaeological sites, historic sites, cultural landscapes and antiquities¹³. The two case studies of this research, Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, are respectively designated as a (national) monument in 2005 (a municipal monument in 2002) and as a historic building in 2007. Chia-Yi Old Prison is designated due to its unique architectural structure and the example of prisons established in Japanese colonial period whilst Jing-Mei Memorial Park is for its representative function and role in the period of White Terror and of the witness of the events. To this day, diverse characteristics have given rise to new heritage in Taiwan, and many of them are 'of cultural value from the point of view of history, art or science.'¹⁴ In the past decade, the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture of Taiwanese government has actively paid much attention on designating folk workmanship, which is the part of intangible cultural heritage. The heritage in Taiwan is gradually developed maturely according to the international tendency, and it is presenting the richness and diversification of Taiwanese cultural implication.

From the brief introduction of Taiwanese history, it presents the recent two long-term conflicts between Taiwanese people and the 'outsiders' and the fact that the conflicts still profoundly influence current Taiwanese people. The introduction gives a try to explain how Taiwanese people regard the histories and the relationship amongst the two case studies and respective histories. Taiwanese past of being colonised by Japanese government is not seemed as a pleasing experience that are treated equally, but the later experience of being taken over and controlled by the KMT government appears to be similar as another period of being colonised (Chen, 2008; Lee and Xue, 2019). Even though the 'mainlanders' already integrate into current Taiwanese society,

¹³ Cultural Heritage Preservation Act on the website of *Laws & Regulations Databases of The Republic of China* (en) <http://law.moj.gov.tw/ENG/LawClass/LawAll.aspx?pcode=H0170001>.

¹⁴ Ibid.

the scars caused in the past still stab the relationship between different groups when certain topics or subjects are raised and mentioned.

With the historical background as a premise, it is known that people may have negative emotions and memories towards specific historical periods. After each period, the physical structures of the former period may remain, and their 'leaving or staying' become an issue that needs to be faced and dealt with for the members of the society who have moved forwards to the new, next stage. Regarding the physical structures, which are usually regarded either as relics or 'heritage,'¹⁵ the issues of their potential and how they may function in societies are already discussed in Chapter 2. In the next chapter, with the premises of Taiwanese conflicts in the past 100 years, I will narrow down the discussion to the category of 'heritage with dark/negative features' and explore what effects this kind of heritage could potentially, or obviously, generate and influence people and their society.

¹⁵ I use quotation marks (' ') here when mentioning heritage because it is not all the remaining physical structures are treated or regarded as valuable that can be called as heritage. In addition, the 'heritage' is not merely limited to those physical structures but should also include those 'invisible' matters, such as emotions, understanding and memories.

Chapter 4. Dark/Difficult Sites

In this chapter, the characteristics of the 'heritage with dark/negative features' will be discussed. It starts with a broad overview of 'dark tourism' and the 'dark sites' targeted by dark tourism, exploring the reasons for which people visit these sites with negative associations and for which scholars of dark tourism may pay more attention to the motivation of visitors than the sites themselves. The next section narrows down the focus to those 'famous' prisons designated as heritage. Different angles are adopted to investigate the features of these prison sites, such as literature review and personal visiting experiences. In doing so, the impressions, experiences and affection that these prisons directly or indirectly cause will be considered. The last section is dedicated to 'difficult heritage.' These are the sites that have deep connections to people's painful and shameful (Logan and Reeves, 2008) pasts, and they form the core of the issues which this research explores. The issues of how to approach these difficult sites and provide 'proper' interpretations will subsequently be considered and engaged. By the end of this chapter, the focus will be centred on 'difficult heritage' and its characteristics, so that the context and features can be applied to the two case studies of this research for profound analyses.

[Section 4.1. Defining dark tourism and dark heritage](#)

Whether it is tangible or intangible heritage and whether it is a physical structure or a daily behaviour or practice, 'heritage' usually evokes an image of wonderful, grand and beautiful ones; however, there also exists 'negative' heritage. Specifically, there is a special category which is usually recognised as 'dark heritage/tourist¹⁶ sites.' At the

¹⁶ As Chapter 2, the focus of this chapter is on heritage. Many heritage objects, places and practices subsequently become popular tourist attractions and destinations. In this section, many sites may be regarded as 'tourist sites' but not 'heritage sites.' To a certain extent, the phenomenon reflects that these tourist sites do not represent, or have not yet been recognized to represent, particular historical/cultural/social values or significance. In later sections of this chapter, those heritage sites will

beginning stage of this research, I am introduced the themes of dark tourism, which provide me an idea of realising the heritage/tourist sites characterised by dark and negative features. The two case studies in this research represent dark features as well, so it is essential to explore these dark sites and their nature first.

Starting with analysing the term 'dark tourism,' the word 'dark' frequently refers to negative ideas and experiences, such as harm, suffering, fear, conflicts, imprisonment, persecution or even death. 'Tourism,' according to the Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, means 'the business activity connected with providing accommodation, services and entertainment for people who are visiting a place for pleasure.'¹⁷ By combing these two words, 'dark tourism' can be understood to be the activity of people visiting particular places or sites which are characterised by such unpleasant features or experiences 'for pleasure.' The term 'dark tourism' was popularized by Lennon and Foley (2000) that they used the phrase 'to encompass the use of sites associated with tragic and violent events for tourism.' (Wu and Cheng, 2018) Tarlow (2005) also defined the term as 'visitations to places where tragedies or historically noteworthy death has occurred and that continues to impact our lives.' (quoted from Wu and Cheng, 2018. The words are also quoted in Dalton, 2015) As Tarlow, Lennon and Foley, many professionals try to provide a definition of dark tourism; Foley and Lennon (1996) describe it as 'the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites' whilst Stone (2013) expresses that:

‘... [d]ark tourism is concerned with tourist encounters with spaces of death or calamity that have perturbed the public consciousness, whereby actual and

be differentiated from general tourist sites; however, in this section, the 'dark' features will be examined in a broad way.

¹⁷ Refer to Oxford Learner's Dictionaries on <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/tourism?q=tourism> (Accessed on 31st July 2020).

recreated places of the deceased, horror, atrocity, or depravity, are consumed through visitor experiences.'

(Dalton, 2015)

From the definitions provided above, it can be roughly summarised that dark tourism consists of certain essential elements: 'visiting places or sites' which are related to 'death, tragedies, disaster and other atrocious deeds.' Furthermore, there is a crucial point that these atrocious deeds and events have 'a great impact on people.' While these characteristics may be able to assist in identifying whether the visiting or experiences can be counted as dark tourism, there are also scholars who assert that, as Miller and Gonzalez (2013) state, 'there is no universal typology of dark tourism, or even a universally accepted definition.' (Dalton, 2015) As a result, it seems like that even though there are general and basic features of dark tourism, many phenomena and factors in relation to the topic need to be taken into account as well.

From the term 'dark tourism,' it can be inferred that the scholars focus mainly on the activity of touring and people's motivation/reasons of visiting these dark places (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley, 2009). As mentioned above, the word 'tourism' implies relaxation, pleasure and entertainment, which seems quite opposite to the image of the word 'dark' (Sharpley, 2009). Additionally, tourism is regarded as activities for leisure which are beneficial for people's development (Lennon and Foley, 2010). From this point of view, it is interesting to know what beneficial development dark tourism can provide. Some scholars infer that the earliest form of 'quasi-' dark tourism is the activities of pilgrimage, that people went to visit the sites which the dead had been killed or buried (Lennon and Foley, 2010). The events behind these sites usually had specific religious or ideological significance for certain group of people, and then gradually the action of visiting these sites had become meaningful (at least for the

pilgrims) (Lennon and Foley, 2010). Therefore, the behaviour of visiting sites/places related to people's death and suffering has its long history. Especially from the later part of the last century, dark tourism has evolved into a more common activity. Even though people may be unfamiliar with the term, they may still participate in it by visiting battlefields or memorials of certain events related to death and suffering.

In present societies, people visit dark tourist sites for many reasons, and it seems like that dark tourism can provide diverse functions at the same time. Walter (2009) mentions several motives/purposes which visitors may seek for in a dark site, including education, entertainment, *memento mori*, remembrance and haunting. The public may go visiting for one of the reason or some of the reasons simultaneously, and a group of people who visit the same sites at the same time may hold different purposes respectively (Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Walter, 2009). Amongst these motives, education and entertainment are supposed to be the most common ones that people hold and drive them to visit dark places. During their visiting, visitors are 'taught' or conveyed with certain backgrounds, information and messages of the dark events/sites; in addition, they are able to discuss further messages with tour guides if applicable or to interact with the physical structures of the dark sites in their own ways (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). Not just learning from the visiting to achieve the effect of education, the processes of interactions with other people and the sites and of exploring something can accomplish the function of entertainment, too. Because of the phenomenon, some scholars think that the activities of education and entertainment are able to be conducted together in a dark tourist site, and this kind of activity combination is regarded as 'edutainment' (Walter, 2009).

In addition to the relatively common purposes of visiting dark sites for education and entertainment, researchers investigate and usually focus on specific reasons that motivate people to visit these dark places. Stone (2009) argues that ontological security is an important function which dark tourism can provide to present people. When it comes to modern societies, because of the industrial development and scientific movement, people gradually believe the power of rational thinking and that they are able to find 'answers' or 'meanings' by themselves. As a result, the authority of religion (especially in Western societies) has declined, and jointly the meanings and principles which religion brings to the public have also lost their authority and influence (Stone, 2009). Consequently, people have to search for their 'new' meanings which once are provided and supported by religious principles, especially those related to death. In addition, the 'once-public' presenting of death becomes 'privatised' in modern societies, and the management of death matters is mostly handled by hospitals and funeral firms (Stone, 2009; Lennon and Foley, 2010). The circumstances lead to the situation that people do not know what 'death' is about and how to face, confront it (Stone, 2009). Stone suggests that dark tourism functions as a 'public-acknowledged' method for people to encounter with other people's death, from which they are informed about the phenomena and nature of death. By obtaining a basic picture, people are able to build and develop their own pictures and understanding of death which can help them to face similar matters afterwards (Stone, 2009). Indeed, taking dark tourism enables visitors to think about the theme of death; through attending relevant activities and viewing the death in present or ancient times, the public have the opportunities to appreciate that they may have a rather 'good death' or to think why some tragic deaths happened in that specific space-time contexts (Stone, 2009; RCMG, 2014). Stone raises this possibility and explanation of why people go to visit dark sites; nevertheless, I do not think that people consciously

realise before (or even during or after) visiting a dark site that they are 'going to search for the meanings of death.' I agree with Stone that the issue of death is indeed what each current individual needs to engage with, and he does provide a potential function that dark tourist/heritage sites can assist people in, but I do not suppose that this is general people's conscious motives/reasons which drive them to take part in dark tourism.

In addition to ontological security, which is related to the issues of death, other academics believe that dark tourist sites can assist visitors in encountering with the dead (Walter, 2009). Even though it sounds like Stone's theory of ontological security, it is related to the searching of a mental, spiritual structure, but other scholars' focuses may be put on the engagement with the 'humans,' 'people' who passed away. As mentioned before, there are some people suffering or losing their lives in or around these dark sites, so it is thought that by visiting these places and knowing these deceased people's stories, visitors somehow encounter with these dead, the subjects of the dark events. People may regard these dead related to dark sites with different views and attitudes either as 'ancestors' or 'historical figures,' from which it also determines people's thoughts, emotions and reflections upon the dead (Walter, 2009). An example will be the activity that Israeli youth go to visit concentration camps. Because the history of Holocaust was so relevant to them and their ethnic group, and the dead might be the members of their own families, the youth are possible to treat the dead as their ancestors, from which the visiting is easy to arouse their sense of identification. The actions of visiting the dark sites somehow function as building a strong connection between them and those who lost their lives, from which the actions also evoke their strong feelings and reflections. The reactions, as the author says, contribute to form their 'collective identities' as a part of Israeli community

(Walter, 2009). In contrast, for the dead who deceased for a longer time, the relationships with present people become dull; therefore, the public may regard them as 'historical figures' and do not have such a strong emotion when encountering with them and their stories. Nevertheless, it does not mean that people do not produce abundant interactions and reflections to these 'historical figures.' Visitors are possible to form any kind of interpretations and interactions to what they have experienced and to certain sections/parts within dark tourist sites which they have special feelings towards. Regarding those deceased people related to the dark sites, it is difficult to determine what factors and standards distinguish ancestors from historical figures; indeed, the length of passing time is a key factor, but it is still difficult to say how long it needs to turn 'ancestors' into 'historical figures' (Walter, 2009). Perhaps it can (only) be expected that time will be able to wash away the pain and sorrow when people encounter with their 'ancestors' and reduce such strong emotions. This is not to say that these deceased become 'historical figures' and are forgotten or not important anymore, but means that the pain can be released so that people are able to face the past and the dead peacefully afterwards.

Except the issues of death and the dead, researchers also observe that some people come to the dark sites in order to appreciate the values and significance of the tangible heritage pieces/sites themselves (RCMG, 2014). As many scholars already propose and I discuss in Chapter 2, the physical structures and buildings of heritage also present their unique characteristics and significance (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010). These physical constructions/structures of heritage were built by people to deal with certain circumstances at that times; therefore, these pieces of heritage were utilised for specific functions and aims, which were accompanied with specific values and could also reflect people's thoughts in that space-time contexts (Aplin,

2005). As time passes, the same heritage structures might be used by later generations for the same or different operations, and the same/different cultural/historical meanings have then been generated and have gradually attached, accumulated onto the heritage pieces (Aplin, 2005; Smith, 2006). For example, the famous Tower of London was once the palace and residence of Royal families and also used as a zoo, but it shows great attraction to current visitors as a prison and the place where Anne Boleyn was imprisoned and executed. Until present days, there are already many cultural/historical values and significance that have been arisen in the Tower of London. Additionally, many heritage sites are adopted for film production or in other art works, such as Alcatraz Island in San Francisco, from which new images are attached onto the sites, and the impressions of the public may largely be influenced and changed by the descriptions of the productions or works (Strange and Kempa, 2003). It can be thought in this way that the physical structures of heritage have 'experienced' those stories and history once happened since they were constructed, so the structures themselves are also significant and bear their own cultural/historical importance (Aplin, 2005). All these experiences, features and attached values make a heritage/tourist site special and worthy to be appreciated even if it is a dark site. It seems like that in the cases of dark sites, a part of the visitors do notice and are interested in particular significance and meanings of the structures of heritage whilst a majority of visitors may mainly be attracted by the dark past and horrible stories of the places. Nevertheless, the special meanings and features of heritage pieces themselves are supposed to be one of the main motives that encourages people to visit dark tourist sites.

A lot of possible motives of why people visit dark sites have been discussed, and these possibilities are potential to benefit for people's development and improvement in different degrees (Lennon and Foley, 2010); however, there are supposed to be no lack

of other 'negative' or 'abnormal' reasons. Dark sites are those places related to people's pain, suffering and even death, and it seems like that people are fearful of but also simultaneously curious about the topics of these negative experiences (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley, 2009). Some people may, therefore, treat the issue of death, also the relevant sites and places, seriously; however, it is inevitable that some people do not treat these issues seriously or even regard these topics in 'unusual' ways, such as Schadenfreude or sanguinariness (Gross, 2012; Sharpley, 2009; Walter, 2009). Sharpley (2009) also expresses the possibility of people's attitudes and mentalities of voyeurism or hunting for excitement as they visit these dark places. These kinds of attitudes/mentalities can be observed and represented, to a certain extent, in the forms of many 'ghost tours,' 'haunting tours' or the 'horror house,' 'ghost dungeon' or others in many cities and ancient castles. It seems like that the term 'dark tourism' is used too frequently and arbitrarily to nominate those activities which are intended to scare participants or make them feel bizarre, and their guests are somehow 'enjoying to be scared.' There are some 'designed' tours or activities that do not, or may do, take the participants to places where those horrible events really occur but to designed/manufactured locations and spaces. The main purposes of these activities/tours are to entertain their guests and perhaps to make them enjoy the feeling of scare and thrill. Because these activities include the elements of making people scared (by telling fearful tales or the setting of the designed spaces), some people may just directly regard these activities or the producers would claim them as a type of dark tourism. The phenomenon, to a certain extent, can be resulted from the misunderstanding or unfamiliarity of the nature of dark tourism by (mostly) the public and tourist producers, but it also reveals that people may hold inappropriate impressions on what dark tourism is like or should be. In turn, the phenomenon could result in those professionals' reconsideration of dark tourism or claims of the misusing

of the concepts of dark tourism.

After examining the possible motives that drive people to visit a dark site, the focus is now returned to the original point to figure out what places/sites can be regarded as a 'dark' site. It seems like that many places and sites can be regarded as dark sites as they are related to people's or certain groups' pain, hurt, harm, conflicts, suffering and death. A well-known instance is Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration camp for its close relation to the Holocaust done by Nazi, and because the impacts of Nazi and the massacres of Holocaust were extremely huge, those places related to Nazi are easily thought as dark sites as well, such as the former Nazi rally ground in Nuremberg mentioned in *The Nature and Characteristics of Heritage* (Tsao, 2017; Macdonald, 2008 quoted in Tsao, 2017). Tower of London is also famous as a dark site because of the execution of Anne Boleyn and the mysterious tale of the murdered two little princes (RCMG, 2014). In addition, a lot of places and sites relevant to wars, especially WWI and WWII, are distinguished as dark sites, too, since a great damage of people's lives was lost there, including many battlefields and colonial prisons (regarding colonial prisons, please refer to Beaumont, 2009, Huang, 2014 and Huang and Lee, 2020). It can be paid attention to that because these dark sites linked to wars also reflect issues such as patriotism, brave deeds and behaviour, sacrifice for countries and so on, their characteristics and nature are usually not just 'dark' but also represent positive symbolic messages, which will be further discussed in later sections. I exemplify in previous paragraphs some types of sites/places that are usually regarded as the destinations of dark tourism, and it can be realised that the range which the categories of 'dark tourism' (and its relevant sites) cover is actually diverse and extensive. However, as I also mentioned in last paragraph, many 'ghost tours,' 'haunting tours' or the 'horror house,' 'ghost dungeons' are sometimes seen by the public as dark (tourist)

sites as well. Sharpley (2009) exemplifies that the small town or the street where a murdered young girl lived when she was alive can become and be regarded as a dark site and attracts people, no matter with the purposes of mourning or others, come to visit it; the location where a boat or a cruise sinks and causes people died can also become such a dark tourist site and 'invites' people to come and see it (Sharpley, 2009). Therefore, it could be argued that not only those events which happened for a while before but many current accidents, events that are related to people's suffering or death and the places/structures where these events occur are all possible to be regarded as dark (tourist) sites.

'Dark (tourist/heritage) sites' show a huge category that includes many sites relevant to people's unpleasant experiences, but within the category, there is a 'sub-category' that presents connotation and significance to people's pasts and societies. If inferring from the term 'dark tourism,' it can be supposed that most scholars in this field appear concerned about the phenomena that people visit these sites and aim at exploring their motivations (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley, 2009; Strange and Kempa, 2003), but it seems like that they are less interested in studying whether these accidents/events and the occurring places bring about certain subsequent effects and what kinds of subsequent and significant impacts they have generated upon the society and the public. These sites are kept, conserved, presented and interacted by the public, so it is concerned that, if any, what profound significance and influences can these sites bring to people or they just provide 'exciting' and 'unforgettable' playful experiences? The long-term values and significance of these 'dark' sites/places may not be the principal points that the experts concentrate upon. Nevertheless, there are still exceptions that some professionals focus on the values and importance of certain dark sites. For instance, Robben Island, which was used to imprisoned former South African

president Nelson Mandela, is also considered as a dark tourist site which represents the past of Apartheid and Mandela's experiences of being persecuted, and there is research on tourist activity to Robben Island as a dark tourist site (Strange and Kempa, 2003). Strange and Kempa (2003) investigate visitors' reactions and behaviour during their visiting, which is also one of the concerns that will be addressed later in this thesis. Strange and Kempa's work (2003) illustrates at the same time that the so-called 'dark sites' also include those places/structures/sites similar to Robben Island, contrary to those related to current accidents, that show historical/cultural/ethnic features and present specific, particular implications and values in the process of human/social development (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). This type of 'dark sites,' which implies those with important meanings and significance to people, their societies and developments, will be the central, precise subjects and category (of the dark tourism/sites) that would like to be engaged with in this thesis. Moving back to Strange and Kempa's work (2003), Robben Island is regarded as one of the dark tourist sites because of its relation to Mandela's experiences and to the Apartheid in South Africa. Fortunately, Mandela's endeavour and relevant campaigns against Apartheid had led to positive outcomes, so it seems like that the prison in Robben Island, which is open for the public to visit, is not so 'dark' as it used to be. By contrast, it appears like that the prison is utilised to manifest Mandela's achievements and to reveal the hard, difficult part of his life, and people who go to visit the prison more or less know that Mandela's hard past resulted in a rather positive and worthy consequence. This is a type of consequences and influences that dark tourist/heritage sites, those with similar characteristics and backgrounds as Robben Island, can bring to their visitors and the public about the meanings and significance of dark pasts.

There is another interesting perspective related to dark tourism and dark sites that I

want to discuss here, which is about how/what a person (or a scholar) thinks that an activity of dark tourism should be. It is mentioned before that different people may have diverse thoughts and images of what dark tourism is and what kind of activities done in the sites can be considered as doing activities of dark tourism (Gross, 2012; Lennon and Foley, 2010; RCMG, 2014; Sharpley, 2009; Stone, 2009; Walter, 2009). Arnold-de Simone (2013) expresses a thought on dark tourism that '[u]sually it is another nation's violent and guilt-ridden past that attracts international visitors not least because it can be more easily consumed than one's own difficult history.' (Dalton, 2015) From the statement, it is noticed that it also includes the elements which are identified when discussing the features of 'dark tourism' before: 'visiting places/sites' (another nation), 'death, tragedies, disaster and other atrocious deeds' and 'great impact on people's memories/minds' (violent and guilt-ridden past). What the statement attracts me is that it shows particular viewpoints which can be examined further, especially those of 'another nation,' 'more easily consumed' and 'one's own difficult history.' Using another angle to analyse, does the statement mean that (only) going to another nation (not the person's own country) and see the difficult history of that 'another nation' can be regarded as doing activities of dark tourism? Then what about visiting places/sites in one's own country and read those dark history? Does it not be considered as dark tourism? If so, what will be the nature of the activities of visiting dark tourist sites in one's own country? In my opinion, the statement may be a rather extreme explanation of the nature of dark tourism, but it has the risk of leading to certain misunderstanding towards dark tourism for some people. Additionally, the point of 'more easily consumed' is worth noting, too. It can be supposed that the activities of dark tourism are what visitors themselves choose to conduct; no matter what are their pursuit or purposes, they make the act of consumption of dark tourism in, according to Arnold-de Simone's statement, another country concerning the difficult

history of the country. It has been argued on the aspect of moral issues of dark tourism that whether other people's (and perhaps one's own) painful past, including the sites/places, memories and the victims/survivors, should or could be commodified (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Even though the aims of visitors may be positive, such as learning from those tragedies in the past and prevent those from recurring in the future, it still more or less influences the emotions and perceptions of local communities, no matter they are victims, their families or not. Therefore, dark tourism is not a general type of tourism that one can attend the activities lightheartedly; the moral issues implicit in dark tourism is something that should always be taken into account. These perspectives and thoughts raised from Arnold-de Simone's statement are not meant to criticise the inappropriateness or insufficiency of the statement. It raises important concepts relevant to dark tourism that are worth considering, and it is taken as an example to demonstrate that people, both the public and the experts, may have various considerations of what can be defined as dark tourism.

Combining the phenomena and concepts discussed in this section, they provide basic pictures of what dark tourism is and the possibility of what these activities of dark tourism are for. No matter people go to these sites/places for the purposes of education, pursuing the meaning of death, meeting the dead or other 'negative' or 'abnormal' reasons, they visit sites/places related to particular unpleasant and painful experiences of certain group(s) of people, so the issues of consumption and morality are necessary to be considered. Additionally, it should be noted that it is not all of these dark places/sites/structures that represent significant messages and meanings; in other words, some of them are regarded and designated as heritage because of their importance and others may be categorised as general tourist sites. Rather than those dark sites of current accidents and those mainly for entertainment with little

inspirational information, this research will be aimed at engaging with those dark heritage sites (or more specifically, difficult heritage sites, which will be explained further in **Section 4.3** of this chapter) which are related to certain conflicts or repulsive experiences in the past and cause profound influences and significance upon the later generations of a society. It will also be the aims of the research to figure out how people experience, reflect, recognise and 'learn' from these dark/difficult heritage sites after their visiting rather than just for the purposes of sightseeing, voyeurism or hunting for excitement.

[Section 4.2. Prisons as heritage](#)

As it is mentioned in the last section that dark sites, both heritage ones and simply tourist ones, show certain connection with the themes of people's hurt, harm, suffering or death, and prisons are definitely counted in this category. I especially bring out the type of prisons into a separate section for discussion because the two case studies of this research are both former prisons. They are Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The Old Prison is a prison constructed by the Japanese in Japanese colonial time (1895-1945 A.D.), and Jing-Mei Memorial Park was also a prison utilised to imprison former political victims with relatively light sentences in the period of White Terror (1947-1987 A.D.)¹⁸ whilst it functioned as a detention centre and courts as well. In addition, all of these prisons, no matter they are turned into museums, memorials, hotels or other functions after being decommissioned, show quite different and specific nature and characteristics. As a result, it is worthy to have a further discussion aimed at this specific type of prisons. Prisons, according to the definition of

¹⁸ Regarding the exact period of White Terror, the Taiwanese specialists and scholars still do not have a consensus. Some of them think that 1949 when the Nationalist (KMT) Government retreated to Taiwan is formally the starting of White Terror whilst parts of other scholars regard that 1947, when February 28 Incident broke out, already indicates the explicit conflict between local Taiwanese people and those from mainland China and the extreme handling of the Nationalist Party. Other relevant controversies and discussions will be raised in the corresponding sections in following chapters.

Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, refer to 'a building where people are kept as a punishment for a crime they have committed, or while they are waiting for trial' or 'the system of keeping people in prisons'¹⁹. According to the definitions, it can be understood that prisons are related to the concepts, operation, systems and institutions/organisations of imprisonment and punishment. Foucault's influential work, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1979), presents the functions and necessity of prisons in a society; many of Foucault's deep and inspiring arguments have also enlightened later scholars and their discussions or even the design of real penal constructions. Generally speaking, prisons are operated through limiting or depriving a person's (usually the criminals and those who commit crimes) freedom for the purposes of maintaining the safety and stability of a society/nation, of cultivating the person's behaviour and of preventing the person from hurting others, the society and committing crimes again. Therefore, from this angle, it seems like that prisons can be regarded as 'positive' institutions. Nevertheless, although the mysterious and 'dark' tone of prisons attracts a lot of people, there are certain cases of prisons which carry relatively heavy and difficult historical/cultural messages that make the public fearful and unwilling to engage with the structures. As a result, that the nature and character of a prison are either positive or difficult would largely depend on its historical background and the involved events, such as who were those imprisoned people and who were the imprisoned, for what events and reasons that they were imprisoned, what were the methods of capturing and arresting people and other involved details.

Prisons are the institutions for imprisonment, and there are other types of institutions for imprisonment as well that their characters are needed to pay attention to at the

¹⁹ Oxford Learner's Dictionaries, <https://www.oxfordlearnersdictionaries.com/definition/english/prison?q=Prison> [Accessed on 31st August 2020].

same time. Prisons are the institutions that people generally know which are for imprisoning people, but this could to a certain extent limit people's understanding of other similar establishments. Detention centres, concentration camps, correctional labour camps and other units can also be regarded as the institutions for imprisonment; in other words, they are all in the category of 'dark' sites. However, they are not necessarily the 'difficult' ones, which are closely relevant to unreasonable and unjustifiable oppression, unjust treatment and violation of human rights. These sites, not just limited to the types of prisons or other similar constructions but also include open spaces or fields etc., are usually given a special and more specific name, difficult heritage²⁰. The last section of this chapter will be dedicated to the difficult heritage and its relevant issues. Back to the topics of the buildings and structures of dismissed prisons, regardless of their later reused methods and patterns, there are some scholars criticising that it is inappropriate or even immoral to let the public visit a former prison for the reasons that this kind of activities tries to please or entertain the public and the visitors with the pain of certain (groups of) people (Strange and Kempa, 2003). It is also worried that this kind of 'dark' activities and places may risk putting the visitors in the circumstances which are sensitive and are possible to let visitors feel dangerous or threatened. Undoubtedly, this consideration is not aimed only at the institutions/sites of former prisons but can be extended and broadened to other dark sites. Relevant debates have continuously been brought out; however, it should not be neglected that the economic consideration, the replacement of new regimes (Strange and Kempa, 2003), the strategies adopted/amended according to the orientation of visitors'

²⁰ There are many terms created and used to address this kind of heritage that is related to negative events and represents negative meanings/significance. In addition to difficult heritage, there are contested heritage (Dann and Seaton, 2001; Naef and Ploner, 2016; Silverman, 2010), dissonant heritage (Lähdesmäki, Passerini, Kaasik-Krogerus and van Huis, 2019; Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996) and others. Some people even directly use 'dark heritage' to refer to this type of heritage. In this research, I prefer to use 'difficult heritage' because not only people may feel difficult to face this type of heritage and the relevant past, but also it is difficult in some cases to produce appropriate and consensual interpretations.

interests to a large extent influence or even determine dark sites in various facets, such as their establishment (or not), the reused patterns, opening to the public (or not), their nature/characters and the (re)presentation of interpretations.

There are many 'famous' prisons that attract global tourists to visit them, such as the Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, U.S., Kilmainham Gaol in Dublin, Ireland and Changi Prison in Singapore. Additionally, there is another type of 'prisons' which are frequently seen, noticed and experienced, that are the dungeons of many ancient/medieval castles and those 'horror/ghost tours' which are designed as easy activities in diverse cities/towns. Undeniably, this type of dungeons and tours also present the 'dark' features related to murder, people's suffering and death, but their features and nature are much more on the aspects of entertainment, amusement and enjoyment than on their real historical influences upon and implications for the actual societies. Therefore, I will ignore and skip this type of sites and activities. Turning back to the listed penal institutions, the Alcatraz Island is famous both for its steep and precipitous landforms and geographical location, and for the stories and facts of those outrageously wicked criminals who were once imprisoned there, as a former chief Hoover once stated that Alcatraz was for those 'worst of the worst' (quoted from Strange and Kempa, 2003). In the course of its life journey, Alcatraz Island had performed different roles, but it seems like that what makes it so famous and attractive is still its penal function and experiences. Because it is the prison which imprisons real criminals, it makes the public feel curious about its interior layout and forms, and it seems like that Alcatraz can be regarded as a 'positive' prison. The main motivation of general visitors of visiting Alcatraz presents low connection with influential people/group activities or developments, and the phenomenon makes Alcatraz more like a (dark/general) tourist site. Nevertheless, when taking its connection with Indian

occupation and contest into account, Alcatraz Island can be regarded as illustrating important symbol of equality and human rights, too (Strange and Kempa, 2003). On the aspect of Kilmainham Gaol, I personally visited it before, so I would like to express my experience and feelings as a general visitor. The Gaol is roughly divided into the old parts (used from 18th century) and new-built parts; both the old and the new parts are conserved so visitors are able to see how it looks like at present. The Gaol is regulated that visitors can only visit the site in the form of a group which is led by tour guides; during the tour, the guides tell the history of the Gaol and the stories of those who had been imprisoned here. When visiting the old parts, the introduction is concentrated on the social background and circumstances at that time, and the Gaol was run as a general prison. In the new parts of the Gaol, the stories are turned to focus on its relations of with the independence of Ireland and those participants of the movements. From the introduction of the tour guides it is known that the Gaol is closely related to the meanings and spirit of Irish independence, and how those participants fought and even sacrificed because of it. Their stories are told sincerely by tour guides; when I heard these stories, I felt sorry and sorrowful for what they confronted and what their families lost. Later, we were led to the execution ground, surprisingly I did not really feel scared or terrified but depressed and grieved.

Although Kilmainham is a former prison, I did not feel it 'dark' when visiting. If insisting on finding one, it would be the old parts of the Gaol due to the remote past and old, poor conditions. The space of the new parts is relatively open and bright, so it does not give me the feelings of oppression and nervousness. What is more, it is possible that because of the bright and open space, it, to some extent, leaves a margin for me to feel and experience the stories and imagine the circumstances which the tour guides described, and I am able to think deeply about the implicit significance, meanings and

affection of the Gaol to local people. Another point worth mentioning is that in the execution ground, the guides describe vividly the situations when those participants of independence movement were executed, so visitors are able to imagine the scenes, the moment of facing death, and this could easily leave visitors strong, profound realisation and feelings.

It reveals here that Kilmainham Gaol and Chia-Yi Old Prison show similar characteristics that they are closely related to local communities and the residents' lives. The differences between them are that the Old Prison performed as a general prison and it becomes a part of the landscape of the city, as something which is seen every day and is used to; Kilmainham Gaol means a lot not only to local people but also to the establishment of the Republic of Ireland and the development of their independence. It reflects the spirit of that time to a certain extent and has great meanings and significance for the community. What should also be taken into account is the feelings and impressions that these two prisons leave to their visitors; at least for me, I did not feel many negative emotions such as fear, disgust and uneasiness during or after my visiting (but sorrow in Kilmainham Gaol; however, I did not feel uncomfortable because of it). Additionally, there is also resemblance between Kilmainham Gaol and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the second case study of this research. Both of them represent the conflicts between two groups of people with respective ideologies and beliefs; one group may try to control or overtop another one (usually the local community) or even to impose its own ideology upon the local group. It is because of the confrontation of different ideologies and the control of authority/power that lead to the conflicts between two groups.

The interpretations of these events and the relevant locations, structures are largely

dependent on later development, namely which side takes the power and control after the conflict. If the side which tries to control local group prevails, the conflict may be described and recorded as a local rebellion, a useless action led by foolhardy people. On the contrary, if the local group predominates, it would turn the conflict into a successful self-protection and self-approval that they keep their belief and values. It can be determined from this kind of conflicts, events and the sites/structures that the formation of cultural heritage is a changing process and the outcomes are changeable and unfixed, and the political conditions and regimes indeed influence how heritage is interpreted, the interpretive orientation and its nature (Harrison, 2012, 2013a; Huang, 2014; Smith, 2006). This is especially the case when it comes to colonial prisons.

There is a prison which I mention in the beginning of the two foregoing paragraph from here, Changi Prison, and I would like to discuss it with other Asian colonial prisons because their backgrounds are in the same historical context and driven by the same political/military force. Changi Prison is an interesting case due to its relationship with three countries from the period of WWII until now. Changi locates in Singapore and the prison was erected by the Japanese when they invaded Singapore, and the imprisoned victims, according to Beaumont's work (2009), were mostly Australian military and soldiers. Because of this geographical relationship and the relation amongst these three countries, Changi Prison has borne diverse memories and emotions of different people, and the condition results in that the people of interest from different countries have distinct perspectives and ideas regarding the conservation of Changi Prison or not as well. In Beaumont's work (2009), it does not explicitly present the opinions of the Japanese; as the 'perpetrators' in the situation of that historical context, it seems like that it would be difficult and inconvenient for them to express certain opinions. Compared with the Singaporean side who tends to delete the traces of that time, it is

the Australian military, soldiers and the official who want to keep and try to retain the traces and structures because for them, those are the places where they placed their hope on and supported them to get through the harsh time of being captured (Beaumont, 2009). It can be noticed from the case of Changi Prison that even though those are painful memories and feelings for the Australian military and soldiers as the sufferers, it is their thoughts to conserve the traces and the structures after the War, so that these can be 'transformed' into the evidence, the 'memorials' to tell their stories, their experiences and the history (Beaumont, 2009). It also reveals another possibility that the veterans may not mean to do these for conveying the history to the public, but simply for retaining the attachments of their memories, so that if they return to the places in the future, they can recollect and be recalled with these fragments in the abyss of their minds and memories.

Similar situations also appear in the regions where had been invaded, occupied and controlled/colonised by the Japanese Imperial Government during WWII. Huang and Lee (2020) have researched these East-Asian regions/countries and some of the colonial prisons that were built by the Japanese in these countries and still exist so far. The regions include China, South Korea and Taiwan. They explain that the implications and significance of investigating these colonial prisons are that

'it illuminates ... the contemporary use of prisons as heritage tends to reduce the process of colonial modernity to oppression and atrocity – thus constituting a heritage of shame and death, which postcolonial societies blame upon the former colonizers. A study of how the remembering of the present by correcting the past, *Heritage, Memory, and Punishment* examines how prisons were designed, ... preserved, and redeveloped across political regimes, demonstrating the ways in which the selective use of prisons as heritage, reframed through nationalism, leaves marks on urban

According to the statement, it is illuminated that colonial prisons do not only represent the facts of conflicts between two groups of people (the colonisers and the colonised local people), but also reflect how the colonised countries and their people regard, remember the memories and emotions at the moment and further convey/transmit them to later generations and other groups of people (such as foreign visitors) after the colonisation and unpleasant confrontation. The experiences of being invaded and colonised by another country would not be enjoyable ones; they usually accompany cruel oppression and unequal treatment. As a result, some formerly colonised people even think of the experiences as shameful and painful ones, and the memories and interpretations towards the colonisers would inevitably not be positive, impartial ones after the colonisation. It is noticed in many countries that the former colonial prisons are usually renovated and utilised to blame the colonisers afterwards, from which it also functions to strengthen the patriotism of the colonised people and to form their coherence, as Huang and Lee (2020) have illustrated. Therefore, it can be deemed that what makes these former colonial prisons 'difficult' are not exactly on the aspects of making interpretations or explanations based on the past or of stressing human equality or of condemning the invasive deeds. The really difficult matters lie on how these people (the 'once-colonised' local people) face and confront the painful past, how they produce 'proper' interpretations/expressions/evaluations and how they face the other side (the colonising people) afterwards.

Amongst these East-Asian countries, it seems like that the societies are permeating in a tensional atmosphere and are supposed to have certain reactions to the 'colonising-colonised' relationships, but an interesting phenomenon is shown in Chia-Yi

Old Prison. It is also a prison built by the Japanese when Taiwan was colonised, so it is reasonable to regard it as a colonial prison and infer that similar reactions, phenomena and tension between the colonised people and the colonisers would appear. However, on the contrary, my interviewees generally express positive impressions on the Japanese and their constructions during the colonial period. That what leads to the situations is wondered, and the possible reasons, the time-space background and context will be discussed and analysed in later chapters, and perhaps the analyses are able to offer references and new facets for consideration when conducting relevant research in the field of colonization in East-Asian region.

[Section 4.3. Dissonant/contested/difficult heritage](#)

In the title of this section, I list some terms which are usually adopted to address those sites and structures that are related to the painful or shameful experiences or conflicts of diverse groups of people, and I would like to discuss slightly first about their possible referred objects. I have mentioned earlier (in **footnote 20** on p.82 and **Section 4.2** of this chapter) that I use 'difficult heritage' to address these sites/structures; in addition to 'difficult heritage,' there are other two terms that I usually see when other scholars address these objects or sites. They are 'dissonant heritage' and 'contested heritage.' 'Dissonant heritage,' as Johnson (2014) expresses, is usually utilised to discuss 'the ways in which the past can be used as a resource in present conflict situations.' In her research, she exemplifies how the interpretations of an official statue of J.P. Coen, a 'contributor' in fascist Netherlands, have been changed and challenged as the Fascism was overthrown and replaced by current liberal trend (Johnson, 2014). The residents of the researched small town were once immersed in fascist thoughts and therefore held positive impression on Coen. However, after the WWII, fascism was blamed and the liberal trend took the place, so the evaluation of Coen was shifted and his

'contribution' was challenged; as a result, the local residents were 'forced' to 'confront' with the situation that Coen became a murderer and their former impression towards him 'needed to be changed.' From this case, it is noticed that what makes the evaluation and interpretation towards Coen and his statue 'dissonant' results from different time contexts and accompanying trends of thoughts. The residents of the researched town in Netherlands are seemed like having no dissention regarding the interpretation of Coen under the fascist regime and period; what is different is the interpretations of Coen in and after the wartime, and the residents need to face and accept the transition. Therefore, it perhaps can be said that it is the 'dissonance' between the past and the present, not the thoughts of local people. When it comes to another term, 'contested heritage,' Silverman (2010) provides discussion and examples to demonstrate the concepts:

'... it is not coincidental that NAGPRA (Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) was passed ... The civil rights concern that were mobilizing Native American communities and their non-indigenous allies were consilient with the kinds of issues motivating WAC activism worldwide ... Indigenous peoples ... around the world were now vociferously insisting on physical and ideological control of—or least participation in decision-making about—their cultural heritage, from sequestered human remains to sites to exhibited artifacts—indeed, to the representation of themselves in the everyday. And they were questioning the exclusive validity of Western science itself.'

(Silverman, 2010: 3-4)

With these concepts and premise, it can be understood that the objects themselves (taking the human remains of the native people's ancestors as examples) do not show the features or nature which can be 'contested;' what makes these objects become 'contested heritage/objects' are the methods they were obtained by the invaders or

aggressors. It is possible that the aggressors gained (or seized) these objects without informing the local people/original owners/the descendants or receiving their permission. What is more, as Silverman (2010) mentions, these aggressors usually make their own interpretations and explanations of the seized objects without considering and putting the objects in the circumstances, cultural/ideological contexts where they originally belong to. Local people and the original group's perspectives and understanding are neglected or ignored in the interpretive processes. That who has the rights to make the interpretations of heritage/an object is always an unsolved issue, and perhaps because of this, interpretations and explanations from different angles/positions by different people should all be included for comprehensive consideration, especially the people, the population who the objects originally belong to. Therefore, the 'contested' exists on the aspects of the confrontation of two (or even more) different cultural systems and ideologies, of who own the rights to explain/interpret the objects and of where the objects should be stored, conserved and whether it is reasonable/appropriate or even moral to be stored in a modern museum.

In addition to these two terms, the relatively appropriate one I use to address those negative heritage site in question is 'difficult heritage.' It comes to the same consideration that why it is 'difficult' or what makes it difficult? Qian's work (2009) provides a good example for exploring the reasons; in the work, it shows that the victims' emotions and the involved sides' (maybe two or more) different attitudes may be the key 'difficult' matters to deal with. Goodman and Paz-Alonso state that 'memory for traumatic and highly emotional negative events tends to be reasonably accurate and better retained over time than is memory for more routine experiences.' (Goodman and Paz-Alonso 2006, quoted from Qian, 2009) Rigby also regards that it is difficult for the victims who once suffered to be reminded of those painful memories

(Rigby, 2001, quoted from Qian, 2009), not to say to face and deal with them. Indeed, the victims with some tragic experiences tend to not mention them and leave the experiences in their deep memories because the events are too painful to be rethought. To a certain extent, it may be immoral to (somehow forcedly) ask them to review the grievous experiences and memories. It is a difficult issue on another level as well when the sorrow is experienced by a group of people or even the whole country. Another reason which may cause the difficulty is the different or even contrary perspectives on, explanations and interpretations of the same events that are held by respective involved sides. Qian (2009) describes the situations of Nanjing Massacre and that later Japanese scholars have been disputing the exact number and amount of the killed and wounded (especially the civilians) which the Japanese armies caused at that time. Due to their different 'research results,' the scholars even deny the killed and wounded the armies once caused or even the existence and truth of Nanjing Massacre. It can be noticed the resulted differences and deviation of respective interpretations held by the involving two sides, and these differences further lead to the condition that the consensus concerning the tragic event cannot be achieved. Consequently, this kind of historic (painful, shameful and tragic) events, also those corresponding understanding and interpretations, would somehow inevitably present controversies and 'difficult' to be explained and represented neutrally and rationally.

In the next parts of this Section, I would like to spend some spaces discussing how current people, especially those who experienced painful events and there is difficult heritage erected in their countries, would live or behave in a 'difficult-heritage' way. As discussed in **Section 2.3**, heritage to a large extent influences people's understanding of their past and of who they are; after visiting a heritage site, people would live with the features/significance of the heritage integrated in their understanding/minds and

express these features in certain situations or diverse occasions in their daily lives. Because difficult heritage is a category of broad heritage as well, it is essential to explore how people would comprehend these difficult heritage sites into their lives and represent these negative characteristics. Logan and Reeves (2009) mention that 'Heritage places ... serve to maintain a group's sense of connection with its roots in the past.' (2009: 2) It has been discussed before that each heritage site shows particular important values and implications (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Vecco, 2010), and this principle is also applicable in the cases of difficult heritage sites, but they may tend to represent and focus on conflicts which occur in a particular historical period. As a result, it can be inferred that even though it is dark past or difficult history, it is still the roots that connect the society and the people with their past.

Regarding how people may react to difficult heritage sites, after referring to relevant literature and through my research fieldwork, certain phenomena are observed and they can be roughly categorised into two modes. The first one is the occasion that a nation and its people as a whole resist the offense of another country/other countries, and the second one is the condition that these are conflicts between two, or more, different groups of people within the same society/country. There are many cases of heritage around the world that present the occasions of the first mode, such as many monuments commemorating the soldiers and those who sacrificed in WWI or WWII. This kind of heritage tells stories of how the people of the nation fight against those from another country in order to protect themselves, their country and their unity, and these heritage sites are usually utilised by later governments as tools and means of disseminating, establishing and 'educating' the people of the nation about patriotic ideas and national/collective identity (Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Ye, 2015). When the people of the country visit these heritage sites, it can be

imagined what they may see and learn about how their people and ancestors fought against the 'offenders' and sacrificed their lives so that they could have the present peace and stable social/living circumstances. After realising these past and events, people may mourn the dead, knowing the difficulty of maintaining peace and appreciate their people, their social condition and the current nation (Hashimoto, 2011; Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Ye, 2015).

In terms of their attitudes towards the nation(s) of the 'offenders,' it may depend on how the heritage sites/monuments are interpreted. That what messages are conveyed and the current international relationship with other countries, the countries of the 'offenders' can largely affect people's attitudes towards the history and the counterparts. As it is known that heritage also represents political consideration, so it is another difficult issue, too, to balance the relationship with other countries and the maintenance of self-respect and patriotism of their own nations. However, there are some examples showing that the people of the offended countries more or less still have certain negative attitudes, viewpoints or even hatred to the 'offenders' countries, such as South Korea to Japan (Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020) or other countries which once suffered from slavery to the British (Smith, 2010; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). Nevertheless, it seems like that in the first mode of cases that conflicts occur between two countries (or against more than two nations), the painful past would somehow 'support' the countries and their people to build the bonds and patriotism that could assist in the establishment, maintenance and development of the nations after conflicts or wars.

The circumstances of the second mode, conflicts between groups in a society, would be much more complicated than the cases of the first mode. People who live in the same

society, or saying it as a nation, are possible to generate opposite ideas due to their different perspectives and positions on the same thing. This is especially the case when it is related to political positions or diverse political situations in a particular occasion; in this kind of occasions, it is easy not only to cause opposition amongst different group(s), but also to harm the others in order to maintain the political advantage and power of one's own side. The harm could be persecuting members of other groups, causing their loss of benefits and rights or even taking their lives in either long or short terms. When these conflicts somehow come to an end, because the opposite sides, both the perpetrators/oppressors and the victims, still live and exist in the same society/nation, that how would they regard each other and how they coexist afterwards will to a great extent influence the operation and development of the society/nation in the future. During the period of the conflicts, certain objects, places or buildings/structures may be involved and related to the actions or activities of both sides, and these objects/places/structures are likely to be kept and conserved and nominated later as cultural heritage. Through this kind of actions of keeping relevant structures, it can be proven on the one hand that these objects/heritage sites with negative meanings and images show specific values of being conserved; on the other hand, it also demonstrates that these negative heritage objects/sites, at least in certain period(s), are needed for the society. These conserved heritage objects/sites present not only the function of commemoration (of the killed/sacrificed people and the events), but also the implications of being proofs or 'witnesses.' However, after these objects are kept, the issues of how they will be interpreted and displayed (in particular ways) in front of the public (of course, including both the former perpetrators and the victims) are crucially related to the position, the statement of the side which was in charge of the government after the conflicts and how this side understands the conflicts. It is already exemplified how two parties may interpret the same conflict in

the paragraphs of Kilmainham Gaol in **Section 4.2** of this chapter (see pp.84-86). What is more is that the interpretations generated by this side can largely form, change or even determine the understanding and perspectives of the future generations on the conflicts and their meanings to the society/nation.

According to the circumstances described above, it is understandable that after conflicts, people from different groups will have diverse understanding and interpretation towards the same places or structures which are designated as heritage. When conflicts just end, people in the society/nation just experience the upheavals, so the 'positions' and 'attitudes' of their own sides are still vivid, and it can be imagined that they hold quite precise consciousness, positions and attitudes towards the opposite side/group, the conflicts and the relevant heritage to a certain extent. For future generations, they have not experienced the upheavals and conflicts in person, so the main sources of their understanding about the events may come from their own family members' descriptions and explanation, (possibly) curricula in schools or from the interpretation and information provided in heritage sites which are related to the conflicts (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). On the aspect of the information which comes from family members, it is potential that the position of the 'receivers,' the later generations or the descendants of the family, may be affected by those of their family members who had experienced the conflicts. On another aspect of the messages from school curricula and cultural heritage interpretation, they are possible to be controlled and influenced by the political party/force in charge and its ideology. That who governs the society/nation at the time could influence or change the contents and 'facts' written in text books, the heritage to be designated and the interpretations presented in the heritage sites (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Huang, 2014; Smith, 2006; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and

Fouseki, 2010; Ye, 2015). Furthermore, it is because the members of both (or more) the opposite sides still coexist in the same society/nation, it is inevitable that different sets of concepts/thoughts/perspectives would encounter each other and certain derivative controversy, friction or contradiction may further generate. It is possible that the situations may lead to other 'conflicts' from another angle. It should be noticed that the situations do not just occur when the members from different groups encounter, similar contradiction could also happen when the messages and information received from diverse sources by an individual are contradictory or inconsonant to each other. In this kind of situations, it may cause the individual's inner confusion or make him/her feel unsure about the 'past,' the society and the understanding he/she once knows or even the identity he/she holds.

One of the case studies of the thesis, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, is an example to illustrate the circumstance of the second mode, conflicts between groups in the same society/nation. Jing-Mei Memorial Park is represented the conflicts between people from mainland China and Taiwanese local people after WWII and civil wars in mainland China. Jing-Mei Memorial Park is now conserved as a heritage site and is utilized to present the authoritarian control of the Nationalist (also known as 'KMT') government over the people in Taiwan and how those victims were treated during the period of White Terror (regarding the relevant historical background, please refer to Chapter 3. Taiwanese History). After the White Terror ended, the Nationalist (KMT) Party had still been the major force and members that consisted of the government. This could be one of the reasons that causes the designation and establishment of Jing-Mei Memorial Park as heritage were not conducted immediately after the end of White Terror. Regarding the establishment of Jing-Mei Memorial Park as heritage, a detailed description is provided on pp.181-184 in the **A brief introduction** sections in Chapter 7,

from which a phenomenon that different groups in Taiwanese society hold diverse perspectives on Jing-Mei Memorial Park and its establishment will be presented.

After the White Terror, the members of the Nationalist (KMT) Party, also the civilians for it and its political ideas, still exist in Taiwan and hold the dominion of government over Taiwan. Meanwhile, they also coexist in Taiwan with the political victims, their families and those who had generated the thoughts and consciousness of ‘the people living in Taiwan,’ which distinguished themselves from those ‘coming from mainland China’ after WWII (please see pp.54-55, pp.58-59 in Chapter 3). These two groups of people in Taiwan seem like that they get along well together; however, according to my observation and personal experiences as a local Taiwanese citizen, when it comes to the topics of political positions and concepts, it makes Taiwanese people sensitive and turns them into a state of mutual hostility. When Taiwanese people visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park, because most of these people were once under the governance of the Nationalist government and were ‘educated’ with the thoughts and concepts of the Nationalist Party, the ‘neutrals’ as I will mention in later chapters, they suddenly confront another – the dark and sinister – facet or ‘facts’ of the same government, and many of my interviewees did express that they feel shocked. In addition, a tour guide of Jing-Mei Memorial Park shared to me her experiences that once when she introduced the unpleasant deeds of the Nationalist officers at that time upon victims in a guided tour, a visitor refuted and said that she lied. From the example in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it can be seen that the interpretation in a heritage site offers particular messages from the past, and the offered messages may be opposite or contradictory to individuals’ (the visitors’) previous understanding; when the occasions happen, it would test or challenge the individuals’ once-known past, society and community they live in and the ‘themselves’ which they once think they were.

In addition to the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki (2010) also illustrate an example when the British celebrated the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act of 1807. Before the discussion, a premise should be provided that even though the issue of enslavement in the U.K. is seemed like the conflict between the British and enslaved African, but some of the descendants of the enslaved African have been staying in England and have become the citizens of the nation. Therefore, this case can be regarded as the conflict between different groups in a nation to a certain extent. In this case of Abolition described in the article, different from the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it seems like that the British do not deny or forget the history of slavery; on the contrary, it seems like that they 'beautify' the history into an ideal and positive one. By doing so, they use it as a tool to praise the great achievement and benevolent, heroic identity of the British (Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). The authors also mention that certain topics of guilt, shame and responsibility in many narratives, especially the official one(s), related to the bicentenary are consciously ignored or downplayed, and perhaps this is the reason why it makes some British people uncomfortable and uneasy when particular people or organisations, such as exhibitions in museums, bring out these negative aspects on purpose (Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). It appears that in order to deflect or make people, who could be their own citizens or others outside of the country, neglect their guilt and involvement in the slave trade, British people, or, saying, their officials, purposely want to emphasise the grand and humanitarian contributions which they had made in the process of slavery. According to their reactions, perhaps as what the authors express, the British (and their consciousness) actually know these historical facts, and they know that they, their ancestors more specifically, did wrong things and hurt those enslaved African and their descendants. Nevertheless, the issues

are that they are reluctant to acknowledge or accept the facts that they did wrong things and hurt other people and subsequently apologise for these. As a result, when some of these matters and topics related to the slavery are revealed, it would somehow provoke the people and make them deny, evade or feel uneasy.

The circumstance and phenomena of the British Abolition case described above also raise another concern that can, also should, pay attention to, which is that what is people's reaction when they realise or confront with the facts? It can be observed from the interviews presented in the work regarding the diverse reactions/reflections of the British (Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). These reactions/reflections include evasion ('we did not just do the bad things; we also did great deeds to remedy it.'; 'contrary to the awful things, we did much better and grander actions, did not we?') and denial ('that was done by people hundreds of years ago, and we the present people should not carry the guilt.')

²¹ (Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). These reactions appear to echo with those in the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park that a visitor deny what a tour guide says; although the reaction of evasion is not observed by myself when conducting fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it is still shown through the attitudes and responses of current Nationalist (KMT) Party towards the issue of White Terror. It seems like that these rather passive reactions of evasion and denial frequently occur and (maybe unconsciously) are adopted by the members of current Taiwanese society because these new messages received in Jing-Mei Memorial Park contradict or are opposite to what they (think they) know before. These passive reactions, such as denial, evasion and dissent, may be regarded as the strategies which people can adopt for self-protection/affirmation. However, except these reactions, it is

²¹ The words and sentences presented in the two parentheses are not the original words said by the interviewees and quoted in the article, but the paraphrased contents of their speech by myself.

worth mentioning that in the British Abolition case, there are still people being brave to acknowledge that ‘... because I’m English, born in England, I feel responsible.’ (Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). Although the interviewee who made the statement also shows reactions of evasion when it comes to the topic of slavery in England, it still illustrates the possibility of confronting the conflict actively and positively, from which it also brings out potential opportunity of reconciliation with the conflicts in the past.

According to the examples of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the British celebration of Abolition and with the basic outlines and conditions concerning the conflicts between groups in a society, the key concerns are then focused on how the heritage and the offered messages influence visitors and how these visitors may live and perform in a ‘negative-heritage’ (or ‘difficult-heritage’) way afterwards. It is not just about people’s understanding and what they realise after their visiting; it is also about people’s experiences before their visiting (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994) and the gaps between these ‘before-visiting’ and ‘after-visiting’ understanding and comprehension, if any. It is usually the gap and difference of the understanding that bother people and which they need to think further in order to ‘overcome’ the difference. When encountering an individual and knowing that he/she ‘belongs’ to or tend to agree with certain group, people are possible to apply particular images and evaluations onto the individual, and the applied perceptions could also be the derivative stereotypes or even hostility. After visiting the heritage related to the conflicts, people (suddenly) realise that what they understand before and how they regard the others are partly/totally improper or not so stably correct – the gap/difference of understanding appears. This may shock the people and perhaps cause their cognitive confusion/panic. Therefore, it is reasonable, as discussed

in the previous paragraph, that certain reactions, including denial and evasion, are generated in order to protect themselves, not only their understanding but also those they hold/believe for supporting the idea of 'who they are.' Here, the issue/concern will be turned to the next stage, which is how people confront and deal with the 'gap/difference,' and what ways they adopt to (re)act/live with the influences of the heritage, the (re)presented conflicts and, most importantly, how they change the attitudes towards other members of the other group(s) and their own group in the same society.

In order to understand heritage and learn its background and implications, it is crucial to produce interpretation, which when it especially is concerning difficult heritage, emotion is an element that needs to be added into consideration. In Chapter 2., the significance of heritage is already elaborated, and heritage is deemed as holding values/meanings from the past and hoped to achieve certain functions in the present. The work of 'translating' the values/meanings to the public is usually believed to be 'interpretation.' Also, the 'generated translation' is supposed to be 'interpretation' itself as well. Tilden (2008) provides a general and rather inclusive definition for the word 'interpretation,' and expresses that interpretation is

'An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experiences, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information.'

(2008: 33)

In addition to the definition, Tilden also mentions many characteristics of interpretation itself and the actions of providing/producing interpretation. For example, he thinks that interpretation is 'a kind of elective education' which help people to 'meet the Thing Itself..' (2008), and the role of those interpreters resembles a

'revealer' that 'uncovers something universal in the world ... that men have not known.' (2008) Amongst Tilden's arguments, there is a thought that attracts my attention, expressing that through interpretation, these objects, heritage 'now had a being.' (2008) The words sound to me like that the objects and heritage once 'disappear' in the flow of time; as people leave or pass away, there is fewer and fewer people remembering them and their meaning. It is because of these interpretations that people 're-discover' the objects and heritage pieces, so they become 'a being' and exist in the world again. In other words, interpretation does not only bring them back into people's views, but also bring them to 'live' again.

It is understandable the relation between heritage and interpretation; regarding interpretation, there is further discussion about the role of people's emotions. In order to bring heritage 'to life' and facilitate people to know the values of heritage, it is crucial to generate interpretations and provide, convey them to the public. In the process of producing interpretation, it is usually concerned if 'emotions' should be added into consideration and be interpreted jointly with the heritage. Uzzell (1989) proposes a term and the conception of 'hot interpretation,' expressing that in addition to cognitive information and the formation of cognitive information, the significance and role of emotions should also be stressed. According to his and Ballantyne's statements, the reason why interpretation is so important and leave profound impressions to people and further affect them is because to a large extent it touches visitors' hearts, making them remind of certain memories and emotions (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2008). From which it is inferred that interpretation shows close relation to emotions and the function/aim of triggering people's emotions. It also illuminates that the element of emotions cannot be neglected in the process of (creating) interpretation. Uzzell mentions the idea as well that emotions are the key distinction

since we people are born as humans. As a result, if interpretation is regarded as a type of intellectual activity of humans, it is inevitable to include and consider the elements of people's emotions and their reactions of emotions (Uzzell and Ballantyne, 2008). This is especially the case when facing the events/spaces/locations of tragedies or conflicts.

It is discussed earlier in this Section, which especially focusses on difficult heritage, that how difficult it could be to provide a proper interpretation because of varied situations and factors. Many cases and researches also exemplify already how intense people's reactions and emotions can be triggered when they confront and engage with these difficult heritage sites (Huang and Lee, 2020; Tsao, 2017). What cause such a difficult and complicated circumstance are not just because of the multifarious involved groups, which respectively hold various perspectives, but also because of the difficulty in facing it. The difficulty includes both facing it (the history and the spaces, locations) and facing it impartially with detachment. Regarding the contradictory values which different people hold and how to produce interpretation in such a condition, Uzzell questions that

'To what extent are visitors challenged? Considerations of not upsetting or troubling the visitor often seem to take precedence over the contribution of interpretation to educating the public about moral and ethical issues, social justice...'

(2006: 11)

and that

'Interpretation is no more immune from the contradictions inherent in public attitudes and values than any other area of contemporary society. The conflicting attitudes we have held and continue to hold about the country and the city ... are

equally reflected in the values that underlie the way we interpret them.'

(2006: 11)

Compared with the conception about interpretation before that it should be held in a neutral and objective position, it seems that Uzzell has an opposite perspective. According to his arguments, he supposes that interpretation can no longer, also should not, be detached itself from the contradictory reality and circumstance. Considering actual situations of facing difficult heritage, the represented history and the involved people, they also hold contradictory understanding and interpretations respectively resulted from their different standpoints. For those who were once involved, their memories and emotions are already interwoven into their experiences and stories, and it is hard to dissociate them. For those who were not involved or the later generations, it is also difficult not to be affected or aroused emotions when hearing these stories or trying to learn the history. Therefore, it can be realised that no matter for the involved or other people, emotion is the essential and integral component for comprehending the background and the history. The expression and presentation of the history, the heritage are seemed not to be integrated if emotions are disengaged from the descriptions or without considering their emotions. In other words, the interpretation of the heritage is no longer sufficient and thorough, and just because it is difficult heritage, which is tightly entwined with people's emotions, emotions become an indispensable component in its interpretation.

It is mentioned in **Section 2.3. Heritage as a cultural process** that people gradually form their understanding and identity based on their personal experiences throughout their lifetimes (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Woodward, 1997), so it is reasonable and imaginable that it is not such an easy task to change a part of it. Visiting these difficult heritage sites

enables the public to experience not only certain negative feelings (Beaumont, 2009; Huang, 2014; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Nawijn and Fricke, 2015) but also the messages opposite/contradictory to their original beliefs and other people holding the opposite/contradictory perspectives (Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Smith, 2010; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). It does not mean to argue that only one set of the ideas and understanding out of the others is 'correct' since all of these different understanding and identities are constructed by diverse people in order to adapt themselves to the society.

When encountering with opposite/contradictory perspectives, it is not easy to directly 'accept' other people's understanding, so there are immediate reactions such as denial and evasion. It takes time for individuals to realise, to find materials for making sure and further to accept/support/deny these opposite/contradictory ideas and thoughts, so that people 'overcome' the gap/difference and convince themselves (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). This process of reviewing and rethinking is also a new stage or course that people start to re-form their existed understanding and identities. Here that 'people "overcome" the gap/difference and convince themselves' does not mean that people 'accept' all those opposite/contradictory ideas. There could be many kinds of outcomes; for example, people are possible to learn these opposite/contradictory ideas and they really accept these new ideas and agree with them, or it could be that they learn and understand these opposite/contradictory ideas but they do not agree with, do not 'accept' these and still hold their original belief. In other words, people can 'accept' the fact that they themselves and their counterparts generate and have different interpretations due to diverse positions, experiences, beliefs and ideologies, but it does not mean or equal that they need to agree with or hold the same interpretations as their counterparts do.

Nevertheless, through these processes of observing the others, self-examining, reflecting and re-evaluating, it also extends people's extent of understanding about the presence and positions of other groups of people and their perspectives. From another angle of view, confronting with and realising other individuals' opinions/positions could be similar to other general learning processes that people are facing the 'new information and fields which they do not know before' (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). The only difference would be how each individual 'accept' these opposite/contradictory perspectives, whether he/she agrees with/contradict them after the process of thinking and evaluating and how they will interact with members of the other groups in the same society afterwards.

Last but not least, it seems necessary to consider if these difficult heritage sites with negative, sorrowful and painful messages are needed to exist and to be conserved. The establishment of difficult heritage is usually expected to achieve certain positive effects and generate positive influences, but it is inevitably necessary to mention conflicts, harm, painful events or even the mistakes which the community committed in the past. Therefore, certain concerns and questions are arisen: are these 'not necessarily "good"' (Smith, 2006) pasts really necessary? Since most of the heritage compliments the society/community on their good and cultural and communal pride (Ahmad, 2006; Aplin, 2005; Lin, 2011; Smith, 2006; Vecco, 2010), is it really necessary to establish heritage sites which bring out the issues of difficult histories and remind people of their mistakes/crimes/painful memories in the past? Indeed, these pasts are generally the matters that people are unwilling to mention or stress and that are easy to (re-)provoke conflicts, so they tend to be marginalised and be outside of people's

attention. The difficult heritage sites also reflect the meanings and implications of revealing people's brutal deeds in the past, revealing the cruel nature of themselves (or others) and the fact that people commit crimes. Therefore, designating objects as difficult heritage and interpreting them mean that people need to face and admit their shameful past, no matter the tragic events are done by themselves or others (Beaumont, 2009; Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2009; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010; Ye, 2015). The designation also explains the difficulty and uneasiness of facing the difficult heritage sites and providing appropriate interpretations. However, I argue that the difficult pasts and the heritage representing them still present their necessity of presence.

For some states and communities which the people overcame the conflicts to a certain extent, erecting difficult heritage and memorial monuments, accompanying the conservation of the pasts, has the implication of showing that, on a real-life perspective, the government is a newborn, mature and civilised one that they will not make the same mistake again. It also has the meaning of showing the government is brave and strong enough to admit the wrong which had been done by themselves or the former government and spontaneously to tell its people and later generations about the committed crimes in the past and the lessons from the events. By doing this, it functions as displaying and reinforcing the positive image of the new government. For the people of the nation/community, the establishment of difficult heritage provides them an opportunity to confront their painful past and to warn their later generations. It also offers them approaches and access to realise the shortcomings of humanity (the dark side) in addition to those grand achievements (the bright side). Difficult heritage also functions as providing materials that tell the existence of the difficult time and reminding the society of the existence of victims. Furthermore, the

victims, depending on the presence of these heritage sites, also acquire chances to appear in front of the public, showing their characters during the difficult pasts, clarifying their claims and strive for their rights and compensation. Therefore, in my opinion, all of these, including not only the conservation of difficult heritage and its accompanying pasts, but also exploring their concealed messages and their potential influences and effects upon the society, do illustrate the necessity of conservation and existence of difficult heritage; in other words, these ‘not necessarily “good”’ pasts (Smith, 2006) are actually necessary and needed.

It is known now that the dark heritage, difficult heritage more specifically, is as important as those positive heritage sites to human societies, especially on the aspects of dealing with their own unpleasant pasts and confirming their ‘roots.’ However, it is not all dark sites can be regarded as heritage or definitely to be ‘dark/difficult.’ Distinguishing those sites with significant negative meanings from other entertaining ones is essential in conducting investigation into people’s engagements with them since people are a key factor that influence the formation of heritage. Through the process of literature review and knowing the historical background of Taiwan, it is realised that how to find out visitors’ feelings and thoughts towards a specific site is the main issue of studying difficult heritage and its influence upon people and their societies. Therefore, the principal consideration of research methods will be how to collect and examine people’s, mainly the visitors’, impressions and reflections after they visit Chia-Yi Old Prison or Jing-Mei Memorial Park, which are the emphases of the next chapter of Research Methods.

Chapter 5. Research Methods

This research aims to explore the features of dark/difficult heritage sites, especially focusing on the type of prisons in Taiwan and investigating their impacts on people's engagements with the past. It explores the question by examining the interaction between people and dark/difficult heritage sites. It extends to how Taiwanese people receive and deal with the information, the dark/difficult histories, and (re-)form their reflection regarding society and themselves.

This chapter examines the research methods that were employed within this research project. In Section 5.1, I explain the reasons of choosing these two heritage sites as the case studies of this research and the processes of negotiation with the management departments of the heritage sites for the permission of doing fieldwork. The reasons of selecting interview and observation as the main research methods is provided in Section 5.2, and Section 5.3 focuses on the sampling of the research and the causes. Next, I discuss how I practice my research methods in the fieldwork in detail respectively in Section 5.4 (observation) and Section 5.5 (interview). Section 5.6 presents the final stage of this research about how I analyse the collected data and why I use the non-cross-sectional method and grounded theory to analyse my data. Lastly, there is something that I experienced when doing fieldwork, and these matters inspired and offered me opportunities to reflect on my research (Mason, 2002). They will be shown in Section 5.7, accompanying a brief conclusion of this chapter.

[Section 5.1. The case studies](#)

This research started by exploring two heritage sites. That what the exploration can be extended is the history of a particular society, the emotional/perceptive projection of the population towards the historical issues, and their understanding. Of course, every

heritage site is relevant to particular human history; heritage is built by a particular group of people and exists in the society from then, witnessing, even 'participating' in, the development and changes of the people and the society (Aplin, 2005). Some of the built constructions may be attached with specific values or significance at particular timing due to different reasons, and they may be regarded and designated as heritage later (Aplin, 2005).

The two case studies chosen in this research are with no doubt become heritage through similar processes; however, what makes them special are the histories they represent. The two heritage sites concerned here respectively represent two historical periods when different regimes from 'outside' governed Taiwanese people. The two regimes had successively governed Taiwan for around 100 years: a period that was also formative of most of the modern developments and phenomena in Taiwan. The consequences of these two regimes still profoundly influence Taiwanese society, its international relationships and people's understanding of themselves and others. As a result, the messages possibly implied and conveyed from the two case studies are not only concerned with the specific historical periods and people's memories or understanding of the periods, but also with current people's perspectives and evaluations as affected by the legacies of the histories and their interaction with diverse groups in contemporary Taiwan. It is supposed that through observing the two case studies and interviewing people, the pictures and messages of how Taiwanese population visit heritage sites and deal with the information can be revealed. With these messages, it can further bring out the discussions of how people regard the society, other groups of people in the same society and themselves through the lens of their own dark/difficult heritage or histories. It is also expected that the research can also offer valuable examples and implications for other societies that had experienced

similar hard times.

Since the historical periods are respectively related to and represented by the two case studies closely, it is hypothesised that when people visit the sites, the structures, the atmospheres and the visiting experiences may remind them or arouse 'something.' The 'something' could be the visitor's personal perceptions and understanding of the history, what others (his/her family members, relatives, friends or guides in museums and other people) have told him/her about the history, his/her emotions and feelings about the historical period and his/her other experiences related to relevant groups of people and so on (Smith, 2006). All of these reflect not only visitors' understanding of and emotions towards the histories and the society of that times, but also what still influential legacies are left from then until now. These reflections may further illuminate how individual visitors understand and view the groups of which their society is comprised, and how they regard themselves in relation to other groups. It was therefore hoped that exploring the two case study heritage sites, might show if and how each site plays a critical role in reflecting the society and particular part(s) of the history of the country, and in influencing people's relationships with others, self-understanding and identification (Smith, 2006).

In order to acquire permission to proceed with fieldwork in my first case study site, Chia-Yi Old Prison, I contacted the management department of the Old Prison. I originally thought that the department was the Cultural Affairs Bureau in Chia-Yi City Government because the Old Prison was a cultural heritage site. However, I later knew that the direct management department was the current Chia-Yi Prison under the Legal Department. That seemed to be a little odd. I directly contacted Chia-Yi Prison and left messages expressing my will to do research in the Old Prison. The staff of Chia-Yi Prison

asked me to provide a brief description, including the purpose, methods, research objects, periods, time schedule and other information, of my research plan for examination. They also asked my School to provide them documents, proofing that I am really a student of the School and this is my research plan, both by post and by email. After they received and examined the documents, they accepted my request and application for conducting fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison. Accompanying the permission, they asked me to pay attention to my behaviour that I should not bother the tour guides or visitors. They also reminded me that it is visitors' will whether they would like to be my interviewees or not. After receiving the permission, I organised a pilot study in October 2016 for two weeks and the formal fieldwork from February to April 2017.

I also sought the permission of the management department of Jing-Mei Memorial Park to start my fieldwork there. I contacted Jing-Mei Memorial Park directly and left a message, stating my will to do research. The staff permitted my request quite soon, and they also asked me to provide the details of my research plan, including the aims, schedule, research methods, interviewed/observed objects and so on. They did not ask the School to offer any proved documents. However, there was a notable thing happening when the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and I negotiated the ways of conducting fieldwork. One day they sent me an email, asking me to describe what kinds of people I wanted to interview, and they would find the people and arrange it for me. This first seemed a little odd to me because according to my original plan and what I had done in Chia-Yi Old Prison, I did not set any conditions for my interviewees because I wanted to broadly collect various opinions from the public who went to visit the site. Therefore, if the interviewed people were 'arranged,' it was possible that the respondents might be limited to a specific group with similar features and ideology,

and their answers might consequently be limited and could not reflect extensive perspectives. I wrote an email to the staff, telling them this thought and I did not need them, also did not want them, to arrange the interviewees for me, and I was really grateful for their understanding and accepted my opinion. Then, I planned the schedule and conducted the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park from the end of August to October 2017. When proceeding fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, there is an important matter that may largely influence the results of this research that I need to mention here. It can be seen from the process of the transformation and changes of this research described above that the second case study was not expected and organised at the very beginning. There was an interval of approximately five months between the finish of the fieldwork in the first case study (Chia-Yi Old Prison) and the start of the fieldwork in the second case study. As a result, in order to make the data respectively collected from the Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park be able to be compared and to minimise the differences between the two sets of data, I adopted the same research methods, such as the ways I chose my interviewees, the questions I asked them, the main points I observed in guided tours and so on, in the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park.

[Section 5.2. Research methods](#)

I adopted interviews and observation as the main research methods, considering them appropriate means in which to acquire adequate data to answer the research questions (Mason, 2002; Perri 6 and Bellamy, 2013). The interview method enables me to explore aspects of my interviewees' thoughts and opinions through their own words, in conversation. In particular, I utilised face-to-face, semi-structured interviews. The face-to-face nature of the research enabled me also to notice facial expressions, emotions, gestures and other appearances, all of which may reveal various messages in

addition to participants' spoken words (Thomas, 2013). I was also prepared for the possibility that my questions may remind the interviewees of something, including previous personal experiences, that they might think relevant to the topics/visiting/site, even if not directly related to my specific questions.

Observation was also important in my data collection. In addition to the observation of interviewees in conversation, as described above, I paid attention to how they move from place to place, where they went and stayed, what labels or exhibits they appeared to read, what their expressions showed after reading the labels, and so on. These are all messages which reveal interactions between visitors and others/the heritage site, as well as influences of the site and other visitors upon each individual; moreover, these are influences that the visitors themselves may not notice. I therefore used observation to, to a certain extent, supplement some information and materials that I may miss in the interviews, hoping that combining these two methods could present a relatively comprehensive picture regarding dark/difficult heritage and its influences upon people (Perri 6 and Bellamy, 2013; Trondle, Greenwood, Bitterli and Van, 2014).

[Section 5.3. Sampling](#)

I focused on all adults who came to visit or work in the two case study heritage sites; in other words, I did not narrow the focus further by age, gender or other characteristics. This was for three reasons. First, I wanted to broadly contact and talk to those who come to visit the heritage sites. These people are potential to present and reflect different (political/cultural) positions, occupations, educational backgrounds, from which they can express various perspectives and opinions. Therefore, this method would be helpful for this research to collect enough data that reflect different groups' ideas, understanding and interpretations of current Taiwanese society. Second, from a

practical reason, focusing on adult visitors avoids the necessity of asking for permission from the parents/guardians of children or minors, and this is also related to the third consideration. For those children, teenagers and minors, they are still in their growing and learning processes, not only on the aspect of education/knowledge but also on knowing who they are and locating their own positions. It is possible that they do not know much about, also how to realise and understand, what happens in current society and in the past. In other words, they are still forming their identities. As a result, interviewing these young people and asking them whether the visiting influences their identities are thought as being unable to collect reliable data because these teenagers and minors may have not yet developed a rather clear understanding or definition. Moreover, it may risk further causing their confusion concerning their own current understanding and the identities they already form so far. Therefore, the interviewees and observed people of this research will be focused on the adults of the general public who visit either the case studies to collect and broaden the contents and different perspectives.

[Section 5.4. Research design – observation](#)

The details of how I conduct the chosen research methods, interview and observation, in the fieldwork in two case studies are presented here. The observation is conducted during the guided tours or individual free visiting, which depends on different visiting regulations of the two heritage sites respectively (further explanations will be given in later chapters of fieldworks in the case studies respectively). The observed objects are the general public who come to visit the sites and the tour guides of the sites, and I mainly focus on adults. The main observed matters include:

1. What information and messages are conveyed by tour guides to visitors and/or presented in the exhibited labels?

2. When visitors are conveyed with these messages, what are their feelings/expressions/reactions?
3. Do visitors ask tour guides questions? If so, what questions do they ask, and how do tour guides address these questions?
4. If visitors visit the site by themselves (free visiting but not guided tours), how do they visit the site? Where do they choose to go to and see first? What information do they (choose to) see and read, and what are their feelings/expressions/reactions?
5. Visitors' visiting patterns (such as where is the first spot they go to visit? When they see the labels/exhibits, what are their reactions and behavior? How do they move around from place to place?).
6. What further relevant movements and behavior could be observed?

The observing matters are designed with the anticipation of revealing the messages, information which the heritage sides (the staff and relevant scholars, professionals) position themselves and want to present to their visitors and the visitors' reactions when they receive these messages and information. Through the observing processes, it can also be noticed the discourse between the visitors and the tour guides, or more implicitly and potentially, between the non-experts/amateurs and the experts/professionals, between the public and the academia (Smith, 2006). The visitors' visiting patterns also show what they expect or hope to know, to experience in the site and the visiting experiences using their own ways and if all of these actions/presentation fit their individual anticipation. In addition, it is paid attention, too, to other information which may not be expected or considered before but is related to the research project.

The observation is proceeded repeatedly as there are guided tours or visitors starting

their free visiting, and notes will be taken during the processes when certain phenomena related to the matters mentioned above are noticed. As the reasons that I plan to interview many people to broaden my data, I repeatedly conduct observation to encounter different people who come to the sites and observe their different reactions in various visiting groups and contexts. When conducting observation, that what information and messages are conveyed to the visitors is paid attention to. In the cases that there are interactions, especially asking questions or other dialogues, between tour guides and visitors in the tours, it is also concerned what questions are raised and how these questions are answered in what ways. These interactions and dialogues will be made into notes as they occur or right after the tours, but I may not write down every word they exactly say as it is the concepts of what the tour guides emphasise and what the visitors are interested in that are the key points I concern. This kind of note-recording will be repeated in the next guided tours or visitors' free visiting, and all these taken notes will be accumulated and reviewed together in a later stage.

It is anticipated that through observing the behaviour and interaction of visitors and tour guides, also their interaction with the structures of heritage sites, visitors' direct and obvious reactions and expressions when receiving certain information can be noticed and recorded. These observed data are believed to function as materials for later comparison with interview data and help to infer the influences, both the direct and potential ones, that the heritage sites and the relevant historical backgrounds have caused upon the public. When guided tours or people's free visiting finish, which means the end of the guided tours and people are going to leave the sites, I will then conduct interviews.

[Section 5.5. Research design – interview](#)

The interview is planned to conduct after guided tours or personal free visiting, which

means the interview will be proceeded right after the observation. The people I interview include the public/general visitors, tour guides, the staff of the heritage sites, and other professionals (such as university professors or the staff from other institutions relevant to the heritage sites and so on). There are two sources of my interviewees. A large portion of my interviewees are the general visitors and tour guides. The general visitors are chosen from the observed free visiting people or from the members who are in the groups of the observed guided tours randomly for one or two people, depending on the interviewees come to visit the sites on their own or with partner(s). If the interviewees are two-people units, both of them will be asked whether they are willing to be my interviewees. If one of them rejects and another person agrees, only the agreeing person will be interviewed, and the rejecting person's words, if any in the conversations, will be deleted and not be included in the records. Another source of interviewees, most of whom are professionals, comes from introducing by others or occasionally encountering when doing fieldwork in the sites. During the times of doing fieldwork, I sometimes encountered particular activities held in the sites, such as the training courses for new tour guides in the Old Prison and specific guided tours, which was led by the tour guides of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and a university professor. I did not know that there were these activities in advance, and it was the staff or the tour guides of the sites informing me and suggesting that I participate in those events.²² In these activities, I met those professionals and experts; after the activities, I would additionally contact them directly to see if I could interview them. The interviewing times with these professionals would be arranged according to their available times, and the questions to them were a little different from those to general visitors. Except for the interviewing questions, all of the other interview

²² In these cases, I would contact the staff in the sites and the management staff and ask if I could participate in the events, promising that I would not interfere with the activities but just listen to what information or courses were conveyed and taught.

procedures remained the same and followed the Code of Research Ethics. As mentioned before, all interviewees are adults on the consideration of avoiding the necessary legal protection of teenagers on the one hand; on the other hand, it is believed that adults have a basic understanding of the history and have developed a fundamental idea of their identity, so that they are less likely to be affected easily by the asked questions in the interview.

Before moving on to the formal interview, visitors will be informed of the themes and aims of the research and asked if they are willing to be the interviewees; they will receive a copy of the consent form and information sheet before the interview is proceeded formally. After the guided tours or personal free visiting, I go to the visitor(s) and introduce the research and its themes briefly, asking them if they could be my interviewees. If they are willing to, we will find a place in the sites, such as the information centre or any exhibition hall in Jing-Mei Memorial Park and a small kiosk outside of Chia-Yi Old Prison, and start the interview. I will show them the information sheet (see Appendix 1-1, 1-2), explaining the research details, their rights, my contact information and give them each a copy.²³ In this explaining process, I also inform them that I will sound-record the interview conversation, and they can express if they do not want me to do so. If some visitors disagree with sound recording, I do not use a sound recorder; instead, I make notes during and after the interview and write down the key points of our conversation and the interviewees' responses. After negotiating with them, the visitors can refuse to participate in this research if they change their minds. If the visitors are still willing to participate and after I make sure that they understand

²³ Appendix 1-1 and 1-2 are the information sheets in English version and Chinese version respectively with the same contents. I prepare an English version if there may be foreign visitors who I can encounter in the sites and interview. The only difference in the information sheets between those I use in Chia-Yi Old Prison and those in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is the date when the interviewees can withdraw from the research if they want to.

and agree with the aims and proceeding ways of interview, the consent form (see Appendix 2-1, 2-2) will be provided a copy to each interviewee who accepts the research interview for checking again and signing.²⁴ Then, the formal interview is proceeded.

The interview is proceeded in a semi-structured style face-to-face, and the conversations are recorded either by sound recorder or by notes or both. The benefits of conducting interview face to face are mentioned on pp.114-115 in **Section 5.2**.

There are lists of questions prepared before the formal fieldwork, and that is the information I want to inquire about from my interviewees (see Appendix 3). The asked questions vary and are adjusted based on the interviewees (general visitors, tour guides or professionals), and the interview is proceeded in a semi-structured approach. The semi-structured interview implies that even though the lists of questions are prepared, I do not interview by following the lists and asking each question one after one. It can be said that in this kind of semi-structured interview, both the interviewees and I handle and 'control' the proceeding of interview together. I ask questions, but if the interviewees are interested in certain questions or my questions remind them of other thoughts and experiences, it is allowed and welcomes to 'deviate' the conversation from my lists and discuss the raised topics further. As a result, to a certain extent, the interview is proceeded according to interviewees' answers, interests, other relevant experiences and what they want to express. In this type of semi-structured interview, I allow different or relevant topics and issues to be raised by the interviewees that both of us can discuss and develop. It is believed that the interviewees think these raised topics and issues as having a certain connection with

²⁴ It is the same that the consent forms are prepared in both English version and Chinese version with the same contents, and the only difference is the withdrawing date based on different case studies.

the sites or their visiting experiences today at the sites. These topics and connections, as a result, show certain relations to how the interviewees regard the sites, or more specifically, the dark/difficult sites. Although these topics and issues may not directly relate to my questions or the case studies, they still reflect the interviewees' perspectives and interpretations. They are potential materials that are related to or can be extended from my research topics and themes.

The interview questions and duration will be adjusted following the nature of different interviewees. The list of questions for general visitors includes:

1. Demographic data, such as age, job, birthplaces (other cities/counties in Taiwan or other countries);
2. The information of 'before visiting (e.g., have they come to the site before? How do they know the site? What information do they get before coming to the site? ...);
3. The information of 'during the visiting' (e.g., what information are conveyed in the tour? How do they feel about the visiting? Which parts impress them and why? ...);
4. Do they regard the site as a 'negative' site? Does the site give them negative feelings? Why or why not?
5. Does visiting the site remind them of the represented historical period? How do they feel?
6. Other relevant and mentioned questions.

The questions for tour guides or other professionals include:

1. Demographic data, such as age, birthplaces (other cities/counties in Taiwan or other countries);
2. What are their jobs and how long have they worked in the positions?
3. The relations between their jobs and the site (for instance, a university professor

who had been asked to investigate the site for conservation or a senior tour guide who had served in the site and give lectures to new tour guides). What characteristics/features do they think the site represents and what do they want visitors to know about the site?

4. Do they regard the site as a 'negative' site? Does the site give them negative feelings? Why or why not?

5. Does the site remind them of the represented historical period? How do they feel?

6. Other relevant and mentioned questions.

The interview duration varies based on the number of questions and whether these questions are extended or developed into further discussion. It is anticipated that through conducting the interview, the data of different people's backgrounds and perspectives on dark/difficult heritage can be revealed. It is also expected that through the collected data, how dark/difficult heritage and the represented historical periods influence people, their understanding of their past and the effects on identity formation can be engaged. After the fieldwork, two sets of data are collected (one set consists of observation and interview in Chia-Yi Old Prison and another one is composed of observation and interview in Jing-Mei Memorial Park). They will later be assembled, examined and compared for further analyses.

[Section 5.6. Data analyses](#)

After conducting the fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the last stage of the research is data analysis. The interview and observation data are examined and categorised manually in a non-cross-sectional way (Mason, 2002), from which it is anticipated to build certain explanations and arguments in accordance with grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). This research explores the contexts and consequences of how people encounter and deal with their dark/difficult past in

Taiwan through the lens of their interaction with two dark/difficult heritage sites. Since it is necessary to add the historical backgrounds into consideration and analysis, it is possible that the case in Taiwan may not be applicable to other places or countries, so I would not say that it is a 'theory.' It will be rather to raise Taiwanese cases through causal or abductive reasoning, arguing that certain conditions or circumstances may lead to particular outcomes than to construct a general theory. Nevertheless, the explanation and argument are built from the analyses of fieldwork notes and data into broader concepts. The process will be similar to and largely follows the proceeding method of grounded theory (Mason, 2002). The data analyses start from analysing interview and observation data. The analyses will be proceeded in a non-cross-sectional way, which is also known as 'contextual, case study and holistic data organization' (Mason, 2002). The two case studies chosen in this research respectively represent two Taiwanese historical periods.²⁵ These two historical periods are close to each other, and there are many similarities between them, but they are under two different political systems and regimes. When reviewing and examining people's behaviour, reactions to and perspectives on the two heritage sites through the interview and observation data, it is essential to add the features and elements of the represented histories into consideration and put my fieldwork data into the contexts of respective historical periods. Additionally, even though these two historical periods are similar, many occurred events and (inter)national circumstances make them difficult to be compared if certain sections are simply brought out. Therefore, two case studies and fieldwork data collected from respective sites will be examined and analysed with respective historical periods and be put in the contexts of respective histories separately, referring to as the non-cross-sectional method (Mason, 2002).

²⁵ Chia-Yi Old Prison represents the Japanese colonial period (1895-1945 A.D.), and Jing-Mei Memorial Park represents the period of White Terror (1949-1987 A.D. officially).

The analyses start from reviewing and examining interview and observation data manually and interpretively. When conducting observation and interview in the fieldwork, it is usually noticed that particular and similar phenomena, circumstances or people's comments repeatedly occur or are mentioned. The noticed phenomena and comments are then made into another set of notes and records. Therefore, it can be said that preliminary categorisation and examination are conducted simultaneously during the times of doing fieldwork. After the fieldwork in two case studies, the categorisation and examination are continued to conduct, and the work resembles the first/primary coding process as instructed in grounded theory (Mason, 2002). In fact, instead of 'coding' that gives each category/group a name or code, my 'coding' way would be more like sorting similar phenomena and comments into a category and naming it with a broad concept, not really a 'code,' such as 'complimenting/agreeing with the Japanese' or 'visitors feel shocked.' It should be mentioned here that this is a qualitative research project that I explain and interpret the collected data qualitatively, but there is still a quantitative feature in this research (Mason, 2002). As stated above in **Section 5.3** (pp.115-116), I will interview many people to gather different perspectives and comments, so I did not set a specific amount of how many interviewees there will be. It is proceeded in this way with the consideration that it would be relatively obvious to notice the main tendency and inclination of current Taiwanese people's viewpoints regarding the heritage sites and the histories based on a large population. As a result, most people's perspectives can be induced. Nevertheless, I do not mean, and do not plan as well, to delete or exclude the comments and perspectives of those people in a relatively minor amount. Their comments and perspectives are the attitudes and positions of Taiwanese people, too, and there may be some potentially inspiring interpretations and understanding (Mason, 2002).

Therefore, the ideas held by most of the interviewees will be presented and explained, and some of the interesting perspectives held by a minor amount of people will be listed and further discussed as well.

After these categorisation and coding works, the noticed concepts will be classified into a broader group to generate a few inductive phenomena that represent and reflect what I have collected and received in each case study in respective fieldwork periods. In addition to the organising of fieldwork data, it is realised whilst I conduct the fieldwork in two case studies that I did not know much and sufficiently about the historical periods as I initially thought. After I graduated from schools (secondary and high ones), there have been many relevant materials published and open for discussion. Therefore, it is also necessary to refer back to more Taiwanese history publications and works exploring the phenomena and circumstances in that time. By doing so, it assists in helping me to explain and realise the causes of certain phenomena I noticed in the sites. As a result, although the examination of fieldwork data characterises inductive reasoning, I also adopt abductive reasoning to demonstrate particular causal relations in the analysis process (Mason, 2002). Later, there will be two sets of inductive data, which are a few concepts and phenomena for each case study respectively. It is anticipated that there will be relatively clear pictures and ideas of how people regard these two case studies, the represented history, their impressions and perspectives on the historical times and if the histories cause any influence upon them, especially on the aspect of their identities.

A further comparison is tackled between these two sets of generated data. It aims to see how Taiwanese people at that times encountered and reacted to different regimes from outside. It is expected to see if there is any legacy left from then until now, if

there is any similarity or difference of current Taiwanese people's reflections and interpretations between these two historical periods and what result in the similarities/differences. A main similarity between them is that both historical periods, the two case studies as well, represent the situations of Taiwanese people being governed or even 'controlled' by regimes outside of Taiwan. The latter regime came to Taiwan right after the former finished the colonial control, so it is curious to explore the influences they successively caused upon Taiwanese people. It should be kept in mind, and is kept in my mind, that these two periods present a crucial difference of time, and different times would inevitably accompany diverse time ambiances and new ways/trends of thinking. Therefore, it is imaginable that there will be certain difficulties in comparing these two cases and that the conditions for comparison are impossible to be entirely equal (Kumar, 2005; Perri 6 and Bellamy, 2013). However, since two case studies are analysed in a non-cross-sectional method within respective historical contexts, the inductive phenomena and concepts are supposed to fit in with the background characteristics of those times and be explained reasonably. By doing so, it is hoped to increase the feasibility of comparing the two sites, two sets of data and two represented phenomena.

[Section 5.7. Reflection and conclusion](#)

During the research process, there are some matters not anticipated in the preparing stages but I encountered them, and the occurring matters inspire me to rethink and re-examine this research project (Mason, 2002). There are three things, which are relevant to the research and adopted methods, noticed when I conducted fieldwork in the second case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The first one is teenager visitors, especially senior high school students (ages 16 to 18). Many visitors are coming and visiting the two case studies, and the ages of the visitors range a lot that can start from

5 to up to almost 80s or even 90s²⁶. As mentioned in **Section 5.3**, the interviewees and observed people are focused on the adults of the general public; however, I still observe the reactions of children/teenagers and their interactions with their family members. The reasons are that I would like to know what attracts their attention and what, if any, their parents tell/educate them during the visiting. These interactions are related to what information and messages are conveyed to these young people. These further reflect what kinds of knowledge/personalities/features that the adults want the young to understand, to hold and to form (as a part of the young's personalities/identities).

After I start my fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I notice that the tour guides and staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park actively contact teachers in different senior high schools, suggesting those teachers to bring or encourage their students to visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park. As a result, I have met some groups of high school students coming and visiting (usually in arranged guided tours rather than visiting by themselves). If there is the chance that I meet these student groups, I ask the tour guides for permission if I can join them and observe the reactions of the students for the same reasons that I want to know what attracts their attention and how they react to the information of the difficult past. In this kind of observation, I just follow the groups, observing the students and their interactions with the tour guides; I do not join their conversations or make any comment or talk to the students. I do not interview these students after the tours, either. Regarding the actual and practical situations and observed phenomena of these student groups' visiting, I have detailed descriptions and discussions in Chapter 7 and Chapter 8, so I do not express them further.

²⁶ One of the interviewed tour guides in Chia-Yi Old Prison told me that once he led a visiting group, and one of the members was an elderly gentleman about 90s. The gentleman said that he had worked in the Old Prison during the time of Japanese colonisation.

Why I pay certain concern on senior high school students can be categorised roughly into two reasons. One is that they are relatively mature compared with other children and are going to become adults (according to the criminal law in Taiwan; please refer to Footnote 17). It is supposed that they have developed their basic understanding, the concept of 'what/who they are' or a primary identity to a certain extent. The second reason is that they are the new and young generations that neither the history of Japanese colonisation nor the time of White Terror are close to or directly influence their lives. It is curious to know how these young and 'pure' people understand and concern these difficult or dark pasts in Taiwanese history. After all, it could be these new and 'pure' generations that can judge, examine and comprehend the difficult past neutrally and help the society to figure out potential solutions.

The second issue I realise after I start the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is that I may be unable to present a relatively comprehensive and all-inclusive picture of the perspectives and opinions of all Taiwanese people from diverse positions/groups. Jing-Mei Memorial Park, its exhibited materials and conveyed messages present a relatively clear position against the Nationalist Party (known as '*Kuomintang*' or 'KMT'). Even though the KMT caused the White Terror at the time and Taiwanese people were oppressed by the officials and officers at that time, due to the complicated situation that the KMT has still existed in Taiwanese society until now, it is imaginable that people may blame or transfer their anger on current KMT Party and its member. In addition, there are a part of Taiwanese people who stand for the KMT regardless that they either are influenced or 'educated' due to the control of KMT in the White Terror or sincerely agree with the ideology of KMT. Therefore, the clear political position of Jing-Mei Memorial Park is possible to incur the aversion of those standing for KMT. The

situation leads to the condition that these people do not visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park, which results in me being unable to encounter them or interview them and know their opinions and perspectives on the difficult past in my fieldwork.

I have not met this kind of people/visitors who express strong (political/historical) opinions against or obviously criticise Jing-Mei Memorial Park and its conveyed messages when conducting fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. However, the tour guides and staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park told me that they had met this kind of visitors, saying directly to them that what the guides say is wrong. The phenomenon represents that these, including Jing-Mei Memorial Park, White Terror and those relevant materials, are still controversial issues in Taiwan. There are many different voices in current Taiwanese society showing different understanding, recognition and interpretations from various groups of people regarding the same period(s) of history. It also reflects that these are the political/historical/social issues in process that still affect Taiwanese people. Hence, I should clearly inform here that I have not encountered this kind of visitors and, as a result, have not collected this type of data which is strongly against the information provided in Jing-Mei Memorial Park when proceeding fieldwork there. Because the tour guides and staff told me these matters, I realise the fact that those 'opposite' opinions and data may lack and be absent from those I collect from interview and observation.

The third matter that really impresses me is that because the history represented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is relatively close to the current time, I have the special experiences of meeting former political victims and the perplexity of my role. When doing fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I have encountered four former political victims and had opportunities to interact with them. I had talked with them, met them

when they accepted the interview (TV documentary) and attended a guided tour led by them. When I encounter them in these situations, I become the 'informed' side at certain moments. Although I talk to them and it is a general talking occasion, I feel like that I receive many messages, including these four gentlemen's personal experiences, the painful past and stories and their strong emotions. These are pretty different from what other interviewees, general visitors or tour guides, have told me and from the interacting experiences with other interviewees. During interacting with these four gentlemen, I was influenced and affected a lot by their stories. I could empathise the strong feelings and emotions; my role somehow 'transformed' from the position of a researcher to a receiver, as a general visitor.

When I first realised this 'role-changing,' I was a little worried that I could not keep my 'neutral' position as a researcher. However, I was later relieved that it might be necessary, especially for me, to experience them on that occasion (in Jing-Mei Memorial Park) where those unfair things happened that could leave strong impacts and impressions on its visitors, reminding them that these cruel matters were what really happened in the past on the one hand. On the other hand, the situations and experiences of meeting the four gentlemen and my role-changing also reflect the fact, and I also realise, that I myself, as a researcher and a local Taiwanese, am so unfamiliar with this historical period and what exactly happened during that time. It could be the situation that when I was a student and received history courses in schools, the history of White Terror is not well-known or is still a 'taboo' in the society that the officials have their explanations. As a result, it is necessary for me to search and supplement the lack of this historical background, and doing fieldwork and encountering these four gentlemen may be the very way to do so. I was affected by these four gentlemen, and they also 'influenced' other visitors as I was when the public visited Jing-Mei Memorial

Park. I also observed other visitors 'being influenced' during the fieldwork. As a result, the presence of former political victims and the data collected from them are unique and critical for this research, and I would like to mention this kind of 'role transformation' in the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park.

To conclude, I choose two case studies to proceed with this qualitative research. The final aims are to investigate how Taiwanese people regard and deal with their dark/difficult past and if the dark/difficult past, in turn, causes what kinds of influences upon them through dark sites and the ways people interact with the dark sites. The research process can be divided into fieldwork, including interview and observation, and data analyses. The fieldwork is proceeded following the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics; the contents of the research and how I conduct the fieldwork are reviewed and agreed by the management departments of both Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Each interview is conducted after receiving the interviewee(s)' agreement. Choosing interview and observation as my research methods is because they are the appropriate ways to know people's thoughts, comments and perspectives on specific topics (Mason, 2002; Perri 6 and Bellamy, 2013; Trondle, Greenwood, Bitterli and Van, 2014), from which I am able to collect the data for exploring my research questions. After collecting data, they will be coded, categorized, and analysed through a non-cross-sectional way that puts the data collected from respective case studies in the corresponding historical context (Mason, 2002). This will further generate two inductive (also abductive) sets of concepts and phenomena. These two sets of data will be compared to figure out how Taiwanese people reacted when they encountered different 'outsiders' who became their governments and how the legacies of these two periods and political regimes influence Taiwanese people and their understanding of themselves.

The analysis process, to a large extent, follows the research procedure of grounded theory, which constructs theory from daily collected data into broader concepts and phenomena (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). As mentioned in previous sections, the two case studies represent two different histories and two outside regimes. When referring to relevant Taiwanese history materials, it shows that many conflicts were occurring as they were governing or governed and in other interactive occasions between both sides, no matter whether they were the Japanese and the Taiwanese or the Taiwanese and those from mainland China. That certain conflicts occurred between them would provoke people, especially the Taiwanese population, to think about the nature of themselves, from which the concepts and perception of identity are gradually generated and formed. Different groups of people coming to Taiwan (the Japanese and those from mainland China in this research) would also bring in various impacts, not to mention the Nationalist (KMT) government who are the group that speaks the same language and is the same race as Taiwanese people. These impacts inevitably force the Taiwanese to think deeply about the differences, if any, between themselves and those who came from mainland China. That how are these conflicts and impacts presented in the sites and what are people's reactions to these are hoped to be noticed and observed in the fieldwork, from which the reflected phenomena are the critical issues with which this research would like to engage.

Chapter 6. Fieldwork – in Chia-Yi Old Prison

Section 6.1. A brief introduction

Chia-Yi Old Prison locates in Chia-Yi City, Taiwan, and it was constructed by the Japanese when Taiwan was colonised by the imperial government (1895-1945 A.D.). It started to be built in 1919 and was finished in 1922, and the Old Prison was used to imprison those real criminals, which is an important distinction from those of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the second case study of the thesis. Even after 1945 when WWII ended and Taiwan was 'handed back' to the KMT government from mainland China, the Old Prison was still operated and performed its original function. It was until late 20th Century that the amount of prisoners was overloaded and the facilities were too old to be utilised. For safety reasons and prisoner capacity, a new and modern prison was erected and prisoners were gradually moved to the new prison; as a result, Chia-Yi Old Prison was then inactive. After it ended the operation, there were some voices that planned to demolish the Old Prison for other constructions; fortunately, due to the opposition and campaign of local communities, the Old Prison was kept. Later in 2002, it was designated as a municipal historical site in Chia-Yi City and became a national historical site in 2005.

Chia-Yi Old Prison is conserved because of its historical value, scarcity and its implications of architectural history. According to the description on the National Cultural Heritage Website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture of Taiwan, the Old Prison is designated because it complies with the standards of

1. showing historical, cultural, artistic values;
2. showing scarcity, which is difficult to be reconstructed;
3. showing the significance in the architectural history, and the heritage presents the

value and potential of re-use²⁷.

The details reveal that the Old Prison

‘... it confirms an important development of prisons and corrections in Taiwan. ...

there is only Chia-Yi Old Prison which still preserves the original form and

appearance as it was planned in the Japanese colonial period²⁸, ... (it) shows

special value to be conserved. ... (it) presents the investigative value of the

development of single-typed architecture...²⁹

It is understood from the official statements that the Old Prison becomes a heritage site because of its special and unique architectural features and the role it can play in the developmental history of Taiwanese prisons and corrections.

Regarding the information of annual visitor number, it is not announced neither on the official website of Chia-Yi Old Prison or on the National Cultural Heritage Website.

Nevertheless, there was an activity held in the Old Prison and the news may reveal interrelated messages. From 24th December 2021 to 2nd January 2022, some designers and artists of 2021 Taiwan Design Expo held an activity in Chia-Yi Old Prison. Combining with visual design and DIY activities, they ‘transformed’ the Old Prison into a ‘Jail Hostel’ and invited the public to sleep in the jail for one night. According to the statistics provided by the organisers, in this 10-day ‘hostel operation,’ there were 50,000 visitors signing up, and they were allowed to sleep in the jail cells for real! In addition to the 50,000 visitors, there were other hundreds of people lining up outside, waiting for entering the Old Prison for visiting, attending DIY activities or hoping to fill a

²⁷ Chia-Yi Old Prison, from the National Cultural Heritage Website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/monument/20050526000001> [Accessed on 25th March 2022].

²⁸ Please refer to p.50-51 in **Section 3.2. Japanese colonial period (1894-1945)** for relevant discussion regarding the terms utilised to address the period of being controlled by the Japanese.

²⁹ Chia-Yi Old Prison, from the National Cultural Heritage Website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/monument/20050526000001> [Accessed on 25th March 2022].

vacant position to stay in the 'jail hostel.' Although the surprising visitor number may partly result from the attraction of attending special exhibitions or having experiences distinct from those in common days, it still shows people's interests in and curiosity about the Old Prison. The interests and curiosity could also be the potential motivation that propel people to come and visit Chia-Yi Old Prison.

[Section 6.2. The layout and visiting regulations of Chia-Yi Old Prison](#)

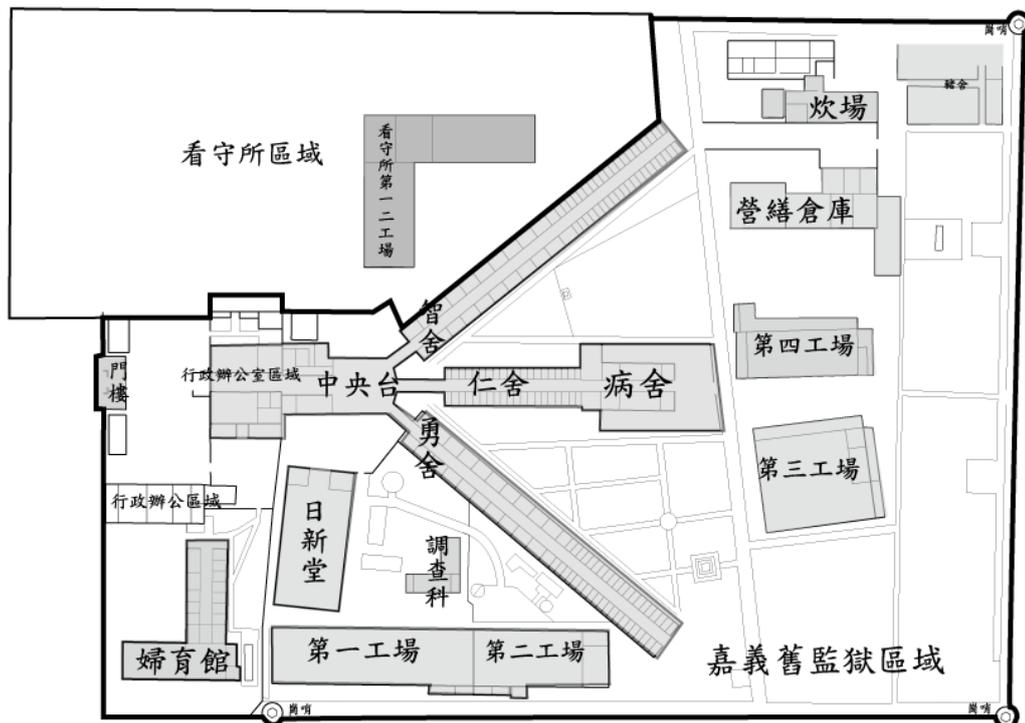


Figure 6.1.1. The plan of Chia-Yi Old Prison.

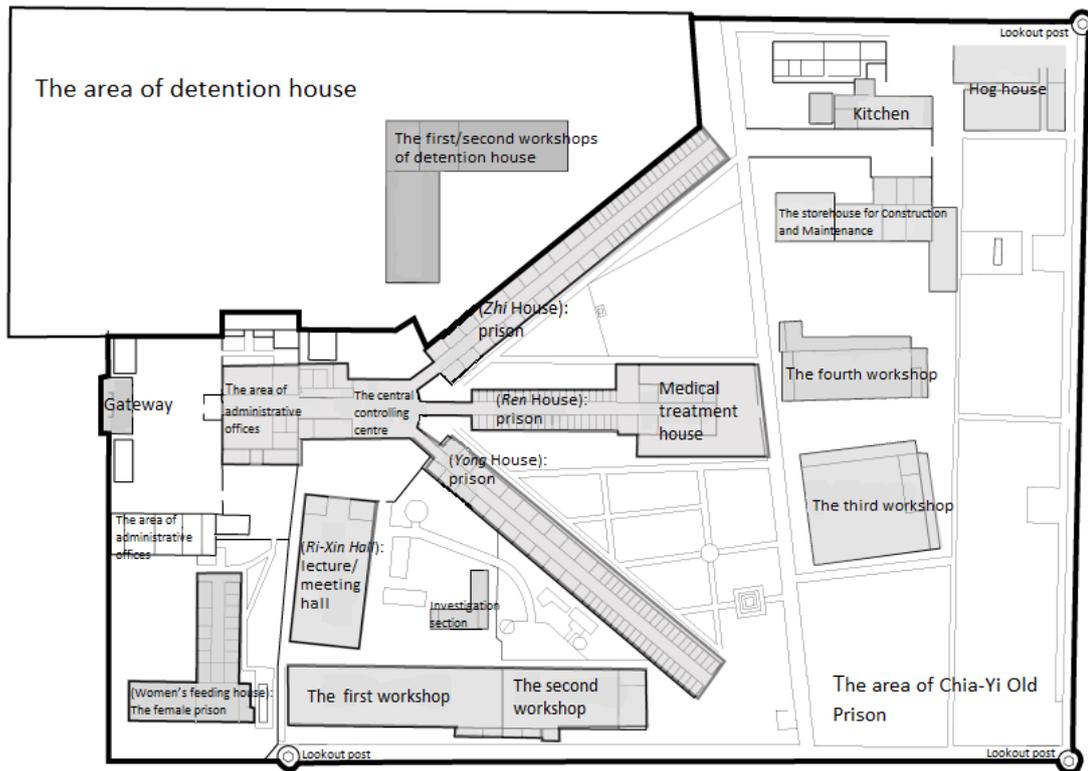


Figure 6.1.2. The plan of Chia-Yi Old Prison in English (English translated and word arrangement by the researcher).

Chia-Yi Old Prison is a complex structure consisting of prisons, prisoners' workshops, administrative offices and other relevant facilities (see Figure 6.1.1 or 6.1.2 above). The Old Prison and its adjacent detention house were originally close in administrative and management affairs, but later they were divided into respective heritage conservation projects, and it is focused on the side of the Old Prison in this research. As can be seen in Figure 6.1.2, the main structure of the Old Prison, also its particular characteristic, is the radial imprisonment houses (*Zhi House*, *Ren House* and *Yong House*) and linked area of administrative offices (see Figure 6.2). Surrounding the main structure are workshops which prisoners worked in daytime, kitchen and lecture/meeting hall; in addition, there is another separate building which is used for imprison female offenders ((*Women's feeding house*): The female prison). These are the main buildings that tour guides would introduce and lead visitors to walk past; it should be noticed

that there are other buildings shown in Figure 6.1.2, such as the hog house (on the very top-right corner), the storehouse for construction and maintenance (on the top-right corner) and investigation section (near the middle, bottom-left corner), which are also the objects of conservation, but due to the visiting route plan and the consideration of safety, tour guides do not lead visitors to see these buildings (the kitchen either) and may just introduce orally. The visiting route, after going through the gateway, could be the sequence shown below or the reverse order (referring to Figure 6.1.1 and 6.1.2):

the area of administrative offices (行政辦公室區域) → the central controlling centre (中央台; see Picture 3) → *Ren* House (仁舍; prison) → medical treatment house (病舍) → the fourth workshop (第四工場) → the third workshop (第三工場) → the second workshop (第二工場) → the first workshop (第一工場) → the female prison (婦育館).

The directions of visiting routes are decided by tour guides according to the amount of visitors in each time slot (explained below); if there are too many visitors, they will be separate into two groups and each group is led by a tour guide, and then one group will visit the Old Prison in the sequence described above whilst the other group follows the reverse order. The amount of visitors varies a lot; in weekdays, visitors in each time slot are usually less than 10 or even none, and in weekends, the number can reach to 50 or more. As a result, it can be imagined that the amount of visitors will inevitably influence the quality of visiting, of the efficiency/effectiveness of tour guides' information conveyance and of visitors' feelings of their visiting.



Figure 6.2. The front of administrative office.



Figure 6.3. A passage to a prison.

The Old Prison is open for the public to visit from Tuesday to Sunday, closing on Monday, and there are four time slots in each day, which are 9.30am, 10.30am, 13.30pm and 14.30pm, that visitors can choose to join the guided tours in each slot. The guided tours in each time slot last around 1 hour. Those who want to visit come

and gather in front of the gateway before each time, and when it reaches the time, a tour guide (or two; depending on the amount of visitors) comes to the gate and meet the visitors. He/she will give a brief introduction about the history of the Old Prison and some points for attention when moving inside and in the visiting process, and the tour guide and visitors, as a group, will go through the gate and start the tour. People are asked to follow the time slots; for example, if ones come at 9.50am, since the tour at 9.30am already started, they are not allowed to either go inside the Old Prison by themselves or join the 9.30 visiting tour; they could only wait for the next guided tour (at 10.30am) so that they are able to visit the Old Prison. The last entrance of an opening day is 14.30pm and the Old Prison closes around 15.30pm when the last visitor leaves the Old Prison, and visitors are not allowed either to visit the Old Prison by themselves or to enter it before 9.30am or after 15.30pm. These visiting regulations may be seemed effective in operation and management, but they also reveal certain inconvenience to visitors, and these will be presented in detail in following sections.

[Section 6.3. Fieldwork – observations](#)

The fieldwork conducted in the Old Prison includes observation and interviews, which will be described respectively below, and before the formal fieldwork is undertaken, I went to visit the Old Prison, accompanied with my family, in advance. The personal visit was aimed to understand the visiting and guiding mode of the tours in the Old Prison on the one hand, and on the other hand, by putting myself on the position of the public/general visitors, it is hoped to realise that what kind of experience is expected, such as what is expected to see, what information is conveyed and whether the introduction/explanation of tour guides can resolve my questions before visiting.

My family and I went to the Old Prison on a weekend, and when we arrived, there were already many visitors (estimated about 50 people). Later, when the guided tour started,

visitors were divided into two groups, and my group visited in reverse order that we went to the female prison first. In fact, the space in the female prison is enough to hold the amount of visitors of my group, but due to the limited space, it would influence the quality of visiting. In addition, every tour guide is equipped with a small loudspeaker, but it would be better to stay near the tour guides within 2-3 meters in order to hear the explanations clearly. Because there were many visitors in the group, the visiting procession became long, and the visitors near the end of the procession could hardly hear what tour guides said; they just followed the procession and visited the Old Prison by themselves. There is another type of visitors being noticed that they did not focus on or did not want to hear tour guides' explanations; they just visited and viewed what they were interested in by themselves. These phenomena and diverse types of visitors are also observed and noticed later when I conducted my fieldwork in the Old Prison.

Then the tour guide led the visiting group to the four workshops. Currently, the workshops are utilised for exhibition, and the exhibited contents and objects include the artefacts and handicrafts produced by present prisoners (imprisoned in the new Chia-Yi Prison; see Figure 6.4 and 6.5), their created lanterns for lantern competition every year, the models of current prisons in different cities/counties in Taiwan and the models of prisons which were built by the Japanese in the colonial period (see Figure 6.6 and 6.7). Amongst them, there are portions of the spaces used for displaying the process of conservation and restoration of the Old Prison, the engineering results and situations, the old replaced building materials (see Figure 6.8 and 6.9) and the farm tools that were used for agricultural labour when there were prisoners imprisoned in the Old Prison (see Figure 6.10). The buildings and the architectural structures of these four workshops are conserved and maintained based on their original mode/form. The techniques of restoration also basically follow the original Japanese building methods;

however, except the structure of the houses, the interior spaces are utilised as exhibition spaces, so it is a little difficult to conceive the scenes of former prisoners working in the workshops. When following the tour guides and visiting, visitors tend to notice and focus on the objects which tour guides are talking about and mentioning, and they usually move according to the course which tour guides lead to, but there are still exceptions.

When moving into an exhibition space, visitors were basically divided into two visiting modes: one group of them disperse and go to see those that interest them or attract their attention; another group of visitors stay closely at tour guides' sides, following the guides' courses to visit and attentively listen to the guides' explanations. The latter group of visitors also frequently interact with the tour guides, such as raising questions actively, and these are the phenomena that I usually observe when doing fieldwork in the Old Prison, too. Next the visiting group which I was in went into the structures of prisons, and these were the parts which many visitors are interested in; for example, they would stretch their necks to see the interior of cells, at least I did not dare to do so as they did this time (the first time of visiting). The tour guide of my group introduced that there is a special design in the prison house (also in all three prison houses) which is called a 'cat track' or the 'patrol path in the air' (see Figure 6.11). According to the tour guide, when Chia-Yi Old Prison was operated and there were prisoners, in order to prevent and stop prisoners from doing prohibited things in the cells, the prison guards would climb up to the ceiling, patrolling and look downwards for checking the conditions in every cell. It is said by the tour guide that if there was someone violating rules, the prison guards would pour water down to the cell. This is one of the management methods and phenomena in a prison at the time which sounds interesting to current visitors. It is the shape (that it was built in the structure and

layout) of Chia-Yi Old Prison that results in the novel management methods and the mode of interaction between prison guards and prisoners.



Figure 6.4. A handcraft produced by present prisoners.



Figure 6.5. Another handcraft produced by present prisoners.



(6.6)



(6.7)

Figure 6.6 and 6.7. The model of Old Taipei Prison built by the Japanese in the colonial period (once located in Taipei City; it is already demolished).



Figure 6.8. The old replaced building materials.



Figure 6.9. Other old replaced building materials.



Figure 6.10. The old farm tools that were used for agricultural labour.

Walking through the prison house, the group went to the central controlling centre where the tour guide explained other management methods in the Old Prison. There is a desk at the centre of central controlling centre where a prison guard would watch over; because the three prison houses are long and straight buildings in a radial form, the person sitting on the desk in the controlling centre can clearly see through and monitor the conditions of all three prison houses in three directions. If there were prisoners escaping from cells, the guard could notice immediately and call other guards standing by to support. When the tour guide explained, many visitors also found the design and management method really effective, interesting and useful, and some of them moved to the desk and tried to experience it. The next area is the administrative offices for prison staff; in the area it was noticed that the ceiling is higher than those in the central controlling centre and prison houses, and it might be because of the ceiling that made it feel less pressured. The tour guide led the group to the warden's office, but at the same time, it was also observed that some visitors went to the office of general affairs on the other side and visited it by themselves without informing/being informed. The tour guide told the group that the warden's office is maintained as its original interior furnishings (of course the furniture was replaced), and there are labels in the office showing the names and terms of office of successive wardens (from

Japanese colonial period until now). There was replica of warden's uniform coat, and the tour guide invited male adults to try wearing the coat and sitting on the warden's desk, experiencing the feeling of being a warden.

Moving out from the area of administrative offices would be the entrance of the Old Prison. Before ending the tour, the tour guide told the visitors an interesting custom in prison. He said that when 'leaving a prison,' people do not say 'goodbye' to each other because 'goodbye' in Chinese (再見, pronounced as 'zai jian') has the meaning of 'meeting again,' which is quite unsuitable and has a unlucky implication in places of prisons. The visitors realised the matter and found it reasonable and interesting, so they followed the custom and the tour guide ended the tour.



Figure 6.11. The 'cat track' or the 'patrol path in the air,' and the path is now prohibited visiting in order to avoid accident.

After this time that I visited the Old Prison with my family, I had done a pilot study, from 4 October 2016 to 16 October 2016, and later formal fieldwork, from 14 February 2017 to 7 April 2017 in Chia-Yi Old Prison separately, and the results and data contents will be presented and described in the following sections. The observation is carried out from people gathering at the main gate (before the starting of guided tours) until the tours end and visitors leave the Old Prison (a little bit after tour guides end the

tours). On the aspect of tour guides, it is observed that almost all of them mention that 'the Old Prison was built by the Japanese,' 'it was the Japanese who imitated the prison in Pennsylvania and built it' and they would further explain the characteristics of the central controlling centre, three radial prison houses and their relation regarding prison administration and monitoring. Some of the tour guides would further explain the introduction of this new type of prisons (into Taiwan) and the accompanied punishment modes/systems (rather harming prisoners' bodies than depriving them of their personal liberty) that the new type and methods are relatively civilised and humanitarian. Tour guides did mention the Japanese, but it seems like that the tour guides did not further discuss the issues related to Japanese colonisation or mention words such as 'colonial,' 'colony' or 'colonisation.' Nevertheless, when it comes to the evaluation of Japan/the Japanese and how the Japanese treated Taiwanese people, it is not every tour guide but some of them show their comments in their individual guided tours. For example, one day I joined a tour led by a male tour guide who was about his 70s, and during his tour, he led the visiting team to an air-raid shelter locating within the Old Prison. He told the visitors that there were air raids upon Taiwan during WWII and Taipei suffered a lot at the time; he then asked who attacked Taiwan. Many visitors guessed that it was from Japan. The male guide explained that it was from America and at the time Taiwan was a colony of the Japanese government (so in WWII Taiwan was actually in the opposite camp to America's), '... at the time we were Japan..., '... (the people in) Taiwan were the civilians of Japan.' He said. However, regarding the same air-raid shelter, another male guide conveyed somehow a different message:

The male tour guide: '... If there was an air raid (attacking the Old Prison), those being killed would be Taiwanese people (the prisoners), not the Japanese.'

A visitor: 'Oh, dear. That was low and despicable.'

Another example related to Japanese – Taiwanese interaction was shown when I attained another tour led by a female guide who was around 60s; when the visiting group moved to the central controlling centre, there was a replica of a punishment equipment (see Figure 6.12 and 6.13), and the guide told the visitors that ‘it (the punishment equipment) was used by the Japanese to punish Taiwanese people.’ During the tour, the female guide also explained the structures and architectural techniques of diverse buildings in the Old Prison, and she asked the visitors, ‘... those objects made and created by the Japanese are better, are not they?’ The visitors replied her, ‘Yes!’ ‘Absolutely!’ From the three instances, there are three main matters illustrated from the experiences: one is that the conveyed contents are able to be arranged, added or subtracted by individual tour guides, and from the explanations of each tour guide, secondly, it could show their personal understanding of and judgements upon Japan/the Japanese/the interaction between the Japanese and Taiwanese people (especially regarding the Japanese colonial period). In addition, it is possible to lead to the third matter which is that visitors are potentially influenced by tour guides’ comments, which may further affect these visitors’ own impressions and perspectives.



Figure 6.12. The replica of a punishment equipment.



Figure 6.13. The label for the punishment equipment and describes how it was used.

It is also discovered that many people coming to the Old Prison regard it as a 'normal' tourist site which has special characteristics of being a former prison and now opening for the public to visit. This point can be supported by the observed phenomenon that on weekends, there would be up to 50 visitors (or even more) coming and visiting the Old Prison (as described in **Section 6.2. The layout and visiting regulations of Chia-Yi Old Prison** above). These visitors come from different places and simultaneously, also coincidentally, come to the Old Prison and visit it, from which it can be seen that Chia-Yi Old Prison is quite a famous tourist site for visiting when people come to Chia-Yi City. The phenomenon can be confirmed, too, when I interviewed some of the visitors (see **Section 6.4. Fieldwork – interviews** below). However, there is always an exception. One day when I went to the Old Prison and waited for the guided tour in next time slot, there were already a lot of visitors gathering in front of the main gate, and I heard an interesting conversation between a mother and her son (both were adults):

Mother: '... (using a doubtful tone) This is a national historical site; why a lot of historical sites were demolished but (they) kept this?'

Son: 'This one (Chia-Yi Old Prison) has its cultural values.'

Mother: '(sounds like despising and not convinced) You call this a historical site? Those in the U.K. are the kind of ancient castles.'

Son: 'Don't (you) always praise those foreign sites! Other people's (means those historical sites in other countries) are always wonderful, ours are always bad and ordinary!'

Unfortunately, I did not make it to observe the mother's and her son's expressions and reactions during and after the guided tour, but it provides another perspective to notice that there are some people holding this kind of opinions towards the Old Prison. In addition to the feature of Chia-Yi Old Prison that it is a famous tourist site, there is another obvious characteristic of its 'dark,' 'negative' image of being a (former) prison. Because of its role of a (former) prison, it usually creates connections in people's minds with the images/concepts such as 'bad/terrible things,' 'punishment,' 'suffering' or even 'death' and 'execution' (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). Nevertheless, for those who came to the Old Prison and visited, it seems like that they were not bothered about the 'dark' and 'terrible' matters or that these matters do not influence people's willingness to visit the site. What is more, the 'dark' image of the Old Prison sometimes even becomes a reason of attracting people to come; for instance, here is a conversation between a tour guide and a visitor:

Tour guide: '(inviting' a visitor) You can go inside (a cell) and take a look!'

Visitor: 'Oh, that's o.k., we were already "imprisoned" just now.'

Tour guide: 'This is a solitary cell! Go inside and enjoy it!'

There is another instance that in a tour, the guide led the visiting group to a workshop which exhibits the models of former/current prisons, he mentioned that there was an execution ground in the former Tainan Prison (the one built by the Japanese), and the old Tainan Prison was already demolished and at the location a new department store

was established. He even told the visitors the location of the original execution ground, and I heard a visitor saying 'Emm, (I will) go to take a look afterwards.' Apart from these two instances, it was frequently observed that visitors came to visit the Old Prison excitedly, and it seems like that they really expected to know what looks like inside a prison. Especially in the prison houses, many visitors were not worried or did not misgive, looking straight into the cells or even actively walking into the cells, and some of them would try to close the doors, taking pictures and pretended that they were 'imprisoned.' From these phenomena, it can be inferred that even though there were certain 'dark' images and features related to the Old Prison, those are not definitely something that push the public away from the site; on the contrary, these may be the characteristics of the site which attract visitors and make them want to explore deeper (Sharpley and Stone, 2009).

Related to the 'dark' feature of Chia-Yi Old Prison, there are still some visitors showing their concerns and worries about visiting a prison. Because it was a prison in operation, it is observed that many visitors showed their concerns on whether there was prisoner being executed or dead in the Old Prison, and the question being asked the most by visitors is 'is there an execution ground here (in the Old Prison)?' The tour guides would answer the question by showing visitors the models of old prisons and telling them that there were execution grounds only in prisons with the highest level (the ones in Taipei, Taichung and Tainan). They explained that the level of Chia-Yi Old Prison was not such high, so there is no execution ground equipped here. However, it is inevitable that some prisoners might die in the Old Prison (due to illness natural mortality); in this situation, tour guides would show visitors a small Buddhist shrine in the central controlling centre (see Figure 6.14) and tell them that the Old Prison, also the visitors and those kind people are blessed and protected by the Bodhisattva, so

they do not have to worry about being bothered by the dead or those spirits.

After these explanations, many visitors would feel relieved. Nevertheless, there were still cases that some visitors were worried after the explanations. For example, it was observed once that when the visiting group passed through a meeting room, a man asked his friend if they should go inside (and imitate prisoners and families talking through phones), and his friend answered, 'No, it's really frightening.' It is not sure what makes the man's friend felt frightened, is it the space of the meeting room or the action of going into the meeting room or the situation that they 'pretended' as a prisoner and someone who came to meet him. No matter what is the visitor's consideration, it demonstrates the phenomenon that the negative, also those terrible, frightening and dark, images of prisons still affect a part of the public and their visiting experiences. However, there are also exceptions that people are interested in those dark matters. In another guided tour, the tour guide showed the visitors the models of old/current prisons in Taiwan, telling them that there was an execution ground in the old Tainan Prison which was already torn down, and a department store was built later at the exactly original location. Then, I heard a man beside me saying, 'Emm, (I should) take a look later.' From these instances and phenomena, it is shown that people usually connect their understanding of prisons to people's suffering, death and execution such negative, terrible and dark images. They could have different perspectives, either positive (being interested) or negative (being frightened) or even both, on these dark issues, but it seems like that the visitors have these perspectives because of the Old Prison, not because of its relation to the Japanese colonial past.



Figure 6.14. The small Buddhist shrine in central controlling centre.

According to the explanation of tour guides, there is no execution ground equipped in the Old Prison due to its level, and this also brings out another issue of Chia-Yi Old Prison regarding its influence. In the Japanese colonial period, prisons were appointed with different levels according to the judicial system; the prisons with the highest level were those in Taipei, Taichung and Tainan, and there were execution grounds equipped in these three old prisons. Chia-Yi Old Prison was a branch prison, a sub-prison, of the old Tainan Prison, so there was no execution ground here. It reveals here that the level of the Old Prison is not so high and thus influential. The condition further results in that even though the current Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Culture and other institutions in Taiwan want to utilise the Old Prison to illustrate and present an important stage in the development of Taiwanese judicial and prison history, its level is not enough to attract sufficient attention or to represent such significance and crucial position. During the process of doing fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison, the tour guides also mentioned it

several times either in the guided tours or in interviews that the Old Prison is somehow undervalued and does not receive enough attention. Some tour guides expressed as well that the Old Prison is not adequately used for and managed to convey historical/cultural messages of the development of Taiwanese judicial history or its relation to the Japanese colonial past. However, although some tour guides might mention these topics in the tours, I was not sure whether it was because the tour guides did not further discuss or describe these topics, it seemed like that the visitors did not care or pay much attention on these topics, and according to my fieldwork experiences here, almost no visitors raise this type of questions to the tour guides.

Another usually observed phenomenon is that the Old Prison is utilised as an example or a tool to educate young children and to admonish the public not to commit crimes. As mentioning before that there are many families coming and visiting the Old Prison especially in weekends; many of these families are parents with their children. When the visiting moved into the prison houses, I had heard some parents telling their children something like:

A mother: 'Come on, let's go to see the most terrible parts.'

Another male: 'Don't worry! (We) won't imprison you (the child) (here). You did not do wrong things.'

As many tour guides also told me, in addition to the families who come by themselves to visit the Old Prison, there are many school that hold field trips and take their students to the Old Prison, and these students range from primary school students to high school students. One of the key aims of the field trips is to admonish children not to commit crimes, or they will be imprisoned and lose their freedom, especially for primary school students. Even though prisons can perform such a moralising effect, it seems like that the effectiveness is not so great. A male tour guide told me that there

were many children coming and visiting either with their school teachers or parents. These children were around the ages of primary school or even younger, and they did not have the patience to stop (from running or walking around) and listen to tour guides' explanation, and it seemed like that these children were too young to understand the values of the Old Prison and realise the implications of visiting a prison.

Except providing a 'lesson' to young children, the Old Prison can also offer lessons for its adult visitors. During the fieldwork and the guided tours in the Old Prison, many visitors expressed their surprise that the interior of the Old Prison was really beautiful and pleasing, and they felt that it was not so constrained and restrictive to be imprisoned here. When they said these words, the tour guides replied them that no matter how beautiful the Old Prison was, being imprisoned was never a good thing; those being imprisoned lost their freedom, and the daily life as a prisoner in a prison would not be a pleasurable matter. The tour guides would use this kind of opportunities to exhort the visitors to never have such an idea of committing a crime. In addition to these messages, tour guides also use the visiting tours as the occasions to provide 'potential chances' to current prisoners. There are many artefacts and handcrafts exhibited in the workshops, and they are all made by current prisoners. When visitors were led to the workshops and saw the artefacts, the tour guides usually told them that these current prisoners were actually talented but unfortunately used their abilities in wrong ways. When these prisoners were imprisoned, they needed to work according to the arranged routines, and they could learn new abilities from the works in prisons. The tour guides would tell the visitors that when these prisoners finished their sentences and returned to normal society, what they needed was a chance, a new opportunity to have a normal work and live a normal life.

By conveying these messages in the tours, the tour guides enable the visitors to understand the current condition of prisoners and their treatment. When the public learn these matters, they are provided the opportunities and materials to consider this issue, through which it is possible to increase their willingness and extent of acceptance if they encounter these released former prisoners in the future. These messages or 'lessons' are parts of the contents that tour guides may tell their visitors in addition to those characteristics and history of the Old Prison. It can be observed that the tour guides utilise these chances of leading guided tours and conveying messages to build a connection amongst the Old Prison, its nature as a prison and current Taiwanese judicial system and society. This is also one of the key functions which many tour guides and the staff think that the Old Prison can benefit the society.

These are the main phenomena that repeatedly occur and are observed when conducting fieldwork in the Old Prison. It can be noticed at this stage that when the public come to visit the Old Prison, they are mainly concerned with the topics related to the nature of a prison itself, such as prisoners' lives, whether they were executed here and the connection between a prison and current prisoners. These are also the matters which are covered in tour guides' explanations and a part of the information which the tour guides want to convey to the visitors. Regarding the relation between the Old Prison and the Japanese, the tour guides mainly focus on the issues that the Old Prison 'was built by the Japanese when Taiwan was colonised by them' and they built it 'in Japanese style with high-grade materials and elaborate techniques.' It seems like that there are not many contents or conversations related to the interaction between local Taiwanese people and the Japanese in the colonial time. In the next sections, some interviewees' comments concerning their visiting experiences, how they regard the site and the Japanese colonial history will be presented and discussed.

Section 6.4. Fieldwork – interviews

There are totally 37 people being interviewed when conducting fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison, consisting of 25 general visitors, 9 tour guides and 3 special individuals. On the aspect of general visitors, most of my interviewees are local Taiwanese people (including 21 general visitors, 9 tour guides and 3 special individuals; the exceptions are 2 general visitors from Hong Kong and 2 general visitors from Indonesia who were exchange students), and they usually express similar feelings and thoughts regarding their visiting. For example, one day I interviewed two middle-age female visitors (cy-v3 and cy-v4) who were friends and came together. Before they came to visit, they said that they already saw certain information from the websites,

cy-v3, ‘... we know that it is a prison. ... Many bloggers already shared very clear photographs and described in detail.’

cy-v4, ‘(the tour guide) explained really well in detail.’

cy-v3, ‘(saying jokingly) The only weak point is that (the tour guide) did not tell a ghost story.’

cy-v4, ‘The condition inside the (Old) Prison is beautiful and secluded.’

cy-v3, ‘Now you cannot find such a good/nice prison.’

From these two ladies’ words, they did obtain some messages about the Old Prison before their visiting (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994), and they had rather good or positive impressions on the Old Prison and visiting experiences. When I asked them if they regarded the Old Prison as a ‘dark’³⁰ place, they replied that,

cy-v3, ‘(even though there are ghosts or spirits in the Old Prison) We have righteousness in our hearts (so we do not have to worry or be afraid).’

³⁰ The ‘dark’ can mean many things or be linked to many ideas, such as a place to imprison people and deprive their freedom, execution, people’s suffering, their death in prisons or even spirits and ghosts. What ‘dark’ means depends on when I mention the word, what would come to the interviewees’ minds and what would they say.

cy-v3, 'Local people (in Chia-Yi City) may know more rumours or secrets, so they do not come (and visit the Old Prison).'

cy-v3, 'When I told my father-in-law that I (wanted to) come, he said, "What? You go to a prison?" ... The elders may scruple more, thinking that prisons are bad places where imprison criminals. As a result, if there is nothing important, (they think that) one should not go inside, and they neither go to visit nor take children to these places (being concerned that children would be more sensitive). Therefore, I concealed from them (the elderly of her family) and took (her children) to come (and visited the Old Prison).'

Me, 'Oh, so you still took your children to come?'

Both cy-v3 and cy-v4, 'Yes, it is o.k. to bring children here. (cy-v3 went on and said) and it is an opportunity and a place to teach them not to do bad things.'

cy-v4, '(It seems like that) Young generations rather do not concern or worry.'

cy-v3, 'The foreigners do not worry about these, too. (They) think that it is just visiting, it is nothing special.'

It can be noticed that most of these two females' comments echo with the phenomena mentioned in the observation sections, especially on the aspects that they pay much attention on the 'dark' features of the Old Prison, how they regard these 'dark' topics and the educational function of the Old Prison to their children. From this interview instance, it exemplifies how general Taiwanese people regard a dark site such as a prison, like the Old Prison, and what kind of impressions they have before visiting and may subsequently generate after their visiting.

Before moving forwards to other interviewees' comments, I would like to explain here the Taiwanese people's belief and concepts about the death and the dead, which are distinct from the concepts in Western countries/societies (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley and Stone, 2009). According to my personal experiences as a local citizen and

what my family/relatives/friends share to me, Taiwanese people generally believe the existence of the spirits of the dead/their ancestors³¹. They held many kinds of religious ceremonies, worship or sacrifices throughout a year in order to not only remember and to show their cherishing of the memory of their ancestors, but also hope that they can rest in peace and pacify the spirits of all the dead. Taiwanese people also believe that these spirits are possible to linger in the secular world instead of going to the afterworld, especially those who die in unnatural deaths (such as natural disasters) or are killed in accidents or are executed. Because of being shocked, scared or angry when they die, the spirits of these dead may linger around the places they die, and they are possible, also have the abilities, to hurt/harm the living people if they are unsatisfied, provoked or bothered. Amongst the living people, young children and those who are sick or with weak physical quality are those who are relatively easy to be hurt and 'affected.' These are also the reasons why Taiwanese people held a lot of religious ceremonies and make sacrifices for the spirits of both their ancestors and the other dead; it is because these spirits can somehow 'influence' the living people's daily lives and 'decide' their fortune.

This belief can be applied to explain why interviewee cy-v3's father-in-law was so surprised when knowing she went to visit a prison and why she and her friend mentioned if there were ghosts or spirits in the Old Prison. In a later paragraph which shows my interview with a couple from Hong Kong in the Old Prison, their similar concerns of the spirits and if their visiting would 'bother' these spirits can also be observed. At the same time, the belief can also explain the phenomena observed in the Old Prison that the visitors are usually worried before going into the Old Prison and

³¹ This is not the unique belief exclusive for Taiwanese people; in other countries and regions in East Asia, people share similar belief and thoughts about the death, the ancestors and their spirits.

their concerns about whether there is an execution ground equipped in the Old Prison. Therefore, when discussing the issues of dark/difficult heritage, especially those related to the death and the dead, in the contexts of Taiwan or other East Asian countries, this belief and customs are necessary to be taken into account.

Back to the interviews, in addition to the focuses on the dark features, there are other visitors being concerned with the historical background of the Old Prison and its characteristics as a cultural heritage site. A male visitor (cy-v2 who came and visited alone) told me that he has visited the prisons respectively in Lutao and in South Korea³³ before. He said that when he visited the prison in South Korea,

cy-v2, '... I did not understand Korean, or maybe I can realise more the atmosphere and the messages they want to convey.'

He also compared his visiting experience in the prison in South Korea and in the Old Prison,

cy-v2, '... There are waxen images and figures displayed in the prison in South Korea to imitate and represent the conditions/situations in the cells and in the prison.'

When I asked him about his visiting experience in the Old Prison,

cy-v2, '... (The tour guide) says too many current things and (current prisoners') artefacts. I want to know more about the feeling/atmosphere and the historical context of the Japanese colonial time.'

'... I want to experience the feelings of the prisoners, like using the phones in the meeting room and there are people beside you and monitoring you. However, there were so many students (in the same

³³ The visited prison is called 'Seodaemun Prison History Hall' (서대문형무소역사관), which is related to the prison built by the Japanese when South Korea was colonised.

tour group and experiencing the phones), so I gave up.'

'... You should view what the cultural heritage originally looks like. (If you) rebuild it, repaint it or set labels and boards, you destroy its original atmosphere and circumstance. That is why I choose to come and visit the Old Prison on weekdays; I mean to come and see its real, true looks and to feel that atmosphere.'

Then I asked him if he felt any worry about the dark or negative features of the Old Prison, his comments made me feel like that he did not have negative feelings and ideas to the Old Prison,

cy-v2, 'I am not afraid, and I want to know more 'culture' about the prisons, such as (when prisoners were released, they) do not turn round their heads whilst walking out and they do not say "*zai jian*"³⁴. After all, these are the conditions that we have never encountered with before.'

This interviewee expressed his concerns on the characteristics of the Old Prison as a cultural heritage site, and he also mentioned his interests in learning and experiencing more about the 'original looks and atmospheres' of the Old Prison. As he said that he would like to know more about the Japanese colonial history and its relation to the Old Prison, I think that what he said about the 'original looks and atmospheres' are also related to the Japanese background and the scenes/appearances at that time. However, when discussing the topic of the Japanese, I did not notice or feel any negative expressions or thoughts to the Japanese from his words. In addition, it seems like that he was not bothered or concerned so much about the dark features of the Old Prison, compared with interviewee cy-v3 and cy-v4. The interviewee has already visited other two prisons before visiting the Old Prison, and his these visiting experiences may result in that he could make a comparison amongst the prisons he has visited and that he is

³⁴ Please refer to the explanation of '*zai jian*' (再見) in the sections of observation on p.146 in **Section 6.3**.

not so worried about the 'darkness' of Chia-Yi Old Prison since the other two prisons are relevant to much 'darker' and 'gloomier' historical issues.

Amongst the general visitors I interviewed, there is an interview experience that impresses me, and the interviewees are a middle-age couple coming from Hong Kong (cy-v18 and cy-v19). The reasons why I am impressed are not only because they are not local Taiwanese people, from which it is expected to learn some new perspectives, but because some points they made are worth discussing. It was the same that I attended a guided tour which the couple joined, too, and I interviewed them after the tour.

cy-v18, 'This is the first time we come to Chia-Yi, and we learn about this place of Chia-Yi Old Prison from a brochure in the hotel we stay.'

cy-v18, '(We) feel curious (about the Old Prison) and really special so we want to visit it; because (in) Hong Kong there is no something like this.'

The first words echo with the situations mentioned above in the observation sections that many visitors were introduced to come and visit the Old Prison as a tourist site. It is not certain in the second words that they are curious about the Old Prison whether because of its 'dark' features or not, but it sounds to me that '(in) Hong Kong there is no something like this' means a prison which is open for the public to visit. During the process of interview, the wife asked me if there had been the political prisoners of the February 28 Incident (please refer to Chapter 3. Taiwanese History) imprisoned in the Old Prison, if there was an execution ground here and if the Old Prison is 'the same' as the prison in Lutao³⁵. It seems like that the guide of this tour did not mention these, and after I told her that there is no execution ground in the Old Prison and that there was no political prisoner imprisoned here, she felt more or less relieved. Then the

³⁵ Please refer to Footnote 7 on p.56.

husband (cy-v18) said:

‘I tell you something interesting: when we come here (passing along the wall of the Old Prison to the main gate), she says with fear and trepidation that we cannot talk inside (the Old Prison), being afraid that there would be spirits inside and (our visiting) may disturb them and make them angry.’

The husband’s words clearly indicate the main concern of Taiwanese people when visiting dark/difficult sites such as a prison, and it seems like that people from Hong Kong also have the same concern and customs/thoughts. This also explains why there are many visitors care about whether there were prisoners executed or killed in the Old Prison. Later, the husband asked me why the Old Prison was conserved and what is the purpose; I thought that because the tour already ended and according to the situation, it seemed like that the tour guide really did not give a clear explanation, I explained to them about the special architectural structures, its uniqueness on the aspects of its position in the development of Taiwanese judicial system and that the Old Prison is currently the only one prison with this type left in Taiwan, so that it was kept and conserved. They listened to my explanation and occasionally nodded, and it looked like that they could comprehend and agreed with what I said.

Generally speaking, I think that they are quite concerned, especially the wife, about the issues of political prisoners, if there was a relation between the prisoners and the Old Prison, how they were treated and if they were executed in the Old Prison. They asked me this kind of questions and I tried to answer them; I mentioned that there was no political prisoner in Chia-Yi Old Prison and that many of these prisoners were sent to Lutao prison at that time (of White Terror). The wife expressed ‘well, I think Lutao there would be more “that”, right?’ Here, I think that the ‘Lutao there’ means the Lutao prison, and the ‘more “that”’ means making people fell gloomier and more horrible. I

do not know why the couple are so concerned about the issue of political prisoners and if they have any relevance with the issue. They show their concern towards political prisoners in Taiwan and the prisoners', if any, relation with the prison(s) which they visit. Unexpectedly, the topics they raise will have close relationship with my later research and my second case study.

On the aspect of tour guides' viewpoints, many of them express their concerns of introducing the Old Prison to more visitors, and their comments also reveal their perspectives on the Old Prison as a prison and as a cultural heritage site. In the early stage of my fieldwork in the Old Prison, I met a young lady (cy-g3) in a guided tour, and she told me that she was just recruited as a new tour guide and would receive the training soon. Later, I interviewed her, asking her why she wanted to become a tour guide of the Old Prison. She expressed that,

cy-g3, '... When I was just a visitor, I had met foreign visitors, who were from Australia. However, at that time, there was no tour guides using foreign languages, so they (the foreign visitors) could not know anything about the (Old) Prison. Therefore, I want to become a tour guide and then I can use English to introduce the (Old) Prison to those foreign visitors. ... If there were foreign visitors coming (to the Old Prison), it means that it is representative to a certain extent, and it has something that can attract people.'

In addition, she mentioned that,

cy-g3, '... When my friends or classmates come to Chia-Yi (City), I will definitely take them to the Old Prison, and it is the first spot.'

From her comments, I can realise that she not only regards the Old Prison as a representative spot/place in Chia-Yi City, but also has a particular sense of identity to 'this place,' which can mean the Old Prison or Chia-Yi City or her hometown. Her idea

of conveying messages in other languages to foreign visitors also approves that she has clear, positive feelings to this place. There is an interesting phenomenon which echoes with interviewee cy-g3's reflections that in many guided tours led by different tour guides, it is usually heard similar words like

'They left such a beautiful/precious building, so we should conserve them well/carefully.'

'This is our important cultural heritage; it has witnessed and presented our history and the development of judicial/prison system.'

It is sometimes difficult for me to make sure who are the 'they,' 'our' and 'we' that these tour guides refer to when I review and think of them carefully. Chia-Yi Old Prison was built and had been operated by the Japanese. After the WWII and the Nationalist (KMT) government from mainland China took over the governance of Taiwan, the Old Prison had still been operated to imprison criminals. From this point of view or because it was built in Taiwan, the Old Prison can be regarded as 'ours.' Then who are the 'they' refer to? It could mean the original builders, the Japanese, or the officials and government from mainland China since they are the last operators. I do not intend to make a clear distinction here, but the interesting phenomena are seemed like that the Japanese, the historical fact that they had colonised Taiwan and those accompanying legacies have been permeated into local Taiwanese people's understanding and memories, that people can notice these messages in their daily lives and express naturally in their words.

Regarding the messages and explanations they convey in the tours, the interviewed tour guides usually said that

cy-g4, 'The contents I say are based on what I have heard from other tour

guides when I came and visited before plus some of the exhibits (and labels) inside. ... The explained contents of each tour guide are different; they decide on their own.'

cy-g4, '... If they (the visitors) ask me something that I do not know or I am not sure or something that has not been confirmed, I do not dare to say carelessly.'

cy-g9, 'At the beginning when I was going to lead a guided tour, I did not know how to say because there were so many materials (from the training courses). It was that I went back home and practiced, so that I can explain it interestingly like I did today.'

When I asked them if there is anything that they think as the important features of Chia-Yi Old Prison or something that they would definitely mention in the tours,

cy-g2, '(the important features of the Old Prison are) its building materials and its radial structure, and (that) the Old Prison is the only one (prison which is built and maintained) in its original structure at its original location.'

cy-g4, 'What I will definitely mention are that never be curious to a prison, never try to come into a prison, do not ever think about doing prison times³⁶. (And then what I would mention is) its particular prison structure.'

cy-g5, '(What I will mention) are those educational things and then the building structure.'

From these tour guides' comments, it is noticed that they pay much attention on the physical structure of the Old itself and its relation to current society. According to my observation in the guided tours and the interview experiences with these tour guides, it seems like that the Old Prison and its historical background of the Japanese colonisation do not really remind them much/often about the interaction between the

³⁶ What cy-g4 means here is 'never try or ever think about committing crimes just because you are curious about the lives of prisoners or being imprisoned or just because you want to have "free meals"'

Japanese and the Taiwanese or the (unfair) treatment from the Japanese upon Taiwanese people at that time. However, as described in the **Section 6.3. Fieldwork – observations** above, there are still some tour guides would mention certain unfair treatment in their guided tours, such as the one talking about if there was an air raid attacking the Old Prison (see p.147). I observed this scene, and it seemed like that both the tour guide mentioned and the visitors responded in a lighthearted way. These phenomena, both the observation and the interview of tour guides, make me think of two possibilities of why people present such a lighthearted attitude towards the Japanese when they visit the Old Prison. One is that the Old Prison really has no relation to the negative, or difficult, matters in the Japanese colonial period, and another one is that the act of visiting the prisons which were constructed by the Japanese in the colonial time, at least in this case of Chia-Yi Old Prison, does not remind both tour guides and the visitors of those unfair treatment or oppression in the Japanese colonial period.

I was also wondering during the fieldwork process that is it the ways I ask or the description I use not clear enough, so that cannot induce the tour guides to think of the Japanese's unfair treatment upon Taiwanese people in the colonial period? I totally interviewed 9 tour guides in the Old Prison, but before the last three guides, no one mentioned relevant topics about the unfair treatment which the Japanese had done to the Taiwanese people. Therefore, I tried to ask the questions straightforwardly to the next two tour guides (cy-g7 and cy-g8; I interviewed both of them together). I asked them in the interview that when leading guided tours in the Old Prison and as we (general Taiwanese people, including these two tour guides and myself) were taught when we were students about the Japanese colonisation, will these remind them of how Taiwanese people were treated by the Japanese at that time or raise any emotions

or thoughts?

cy-g7, 'Usually, it will not because the distance of time is a little far away.

Those who may have this kind of emotions are our last generation.

Since how our last generation feel is different from how we feel. ...

You say (that) it is negative, but actually it is the functions of caution and alter. More or less it is. (Some people may think that) this place is not a good place, and it is just because this is not a good place, we should tell them that you should not come in (committing crimes and being imprisoned). ...'

Me, 'So it sounds like that (you rather) do not..., because it is more related to (the matter of) teaching current people and children about not to commit crimes. So, it seems like that (you relatively) do not trace time back to ... (interrupted)'

cy-g8, '(Interpose when I talk) Because as we being tour guides, we should be neutral, we cannot provoke controversies. Because even though during that time, there were such things happening, it is possible that we may feel aggrieved. However, it is an international community now, and people frequently come and go, and it is also everyone's hope that there will be no wars anymore. Therefore, although regarding those things in the past and they treated us (pause 1 second) really bad, we may put it in our hearts. When we introduce (the Old Prison) to the visitors, we cannot/should not provoke such opposition. (Yes, yes, and we should focus on and) talk about those past and history. Those things about opposition should not be intentionally raised.'

cy-g7, '(continue) So during the process of our guided tours, we do not talk about politics, ..., and (we focus on) a direction of culture and introduce in a direction of history and historical building. That is how we usually do. Because if you mention something about politics and opposition, then there could some small conflicts, and this is not our main purpose of being tour guides. ...'

The interview with cy-g7 and cy-g8 reveals two topics: the first one is different emotions and memories from family members, and the second one is related to Uzzell's statement of 'hot interpretation.' According to the comments of cy-g7, she,

similar to other tour guides, mainly focuses on the function of the Old Prison as a caution and alter to current Taiwanese society and people. She expresses another possibility that it is because of the cautionary function which the Old Prison performs that makes it not so 'negative.' Regarding the relation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, she did not mention much, but she said that 'the distance of time is a little far away,' which is relevant to Phillips' (2013) concepts about historical distance, and her last generation³⁷ may have much more feelings and thoughts to the Japanese and the colonial history. The issues relevant to her comments are every person's living experiences and what they remember throughout their living process (Ashworth, 2008; Beaumont, 2009; Chen, 2008; Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Russell and Michael, 2007; Woodward, 1997). Both the interviewed tour guides are supposed to be born after the Japanese colonial period, and so as myself; we did not experience and do not know the lives and how it would be in the colonial time. We learnt this information from lectures in schools or from the words of our family members, and it is possible that we may be influenced and affected by the perspectives of our family members, the textbooks and the 'positions' adopted in the textbooks (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). It could be the situation that we later generations' thoughts and feelings towards the Japanese and the colonial past are not so strong as those who had experienced the time, and this is possible to be another reason why a lot of current Taiwanese people seldom associate the Old Prison and their visiting experiences with the Japanese colonial past and the interaction between Japanese and Taiwanese people at that time.

The interruption and comments of cy-g8 make me directly connect and compare his

³⁷ Tour guide cy-g7 says 'the/her last generation,' and it usually refers to her parents' generation, and she told me in the interview that she was about 60s, from which it can be conjectured the time when the people of her parents and her 'last generation' have lived and experienced, and it should be in the Japanese colonial period.

words to Uzzell's statements (please refer to **Section 4.3** on pages 103-105). It is because his words somehow just reflect Uzzell's consideration exactly. However, cy-g8's suggestion makes a completely opposite decision. From his comments, it is realised that he actually knows the situations and thinks that the Japanese people treated Taiwanese people 'really bad' in the colonial time, and it seems like that it is really the past which makes people uncomfortable or bothered (at least from his words). However, he thinks that they (the tour guides) are not supposed to convey these relatively negative messages, which risk provoking potential conflicts, annoying the visitors or making them feel uncomfortable. Therefore, they cover, or choose not to convey, these messages and contents related to the negative facets of Japanese colonisation and those possible unfair treatments upon Taiwanese people. Because of this, it seems like that in Chia-Yi Old Prison, when visitors come into the space and visit it, negative information about the Japanese past is somehow 'disconnected' through the effort of tour guides, so that there will be no, at least as far as possible, matters about discrimination, opposition or unfairness which may make people feel unpleasant appearing in the space during their visiting. In other words, visitors would not receive information about how Taiwanese people were treated unfairly by the Japanese in the colonial time to a certain extent when they visit the Old Prison. This could also be one of the reasons why the visitors seldom associate the Old Prison with the Japanese difficult history, which is also not the aim of the staff of the Old Prison.

I did not make further comment or argue with cy-g8 in the interview because I thought that it was the strategy and decisions of the tour guides, and I respected their decisions. Nonetheless, cy-g8's comments still give rise to the contemplation of that if it is necessary to bring out and stress the conflict and contradiction between the Japanese and the Taiwanese in the colonial period even though the Old Prison has in fact nothing

to do with the conflict or differentiated/unequal treatment. Then, I asked them

Me, '... Then from your personal perspectives, do you have any negative or bad impressions on the Japanese? ... Do you think that the Japanese colonial past is a bad past? ...'

cy-g7, '(I think that) in our studying processes, we already received this kind of education, so basically for example, those treaties (which the Japanese formulated) or something like when they came to Taiwan, they treated Taiwanese people badly, we more or less heard something like these. So, you say...from my view, (you say) that how great Japanese people are, I think I do not (think so). If you say that (we/I) have some kind of hatred to them, because it is (something happening in) the history, it does not really influence. For me, (I think that) I should not be influenced. ...'

cy-g7, '... You do not need to say the Japanese or the Chinese or although we are the same as the Taiwanese, ... so it all depends on every individual and their own perspectives. For example, like the February 28 Incident (please see Chapter 3. Taiwanese History), those families being hurt and the people being hurt, they would always remember. Although the February 28 Incident was already redressed, every year when it comes to 28th February, everyone still raises this issue and provokes the complex. It is because their personal thoughts and feelings are different. For us who are not involved, we may think that they already redressed (the incident) for you (those people and families being involved), so you could let go, gradually let go. However, for them, how can I let go? This is about personal feelings, and it is the same as to the Japanese. For the Japanese, it is bigger (issues) because it relates to the whole nation, plus that this is something long time ago. For we personally, we did not experience that, but it is the traces which still remain. Therefore, (I think that) it should not influence (us a lot).'

cy-g8, 'Yes, it should not influence (us). And... it should say that it is something in the history, and there should not between nation and nation.'

Me, 'Should not fight against each other again.'

cy-g8, 'Yes, of course. If it was in the past and we saw some patriotic movies, we might feel indignant. However, in current time, ... if they come

here (the Old Prison), of course we respect them as our guests and welcome them to come (and visit).'

.....

Me, 'So, it is after all something happening in the history, and it does not mean to influence the current (people, visitors, society, relations) with the emotions at that time; it should be said that (these are) something once happening (in the past) in Taiwan.'

cy-g7 and cy-g8, 'Yes, yes.'

cy-g7, '(That is) the background of current history (in a great scale), (these are) the matters happening in such a current historical background, and these are not the matters which our individual deeds can prevent (them from happening).'

I would say that the comments of these two tour guides and this interview are really inspiring. The situations which tour guide cy-g7 mentioned and expressed are the circumstances that many communities, societies and groups who have experienced certain painful, difficult times/events would encounter and need to confront with. When two, or more, groups of people encounter and there are conflicts between them, no matter what types of the conflicts they could be, it is supposed to cause certain harm for both of them and the influences can last for a long time (Beaumont, 2009; Hua, 2016; Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2009; Nawijn and Fricke, 2015; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010). It is also shown that the harm would influence not only the involved people and generation(s) in question, but also the later generations (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hashimoto, 2011; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Huang and Lee, 2020; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Ye, 2015). She then extended the issues of conflicts from those between the Japanese and the Taiwanese to those related to Taiwanese people and people in mainland China. From which it can be noticed and perhaps inferred that these conflicts show similar features and characteristics but with particular nuances according to different contexts.

In these two cases which had occurred in Taiwan, the conflict between the Japanese and the Taiwanese and the conflict between Taiwanese people and people from mainland China, both of them more or less cause certain unpleasant and uncomfortable experiences/memories to local Taiwanese people. I think that in current society, a key factor which make Taiwanese people regard these two conflicts differently is, as both cy-g7 and cy-g8 mentioned, the distance of history (Phillips, 2013). From these two tour guides' words, it seems to me that they think that because the Japanese colonial period is the history long time ago, they cannot do anything with it. Even though they have certain discontent or indignation, if any, towards the Japanese and the past, they can only put them in their hearts because they cannot do anything with it (or because it is not so important to current Taiwanese society so far). Because it is in Chia-Yi Old Prison such a special space and also because they are the tour guides of the Old Prison, with their consideration that these messages are not the main information which they want to convey to the public, these information (of the Japanese's unfair treatment to Taiwanese people) and personal emotions (such as discontent or indignation to the Japanese) are covered and not conveyed to the visitors. Consequently, it is possible that the visitors of the Old Prison do not notice these messages, but it does not mean that these messages and emotions do not exist. In contrast, if inferring from the case of tour guides cy-g7 and cy-g8, there is a high possibility that every visitor also holds their individual perspectives on and interpretations of the Japanese and the colonial past.

In addition to these two guides whom I asked really frankly about their perspectives on the conflict between the Japanese and Taiwanese people, there was another tour guide (cy-g9) who actively and was willing to discuss this topic. One of my questions in the

interview is that do they (my interviewees) regard the Old Prison as a bad or negative place/structure? The tour guide replied me that

cy-g9, 'This place has no rightness or wrongness.'

His words sound to me that 'the place' can mean the Old Prison, its structures or the buildings,

cy-g9, 'I do not make judgements, and I do not impose my concepts and ideas (of the judgements) upon the visitors. It is them (the visitors) who (should) make the judgements.'

Then I asked him how he thinks about the governance/control of the Japanese people over local Taiwanese citizens in the colonial period. He said that

cy-g9, '... I did not think of it (when I lead the guided tours). My thoughts and ideas are positive, too, and I do not judge how Japanese people treated Taiwanese people because the issue is too big (to be discussed) in the case of the Old Prison (/from the position of the Old Prison). It is just the same as how we regard the February 28 Incident and the reasons (that resulted in the February 28 Incident). People at the time had their own positions and concepts, and there are many aspects and facets which have not been raised for discussion until now. It is unnecessary to provoke the emotions (no matter they are positive or negative ones towards the Japanese) in the guided tours. Therefore, (I) just concentrate and focus on introducing the physical structures and the tangible parts of this place (Chia-Yi Old Prison). (That is enough).'

cy-g9, '... What happened in that time (Japanese colonial period) are historical facts; there is no good or bad, so we just do not criticise them. Do not hold a (particular/specific) position and then impose to the visitors who come to visit.'

About the relation between the Japanese and the Taiwanese, he mentioned something

relevant and also expressed some interesting opinions and perspectives:

cy-g9, '... Do you think that current Japanese people look up to Taiwanese people? When WWII ended and Taiwan was returned to mainland China, there were some Japanese people who lived in Taiwan and they did not go back to Japan. (It is) because they would have nothing if they went back; their estate, property and painstaking efforts were all in Taiwan, so they stayed (in Taiwan). For this group of Japanese people, the Nationalist government who took over Taiwan were the 'invaders;' they were those who invaded them and embezzled their belongings. Not long time ago, when it was the birthday of the Emperor of Japan, there was a group of people in Taiwan going to Japan to congratulate him.'

The tour guide even told me in the interview that this group of people, who are possible to be the later generations/descendants of the Japanese people who stayed in Taiwan after WWII, still hope that they can be governed by Japan and the government (even govern Taiwan). If this really happens, then Taiwan will become the colony of Japan again, and these later generations/descendants of Japanese people will become the vested interest group. After hearing him saying these, I was quite surprised not only because of the things he said (and I did not either if what he said were true and how he got the information from), but also the situations and facts that the legacies of the Japanese and the colonial period have left until current society and influenced current people in Taiwan. When I say 'current people in Taiwan,' I mean here the local Taiwanese people, those who are the descendants of the Japanese people who stayed in Taiwan after WWII and the later generations born from the marriage of Japanese people and Taiwanese people.

I have to admit that before I talked with tour guide cy-g9, I did not recognise the presence of the later generations/descendants of the Japanese people. The end of

WWII, the end of the Japanese colonisation and the taking-over of the KMT government from mainland China are supposed to generate great impacts and influences upon these people, too. This perhaps can also be regarded as the legacies which the Japanese and the colonial past have left until today, especially upon a certain group of people, in current Taiwanese society. The tour guide later mentioned,

cy-g9, 'For the Taiwanese people in late *Ming* Dynasty³⁸, the people and court of *Qing* Dynasty were the invaders, and both groups of them had conflicts. For the Taiwanese people in late *Qing* Dynasty, the people and government of Japan were the invaders, and both groups of them had conflicts. For the Taiwanese people near the end of Japanese colonisation, the people from mainland China and the Nationalist government were the invaders, and both groups of them had conflicts. These are all the same and follow the same rule and principle.'

From his comments above, I am impressive that he regards the conflicts in diverse historical times in such a large scale, and his words also reveal interesting issues and phenomena about how people regard 'conflicts' and 'other group(s)' of people at the same time. It is usually in this kind of occasions when different groups of people have certain conflicts on the aspects of interests, rights or even living or death that a clear distinction, different positions and the differences between 'we' and 'they' will be generated. These conflicts are presented and shown in different ways, such as inner/psychological dislike, bias, discrimination, partial judgements or apparent altercations or physical fights. When different groups of people encounter with each

³⁸ *Ming* Dynasty (明朝, 1368-1644 A.D.) is the dynasty and regime in mainland China followed by *Qing* Dynasty (清朝, 1636-1912 A.D.). In *Ming* Dynasty, Taiwan was not a part of the territory of the *Ming* regime in mainland China. In late *Ming* Dynasty (around 1662-1683 A.D.), Taiwan was controlled by a high-ranking military officer (as a general) as a base to fight against the invasion of *Qing* people and regime. Later, the officer, his families and the force were defeated, and in order to prevent any opposite force from using Taiwan as a rebellious base, *Qing* regime formally brought Taiwan into its domain around 1684 A.D.

other, it is possible and easy to break out certain conflicts. Afterwards, the processes, all of the conflicts and what those people experience can become the 'difficult' events and history for all of the involved people. All of these are related to people's 'positions' and how they regard those who are in different 'positions' from theirs. For instance, both the defeated people of *Ming* regime and those of *Qing* regime who took over the control of mainland China experienced the conflicts, and there were definitely harm and losing for both sides of them. As a result, it can be inferred that this process of invasion/defence and conflicts are supposed to be a 'difficult history' for both of the groups. However, it could be attributed to the long history/historical distance (Phillips, 2013) that almost no current people remember the pain, the overturned experiences and the 'difficult history.'

I am not trying to say that as the time passes, all difficult history and painful memories can be erased (so that it can be pretended that 'nothing happened before' or 'there is no such things happening before'). Nevertheless, it seems like that time or the historical distance does play particular roles on the issues of difficult history and its influences upon people. This site, Chia-Yi Old Prison, and another case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, are representing and reflecting this kind of 'conflicts' and 'different positions' of two groups of people. All of the conflicts, also both of the 'difficult histories,' are the events and historical facts that happened in quite modern times, and there are still a lot of current Taiwanese people who remember the histories. Therefore, unlike the conflict between *Ming* and *Qing* people, the difficult histories related to these two sites are not forgotten; as a result, the phenomena which are observed and presented in these two case studies can be regarded as how people remember these conflicts and then further react to the legacies of these conflicts.

Section 6.5. Conclusion

This chapter has presented the fieldwork done in Chia-Yi Old Prison and particular phenomena worthy of paying attention to. In **Section 6.3**, it shows that many tour guides and visitors focus on three topics, which are the unique structures of the Old Prison, its connection with current prison conditions/systems in Taiwan and specific 'dark' matters. The 'dark' matters here mean those about death, execution and the spirits/ghosts, but these result from Chia-Yi Old Prison being a 'prison,' not really because of its Japanese colonial past and how Taiwanese were treated at that time. In **Section 6.4**, many visitors express their concerns about the 'dark' matters, and it seems like that they generally appreciate the features of the Old Prison as a heritage site and a real former prison. It is also noticed that visitors usually express thoughts and perspectives similar to what the tour guides tell them in the tours. After visiting, they usually generate positive impressions about the Old Prison and do not regard it as a bad or negative place.

On the aspect of tour guides' comments, they focus on conveying messages about the unique structures of the Old Prison which was built by the Japanese in the colonial period and using it as a medium to admonish the public against committing crimes. The tour guides have personal perspectives on the Japanese people and the colonial past; some appreciate Japanese people's rigorous attitudes and elaborate techniques whilst some still have certain unpleasant memories of the Japanese and the past (which are concealed from the public during the tours). In the case of Chia-Yi Old Prison, the scenes and appearances related/reflected Japanese-Taiwanese conflicts in the colonial period or the 'difficult history' are seldom observed in the guided tours. Although there may be negative feelings or ideas held by visitors or by tour guides, they are not shown perceivably. The next chapter will introduce and present the fieldwork in the second

case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, in order to explore its particular phenomena and to see if there are similarities/differences between Jing-Mei Memorial Park and Chia-Yi Old Prison.

Chapter 7. Fieldwork – in Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park

Taking Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park as one of the case studies of this research is not decided when conducting fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison. During the process of doing fieldwork in the Old Prison, I took a day visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park, which offered me great impact about Taiwanese history, the past related to it and a strong emotional experience. Later, Jing-Mei Memorial Park was noticed as a special place which can be taken as another case study. The reasons include:

1. it is also a prison (and a detention centre) before, which is similar to the Old Prison;
2. the themes presented and conveyed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are related to the conflicts between two groups of people with certain subtle distinctions;
3. visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park gives its visitors strong emotions and impacts and also enables them to reflect their past and understanding, and
4. the historical time that Jing-Mei Memorial Park represents follows after and almost connects to the period of Japanese colonization over Taiwan, which is the period which the Old Prison represents, and there is also an overlapping time when both sites were still operated.

As a result, Jing-Mei Memorial Park was decided to be the second case study of the research. The fieldwork is proceeded from 29th August to 5th October 2017, approximately 6 weeks. The research methods are similar to those adopted in the Old Prison that include interview and observation with a little adjustment, which will be explained in later paragraphs. Before moving into the research process and contents in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, a brief introduction is provided, showing the history of the establishment of Jing-Mei Memorial Park as a historical site, the layout of it and its visiting manners and relevant regulations.

Section 7.1. A brief introduction

Before moving on to discuss the structures of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the fieldwork, it is necessary to have a basic understanding of the established process of it as a historical site. As described in Chapter 3. Taiwanese History, when the Japanese government ended its colonisation of Taiwan and the governance was handed over to the Nationalist (KMT) government in mainland China, the dominion of Taiwanese government had been controlled in the hand of the KMT Party for a long time. Even though the White Terror ended in 1987³⁹, the members of the Nationalist (KMT) Party had still formed the majority of the officials in the government, which means that the Party is still dominant in the control of Taiwanese governance/thoughts. It was until 2000 that the dominant political party alternated and the Democratic Progressive Party (abbreviated as DPP; please refer to p.59 in **Section 3.4.1**) became the governmental party of Taiwanese government (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Wang, 2017). In Chapter 3, it is mentioned that the DPP was organised and established during the period of White Terror, and its members were those who held and emphasised the consciousness of 'local Taiwanese people.' In the time of White Terror, many members of DPP had also actively participated in political activities or campaigns, striving for the rights of Taiwanese people and expressing their opposition to the authoritarian control of the KMT government and its unreasonableness.

After the DPP held the government, its officials decided to conserve the structures in Jing-Mei Memorial Park and assign/register the complex as a historical site in 2002. The DPP had been the ruling party of Taiwanese government from 2000 to 2008, and the political party alternation happened again that the KMT Party became the ruling party

³⁹ Please refer to Footnote 5 in **Section 3.3** for the explanation about the end of White Terror in Chapter 3. Taiwanese History.

of the government from 2008 to 2016. It seems like that in the 8 years of KMT governance, there was little progression in exploring the affairs of White Terror and establishing commemorative/memorial institutions or monuments. Later, the DPP becomes in charge of Taiwanese government again (the current President and officials, whose terms of office are from 2016 to 2020). In 2018, the National Human Rights Museum was established in charge of managing two memorial parks, Jing-Mei Memorial Park (the case study of this research) and Green Island Memorial Park in Lutao⁴⁰.

Both Jing-Mei Memorial Park and Green Island Memorial Park are the former prisons which were utilised to imprison, judge the political victims and where these victims served their sentences. Before the National Human Rights Museum was set up in 2018, Jing-Mei Memorial Park was already designated as a heritage site in 2007. According to the description on the National Cultural Heritage Website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture of Taiwan, Jing-Mei Memorial Park complies with the standards of

1. showing historical and cultural values;
2. showing the values of architectural history or technical history;
3. showing other values of history or architecture⁴¹.

The following descriptions explain relevant details, and the second point reveals the significant relation between Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the White Terror that

2. In modern Taiwan, several great democratic movements and the trials of relevant affairs which resist authoritarian rule all occurred here, hence it

⁴⁰ Regarding the information of the Museum and two memorial parks, please refer to the official website (English version): 國家人權博物館 (National Human Rights Museum) <https://en.nhrm.gov.tw/>.

⁴¹ Jing-Mei Military Detention Centre in Ershizhang, Xindian, from the National Cultural Heritage Website of the Bureau of Cultural Heritage, Ministry of Culture, <https://nchdb.boch.gov.tw/assets/overview/historicalBuilding/20071212000001> [Accessed on 28th March 2022].

represents the significance of political history⁴².

Additionally, referring to a report on the MUSEUMS website, which is subordinate to the Ministry of Culture, it mentions the aims of establishing the National Human Rights Museum and the meanings of two memorial parks:

‘... (The two memorial parks) contain the life stories and historical memories of many victims in the period of White Terror, and now they are transformed into the memorial landscapes that witness the process of human rights development in Taiwan. (The National Human Rights Museum) undertakes the task of conserving the historical memories of human rights in Taiwan, ..., showing Taiwanese determination of pursuing and carrying out the universal value of democracy and human rights.’⁴³

From the descriptions and statements, it is obvious to know the representative role of Jing-Mei Memorial Park in presenting the history of White Terror and appealing the human rights in Taiwan.

It can be noticed in this process of establishing Jing-Mei Memorial Park and other relevant memorial institutions that the Taiwanese government, which has been in charge by diverse political parties alternately, shows quite different perspectives on Jing-Mei Memorial Park the attempts to understand and interpret the history of White Terror. The phenomena also illustrate that current Taiwanese people, as a whole, have not reached a consensus about how to evaluate the difficult history yet, and the people are still struggling to comprehend and to work out the history. However, due to the issues which it engages and the effort of the staff, Jing-Mei Memorial Park still attracts people to come and learn about the history. The visitor number presents gradual

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park, from the MUSEUMS website of the Ministry of Culture, <https://museums.moc.gov.tw/MusData/Detail?museumsId=5c914403-cf09-46ff-9ef4-3e35c7a39d8d> [Accessed on 28th March 2022].

growth as well: according to the official reports, there were about 133,511 visitors coming to Jing-Mei Memorial Park in 2018, and in the next year (2019) the number was 127,321 whilst there were 92,397 visitors in 2013⁴⁴. The numbers illustrate that the issues of White Terror and Jing-Mei Memorial Park have come into people's visions and minds, and through the process of visiting and comprehending the dilemma is possible to be conciliated later.



Figure 7.1.1. The plan of Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park.

⁴⁴ The Numbers of People Entering the Park in 2018 and 2019, from the National Human Rights Museum website, https://www.nhrm.gov.tw/w/nhrm/Statistics_21090121574048904?id=21090121565616860; https://lci.ly.gov.tw/LyLCEW/agenda1/02/pdf/08/07/11/LCEWA01_080711_00225.pdf [Both the websites were accessed on 30th March 2022].

The plan of Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park

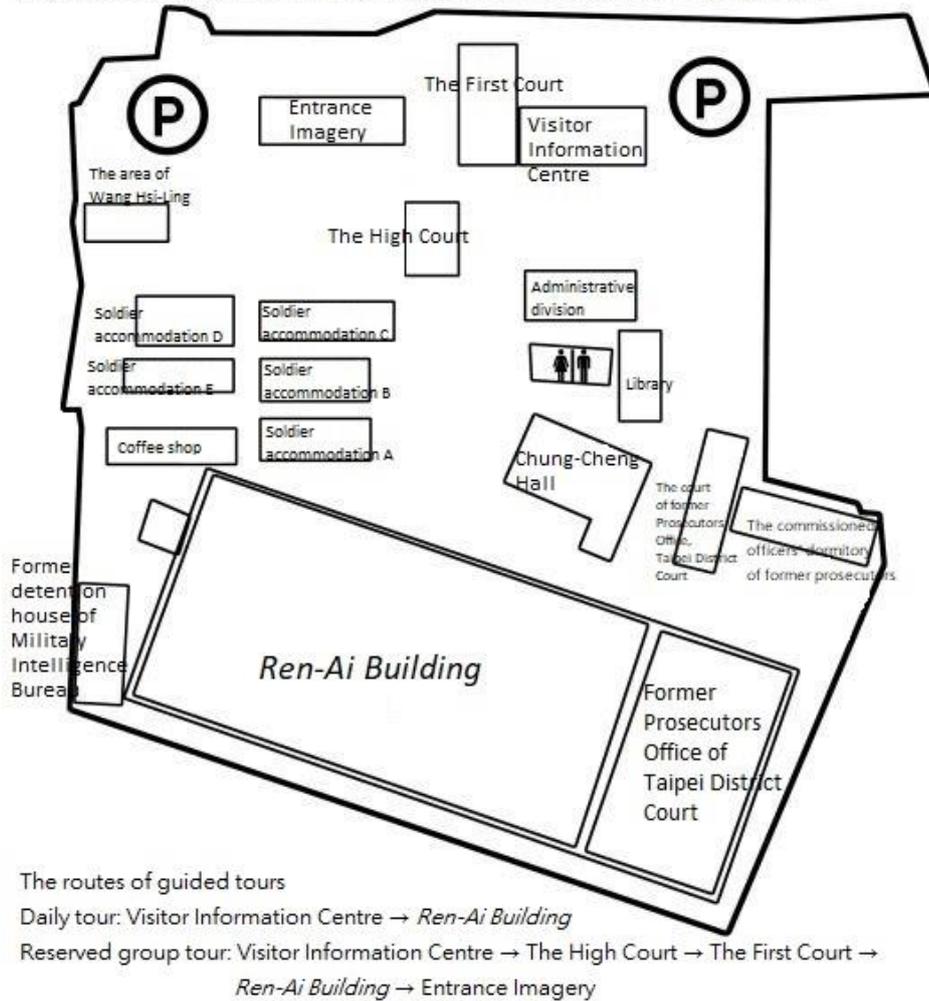


Figure 7.1.2. The plan of Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park in English (English translated and word arrangement by the researcher).

After a basic understanding of the established background, it is going to introduce the structures and layout of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the current uses of respective structures (during the time when the fieldwork is conducted here). Jing-Mei Memorial Park consists of a building complex and many open-air spaces (see Figure 7.1.1 and 7.1.2 above). Although these buildings are related to the issues of White Terror in Taiwan, human rights and Taiwanese difficult history in various degrees, the emphases of the fieldwork are located on two courts (the First Court and the High Court), soldier accommodations (those marked ‘兵舍’ in Figure 7.1.1) and *Ren-Ai Building* because

they present general and integral pictures of the history at that time but not focus on specific cases. The First Court and the High Court are the places where the suspects, opponents and critics against the Nationalist government were sent to for trial in the period of White Terror, especially in the High Court. In other words, these two courts are the places where many innocent victims accepted unfair judgements and were convicted and later sent for imprisonment. In the middle part of Jing-Mei Memorial Park are six former soldier accommodations (Soldier accommodation A, B, C, D, E; one of the accommodations was later remodeled and became a coffee shop, as shown in Figure 7.1.2).

Before these different buildings were re-organised into the use of detention centre, courts and prison, Jing-Mei Memorial Park was used for training new martial law enforcement officers/officials (regarding the course of change and development, please refer to pp.56-57 in **Section 3.3**), and the six buildings (Soldier accommodation A, B, C, D, E and the coffee shop) were student accommodations at the time. It is unclear what these accommodations were used for when Jing-Mei Memorial Park had been changed into the operation of court-martial and imprisonment in the White Terror, but when it is rearranged into a memorial park and open for the public, these accommodations become exhibition halls. Two of them are utilised for permanent exhibition halls, displaying matters and events related to the White Terror, such as different sections in *Ren-Ai Building* and prisoners' lives there, victims' letters for and from their families, handicrafts produced by prisoners, international supporting movements of political prisoner release, compensation plans and so on. These former accommodations are also used for holding short-term exhibitions. During the period of doing fieldwork, there are two special exhibitions held in two of the accommodations respectively, and they are '100% Freedom of Speech' in Soldier accommodation D

(showing the process that the freedom of speech was controlled and restricted in the time of White Terror and how Taiwanese people had fought for it) and 'Special Exhibition of Mr. Deng-Fa Yu' in Soldier accommodation A (depicting a steady politician who emphasised civilians' rights was suspected to be killed by the government).

A main visiting point and the reason that makes Jing-Mei Memorial Park so special is the presence of *Ren-Ai Building*. This is the place where the suspects and opponents against the government were sent to and imprisoned first after they were captured and before they accepted trials. After they were convicted, these prisoners were sent to *Ren-Ai Building* and waited for further allocation to different prisons. Some of the prisoners who had special skills or with minor sentences might be imprisoned in *Ren-Ai Building* directly, so the building was utilised as both a detention centre and a prison. Therefore, it can be said that *Ren-Ai Building* is the place where these political victims would definitely experience; this is the place where they were treated unjust prosecutions and were forced to face almost hopeless circumstances. Because Jing-Mei Memorial Park contains a rather large area and the mentioned three parts (2 courts, 6 former accommodations and *Ren-Ai Building*) present really close relations with Taiwanese difficult history and with the issues which the research would like to explore, the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park will focus on these three parts and visitors' interaction with them.

Compared with those in Chia-Yi Old Prison, the visiting manners in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are relatively flexible and open. It opens six days a week, from Tuesday to Sunday and from 9.00 am to 5.00 pm in every opening day, and visitors can come at any time during the opening time. There are three entrances that visitors can get access into Jing-Mei Memorial Park, and they are the Visitor Information Centre with a parking

space just next to it, the Entrance Imagery (see Figure 7.1.2) with another parking space and a small back door. There are volunteers and tour guides in the Visitor Information Centre and a gatehouse near the Entrance Imagery; visitors coming from these two entrances are able to get information either from the volunteers or the guards. However, visitors do not necessarily need to ask or interact with volunteers or the guards; they can visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park using their preferred manners and paces. It has been observed during the fieldwork that there are visitors driving their cars to visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park; after they park the cars, they go straight into the courts or other places without entering the Visitor Information Centre. After visiting, they also go straight to the parking space and leave Jing-Mei Memorial Park, so it is possible that visitors come and visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park without interacting with volunteers, tours guides and other staff. It is also noticed that some visitors come to Jing-Mei Memorial Park from the small door at the back, but it seems like that there is no staff arranged at this small back door and welcoming visitors. As a result, it may cause the situation that visitors from the back door do not know who to find or where they can ask for information if they have any question.

In addition to free and flexible self-visiting, visitors can also attend guided tours led by the tour guides in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The guided tours are held twice a day, 10.30 am and 2.30 pm respectively, and depart from the Visitor Information Centre. Visitors who want to join the guided tours gather in the Information Centre and meet the tour guides, and they are introduced a brief history of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the background of White Terror and are led directly to visit *Ren-Ai Building*. The tours are concentrated on introducing *Ren-Ai Building* because the staff and tour guides believe that this is the place where can really present and reflect political victims' experiences, hard situations and their distressed feelings. The guided tours last around an hour, and

after that visitors can continue their own visiting. If there are groups of visitors, they can book a group guided tour in advance and arrange a time with the tour guide team for it, so a group guided tour is not limited to the regulated times (10.30 am or 2.30 pm). The visiting places can be discussed and arranged according to the necessity of the group; according to my observation, the visiting places of these group guided tours usually include the two courts in addition to *Ren-Ai Building*. These are the introduction of the background, layout of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and its relevant visiting regulations. The following sections will present the contents of fieldwork, how the fieldwork is proceeded, people's (including visitors, staff, interviewees and other individuals) expressions and reactions when they visit and interact in Jing-Mei Memorial Park.

[Section 7.2. Fieldwork – observations](#)

The observation of the fieldwork can be roughly divided into two modes based on people's visiting types: one of them is proceeded when the public visit by themselves and another type is proceeded when they are in guided tours. When people visit by themselves, they choose and decide with their own will about what they want to see, how long they want to stay in a place reading the labels or watching the videos, what they share or discuss with their friends or family (if applicable). It is believed that these reactions accompanying with their facial and gesture expressions can illustrate messages of how these visitors regard the historical events, how the events impact on them and visitors' emotions (Bowen and Clarke, 2009; Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Macdonald, 1996; Nawijn and Fricke, 2015; Pearce, 2005). Through observing these reactions when people visit by themselves, it is supposed that rather real expressions and reactions of the public can be noticed and obtained. On the aspect of observing in guided tours, visitors are

conveyed specific information chosen by tour guides and the staff; with the explanations given in the tours, visitors are able to learn these difficult historical events in detail and may be revealed crueler matters/facts/phenomena at that time. In addition to observing what information is conveyed by tour guides to visitors in what ways, it is also essential to detect visitors' expressions, reactions and comments (if they discuss with the tour guides) when they encounter with these strong and negative messages which they may not realise before or when they visit by themselves. As a result, these two visiting types are both taken into account and the observation work will cover these two kinds of visiting activities.

In the early stage (around the first week) of fieldwork, it was planned to proceed the first type of observation (self-visiting) by picking in random a set of visitor(s), dependent on whether the visitor comes to visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park alone or with other people, and following them to do the observation. However, the plan was soon challenged. In the first few days of the fieldwork, it was discovered that visitors who came to Jing-Mei Memorial Park could be less than ten people in a weekday. In this situation, it became difficult and I would be seemed doubtful to follow visitors and observe their reactions. Therefore, the strategy was changed into staying in an exhibition hall, such as one of the former accommodations, throughout a day, waiting for visitors and I proceed observation. The same work would be changed to another exhibition hall in the next day. There were more visitors in weekends, usually around twenty people a day, so the original strategy of observation could still be practiced. After about a week, the strategy of staying in an exhibition hall throughout a day was seemed not so efficient, so the observation plan was changed again into conducting patrol inspection of all exhibition halls and places, including two courts, six former accommodations and each section in *Ren-Ai Building*. If there were visitors in any place,

the observation was started. I tried to keep a distance from the observed visitors that I could hear their conversation and was seemed not so doubtful. If the observed visitors moved to other places, I followed them and continued observing their reaction and expressions. If there was no visitor found after a round of patrol inspection, I went back to the Visitor Information Centre and started another round after 5 to 10 minutes. If there were visitors appearing during the patrolling process, the observation would be started and taken. The process of keeping changing methods and strategies of observation demonstrates the necessity of responding accordingly to the condition of few visitors and the fact that there are not many people as those in Chia-Yi Old Prison coming and visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The possible reasons are worthy of exploration in the next chapter (please refer to Chapter 8. The Comparison and Analyses of Two Case Studies).

On the aspect of self-visiting observation, there are some phenomena noticed and worth discussing:

1. two people visit together or not;
2. linking what they see/read to their previous experiences;
3. visitors from other regions/countries;
4. a group of parents and their children who impress me.

The first topic, two people visit together or not, means that many visitors I observed came as a two-people group; they could be friends, siblings or couples. When they went into an exhibition hall/building, they might read the labels or watch the videos either together or separately, but even though they visited separately, they left the place together and headed to the next place. When reading labels or watching videos, it seems like that every person followed their own pace; they could read the information slowly and in detail or browse it quickly (in the latter case I do not think

they really read the messages, they just walked through the exhibition halls). When a group of two people read labels together, they might either follow each other's pace and moved together throughout the visiting or followed their individual pace and one might move forwards as he/she finished the reading and left the partner a little behind. In most of the cases I observed, visitors did not talk to each other really often when visiting exhibition halls, usually no more than ten sentences. However, when they were going to end the visiting of an exhibition hall and left, they would start to talk with their partner, and the contents of their conversation were usually discussion on and exchange of ideas which they just saw and received in the exhibition hall.

It was not so easy for me to read visitors' emotions from their facial expressions as I expected, but their heavy and depressing feelings could still be detected more or less from their body movements and walking pace. For example, visitors might stop in front of a label, concentrating on reading the messages and descriptions on it without changing their standing poses/gestures, and then it could be seen that when they were going to move away from the label, they still stared at it and left in rather slow pace. These visitors' feelings and perceptions of the history and the conveyed messages could also be noticed in the process of their visiting in the halls. From their reactions, expressions or conversations with their partner, it could be observed that when they left the exhibition halls, they did feel terrible, gloomy, sorrowful, and it seemed like that they have not thought of or did not expect such harsh and cruel matters which really happened in the past.

The second phenomenon usually appears is that visitors might link what they saw or read in the visiting to their previous experiences. These previous experiences could be what they learnt in schools, what they heard before or the news they watched before.

For example, I met a group of five people and they were visiting a special exhibition '100% Freedom of Speech' in Soldier accommodation D; when reading the labels, one of them said that the described circumstance was also mentioned in the lyrics of a Taiwanese song. Similar conditions were observed in the First Court, too: there were four students visiting the First Court, and they saw the great pictures hung on the wall and said, 'Ah! This (picture) is in the historical textbook.' According to these two cases that visitors recalled something from their memories, even though they did not have further words or expressions, it is thought that certain connections are built between their received information in Jing-Mei Memorial Park and their previous memories (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994), and the circumstances/scenes between the past (their memories) and the present (their visiting this time) are also linked to create a larger picture. The 'larger picture' may include new information which is similar to/different from/opposite to/out of ones' expectations from ones' previous understanding. Nevertheless, this new information and people's personal existed perceptions may help them to know more about the history and its relation to their personal experiences.

Another kind of 'previous experiences' is related to some of the visitors' living environments. There were many labels in exhibition halls mentioning the locations where some of the victims and suspects were executed in the time of White Terror. I had observed that a group of two people asked the volunteers in the Information Centre where a cemetery (a place where were once used to bury the bodies of executed victims; it was later arranged into a cemetery) is before they left Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Another group of a couple also read the labels mentioning execution grounds, and the madam noticed that one of the execution grounds was re-arranged and locates in a park which is so popular that many families go there for weekends in

present day. From the way she spoke, it seems like that she did not know before and had not imagined that the execution ground was at a location where she is familiar with or close to her living environment. In addition to these connections, 'previous experiences' can also be referred to current social conditions. One day, I observed a group of two females who were visiting a special exhibition in a section in *Ren-Ai Building*; when they read the labels, it looked like that certain terms or words reminded them of the issue about death penalty (in Taiwan):

Female A, '... I do agree to death penalty.'

Female B, 'Yeah.'

Female A, 'After that one (a sexual assaulter) was released, did not he commit (sexual assault) again? I was pissed off when I saw it (on the news).'

The matter which Female A recalled is not really related to the themes of Jing-Mei Memorial Park but to an issue that many people concern in present society. Although it seems like that the recalling action and the raised issue are not directly related to the difficult history and the messages which Jing-Mei Memorial Park wants to convey, the recalling and visiting still function as making people pay attention on their living environments and current social conditions, and that can also be regarded as another effect which Jing-Mei Memorial Park is able to generate and as another aspect of potential information which it can reveal.

During the process of fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, there were also visitors coming from other regions and countries outside of Taiwan, and their reactions and expressions might present something different from those of local Taiwanese people. I had met four students from Hong Kong who came and visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park by themselves; because they had other plan after visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I had

no chance to interview them. However, a tour guide told me that the four students filled questionnaires and left a feedback that they wondered 'until when can Hong Kong be the same as Taiwan.' The words can be interpreted and understood as 'when can the population in Hong Kong reach similar achievements or pursue certain freedom and rights which they want as the people in Taiwan.' Taiwanese people's pursuit of rights, freedom and others are not easy or smooth processes; however, it seems like that for the Hong Kong students, the processes, the courage and opportunities to proceed such campaigns are still precious and desirable. Hong Kong and its people have their own issues of politics, rights and the pursuit of these, and these are neither the issues which I am able to understand or make a comment nor the topics which will be explored in this section. At least for these students, their visiting in Jing-Mei Memorial Park can provide them a chance for reflection of the circumstances which they and their community are in, and by this chance, perhaps they can make comparisons between their own experiences and those in Taiwan. As seeing the experiences presented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, they may be able to know Taiwanese pursuit of human rights, of the confrontation with authoritarian regime and of the struggle of Taiwanese people under such an oppressive condition. I do not know what effects can be caused upon the students, but I expect that they can understand the long process of struggle, resistance and the difficulty of gaining the results.

In addition to these Hong Kong guests, there was another group of visitors, consisting of two Taiwanese men, two women and a man from China, coming to Jing-Mei Memorial Park. When I saw them, they were visiting a special exhibition '100% Freedom of Speech' in Soldier accommodation D. When they were leaving the exhibition hall, one of the Taiwanese men took a brochure of the exhibition (100% Freedom of Speech) to a Chinese woman and said, 'you take this back and read it.' The

woman looked a little hesitated, worried and did not know if she should take the brochure; she said, 'can this be taken back (into China)?' This case, similar to the one of Hong Kong students, also reflects the different circumstances and situations in diverse countries/regions, and their visiting experiences may offer them ample experiences and materials for further consideration.

Another foreign group I had met was from South Korea. A professor with his wife and a male friend came to visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park; they not only attended a guided tour (the tour guide explained in English) but also had a short but deep talk with a volunteer of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, who is the daughter of an executed victim, about her experiences and memories (as a result, the Korean guests' visiting was like an academic exchange visiting). The Korean professor expressed that he is concerned about these similar events of authoritarian regimes and how populations were persecuted or even killed. He said that there was a similar historical period in South Korea as that in Taiwan and many people lost their lives innocently, so he could understand the hardship of victim families' lives. As I remembered, he also mentioned that he wants to tell his students about the Korean history because many of them may not know the hard Korean history, its implications or may not regard these as important legacies. Before they left, the professor said that he was satisfied with visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park, knowing the Taiwanese history and realising that there were similar experiences between Taiwan and South Korea; they also showed gratefulness and sympathy to the volunteer and shook hands with her or even hugged her.

From the words of the Korean professor and other cases of conflicts and tragedies such as the Holocaust (Beaumont, 2009; Hashimoto, 2011; Kirwan, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Macdonald, 2009; Miles, 2002; Ye, 2015), it is understood that these kinds of

events about authoritarian governance, unjust treatment and suffered population had occurred in many places around the world. The case in Taiwan is not the only one but could be counted as a particular one. By visiting relevant sites such as Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it is expected that the experiences which visitors obtain can not only evoke diverse reflections but also link those who experienced the difficult times, no matter in the same or different countries, into a resembling emotional context, via which the distinctions of time and space become blurring, and these heritage sites become the triggers for the sympathy and comprehension of universal human beings.

Amongst my observation experiences, there is a family, consisting of parents and two kids that the conversations and reactions of the members really impressed me and I would like to describe for further discussion. When I met the family, I was searching for visitors for my observation, and I saw the mother holding her daughter and walking into *Ren-Ai Building*. I was surprised to see the scene because I still remembered that when I visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park by myself, I was not dare to walk into *Ren-Ai Building* alone. It was probably because I learnt what the building is about and what had happened in the building at the beginning of my self-visiting or it was because of the gloomy and harsh atmosphere of the building. Therefore, it was quite astonishing for me to see the mother 'daring' to lead her child into *Ren-Ai Building*. Later, I walked into the building and saw the mother with her husband and son; they were visiting the snack section (see Figure 7.2 and 7.3 below) and the meeting room (two spaces located in *Ren-Ai Building*. The meeting room is the space where the families of victims could come and meet them; these family members could also bring food or other daily needs for these victims, but the food and stuff need to be examined).

In the meeting room, there are six pairs of telephones set there (see Figure 7.4 below);

from three pairs of them visitors can hear the sound records of victims describing their imprisoned experiences related to the meeting room. The other three pairs of telephones are put through, so visitors can imitate the situations of family members meeting and talking with their imprisoned families on the other side of the isolated glass. The young boy of the family and his father were there, taking the phones and imitating the conversation of a prisoner and the family member:

Young boy, 'Daddy, I will (go to) work; ... I will earn money properly.' (Before they 'hung up' the phones) 'Daddy, I love you.'

I was really shocked and also a little heartbroken when hearing the boy saying these words because the conversation, the similar scenes might really occur before exactly in the meeting room. It is like that the (painful) situation recurs again in present time, just in front of me. I did not know why the boy said these words straight by himself, but I could not help but wondered if the boy could really realise what he said, what this meant/could mean and the possible emotions concealed in the words, especially when he said the words in a simple-hearted way with the scene that he was on the side of visiting families and his father on the side of prisoners. Later, the family left the snack section and the meeting room; if they turned left, they walked into the section of prison cells, and if they turned right, it was the direction to the entrance and other utility/living areas. The family turned right and did not moved into the prison section; the father called his son who was heading to the prison section and said, 'coming this way; (we are) not going there.'

I did not know why the family did not go to the prison section; it might be because the parents did not want to take their children into 'prisons' in order not to scare them, but it was also possible due to the similar reason why I did not walk into *Ren-Ai Building* on

my self-visiting in the first time – because of the moods of worry, anxiety and the atmosphere of dread. From this behaviour, it can be noticed that even though the event of White Terror already ended and Jing-Mei Memorial Park is already re-arranged and open for the public to visit, the historical event and those relevant memories/influences still deeply affect current Taiwanese people’s emotions and perceptions. From this experience of doing observation on this family, the reflective phenomena and implications are related to not only the interaction of two generations (a generation – the parents – and their next generation – their children) and how they visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park, but also the passing on to future generations, not only on the memories and messages but also the emotions and sentiments.



Figure 7.2. The snack section located in *Ren-Ai Building*.

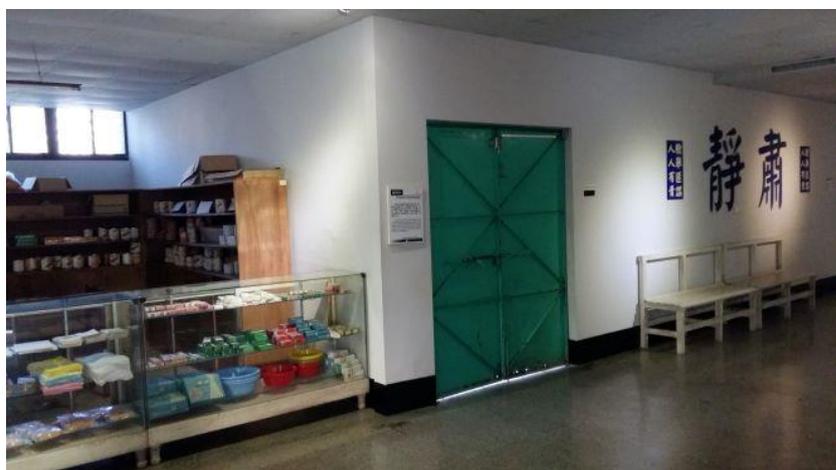


Figure 7.3. Another angle of the snack section.



Figure 7.4. A visitor in the meeting room and is listening to the sound record (not the family members discussed here).

Regarding the later generations, who are not born in the period of White Terror or have not lived and experienced White Terror, the issues of how to convey these messages to them and enable them to realise the event and its legacies are essential. It is important not only for Jing-Mei Memorial Park and its staff, but also for Taiwanese society and its every member. In addition to the observed family of parents and their children described above, also other similar families who automatically come to visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it is noticed that the tour guides have actively contacted schools and teachers, mainly those in senior high schools which students age around 16 to 18 years old, inviting or suggesting these teachers to bring their students to Jing-Mei Memorial Park for visiting or off-school field trips. During the time I conducted my fieldwork here, I had seen two groups of senior high school students coming and visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park (for off-school activities and perhaps homework/reports). Since the students were not adult, I did not interview them, but I joined one of the students'

group and their visiting tour led by a tour guide. However, during the tour, it was noticed that the students were not interested in it, and the introduction and conveyed messages did not attract their attention or arouse their emotions, either. When the guide mentioned those political victims and that they come to Jing-Mei Memorial Park sometimes, one of the students (a young lady) even said, 'Oh, so they have not died (yet)?' which sounded inappropriate and rude. The tour guide also found it improper (and I thought that the guide was a little offended because of the student's rude attitude towards the victims); she was taken aback and broke off for one or two seconds, and she told the student that some victims are still alive so far and that she should not say words like that in a euphemistic way.

After the tour, I wondered why the young students had such an attitude towards the victims, Jing-Mei Memorial Park and, putting it further, the history of White Terror. Is it because the period and event of White Terror already ended and are the 'things in the past' which do not bother and affect them, especially the young generations, anymore? Or it is because the White Terror did not have any association with their families that lead to their unconcern about the relevant issues? It could possibly be the situations that these young students have not known much about the history, having few chances to explore relevant affairs or that their families did not mention much about the issue of White Terror to them. All of these possible backgrounds and reasons can result in new generations' feeling nothing, unconcern, less understanding or even misunderstanding of the history and relevant issues of White Terror. Fortunately, it is not all students around these ages have the same expressions.

Few days after this tour, I talked with another tour guide, and she told me that there had been other senior high school student groups coming and visiting Jing-Mei

Memorial Park who really concentrated on what tour guides said, and the students were affected and did experience different feelings. In addition to senior high school students, I also observed students in colleges/universities who came and visited also for off-school field trips (regarding the details of their visiting, please refer to Mr. Q's part on pp. 227-228 in **Section 7.4. A special presence: victims**). It is positive and inspirational to see new generations coming and visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park; to a certain extent, they are the groups and people who are not 'trapped,' bothered and influenced directly by the past of White Terror, and they live in a relatively liberal circumstance, compared with the situations in the White Terror. As a result, it is expected to see how their visiting experiences in Jing-Mei Memorial Park would influence, inspire them and what kind of potential that they could generate to, in turn, influence and change the society.

These are certain phenomena which I observed when the public visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park by themselves; I list some of them and find them interesting and essential to learn current Taiwanese people's perspectives on both Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the White Terror. Then, it comes to the second mode of visiting, which is visiting in guided tours. The guided tours can be further divided into two types: the guided tours arranged by the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park in regulated times (10.30 am or 2.30 pm in every opening day) and the group guided tours arranged by groups of visitors (usually more than 20 people). As mentioned before, visitors joining guided tours can hear the explanations of the tour guides, and they are able to learn about the historical background and relevant events in detail, including those cruel facts and unjust treatment. From another point of view, it is the tour guides who lead the visiting course, and it is them who decide what visitors would see, feel and experience. When there were such guided tours in arranged time slots and there were visitors attending

them, I would join the groups and observed the reactions, expressions of the visitors and how they interacted with the tour guides. In most cases, especially in weekdays, the guided tours were proceeded in a small group, usually consisting of 2 to 4 general visitors, a tour guide and myself. Because of a few members in the guided tours, it is beneficial for every person to have conversations with the tour guide if they want to, and it is easy for them to hear clearly what the tour guide says and to put themselves into the situations which the tour guide describes.

In the first week of my fieldwork, I joined a guided tour with other three general visitors, who were a middle-age male, an elderly madam and a little girl and it seemed like that they were family members. When we moved into *Ren-Ai Building*; the male visitor noticed that there is a special exhibition and asked the tour guide if we could go to see it. The tour guide took us to the special exhibition, which introduced not only certain investigations into the victims and responsibilities which had been proceeded after the White Terror, but also other memorial sites or monuments relevant to the White Terror. When we were in the special exhibition, the male visitor usually talked to the tour guide and kept expressing his feelings and comments (a little bit like soliloquising) like 'It feels like (that) it has not finished...' and '(the exhibition hall) looks so unfrequented.' Based on my understanding and interpretation, his words 'It feels like (that) it has not finished...' reveal his pitiful feeling that even though there was an institution such as Jing-Mei Memorial Park being conserved, and the structures and relevant historical data/materials were also kept and exhibited like these, only a few people came to visit them. As a result, it seemed like that (he felt that) the main purposes and the final goals (of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and its staff) would be difficult or need more time to be achieved. The male visitor also talked to other members of the visiting groups, but not to a specific person:

'We did not (act) like the German (did); they just unfolded everything frankly. ...'

'We do not dare to face (the past). ... This is our national trait, but it should also relevant to the (attitudes and positions of the) government.'

'Just say everything! Just publicise everything, and that is done!'

Hearing his words, I saw that the tour guide could only smile bitterly, and it seemed like that she could also do nothing about the current situations and felt discouraged that there was little progression on making the public confront with the historical/difficult issues, too. Regarding the male visitor's reactions and expressions, it seems like that he feels frustrated and is not resigned to the current circumstance of little progression on dealing with and facing the difficult past. It is possible that he is expectant and eager to know a consequence, an answer and a satisfying explanation.

On another day, I joined another guided tour, and the members were a middle-age couple, the tour guide and me. During the tour, we went into an exhibition room within *Ren-Ai Building*; the tour guides was describing an unjust trial that there was a bank manager being sentenced to death penalty in a court, and he was immediately bound, being forced to drink liquor at the scene and directly sent to an execution ground and put to death. After hearing the description, the wife was so shocked; she blurted out immediately as the tour guide finished and asked, 'What? He was executed immediately (and so indiscreetly) just like this?' The tour guide answered her yes and said that this is the situations, which were unjust and did not follow the due process of law, which happened frequently in the time of White Terror. It could be easily seen that there was astonishment on the wife's face, and it looked like that these were the circumstances and scenes which were out of her imagination and it was so hard for her to believe that these really happened. From these two guided tours which I had joined,

diverse reactions and expressions of current Taiwanese people towards the past of White Terror and those merciless facts/events are shown, noticed and observed. These reactions can be indignation (the male visitor), shock (the wife) or helplessness (the tour guide) which are believed that these can represent a part of current Taiwanese people's feelings and attitudes towards the difficult past of White Terror. In addition to these reactions, there could be other negative emotions or expressions presented by other people which may be detected later in the fieldwork.

In addition to the guided tours arranged in regulated time slots, the condition of group-reserved guided tours can be really different. During the period of doing fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I had encountered with three groups who reserved for their guided tours: one of them was a group of 8 high school students, then a group of college/university students and their teachers and the staff of a prosecutor's office from a county outside of New Taipei City (where Jing-Mei Memorial Park locates). The number of visitors in these group ranges from 8 to more than 50 people, and it depends on the arrangement of each group that the groups may be divided into two teams and be led by different tour guides. As the situations observed in Chia-Yi Old Prison, when there are many people in a visiting group/divided team, it is a little difficult for the tour guides to manage the members and to make sure that they can all hear the explanations. It is also observed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park that if there are many people in a visiting group, some of the members may not listen to the tour guides' introduction and may visit the places by themselves, using their own pace and decide where to go and see. Regarding the three groups I encountered, I already described the visiting condition of the 8-student group above (please refer to the paragraph regarding the later generations on pp.200-201); for the group of college/university students, because one of the tour guides who the staff of Jing-Mei

Memorial Park asked for giving a guided tour for these students was a former political victim (Mr. Q), so I would leave the detailed description in later sections (please refer to pp. 227-228 in **Section 7.4. A special presence: victims**).

Regarding the group of the staff of a prosecutor's office, I was informed by a tour guide about their visiting and got the opportunity to observe their reactions. When I met the group, they were visiting in *Ren-Ai Building*; before I joined them, I took a patrol inspection first in *Ren-Ai Building* and I already saw two male members of the group leaving the team and visiting the prison cell section by themselves. At the time, they were complaining that there was no air conditioner equipped in the section: 'It is so hot. There is no air conditioner inside; I cannot bear (it).' When I left the section and went back to the place where the visiting group was, they followed me and laughed and chatted all the way. When I joined the group, they were in the snack section; as the circumstances observed in the Old Prison, there were people standing beside the tour guide and listening carefully to her explanation, and there were people moving to other places and visiting by themselves. The meeting room was next to the snack section, and some people already walked into the meeting room, and I heard some people talking that

Female C, 'Ah! It is here!'

Female D, 'What?'

Female C, '(The place) for meeting!'

They talked in a quite exciting and funny way, and there was a middle-age female starting to pretend to cry and howl (as they were going to be separated from their families). I am not sure if I was too serious, but her behaviour looked quite indecent to me. It is possible that because she came and visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park with her friends and colleagues, the visiting atmosphere was not so severe and heavy, and it

seems like that she visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park in a rather entertaining way. It is certain that every individual can visit a heritage site/museum in his/her own way, but I am not sure if the behaviour such as the female's is suitable when visiting the site related to the difficult history of the society and related to certain people's personal painful experiences. Except the female visitors, there were other people moving into the meeting room and trying to talk through the set pairs of telephones. Later, when leaving the snack section and the meeting room, the tour guide supplemented and said that it was fortunate for some families that they could come and meet their imprisoned family members. There were many occasions and cases that these families could not meet, were not allowed to meet or did not make it to meet (and their imprisoned family members were executed); there were even the cases that the families still did not know where their imprisoned family members were or if they were executed. When hearing the description, many people beside the tour guides looked smileless and really serious.

After the snack section and the meeting room, the visiting group headed to the prison cell section. Before we moved in, the tour guide introduced the iron door which people passed through to walk into the prison section. There is a low and small door in addition to a normal door, and it is said that when officers transported detainees into the prison, they would ask the detainees to stoop and pass through the small door. The tour guide explained that making the detainees stoop and walk through the small door was on the purpose of playing down the self-respect of the prisoners/victims. At the time there were members of the group expressing that it was also for the consideration of defence and safety, and other members also shared that this was the same as what they saw in their work. When we were going to pass the door, there was a male member already walking into the prison section; he returned to meet the group and

told his friends, 'Here are the prison (cells). (You should) go and take a look; it is the same as (we/you) saw (in other prisons) before.' After the prison cell section, the tour guide led the group to an exhibition hall where the special exhibition was held (the same special exhibition as the 3-member group visited, which was mentioned on pp.203-204). In the exhibition hall, there was a section displaying the dying testaments of some victims before they were executed and the judgement reports⁴⁵ which comments and final decisions were made by the supreme commander, the president at that time. Some of the visiting members read the displayed dying testaments really carefully; some of them were curious about and interested in the judgement reports, and they felt surprised that the president always changed the original sentences into severer penalties in every case. There was another section in the exhibition hall displaying other prisons, places of imprisoning the victims or where the victims served their sentences. When seeing the pictures of these places/prisons, many members discussed and shared their personal experiences:

Visiting member 1, '(I had) participated in the construction of (the name of the prison) Prison.'

Visiting member 2, 'This (prison) was entered from this path/road.'

Tour guide, '... This kind of circular or cross-shaped structures was for managing (and monitoring) the prisoners more efficiently.'

⁴⁵ According to the explanation of the tour guides, when investigating the 'crime' of each prisoner, the officers/officials might torture the victim and force him/her to admit the 'crime' (these 'crimes' were possible to be resulted from calumnies, false charges, frame-up or even merely suspicion). After the victim 'admitted the crime,' the officers/officials would write a judgement report, and the contents included the name of the victim, what crime he/she committed and what sentence was decided or recommended by the officers/officials. The judgement report would be sent to the president to see if he agreed with the judgement and the sentence for final confirmation. If the president did not agree, he could write comments and his decisions of the 'deserved sentence/penalty' on the judgement report, and the 'deserved sentence/penalty' decided by the president would be the final sentence condemned to the victim. In the special exhibition, there were around 4-5 judgement reports which were all reviewed by the president; every 'deserved sentence/penalty' of these judgement reports was changed into severer penalties than the original ones recommended by the officers/officials.

A male member, 'This is called "the central controlling centre"!'

Tour guide, 'Yes, yes.'

A male member, 'It is the same (structure) in Chia-Yi (Old) Prison.'

It is possible that due to the quality of the members of this visiting group as prosecutors who are familiar with laws and law enforcement, it can be noticed from their reactions and expressions that they shared their previous experiences which were similar to the contents and pictures shown in the prison cell section and the special exhibition. Through this visiting opportunity, they also connected their existed understanding (the past) with their visiting experiences in Jing-Mei Memorial Park (the present) and compared these messages and information. In addition to supporting and corroborating their previous understanding and experiences, it is also observed that they received certain new information, regarding the dying testaments and the judgement reports, which surprised them. I believe that these prosecutors and the officers may know much about current Taiwanese laws, the conditions in prisons and the relevant enforcement. Hence, if they felt surprised about the contents the documents, it can be inferred that this is the situations and history which they are not familiar with or beyond their expectations in the legal field, and this visiting experience may be able to provide them materials to think and review the history of White Terror and its context from their professional point of view.

From the observation of the public who visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park in diverse visiting patterns, including self-visiting, guided tours in regulated time slot and reserved group guided tour, it is noticed that the visiting circumstances and whether there are accompanying people really influence a visitor's visiting modes, the extent he/she put himself/herself into the exhibition and what messages he/she can receive. When people visit by themselves, even though there is no tour guide explaining for them,

they can still experience the heaviness, sorrow or even indignation from the exhibited labels and pictures. It is also because they visit by themselves, these visitors are able to understand and interact with Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the provided information in their own ways, such as the family of parents and their two children. Although the children may not really know what Jing-Mei Memorial Park is about and what kind of horrible past is related to it, their expressions and behaviour (talking with his father through the set telephones) still affect me, as a researcher and a stranger to them, and I think that these also affect or influence his parents. No matter visiting by themselves or joining guided tours, it is observed in both visiting patterns that visitors usually make connections between their previous understanding/experiences and what they experience in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. If the messages or information are out of their expectations, it can be seen the shock or surprise on their faces, but what I cannot see at the scene and afterwards is how they digest and comprehend these shocking messages. It seems like that the visiting experiences and the information provided in Jing-Mei Memorial Park will function and perhaps further influence the visitors' understanding not just of the past and the White Terror but also the current society which is somehow the legacy of the past.

In addition to these expressions, the visitors' certain 'expectations' can also be noticed, such as the male visitor in the regulated guided tour. These expectations, both towards Jing-Mei Memorial Park and perhaps also to the reconciliation of the difficult history, are not only illustrated by general visitors. From the attitudes of tour guides that they explain the history and stories in detail and earnestly, it can be noticed their expectations of attracting people's attention and concern on these issues. These are the materials which I notice and think to be related to the issues of how people learn and interact with a difficult heritage site, the represented past and how these could

further influence people themselves and their existed understanding in the observation. Regarding some of these people's further thoughts and reflections, they will be presented and discussed in detail in the next **interviews** sections.

[Section 7.3. Fieldwork – interviews](#)

In Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I had interviewed 34 people, consisting of 3 tour guides, 2 special individuals and 29 general visitors. The ways I chose the interviewees, especially the general visitors, are a little different from those I adopted in Chia-Yi Old Prison. As mentioned in the chapter of fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison, visitors can only visit the Old Prison by joining guided tours and being led by tour guides. In Jing-Mei Memorial Park, visitors are able either to visit by themselves or join guided tours. As a result, if I join a guided tour and observe the reactions of the group members during the visiting process, I may also choose the members of the group and ask them if they are willing to be my interviewee(s) later after the tour. For those self-visiting visitors, it is possible that I meet them in any exhibition hall. In the situation, I start my observation; when it seems like that their visiting is going to end (either in an exhibition hall and they are going to move to the next one or the whole visiting), I will go to ask them if they have time and if they can be my interviewee(s). The questions asked in the interview are similar to those asked in the Old Prison, and it is the same that there are a few differences in the questions between those for general visitors and for tour guides/special individuals. In addition, because the themes of Jing-Mei Memorial Park are clearly related to human rights and certain Taiwanese difficult history, I add some relevant questions in the interview, asking my interviewees if they feel that they are influenced in what aspects and if there is any reflection which they are remind.

On the aspect of general visitors, it is expectable that they feel shocked or surprised about what had happened in the time of White Terror:

jm-v11, '... I am really surprised about the trial; after the man (the victim) was condemned death penalty, he was directly sent to be executed! ... I have never heard these things before.'

jm-v10, 'It is (the situation) that we knew there is the (period of) White Terror, but we do not know that such (terrible) things happened.'

jm-v28, 'I am surprised that the (trials in the) courts usually condemned severer sentences (to the victims). ... There was only the first trial/instance, and that the confession documents (of the victims) were all derived from being tortured.'

jm-v27, 'It is so hard to imagine (the condition) that the prison cells were so small but so many people were imprisoned in it.'

In addition to their unexpected information and revealed matters in the past, it seems like that their visiting experiences inspire them a lot and make these visitors think of many issues related not only to the current social conditions in Taiwan but also the situations in other countries:

jm-v27, '(After seeing the exhibited messages about the situations in the time of White Terror), I feel grateful that the current society is not like that.'

'I do not think that this (Jing-Mei Memorial Park) is a negative or bad place.'

jm-v28, '... The current Taiwanese society is too democratic (and too free).'

Me, 'So you think that it is not so strict as the situation in that time, of course, but it is still necessary to have certain standards?'

jm-v28, 'Yes, the current conditions are developed too much.'

jm-v27, 'There are many countries which are no so democratic at present, compared with here (in Taiwan). ...'

Me, 'So Taiwan is relatively a democratic place/nation?'

jm-v27, 'Yes.'

jm-v28, '(It) feels (like) two extremities; they are not democratic, and we here (in Taiwan) is too democratic.'

jm-v19, '... I also went to see the Korean movie "A Taxi Driver" before and I learnt from the movie about the event of Gwangju Uprising. (And) this makes me think of the Tiananmen Incident in mainland China. (It seems like that) the Chinese officials intentionally suppress it, forbidding its citizens discussing (the incident), so those children born after 90s do not know about the event. (I think that) the (Chinese) officials want to let it (the Tiananmen Incident) be forgotten gradually.'

jm-v20, 'I think that (the) Chinese (officials) intentionally disseminate, making its citizens feel hostile to South Korea, feel hostile to Taiwan. I think (that) this is really ambivalent. ...'

jm-v16, '(I) do not hope (Taiwanese people) to be split apart anymore. (People do not need to be separated as) those "mainlanders"⁴⁶ or the families who had received Japanese education, so that we can hear different voices. (We should) enable different voices to be sounded, and then (we) listen to (them) and comprehend (them) with (our) empathy.'

jm-v17, '(We should) tolerate people with different opinions, just like (the situations in) Taiwan and China, people with different skin colours, people with different sexual orientations. Whether the exhibition like this can make Chinese people be touched and feel the same is actually the point, but not we Taiwanese people do our own things and feel satisfied (ourselves).'

...

jm-v16, 'I have experienced the White Terror.'

Me, 'Oh, really?'

jm-v16, 'Yes. During that time, when we went to see movies, we needed to stand up and sing national anthem (before the movies started). If you did not stand up, you will be blamed. (I showed an unbelievable facial expression) it is true. If you tell this kind of things to current young people, they cannot understand it. These are the things (happening) really long time ago. ... How to make them comprehend, how to convey to them so that they can understand and how to make them concern about Taiwanese issues from these (past, history and social conditions in that time) are

⁴⁶ Please refer to pp.54-55 for relevant explanation in **Section 3.3**.

really important.'

From the comments listed above, it can be seen that diverse reflections are thought of and raised by the interviewees after they visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Many of them express their perspectives on current Taiwanese society and the social conditions, and I would say that this is a type of reviews. By seeing the conditions and circumstances in the time of White Terror and such a high-pressure social atmosphere in the exhibitions, it offers the opportunities and materials for the visitors to 're-examine' the current society which they live in at present. There may be dissatisfaction (the society being too democratic), concern (how to make the future generations notice these issues) or satisfaction to a certain extent (Taiwan is more democratic than the conditions in other countries). No matters what perspectives people have, they 'start to (re)view' the society; without the materials from the time of White Terror, the visitors may not notice the differences (between the past and the present) and may be unable to, or ever think about, make/making such comparisons.

In addition to the association from the conditions in the past to those in the present, there are also similar association between the pursuit of human rights/democracy and the situations in other East Asian countries. The visitors saw in the exhibitions how difficult it was for the victims and former political prisoners to strive for a better Taiwanese society. Some of these visitors link it to different events, such as the Gwangju Uprising in South Korea and the Tiananmen Incident in mainland China, which once occurred in other countries regarding the same issues. Their concerns with these events reveal that these people also concern with the situations of other nations, the comparisons between them and us the Taiwanese and the relations between them and us. As a result, it seems like that the association between the past and the present in Taiwan and the association between Taiwanese conditions and the situations in other

countries are established, especially in these visitors' minds. Seeing the phenomena, it could be said that these are also the potential and functions which Jing-Mei Memorial Park is able to perform on making its visitors notice and examine their current society and other countries, but not just immerse in the sorrow of the past.

I totally interviewed 3 tour guides of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, and I had follow-up conversations with one of the tour guides. When I conducted my fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, there were 5 permanent tour guides⁴⁷ and all of them were female. After I interviewed one of them (jm-g3), she still often came to me and shared new information or her previous experiences to me when we met in the Visitor Information Centre. Therefore, I presented all comments she had made in the interview and after the interview below. She told me the information when the building complex was planned to be arranged as a memorial park:

jm-g3, '... At the time when it was in the stage of preparation for (establishing) a memorial park and the accompanying exhibitions, we had held meetings with those former victims, asking what can be exhibited and what cannot (and following their ideas/opinions). After all, Jing-Mei Memorial Park is mainly voiced for the victims.'

From her words, it can be realised a main aim of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, and this can explain to a certain extent the phenomenon that most of the exhibited contents are related to the victims, their memories and experiences. Regarding those people who came to Jing-Mei Memorial Park and their reactions to the exhibitions and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, she had her point of view and said that

jm-g3, 'I divide the visitors (who come to Jing-Mei Memorial Park) into those "who regard here as a normal park and come for an outing" and "who really

⁴⁷ In certain occasions and based on diverse necessity, the tour guides or the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park may ask some of the former victims to come and see if they are willing to give guided tours, such as Mr. Q, which can be referred to on pp.227-228 in **Section 7.4. A special presence: victims.**

come for visiting.” There are many people bringing their children here for (relaxing and) playing, and it is until they come to the Visitor Information Centre that they realise this place is related to the White Terror.’

‘When I lead guided tours, I have met some people whose faces turn pale when they hear something about torture, and there are some visitors feeling nervous when they are in the prison cell section. I have also seen tears in some people's eyes after they hear (our/the tour guides’) explanations. ...’

jm-g3, ‘... There are also visitors expressing that they feel oppressed, stern and creepy.’

Me, ‘In *Ren-Ai Building*?’

jm-g3, ‘Yeah.’

jm-g3, ‘We had received the complaint from parents, saying that their children had nightmares because they saw the pictures of torture and why the (staff of the) Park did not inform parents that there were pictures of torture (displayed in the exhibitions).’

‘One day, I led the visitors to the special exhibition (in *Ren-Ai Building*). When we saw the judgement reports reviewed by the president. There was a child asking me, “Did he (the president) know this person (the victim)? Why could he decide (the final penalty for the victims) like this?” ...’

The tour guide (jm-g3) shared many of her experiences to me, so that even though I had not observed these phenomena and expressions as she described, I was still able to learn visitors’ different kinds of reactions and reflections. For example, she said that there were people who did not know Jing-Mei Memorial Park and even thought it as a normal park. From which it can be inferred that there are still people who do not know much about the ‘Park,’ not to say its presence as a ‘memorial park’ and the themes it mainly conveys. The phenomenon somehow echoes to my personal experience that I did not know about Park either for more than 20 years. It makes me wonder what

factors and backgrounds lead to such a phenomenon that current Taiwanese people pay such low attention to a memorial Park which represents a particular difficult history? In addition to visitors' different reactions to the exhibitions and exhibited contents in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the young child's question regarding the judgement reports really inspires me. When I came and visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park for the first time, the special exhibition in question had not been held; when I started to conduct fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the exhibition was held and I was recommended by the tour guides to see it. Therefore, I did go to see the special exhibition and I also notice these judgement reports. When I saw the judgement reports and the final penalties decided by the president, I felt that it was really undue and cruel; compared with the young child, he (or she) raised the question of how could he (the president) do that. This is the matter what I did not think of when I visited the exhibition, and I am actually delighted to know that, from another point of view, the young child did think of the issue and raise the question. I do not know how old the child was when he (or she) came to the exhibition (I guess from the tour guide's words that he/she might be a primary school student), but I think that this visiting experience also offers a child in such a young age to consider the question, the historical background and perhaps the influences of White Terror upon people at that time.

The tour guide told me diverse things and matters; in our conversations, she also mentioned some of the future plans of Jing-Mei Memorial Park:

jm-g3, 'Currently (the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park) plan to utilise the side building as a new exhibition hall/space. I hope that there can be (a section) supplemented as a hall for children or teenagers, so that (we/the staff) can tell this history and the issue of human rights in a plain and clear way. After all, those teenagers in secondary schools do not like history lectures because (they think that the lectures are) too dull and vapid.'

The tour guide's hope of establishing a hall for young people reflects a similar implication as the phenomenon that there are other tour guides contacting schools and teachers and encouraging them to bring students to Jing-Mei Memorial Park. By bringing students or young people here and learn about the history of White Terror, I think that it functions as making the history and its significance being 'remembered' and passed on. Through the functions of passing on the memories and making them remembered, it somehow demonstrates that how they (not only the tour guides and the staff but also, perhaps, the victims) think the history and memories to be important to current Taiwanese people, especially for young generations. It also reveals how they expect the young people to understand the events and make certain achievements in the future on confronting with the difficult history.

Amongst my interviewees, there is a special individual whose comments really impress me and make me think a lot. The gentleman (jm-s1) is an official of a foundation; the foundation is named 'Dr. Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation,' which is named after a doctor called Wen-Chen Chen⁴⁸. When I asked him in the interview that if he thought Jing-Mei Memorial Park is a negative or a dark place/structure. He said that

jm-s1, '(You/I/the visitors) may feel negative emotions, but this (Jing-Mei Memorial Park) is not a negative place.'

Compared with other interviewees who usually said that they felt certain negative

⁴⁸ Dr. Wen-Chen Chen (陳文成博士) was an assistant professor in an American university and had concerned with the issue of Taiwanese democratic movements; he had also donated to a Taiwanese magazine publisher which the contents were related to human rights and democratic campaigns during the time of White Terror. His concerns and involvement were noticed by the KMT government. When he went back to Taiwan in 1981, he was asked to 'have a talk' by the officers of the command headquarter and was taken away, but the next day, he was found died and his body laid in the campus of National Taiwan University. Therefore, it was suspected that Dr. Chen was murdered by the officers (and the KMT government) because of his involvement in and concerns with the democratic movements.

feelings and thought Jing-Mei Memorial Park as a dark/negative place, his comments appear quite unique and make me wonder why he had such a perspective. I asked him why, and he told me that there could be several reasons:

jm-s1, '... Because (after visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park) you will appreciate that current living circumstances and social conditions are not like this (the situations in the time of White Terror as displayed in the Memorial Park). You will also realise (and be thankful for) that the freedom and rights which we have, enjoy and exercise are strived and fought for by these victims and former political prisoners. (And) it will make me feel more confident because under such a rigorous and high-pressure social atmosphere and circumstances, they could still strive for (their pursuit) so hard like that, then people should be able to do/achieve (something) better in current social conditions. After all, when you know what these victims had encountered and experienced before, (people will) realise that what the difficulties and challenges they face now are not really difficulties. ...'

The gentleman said are the perspectives which a lot of people, including me, do not usually think of. What many people and myself would notice during our visiting in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are usually the unfortunate experiences of the victims and the cruel, severe circumstances at that time. From which the visiting would provoke people's certain negative feelings, such as shock, heaviness and sorrow. In contrary to other visitors' reactions, this gentleman learns from the experiences and lessons of the victims, and he appreciates the current social circumstances in Taiwan and what we own in present time. This kind of perspectives could be regarded as a rather positive consequence or bright interpretation which is resulted from the experiences in that dark, difficult history. Reviewing the difficult history in this way represents not just a contrast/comparison between the past and the present, but it also understands the present as the legacies of a series of events/incidents from the past and is also the consequences, atmosphere and scenes of the whole development.

In our conversation, we also mentioned the 'creepy' feelings of visiting a difficult site as Jing-Mei Memorial Park, which is the concern about the ghosts/spirits as also discussed in the interview sections in Chia-Yi Old Prison (see pp.158-160). I told the gentleman that when I came to Jing-Mei Memorial Park for the first time, I was worry, afraid and could not walk into *Ren-Ai Building* and the prison cell section alone. He said that

jm-s1, 'Even though there is really something (the ghosts or spirits) there (in Jing-Mei Memorial Park) or we really offend them, because they are the elders, (I think that) they will tolerate us the younger generations as children. We come to (Jing-Mei Memorial Park to) know them (and their stories), to disseminate for them and (help them to) proclaim the rights which they upheld and wanted to strive for, so if we really confront with certain dangers, they will come to protect us. It is the same as when you grow up, you will take care of the descendants and those who are younger than you.'

From his point of view, it seems like the ghosts and spirits of those victims and political prisoners, if really and any, become not so scary because current people become the 'children' and the later generations who succeed their last unfulfilled wishes/wills and benefit from them and their efforts. In addition, according to the gentleman's perspective, it seems like that certain connection between the current Taiwanese people (the present) and the victims and political prisoners, no matter they already passed away or are still alive (the past) is established. Jing-Mei Memorial Park, where is usually considered to be a terrible and negative place full of sorrowful and painful emotions, can therefore be transferred into a place carrying their efforts, hopes for the future and memories.

In these interview sections, I present some of my interviewees' comments and perspectives. It can be noticed that they express different emotions and different views,

experiences and interpretations of not only Jing-Mei Memorial Park but also the difficult history of White Terror and those cruel matters happening during that time. These visitors', tour guides' and special individuals' opinions and points of view are important; nevertheless, I think that they cannot have such profound experiences and strong feelings as the victims and those former political prisoners do. During my fieldwork here, I had encountered four former victims, and I would like to particularly describe my experiences and interactions with them in the next sections.

[Section 7.4. A special presence: victims](#)

A very special point of Jing-Mei Memorial Park which makes it different from Chia-Yi Old Prison is the presence of its once prisoners, who can also be addressed as 'the victims.' It has been mentioned in the chapter of Chia-Yi Old Prison that the tour guides there say that the prisoners in the Old Prison were those who really committed crimes; in other words, the prisoners in the Old Prison were, in most cases, expected to be imprisoned in a jail. For most people, it is reasonable to imprison those who really commit crimes; however, the situations would be quite different when it comes to the cases in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. In present Taiwanese society, these prisoners are usually regarded as the victims of former authoritarian government, so their presence and words are not only paid attention to but also able to represent forceful and profound evidences of those who had experienced the harsh time and situations. When doing fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, I have met four of these victims and talked directly with two of them (code-named as 'Mr. K' and 'Mr. J' respectively hereafter). I have not talked directly with the other two personages but have talked with his family (code-named as 'Mr. Z' hereafter) or heard his statement in his guided tour (code-named as 'Mr. Q' hereafter). These are really shocking and impressive experiences for me to meet and interact with these four gentlemen. It is not only

because of the words they say and share to me or other visitors, but also because of their appearances in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, where is supposed to be a place full of nightmares for them. It seems to me that their presence and experiences themselves already prove the existence of the dark and difficult time. From my perspective, these four victims themselves, to a certain extent, are embodying and representing many aspects of the difficult time, such as what happened during that time, how the government treated its people and opponents, the memory in White Terror and, of course, their personal memories as political victims. I look forwards to having interaction with them and am curious about what hidden matters would be revealed to me, but at the same time I am also worried and afraid to know how cruel those matters might be and how these really happened to these four gentlemen.

I happened to meet Mr. Z when I was doing observation in one of the permanent exhibition hall. I recognised him because there are many interview videos playing in exhibition rooms/halls throughout Jing-Mei Memorial Park, showing these victims or their family members being interviewed and sharing their personal experiences related to Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the White Terror, and I have seen Mr. Z's interview videos before. He came in with his younger brother (not a political victim) and a group of 6-7 people; I heard later that the group was the staff of Ministry of Culture and they invited Mr. Z to come and take an interview documentary (see Figure 7.5 below). Because Mr. Z was interviewed by the staff of Ministry of Culture and I should not interrupt them or walked up to them all of a sudden, so I sat on a bench aside and watched the interviewed. Mr. Z's younger brother saw me and came to sit next to me and we had a little conversation. He told me that the staff of Ministry of Culture contact these political victims at periodical intervals, condoling with them on their daily lives and ask them to take documentaries. He then told me that when Mr. Z was

imprisoned, the officials of the prison took a lot of photographs of the lives of prisoners, and Mr. Z spent a little money and asked the officials to develop some photos for him. As a result, when Jing-Mei Memorial Park was re-arranged and open for the public, Mr. Z provided these photos and showed the real picture of prisoners' lives in the prison.

Mr. Z's younger brother also mentioned that in the first ten years after Mr. Z left prison, it was really difficult for Mr. Z to find a job or maintain on a position because police officers would frequently come to the places he worked and 'took care' of him. Since the work places and the owners were troubled, Mr. Z was sent away and lost the job. From his words, it can be realised that even though these victims were released from jails, their painful lives and hard circumstances were still continuing. During the conversation, I asked Mr. Z's younger brother, saying that I thought the victims who were once imprisoned here would be unwilling to come back (or step into the place) again. He answered me '(it is true that) many people would think in this way, but it still depends on individuals.' Hearing his response, I suppose that I can think in this way that although it depends on different victims whether they want to come back again or not, at least Mr. Z chooses to come to Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Then there should be a reason for him to come back, and what is it? It should be really important for him, but I unfortunately did not have a chance to talk with Mr. Z, so I could not know the reason.

Later, the interview was finished and Mr. Z and the team were going to move to next place. Before they left the exhibition hall, Mr. Z's younger brother asked me, 'young lady, you need to write a report, right?' 'Yes.' I answered, and he said, 'I knew it, or there should be no people would like to come here (Jing-Mei Memorial Park) (and visit it).' In fact, his words surprised me; he thought that I came here (only) for doing my homework. I think that perhaps in his opinion, Jing-Mei Memorial Park is still a place

full of sorrowful memories which do not want to be recalled. Maybe for him, for his family and also for Mr. Z, even though the White Terror already ended almost 30 years ago, its name, relevant matters and places are still something that they do not want, or do not dare, to mention, discuss or physically approach to.



Figure 7.5. Mr. Z is interviewed for a documentary.

The next victim I encountered is Mr. K; one day when I went to Jing-Mei Memorial Park, he was sitting in the counter in the Information Centre, and a volunteer introduced me to him. We had a short chat first, and I told Mr. K that I came here for doing fieldwork and trying to explore Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the difficult history. After ten more minutes, Mr. K took out a file from his bag and showed me some documents inside. The documents were photographs; many photographs were printed on A4 papers and it could be seen that those photographs were taken decades ago because they all faded and turned yellow. I was totally shocked when I saw those photographs: they were all in pairs and these pictures were taken just before and after some victims were executed. Mr. K told me that during the time of White Terror, when people were sentenced to death and were sent for execution, they were taken photos before and after being killed. On the first page of the file were photographs of a man and a woman, and I recognised the woman. As mentioned before, I visited Jing-Mei Memorial Park

once before taking it as my case study, and in the early stage of doing fieldwork, I did observation and review labels in exhibition halls. There are labels introducing Mr. K's stories; the woman was his girlfriend when they were both arrested. I was shocked when seeing the lady's pictures, both the before one and the after one, and I could not help to think that how did Mr. K feel when he saw the lady's picture after being executed? (How can he bear it?) What are the feelings Mr. K holds to put her pictures on the first page and show them to a stranger like me?

'Do you see their faces?' Mr. K said and showed me some pictures of victims, 'they went to the execution ground with smiles on their faces. It is because they have their own belief; they died for it.' Mr. K explained to me that during that time, when the Nationalist (KMT) government retreated to Taiwan and in the early stage of authoritarian governance, these victims had their own belief and thoughts of what to do would be beneficial for Taiwanese population. No matter they put their ideas into practice or not, they were regarded by the government as dangerous people who might potentially overturn the regime, so they were arrested, being sentenced death penalty and executed really soon. Mr. K said that because of this, many talented young people were lost; however, these people had their belief and ideals of what a wonderful Taiwanese society would be in the future, so they could face their own death with smile.

After seeing Mr. K's file, he wanted to show me more things and led me to the Reading Room in the Information Centre. He showed me three books which are a published picture album series drawn by another victim. Mr. K told me that the victim drew down what he saw, experienced or heard from other victims (or himself) when they were imprisoned. Therefore, the picture album series presents quite real pictures of what

happened to these victims in the prisons⁴⁹ in White Terror period, and it also represents the painter's personal feelings/emotions. Mr. K opened a picture album, and the contents were the methods of torture; he flipped page by page and told me, 'this (torturous method) is not that painful,' 'oh, this one really hurt.' Seeing those murky paintings, I can imagine how painful and cruel the torture might be and I was already shocked to realise that these really occurred to these political victims. I glimpsed at Mr. K and would like to read if there was any expression on his face, but he seemed so calm with no obvious feeling shown. Then he showed me another album which each painting represents a family, but there is a person in each family being painted in white. Mr. K explained me that these white people were the caught victims and in some cases they would be absent from their families forever. It really wrung my heart to hear these facts from a former victim.

I asked Mr. K after he showed me the albums that why he came back here to Jing-Mei Memorial Park again because this should be painful past that did not want to be recalled. Mr. K was silent for a few seconds and then told me that (for him) it is to live for those who were killed, to continue their lives and to achieve their ideals or what they had on their shoulders. He said that he always remembered that when he was imprisoned and some companions in the same cell were taken away for execution, they usually told him and others, 'I would leave everything to you then!' This word in Chinese has the meaning that there is something that a person really cares and wants to achieve but cannot make it for some reasons, so the person 'leaves it to other people' and believes that these people can help him/her to achieve the goal which he/she expects with no doubt. 'I always have the feeling' Mr. K said, 'that I am

⁴⁹ The prisons include not only the current Jing-Mei Memorial Park but also other prisons where the victims were distributed to after the trials, such as the one in Lutao and another one in Taitung.

continuing their lives. It seems like that I survive because of their sacrifices, so I have to live well for them.' I almost cried when hearing him say so and could not help to think what such a (heavy) burden and promise it is; all these experiences show a strong relationship (comradeship?) and the continuity of an ideal. Moreover, Mr. K, who survives and bears all these things and expectations, what feelings does he hold and exist in current Taiwanese society?

Amongst those political victims of White Terror, there were some of them who were even not Taiwanese, such as Mr. Q. I met Mr. Q one day when there was a group of college students (around 40 people) booking a guided tour, and Mr. Q was asked to perform as a tour guide. Because the amount of students was quite large, they were divided into two teams; one was led by an ordinary tour guide and another one was led by Mr. Q (see Figure 7.6 below). Before the guided tour started, a short introduction was given to the students, mentioning that Mr. Q was a victim before, and it is observed that when they enabled students to choose which guided team they would like follow, many students ran to Mr. Q's team. It seems like that the short introduction before the tour did give the students particular impact to a certain extent that they had the chance to interact in person with someone who really experienced and suffered in the difficult time. In addition, according to these students' reaction, I understand it as that it has special meanings for these students to obtain the chance of listening to a victim sharing his personal experiences and perceptions on their own, from which the students might perceive their visiting more authentically. As a result, I followed Mr. Q's team on the expectation of both listening to what Mr. Q shared to his audience and observing the reaction of these students.

Before Mr. Q led the students to the first visited spot (the High Court), he gave a brief

introduction, or perhaps an explanation, about why they (these college students) should visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park and learn the history:

‘...it is related to your future; (it is) related to the future of this country...’;

‘not knowing this history would be your loss...’;

‘(that) many (bad) things happened was because they do not understand...’

‘Many people say that we (political victims) come out to the public and talk about these on the purpose of causing (social) opposition. It is not so; we come out (from being silent) and convey all these for letting the public learn this part (of hidden history) and then enabling them to let go.’

Then Mr. Q led the team into the High Court and told his personal experience. Mr. Q was actually not a local Taiwanese; he came to Taiwan for studying abroad, but he was framed as a communist member and caught,

‘(I had) experienced three-week interrogation, very inhumane interrogation. I still feel afraid when I recall it now, I still feel afraid when I recall it now...’

‘It was really unendurable for me when waiting to be judged.’

‘I thought that the prosecutor was there to help me, to prove my innocence. I did not expect that he was there to inflict me.’

When walking out of the High Court, Mr. Q pointed at four Chinese characters ‘公正廉明’ (pronounced as ‘gōng zhèng lián míng’ and means ‘be honourable, fair and upright’) inscribed on the external wall of the court and said, ‘for me, these four characters are really ironic words.’ Although it was a short time less than ten minutes being with Mr. Q in the High Court, I believed that the team could all perceive his discontent and detestation and that the unforgettable unfortunate experience and memory still influence him and his life.



Figure 7.6. Mr. Q (the gentleman facing the group) meets students before guiding a tour.

From Mr. Q's words, I think that the students did get certain impact and could realise Mr. Q's feeling and perhaps hope from his solemn tone. For me, I think that I can somehow realise the perplexity which had emerged since I met these suffered gentlemen in the fieldwork that why they came back here and did these matters of conveying messages. I suppose that it does not mean that they already 'let go' everything, but at least they are able to let the difficult history not be covered, hidden or unknown anymore. Enabling more people to discuss the history means that people (start to) face and confront it straight; even though there is supposed to be disagreement, arguments and disputes through discussion, it can still be expected that there will be one day when the conflict can be solved or certain consensus can be achieved. The atmosphere and phenomenon which I felt in Mr. Q's guided tour are seemed similar to the one observed in the Old Prison, that some kinds of expectation, which are unsolved at the moment, are handed over or passed on to later generations, hoping that they can accomplish it. The phenomenon, to a certain extent, also implies that it is not an issue which can be answered by a single generation in a short term.

The next idea worth mentioning is the words 'let go.' The ones who should 'let go' are not, and certainly not only, limited to the political victims, but also include those who injured and inflicted others in that time, those who knew these horrible things but

chose to silence and pretended that these did not happen and those who really did not know these happened but realised the fact later and, if any, felt sorry and regretful. The people at the time in Taiwan all experienced this difficult history, and it seems like that no one could sit on the sidelines. The situation is similar to the condition when relevant responsibility of Holocaust was investigated, and someone once stated that there was no people in that age and circumstance who could be said as real innocents. In the present circumstance and process in Taiwan, it has not reached the criminal accountability and compensation that most people can identify neither materially nor meaningfully. However, the 'let go' which Mr. Q mentioned and hoped to achieve may mean that, to a certain extent, people could forgive themselves and let the criticism upon themselves off, so that they could be willing to concern about the history and relevant topics instead of letting it be silenced, ignored and disappear in the great historical trend.

The last victim I met is Mr. J; when I saw him, he was invited to meet a team of three people who want to write down Mr. J's story and re-create it into a drama. I did not join the meeting or hear their conversation, but I joined their visiting tour, which was led by Mr. J, in Jing-Mei Memorial Park after the talking. He led us into *Ren-Ai Building* and told us about his experiences and what he remembers in each place and area. When he took us into the meeting room (a space located in *Ren-Ai Building* that the families of victims could come and meet them; these family members could also bring food or other daily needs for these victims. Please refer to pp.197-198 and Figure 7.4 on p.200), he mentioned that:

'... at the time, some family members brought bananas from outside (of Jing-Mei Memorial Park), the officers who checked (these articles) peeled every banana. (They) peeled every banana! So xxx (a family member of a victim) cried.'

‘... One time the younger sister of xxx (another victim) brought food for her brother, and she secretly put small notes into it, but the officers did not discover it and the notes were successfully delivered to her brother.’

When hearing these stories, that three people showed surprising expressions. Even though these stories are sounded like interesting anecdotes today, it can be imagined that it is really hard and difficult for both victims and their family members to meet each other. Even if the families prepared something for the victims, these things would be checked pitilessly, and when they were delivered to the victims, they might already be shattered. Then we moved into the section of imprisonment (cells), and there is a small ground with some trees and flowers planted around it. Mr. J said,

‘I planted these trees. I also planted xxxxxx (the names of flowers). ... There are eight kinds of birds around here (might implies *Ren-Ai Building* or Jing-Mei Memorial Park), so these would mean “鳥語花香” (pronounced as ‘niǎo yǔ huā xiāng’ and means “birdsong and fragrant flowers” literally) together.’

To be honest, I was surprised by Mr. J’s these words; ‘鳥語花香’ is usually used to describe beautiful scenery and a delightful emotion, so how could this idiom come to his mind when he was caught and imprisoned here? After Mr. J said this, the three people went to the ground and saw the surroundings, and I stayed beside Mr. J and had not recovered from the shock. I peeked Mr. J’s face after he said this and wanted to read some messages from his expression. He was silent with no clear expression and stared at the small ground. I could not read if he was looking at the three people or at the ground with certain ideas coming to his mind, but I thought that he should recall something when he was imprisoned here and planted these trees and flowers. With the recall, there should be certain emotions arose accompanying with the memories. Later, we headed to the section of cells, and I also observed Mr. J to see his reaction; I

was not sure if I worried too much, but I thought that he was a little hesitant. However, the feeling only lasted one or two seconds and Mr. J directly moved into the section with us. He introduced the life of victims in prison to four of us, just as other tour guides and what was conveyed, and the other three people were quite interested in Mr. J's description (see Figure 7.7 below). It is certain that a former political victim giving exposition to the audience would effect a real experience which enhances people's sense of authenticity, making them realise that these matters really happened, from which generates profound emotions.

After visiting *Ren-Ai Building*, we went back to the Information Centre and ended Mr. J's tour. I could not really understand the reason but since we headed into the jail section until leaving *Ren-Ai Building*, I did not want to let Mr. J stand/stay alone or too far away from him; I would like to ensure that there was someone, either myself or the other three people, close to him. It may result from that I felt Mr. J's emotions or I thought that it was quite an 'unkind' thing to let a suffered gentleman step back into the jail section again after I learnt his unfortunate past, which made me worry about Mr. J's reaction and feelings. I am not sure but I do not think that this was the first time when Mr. J came back to *Ren-Ai Building* after he was released. Nevertheless, I believe that every time when he moves into the building, certain memories and emotions would emerge or be recalled, no matter they are the old or new ones although I could not really read much of them from his expressions.



Figure 7.7. Mr. J (the gentleman with white jacket and baseball cap) talking with visitors.

It is very special and inspiring to meet these four gentlemen in the process of fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park because they present the difficult past, its relation with Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the profound implications from quite different angles. The history of White Terror in Taiwan is no longer a secret; it is mentioned and the history is also written in historical textbooks, so the young generations learn that there is such a harsh time in Taiwanese history. However, what Taiwanese people do not really know about are what exactly happened at the time, do these 'political victims' really exist, were they really suffered, how they were treated and so on. As one of my interviewees mentions, even though the history is taught in schools, it only covers and is described in two pages in textbooks. Taiwanese people learn the history and, if they are willing to, through visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park (and other relevant places), it functions as supplementing the details of the history and revealing certain cruel affairs and facts in the circumstances. The presence of these victims to a certain degree confirms the existence of the brutal history and social/political system; hence, it is able to make

people convince these facts, no matter they are those who had also lived in that time but did not experience such misfortune or those who have lived after the difficult time and experienced a rather peaceful age.

In addition to their presence that enables visitors to feel the authenticity about the history and the site, these victims' words, statements and feelings also make visitors perceive the hardness and difficulty in that space-time background and the helplessness and sorrow under the circumstances. These feelings and perception can function as enhancing these visitors' visiting experiences and memories, encouraging them to pay attention to relevant issues in their daily lives and current social circumstance. For me, I met these four suffered gentlemen in the fieldwork and learnt much from their past and stories; their stories are unique respectively, but they are also parts of the whole history of White Terror in Taiwan. It is also known that every victim may have different perspectives, thoughts and feelings on what they had experienced, on subsequent policies of compensation, the position of current government and so on. Even though these four gentlemen may not have a common idea or consensus on what their experiences mean, what Jing-Mei Memorial Park means to them or what the relation between their experiences and Jing-Mei Memorial Park is, their presence and past are already so distinct from those of other population living in the same community. It is believed, also hoped, that from their stories, other Taiwanese population can see their difficult past, from which they are able to review 'who they are,' find their positions and re-define themselves in the society.

Chapter 8. Comparison and Analyses of Two Case Studies

[Section 8.1. Introduction](#)

After the fieldwork of two case studies and the presentation of the collected data, particular points are noticed between the phenomena observed in Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park; they are raised for comparison first before moving forwards into the main analyses. There are four points that are considered worthy to mention and can be extended into further issues and concerns; these four points are the (re)presented historical times, the attitudes/thoughts of tour guides, the comments/expectations of visitors and the significance of these two sites respectively for current time. Regarding the (re)presented historical times, there is some kind of 'coincidence' between these two sites that is able not only to make an interesting comparison but also to bring out important consideration that deeply influences people's impressions on these two heritage sites. The attitudes/thoughts of tour guides and the comments/expectations of visitors are the most immediate, direct thoughts and reflections of different groups of people after they visit or interact with the heritage sites. It could be said that these immediate thoughts and reflections are the preliminary effects and influences which the heritage sites function upon these people directly. The last one, the significance of the two sites for current time, reflects not only what effects of them are expected to achieve respectively by the managers of these two sites but also the potential influences that may generate upon both their visitors and the whole society. In the following sections, these four topics will be presented and discussed, in expectation that important issues can be illuminated and lead the comparison to further exploration.

[Section 8.2. Comparison between two case studies](#)

The first topic is the (re)presented historical times of these two heritage sites. As

mentioned in previous chapters, the historical time mainly discussed and presented in the Old Prison is Japanese colonial period (1895-1945 A.D.) whilst the time in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is the period of White Terror (1949-1987 A.D.), which is a little bit later than the time that the Nationalist (KMT) government took over the control and governance of Taiwan. It can be seen that these two represented historical times are almost connected and successive, and these two periods also represent two different regimes, different governments and administrative systems and different ideologies. These further imply that Taiwanese people at respective times would be treated quite dissimilarly and that people, both those living at that times and in present days, may generate diverse perspectives and impressions on regarding/remembering/reacting to the two governments and the historical periods.

People's memories and understanding of specific times may influence their images, attitudes and perspectives on the places, structures or buildings, which mean the heritage sites, related to the specific times in question (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Beaumont, 2009; Chen, 2008; Hashimoto, 2011; Huang, 2014; Logan and Reeves, 2008). According to the fieldwork conducted in the two case studies of this research, this assumption is seemed not definitely the case. In the case of Chia-Yi Old Prison, which represents Japanese colonial past, tour guides do mention the historical period, but their focuses are on the facts that the Japanese government introduced new punishment system into Taiwan, that they built this unique-structured prison and that they 'reformed' Taiwan into a relatively modern and methodical society. They seldom, almost none of them, mention if Japanese people treated Taiwanese people unfairly, and even though they mention, it seems like that visitors do not pay much attention on it or the topic does not provoke visitors' attention and emotions. If tour guides do not mention, visitors would not actively or voluntarily raise questions related to the

Japanese colonial matters either. It is known and can be imagined from the background of Taiwanese history (please refer to Chapter 3. Taiwanese History) that the experiences of being colonised by the Japanese government are not such good and happy memories; nevertheless, it seems like that the past of Japanese colonialism does not bother current Taiwanese people or at least their negative emotions and reactions are not observed in the Old Prison. Overall speaking, it can be said that there shows no Taiwanese people's negative images or impression on the Japanese or on the colonial past in the Old Prison. The possible reasons of Taiwanese 'unconcern' about Japanese colonial past will be analysed later.

In another case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it also shows similar contrast to the assumption. People who had lived in the time of White Terror know that the Nationalist (KMT) government adopted authoritarian control over Taiwan, and young generations who were born after the White Terror also learn the history from textbooks in schools, but it does not mean that they would know and learn the fact that the government suppressed those who against them and how these people were treated unjustly. This may be one of the reasons why visitors feel so shocked when they visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the fact is revealed to them; this may be something that visitors did not expect to confront with before visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park or something that they never know before regarding the former authoritarian government they used to know. The revealed cruel facet of the former government may exceed people's imagination, and it simultaneously offers them opportunities, or somehow promote or provoke them, to reconsider the powerful government which they once thought it was, the society/community they live in and the suffered people who live with them in the same society.

The second point for comparison is the attitudes/thoughts of tour guides. In Chia-Yi Old Prison, tour guides mention that it was established by Japanese people and because of the new type of prison, Japanese people also introduced new prison/punishment system, which refers to the replacement of the punishment from harming prisoners' bodies to limiting, depriving criminals' freedom (please refer to Chapter 6. Fieldwork – in Chia-Yi Old Prison). Accompanying the new punishment system, new administrative methods and concepts for operating prisons were brought in to Taiwan, too, and these new systems and concepts were comparatively civilised and humanised. It can be noticed from the tour guides' words that they show certain intent and inclinations of complimenting Japanese people on what they had done to and cultivated Taiwan. In addition to Japanese people, the tour guides also emphasise the special architectural structure and its relation with prison administration, which was a quite advanced pattern at the time and Japanese people learnt the knowledge and techniques from the process of westernisation in their own nation. In the guided tours, it is informed, too, that the Japanese used great materials with high-quality to build the Old Prison and the workmanship was really elaborate and subtle. It can be observed here, again, that the tour guides praise the Japanese for the quality of the objects they made and their earnest and serious attitudes.

Apart from the relation between the Old Prison and the Japanese, the tour guides also make connection between the Old Prison and the present society and the conditions of current prisons in the tours. There are four factories (workshops) in the Old Prison, and now they are utilised as exhibition houses to display the artefacts made by current prisoners (see Figure 8.1, 8.2 and 8.3 below), the old building materials replaced in the restoration (see Figure 8.4 and 8.5 below) and the implements used when the Old Prison was operated. When introducing the created artefacts, tour guides explain that

current prisoners learnt new skills when being imprisoned, and it can be seen from their works that they are actually talented. What these prisoners need is an opportunity, and the tour guides hope that the public can provide them a chance after these prisoners return to the society. It is illustrated above that the tour guides in the Old Prison not only try to connect the Old Prison, a heritage site, with present community/society, but also focus on the architectural features of the Old Prison and the 'formation'/conveyance of a positive image of Japanese people/government/past. Concerning the reasons of praising the Japanese, who once colonised Taiwan and are supposed to be 'not us' or 'outsiders,' and the extended relevant issues will be presented later in the sections of analyses.



Figure 8.1. Artefacts created by current prisoners.



Figure 8.2. The lanterns created by current prisoners.



Figure 8.3. The prisoners are actually talented to make art works.



Figure 8.4. Preserved building materials replaced in the process of restoration.



Figure 8.5. Restoration following traditional building practices.

In the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it should be noticed that the suffered victims did participate in the processes when the original buildings and structures were under arrangement, conservation into current Jing-Mei Memorial Park and planning for public visiting/exhibition. It can then be imagined that the comments and opinions of victims would be taken greatly into consideration when designing the concepts and themes of Jing-Mei Memorial Park. When I conducted fieldwork and chatted with the tour guides, they also told me that they (the staff and the planning group of Jing-Mei Memorial Park) mainly design, arrange and present according to the opinions and statements of the victims and display the position and experiences of the victims. The reasons behind the circumstances could be that, on the one hand, until so far the side of perpetrators have not declared their positions clearly or made formal, official statements about what they had done in the time of White Terror or why they did such inhumane deeds (sometimes they do not even admit that they had done these inhumane deeds), and they are not willing to make the documents and files at the time public either; on the other hand, the voices and statements of the victims had not been heard, admitted or taken seriously for a long time. In other words, the concepts and themes presented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are the hidden stories/facts/history that the public do not

know before. Therefore, the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park hope that they can reveal the 'truth' or the facet to the public in the expectation that they can not only raise people's consciousness and attention on the historical event and the victims, but also assist the victims in striving for their deserved rights, compensation and apologies. These are the expectations of tour guides, also the staff of the two sites, that they hope to convey to their visitors for their new understanding and further realisation. In the next paragraphs, there will be the comments, expectations or reflections of the visitors, from which it can be noticed the distinctions, if any, between these two groups of people regarding the same heritage sites respectively.

The third topic is the comments/expectations of visitors. According to the interviews with the visitors in Chia-Yi Old Prison, they generally feel worried if it is creepy or gloomy inside the Old Prison and if there was an execution ground in it before their visiting (please refer to the relevant explanation in **Section 6.4. Fieldwork – interviews**) (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley and Stone, 2009). The phenomenon reflects the association of people's images with prisons, punishing people (the criminals), execution and even death. However, after they move into the Old Prison with tour guides, seeing that it is quite bright inside, and the guides explain that there is neither execution ground nor execution held in the Old Prison, visitors usually do not feel afraid or stressful anymore. In addition to worry and fear, there are visitors expressing that they zealously want to know what looks like inside a prison. This reveals a kind of messages that people sometimes may be attracted by something 'dark' or some negative topics; people are possible to feel interested in these 'dark' or negative topics and are motivated to search for certain information about them (Sharpley and Stone, 2009). After their visiting (the occasions when my interviews are started and proceeded), people usually are not bothered by their previous fear and worry, and it seems like that

they have rather great and pleasant visiting experiences. Visitors review their experiences and express that they are impressive on the unique architectural structure and how bright and comfortable the interior environment is, but it is noticed that they seldom mention the topic of Japanese colonial past and the relation between the Old Prison and Japanese colonisation. If they mention the connections with the Japanese, those are related to the facts that it was the Japanese who built the Old Prison and their earnest, serious attitudes and the high-quality of their workmanship. It is observed here that visitors' comments largely repeat the information, attitudes and thoughts which are conveyed to them by the tour guides in the Old Prison as described in the sections before. This reflects the circumstances that visitors may just copy what tour guides tell them, that they do not have specific thoughts regarding the Japanese, or that the visitors have similar perspectives and comments on the Japanese and the colonised past as what the tour guides think. That the visitors' less concern in the topic of Japanese colonial past, somehow similar to the attitudes of the tour guides, in the case study of Chia-Yi Old Prison is again shown here, echoed with the phenomena observed in the previous two comparative points, and this phenomenon of less-concern shows obvious contrast with those in Jing-Mei Memorial Park as presented below.

In Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it can be said that the visitors who come here and visit already have specific aims or are 'ready to be shocked.' The visitors I interviewed can be roughly divided into two types: one type of them already know what kind of place and site Jing-Mei Memorial Park is before they come to visit; another group of them may pass on their ways to work or due to daily transportation; they see Jing-Mei Memorial Park but do not know what kind of place it is, so they come to visit and explore it. It is interesting to notice that there are many people who do not know the existence of

Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Taking my, the researcher's, personal experience as an example, I am a local Taiwanese citizen who was born in Taiwan; I grow up here and accept education here until graduating as a BA (Bachelor of Arts), but it was until 2016 that I was introduced by my Taiwanese friend about the presence of Jing-Mei Memorial Park. It had been 27 years that I had never heard about this place, and it is interesting to think deeply over the possible reasons. Moving back to the visitors in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it can be inferred based on my personal experience that there should be other people who do not know the presence of it, not to say what themes are exhibited and conveyed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. For those who know or notice Jing-Mei Memorial Park, after searching for its information, they should be able to imagine and guess what kind of messages they would receive and encounter.

After their visiting, my interviewees and other visitors usually express their shock, sadness, heaviness (such as a professor from South Korea who relates what he is introduced in Jing-Mei Memorial Park to the situation in his own country; please refer to **Section 7.2. Fieldwork – observations**), indignation ('Just say everything! Just publicise everything, and that is done!'⁵⁰) and confusion ('Why do not they publicise the documents and files?'⁵¹). Amongst these comments, there are some visitors with unique and unusual thoughts or reactions, such as a gentleman, expressing that he wants to inform current people in mainland China about these terrible matters done by the former Nationalist (KMT) government and let them know that the Nationalist government and Party are not such wonderful as they imagine. Additionally, there are still some people holding positive opinions towards Jing-Mei Memorial Park ('This (Jing-Mei Memorial Park) is a dark place, but the messages it conveys are not so dark.').

⁵⁰ A visitor's comment I observed and heard in a guided tour.

⁵¹ Another visitor's comment I observed and heard in a guided tour.

From these comments and expressions, it can be seen that visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park and encountering with the provided history and information give the visitors great impact and many influences, and these experiences also offer them a lot of opportunities and messages for reflection and consideration. It is demonstrated that the reflection and consideration are related not only to the historical knowledge/understanding which the public used to know (or they thought that they know) and how they regard the KMT governments at that time and in present time, but also to how they would interact with other people and members in current societies/communities (Anheier and Isar, 2011; Ashworth, 2008; Beaumont, 2009; Hashimoto, 2011; Huang, 2014; Kirwan, 2011; Logan and Reeves, 2008; Smith, 2010). During the process of fieldwork, it shows the phenomena that a great part of the visitors want to obtain more and deeper information and understanding about this history and relevant events after their visiting. The observed phenomena to a certain extent imply that the action of visiting Jing-Mei Memorial Park is successful in attracting people's attention, making them notice the painful history, the hidden facets and other relevant matters, and this more or less responds to the expectations of the tour guides and staff in Jing-Mei Memorial Park.

The fourth topic that brings out worthwhile issues is the significance of Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park respectively for current time and society. This topic, also the (potential) significance of the two sites, refers to most of the characteristics which are repeatedly mentioned by tour guides in their guided tours, in my interviews and throughout the discussions in the thesis. These characteristics are something that tour guides regard as important and they want to convey to the public or they even think that the public should know these in order to understand the heritage more deeply and clearly. For some reasons, these characteristics are not conveyed to the

visitors in the guided tours or the visitors do not notice these characteristics and their importance; sometimes even the tour guides do not notice these or pay attention on them. However, these characteristics are noticed and considered by some professionals, such as professors or researchers in schools/universities or staff in other cultural institutions. The reasons that cause such differences could be that the characteristics are something realised later by the professionals or that there could be certain errors during the processes of communication between the tour guides and the professionals or between the tour guides and the visitors. These characteristics, accompanying some issues already mentioned before, will be raised below, hoping that new perspectives can appear and help for better exploring these two heritage sites.

On the aspect of the Old Prison, it is one of the architectures which were built in the period when Taiwan was colonised/controlled by Japanese government and also which still exist in present day. Through visiting the Old Prison, people are able to learn Japanese architectural forms, patterns, concerns and considerations; additionally, through the fact that 'the Old Prison exists in Taiwan,' it provides a proof and a truth that Taiwan had been colonised/controlled by Japanese government. This 'truth' and the state that Taiwan was once colonised may generate a premise or an assumption that Taiwanese people would regard the Japanese and the colonial past in a negative way or think of them with negative emotions. Moreover, because the function and feature of the heritage site is a 'prison,' it adds another characteristic to the site, and because it is a prison, does it mean or imply certain unfairness or discrimination against Taiwanese population under Japanese colonialism? Undeniably, when discussing this historical period, many scholars and historians usually mention that Japanese government regarded Taiwanese people as 'people in a colony' and treated them based on this idea (He and Cai, 2019; Ito, 2004; Su, 2017; Wang, 2017). Therefore, it is

imaginable that there were inevitably the situations which the Japanese treated unequally and unfairly to Taiwanese people. However, these situations and the facets of history are seldom referred to and expressed when visiting the Old Prison, and it seems like that these are not the topics which most of the tour guides and visitors concern. Reviewing back to the second point discussed above (the attitudes/thoughts of tour guides) that tour guides tend to praise the Japanese when conveying messages in the tours, plus the phenomenon that after hearing the explanations of tour guides, it seems like that visitors does not show attitudes and comments of rejection or present expressions of disagreement, it can be inferred that the history, the past and the fact of the colonisation of Taiwan by the Japanese government do not bother current Taiwanese people so much to a certain extent. As a result, Chia-Yi Old Prison, which shows the ambience and representation of Japanese colonisation, does not trouble Taiwanese people, either, and it does not cause much unease to people due to its relation to and background of Japanese historical period. Because of these reasons and phenomena, it seems like that in the case of the Old Prison, 'the period of Japanese governance' or 'Japanese colonisation' become one of its characteristics (or special points) rather than a limitation, a shackle or something displeasing.

It should be mentioned here that except the possibility that the period of Japanese governance really does not bother Taiwanese people in current society, the phenomenon can also be led to because the status (the 'hierarchy' level in the judicial/prison systems) and the importance of Chia-Yi Old Prison are not so high. When the Japanese governed Taiwan, they built many prisons throughout Taiwan, and the same architectural forms and patterns (similar radial forms which the Japanese learnt from the prison of Eastern State Penitentiary in Pennsylvania, the U.S.) were adopted and applied to these prisons. At the time, the Old Prison was a branch of Tainan Prison,

so the level of the Old Prison was not the highest in the hierarchy and system of prison administration. There were other three prisons with the highest level; they located in Taipei, Taichung and Tainan respectively and each of them was equipped with an execution ground (as mentioned in **Section 6.3. Fieldwork – observations**). When WWII ended and the governance of Taiwan was taken over by the Nationalist (KMT) government, these prisons erected in the period of Japanese colonisation were torn down one by one gradually, including the three prisons with the highest level, and at the end there was only Chia-Yi Old Prison which was left and had not been demolished. Because of it, the Old Prison becomes the only case, sample and proof of old prisons built in Japanese colonial time.

After the fieldwork in Chia-Yi Old Prison, I went to visit a Taiwanese professor, Professor Shu-Mei Huang, who also conducts research in other Japanese colonial prisons in East Asia. Professor Huang expresses that even though the staff of current Chia-Yi prison and cultural institutions in Chia-Yi City would like to utilise the Old Prison to present and narrate the development of Taiwanese judicial history and of prison-punishment system in Taiwan, from which also to promote and demonstrate the significance of Chia-Yi Old Prison, it is possible because of the status, the 'level' of the Old Prison and the 'coincidental' background that there is only the Old Prison left that make the aims and planning difficult to be achieved and make the Old Prison 'not important enough' to represent the history of Japanese colonisation.



Figure 8.6. The model of the first detention centre/institution of imprisonment.



Figure 8.7. The model showing prisoner conditions within the first detention centre.



Figure 8.8. The terrible cell conditions.

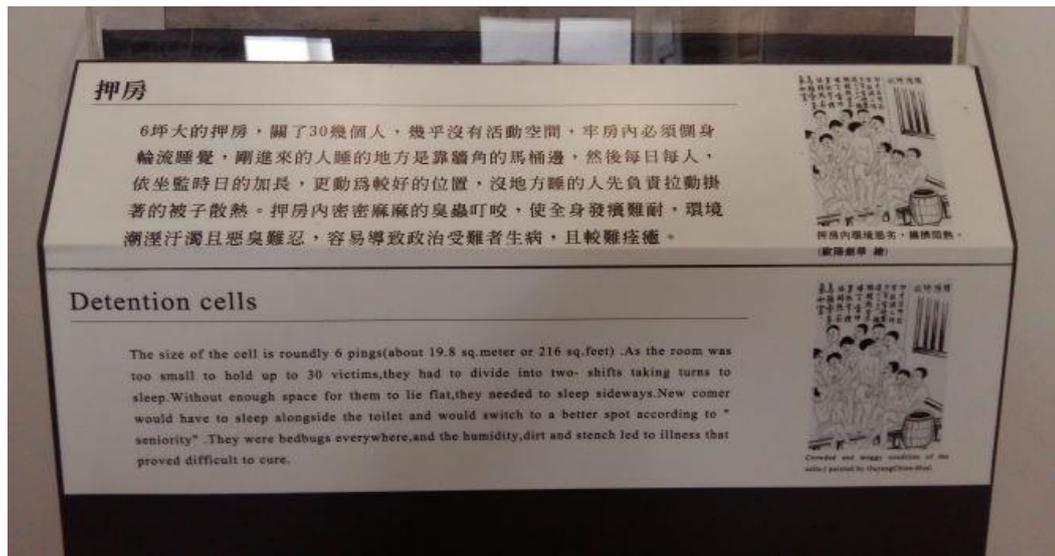


Figure 8.9. The label describing the terrible cell conditions.

The existence and location of Jing-Mei Memorial Park are not so familiarly known by the public in Taiwan, and perhaps its outlying location can be regarded as something that wants to be, even intends to be, covered from the public from then until current time. From a previous paragraph mentioning that I myself as a local Taiwanese but have not heard about Jing-Mei Memorial Park for more than 20 years, it can be imagined that in current Taiwanese society and for current population, Jing-Mei Memorial Park and the history it represents are still the issues and unpopular topics which do not want to be recalled. To a certain extent, the history and those relevant topics make people uncomfortable until now, and it is possible that a lot of current Taiwanese citizens are still unfamiliar with them. For some people, the history presented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is not the memories which they are familiar with, and for another group of people, the history is something that they are unwilling to remind. What is more, almost every time when relevant topics and history are raised and mentioned, they make Taiwanese people, at least certain groups, sensitive and risk hurting again the relationship and harmony amongst people.

In the past, especially in the time of authoritarian control under the KMT government, Jing-Mei Memorial Park was actually not the first structure/institution which was used for imprisoning and interrogating suspicious political victims. The conditions of the first detention centre were even worse and poorer (see Figure 8.6, 8.7, 8.8 and 8.9). Later, it is possible that because the buildings were too outmoded to be operated or because the location was quite close to the centre of Taipei City (therefore, there are tour guides expressing the doubt that the officials and the governors at the time of White Terror were for the purpose of selling the land for money), the new detention centre was relocated into a new spot. Of course, there is also the possibility that the KMT government wanted to keep the structures/institutions of imprisonment away from crowded Taipei City and from general citizens' awareness. The new location was then moved to the current place and the structures for imprisonment and trial were the complex of current Jing-Mei Memorial Park. According to what tour guides tell me, the imprisonment, trials and judgements afterwards were all proceeded in current Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The location of Jing-Mei Memorial Park is relatively remote and obscure from the city centre and from crowded areas, no matter in current time or in the time of White Terror. In addition, there is a viaduct constructed next to it, and this makes people's visions easy to be blocked and makes the visitors who go to Jing-Mei Memorial Park for the first time easy to lose their ways. The situation implies the intentionality of the KMT government of concealing, covering what happened here (the hidden facets, aspects and history), being unwilling to be heard and known by those who abode by the rules, who lived 'regular and legitimate lives' at the time.

From the statements and experiences shared by the former victims whom I met in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it can be realised that Jing-Mei Memorial Park is a place where those 'normal' citizens did not know and would not encounter with, but for those

victims, it is a place full of nightmares, a place of desperation, according to Mr. Q's words in his guided tour (please refer to **Section 7.4. A special presence: victims**). It is because all suspects, political prisoners and victims at the time were sent to Jing-Mei Memorial Park and also because the First Court in it and its direct relation to a famous political march incident in 1979⁵², Jing-Mei Memorial Park still presents its irreplaceable representative character in the development of democracy and human rights in Taiwan and in presenting the crucial historical period of White Terror even though there have been many other sites and monuments erected in order to commemorate and memorialise the White Terror and the victims (see Figure 8.10). The remote location of Jing-Mei Memorial Park plus the previous control over politics and education at the time makes many current Taiwanese people generate misunderstanding towards this kind of places which imprisoned former political prisoners and the victims. Because of these, even though current Taiwanese society and environment are quite liberal and freethinking, the past, the places and the victims relevant to White Terror are still misconceived, unwilling to get closer/encounter/see by the public.

The phenomenon reflects the conditions that even though the period of White Terror already passed, the harm caused during the period upon certain groups, the awkward circumstances amongst different groups and the misunderstanding towards the past authoritarian governance (for example, there are still people supposing that there is no political prisoner existing ever or regarding the previous Nationalist (KMT) government

⁵² In December 1979, there was an event for commemorating Human Rights Day held in Kaohsiung City (a city in southern Taiwan) by the members of a magazine publisher and other non-Nationalist-party members. During the political march, certain blood conflicts were broken out between the participants and the police, and the conflicts were known as 'Kaohsiung Formosa Incident' (美麗島事件) (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008). Some of the key members were arrested and their trials were held in the First Court in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. Many of these key members and their trial lawyers have also become active and well-known politicians afterwards.

as a grand, fair and legitimate one) have not yet been solved and no answer has been settled down. Nevertheless, Taiwanese society has become more and more liberal, and the White Terror is no more an issue which cannot, or not dare to, discuss. Additionally, it is observed when I did fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park that the tour guides actively contact schools, encouraging and inviting teachers and students to come and visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park in order to learn more about the history. These all demonstrate the crucial role that it plays when it comes to the issues and history of White Terror, and it also brings out the subsequent possibilities that more and more people would notice and discuss relevant matters and that a potential consensus and a proper interpretation towards the history could be achieved directly or indirectly in the future.



Figure 8.10. The diagram shows the sites and monuments commemorating the White Terror and the victims throughout Taiwan.

[Section 8.3. Analyses](#)

In this analyses section, certain topics which are observed and compared above in Section 8.2 will be brought out for further exploration; additionally, the issues of how these two case studies are operated in current social phenomena and what roles they

play in current Taiwanese society will also be added in for integral analyses. Firstly, an obvious phenomenon observed in Chia-Yi Old Prison is the unconcern/less-concern or even the compliment on the Japanese. Compared with the historical period of White Terror and the Nationalist (KMT) government, the time of Japanese colonisation is relatively remote from current time. As it is discussed in **Section 4.1. Defining dark tourism and dark heritage** that the distance of time may influence people's feelings and perception of whether a person who passed away is regarded as an 'ancestor' or a 'historical figure,' it may change people's intensity of feelings towards a specific dark/difficult event as well. Therefore, it does not eliminate the possibility that historical distance (Phillips, 2013) is one of the reasons that cause current Taiwanese people's unconcern/less-concern on the Japanese and the colonial past. However, this should not be the only reason of the 'unconcern.'

It can be noticed from other cases in different countries that even though the colonisation of a country by another nation already ends, the people of the colonised country more or less hold negative emotions and thoughts towards the colonising nation, and it tends to provoke their strong, oppositional or resistant actions/reactions when the colonial pasts and relevant issues are raised and discussed (Beaumont, 2009; Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020; Kirwan, 2011; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010; Ye, 2015). Furthermore, after the colonisation ends, some of the remained structures may be left, maintained and re-arranged into heritage sites/museums/exhibition houses for displaying the colonial pasts and how their people were treated unfairly by the colonising nations/officers (Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020; Ye, 2015). These re-arranged heritage sites/museums/exhibition houses are usually utilised to promote the ideas of patriotism and to build the citizens' cohesion and national identity, and this also implies the potential senses of hatred or

opposition of the citizens against the colonising nations (Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020). Nevertheless, it seems like that this is not the case in Chia-Yi Old Prison or at least this type of actions/reactions towards the 'once colonising nation' is hardly observed in the Old Prison. In addition to a possible reason of historical distance (Phillips, 2013) and the fact about the level of the Old Prison in the judicial/prison systems, I suppose that there should be other multiple reasons, including the comparison of the two regimes and somehow the disappointment to those 'who were supposed to be our people.'

Taiwan had been colonised by the Japanese government and later was taken over by the Nationalist government from mainland China (please refer to Chapter 3. Taiwanese History). Under the colonisation of the Japanese government, Taiwanese people were regarded as 'the people in colony,' so it can be imagined that Taiwanese people were treated unfairly and strictly (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). However, even though the Taiwanese were treated unfairly, the Japanese government and the officers handled affairs according to the formulated rules and orders. Therefore, if people obeyed and followed the rules, they were not supposed to be intentionally bothered or put in a difficult position. In addition, as the Japanese introduced new concepts of punishment, new form of prisons and new methods of prison management into Taiwan, they also adopted rather modern administrative systems and ways of city planning to govern Taiwan (as one of its colonies), by which they introduced these modern systems and concepts into Taiwan and 'transformed' Taiwan into a rather modern society, compared with other East Asian countries and regions (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; He and Cai, 2019; Wang, 2017).

The transformation and its effects especially stood out so obviously when Taiwanese

people encountered with the soldiers and officials from mainland China (after the WWII, the Japanese government surrendered and the governance of Taiwan was handed over to the government in mainland China) (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). For Taiwanese people, those soldiers and officials from mainland China did whatever they pleased and behaved insolently and arrogantly; the original methodical lives and society which once ran in order were totally broken down (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). In this kind of disorderly situations, it is somehow reasonable, also possible, for the local Taiwanese people at that time to miss the time and social circumstances when Taiwan was under the control of the Japanese government; although they might be treated unfairly, at least the society was able to be run in order. It was also during this unpleasant process that some Taiwanese people realised certain differences between themselves and those from mainland China, from which it has generated the sense of 'the people who were live in this land of Taiwan' or the identity of 'Taiwanese people'⁵³ (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). For those people from mainland China, they just finished the long wars against the Japanese, who they regarded as their enemies, so it was inferable that they would have certain (strong) feelings of hatred towards the Japanese (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Huang, 2014; Wang, 2017).

In addition, Taiwan was once a part of the territories of mainland China but was ceded to the Japanese government by the *Qing* court since 1895 (please refer to **Section 3.1**.

⁵³ It is mentioned that this is not the first or the earliest time that the people living in Taiwan generate the sense of 'Taiwanese people' or the identity of Taiwanese people. It is also presented in Chapter 3 that when Taiwan was ceded to the Japanese government by the *Qing* court, Taiwanese people had tried to be independent and build another 'nation' from the *Qing* court in order to fight against Japanese occupation. In the Japanese colonial period, local Taiwanese population had generated the idea that 'they were different from their governors (the Japanese)' as well and tried to strive for certain rights in order to manage their own affairs (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; He and Cai, 2019; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017).

Before Japanese colonial period), so for the people in mainland China, the ‘returning Taiwan’ was like that they ‘took back something originally belongs to them’ and the population in Taiwan were ‘supposed to obey their governance and follow their orders’ (Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017). As a result, the misunderstanding of these two groups towards each other was generated and caused a series of conflicts afterwards. In other words, for those Taiwanese people who had experienced these two regimes and governments, they could feel the differences of these two regimes and of the ways they governed Taiwanese citizens. As a result, certain comparisons would appear. During the process, as some historians and scholars express that many Taiwanese people were disappointed with those who came from mainland China, who speak the same language and share the same customs as the Taiwanese do and are supposed to be their ‘siblings,’ because of their rudeness and disorder (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). All of these reasons (historical distance and the prison level of Chia-Yi Old Prison) and historical backgrounds (comparison of two regimes and disappointment to their Chinese siblings) form a complex of reasons which could explain Taiwanese people’s less-concern or even friendliness to the Japanese and the colonial past to a certain extent.

After the Japanese colonial period and the White Terror, Taiwan has developed gradually into its current society and status/condition; then how do current Taiwanese people review and evaluate these two historical periods and their relevant influences? Regarding the Japanese colonial period, according to my experiences and observation, current Taiwanese people seldom mention or discuss this colonial past in their daily lives. It is almost only in the occasions of visiting museums which display relevant history/exhibitions or visiting other buildings/structures built in the Japanese colonial period that people would mention the past and history. Another occasion is in schools

when teaching Taiwanese history. I still remember that when I was an elementary school student (when I was 7 years old in 1995), when mentioning the WWII in East Asia, especially in mainland China, the teacher told us how ‘we Chinese had experienced hard times in wars against the invasion of the Japanese’ and how ‘the Japanese massacred our people/we Chinese.’ At the time, I was ‘affected’ and ‘influenced’ and thought that the Japanese are bad, evil enemies who hurt ‘my people.’ However, when I went back home, I usually heard my grandfather telling us how he received education in an elementary school established by the Japanese, how his Japanese teachers treated him well and he really missed them. When he grew up and started to work, he also had positive experiences when working with his Japanese officers. These are my grandfather’s personal history and experiences, and at the time I was a little confused with these different interpretations on the Japanese and the past. Later, when I became a secondary school and a high school student, the history of Japanese invasion in mainland China was categorised into ‘Chinese history.’ When I review my experiences, it reminds me that in 1995, it was not long after the White Terror ended, many reformative policies and measures were just started, including the contents of textbooks (Chen, 2008; Mao, 2013). Therefore, it is possible that the textbooks and historical lectures I received in elementary school are the same with little amendment as the contents and lectures received by my parents, for example, that were drawn up by the KMT government/officials who brought in their experiences/understanding/interpretation in mainland China into the lectures. As it is shown in **(Section) 3.4.2. Educative role of national identity politics**, the textbooks adopted in the time of White Terror and in a short period right after the White Terror were quite different from the current textbooks used in high schools. Current textbooks are allowed to be written and compiled by non-governmental publishers, and it means that diverse explanations and interpretations of historical events are able

to be presented to young generations.

My personal experiences may illustrate to a certain degree how Taiwanese people's understanding and interpretations of the pasts are formed, influenced, changed and re-formed by formal school education and interaction with family members/other people (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994). Moving back to the analyses, what is attempted to express is that except visiting museums/historical buildings and school education, people seldom mention the Japanese colonial period and its influences in their daily lives in current Taiwanese society. Nevertheless, Taiwanese people do have certain impressions on the Japanese, no matter those in present time or in the past, which are to a large extent similar to what are observed in the Old Prison. These impressions can somehow be regarded as the 'consensus' or the 'tacit recognition' amongst most of the Taiwanese people when mentioning the Japanese, of which the 'tacit recognition' could be resulted from a complicated process of experiences, negotiations, understanding and evaluations from the colonial period to present time.

Regarding current Taiwanese people's impressions on the White Terror and the former KMT government, it seems like that there is no consensus achieved so far and the interpretations and evaluations of the historical period vary a lot. What current people generally know are that there were the conflicts between the Nationalist party and the Communist party at that time; the conflicts and wars originally occurred in mainland China and still continued after the KMT government came/'retreated' to Taiwan. In order to keep on fighting against the Communist party in mainland China, many basic rights were limited in Taiwan and rather severe governance was executed (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Ito, 2004; Wang, 2017). These are the aspect of historical facts

which Taiwanese people generally know and do not have objections, but when it comes to their evaluations, there could be many diversities. As discussed in previous chapters, I try to roughly divide the population at that time into three groups, the victims, the perpetrators and the neutrals. It is obvious in Jing-Mei Memorial Park that it mainly displays the viewpoints and experiences of the victims. These viewpoints and experiences show that the former KMT government was the tyranny which was unreasonable and framed the victims up; the tyranny not only deprived their freedom but almost ruined their lives. Therefore, it is imaginable that the victims' interpretations of the history and the government would be negative and full of blame.

It is also known from the fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park that the perpetrators have neither released the official documents in the time of White Terror nor made any formal comment or claims, especially from the members of current KMT party. Thus, it becomes difficult to know the perpetrators' positions, reasons and interpretations/evaluations of the history. After the White Terror ended and a new government formed by Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) (please refer to **(Section 3.4.1. National politics and governmentality)**) was established, many investigations into the total amount of the victims and the officials who should take the responsibilities had been conducted for several times; however, the public, especially the victims' families and their relatives, thought that the statistical amount was still underrated and the results of these investigations were yet incomplete⁵⁴. As a result, an acceptable and satisfying explanation/result is still unable to be achieved, and those relevant judicial responsibilities are also unable to be prosecuted. On the aspect of the neutrals, they were neither the victims nor the perpetrators, and an overwhelming majority of them

⁵⁴ The relevant information is provided in a special exhibition (titled as 臺灣監獄島, which means 'Taiwan as A Prison Island') held in a section in *Ren-Ai Building* in Jing-Mei Memorial Park when I conducted fieldwork there.

were supposed to be those who obeyed and followed the rules/orders of the Nationalist government. In the time of White Terror, the politics, government, education and the contents of lectures were all controlled by the Nationalist (KMT) party (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017), and the institutions of imprisonment and trial, current Jing-Mei Memorial Park, was intentionally located remote from the city centre and crowded areas. Therefore, it becomes understandable that these neutral people do not know the presence of these political victims.

Additionally, these neutral citizens tended to believe the positive and grand images of the KMT government as what the educational system/social propaganda, which were controlled by the government, told them (Chen, 2008; Wang, 2017). The propaganda could be, for instance, the ideas that the government and the officials were powerful and strong enough with unfaltering determination to protect the citizens from the invasion of the Communist party and the permeation of the Communist ideas. All of these become the potential reasons that make a lot of the Taiwanese citizens believe that there are no political prisoners or that these so-called 'political prisoners' were those who intended to slander the (grand and powerful) Nationalist government. These are also the reasons that make a lot of the visitors and my interviewees feel so shocked and confused as observed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park because the information they receive and experience are something that they do not know or is opposite to their existed understanding. As I present in Chapter 7, the visitors show diverse reactions, including shock, confusion, rejection and disagreement. Nevertheless, these visitors' reactions, their visiting experiences and emotions do function as providing them various materials and opportunities to review their previous understanding and to (re-)construct their interpretations/evaluations of the White Terror and the

government they once regard, and these are indeed the influences of Jing-Mei Memorial Park that are expected to generate.

As it is learnt the general impressions and understanding which current Taiwanese people usually hold regarding these two historical periods, it comes to the issues that whether the messages presented in these two case studies, Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park, respectively echo with or reflect these impressions on and understanding of the historical periods. It is concerned as well that what and how the pasts are interpreted in certain ways and presented to the public? Do the managers and staff of these two sites consciously display the messages which cater to these impressions and understanding? In the case of the Old Prison, it is hardly to see the discussions about the Japanese colonial past or any rejection/disagreement with the tour guides' explanations or visitors' negative emotions to the Japanese past. If there is any occasion that the Japanese past is mentioned, it is almost all about the fact that 'the (Old) Prison was built by the Japanese when they colonised Taiwan.' It is hardly to observe any further discussion extended from this fact. The visitors' concerns to the Old Prison are that 'it is a (former/old) prison that can be visited' and 'it is a tourist site,' and the tour guides' concerns are 'the Old Prison is a Japanese-styled structure with particular radial shape' and 'its connection with and implications to current prison/judicial systems.' From these observed phenomena, it is realised that the visitors' experiences and the presented information in the Old Prison do reflect current Taiwanese people's impressions on and understanding of the Japanese to a large extent, and almost no negative or dark matters about the colonisation are discussed. If there are, these could be due to the feature of the Old Prison as 'a prison.'

Although certain topics about how the Japanese treated Taiwanese people badly or

unfairly are mentioned (please refer to some examples in **Section 6.3. Fieldwork – observations**), they are simply stated by the tour guides in a few words and do not provoke visitors' obvious or strong emotions/reactions. I do not think that the managers or the staff of the Old Prison consciously display the 'positive' facets or messages about the Japanese past as current Taiwanese people generally regard or suppose. However, there are exceptions as cy-g7 and cy-g8 tell me in **Section 6.4. Fieldwork – interviews** that they consciously and intentionally avoid mentioning those messages which may provoke their visitors or make them unpleasant. Although tour guides may intentionally avoid certain messages, it seems like that visitors themselves seldom sense those difficult issues of colonisation on their own when visiting. It may also be because the Old Prison shows almost no connection with the Japanese colonial policies and Japanese unfair treatment to the Taiwanese, that visiting the Old Prison cannot function as reminding the visitors of the unfair treatment or oppression in the Japanese colonial past. Additionally, it is not the managers' main purpose to display the hard history of Japanese colonization as well, so the Old Prison is not utilised in this way of exhibiting the interaction of the Japanese and Taiwanese people in the colonial time or of presenting their conflicts.

Compared with Chia-Yi Old Prison, it shows quite different phenomena in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. As mentioned before that Jing-Mei Memorial Park focuses on displaying the experiences and stories of the victims/their families, and visitors are able to feel the strong and negative emotions as they visit the place and see the exhibited labels/videos/objects/photographs. It seems like that the managers and staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park intentionally and consciously present these materials to the visitors, which is also one of their original purposes. By doing so and presenting the materials in this way, it somehow means that the staff use this way to provoke the

visitors' negative emotions. For current Taiwanese people and the visitors, they may learn the presence of Jing-Mei Memorial Park and know what it is about as it is described before that those who come to Jing-Mei Memorial Park more or less obtain basic and primary understanding about it (please refer to Chapter 7 and **Section 8.2** of this chapter). Nevertheless, even though with the primary understanding, visitors still feel shocked and heavy in Jing-Mei Memorial Park. That they have such reactions could be understood as that these visitors are not 'prepared' to receive these messages or that they do not imagine the messages to be so painful and overwhelmingly difficult.

Visitors' such reactions also imply that the history, relevant matters and facts displayed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are not what they used to know about the White Terror and the former KMT government; in other words, these are the messages which do not fit in with their existing understanding and what they are 'told' before. These can explain the phenomena that, although I did not observe in person when I conducted my fieldwork in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, some visitors express their disagreement or rejection of certain information. The phenomena in Jing-Mei Memorial Park that visitors directly reject the messages conveyed by the tour guides and, from another angle of view, their active participation in the discussion/dispute are quite different from those observed in the Old Prison. On the one hand, the history and circumstances displayed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park are the cruel, high-pressure Nationalist government, its officials and how they unjustly arrested, judged and imprisoned innocent people and those who opposed or criticised the government. On the other hand, for most of the people who visit Jing-Mei Memorial Park, those who may be 'the neutrals,' what they know about the KMT government in the White Terror period is the positive, strong, rational and honourable facet of the same government. These two facets/aspects of the Nationalist government were presented and proceeded in

Taiwanese society at the same time, but these two facets/aspects were separated, covered and concealed from each other.

According to the observed phenomena in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, it can be said that the history presented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is not the complete picture of the Nationalist (KMT) government in the time of White Terror. It can be further considered that the visitors' active participation in the discussion/dispute is a necessary process of negotiation between two different ideologies. The negotiating process is quite similar to those that people digest, comprehend new information and 'persuade' themselves after visiting a place and receiving new messages (Falk and Dierking, 2000; Falk, Dierking and Semmel, 2012; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994), but the difference is that the involved objects/issues are extended from a person's knowledge and understanding to the consensus of groups of people. What is more, in the past few decades, many relevant memorial institutions have been gradually established throughout Taiwan, such as other monuments and the two memorial parks in Jing-Mei and Lutao (please refer to Figure 8.10 in this chapter); with the presence of these memorial institutions, these all suggest that new opportunities and occasions are provided. These opportunities and occasions enable these two different perspectives/interpretations and the people who hold the perspectives/understanding to confront with, to listen to and to communicate with each other. It is not only in Jing-Mei Memorial Park but also throughout current Taiwanese society that this kind of opposition amongst and arguments over different ideas still exists and occurs often, which means the consensus regarding the history of White Terror and the former KMT government has not yet been accomplished. As a result, it seems necessary to have these memorial institutions as Jing-Mei Memorial Park which can function as the occasions of further communication, negotiation and comprehension.

From these two case studies and the examinations into them, they exemplify the phenomena of how particular sections of history are interpreted and presented in heritage sites (or how the managers and staff utilise heritage sites to present certain contents/facets of history) and how the public react to these in the context of Taiwan. It can be seen that in the case of Chia-Yi Old Prison, it does have relation to the historical period of Japanese colonisation, but the managers and the tour guides seldom bring out the 'difficult' parts or the conflicts between Taiwanese people and the Japanese in the colonial time in the context of the Old Prison. In contrast to the Old Prison, the staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park (choose to) present the negative and 'difficult' aspects, which are relatively unknown or unfamiliar, of how the former government treated unjustly to those who against them. Both of the historical periods represented in the heritage sites are related to two regimes coming from 'outside' of Taiwan, and these two regimes had both done unfair treatment to Taiwanese people. Therefore, these two historical periods can both be regarded as the hard or difficult times for local Taiwanese people. However, as observed in both of the case studies, current Taiwanese people show quite different reactions to, attitudes towards, perspectives on and evaluations of the two sites, two regimes and the historical periods. Current Taiwanese people are less concerned about the Japanese colonial past, compared with their counterparts in other East Asian countries (Beaumont, 2009; Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020; Ye, 2015) and other cases in Western countries (Beaumont, 2009; Kirwan, 2011; Smith, 2010; Waterton, Smith, Wilson and Fouseki, 2010; Ye, 2015). Most of their current concerns are on the aspects of dealing with their own past of White Terror, the cruel deeds of the former Nationalist government and the relationships with other groups of people in Taiwanese society on the one hand; on the other hand, they also need to face the potential, but also apparent, threats from

the Communist government/party in mainland China (Chen, 2008; Chen, Lin and Lin, 2008; Lee and Xue, 2019; Wang, 2017).

The reasons and backgrounds that lead to current circumstances in Taiwan should not be only attributed to the historical distance (Phillips, 2013) or the present situation that Japan is not an urgent threat to Taiwan. As it can be noticed that the Japanese colonisation of other East Asian countries and Taiwan ended approximately in similar time when WWII ended, but it seems like that the people in other East Asian countries still have certain negative emotions or hostility towards Japan (Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020). Therefore, for exploring the reasons that cause current Taiwanese circumstances and attitudes, it should also take people's 'other' experiences, those in addition to colonial ones, and further historical contexts into consideration. Some Taiwanese citizens have experienced two different regimes from 'outside,' from which they feel and generate personal perspectives, and certain comparisons may be made. Their perspectives and comparisons can further 'influence' the attitudes and interpretations of later generations, just as my family and school teachers have influenced me. It perhaps can be thought as that the appearance and arrival of the Nationalist (KMT) government into Taiwan make a distinction on the aspects of people's attitudes and relevant circumstances between those in Taiwan and in other East Asian countries. It is potentially the distinction that changes a lot and make a difference on local Taiwanese citizens' evaluations and interpretations of the past and fact of Japanese colonisation.

Chapter 9. Conclusion

[Section 9.1. Research summary](#)

This thesis explores the features of two Taiwanese dark/difficult sites and investigates their impacts on people's engagements with the past. It puts the conception into practice by examining how dark/difficult heritage sites are interpreted and presented to the public and how these sites are then experienced by Taiwanese visitors. Also, this research engages with how the visiting experiences and the represented histories can further influence the public's understanding of the pasts, the society and themselves. Chia-Yi Old Prison was chosen as the case study because of its characteristic as a prison, which is supposed to make people feel dark or negative, and its historical background of the Japanese colonisation. However, the fieldwork conducted in the Old Prison shows that the visitors are not affected by its negative feature as much as I originally expected. They, including the tour guides, seldom relate the Old Prison to the Japanese colonial period and what happened then. These phenomena reflect that the nature of Chia-Yi Old Prison is relatively inclined to a dark tourist/heritage site (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley and Stone, 2009) rather than a difficult site (Logan and Reeves, 2008). Therefore, the second case study, Jing-Mei Memorial Park, was chosen and included in this research due to its characteristic as a former prison and its background related to the authoritarian control of the former Nationalist (KMT) government in Taiwan. The observed phenomena in Jing-Mei Memorial Park demonstrate that people are shocked about the hidden history and the experiences of the victims, and they also encounter the 'dark' and 'inhumane' facets of the KMT government. Many visitors feel certain negative emotions, such as sorrow, heaviness and confusion, and the visiting experiences offer them information and opportunities to re-consider the past, the society they belong to, and co-exist with the former victims and perpetrators. It is possible that because the past represented in Jing-Mei Memorial Park still influences

not only the relationship amongst different groups in current Taiwanese society but also the interaction between Taiwan and mainland China, it makes the topics of both White Terror and Jing-Mei Memorial Park difficult to be confronted and dealt with. In the meantime, the difficult condition becomes one of the potential reasons that results in the Japanese colonial past is relatively 'not so difficult' to be faced and handled.

The collected data, observed phenomena and inferred results from both the case studies suggest that people have different perspectives and emotions towards the sites – Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park -- and their associated histories. I have argued that the visitor experience and emotional entanglement with these sites is largely determined by the strategies of the managers and staff at the heritage sites. In Chia-Yi Old Prison, although it may make visitors generate negative emotions (such as frightening or terrible as described in Chapter 6), it is because of the very nature of the site as being a prison and not due to its Japanese colonial past. During the guided tours, the tour guides even convey positive evaluations and images of the Japanese. It seems like that the visitors 'agree with' or 'accept' these evaluations about the Japanese and the past. It is also the aim of the managers of the Old Prison to convey political messages of the role that Chia-Yi Old Prison plays in the development of the Taiwanese judicial and penal system(s) rather than the Japanese oppressive treatment to the Taiwanese. The aims and phenomena are quite opposite to those in the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park. The staff of Jing-Mei Memorial Park bring to light the stories and experiences of former political prisoners in the White Terror on purpose. After seeing the hidden history in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, visitors felt shocked and heavy about the past. Their visiting experiences and the exhibited materials also enable and impel them to rethink the former government, the past which they thought that they 'know,' other members of the same society and themselves, which are also parts of the

staff's purposes. From the observed phenomena, visitors seldom link the Old Prison and their visiting experiences to what happened in the Japanese colonial past or to any negative/difficult memories of that time. It seems like that the Japanese colonial past does not considerably bother current Taiwanese people. By contrast, the past of the White Terror and the puzzle towards those 'who came/come from mainland China' still trouble the local population and are their main concerns and critical issues in progress.

The observed phenomena echo with my preliminary inference, based on the characteristics and visitors' reactions, regarding the distinction between the general dark sites and the specific difficult sites. As discussed before, dark tourism and dark tourist sites are related to the events, spots and places of people's harm, suffering or death, and the experts mostly focus on the phenomenon and motivation that people go to visit such places/structures (Lennon and Foley, 2010; Sharpley, 2009; Strange and Kempa, 2003). It seems like that they do not pay much attention to whether these dark sites or people's visiting experiences cause any (further) influence upon the visitors. The phenomena are largely represented in the scenes I observe and from my interviewees' reflections in the Old Prison. The tour guides seldom mention the circumstances in the colonial past and whether Taiwanese people at that time were treated unfairly, either. The strategies in part make the public not notice or feel the past 'difficult.' Therefore, all these scenes and phenomena suggest that Chia-Yi Old Prison represents the features of a dark heritage/tourist site. In addition, there is another possible reason that causes the Japanese colonial past to be not so uncomfortable. Unlike the conditions in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, many people who have lived in the Japanese controlling time have gradually passed away. Because fewer and fewer people mention or discuss the Japanese colonial past and the experiences of that time, it makes people gradually forget the history, especially its influence upon

Taiwanese people and their memories.

In the case of Jing-Mei Memorial Park, the history and presented issues remain difficult for current Taiwanese people to confront and deal with. What makes it 'difficult' could partly result from the historical distance (Phillips, 2013) that the displayed past in Jing-Mei Memorial Park is relatively close to the present time, compared with the Japanese colonial period as shown in the Old Prison. Other reasons that make the past difficult to be faced also include people's comparisons between these two regimes, the disappointment towards the Chinese people and the KMT government. However, due to the complexities of the political situation and the emotional entanglements with these sites, there could be further issues involved that are beyond the scope of this research. Because the historical distance of Jing-Mei Memorial Park is close to the current time, a great proportion of the members in Taiwan still remember the past and have experienced, even suffered in, the tough time. These members, no matter the victims, the perpetrators or the neutral ones, co-exist in the society, and some of them, especially the victims, now have many opportunities to share their experiences on diverse occasions. This leads to the conditions that opposite opinions and different perspectives are frequently raised and argued, making the pasts still remembered and provoking the public to confront these issues and consider their previous understanding and position. Because different groups have different explanations and arguments towards the same past, it is not easy for current Taiwanese society to achieve consensus. The situations make the topic of White Terror, the past and the heritage relevant to the White Terror, like Jing-Mei Memorial Park, remain as the subjects of contradiction and contestation. It can be imagined then that the past of White Terror and its legacies still profoundly influence Taiwanese people and are possible to cause potential conflicts. All these chain reactions and a series of involved,

mentioned affairs and considerations can be regarded as the reflections that Jing-Mei Memorial Park brings about to the public after their visiting. With the circumstances, relevant difficult heritage sites, such as Jing-Mei Memorial Park and other monuments, perform not just as a database of relevant backgrounds and materials, but also a space or an occasion for negotiation and communication that enables members from different groups to exchange/accept/reject/digest different viewpoints, ideas and interpretations.

[Section 9.2. Research review and evaluation](#)

To evaluate the achievements and outcome of the research, it is necessary to review the questions, the aims and objectives. The main aims and derivative objectives of the thesis are to explore the features of the two Taiwanese heritage sites, to distinguish their respective nature and management strategies, and to figure out their influences on people's engagements with the past. It can be seen that the research of these issues has already been achieved and accomplished to a certain extent. To start with, it illustrates the different features and phenomena between the 'dark' sites and the 'difficult' sites from the cases of the Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park. This is on the one hand due to the characteristics and experiencing history of the heritage sites; on the other hand, it is purposely caused because the management parties deliberately construct the atmospheres and display the information of such historical backgrounds. The phenomena also confirm the second accomplishment of the research that how the staff operate the sites and what messages they present will to a significant degree not only influence visitors' understanding and impressions towards the sites and the represented histories, but also affect their later perspectives, positions and emotions regarding relevant issues afterwards. Lastly, the data from the fieldwork of the Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park exemplify how dark and difficult sites respectively

bring about diverse experiences and emotional engagements to the visitors, especially how difficult sites impact the visitors on their previous understanding of the past and the society. To sum up, through investigating the cases in Taiwan, this research provides sufficient materials and analyses to solve my original inquiries, and the research aims are consequently fulfilled as well.

Although certain achievements of the research are demonstrated here, it would obtain a better improvement if two dimensions can be tackled: more comprehensive data and further pursuit. Firstly, as mentioned in **Section 5.7**, I did not meet visitors with explicit opinions against or opposite to those displayed in Jing-Mei Memorial Park, so I did not make it to interview them and collect their perspectives as a part of my data. This lack results in that my data cannot reflect a complete or rather comprehensive picture of current Taiwanese viewpoints regarding the White Terror. Secondly, on the aspect of exploring the influences that these two sites generate upon the visitors, I did not conduct follow-up interviews. The data collected from the fieldwork and analysed are mostly visitors' instant reactions/thoughts right during and after their visiting. These reactions/thoughts are potential to be developed into various appearances and functions on different occasions after they leave the heritage. Therefore, if it is expected to explore the long-term influences of the heritage sites, it becomes crucial to figure out the changes of these visitors after they leave the sites on the aspects of behaviours, attitudes, perspectives, emotions and other facets. Nevertheless, I have suggested some possibilities that could be developed into afterwards in **Section 8.3. Analyses** in order to make up the deficiency. Because I did not conduct the follow-up research to my interviewees, especially the general visitors, it is difficult to know if the (new) understanding or identity of the visitors can contribute to any further influences upon themselves in their daily lives, neither to the inclinations that their understanding

and identity are developed towards. As a result, it is hard to demonstrate if the speculative development of the visitors' understanding and other circumstances will be proceeded as the directions I infer and suggest. The thesis would become more improved and reliable if these two dimensions could be carried out and supplemented, so that a more complete and comprehensive picture of Taiwanese appearance of facing difficult past can be presented.

Section 9.3. Contribution and future research directions

Although there are such insufficiencies, the research does make certain contributions to relevant fields. Firstly, the thesis contributes to the understanding of how Taiwanese history is interpreted and understood through dark/difficult heritage sites. In Chapter 8, I suggested some explanations and raised potential reasons for Taiwanese people's rather positive and friendly impressions on the Japanese and the colonial past, compared with other colonised countries' attitudes towards those who colonise them (see Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020; Ye, 2015). I also discuss the particular legacies that the Japanese and the colonial history left on Taiwanese society and their later generations. These explanations shed light on the complicated political situation within Taiwan and between Taiwan and mainland China in realising the backgrounds and factors that cause such situations. Secondly, the thesis demonstrates how Taiwanese visitors interact with the heritage sites with particular negative features and history. From the modes of interaction, this thesis illustrates Taiwanese people's different attitudes towards and perspectives on the two historical periods. By doing so, it has identified a significant difference between the characteristics and nature of the heritage sites: Chia-Yi Old Prison represents a dark heritage site and Jing-Mei Memorial Park represents a difficult heritage site. The phenomenon support and strengthen the argument that heritage is a changeable and dynamic process and the fact that people's

values and perspectives, which change over time and produce contesting ideas about what heritage is or should be, play critical roles in the process (Beaumont, 2009; Harrison, 2012; Harrison, 2013a; Hong, 2016; Macdonald, 2009; Russell and Michael, 2007; Smith, 2006). The results of this research also suggest that Taiwanese people's attitudes towards different historical stages are influenced by political and cultural currents. According to present condition, the evaluations, impressions and attitudes towards the former regime/government are subject to be modified and 're-written.' Although the thesis only presents the cases of current Taiwanese society, it brings out a unique instance and atmosphere regarding the interconnection amongst (particular) historical periods, cultural heritage, the displayed contents, (local) people's perspectives/evaluations and how all of these reversely affect the representation of the people themselves.

Last but not least, in addition to the contents and themes already illustrated in the thesis, there are many relevant topics and issues worthy of paying attention to and exploring further in the future. This research presents the conditions and phenomena of how current Taiwanese population interacts with two particular heritage sites which represent different, also difficult, historical periods and how these influence people's understanding of the past and themselves. More research is required into the long-term influence that heritage and the conveyed messages can bring about and affect upon people, especially on the aspects of their understanding and subsequent interaction with the society and other members. As I mentioned in Section 9.2, which is also one of the insufficiencies of this research, people's behaviour and actions after leaving the sites mean a lot and show the potential implications that the heritage is able to provoke upon broader communities and society. It is especially the case when the heritage is a dark or difficult one, and it is crucial to figure out how these 'negative

features/histories' may affect the public and how they regard their society and the past. In order to explore the influences that both Chia-Yi Old Prison and Jing-Mei Memorial Park have caused upon Taiwanese people on their understanding and perspectives, it is necessary to follow up and investigate what kinds of long-term influences the visiting experiences affect them and other people.

The second issue is that the traces and legacies of Japanese colonisation before and during WWII do not only remain in Taiwan but also in other East Asian countries, such as South Korea and the northeastern regions of mainland China. These traces are usually presented in the form of prisons, as Chia-Yi Old Prison, and these prisons also receive particular concerns from local citizens (Huang, 2014; Huang and Lee, 2020). As a result, the issue can be extended from a piece of research in one country to a broader programme of exploring diverse situations/developments in different East-Asian countries regarding their peoples' perspectives on these Japanese-related sites. The cross-comparison is potential to bring out the differences and nuances of people from different countries on the aspects of their impressions, memories towards the 'difficult histories' which were caused by the former Japanese government. The comparison can further assist in comprehending the rough, overall influences and any kinds of profound impacts that the Japanese government had caused throughout the whole East-Asian region during WWII. These themes are the topics related to the research and are probable to be developed into larger and broader investigations. It will be exciting and comforting to see if more researches with relevant topics can be triggered and explored. It is also expectant that these topics and the thesis can attract more attention to these current national and international affairs and inspire more researchers to join in subsequent, correlative investigations and explorations.

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Appendix 1-1. Information Sheet (English version)

Information Sheet

Project title

Understanding difficult histories in cultural heritage.

Project researcher

- ◆ Wen-Yi Liu (PhD student in School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester).
- ◆ Supervisor: Dr. Sheila Watson (Programme Director Heritage and Interpretation,
Director of Flexible Learning and Senior Lecturer in
School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester).

Purpose(s) of the project

- ◆ To understand how people approach difficult heritage such as prisons.

Your role

- ◆ To provide your visiting experiences/reflections/perspectives on this heritage site as a visitor.

Your rights

- ◆ Before agreeing to become an interviewee, you can ask me about any relevant information relating to the research that you want to know.
- ◆ You are able to withdraw from the research plan at any time before a certain date (the end of September 2017). If you decide to withdraw, your information and the content of your interview will not be used in the research.
- ◆ You can decide whether to use your real name, the name of your position or remain anonymous when mentioning your comments in the research.

Protecting your confidentiality

- ◆ Your information, interview contents will only be used in this research plan and will not be published to the third party or irrelevant organisations/units.
- ◆ Your information will be protected by the researcher and operated according to the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics which can be viewed at <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>.

If you have further concerns, please feel no hesitation and contact the researcher by following details:

E-mail: wyl28@leicester.ac.uk or b96103015@ntu.edu.tw

or the supervisor of the researcher:

Dr. Sheila Watson serw1@le.ac.uk

Thank you very much for your assistance and cooperation.

Wen-Yi Liu

Date:

Appendix 1-2. Information Sheet (Chinese version)

訊 息 單

研究計畫名稱

文化資產的「負面」特質和此特質對文化資產的形塑。

研究者

- ◆ 劉聞宜（英國萊斯特大學博物館學(School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester)博士生）。
- ◆ 指導教授：Dr. Sheila Watson (Programme Director Heritage and Interpretation, Director of Flexible Learning and Senior Lecturer in School of Museum Studies, University of Leicester).

研究目的

- ◆ 探究人們如何親近、理解一些具負面特質的文化資產，例如監獄。

您的角色

- ◆ 分享並提供身為一位遊客 / 專業人士對此文化資產的參觀經驗、感想、看法等等。

您的相關權益

- ◆ 在同意成為受訪者之前，您可以詢問我任何關於此研究計畫您想知道的資訊。
- ◆ 您可以在特定時間（2018年1月底，即民國107年1月底）之前的任何時間點告知研究者您想退出此研究計畫。在決定退出之後，您的個人資料、提供的訊息及受訪內容將不會被運用在此研究及任何相關報告中。
- ◆ 在研究報告及論文中引述您的意見和言論時，您可以自由決定是否同意研究者使用您的本名、職位名稱或全部以匿名表示。

保障您的資訊隱私

- ◆ 您的個人資料和訪談內容將只會運用在此研究計畫中，且不會透露給第三方或任何不相關的單位知道。
- ◆ 您的相關資訊將會受到研究者的保護，並依據萊斯特大學研究倫理規範（University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics）來運作及行使。相關訊息請詳見網站：
<http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>。

若您有任何相關的疑問或事項想詢問，請隨時用下列 e-mail 聯繫研究者：wyl28@leicester.ac.uk
或 b96103015@ntu.edu.tw

或聯繫研究者的指導教授：

Dr. Sheila Watson serw1@le.ac.uk

非常謝謝您的協助與合作。

研究者：劉聞宜

日期：

Appendix 2-1. Consent Form (English version)

Consent Form

- ◆ I am informed about the contents, methods and aims of the research plan *Understanding of dark features in cultural heritage - different perspectives on two heritage sites in England and Taiwan*, which is conducted by researcher Wen-Yi Liu.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I already read Information Sheet, and I understand and agree with the matters mentioned therein.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I am provided with the information of the researcher, her responsible institution and her contact details if necessary.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I am given sufficient opportunities to ask relevant information relating to the research plan, and I am answered with the information which I want to know.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I agree to participate in the research plan voluntarily after being informed about the contents and aims of the research plan.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I agree to record the contents of interview, and I understand that the interview contents will be used and adopted in researcher's assignments and dissertation.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I understand that during the process of participating in the research plan:

1. my personal information and provided messages will be protected by the researcher and operated according to the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics.

Yes [] No []

2. I can use anonym to perform myself in the research plan, and my provided messages will be regarded as confidentiality for storing and using.

Yes [] No []

3. who are able to access my personal information and provided messages, and in what forms to access these information and messages.

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I agree that when stating my personal comments and interview contents in assignments/dissertation, the researcher can use:

my real name

Yes [] No []

the title of my position

Yes [] No []

- ◆ I understand that I can withdraw from the research at any time during the process of participating in the research plan and I will not be blamed or penalized.

Yes [] No []

Signature of participant:

Signature of researcher:

Date of signature:

Appendix 2-2. Consent Form (Chinese version)

同 意 書

- ◆ 我已經知曉研究者劉聞宜進行的研究主題「文化資產的『負面』特質和此特質對文化資產的形塑」的內容、研究方法及目的。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我已經閱讀過訊息單，並了解、同意其中提及的事項。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我已經得知研究者的相關資訊、所屬單位以及聯絡方式以備不時之需。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我已得到充足的機會詢問關於此研究的相關訊息，我想知道的相關訊息也已得到解答。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 在得知此研究的內容和目的後，我自發性地同意參與此研究計劃，即成為受訪者之一。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我同意記錄訪談的內容（以錄音和筆記的方式），而且我了解這些訪談的內容會被運用在研究者的報告和研究論文中。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我了解在參與此研究計劃的過程中：
 1. 我的個人資料和提供的訊息會受到研究者的保護，並依據萊斯特大學研究倫理規範（University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics）來運作。 是 [] 否 []
 2. 在此研究中，我可以匿名來代表我本人，而且我提供的訊息會被作為機密來儲存及使用。 是 [] 否 []
 3. 誰可以以何種方式得知我的個人資料和提供的訊息。 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我同意在報告和研究論文中引述我個人的意見和訪談的內容時，研究者可以使用：
 - 我的真實姓名 是 [] 否 []
 - 我的職位名稱 是 [] 否 []
- ◆ 我了解在參與此研究計劃的過程中，我可以在特定時間（2018 年 1 月底，即民國 107 年 1 月底）之前的任何時間點告知研究者我將退出此研究計劃且不會受到任何的責難。 是 [] 否 []

參與者（受訪者）簽名：

研究者簽名：

日期：

Appendix 3. Lists of Questions

Questionnaire - to visitors

1. Demographic data:

Age, nationality (city/county if they are locals), occupation, educational level ...

--> To obtain basic ideas about their backgrounds and different positions.

2. Previous experiences:

Have you visited similar dark tourist sites before (can be this one or other ones) (give explanation of what is dark tourist sites)?

Yes -> When is it? Where? With who? Simply describe the experience for me (during visiting, what do you see? What are you told? How/what do you think about the information? ...), the feelings and reflections on the experience ...

No -> (move to 3. below)

--> To know if they have previous and similar experiences which may serve as reference to their knowledge of dark tourism and to experience for this visiting.

3. This visiting:

(1) Why do you come to visit the site?

(2) How do you know this place?

(3) Is this visiting your first time to the site?

Yes -> Do you know/receive any information about it before your visiting? What is it?

No -> (see (6) below)

(4) Simply describe this visiting experience for me (during visiting, what do you see? What are you told? How/what do you think about the information? ...)

(5) The feelings and reflections on this experience (on what you experienced this time).

(6) If you have visited other dark tourist sites or this site before, is there any difference or similarity of feelings/reflections/understanding/perception/emotions... between those of this time and those of your previous experiences?

--> To know their understanding and reflections on this visiting to the site (as many as possible), and if applicable, enable them to make comparisons amongst this visiting/previous visiting to this site/previous experiences of other dark tourist sites.

4. Reflections on the site as a prison/a piece of cultural heritage:

(1) When you are informed that this is a prison before/a heritage site now, what do you think?

(2) Do you have any special thought or perspective towards it?

(3) Is there any difference of perspectives/reflections when viewing the site as different

roles? ...

--> To move their viewpoints from their visiting experiences to the buildings/physical structures which bear the meanings, history and visitors' experiences; to explore if there is any change of thoughts/reflections or special perspectives towards the tangible structures (make comparisons of visitors' understanding between visiting and buildings).

5. Other mentioned/relevant issues and topics.

Questionnaire - to staff and professionals

1. Basic personal data:

Age, local people or not, name of occupation, work routines, how long have worked here, previous work experiences ...

--> To obtain basic ideas about their backgrounds, work routines and related elements which may influence their expertise and viewpoints.

2. To tour guides ...

- (1) The route/course, the spots which visitors are led to for introduction and the conveyed messages are decided and organised by the supervisors or by tour guides themselves?
- (2) Are the conveyed messages instructed by supervisors or interpreters about what and how to say?
- (3) After your descriptions and explanations, how are the visitors' reactions/reflections (expressions, feelings, raised questions...)? Is there any reaction/reflection that impresses you (no matter during or after the guided tours)?
- (4) Are there foreign visitors (not Chinese or Taiwanese speakers)? If there are, how would you react and organise the visiting?
- (5) When these foreign visitors hear your descriptions and explanations, what kinds of reactions/reflections do they have? Are these the same as/similar to those of local visitors (set here as Taiwanese people)?
- (6) What reflections and perspectives do you have on your work (routine) (taking guided tours, explaining to visitors, regarding the contents of descriptions/explanations)?
- (7) What reflections and perspectives do you have on this site (Chia-Yi Old Prison, abstract and tangible structures)?
- (8) Chia-Yi Old Prison performs as a previous prison and a current cultural heritage site, do you

have any different or similar reflections/perspectives on these two characters respectively?
(9) Others.
--> To explore tour guides', as staff in the site, personal experiences and perspectives on their jobs, observation on visitors, the site and its relevant information.

3. To professionals (those who investigate the site and its cultural/historical features, who manage the site, who give interpretations of the site ...) ...

- (1) Your position and job.
- (2) What kinds of research and interpretations have you conducted and produced in respect of the history, culture, buildings and other characteristics of Chia-Yi Old Prison?
- (3) I believe that there are abundant cultural features and values in Chia-Yi Old Prison, may I ask how you decide and choose the messages which can be conveyed or you want to convey to the visitors?
- (4) Do you think that there are messages (about Chia-Yi Old Prison) which 'are inappropriate,' 'should not' or 'I do not want' to convey to the visitors? (briefly mention the nature of dark tourism)
- (5) There are many different angles of interpretation, how do you select or 'make sure of' the proper and appropriate interpreting angle?
- (6) Are there gaps/differences between the messages you want to convey to the visitors and those they are actually conveyed and received?
- (7) According to the backgrounds/positions of visitors, will you change the contents of descriptions/explanations?
- (8) Are there foreign visitors (not Chinese or Taiwanese speakers)? If there are, how would you organise the contents of descriptions/explanations? Is there any difference between those to foreign visitors and to local visitors (set here as Taiwanese people)?
- (9) What reflections and perspectives do you have on your work (routine) (investigating the cultural heritage site, producing certain interpretations and conveying them to visitors, regarding the contents of messages conveyed to visitors)?
- (10) What reflections and perspectives do you have on this site (Chia-Yi Old Prison, abstract and tangible structures)?
- (11) Chia-Yi Old Prison performs as a previous prison and a current cultural heritage site, do you (based on the angle and understanding of a professional and yourself personally) have any different or similar reflections/perspectives on these two characters respectively?
- (12) Others.

--> To explore professionals', as staff in the site, personal experiences and perspectives on their jobs, the strategies of interpretation, their interaction with visitors, the site and its relevant information.

4. Staff as visitors and comparisons:

(1) Staff and professionals themselves as visitors, have you visited other dark tourist sites?

Where are the sites? How were the visiting experiences?

(2) (Other dark tourist sites) Compared with Chia-Yi Old Prison where they work, are there

similarities or differences amongst these sites on the aspects of

characteristics/design/ideas/conveyed messages/the methods of conveying

messages/interpretation/perspectives/operation and so on?

--> To change staff's roles and angles into visitors and compare their experiences/viewpoints and other aspects that these two roles bring to them respectively.

5. Other mentioned/relevant issues and topics.