

From Soul Searching to Community Building:
Understanding Community Identification through Community “Jen-Tung” Process

by

Chia-Mei Hsia

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Graduate Supervisory Committee:

Richard C. Knopf, Chair
Christine Buzinde
Sarah Amira de la Garza
Gordon Shockley

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation explores the concepts of community identification and formation process through analysis of community-based art practices in Taiwan. The research approach was qualitative and utilized grounded theory methods. Thirty-five interviews were conducted from June through August of 2016. The interviews encompassed seven groups and twenty-eight individuals totalling forty-five participants in total. Interviewee selection was based on: involvement in the community-based art practice, related community engagement activities, and recommendation by senior community development practitioners, scholars and government officers in the field of community development (CD) in Taiwan.

The research provides insights into expanding the concepts of community arts in general and more specifically community-based art practices (CAP); highlights the participatory characteristics in the processes of CAP, and seeks to discern the mechanism that contributes to the formation of community collective identity. Revolving around Bhattacharyya's (1995, 2004) conceptualization of community development, this study found it essential for exploring the fundamental concept of community in relation to community identity. To examine the concept of community identity, this research anchors the inquiry by studying how community-based art practice contributes to community identification and seeks to discover the connection between identity process and social change. The research also discusses the emergent concepts that serve as influential factors to the formation of community identity and proposes an alternative identification mechanism, 'jen-tung' process, which provides a needed new dimension to the existing theories of social identity formation and community efficacy development.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Being a Grounded Theory (GT) method researcher is a serious commitment. In this study, it entailed 577 pages of interview transcription, 4 months of word-by-word transcribing, 3 months of data coding (including two cycles of coding), another 2 months of memo writing and codebook organizing, 5 weeks of developing categories, 4 weeks of advanced axial coding and category integration, 3 weeks of additional literature review, and a couple weeks of get-away sporadically to prevent permanent brain damage. Finally, all the materials are ready for the last stage of dissertation writing. This dissertation is the product of three times revision. "Does that make it perfect?" if you ask me. I am afraid my answer would be "no". But I am confident in saying that it is an authentic, honest, and fruitful research that I am proud of sharing with you.

I am indebted and grateful to the wonderful members of my dissertation committee from Arizona State University (ASU) for their guidance, patience and great suggestions. Professor Richard Knopf has overseen the whole study and spared no effort to guide me through the journey. He is always there when I need him for wisdom, insights, and spiritual food. I am thankful to the other members of the committee; professor Sarah Amira de la Garza spent extra time to guide me through the GT process and inspired me to be a rigorous scholar; professor Christine Buzinde provided the most positive energy keeping me the momentum; and professor Gordon Shockley shared his insights and suggestions to extend my research scope for future study. Going beyond their call of duty, they have been there for me throughout the whole process. I would not have accomplished it without their encouragement and supports.

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PREFACE

While working in Taiwan, from 2000 to 2010, as professional in landscape design and urban planning, I had the opportunity to be the liaison between elements of the public sector and local communities; where I worked closely with scholars, professionals, government officials and community members in the field of community development. I witnessed the amazing accomplishments of communities that had devoted themselves to a variety of community programs including, but not limited to: senior welfare, local cultural heritage preservation, environmental protection, quality of life improvement, youth development, urban revitalization, and agricultural innovation. I was amazed and fascinated by the energy, creativity and resilience that developed within these communities and began to wonder what factors provided the support for the communities and allowed them to transform. What are these “nutrients” in the “soil” that promotes the growth of such community’s “fruits”? May we extract these cultivators and extend this community “formula” to solve a variety of social issues? What possible measures may we utilize to replicate or fertilize the “soil” to amplify the activeness and mobilization that propels the progress and change of these communities? To answer these questions, it is fundamental to determine these ingredients and discover the mechanism needed to build the community and allow it to thrive.

I anchored my research based on my previous work experience and the inquiry into community-based art practice (CAP) that it founded. There are multiple forms of community participation that activate community vitality and mobilize community initiatives. I, however, perceive the CAP as the most favorable approach when exploring my research questions due to CAP’s easy accessibility to a public audience as well as distinct features that integrate environmental issues, cultural elements, community concerns and local context. Delving into the study of community arts in

relation to social movement, I envision some fundamental factors that resonate to the core values and concerns of community development. It helps to narrow my research scope and to frame my study in a manageable way. Toward the end of this study, I identify several influential factors that contribute to the formation of community identity, and the connection to community momentum that contributes to capacity building and drives community progress. Far from exhausting the study of community development, this research here leads to a more diverse arena of community development practices that allows for more exploration into the crux of community development in relation to social engagement. Benefitting from the grounded theory (GT) methods, this study expands the horizon in conceptualizing the notion of community identification and provides a 'mental leap' to make connections to other disciplines, such as the place identity and solidarity economy. For me, these ideas not only open another door for my future research inquiry but also sharpen my sensitivity to inner self-exploration. Sometimes, the answer is not "out there" but, instead, resides in us. All we need to do is to listen, understand, and then internalize.

This writing may be lengthy and interwoven with multiple reference phrases in a local dialect, these are meant to construct a bigger picture of local context and cultural meaning within the setting of Asian society. Even though I have strived intensely to interpret these local dialects in English and provide most applicable synonyms, my translations may still be insufficient to capture the nuances of meanings encompassed within another language. As a constructivism exponent, this study provides extra interpretation strategy within the qualitative research methods. This scheme of interpretation does not focus on accuracy or analogy to delineate the definition of concepts, but accentuates the meaningful parts that resonate to the readers' cultures and background. It is the process of understanding that matters in

conceptualizing these emerged categories in the analysis; not the data from the analysis itself. The idea is to invigorate researchers who adopt grounded theory methods; it is a long but worthy journey.

I. EPITOME OF THE TAIWAN COMMUNITY-BASED ART PRACTICE RESEARCH

I.1. Research Justification

The influential role of community art in encouraging civic engagement and community development has been increasingly recognized in the literature. Research has shown that community art projects can facilitate community capacity building and serve as catalysts for community development (Jones, 1988; Lowe, 2000; Carey & Sutton, 2004; Brennan & McGrath, 2011). Some artists, by advocating activism through engaging with local contexts and addressing socio-political issues, aim to encourage community participation and empowerment toward social change (Lancy, 1995; Felshin, 1995; Mesch, 2013). In the practice of urban reform, it is believed that using art as a means for urban revitalization can promote place image and enhance local identity (McCarthy, 2006). In terms of economic growth and the recreation industry, arts-based community tourism is considered a new form of creative industry and establishes an economic niche in the consumption market (Phillips, 2004; Richards, 2011; Aquino et al, 2012). Timothy and Boyd (2003) interpret arts-based community tourism as a way of enhancing local heritage and culture by providing community art as a tourist destination. Grodach (2009) attributes enhanced social interaction and economic revitalization to community art due to its link between public spaces and community development. He perceives community art spaces as alternative public spaces that function similarly to “public spheres” providing sites for civic participation and democratic debate.

Whether community art is an outcome, such as a tourist destination, or a process of community activism and social change, it provides a new venue to analyze community development on multiple levels and raises questions about how community mobilization and activism occur through art practices. Rather than

addressing community art in terms of aesthetic forms, this research aims to explore the potential of community art practice as a catalyst of community development (CD), and serves to bridge interdisciplinary discourses to enrich the concept of CD through community art analyses.

I.2. Why Grounded Theory

Known for its research procedure of generating new theory from data, grounded theory (GT) is considered as one of the most influential research designs in the world (Birks & Mills, 2011). Alongside its prospective utility in generating theory, the flexibility in philosophical stance and rigorous procedure methods are the main features that make GT powerful. Scholars who adopted GT in their research shared that GT can be conducted within any qualitative paradigmatic position; if it ensures commensurable research procedure and claims of outcome (Annells, 1996). Despite the polarized division of the Glaserian (or traditional) and Straussian (or evolving) modes, the later GT exponents commonly agree that there are no right or wrong approaches to using grounded theory methods; instead, it is the researcher's philosophical position that makes GT divaricated (Birk & Mills, 2011). From the philosophical point of view, post-positivist Glaserian GT followers may see pro-constructivism Straussian GT as controversial and untraditional since they hold a fundamental ontological difference in data analysis and interpretation. Nevertheless, there are essential grounded theory methods that characterize GT and are well accepted as typical GT.

In my GT methodology, I adopted the key elements in grounded theory methods (see section III.3.2) and employed them as guidelines for my research design and procedure (see section III.4). For the analysis, I incline to the Straussian approach and integrated the philosophical lens in *interpretivism* (see section III.1.1),

constructivism, and *social constructionism* (see section III.1.3) to justify my data interpretation. For the artwork interpretation, I introduced *hermeneutics* (see section III.1.2) to explain the relevance of the art form interpretation in relation to the research inquiry. In summary, I see GT as a powerful research method best used to explore a research subject that involves interdisciplinary theories. The inductive and abductive inferences utilized in GT provides an analytic strategy to synthesize different disciplinary concepts, allows for a mental leap (Reichert, 2007) to make the connection, and helps to identify the most explanatory core concepts from which to form research questions.

I.3. General Research Questions and Underlying Theories

The major concern of this research revolves around the inquiry of how community art practices contribute to community development. By adopting the concepts of solidary and shared identity in the definition of community development, I established my research through the exploration of the question: How does a community construct its collective identity through community art practice?

To specify my research scope and focus, the following questions provide a research framework for the study and serve as guidelines for my research design.

These questions are:

- With what mechanism does community art practice contribute to the community identity formation? If identified, can this mechanism be generated through different form of community engagement activities other than community art practice?
- Does community art signify a shared meaning or code that represents the values or concerns of the community? If so, how is it uniquely perceived by the participants and audience?

Two specific trajectories characterize this research and interplay with two distinct disciplines. One trajectory focuses on the community-based art practice in relation to community development and aims to seek for pertinent concepts that provide explanatory power to articulate art as a catalyst toward community capacity building. A literature review within the public art and community development sphere provide insights to formulate the research framework. The other trajectory aligns the emergent concepts to community identification and aims to conceptualize the process of collective identity formation by viewing the theories within the identity process through a psychological lens. This second trajectory focuses on the mechanism involved in the art practice that is relevant to the identity formation on both individual and collective levels. A theory review in this stage revolves around the identity process theory (IPT), social identity theory (SIT) and theories in the development of sense of self.

I.4. Emergent Concepts and Theoretical Integration

Eight representative categories and three thematic category integrations have been defined after the completion of two cycles of coding process and theory reviews. The eight representative categories are derived from 30 salient concepts that emerged in the first cycle of data analysis (see section IV.3). After the second cycle of coding and analysis, the 30 salient concepts were integrated and developed into eight distinct categories. These categories are i) community consciousness and consensus formation, ii) community pride, iii) changing status quo and acting otherwise, iv) rebuilding community, v) community cohesion, vi) collective leadership, vii) collaboration momentum and viii) community “jen-tung” process (see section IV.4). To articulate the connection between these eight categories, an advanced axial

mapping method was employed to illustrate the interrelation between these eight categories (see section V.1).

In GT, the final stage of the research procedure focuses on theoretical integration. Three thematic category integrations are now defined after integrating pertinent categories to articulate distinct themes. The advanced axial mapping (Figure 16) utilized in theoretical integration section helps to develop the thematic category integration. This method aims to lift the categories to a higher level of conceptualization and to provide a more powerful and comprehensive explanation. These thematic integrations are 1) reclaiming ownership of the community, 2) community efficacy development, and 3) community identification (see section V.1). The first thematic integration emphasizes the intention and self-awareness that motivate participants to take action in pursuing a community consciousness. This intention is driven by the fear and anxiety of losing control of pre-existing life-style and community structure. The second thematic integration focuses on the concepts that contribute to community capacity building and articulates the content of community efficacy development. The third integration revolves around the core category *community "jen-tung" process* and aims to synthesize germane concepts to construct a theoretical scheme to support an alternative identity formation process. As the three thematic integrations demonstrate their distinct features and emphases, these three integrations should not be treated as isolated concepts but more as connotations that interplay and interrelate to each other (see Figure 17).

I.5. Research Contribution and Suggestion for Future Study

Subsequent to the thematic integrations, I engaged in a second iteration of literature and theory review to assist in the formulation of ultimate research findings in a way that serves to construct new theory. In seeking the connection between the

individual identity process and collective identity formation, I utilize Neisser's (1997) theory in the development of sense of self to explore how the community identity formation relates to individual identity process in the context of community art practice. This theory review aims to bridge the gaps between a micro-level of individual identity process and a macro-level of social identity process. In the final conclusion, I propose the "jen-tung" process as an alternative identification mechanism to articulate a meso-level of collective identity formation. The "jen-tung" process, adds a new dimension to the identity process by introducing the notion of an internalization process in the collective identity formation. Other than the extant self-categorization, conformity, and depersonalization process in the social identity theory, the "jen-tung" process provides a plausible explanation within the process of community solidarity formation and addresses the connection between identity process and social movement (see section V.2).

Expanding on the research findings and implications, my study concludes with the elucidation of one research theme that might drive future inquiry. This research theme focuses on the need to explore the concept of place identity with an emphasis on revealing the psychological process dimension of place attachment. Due to the nature of spatial features in the community-based art practice, the notion of place making is tied to the CAP and provides an alternative lens to explore the relationship between identity formation and place attachment. By leveraging the concept of place attachment, the CAP can be utilized as a vehicle for place making and provides a way to conceptualize the notion of place-identity (see section VI).

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

II.1. Role of Literature Review

Engagement with existing literature prior to primary data collection is characteristic in most strategies of qualitative research, however, discussions on how or when to approach literature review in grounded theory (GT) have sparked disputes, if one takes into account the original stance of the founder's GT methodology. In the original publication, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Glaser and Strauss (1967) explicitly advised against the idea of conducting a substantive literature review at an early stage of the research process. This stance contradicts most methodologies, which call for a detailed review of literature at the beginning of a study as an essential prelude to engagement in a research project. In GT, the rationale for taking such an "abstinence" stance from existing literature was based on an assumption that researchers might incline to a certain theoretical view, and thus stifle the process of developing a grounded theory and limit the potential for theoretical innovation (Dey, 2007). Advocated by Glaser, several scholars defended Glaser's argument and promoted the idea that GT researchers should enter the research field with no preconceived theoretical lens (Nathaniel, 2006; Holton, 2007). However, other scholars have questioned such an approach and argued that being "theoretical virgins" is impractical in reality (Dunne, 2011).

Numerous scholars have articulated the benefits of undertaking an early literature review when conducting grounded theory research. They believe an early stage literature review can provide a robust rationale for a study (MaGhee et al, 2007), potentially highlight pertinent gaps in existing knowledge, and ensure the study has not already been done (Creswell, 1998; Chiovitti & Piran, 2003). It also can help researchers to develop theoretical sensitivity and avoid conceptual and methodological pitfalls (Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Stauss & Corbin, 1998; McGhee et

al., 2007). Collectively, these arguments in favor of conducting a literature review before commencing data collection and analysis are compelling and justified. Nevertheless, concerns of “contaminating” the data collection, analysis and theory development by imposing a preconceived theoretical lens or existing frameworks upon proposed research processes are also important and worthy of further discussion. Heath (2006) pointed out that the desire to avoid a predetermined understanding in a study is a principle associated with most qualitative research. As a result, several scholars advocate the idea of reflexivity to address the awareness that researchers as human instruments in the study come to the field with a particular social identity and background that can have an impact on the research process (McGhee, 2007). In GT, the memo writing process is based on reflective thinking and particularly designed to address this concern.

In this section, my literature review focuses on understanding the key concepts in multiple disciplines and attempts at strengthening the relevance and connection between these disciplines. This early stage of literature review not only justifies my study but also helps me to build theoretical sensitivity to avoid overlooking some pertinent concepts relevant to my research topic. Most importantly, it cultivates my ability to address research questions in a more logical way and helps me to articulate the research concept more clearly. With the aim of seeking the connection between community development, public art and identity formation, a literature review on these three key concepts provides a basic understanding of each concept in its context, rationale, and relevance to each other. Nonetheless, a literature review does not stop at the nascent stage of the study. Due to the features of concurrent data collection and analysis, and constant comparison in GT, a substantive literature reading related to emerging concepts or categories is encouraged (Glaser, 1998). By

adopting this idea, I have conducted a second phase of literature review along my theoretical integration process. This part of the literature review focuses on pertinent existing theories that provide insights to my research findings and includes the identity process theory (IPT), social identity theory (SIT), and psychological literature related to the development of the sense of self. In order to distinguish the different intentions and purposes in the second phase of literature review, this part of theory review is discussed in the section of theory review and application in Chapter V.

II.2. Key Concepts

As noted earlier, my research questions surround the core inquiry of how community-based art practices contribute to community development. In this section, I will offer three thematic reviews of literature pertinent to this inquiry. First, the community development (CD) literature is reviewed to conceptualize the core constructs of solidarity and agency seeking. Second, I will introduce the concept of community art in the context of public art and depict the rationality of utilization of the term “community-based art practices” in my research. Third, I will examine the concept of identification by reviewing Manuel Castells’ (2010) construction of identity and establish a basic understanding of identity formation mechanisms.

II.3.1. Community Development

With varying definitions, the concept of community development has evolved with many different expressions of dimensionality, connotations and rubrics. Scholars, in tracing the origins of the concept, have linked the early manifestations of community development to movements in housing reforms and poverty amelioration (Wise, 1998; Green & Haines, 2002). To some extent, community development (CD) has been conflated with the notions of economics and locality development. After

World War II, the civil rights and antipoverty movements led to the recognition of community development as a practice and emerging profession. Since then, the contribution of expertise and research by many practitioners and scholars have expanded and enriched an entire field of focus in terms of practical and theoretical applications. As community development has evolved into a recognized discipline (Hustedde, 2009; Pittman and Phillips, 2009), it has drawn from a variety of academic fields including planning, geography, economics, political science and many others. At the same time, community development theory had not yet been developed substantively until Bhattacharyya's conceptualization of community development as solidarity and agency seeking in 1995 and 2004, and Hustedde's (2009) positing and integration of seven theories that were being promulgated in the discipline. In this section, I draw on Bhattacharyya's theory (1995, 2004) to conceptualize the idea of community development in terms of solidarity and agency.

- **Solidarity and Agency by Bhattacharyya**

Researchers whose earlier understanding of the concept of community, as a form of social interaction based on locality due to the historical and societal background, have gradually altered this notion to refer less to a geographic connection and a more cognitive and symbolic structure (Delanty, 2010). Two influential publications in the mid-1980s characterized this shift and prompted researchers to rethink the concept of community. *The Symbolic Structure of Community* by Anthony Cohen (1985) and *Imaginary Communities* by Benedict Anderson (1983) both pointed out that community cannot be simply equated with particular groups or a place, nor reduced to an idea. Following Cohen's (1985) and Anderson's (1983) publications, the concept of community evolved to denote a transcendent nature that signifies multi-meaning social relations in different contexts.

Therefore, the notion of community varies and is reflected by diverse social, cultural, political, and technological positions (Delanty, 2010).

To capture the idiosyncrasies of community in the field of CD, however, a distinct social relation needs to be defined or otherwise the concept loses its focus. Towards that end, Bhattacharyya (1994, 2004) advocates that the idea of community should be characterized as a quality that releases the concept from constrained geographic boundaries and specifies a social tie. To unite these two elements within the concept of community, he introduced "solidarity" to capture the concept in multiple layers. By solidarity, Bhattacharyya refers to a shared identity and codes for conduct, which serves to bind the concepts in a distinctive manner and distinguish community from other forms of social relations.

In respect to the notion of development in the context of CD, Bhattacharyya extends the idea of human development and appropriates the concept of agency to characterize the intrinsic property of human development. Defined as creation and development of people's choices and capabilities, the human development resonates with the concept of agency. In Giddens' (1984) perception, the idea of agency refers to the capacity "to intervene in the world, or to refrain from intervention, with the effect of influencing a process or the state of affairs". Such clarification provided the foundation for Bhattacharyya's conceptualization of development. Bhattacharyya (1995, p61) construes agency as "the capacity to create, reproduce, change and live according to their own meaning systems, the powers to effectively define themselves as opposed to being defined by others". By this definition, the value premise of community development is the capacity to build agency. As most community development projects promote grassroots approaches and aim to ameliorate inequality and injustice in various fields; however, some CD activities actually

undermine agency seeking based on Bhattacharyya's (1995) observation.

Bhattacharyya pointed out that some conventional development activities were agency-destructive and deprived community of their self-determined opportunities. In these CD activities, the decision makers, the powerful, or the experts determined what was good for the communities, objectified the people during the process, and constructed authorized knowledge that de-legitimized local knowledge and imposed their interests prior to community needs. Bhattacharyya phrased these conventional development activities and knowledge as "agency-destructive activities" and "agency-robbing knowledge". Such has been the case in the sectors of economy, education, and health during capitalist modernization and colonization (1995, p.63).

- **The Erosion of Solidarity and Agency**

In a subsequent article, Bhattacharyya (2004) reiterated solidarity and agency seeking as fundamental constructs to conceptualize community development, and addressed decisive factors that cause the erosion of solidarity and agency. He attributed agency-destructive activities and agency-robbing knowledge to industrial capitalism, political centralization, and instrumental reasons. Bhattacharyya pointed out that the consequence of industrial capitalism is the commodification of life, defining human beings as individuals "bent on optimizing individual utilities". Under the predominance of markets and the dis-embedding of economic activities, society was regarded as an aggregation of individuals rather than a "complex web of relationships". As a result, the weak solidarity and meager social capital diminished the potential for the social engagement and collective action. On the other hand, the nation state, the "imagined community" (Anderson, 1983), led to suppression of others by centralizing the political and economic power toward a single national identity. Consequently, social norms and ethical norms came to dominate community

norms. The ideological mechanism that underpinned commodification of human life and political centralization, as Bhattacharyya suggested, is the instrumental reason.

Bhattacharyya perceived the instrumental reason as deeply embedded in positivism, which asserts an objective truth and reality. Individuals or institutions who embrace such rationality have the propensity to examine human behavior in a scientific approach, to look for a predictable pattern, consistency, and systematic laws of social phenomena. As such rationalism pervaded in the modern world, societies or political entities tended to homogenize the inconsistency and suppress the deviance. Subjective, intuitive, emotional and expressional features are overlooked and invalidated in the modern world. Bhattacharyya construes such ideology as an “instrumental reason” (2004, p.18) and a detrimental mentality in community development. It subverts community autonomy by expropriating a community’s self-determined abilities to judge and validate their tradition, worldview, and human subjectivity (Bhattacharyya, 2004, p.19). When the legitimate authorities, decision makers, or professionals adopt such instrumental logic of reason in community development, practitioners and developers have the tendency to objectify people, and dismiss the subjective perceptions, emotions, and meaning behind the sharing of residents. In this scenario, community’s agency-generating powers tend to be denied and neglected (2004, p.20). Thus, Bhattacharyya advocates an alternative version of reason that differentiates itself from instrumental reason. He characterizes this new version of rationality as context-bound, inter-subjective, and dialogical quality, which embraces objectivity by not corresponding to a pre-given reality, but “inter-subjective or communitarian agreement on the definition of the reality” (Brown, 1984; Rorty, 2001; cited in Bhattacharyya, 2004). In order to achieve the goal of community development as solidarity and agency, Bhattacharyya suggests

that community development should be set apart from other development practices and put in a non-impositional, non-manipulative, and respectful political system - a true democracy.

What Bhattacharyya advocated and argued leads us to scrutinize whether the extant community development practices have been institutionalized and stifle the real progress of community development. It makes us wonder what possible tools or methods we may utilize to tackle the dilemma; if the “instrumental reason” mentality and CD implementation institutions have dominated the community development field. One of many possible arenas in which to delve is the ramification of public art: community art practice. Known for its activism agenda and engagement with local context, community art has emerged as a noticeable phenomenon and garnered public attention in the past few years. The intention and rationality of community art provides a different lens through which to examine the concept of community development and may serve as a catalyst to advance the community development practice.

II.3.2. Community Art

Community art is a broadly used term, and yet still an evolving notion with unclear boundaries. Nevertheless, the concept of community art is deeply rooted in public art discourse, and shares similar ideology with public art. The following section provides a brief introduction of public art, and depicts how the conceptualization of community art emerges in the public art realm. The intention is not to make a clear-cut definition of community art but to establish a cognitive spectrum of community art, and explore the agenda behind it.

- **Public Art**

Public art, as an innovative notion in the 1920s and early 1930s, aimed to extend the boundaries of art-making and art experience beyond the walls of museums and into the viewer's everyday life (Decker, 2011). From indoor to outdoor space, the idea of "public" was adopted by artists as their operative concept and blurred the boundaries of medium, process, and output (Decker, 2011). In the United States, the government involvement with public art can be traced back to 1934. The Percent for Art program was started with the idea of that one percent of new federal building costs be appropriated for the commission of art. The program was suspended in 1966 in response to inflated construction costs (Knight, 2008). In 1965, a federal tax-based fund in the United States, known as the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), was launched and established the Art in Public Places program two years later. NEA policy emphasized the dissemination of and access to art experiences to the widest possible audiences. The idea was to provide individuals with opportunities to make an educated choice about having "high quality art" in one's life (Knight, 2008). While these programs aimed for democratic participation and promotion of public good, debates and rebuttals were raised due to institutionalized generation of the artworks and jeopardized the artists' autonomy in terms of "genteel culture" and creation process (Jensen, 2002; Decker, 2011). In the meantime, scholars and artists raised the question of whether public art earns its legitimacy by displaying artworks in public spaces. In response to the artist Jo Hanson's comment- "much of what has been called public art might better be defined as private indulgence", Lacy (1995) advocated that the essential public art agenda was tied to social intervention.

- **Community Art in Public Art Agenda**

As debates continued, a number of artists and arts collectives developed innovative approaches to public and community-based artworks during the 1980s and early 1990s. These projects tended to be responsive to local contexts and cultures, and less concerned with the creation of objects than with a collaborative process. Lacy (1995) coined the term "new genre public art" to define the "interactive, community-based projects" that grew out of this period. Becker (2004) sees new genre public art as "a visual art that uses both traditional and non-traditional media to communicate and interact with a broad and diversified audience about issues directly relevant to their lives". Mesch (2013) attributes the transition of public art into community arenas to the activist goals of community-building in response to social injustices and a rejection of globalization. The artist's attempt to deal with contemporary social issues such as cultural identity, environmental confrontation, political and economic injustice facilitates the interaction between artists and diverse audiences. In addition to addressing controversial social issues and drawing public attention, some artists see community art as holding an activism agenda (Cohen-Cruz, 2002). They believe community art should build the social capital, a grassroots network that enables people to disseminate information and ideas to a broader audience, and ultimately to make change happen. However, not all community art has an activist agenda. As artist deNobriga argued, community art can be as likely to celebrate cultural traditions or provide communities a space to reflect (Cited in Cohen-Cruz, 2002).

Whether community art is a catalyst toward action and social change, or merely a reflection of cultural values and local spirit, artists play determinative roles in the art practice could be predominant and lead the process in some cases. Kester (2004) criticized that the tendency of community artists justifying themselves as

delegates of communities and speaking on behalf of marginalized minority groups in some cases could be problematic and overlook the real issues. He articulated his argument after examining community art projects *Soul Shadows*¹ and *One or Two Things I Know about Them*². Kester called for the review of artist roles in the facilitation of dialogue among diverse communities during art practices. He pointed out the fine line between creating a consensual ground for community good and re-affirming a power structure that may favor parties or individuals benefitting from it.

The community art projects for which Kester (2004) critiqued and argued can serve as a negative case study to sharpen researchers' sensitivities and prevent the researchers from looking only at favorable data. The issues raised by Kester resonate with Jensen's (2002) concern that people view arts as an "elixir"- a curing medicine capable of making things better. Such concern has been noted across many disciplines. Miles (2005) warned that the tendency of utilizing arts as a tool for urban regeneration may bring an end to "low-budget problem solvers" and lose the focus on fundamental urban problems. The critique and argument discussed above reflect the need to review community art in an alternative way. Instead of perceiving community art as final products or art objects, Dewhurst (2012) advocates we should view community art as an evolving practice in a collaborative and organic way. To address the concern, Dewhurst (2012) provides an ontological question to

¹ An installation art project by New Orleans artist Dawn Dedeaux in 1993. Dedeaux addressed the issues of crime and poverty through the art project by working closed to the prisoners and juvenile offenders. The project had attracted the support of public and private foundations. However, Kester (1995) criticized the art project had become a cathartic process for the incarcerated and turned into an "aesthetic therapy" by transforming the interview into a therapeutic and participatory art practice.

² An installation art with commissioned photographs of young Bangladeshi women by artist Alfredo Jarr in London in 1992. Jarr addressed the issues of racist and sexist in Bangladeshi community in the vicinity of the gallery. However, prior to the opening, these young women came to the gallery and saw their images with the inflammatory texts, and then demanded the photos be removed.

approach the answer. Rather than just asking “*what* is community art,” he advocates that people should also posit “*when* is community art.”

- **When Is Community Art?**

Inspired by the educator Nelson Goodman’s article (1968), Dewhurst (2012) sees Goodman’s discussion on the nature of art as an analytic turn to challenge the conventional view of art. To understand the nature of art, Goodman (1968) asked readers to consider not just “what is art”, but “when is it.” (cited in Dewhurst, 2012). Following Goodman’s example, Dewhurst proposed a set of analytical questions to guide us through the field of community art. The context in which community art is made, the reasons behind it, the intent of community art, and the audience who engages with it, are fundamental to capture the concept of community art.

Adapted from the original visual essay of Dewhurst (2012), Figure 1 illustrates Dewhurst’s idea of community art. Dewhurst (2012) sees community art as embedded in the living culture of a place and its specific context. He believes that the nature of the community art is determined by the communities in which people identify the social issues and concerns that are important to them. Thus, community art should emphasize the processes within art practices, and equalize the roles of each participant. In Dewhurst’s vision, artists are not as consequential in practice, but are active participants who possess unique attributes that apply to the art practice. Community artists are made and defined by the process of the work. They emerge through the relationships developed and interaction between each participant.

Figure 1. Analytical Question Set for Community Art Conceptualization- Adapted from the Original Visual Essay of Dewhurst (2012).

What is it about?

What social issues or ideas are meaningful to the community?
Who is “the community”?
What forms of cultural expression do people in the community use?
What role does place play?
What materials, methods, skills are unique to this community?

Who is the artist?

Who initiates the project?
Who is the audience?
How are decisions made? and by whom?
Who chooses the leaders/organizers?
Who is involved in the design/script/planning?

When is the art?

When does/did the art start?
When will/did you know it's done?
Who decides if it is art? and how?
If its not art, then what is it?
At what memoent does it become art?

Why do it?

How does the work change individuals?
communities? policies?
Who will it reach/touch/impact?
How will it impact the participants?
the audience?
What social economic, political factors contribute
to the issues/ideas in the work?

What is learned?

What is taught?

What will/did the participants learning?
What were/are some unintentional learnings?
or teaching?
Who determines what is taught and learned?
What will/did the artist learn?
Who is the teacher? Who is the learner? When?

In the field of education, community art can be utilized as an important part of the curriculum in public pedagogy (Chappell, 2010) and conversational tool to promote social justice (Dewhurst, 2010). In this context, the artworks are extensions of the communal knowledge (Chappell, 2010). In community cultural development, community art is a way of cultural expression. It is a collaborative work as well as communication media that is used to express identity, concerns, and aspirations (Goldbard, 2006). In summary, three quintessential elements involved in community art: art, learning, and social change (Chappell, 2010). By incorporating art and social change into an inquiry, community art provides a creative analytic approach and

offers a broader context in which to examine Bhattacharyya's conceptualization of community development as providing solidarity and agency building.

Before further discussion, there are a few terms I would like to clarify in order to distinguish nuances of these concepts. In my research, "community art" refers to a general idea which covers most of the information and intentions as discussed above. Under the larger umbrella of community art, "community arts" refers to the product and final art objects in the forms of murals, paintings, sculptures, musical pieces, performances and so on. To accentuate a process feature of community art, I use the term "community-based art practice" to articulate its participatory and collaborative qualities.

II.3.3. Identity Formation

Identity, a pertinent element in the concept of solidarity in Bhattacharyya's model, serves as an essential ingredient to construct the idea of community. Bhattacharyya defines community as solidarity. He conceptualizes community as a quality that is characterized based on a shared identity and a code of conduct (Bhattacharyya, 1995, p.61). In this sense, seeking commonality or shared characteristics seems fundamental to locate one's identity. However, Woodward (1997) suggests identities are forged through the marking of difference. The premise is to unpack the differences between social groups, genders, or ethnicity that prompts one to explore their self-determined identity. Approaching the idea of identity from opposing perspectives, it seems that the notion of identity simultaneously establishes two possible relations of comparison, similarity vs. difference. Jenkins (1996) sees identity as an active concept rooted in meanings. Identity is not just there, it is not a thing that people can claim to have or to be (Brubaker, 2004). Identity is always established through agreement or disagreement,

and negotiation (Jenkins, 1996). Scholars holding a non-essentialist position believe that identities are not fixed, but are fluid and dynamic concepts (Weeks, 1994). Instead of "identity", Woodward (1997) advocates to focus on the ongoing, open-ended process of "identification" and the external influences that affect the process of "identification."

Giddens (1991) sees the process of identification as an increasing interconnection between the external influences of globalization and internal processes of personal dispositions. Jenkins (1996) points out that much of the concern about identity is a reflection of the uncertainty produced by rapid change and cultural contact. Castells (2010) depicted the construction of identity through three forms of identity building: legitimizing identity, resistance identity, and project identity.

"Legitimizing identity" refers to an identity constructed through a reinforcing mechanism such as nationalism or a patriarchal mentality, which is a process of institutionalization of legitimacy and authority. "Legitimizing identity" has the tendency to rationalize the sources of structural domination. It resonates with Sennett's (1980) theory of authority and domination, and fits with various theories of nationalism (Anderson, 1983; Gellner, 1983). "Resistance identity" was generated by those who are in positions or conditions that are devalued or stigmatized by the institutionalized domination and thus tend toward building "trenches of resistance" and surviving within. "Project identity" as used here is the status where social actors, liberated from the trenches of resistance, build a new identity that redefines their position in society.

Based on Castells' (2010) observation, community identity in some occasions serves as a defensive reaction to counteract the uncontrollable globalization. Castells argued that the failure of social movements against economic exploitation, cultural

domination, and political oppression left people with no choice but to either surrender or react upon their immediate source; their locality. People use their locality to define themselves based on what they had and what they were. Community identity, in this context, is utilized to fortify one's powerlessness against a global whirlwind. As Castells (2010, p.68) noted, it was an identity of retrenchment that "build havens, but not heaven".

As one of my research questions focuses on how a community constructs its collective identity through community art practice, Castells' construction of identity provides an analytic framework with which to examine identity building. Through the analysis of community arts and interviews of participants, I will conceptualize the identification process within the community-based art practice, in the spirit of understanding how people perceive the world and their reactions to certain kinds of impacts and changes. The idea is to explore the path toward conceptualizing "project identity" and to identify what circumstances or mechanisms facilitate the self-determined identity.

II.3. Research Local Context

The rationale for choosing Taiwan as my research destination is not only based on the language and network privilege that I benefit from, but also the rampant wave of community art creation in Taiwan that was precipitated by government funding beginning in 2008³ (Ye, 2008). Some cases are well known and have been disseminated through social mass media. Several community art sites have garnered public attention and become options for alternative domestic tourism. Although the original intention of artmaking may not have been aimed at generating economic

³ The Taiwan Ministry of Culture office announced 15 elected projects within 69 applications in a public hearing on December 12, 2008. "Arts intervene spaces" policy initiated in 2008, and ended in 2013. The first generation of government funding community art was completed in 2010.

growth, the economic effects of these tourism developments have been pervasive in some cases (Tsai, 2012). The publicity and popularity of community art sites in Taiwan granted me ready access to case study these sites, and provided the opportunity to observe visitor reaction to community arts. In the following section, I review, discuss, and summarize the community development policy and art intervention movements in Taiwan to provide a context for my study. This is particularly pertinent to contextualizing the cultural-geo-political dynamics of the research location and understanding the factors underlying my sampling decision.

II.3.1. Community Development Policy in Taiwan

The notion of community development was first introduced to Taiwan in a government policy report in 1965 (Lee, 2011). The recognition of community development was tied to infrastructure development and sanitary improvement in the early stage of policy implementation. Based on Lee's observation, the community development work in Taiwan from 1965 to 1991 was guided by government policy with a focus on post-war reconstruction and less emphasis on community consensus formation and empowerment. In 1994, the Council for Cultural Affairs⁴ (CCA) launched the "Comprehensive Community Development⁵" policy. To distinguish the new program from the former community development policy, CCA emphasized community participation in public affairs, community consensus formation and community autonomy (Chen, 2000). Under the umbrella of comprehensive community development policy, public sectors have implemented various programs to motivate community participation and seek collaboration for social change. One of the pioneer programs focused on community participation through collaboration with

⁴ The council was upgraded to ministerial level in 2012 under the name Ministry of Culture.

⁵ The original Chinese term by verbatim translation is more close to Community Comprehensive Building (社區總體營造). The phrase was adopted from Japanese words 'まちづくり', referring to village or town revitalization through community engagement.

spatial professionals was initiated by the Urban Development Bureau of Taipei City in 1999. Professionals in environmental design such as architects, urban planners or landscape designers with proper course training were considered community development practitioners⁶. Titled as the Community Development Practitioners System, the program was funded and promoted by the central government. Taichung City started the program in 2002 and launched certificate courses.

At the state level, policy has played an influential role in promoting community development; the implementation results relied on local government administration and community capacity. Until 2003, the policy implementation still largely relied on professionals' community outreach and was criticized for its top-down approach. Two significant factors shifted the course of policy implementation and set a milestone in community participation. One factor was the devastating 1999 earthquake 921 with 7.3 Richter magnitude that hit central Taiwan. The enormous post-earthquake reconstruction demanded a national scale support system and local government administration efficiency in resources coordination. The decade long reconstruction movement led to a grassroots approach in rebuilding the communities and instituted numerous community-focused programs for local economic revitalization (Hung, 2011). The other factor was the political power shift from conservative party domination to a progressive party majority in the major election results from 2000 to 2004. In 2004, the central government announced community-initiated proposal requests under the preceding community development program framework. The overarching goal was to emphasize grassroots approaches and promote local empowerment. To accommodate the increasing community work, the City of Taichung established a support system to serve as the community consulting center

⁶ The original Chinese term by verbatim translation is more close to Community Planner (社區規劃師).

assisting individual communities throughout the process from proposal programming to project implementation. Built upon the earthquake-aftermath reconstruction experience and political power shift, the state level policy has emphasized grassroots approaches and weigh in to a variety of CD programs and grants. These factors prompted the City of Taichung to adopt a flexible, grassroots approach, and self-adapting model to tackle the new challenge of community work. By recruiting community members from a diverse background through a year-long training process, the concept of community development practitioners is no longer limited to architects, urban planners and landscape designers, but extends to a broader spectrum including educators, artists, social activists, teachers and volunteers. In 2006, the Taichung community consulting centers introduced community-based art practice (CAP) in the program and utilized it as a vehicle to address social issues and motivate community participation. Throughout these years of testing, the result of grassroots approach demonstrated a significant nationwide impact in the field of community development, and propelled a movement of de-bureaucracy and advocacy for community-based public administration management (Hung, 2011).

II.3.2. Art Intervention in Taiwan

Tseng (2012) has indicated that the lift of the martial law in 1987 was a critical factor in liberating art from political intention into a social connection in Taiwan. In a compilation of public art critique and analysis dating from late 1980's to early 2000's, Hsiao (2003) provided a glimpse of southern Taiwan public art development. Based on his observation, Hsiao considered the transition of public art agenda from political propaganda to confrontation and rebellion against authoritarianism as a threshold toward a new era of public art movement. The active civic movements of the late 1980's covered a wide spectrum of social issues and provided fuel for art activists.

Art intervention, a phrase that featured the art movement through 1990's to 2010's, has characterized democracy development in Taiwan through various art forms in the public arena. Numerous social events or civic engagement more or less were fused with some forms of art intervention. Founded by the educator and artist Lu Ming-Shih, the Green Fingers Movement aimed to advocate environmental justice by planting two thousands trees along the Tropic of Cancer in Taiwan. Starting in a remote village in Chiayi County, known as "a man who plants the tree", Lu Ming-Shih has extended the project of community revitalization and motivated dozen of residents to join his action.

Another well-known case is the Hai-An Road Art District in the city of Tainan of southern Taiwan. The birth of the Hai-An Road Art District was not a result of a foreseen urban regeneration program but rather an intentional remedy after an arguably disastrous failure of urban planning by the city government (Chen, 2005; Chen 2006). Tainan, recognized as a rich cultural heritage city in Taiwan, is known for its traditional architecture heritage and historical sites. Experiencing rapid economic growth through the 1980's to 90's, the Tainan City government initiated an urban regeneration program and aimed to resolve overcrowded issues in one of its busiest commercial streets; Hai-An road in 1993. The goal was to widen Hai-An road from 10 meters to 40 meters, and move the original businesses fronting the street to a proposed underground shopping center. The misjudgment of a geographic stratum (Chen, 2005) halted the underground commercial street development due to the unstable soil. The project was terminated and left the "incomplete" Hai-An road at the center of historic business district for years (Chen, 2005). Nearly 200 units of half-demolished buildings were standing along the Hai-An road and deteriorated the urban spatial quality for decades. Suffering from revenues plunge and declined living

condition in the neighborhood, scholars, artists and local residents sought possible solutions to resume the quality life of Hai-An road. In 2003, the gallery curator Tu Chao-Hsien introduced the idea of public art installation aiming at the improvement of the cityscape. With the Tainan City government's support and funding from the Council for Cultural Affairs, Tu invited artists, architects and citizens to participate in this experimental art renovation event. Under the consensus of owners of the half-demolished buildings, artists and architecture professionals revamped the façade of the buildings and turn it into artworks. Today, numerous artworks such as murals and art installations along the road characterize Hai-An road as an avant-garde art street and earned Hai-An road the title of Public Art Museum (Wang, 2014).

In the rural area, the Bantou village and Togo community were well-known for their innovative artworks in the agriculture-based settings. The uniqueness of the vernacular landscape, aesthetic quality of the artworks, and the authenticity of local context in artmaking motifs account for its popularity and exemplify the characteristics of this type of community arts. Disseminated through social media and word of mouth, community arts has become a trend in Taiwan and created a particular type of arts-based tour. Figure 1 illustrates a couple of artworks in the Bantou village and Togo community.

Figure 2. Community Arts as Cultural Tourism in Taiwan



Left: The iconic image of community artwork in Bantou went viral through its dissemination on social media.

Right: *Mirror House*, an art installation work in Togo community. Artists renovated one of the abandoned houses into an interactive art space and attracted visitors to the space with its mirror display.

This economic boosting effect activated a series of projects designed to cultivate the community arts through a variety of responses from policy making to private sector investment. Some local residents perceived such community arts as “cultural capital” and leveraged it as site-specific attraction to promote cultural tourism. In the Bantou village, a private-owned local art-based “theme park” became so popular and dominated the area so much that visitors may get confused and wonder: Where is the community? This fad-like phenomena surrounding community arts has raised questions and critiques. Community activist Su (2016) pointed out the trendy art-based cultural tourism in Bantou had blurred the core value of art intervention initiative; local artists began to create artworks for tourists instead of advocacy for local community development progress. Researcher Luo (2004) raised the question: Why does community need art intervention? In the article *Art Intervenes Community*⁷, Luo advocated a scrutiny of the role of artists in the act of art intervention in the context of community development. If art serves as the

⁷ Original article published in Chinese.

vehicle to promote democracy and civic engagement, it becomes critical to examine whether the act of art intervention is an effective catalyst to promote community engagement. Luo (2004) raised the concerns that art intervention movement may become a form of intervention violence if artists become the dominant actors in a community and hold the potential for imposing an arbitrary art agenda on community without a mutual understanding. In the case of Bantou, the tension between the residents and local artists increased when overcrowding visitors and vehicles had gradually changed the course of community daily life⁸.

In response to Luo's argument, Tseng (2012) proposed a transition of artist role from "artist-initiated" to "artist-facilitated" mode based on his analysis of Togo community case. Tseng (2012) defined two common approaches that artists applied when they employed art intervention practice in Togo community. In the artist-initiated mode, an art intervention project or activity was initiated by artists' intention and creativity. The artist-facilitated approach, on the other hand, was based on the community's agenda and invitation; in this scenario, artists served as consultants or facilitators to implement an art project. Based on Tseng's (2012) observation, the transition of these two approaches featured an active dynamic and reciprocal interaction between local residents and artists/students⁹ from 2002 to 2012. The clash and conflict generated at the artist-initiated mode of the early stage of the art intervention mainly resulted from misled expectations and context gaps between locals and artists. Residents expected artists to develop a deeper engagement in the community and to explore the local value, while artists sought art inspiration as priority and therefore focused more on the artmaking process. Despite

⁸ Extracted from transcript volume III, p.116-117

⁹ The first generation of community artists in Togo were originally art major graduate students in Tainan National University of the Arts.

the discord that took place sporadically during the process, the dialogue and argument sparked throughout the conversation and interactions had provided a substantial mutual understanding for the later art intervention projects. In the following art intervention projects, community's voices and opinions gradually weighed in to the artmaking process. The outcome of subsequent art intervention projects was phenomenal and earned Togo community the reputation of art village. In 2012, the Togo community launched its debut art event through collective endeavors. Known as the "TOGO Rural Village Art Museum", this event has become an annual event in the Togo community ever since then and provides an alternative art museum experience in Taiwan.

The fusion of art intervention and community context in the case of Togo community not only alters the way the Taiwanese perceive public art and art experiences, but also creates a ripple effect in other platforms, such as community development programs in Taichung¹⁰. In 2006, Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City introduced a community-based art practice in its community development program and set a milestone for motivating community engagement in public issues. The implementation strategy coordinated by the Urban Development Bureau and community consulting centers was considered as a successful model and promoted by the central government. In 2009, the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City got the national award from the central government of Taiwan for its stellar performance in the community development with focus on environment improvement. The quality and quantity of community participation in community development programs in Taichung attained the highest rank throughout the nation.

¹⁰ Located in west coast of central Taiwan, Taichung is the third largest city in Taiwan with a population of approximately 2.8 million.

By 2017, there were 757 community-initiated projects¹¹ implemented with art site construction based on community-based art practices (CAP). Throughout the fifteen years of program implementation, the scale and impact of the Taichung policy marked a significant page in Taiwan community development.

II.3.3. Community-based Art Practice in Taichung City

The controversial dispute of art-based cultural tourism in Bantou village and the innovative art intervention in Togo community provided good examples in the discussion of art practice in relation to community development. Learning from these two pioneer community arts initiatives, the community-based art practice (CAP) launched by Taichung City in 2006 emphasized a more community-driven and self-determined agenda. The transition from professional-led to community-initiated was momentous when the community consulting centers adopted the grassroots approach by leveraging art practice as an incentive tool for encouragement of the civic engagement. Mr. Hung¹², the key man who worked in the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City and provided oversight for the program, has witnessed the transition process from top-down approach to bottom-up initiative. Based on Hung's (2011) observation, the program has gradually shifted its original focus from urban renovation to community capacity building. Hung (2011) perceived the establishment of community consulting centers as a critical support system that assisted communities implementing a variety of CAP projects and served as liaison to channel community's feedbacks to decision maker: the Taichung City government. The collaborative momentum generated from the community-based art practices has

¹¹ Taichung City launched the community development program in 2002. In 2004, Urban Development Bureau adopted grassroots approaches and promoted a community-initiated projects strategy.

¹² Hung Hong-he, the staff in Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City, has assisted the program implementation since 2001. He had followed the progress of community development in Taichung City for decades and worked closely with the Co-ordinate centers. His master thesis focused on community development processes in Taichung under the impact of globalization.

gradually pushed forward the change of traditional governance and policy making process. One of the changes is the emphasis of de-bureaucracy. The idea is to deconstruct the stratification in governance and promote a more responsive government agent to tackle ever-changing social issues under the impact of globalization. Hung (2011) attributed the accumulated CAP experiences as influential factors to these changes. The adapting and self-learning mechanism generated in the CAP process provided opportunities for community capacity building and resilience development.

The program consisted of three phases; beginner courses, an advanced workshop and a practicum project. In phase one, participants attended classroom courses to get basic knowledge of community development and began learning proposal writing within asset-based community development principles. After the completion of a 50 hour course, participants were encouraged to propose a community-based public space renovation project or community-engaged activity. Once community proposals received approval from the review committee, participants began to organize advanced seminars or community participatory workshop for the preparation of on-site construction. In the second phase, residents and invited artists or professionals work closely to develop a community vision and have detailed discussions for the art-making process. In the final phase, participants prepared the materials and conducted on-site construction work based on the proposed construction documents and budget. Artists and professionals were invited to assist the community in implementing on-site construction and reassuring the safety and compliance of the art-making process. Figure 2 provides a glimpse of the Taichung City CAP project procedure and activities involved in the process.

Figure 3. The CAP Project: Phase II Advanced Workshops & Phase III On-site Art Making



Left: Participants had discussion for the CAP proposal writing.

Middle: Participants utilized the collage method to illustrate their design idea.

Right: Participants gathered at the site and conducted a mural painting.

Photos courtesy of the Coordinator Center of Taichung Community Development Program

During the process, the CAP participants gathered for discussion in relation to the art project. In these conversations, other than detailed discussions of budget, materials preparation and future maintenance work, pertinent community issues such as quality of life, community vision, neighborhood accessibility, local history, and generation gaps emerged when participants raised questions like: what art form can well represent the community (local history), where to put the artwork (accessibility), who will participate (generation gaps), why are we doing this (quality of life). The discussion from multiple perspectives in the process prompted participants to engage in a deeper conversation in relation to community future and visioning.

II.3.4. Li (village) as Community Concept in Taiwan

In Taiwan, the concept of community is shaped and influenced by the administration system in local governance. The basic administration unit in local governance is defined as “village” in rural area or “Li” in township or urban area (Liu, 2002). As noted previously in this chapter, the community development work in Taiwan of in the early 1960s was guided by government policy. The grants and

resources for community development work were channeled into communities through these basic administration units. In the local governance system, the chairs of these administration units were generated through direct voting by village or Li residents. As a result, the village chiefs or Li-office chairs were considered the legitimate figures and had the power to decide how to distribute these grants and resources. Community organizations associated with opponent political parties to the Li-offices or village offices were often limited to get government grants or funding (Lee, 2011; Tsai et al, 2007). In 1991, the pass of Civil Associations Act provided the community-based organizations a legitimate position to receive grants and funding from central government. Community activists affiliated with political minority see it as an opportunity to garner political capital and challenge the incumbent Li-office chairs or village chiefs¹³. Although it is not always the case, the tension between the incumbent Li-office chairs and community development association chairs are often sources of local political conflicts and community division (Pai, 2013; Tsai et al, 2007). On the other hand, the challenge from the community development association also revitalized local progress and competition, and prompted a change to the status quo¹⁴.

As local community development associations share the same geo-political boundaries with Li-office administrative units, the phrases "Li" and "community" are often synonym when it comes to community development program implementation or grant application. Nevertheless, the nuance between these two phrases is noticeable when the CAP and CEA participants often refer themselves as "community" members rather than "Li" residents in terms of degree of involvement in community activities. Participants perceive the concept of community as combination of

¹³ Retrieved from transcript volume III, P.182

¹⁴ Retrieved from transcript volume I, P.124-126

geographic affiliation and social interaction. The notion of community not only refers to the geographical connection to where you are from but also signifies the relation to neighborhood and a social bonding¹⁵. In general, the idea of “Li” or village focuses more on the geographic feature and sets up a boundary for neighborhood or administration district; while the notion of community extends to the social relation that involves in the neighborhood throughout this study.

¹⁵ Retrieved from transcript volume I, P.111

III. METHODOLOGY

III.1. Philosophy

The methodological framework with its underpinning philosophy influences how the research is conducted and generated. Depending on the philosophical beliefs and adopted methodology, researchers take quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods approaches to generate and analyze the data. Most quantitative research, with ontological anchoring in positivism, aims to discover causal relationships and emphasizes the verification of theories. Qualitative approaches, on the other hand, emphasize the understanding of concepts and relationships in raw data and adopting interpretative aspects. Different from logical positivism methods, interpretivism approaches seek a theoretical explanatory scheme that accentuates meaning-focused and person-centered concerns (Strauss & Corbin, 2008; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). Understanding the meaning or nature of human experiences rather than offering causal explanation in social phenomena becomes the fundamental focus of qualitative research. Various ontological and epistemological philosophies shed light on understanding cultural phenomena and social interactions, and provide analytical principles or methodological lenses for qualitative inquiry. Based on the particular character of my study, my research builds upon interpretivism, hermeneutics, and constructionism. These elements are described below, along with the relationships between them.

III.1.1. Interpretivism

Interpretivism is a theoretical paradigm that informs several research methodologies, such as interpretive ethnography, grounded theory, and phenomenological research. Interpretivism is an ideological movement to reject empiricism and a positivist world view. It also provides ontological foundation for other methodological philosophies. Hermeneutics, phenomenology, symbolic

interactionism, and constructionism are theoretical perspectives that fall under the broad umbrella of interpretivism. Interpretivism views individuals as social actors in life and sees the meanings attached to individual actions as fundamental elements to understand human societies (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). Its aim is to provide “culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world” (Crotty, 1998). Therefore, to understand a particular social action, the researcher must grasp the meanings that constitute that action.

To address the meaning in an action, or to say one understands what a particular action means, requires one to explain in what particular way he or she understands what the actors are doing. In other words, to justify one’s interpretation, one needs to articulate his or her interpretivism philosophies in order to provide plausible explanation for a particular social action. This requisition leads to the benefit of different perspectives in terms of interpretive understanding (Schwandt, 2000). Traditional interpretivism connotes that it is possible to understand the subjective meaning of an action as long as the researcher is psychologically and culturally immersed in the setting. In other words, the meaning a researcher reproduces or reconstructs is considered the original meaning of the action. In this traditional interpretive perspective, it is believed that interpreters can remain unaffected and are capable of being external to the interpretive process if a proper method is employed effectively. Traditional interpretivism theorists emphasize the value and contribution of human subjectivity to knowledge without sacrificing the objectivity of knowledge. However, the opponents of traditional interpretivism argued that it is unrealistic to filter out the cultural or social backgrounds and associated prejudgments that shape our ways of understanding since understanding is not “an isolated activity of human beings but a basic structure of our experience of

life" (Gadamer, 1970). Advocated by the German philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer (1900-2002), this perspective constructs a radical turn in the interpretivism realm and was distinguished as philosophical hermeneutics (Schwandt, 2000). Gallagher (1992) sees such socio-historical inherited tradition as "a living force that enters into all understanding", and therefore, "conditioning our interpretations". This assertion later on provides pertinent foundation for constructionism.

III.1.2. Hermeneutics

Historically, hermeneutics was concerned with the interpretation of Biblical texts. In ancient and medieval time, hermeneutics focused on explaining the bible text, or known as exegesis, and recovering the authentic versions of scriptures due to hand coping errors prior to the printing press technique invented (Audi, 1999). It provides guidelines for scholars when they engage in the task of interpreting Scripture or biblical text. Around the turn of 19th century, the German Protestant theologian, Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) extended hermeneutics beyond the realm of biblical exegesis. For Schleiermacher, reading a text is much like listening to someone speak. In order to understand the speaker's thoughts, listeners have to understand and share the language that a speaker employs. By understanding the shared context of words, phrases and grammatical rules, a speaker-listener interchange dynamic is formed and allows listeners to recognize what the speaker is intending to convey. Schleiermacher extends this mode of understanding to the interpretation of texts. He strove to develop a general hermeneutics that would illuminate the human understanding and not just offer principles or rules for interpreting particular texts. Schleiermacher is considered as the founder of modern hermeneutics (Crotty, 1998).

Later on through the 20th century, philosophers Dilthey (1833-1911) and Gadamer (1900-2002) extended the hermeneutics to a philosophical level of understanding. The interest has turned to issues of how to interpret any text by taking into consideration the intentions, histories of its author, and the relationship between author and readers or interpreters. The focus on textual understanding by involving a relationship between the linguistic and historic context of the reader or interpreter and the work became the core effort in modern hermeneutics. For Dilthey, the author's historical and social context is the prime source of understanding. Dilthey sees the worldview that guides our actions is not grounded in intellect but in life. The life Dilthey referred to here is the historical character of life. His emphasis on the historical feature of life leads him to distinguish social phenomena from natural reality and calls for different methods to understand human's lived experiences (Crotty, 1998). Furthermore, Dilthey perceived that the human lived experience is incarnated in a variety of forms of human expression through cultural institutions and structures such as language, behavior, literature, art and religion. Therefore, the text humans write, the art they create and actions they perform are all expression of meaning. This assertion extends the hermeneutic study subjects to art performance, drama, or even three-dimensional materials, such as sculptures or built spaces. It is a widely accepted view that human meaning is not expressed directly, but rather embedded into or projected onto artifacts by their creators (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). In this mode of hermeneutical understanding of expressions of life, the interpreter moves from the text or artifacts to the historical and social circumstances of the author or creators, then to reconstruct the world in which the text or artifacts came to be and situate within, and back again to another cycle of analyzing. This cycle of text or artifacts analysis is characterized as the

hermeneutic circle and provides a methodological foundation for the human science (Grondin, 1994). Although social phenomena are seen to stem from the subjectivity of human consciousness, Dilthey did not abandon the idea of objective knowledge. Dilthey believes that objectivity and validity can be increasingly achieved as we learn more about the author or creator and their world (Crotty, 1998).

Gadamer (1900-2002), on the other hand, rejects the idea of utilizing hermeneutics as an approach or technique of understanding. He advocates the relevance and value of the interpreter's task in the process of understanding. The focus shifts from methodological to philosophical hermeneutics that emphasizes what kind of "understanding" the interpreter produces (Schwandt, 2000). For Gadamer, understanding is interpretation. As mentioned earlier, Gadamer characterized understanding as a basic structure of human's experience of life; and therefore, the "primordial givenness of our world orientation" should not be reduced to simple factors (Gadamer, 1970). Rather than distancing ourselves from socio-historically inherited traditions or knowledges and its associated prejudgments, Gadamer advocates that these factors should be accounted for in the act of interpreting. Thus, reaching an understanding is not a matter of setting aside, managing or escaping one's standpoints or prejudgment in order to get a "clear" understanding. On the contrary, it requires the engagement of one's biases. From the perspective of philosophical hermeneutics, the meaning of human action is not determinable or decidable by the interpreter but produced through the researcher's engagement in a participative, conversational and dialogic process. By embracing this perspective, philosophical hermeneutics theorists oppose an objective meaning and advocate the premise that there is never a fully correct and final interpretation. This point of view is later adopted by some constructivists and developed into another thread of

relativist ontology adding to the philosophical tapestry of social research (Schwandt, 2000).

III.1.3. Constructivism and Social Constructionism

All knowledge is constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world. Under the constructivist perspective, meaning is not discovered, but constructed, developed, and transmitted within a social context. Meaning is not inherent in the object but emerges when consciousness engages with an object. Consciousness and objects are fundamental in the generation of meaning. From the constructivism viewpoint, humans do not find or discover knowledge but construct or make it. The world and objects pre-existed before human beings are thus meaningless. Nonetheless, the objects may be meaningless in themselves, but have a vital role in the generation of meaning. The world and its objects provide the materials for human consciousness to engage. Therefore, meaning cannot be described simply as objective or as subjective; objectivity and subjectivity need to be brought together and become understood as inextricable tied entity (Schwandt, 2000). For constructivists, it is widely accepted that diverse understandings of the same phenomenon can be formed. In other words, it is possible to make sense of the same reality in quite different ways. In this respect, there is no true or valid interpretation; only "useful" interpretations. They can be "liberating" forms of interpretation that contrast to the oppressive ones, or "fulfilling" and "rewarding" interpretation that propels or inspires human imagination instead of stunting human growth (Crotty, 1998). To acquire the useful interpretations, constructivists urge researchers to approach objects with a radical openness and embrace multiplicity for new or richer meaning in study subjects.

While the terms *constructivism* and *constructionism* are used alternatively, Crotty (1998) argued there was difference between these two. *Constructivism*, as Crotty suggested, is focused exclusively on “the meaning-making activity of the individual mind”, while *constructionism* focus includes “the collective generation and transmission of meaning”. Critics on constructivism argued that constructivism-interpretists tend to orient themselves towards an uncritical exploration of meaning-making. There is need to immerse oneself to a more critical stance by exploring critical theories or other feminist and postmodernist research. In this respect, the “social” of *social constructionism* emphasizes the mode of meaning generation. It meant to bring attention to the social dimension of meaning. As Rouse (1996) pointed out, social constructionism has acknowledged that knowledge is neither disinterested nor apolitical. It is heavily embedded in some sense of ideological and political stances, and permeated with values. In this sense, developing a critical spirit within our inherited understanding is a fundamental and imperative task as a researcher proceeds through his or her study. Crotty (1998) did caution us as researchers that we tend to take “the sense we make of things” to be “the way things are” (p.59). The inherited and prevailing understandings may come to serve hegemonic interests, and in some cases support particular power structures or harbor oppression (p.60). Such suspicion of social institutionalization in terms of cultural inheritance and social norm was enormously discussed in critical theories.

III.2. Research Intents

Robert Stake (2010), in this treatise on *Qualitative Research*, has urged researchers to see beyond the facts and delve into the meaning that emerges through the interpreting process. He implores that “research is not a machine to grind out facts” (p.36, 2010). Qualitative research, as mostly defined as interpretive

research, emphasizes the interpreting process and seeks for explanations to make sense of the social phenomena we perceive and conceive. There are multiple relationships involved in the process; the interpretation by researchers, the interpretation by the people we study, and the interpretation by the readers or audience. For philosophical hermeneutics interpretists, it is acknowledged that individual's cultural background, inheritance, associated prejudices and judgments filtered into the interpreting process that shapes our ways of understanding the constructed reality; therefore, it is essential to articulate in what way interpreters or researchers understand the study subjects. From a constructivism viewpoint, there is no true or valid interpretation; there are simply useful interpretations. By adopting the epistemology view in both philosophical hermeneutics and constructivism, the interpretation process is not so much focus on setting aside or managing researcher's and participants' standpoints but more about engaging researcher intention and participants' prejudgments and inherited tradition that may play influential role in the act of interpreting. Nevertheless, it should not be used as justification of one's prejudices by engaging one's bias. On the contrary, by acknowledging the tendency of prejudices conditioning our way of understanding and interpretation, it propels us to "examine our historically inherited and unreflectively held prejudices and alter those that disable our efforts to understand others, and ourselves" (Garrison, 1996). That is why social constructionism advocates urge us to pay attention to means or institutions that precede us to make sense of the world. These means or institutions are the sources of interpretative strategies through which we construct meaning. These institutions, either identified as "a system of significant symbols" (Geertz, 1973), or "a publicly available system of intelligibility"

(Fish, 1990), or a cultural instrument that guides human behaviors, are the mechanisms we utilize to constitute a meaningful reality (Crotty, 1998).

For my research intents, I aim to conceptualize the notion of community identification and to understand what mechanism is involved in the collective identity formation process and how it is created in the first place. In the field of community development, Bhattacharyya (1995, 2004) conceptualizes solidarity as a collective identity and views it as a construct in the concept of community. This definition propels us to scrutinize the concept of community and seek for factors that contribute to the community identity. To carry out my research goal, I continued my study in community arts by analyzing the process of community collective action in art practice and place making. By adopting the modern hermeneutic epistemology in understanding human lived experience, I see the artworks and built spaces as non-verbal human expression artifacts and meaningful manifestos. Through analyzing participants' motivation, intention and vision of these collective actions, I seek an explanation that accounts for community solidarity building and collective identity formation. Furthermore, I intend to explore the relations between collective identity and social change by extending the notion of community identification as a vehicle toward community efficacy development and collaboration. Through understanding the meso-level of community identity formation, it provides a scheme to conceptualize the concept of social identity and to examine what mechanisms or means can help individuals generate connection or attachment to a larger social entity.

Adopting constructionism's viewpoint, I see the concept of community as a constructed reality that is developed and fostered through a collective endeavor of participation, interaction, engagement, negotiation or even debate, all while moving

towards collaboration and vision. In short, we may define this process as identification. The process involves micro-level meaning making through individual interpretation and meso-level meaning making and sharing through collective action. I see an interpretive epistemology characterized with constructionism and philosophical hermeneutics as a better fit to my research philosophy. To carry out my study, I appealed to a research praxis that allows flexibility, and creativity in terms of data generation and analysis strategies and consolidating reflexivity in theoretical integration.

III.3. Praxis

III.3.1. Introduction

Leavy (2014) defines praxis as a way of doing research that compasses the steps of approaches, methods, and theories that researchers build upon to execute the research process and often make adjustment along the way. Schwandt (1997) posits the “praxis” as a more appropriate term to conceptualize the idea of conducting research since praxis is not defined in opposition to theory. Schwandt argued that the traditional perception in scientific research leads to a research paradigm by taking theory as knowledge and thought versus practice as action and doing. Practice, in this context, is typically associated with the scientific method. In this respect, researchers arguably have engaged in scientific-oriented practice aiming to produce theoretical or scientific knowledge that is characterized as a tangible result or value-free knowledge production. Praxis’ end goal, on the other hand, is not the knowledge obtained through analytical reasoning or the production of value-free objects, but rather the knowledge produced through action. In this sense, knowledge produced through praxis is concerned with local and the particular, and tied to moral good and social values (Tierney & Sallee, 2008).

Philosopher Marx extended the concept of praxis by emphasizing the end goal of praxis is to transform the theory into concrete action that could challenge the status quo. Brazilian educator and theorist Paulo Freire further advanced the theory of praxis and has become the most influential figure in the development of praxis (Glass, 2001). Freire argued that mere activism was insufficient in challenging existing power structures and eliminating inequalities. To challenge power hierarchies and oppression in society, one must engage in "praxis" that integrates reflection and action in order to transform the society (Freire, 2000). Adopting Freire's notion of praxis, critical theories concerned with the conditions that disempower marginalized or disadvantaged populations and advocate human emancipation from all forms of oppression. For critical theorists, the notion of praxis involves a commitment to challenging the status quo and helping marginalized communities understand their oppression.

In terms of research and method, praxis entails not only the action component but also refers to a particular philosophy used to guide and conduct research. A praxis-oriented researcher engages with the community or group under study in the research process. It is a prolonged process that involves establishing mutually beneficial relationships between the researcher and members of the community of study. By engaging in a collaborative or participatory research, researchers committed to praxis do not seek for quick data collecting and analyzing, but aim to develop a mutual relationship with participants and help research subjects with critical tools to transform their lives and community (Tierney & Sallee, 2008). For my research praxis, I adopt Leavy's definition and Freire's intention to build up my research approach and method that elicits reflection, creativity, and a mutual beneficial relationship between researcher and participants. This research praxis

entails an adaptive research method that provides flexibility in data generation and analysis, non-monological reasoning, and reflexivity in multidisciplinary theoretical integration.

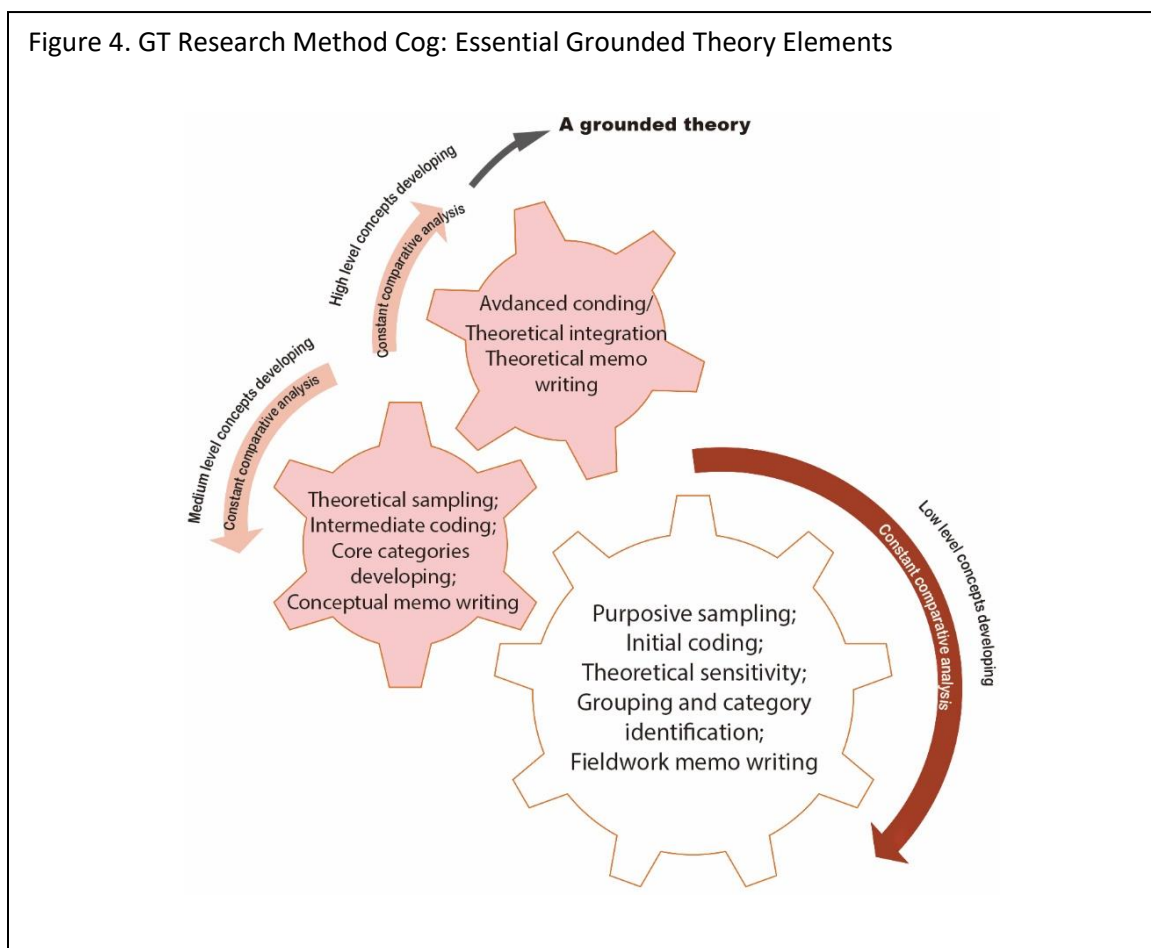
In line with Grounded Theory (GT) methods, I adopted the typical elements of GT (Strass & Corbin, 1998; 2008; 2015; Charmaz, 2006; Birks & Mills, 2011) and utilized the concept of spatial practice¹⁶ as an analytical tool for spatial interpretation. The major components of GT, such as abductive reasoning, constant comparison, theoretical sampling, memo writing, and concurrent data generation and analysis, characterize GT methods as a non-linear and creative research approach. Charmaz (2006) considers abductive logic a valuable and creative alternative reasoning that features GT. Reichertz (2007) values this analytic strategy as a mental leap that “brings together things which one had never associated with one another: a cognitive logic of discovery”. The concurrent data generation and analysis, and theoretical sampling approaches allow researchers to add more relevant and focused information without strict adherence to initial research protocol. Meanwhile, constant comparison and memo writing helps researchers to sharpen their sensitivity and criticality. This set of methods maintains flexibility and reflexivity without compromising the rigorous research standards. The following section explores the key components of the GT method and serves as a guideline to elaborate my research procedure.

III.3.2. Key Elements in Grounded Theory Methods

Figure 3 delineates a typical grounded theory (GT) method to conceptualize the non-linear research approach and emphasizes the concurrent data generation and analysis process in GT. The bottom and larger cog represents the first stage of the

¹⁶ See Chapter II, section 2.4

research process, which features a low-level analysis strategy. The middle cog represents the second stage of research and aims to lift low level concepts into medium level ones. In this stage, the core category would be identified and aims to theoretical conceptualization. The last cog represents the final stage of research and focuses on theoretical integration. In each stages, data generation and coding, concepts and categories development, and memo writing may be carried out throughout the three stages with different coding and analysis strategy. The following paragraphs only provide basic descriptions or principles of the key elements in GT. Built upon the key elements, a detailed research procedure and description is elaborated in section 4.



III.3.2.i. Coding and Concepts Development

Coding is one way of analyzing qualitative data. A code in qualitative inquiry is most often a word or short phrase that encompasses summative and salient attributes (Saldana, 2013). These codes capture the essence of data and reflect the researcher's interpretation and concepts. During the coding process, concepts are gradually developed from direct abstraction of data (low level) to less descriptive, and more interpretive levels (higher level). In GT, concepts are developed based on a researcher's understanding and interpretation of the data expressed in the words or actions of participants (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). How concepts operate in a grounded theory relates to their function in the analytical process and levels of sophistication (Birks & Mills, 2011). They can be developed with various levels of sophistication in different phases of data analysis (conceptual ordering) based on the researcher's insight and theoretical sensitivity.

III.3.2.ii. Constant Comparative Analysis

Constant comparative analysis is an analytic process of comparing different pieces of data against each other for similarities and differences. It involves abductive inference reasoning. Constant comparative analysis is the critical method in the process of concurrent data generation and analysis. It is a mental activity that highly involves interpretation. Constant comparative analysis continues until a category is saturated or a grounded theory is fully integrated (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). When nothing new can be added to categories as data collecting and comparative analysis proceeding, it is likely to confirm that a category is saturated.

III.3.2.iii. Category Development and Core Category

In the seminal grounded theory text *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), a category is defined as "conceptual elements of a theory".

Although this definition says little, it implies a category carrying distinguishable concepts that “stand by themselves” (Dey, 1999). Grouping can be a useful strategy to develop a category. Codes sharing some common characteristics are grouped under the same conceptual heading or label to accentuate the concept that may develop into a category. In this process, a conceptual heading or label is defined as property when it demonstrates a distinct attribute or significant feature to highlight a pertinent component in a category. A sub-category will emerge when it entails more than a property or demonstrates a unique property that stands out by itself.

A core category, known as a central category, is a well-developed and abstract concept that encapsulates most related concepts providing the supportive explanation to the construction of a theoretical concept. Further theoretical sampling and selective coding may continue to saturate the category and thus achieve a full theoretical conceptualization. This core category emerges during the analysis process and becomes the foundation of a potential grounded theory. Strauss (1987) provided a list of criteria that can help novice researchers to identify a core category.

- It must be sufficiently abstract so that it can be used as the overarching explanatory concept tying all the other categories together, and lead to the development of general theory.
- It must be logical and consistent with the data, and appear frequently in the data.
- It should grow in depth and show explanatory power.

III.3.2.iv. Theoretical Sensitivity

Theoretical sensitivity refers to the ability to recognize and extract from the data elements that have relevance for the emerging theory (Birks & Mills, 2011). Theoretical sensitivity involves the researcher’s “personal and temperamental bent”,

and “the ability to have theoretical insight into his area of research” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Corbin and Strauss (2015) perceive “sensitivity”, which is in contrast to objectivity, an ability of “being tuned into and being able to pick up on relevant issues, events, and happenings” during the analysis process.

III.3.2.v. Memo Writing

Memo writing is a form of written record that revolves around data analysis by the researcher. It requires more in-depth thinking about concepts, and takes the researcher’s sensitivity and insight into consideration (Glaser & Strauss, 1976). Memo writing can provide an immediate illustration for an idea and audit trail for further examination. Clark (2005) described these memos as “intellectual capital in the bank”. The form, length, and function of memos vary and depend on the stage of research process. For instance, fieldwork memo writing may serve as a field journal that keeps information gathered in the field, while conceptual memo writing focuses on concept development and aims to generate concepts with higher explanation power.

Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest memo writing should start at the beginning of analysis and continue throughout the research process. Numerous authors have provided various suggestions and guidelines for memo writing (Corbin & Strauss, 1998, 2008; Charmaz, 2006; Glaser, 1978), and all agree that flexibility and freedom are essential to the process (Birks & Mills, 2011). Researchers should not be constrained by the conventions of writing or documentation. Charmaz (2006) sees spontaneity and free writing as fundamental in memo writing. Although there is no format or template for memo writing, memos are meant to be analytical and conceptual rather than descriptive (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

III.3.2.vi. Theoretical Sampling

Different from sampling at the first phase of research, theoretical sampling aims to generate data that provides pertinent information to consolidate a concept. Researchers use theoretical sampling to enrich concepts and categories through constant comparative analysis. The purpose of theoretical sampling is to maximize opportunities to develop concepts or categories in richness of their properties and dimensions (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). By adding more relevant and focused information to the existing categories, a core category will gradually emerge and become saturated. Theoretical sampling may not be limited to interviewing people or observation as initial sampling proceeds. Researchers follow the leads that concepts provide rather than strictly adhering to initially interviewed people or sites. Memo writing is a useful technique to help researchers decide theoretical sampling; where and how to get rich sources of data that meet their analytical needs (Birks and Mills, 2011).

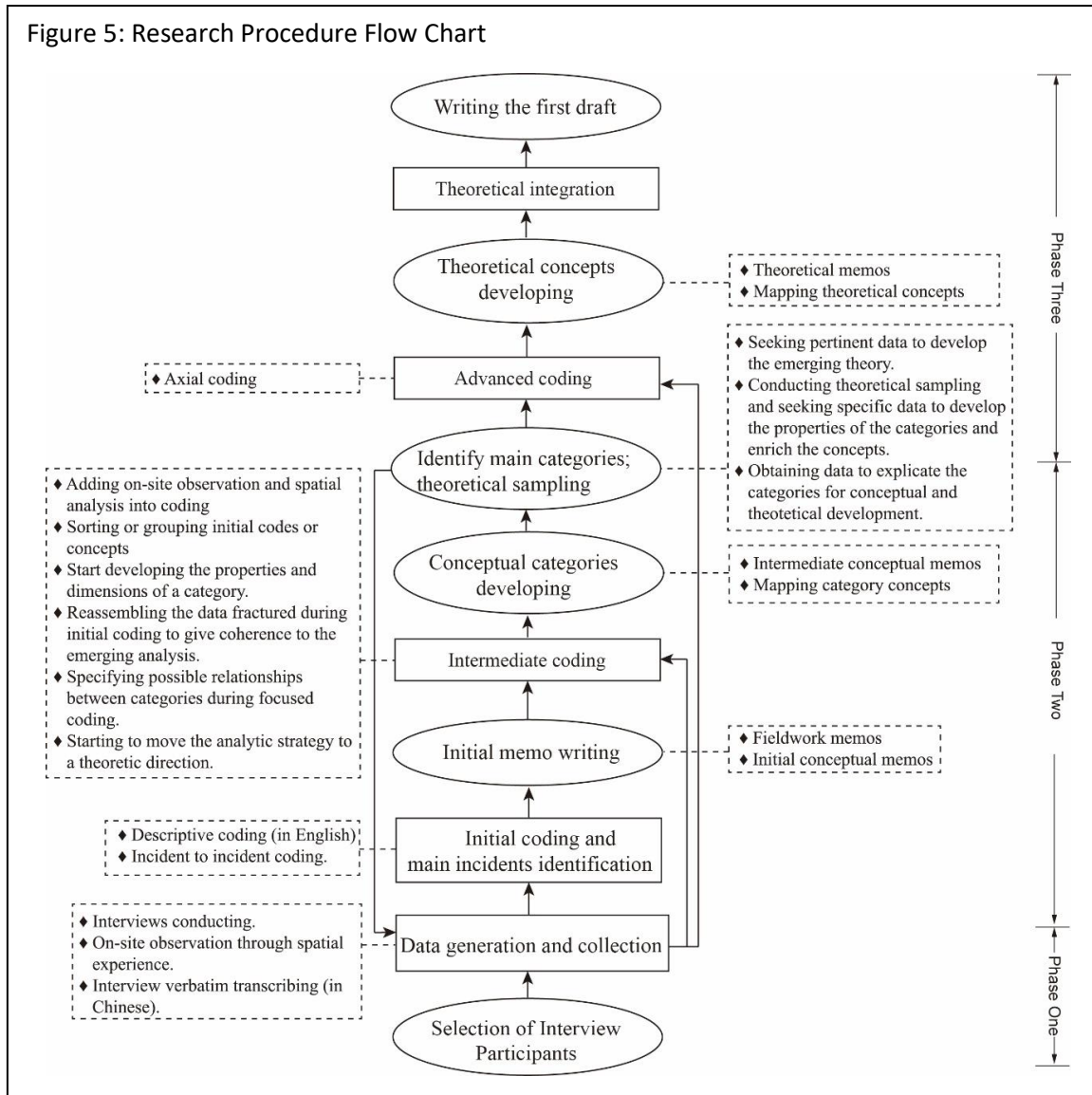
III.3.2.vii. Theoretical Integration

The final product of this stage is to integrate categories and build a theory. Theoretical integration is the most difficult phase but is also essential to grounded theory methods. Corbin (2015) suggests reviewing and sorting through memos to help with theory development. As the research proceeds, memos generally become longer and are likely to explore relationships between categories and concepts; therefore “the later memos often contain the clues to integration” (Corbin & Strauss, 2015). Glaser (2005) suggests employing theoretical coding in the final stage of coding. Theoretical codes can be drawn from existing theories to assist in theoretical integration by situating the codes in relation to a theoretical concept (Birks & Mills, 2011).

III.4 Research Design and Procedure

Adopting the typical GT methods, my research design integrates the key elements of the grounded theory methods (see section III.3) and unfolds these elements throughout my research procedure. The flow chart (Figure 5) illustrates my GT research method elements and delineates the research procedure. This procedure can be roughly divided into three phases. The first phase focuses on the selection of research participants (section III.4.1) and data generation (section III.4.2). The second phase encompasses analysis strategy (section III.4.3) and coding process (section III.4.4). The last phase accomplishes theoretical integration (III.4.5). Although the flow chart depicts a linear procedure, the methods utilized in the process may not conform to a linear fashion. For instance, researchers may proceed theoretical sampling in phase two and then go back to data generation process. In this second round of data generation, an intermediate coding strategy is deployed instead of an initial coding strategy. Similar processes are utilized in the third phase of research when the core category emerges and more information is needed to consolidate the category. The flexibility in this research procedure resonates with the core value of GT that features concurrent data generation and analysis, and constant comparative analysis.

Figure 5: Research Procedure Flow Chart



III.4.1 Selection of Interview Participants

The selection of research participants was based upon their experiences in community-based art practice (CAP) and related community engagement activities (CEA). Most of the interviewees are from Taichung City because the community development policy there has generated a large number of CAP participants. A

database retrieved from the website of Taichung City Community Planning¹⁷, reveals over seven hundred community art sites and more than two thousand participants who have participated in the community development practitioner training program by 2017¹⁸. This robust and continuing growth in the CAP makes Taichung City the first choice for a research site. In making decisions about who to include sample interviewees, conversations with key individuals¹⁹ involved in the Taichung City community-based art practice program helped to narrow the scope of potential candidates and finalize sample. Perceptions of these key individuals about potential sample candidates was based upon their assessment of prolonged devotion and deep involvement in the CAP process. In the purposive sampling, six communities were recommended for their prestigious performance in the CAP final results. Each of the community was either awarded or nominated for their outstanding performance in the Taichung City community development program²⁰. In the second phase of sampling, theoretical sampling, the selected interviewee criteria were not limited to their CAP experience but extended to their involvement in community engagement activities. As discussed earlier in the section III.3.2 vi, the main purpose of the theoretical sampling was to generate pertinent information to be used as a basis for consolidating a concept; therefore, decisions about the next sample was drawn not to conform to the previous inclusion criteria. In this theoretical sampling, interviewee selection was based on their experience in community engagement activities that

¹⁷ <http://tccv.taichung.gov.tw/tccp/>

¹⁸ See Appendix C: Summary of Taichung Community Development Implementation

¹⁹ These key persons include: a city hall officer who has been in charge of the CAP program in Taichung City for 17 years; a CEO in private sector who has played crucial role in implementation of the CAP program; a senior community facilitator who has been partnered with numerous communities and provided consulting service to communities in the CAP program.

²⁰ To understand the relations between community-based art practice (CAP) and community development program in Taichung City please see section 3.3

show relevance to community solidarity, collective leadership and community identification²¹.

III.4.2 Data Generation and Collection

Birks and Mills (2011) advocate a nuance between data generation and collection to acknowledge different methodologies required for research data. The process of data generation involves a direct engagement with data sources from the researcher's perspectives. Charmaz (2006) defines data produced by participants at the request of researchers as "elicited materials". In this sense, interview is defined as elicited materials in the data generation. Conversely, in the process of data collection, the researcher has limited influence on data sources. Reports, documentation, the extant texts, maps, photos, or pamphlets generated by means other than through researchers are considered as non-elicited materials. Corbin & Strauss (2015) sees such materials as non-technique literature that can be used as primary data to supplement interviews and field observation. In this study, most of research data were elicited materials from the interview process. Kvale (2007) provides important guidelines to generate informative and quality interview data. Creating comfortable interview environment and utilizing simple, easy and short questions are essential prerequisites for eliciting meaningful responses. The following section provides a glimpse of the interview eliciting approach and data collection scope in this study.

III.4.2.i. Interview Types

For my interview conducting, one-on-one interviews were utilized to gain in-depth personal experiences and insights from interviewee's perspective. Interviews were mostly conducted in a quiet indoor setting based on interviewee's preference.

²¹ See section IV.3 coding process and emergent concepts.

In some occasions, go-along interviews followed after the primary interview upon interviewee's suggestion or researcher's request. Go-along interviews, defined as mobile methods, entail an environment-inspired conversation when researchers and respondents are walking in the field (Castrodale et al, 2018). It is believed that the experience of environmental perception (visual sight, sound and smell) elicits broader perspectives and dimensionality to the conversation (Phillips, 2005; Edensor, 2002). Kusenback (2003) considers go-along interview approaches particularly suitable to the studies related to environmental perception, spatial practices and visual stimulation. Based on the nature of my research topic (community arts), including site visits along with interviews are preferred in my data generation.

Other than one-on-one interviews, group interviews were also options when interviewees preferred and felt more comfortable in a group setting. Different from a focus group interview, which normally follows more structural guidelines and techniques (Stewart et al, 2007), group interviews in my research were formed spontaneously and did not require a community gatekeeper to select participants.

III.4.2.ii. Interview Questions

A list of thematic questions was prepared in advance to keep interviews focused and utilized to elicit the conversations. The questions were anchored around the themes of the study research questions (section I.3). These themes include: 1) motivation or reasons why interviewees participated the CAP projects or community activities; 2) description and reflection on the process of the CAP projects or community activities; 3) community dynamics change after the completion of CAP projects or implementation of community activities. Under each theme, two to four questions were prepared as prompts to elicit a conversation. These are:

- Why did your community association participate in the CAP program (or specific community activity)? (Theme 1)
- What motivated you to participate in the art project in your community? (Theme 1)
- From your perspective, what part of the CAP process (or specific community activity) is significant to you or to your community? (Theme 2)
- Would you describe to me what part of the change made the community different? (Theme 2)
- Would you describe your major concern or community's concern during the CAP project (or specific community activity)? (Theme 2)
- How did you or other community members make the decision during the CAP project (or specific community activity)? (Theme 2)
- Do you consider the final product of the CAP project well represent your community? (Theme 3)
- Were you satisfied with the results or outcomes of the CAP project (or specific community activity)? (Theme 3)
- Would you describe to me how community dynamics change or do not change after the implementation of CAP project (or specific community activity)? (Theme 3)

III.4.2.iii. Non-elicited Data Materials

In this study, non-elicited data were collected based on their relevance to the CAP process. These materials include: website articles, announcements, evaluation or reports from governments; magazines or newsletters that were edited or generated by local communities; compilation or publication by local government or private sectors that provide record for the CAP programming. These documents and

materials were gathered to provide context for community profiles or background introduction.

III.4.3 Analysis Techniques in Coding Process

Coding is a way of analyzing qualitative data. It reflects the researcher's interpretation and involves various analysis strategies in the interpretation process²². In GT's typical data analysis, the coding process can be roughly characterized as initial coding, intermedia coding, and advanced coding (see section III.3.2, Figure 3). However, what techniques or analysis strategies deployed in the coding process rely on researcher's analytical lens and levels of sophistication. The following sections explicate a variety of analysis strategies and coding techniques utilized in my coding process.

III.4.3.i. Initial Coding

In the first phase of the coding process, transcript data from the interviews were examined line-by-line to identify relevant information pertinent to research questions. Once the information was identified, the researcher extracted the content from the transcript data and labels it with codes or phrases that reflect the essence of the content for further conceptualization. Due to the original interview being transcribed in Chinese, the initial coding inevitably involved translation, interpretation and abstraction. In order to make the codes reflect the interviewee's intention and original meaning, I kept a balance between the descriptive and abstractive conceptualizations. In this phase of the coding process, the data was disaggregated into manageable segments that captured the characteristics of the discernible content, and then translated into English in a compacted way. Four

²² See Chapter III, section 3.2

coding techniques, namely descriptive coding, holistic coding, motif coding, and *in vivo* coding, were deployed in this initial coding process.

Descriptive coding is a coding approach that entails identifying and labeling parts of data without abstracting the concepts from the data (Saldana, 2009). Here, the codes are derived directly from the verbatim transcripts. It could be a phrase or sentence that captures the essence of the contents and represents salient quality of the data. Phrases or sentences such as “feeling proud of being a member of the community” or “wanted younger generation understand why things are the way they are” are considered the codes based on descriptive coding approach.

Holistic coding entails a way of seeing data in a more holistic view. It is an attempt to grasp basic themes or notions in the data by absorbing them as a whole rather than dissecting them line by line (Dey, 1993). It involves “a process of resolving data into its constituent components, to reveal its characteristic elements and structure” (Dey, 1993), and “to form wholes that are more than the sum of the parts” (Dey, 1999). Saldana (2013) sees this coding process as requiring a more explanatorily analytic skill. The researcher identifies main incident or concept from the data, and perceives a connection or relation in the complexity of a larger context. For instance, codes like “collective memory retrieving through childhood sugar cane chasing memory sharing” or “local history retrieving through Earth God story telling” were extracted and interpreted from the conversation paragraphs that interviewees shared and described in their CAP process. The idea is to encapsulate the content in a succinct way that shows the connection to a bigger concept also keeps the specification of individual experiences.

Motif coding is a coding technique that features an art theme or design concept. In artistic work, a motif is a distinctive or reoccurring theme or idea throughout the

representational art forms, or a repetitive form, shape, figure in a design or a painting. In the motif coding process, it is my intention to identify the art theme or design ideas in various community-based art works and seek for the meaning or intention in the art forms. In my interview data and site visits, the artwork motifs include the cow figures in the mosaic murals, historical sugar cane train figures in clay slates, mural paintings that portrayed traditional streetscape with tea shops or rice store elements, and the kid figure sculpture depicted in tree climbing motion. Through examining the interview transcript and artwork analysis, the motif coding approach leads to the codes such as “reminiscence of agricultural-based society by utilizing the symbolic cow figure sculpture” or “nostalgic scenario rebuilding through portraying a traditional streetscape with traditional tea shops and rice stores elements”.

In vivo coding, referring to literal coding or verbatim coding, is a coding process that researchers clip a word, phrase, or term used by interviewees from the actual language (Strauss, 1987). The idea is to extract the terms that can well represent or indicate a particular meaning in a culture, subculture, or microculture (Saldana, 2013). Owing to the fact that the original interview transcript is in Chinese, the English translation may not well capture or reflect to the original meaning; therefore, an *in vivo* coding approach is employed to accentuate its originality. For instance, the code “jen-tung” is an exemplar of *in vivo* coding.

III.4.3.ii. Intermediate Coding

The primary goal of intermediate coding is to develop a categorically, thematically, or theoretically conceptual map from the array of initial coding or first cycle of coding. Bernard (2017) provides three major principles to help researchers to distinguish the core concepts from periphery themes. The first is to be able to

show the quality of *salience*, a trait that demonstrates how important it is. The second is to discern how *ubiquitous* a concept is, a character appearing in many different contexts. The third is the *centrality* that provides the link to other concepts. Grouping was a useful strategy to put similar concepts under a shared heading or conceptual category. For example, the notion of *community pride* emerged when the codes such as “having a sense of achievement”, “a yearning to be recognized”, “feel proud of changing a vacant space into a community garden”, “having something worth of telling”, “feel a sense of uniqueness and difference” were grouped and signified a shared conceptual category. During this process, *subcoding* may occur when a second-order salient concept emerges under a primary code (Miles & Huberman, 1994). For instance, under the heading of *community dynamics change*, the notion of *local political dynamics change* became a subcode when the data provided solid details and rich information to expand the dimension of the notion.

In the process of sorting and relabeling, the analytical strategy gradually shifted to a more inductive, abstractive and context-integrated scheme. This process aims to develop the salient conceptual notions or categories that can stand for significant phenomenon. Boeije (2010) introduces the term representative categories to emphasize the quality of representativeness and significance of a category that provides a greater explanatory power. Strauss and Corbin (1998) introduce the method of axial coding to guide researchers to develop a category. It is the act of relating “categories to subcategories along the lines of their properties and dimensions”. By mapping the categories and subcategories through axial coding, it helps to specify the properties and dimensions of a category. Properties (i.e., characteristics or attributes) and dimensions (the location of a property along a continuum or range) of a category provide the components; as in the contexts,

conditions, interactions, and consequences of a process to articulate “if, when, how, and why” something happens (Charmaz, 2006, p.62).

In this study, the intermediate coding included sorting/grouping, concept relabeling, initial axial mapping, and development of representative categories. In the first step of the intermediate coding, I grouped the initial codes under the label that shared similar ideas or features. A further specific and clear title or phrase would be added to the label (relabeling) to develop a higher conceptual notion. Concept labels such as “trustworthiness building”, “consensus formation” or “community visioning” were developed to lift initial codes to a higher-level concept (see section IV.3, Figure 13). The next step is to organize these grouped concept labels and seeks for the relations. Here, an initial axial mapping was utilized to incorporate related codes, concepts, or categories that serve as constructs to the development of representative categories (see section IV.3, Figure 14). The main goal of this process is to identify the categories (representative categories) that stand out for a significant explanation or characterize a particular phenomenon.

III.4.3.iii. Advanced Coding

In the intermediate coding, categories are developed and systematically linked with subcategories. In the advanced coding phase, the main focus is to integrate categories to form a larger theoretical scheme (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). In GT, *selective coding* is the process of integrating and refining categories. The first step in integration is to decide the central category or core category (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). A central category may evolve out of the list of existing categories. It should have the ability to “pull the other categories to form an explanatory whole” and explain what “this research is all about” (p.146). In general, the abstraction and generalization of a core category to serve a higher conceptualization is developed

through the process. *Theoretical coding*, as an alternative term for selective coding or conceptual coding, is considered as more appropriate term to finalize the last stage of coding process (Saldana, 2013). Generated through theoretical coding, a theoretical code functions like “an umbrella that covers and accounts for all other codes and categories” (Saldana, 2013) and has “the greatest explanatory relevance for the phenomenon” (Strauss & Corbin, 2008).

In this stage of analysis, an advanced axial mapping strategy was employed to build a network map that explains the relationship between these representative categories (see section V.1, Figure 16). A core category may evolve from the existing categories when that category encapsulates the most related concepts and demonstrates its centrality. The idea is to provide a tracing map that illustrates how these representative categories show relevance to each other and support the core category. For instance, one category may serve as the property of the core category or provide supportive explanation. Through this mapping process, it helps to articulate inter-category relation and aims to the theoretical integration.

III.4.4 Theoretical Integration

Theoretical integration, as the last stage of the research procedure, aims to summarize the research findings and develop its theoretical application. It requires a different analytical approach to synthesize these categories and incorporate research findings into a final and complete product. Different from piece by piece analysis strategy in the first cycle of coding, the theoretical integration employs an assembly strategy to explore the inter-category relation and incorporate related categories and concepts into a thematic selection. In this study, a further review of literatures and theories related to theoretical themes was employed to add informative insights to refine the research findings.

Two parts of synthesis took place in my theoretical integration. The first part is the thematic category integration. In this section, the representative categories were re-organized and synthesized into thematic categories that illuminates the relationship between these categories and leads to a higher level of conceptualization. The process is to re-interpret the data, build connection to the context and develop a theoretical explanation that features a social phenomenon. For instance, the thematic category "reclaiming the ownership of community" was constructed through alignment of the representative categories Community Consciousness Formation (category I), Community Pride (category II) and Rebuilding the Community (category IV). The second part refers to the development of theoretical application based on the research findings. It involves a second round of literature reviews that revolves around the theoretical themes. The idea is to add pertinent insights to the research conclusion and generates a theoretical application or new dimension for the existing theory. For instance, the theory review in the Social Identity Theory (SIT) provides insights to make connections between individual identity process and collective identity formation (see section V.2).

III.5 Evaluation in Qualitative Research

Different from the evaluation approach for quantitative research that clings to a positivist paradigm, qualitative researchers have pursued alternative evaluation criteria that reflect interpretivist merits and values. A variety of scholars have introduced an array of concepts to articulate the nuances and distinctiveness for different emphasis, such as credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985); persuasiveness, correspondence, coherence, and pragmatic use (Riessman, 1993); authenticity, plausibility, and criticality (Brower, Abolafia, and Carr, 2000). Trustworthiness, however, is the coinage being

used widely and has become an umbrella concept that captures the broad concerns of interpretive researchers (Schwartz-Shea, 2006). Riessman (2002) advocated the usage of "trustworthiness" instead of "truth" based upon semantic differences. "Truth" assumes an objective reality, while "trustworthiness" captures the very intention of qualitative researchers to conduct a research for a social purpose. The phrase, "trustworthiness", captures the essence of interpretive presuppositions that a social reality was built upon a shared social code in a trustworthy relationship Schwartz-Shea (2006). To establish a trustworthiness quality in a qualitative research, Schwartz-Shea (2006) incorporates a list of components that are widely acknowledged and approved to constitute the substance of trustworthiness; namely 1) thick description, 2) reflexivity, 3) triangulation, 4) informant feedback/member checks, and 5) audit. The following section unfolds the contents for these components and the adopted approaches utilized in this study.

Thick description, a term derived from ethnographic writing, refers to data generation by a researcher with sufficient details and descriptions of examined events, settings, persons, behaviors or interactions that provide an evidentiary presence of researcher's interpretation (Schwartz-Shea, 2006). As thick description provides abundant materials for data analysis, excessive details or large scope of data collection may encumber the pertinence to a study or derail the focus of a research. In grounded theory research, data can take various forms. Glaser (1998) asserts that "all is data", a belief that a theory is discovered through the use of a vast array of data sources. However, such a statement has drawn criticism for being too vague (Bryant, 2003). To prevent a redundant data collection or disproportionate scope of data generation, Charmaz (2006) provides guidelines to ensure adequacy of data quality, which include 1) capture a range of contexts, perspectives and

timeframes; 2) provide rich details in respect of the view and actions of participants; 3) look beneath multiple layers of data and discern the hidden assumptions; 4) consider data as a whole set with contextual conditions rather than fragment of pieces, and be open to adding new data into research.

In this study, other than literature reviews, my research non-elicited materials such as government publication, reports, community publication and online articles related to the CAP programming (see section III.4.2.iii) were included in data analysis and serve as multiple data sources to establish the thick description. This data set provides a range of local context for a better understanding of community development and art practice history in Taiwan. This part of data analysis was analyzed and integrated in literature reviews (see section II.3) and local context analysis (see section IV.1). For the interview data generation, a list of thematic and open-ended questions was prepared as prompters to elicit a conversation (see section III.4.2.iii); to keep a flexible inquiry without losing the research focus. For interview data analysis, I utilized a verbatim approach to transcribe interviews word by word rather than abridging or excerpting from the conversation in order to establish an intact raw interview data. To secure a contextual condition and multiple layers of meanings in data, an array of multiple coding techniques in data analysis (see section III.4.3) was utilized to capture characteristics of extracted contents (initial coding), develop the relevance of each data segment (intermediate coding), and situate salient concepts in a larger context (advanced coding). Theoretical sampling, as proceeding upon core category development, allows new data and insights adding into research to expand the dimensionality of research findings.

Reflexivity here refers to a practice that prompts research to develop a keen awareness of the researcher's role in all phases of the research process. Bolton

(2010) sees reflexivity as finding a strategy to explicate a researcher's attitudes, thought processes, values, assumptions, prejudices and habitual actions. In my research process, continual journal writing helped me to develop the reflexive practice. Descriptions such as feelings, impressions, and responses during research process were recorded in my research journal. Further reflexive responses can be utilized as interview prompters or analytical lens in the data generation and analysis process when certain reflexive questions help to discern the nuances of interpretation in some context. For instance, a distinguishable nuance between the notion of "Li" and "community" was identified and further discussed (see section II.3.4) when a follow-up question was deployed in an interview prompted by a reflexive question: "Why the interviewee used community instead of Li or apartment complex to describe where he resides when Li or the apartment complex were better description for the location explanation?" This reflexivity practice also served as useful analytical lens to discern a hidden meaning in the data. For instance, the analysis of individual's artwork as self-extension was highlighted and discussed (see section V.3.3) when the theory of the development of a sense of self was further examined through reviewing the reflexive question: "Is it possible that desire for a sense of self development served as decisive motivation and was hidden under the community work participation since collectiveness culture was valued more and legitimate in the Asian culture?"

Triangulation is understood as trying to explain a phenomenon by using at least three different analytic tools. It can be applied in multiple data sources, multiple methods of access, and multiple researchers (Schwartz-Shea, 2006). In this study, multiple methods of data generation and collection include interviews, observation, visual materials, and a variety of documents were deployed to garner

sufficient materials for accountability in methodological triangulation. In terms of multiple analytic tools, having two or more researchers in the data analysis and interpretation was applied in this study. In the coding process, a scholar with proficiency in both English and Chinese was invited to examine the accuracy and fairness of the interview content translation and interpretation. In the development of categories, discussions with experienced scholar provided useful exercise in discerning critical concepts that were overlooked by researcher's habitual thought process. For instance, the term "jen-tung" was lifted to a higher concept when the researcher began to treat the notion with different perspective rather than an ordinary local dialect. In GT, the constant comparative method also accounts for alternative approach of triangulation by using multiple perspective or theories to interpret the data. In this study, multiple theoretical perspectives in identity formation were compared and analyzed by reviewing the Identity Process Theory (Breawell, 1986), Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1974, 1978; Turner et al, 1987), and identity formation process (Jenkins, 1996; Woodward, 1997; Castells, 2010).

Informant feedback or member checks and audit are perceived as techniques of "how to" achieve trustworthy research (Schwartz-Shea, 2006). In qualitative research, informant feedback and member checks are techniques used by researchers to improve accuracy, credibility, validity, transferability, and fittingness of a study (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). Researchers return to the people studied for an assessment and informant feedback to see if the interpretation "got it right" (Schwartz-Shea, 2006). In this study, re-visiting the interviewees for an assessment and interpretation accuracy checking took place to secure the credibility and validity. Interviews No. 6 and No.22, No.8 and No.25, and No.19 and No. 22 (see Table 2 Overview of Interviews) were interviewee re-visiting for informant feedbacks and

concept interpretation confirmation. For transferability, the developing categories or concepts within the CAP participants were shared with the CEA participants to evaluate whether the findings can be transferable in different setting. For instance, the concept Community Pride (Category II) and Collective Leadership (Category VI) were verified in both CAP and CEA participants.

The term *audit* in qualitative research, refers to a set of practices for documenting or recording study procedure. The idea is to provide an audit trail that allows other researchers to understand how the researcher conducted the research. The goal is to provide transparency into the researcher's decision-making, data generation, and inferences drawn upon evidence. In this study, code book, memo writing in different phases, field notes, and research journals were considered a complete audit trail sufficient enough to provide the details of my research process and steps. The format of code book varies and depends its intended usage. For my codebook, it provided the reference number, data location information, and examples excerpted from the original interview transcript to provide a traceable record that links to the original interview materials.

In summary, these five evaluation approaches (thick description, reflexivity, triangulation, informant feedback & member check, and audit) were adopted in this study and account for the credibility and trustworthiness of research findings.

IV. ANALYSIS

IV.1. Introduction to Site Visits and Local Context

In purposive sampling, six Taichung-based community art sites were selected based upon the recommendation of community development practitioners, scholars and professionals who have extensive knowledge in the field of the community-based art practice (CAP) (see section III.4.1). These art sites were selected for their significant performance as a final result of the CAP practice. In the theoretical sampling, four communities were selected for their innovative approach to community development practice through community engagement activities (CEA) (Zheng-Xi Street and Shi-An communities) and community art initiative (Ban-Tou and Togo communities). Table 1 provides an inventory of the selected community and numbers of interviewees from each community respectively.

Table 1: Community Inventory and Site Location

No.	Community/ Located Site	Number of interviewees	Type
Taichung-based Community			
1	Shui-Nan Community / Beitun District	4	CAP
2	Jhong-He Community / Nantun District	2	CAP
3	Jing-Ping Community / North District	1	CAP
4	Wu-Guang Community / Wuri District	6	CAP
5	Ping-Fu Community / Beitun District	11	CAP
6	Shang-Yang Community / Dadu District	3	CAP
N/A	City Officers & Community Practitioners/ Taichung	3	CAP
	Subtotal	30	
Non Taichung-based Community			
1	Zheng-Xi Street (Community) /Tainan City	9	CEA
2	Shi-An Community / Tainan County	3	CEA
3	Ban-Tou Community / Chiayi County	1	CAP
4	Togo Community / Tainan County	2	CAP
	Subtotal	15	
	Total	45	

The following section compiles a profile of each community based on elicited interviews, and review of government publications and reports, and non-elicited data

materials (see section III.4.2.iii). This will provide insight about individual community local contexts. Images of the CAP art sites and/or processes were included to give understanding of what the CAP entails as well as its outcomes.

IV.1.1. Taichung-based Communities

Under the influence of the art intervention movement in Togo, Taichung City adopted the idea of art intervention and began to promote a community-based art practice in its environment improvement program (see section II.3.3). Gu-Gong-Gou-Liao²³, a phrase that is widely used by locals, refers to the community-based art practice under the program and emphasized the grassroots approach and local context. Five of the selected Taichung-based communities have more than five years of experience in participation within the CAP projects or related community development programs. The only exception is the Shang-Yang community, which has joined the CAP program only in the past three years. The following section gives the background of each community as well as the intention and motivation to participate in the CAP program.

IV.1.1.i. Shui-Nan Community

Located in northern part of Taichung City, the Shui-Nan (Li²⁴) community has a population around 7,700 and experienced a population decline rate of 1.68%²⁵. As one of the agriculture-based villages in early Taichung development history, Shui-Nan has witnessed the rapid economic growth through the 1970's to 1990's and encountered socio-economic impacts propelled by urbanism (Taichung Urban Development Bureau, 2007). Participating the Taichung City community

²³ Gu-Gong-Gou-Liao (僱工購料) means hiring-labor-purchasing-materials in Chinese. It was originated from the earthquake aftermath reconstruction program. The idea is to allow local government channels the reconstruction budgets to locals with alternative procedure to expedite the disaster relief process and reconstruction work during the devastating earthquake in 1999.

²⁴ See Chapter II, section 3.4

²⁵ <http://demographics.taichung.gov.tw/Demographic/Web/Report01.aspx?DIST=8>

development program since 2006, the Shui-Nan community has shown its interest in public issues with special focus on urban regeneration and infrastructure improvement. From 2009 to 2015, the Shui-Nan community has acquired a strong reputation in the CAP projects and garnered a variety of awards²⁶ for its outstanding performance in Taichung City community development program and the CAP projects. Shui-Nan was also nominated as model community for its active community participation and played a leading role in the CAP program. Figure 6 illustrates the community-based participatory art making process in the CAP program and highlights the environmental change when improving deteriorated public space.

Figure 6: Shui-Nan CAP Projects



Left: Shui-Nan community's first CAP project in 2009

Right: Shui-Nan community's CAP project in 2015

Photos courtesy of the Shui-Nan Community Development Association

After the CAP projects, the Shui-Nan community has gradually shifted its focus from environmental issues to other concerns. They have actively participated in government funded programs related to health, welfare, education, and life-long

²⁶ Shui-Nan community has garnered eight awards including best innovation proposal and best construction result during 2009-2015. Data retrieved from <https://volunteermatch.taichung.gov.tw/tissue.php?i=685>

learning for senior citizens. In recent years, the Shu-Nan community has garnered public attention for its advocacy in cultural heritage preservation. The attempt to preserve the deteriorated historical tobacco building in a re-zoning site of an urban renewal project has propelled residents to reach out for resources in acquiring higher capacity in relation to civic mobilization. Participants have experienced public hearings, lobbying, fundraising²⁷, and negotiating with public sectors in relation to public decision making through a grassroots approach. The effort in securing a tobacco building has lifted the community's capacity for environment improvement to a higher level of civic engagement. Residents have developed a sensitivity to local cultural heritage and pay more attention to public issues²⁸.

Throughout the two years of action in the cultural heritage preservation movement, the Shui-Nan community has successfully preserved the historical tobacco building and pushed the city council to designate the site as public space based on the zoning code²⁹. Residents described that the CAP experience prompted them becoming more aware of their local history and mobilizing further action in cultural heritage preservation. “[Had it not been for the participation in the CAP projects], Shui-Nan residents would not have known we have such a place [the tobacco building]” interviewees shared their thoughts on this matter³⁰. After years of CAP participation, the Shui-Nan community keeps the momentum in a variety of community work and reaches out to resources for the community vision. At this point, Shui-Nan is seeking funding and urging government to pass a budget plan to

²⁷ Based on the urban renewal statutory laws, private land owners who join the renewal plan will receive a compensation for his building removal or plantation loss. Participants have organized fundraising activities to cover owner's compensation loss for preserving the tobacco building.

²⁸ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.4, 5, 6, 26, 44.

²⁹ A certain ratio of public space is reserved in residential zone based on local urban renewal regulation.

³⁰ Extracted from interview transcript Volume I, P.5. File: 160607_001

implement the tobacco building rehabilitation³¹. The vision is to renovate the tobacco building as a local cultural museum and community center.

IV.1.1.ii. Jhong-He Community

In the wake of depopulation and deteriorating neighborhoods, the Jhong-He community is facing a challenge of losing its youth and environmental marginalization due to stagnant urban planning. Frustrated by the inactive community progress in Jhong-He, the chair of Jhong-He Community Association explained his motivation to take the leadership. "We were only doing social gathering back then...[hosting events for] Mother's Day, Father's Day, Moon Festival and annual association board meeting...that's all. [But I saw] other communities are doing a lot of things... [I began wondering] why others are doing something but not us."³² For him, as a community association member, he feels a responsibility to advance the community's quality of life. He sees community development as a professional work that requires involvement from both public and private sectors. "Community [work] is deep and covers a wide range of issues... [just like a government has] urban bureau, culture bureau and social bureau... [that is why] I invited professionals to join the team... everyone has his [and her] expertise and focus."³³ As a result, a new group of community members, who shared the chair's new vision and ideology, began to take the initiative to participate the government-funded projects and played an influential role in re-organizing Jhong-He Community Development Association.

³¹ A treatment that aligns to the need to alter or add to a historic property to meet continuing or changing uses while retaining the property's historic character. This is the most commonly used and flexible standard for most of historical buildings or sites other than preservation.

³² Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P. 18. File: 160610_003

³³ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P. 19. File: 160610_003

The first step was to create a new community agenda. Using a seed grant provided by the Culture Bureau of Taichung City, the Jhong-He CD association mobilized residents to join the community asset mapping activity. The activity revolved around a local tour in exploring local cultural heritage³⁴. Participants have identified the valuable and meaningful community sites or spaces that relates to local history. After the community asset mapping activity, the Jhong-He community had actively sought for resources and the opportunity to continue the momentum and participation in the community development program initiated by the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City. The Jhong-He Community Development Association had their first CAP project in 2013. The following year, Jhong-He community continued to join the program and received awards for the best result of their CAP implementation³⁵. Figure 7 illustrates Jhong-He community's awarded CAP project and provides a significant exemplar of before-after contrast.

Interviewees shared that the community dynamics had changed after the CAP project. "Our [community development] association membership has doubled...they realized we are doing something...and "jen-tung"³⁶ what we are doing..."³⁷ the chair of Jhong-He Community Development Association explained. With more resources and people involved, the future of the Jhong-He community seems promising. Nevertheless, the chair of CD association admitted he had yet to think of the future vision for the Jhong-He community. "We are only building the foundation for now... we'll see where it leads us from here..."³⁸

³⁴ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P.4. Interview File: 160610_001

³⁵ Upon the completion of the CAP projects, a review committee will conduct an evaluation based on the performance of community participation, spatial quality improvement, and budget compliance. Each year, the committee will nominate a few communities for the best result.

³⁶ A Chinese phrase that refers to agree, recognize and approve.

³⁷ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P. 19-21. Interview File: 160610_003

³⁸ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P. 22. Interview File: 160610_003

Figure 7: Jhong-He Community CAP Project



Left: Local residents provided a vacant house to the Jhong-He Community Development Association for the CAP project.

Right: The CAP participants transformed the vacant house into a traditional grocery store with functionality of community center.

Photos courtesy of the Jhong-He Community Development Association

IV.1.1.iii. Jing-Ping Community

Located in one of the busiest commercial districts in Taichung City, the Jing-Ping community (Li) has suffered from excessive levels of commuters and visitors that are drawn to the shopping mall, night markets, and schools in its 0.083 square mile (or 53 acres) district³⁹. The more than 30,000 commuters and visitors not including its 2,400 residents traveling in and out of Jing-Ping Li, have created a problematic urban living environment; such as transportation congestion, insufficient parking space, overcrowded pedestrian walkways, increasing vehicles and motorcycle accidents, growing crime rates and a serious street-litter problem (Taichung Urban Development Bureau, 2009). The Jing-Ping Li-office⁴⁰ chair pointed out that the street-litter and scooters along the streets and alleys have been a chronic problem in the Jing-Ping community.

³⁹ Converted from the 0.2147 square kilometer. Data retrieved from <https://www.north.taichung.gov.tw/946807/post>

⁴⁰ The legitimate administration office of the Li district (basic administration unit) in the local governance system of urban areas in Taiwan. See section II.3.4.

Seeking solutions for these chronic issues, the Jing-Ping community participated in the community development program initiated by the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City in 2008. In the following year, Jing-Ping had its first CAP project with a focus on alley quality improvement. The goal was to transfer the 4-foot wide alley space into a pedestrian walkway by introducing an artwork installation and mural painting along the wall. It took two years to complete the two-hundred-meter (around 600 feet) long mural work. Characterized as a cultural corridor, more than thirty panels of artworks in the form of paintings or mosaics were installed along the wall. Each panel showcases local history and was made by local artists or residents. Figure 8 illustrates the condition in one of the alleys in Jing-Ping neighborhood before the CAP project and how it looks after the completion of the CAP project in 2010.

Figure 8: Jing-Ping Community CAP Project



Left: Motorcycles cluttered in the small alley of Jing-Ping community before the CAP project.
Right: More than thirty pieces of artwork were installed or painted along the wall after the CAP.
Photos courtesy of Jing-Ping Community Development Association and Li-Office.

The resultant alley space improvement has created a ripple effect throughout the neighborhood. The university adjacent to the alley has initiated a project that provides parking spaces for students, reducing the scooters cluttering along the alley. Meanwhile, the transportation department of Taichung City has regulated street

parking in the neighborhood and parking enforcement to reduce illegal parking was enacted. Built upon a collective vision of quality life improvement in the neighborhood, the Jing-Ping Community Association and the National Taichung University of Science and Technology initiated an urban renovation project that aims to create a green space for local residents and students in the coming years⁴¹. The university released a 12-foot wide corridor space from the campus grounds across the end of the alley. The green space project continued the concept of art installation and was utilized to expand the sidewalk to create a safer space for pedestrians and local residents. Funded by Taichung City, the project was completed in 2016. Through years of collaboration between multiple sectors, the originally deteriorated neighborhood with chronic urban challenges has been transformed into a pleasant and safe living environment.

IV.1.1.iv. Wu-Guang Community

Located on the fringe of Taichung City, the Wu-Guang community represents a typical mixed-use district of agriculture, mid-size industries, and suburban housing complexes in Taiwan. Due to the Chinese cultural influence, stem family⁴² structure account for 13.78% of family structures in Taiwan⁴³. In a mixed-use district like Wu-Guang, the stem family population is even higher. As a result, elderly quality of life becomes major concern in most suburban communities as young people leave the house to work in cities during the daytime, leaving the elderly behind.

In Wu-Guang, most of the local organizations are in the form of folk dance clubs, senior clubs, or retirement clubs. These organizations mostly revolve around elderly

⁴¹ <https://www.nutc.edu.tw/files/14-1000-31910,r15-1.php>

⁴² An intergenerational family structure that consists of the grandparents and the eldest married son, his spouse, and their children who live together.

⁴³ Data retrieved from <https://www1.stat.gov.tw/np.asp?CtNode=6023>

retirement leisure and account for most of community activities⁴⁴. It wasn't until 2010, when the new-elected chair of the Wu-Guang Community Development (CD) Association and several residents began to notice the withering local culture and traditions⁴⁵. As a result the Wu-Guang community has gradually turned their attention from elderly recreational activities to local issues. In 2011, the Wu-Guang CD Association started to reach out to government resources and participated community development programs initiated by the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City.

In the following five years, Wu-Guang CD association members actively participated in the CAP program and garnered resident's support and attention. They had paid attention to the increasing phenomenon of foreign immigrants, single family, low-income households, and grandparenting⁴⁶. As the Wu-Guang Community Development (CD) Association recruited more volunteers and discovered more community issues, community activities have gradually shifted from conventional social gatherings to more of a social issue-focused activities. These events included single-family children summer swimming camp fundraising, low-income senior meal plan organizing, and cultural heritage preservation programming. Several of the Wu-Guang residents who were concerned about local culture heritage, together with the CD association members, had begun to advocate an after-school curriculum with an educational agenda to expose the younger generation to local folk arts and traditional music. The younger generation was seen as a pivotal factor in the community development and the community aimed to organize intergenerational activities to incubate bonding across generations. The collective vision cultivated in

⁴⁴ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, File:160614_001, P.2.

⁴⁵ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, File :160614_002, P.13.

⁴⁶ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, File:160614_001,p3.

the CAP projects has motivated residents and CD association member to seek for alternative economic practices to generate revenue for future community work.

Figure 9 demonstrates the Wu-Guang Community Development Association's effort in preserving local cultural heritage. The image in the left column illustrates the nostalgic design motif in one of the artworks of Wu-Guang's CAP project. The image in the right column provides a glimpse into the intergenerational activities coordinated by the members of the CD associations.

Figure 9: Wu-Guang Community CAP Project



Left: Wu-Guang CAP artwork: portraying agriculture-based community trading activities in ancient time.

Right: School kids learn how to play traditional instruments at an after-school curriculum proposed by the Wu-Guang Community Development Association.

Photos courtesy of Jing-Ping Community Development Association and Li-Office.

IV.1.1.v. Ping-Fu Community

Well known for its large event hosting, the Ping-Fu community has built its reputation on coordinating three Li districts to organize a big event. The current chairman of the Ping-Fu Li-office proudly made a statement that Ping-Fu is probably the only community that has the capacity to organize a city wide event⁴⁷. However, such cross Li-district collaboration and rapport has come a long way as a result of CAP investments. Back in 2006, the conflict and discord between the Li-office and

⁴⁷ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P.23. File:160722_002

community development association generated internal distrust and division in Ping-Fu. As discussed earlier, the incumbent Li-office chairman often see the community development association leaders as potential political opponents (see section II.3.4). Political opponents who have ambition to run for public office often leverage the community development associations to garner public attention and political capital. In Ping-Fu, such political suspicion and tension has hindered community progress especially when the previous Ping-Fu Li office chairman managed to curb the community development association's effort in the CAP projects⁴⁸. The conflict almost led to a dissolution of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association when the former Ping-Fu Li-office chairman viewed the association as a threat to his political career and managed to take over the position. As a result, the Ping-Fu Community Development Association chair resigned and ceased the community development work for years. Nevertheless, the previous CAP experiences and memories had rooted in the minds of participants. It wasn't until 2010, that Ping-Fu began to resume community work and continue the CAP project; after a newly-elected chair of Ping-Fu Li-office maneuvered to bring divisive community groups together. Today, the robust partnership and collaboration between the Li-office and CD association has become a role model for other communities and motivates adjacent communities to join Ping-Fu in numerous community activities.

Figure 10 illustrates the collaboration of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association and Li-office in the CAP projects. The symbolic train design motif signifies a re-union of the community and united movement towards a promising future⁴⁹.

⁴⁸ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P. File:160722_002

⁴⁹ Extracted from interview transcript volume II, P.89.

Figure 10: Ping-Fu CAP Projects



Left: Representatives from both Ping-Fu Li-office and Community Development Association conducted a site construction ceremony for the CAP project.

Middle: CAP participants worked on installing the ceramic art panels on the wall.

Right: The train figure of ceramic mural represents the Ping-Fu community and moves toward the future collectively.

Photos courtesy of Ping-Fu Community Development Association and Li-office.

IV.1.1.vi. Shang-Yang Community

Joining the Taichung City community development program in 2012, Shang-Yang community was relatively new to the CAP projects. During the following four successive years, Shang-Yang demonstrated tremendous progress in the CAP process and was awarded for its outstanding performance⁵⁰. Shang-Yang, an agriculture-based community, populated by mostly farmers and labors, had little knowledge and experience in community development. In Shang-Yang, most community work revolved around programming and organizing eventful activities. Conventional social gatherings and festival events such as Moon festival, Dragon Boat festival and Chinese New Year characterized the most popular local activities in the community. It was rare for these activities to address public issues or deliver

⁵⁰ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, P.5. File:160820_001

community concerns⁵¹. Nonetheless, residents had become more and more anxious and concerned with stagnancy in local progress. The idea of changing the status quo began to foment when one local vacant space deteriorated to an unbearable condition.

Owned by Taiwan Railways Administration, the original transportation plan for the acreage was for a future railway extension. However, the obsolete railway plan did not fit the requirements for changeable urban development especially when the new high speed rail takes over the most frequented public transit system on the west coast of Taiwan. The original railway development program has been halted and the vacant land was left unmanaged. As a result, the vacant land had been transformed into a hazardous space piled with litter and waste from years of illegal dumping⁵². With the CAP grant, Shan-Yang community members focused on small scale litter clean-up and greenery improvement for their first CAP project. However, the larger acreage of the recovered vacant land required a comprehensive waste removal and soil refill plan; that was out of the scope of the initial CAP project. Upon completion of the first CAP project, the Shan-Yang community sought solutions to improve the deteriorated environment and received Taichung City's support to revitalize the acreage.

With the community's commitment to maintenance and management of the acreage, the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City passed a special budget to reconstruct the acreage and transform the waste-land into a green space. The collective effort from local government and the community triggered a broader concern for the environment and called for a review of the existing urban development plan. In the subsequent urban zoning review, the original railway zone

⁵¹ Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, File:160820_003, p1.

⁵² Extracted from interview transcript Volume II, File:160820_003, p3, p5, p6.

was assigned a new zoning code and designated for park usage per the community's request. Mobilized by the CAP projects, the Shan-Yang community has become more aware of public issues and seeks for a collective vision for community development. Figure 11 illustrates Shang-Yang's first attempt in the CAP project and the following larger scale CAP inspired environment improvement projects.

Figure 11: Shang-Yang CAP Projects



Left: The first CAP project with focus on clearing up litter and greenery plantation in a small parcel of the acreage in the railway zone.

Right: The awarded CAP project in 2015 with focus on greenery space connection and pedestrian infrastructure.

Photos Credit: Shang-Yang Community Development Association. Images retrieved from annual final report of Taichung City Community Development Program.

IV.1.2. Non Taichung-based Communities

Within the four non Taichung-based communities, two communities are nationally well-known for their community arts, namely the Ban-Tou and the Togo communities, the other two are wide-spread for their CEA innovations and social entrepreneurship. In Taiwan, the Ban-Tou and the Togo communities are considered the pioneers of the community art practice and the first to draw extensive public attention (Tsai, 2012; Tseng, 2012). The unique experiences of visitors to these two communities were captured and disseminated widely through the use of social media, which helped to generate publicity. The increasing number of visitors in Ban-Tou and

the Togo community art sites has caused a ripple effect throughout Taiwan. Local economic boosting and popularity activated a series of responses from policy making to private sector investment (see section II.2.2). Inspired by the art intervention effect, the Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City adopted art approaches in its community development program and officially launched the community-based art practice in 2006 (Hong, 2012). Interviews with participants in Ban-Tou and Togo community artmaking provide the context for understanding how art intervention plays a role in community development and contribute insight into discerning the nuance of community arts and community-based art practice.

The other two communities, the Shi-An community and the Zheng-Xing Street, are not categorized as CAP communities. They were selected for their significant community development practice accomplished through community engagement activities other than art practices. Featured as theoretical sampling (see section III.3.2.vi & III.4.1), these two community interviews provided insights and informative materials to illuminate the concepts of Collective Leadership (Category VI) and Community “Jen-Tung” Process (Category VIII). Well known as a community-based social enterprise (Yu, 2017; Hsu, 2017) the Shin-An community earns its reputation by promoting an organic rice plantation and sponsoring local welfare through a community cooperative. In addition to returning surplus revenue to its members, the Shin-An co-op gives 20% of its surplus revenue to support a community work operation⁵³ that is devoted to the welfare of the local elderly⁵⁴. The community-initiated senior welfare program has garnered public attention and established an innovative model for community development work through

⁵³ The community work operation includes local school kids scholarship organizing, elderly free ride service to health clinic, and community environment management and maintenance.

⁵⁴ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.144.

alternative economic practices. The Shin-An co-op serves as a good case study to explore the mechanism of community capacity building through local economic development and provides insights into the conceptualization of the notion of community momentum in relation to community consensus.

The Zheng-Xing Street community, known for its innovations in event activity organizing⁵⁵, has drawn public attention for its creative community event programming (Lin, 2016). Rather than being identified as traditional community organization, Zheng-Xing Street residents consider themselves as unorthodox street members for their unconventional street-based community formation rather than Li-district base (see section II.3.4). They nickname themselves the “Zheng-Xing Gang” to accentuate the organic connection between group members. The Zheng-Xing gang members build solidarity through group travel, organizing and hosting various experimental and innovative events⁵⁶. Fun, creative, and tied to local stories, “Zheng-Xing Gang” has become a trendy brand for the young generation (Lin, 2016). Numerous novice entrepreneurs and franchises seek to have a spot on the Zheng-Xing Street and strive to be considered as part of “Zheng-Xing Gang”. Interviews with Zheng-Xing Street residents and leaders provide insight into conceptualizing the notions of local pride and community identity through different collaborative mechanisms other than CAP approaches.

IV.2. Interviews and Interviewees Overview

An overview of all interviews is summarized in Table 2 and it entails the interview type, participants ID number, date and time, location, interview duration, and file name for audit trail. The total collective interview duration is 57 hours and 7 minutes in 35 interviews. Within the 28 individual interviews, 10 interviews lasted longer than

⁵⁵ In 2016, Zheng Xing street “gang” [residents] hosted the international Japan’s Office Chair Racing event.

⁵⁶ Extracted from interview transcript, volume III, P.22-24. File: 160711_001

two hours, 8 interviews took between one to two hours, and 10 interviews we completed in under an hour. The longest individual interview duration was 3 hours and 21 minutes, while the shortest was 17 minutes.

Table 2. Overview of Interviews

No.	Interview Type/ Participant ID No.	Date	Time	Location	File Name	Duration
1	Individual Interview-P1	June 8, 2016	3:00 pm	Shui-nan	160607_001 160608_001	1h:13m 0h:14m
2	Individual Interview-P2	June 10, 2016	10:00am	Shui-nan	160609_002 160609_003	1h:13m 1h:03m
3	Individual Interview-P3	June 10, 2016	1:00pm	Shui-nan	160609_004 160609_005	0h:34m 0h:32m
4	Individual Interview-P4	June 11, 2016	10:00am	Jhong-he	160610_001 160610_002	1h:34m 0h:04m
5	Individual Interview-P5	June 11, 2016	11:40am	Jhong-he	160610_003	0h:49m
6	Individual Interview Go-along Interview P6	June 13, 2016	10:00am	Jing-ping	160613_001 160613_002 160613_003	1h:04m 0h:53m 0h:13m
7	Individual Interview Go-along Interview P7	June 14, 2016	9:00am	Wu-guang	160614_001 160614_002 160614_003 160614_004 160614_005	0h:50m 0h:59m 0h:03m 0h:17m 0h:08m
8	Individual Interview-P8	June 15, 2016	2:00pm	Ping-fu	160615_001 160615_002	0h:40m 0h:18m
9	Individual Interview-P9	June 17, 2016	10:00am	Shui-nan	160617_001	1h:29m
10	Individual Interview P10	June 24, 2016	2:00pm	Zheng-xing Street	160624_002 160624_003 160624_004	1h:16m 0h:02m 0h:10m
11	Individual Interview P11	July 4, 2016	11:00am	Old town Taichung	160704_001 160704_002	1h:35m 1h:28m
12	Individual Interview-P12	July 11, 2016	2:00pm	Zheng-xing	160711_001	2h:31m
13	Individual Interview-P13	July 11, 2016	5:00pm	Zheng-xing	160711_002	0h:17m
14	Individual Interview-P14	July 15, 2016	9:00am	Zheng-xing	160715_001	0h:52m
15	Individual Interview-P15	July 15, 2016	10:00am	Zheng-xing	160715_002	0h:36m
16	Individual Interview-P16	July 15, 2016	12:30pm	Zheng-xing	160715_003	0h:45m
17	Individual Interview-P17	July 15, 2016	2:00pm	Zheng-xing	160715_004	1h:34m
18	Individual Interview-P18	July 15, 2016	5:00pm	Zheng-xing	160715_005	0h:37m
19	Group Interview –G1 P19, P20, P21	July 22, 2016	3:00pm	Ping-fu	160722_001 160722_002	1h:10m 1h:41m

					160722_003	0h:17m
20	Group Interview-G2 P19, P22	July 27, 2016	10:00am	Ping-fu	160727_001 160727_002	1h:03m 0h:18m
21	Group Interview-G3 P23, P24	July 27, 2016	1:00pm	Ping-fu	160727_003 160727_005 160727_004	0h:18m 0h:26m 0h:07m
22	Individual Interview-P6	July 29, 2016	10:00am	Jing-ping	160729_001	1h:24m
23	Group Interview-G4 P7, P25, P26, P27, P28, P29	July 29, 2016	8:00pm	Wu-guang	160729_002 160729_003 160729_004 160729_005 160729_006 160729_007	1h:36m 0h:15m 0h:25m 0h:14m 0h:03m 0h:22m
24	Group Interview-G5 Go-along Interview P8, P19, P30, P31, P32	August 4, 2016	10:30am	Ping-fu	160608_001 160608_002	0h:53m 0h:06m
25	Individual Interview P8	August 4, 2016	12:00pm	Ping-fu	160804_003 160804_004	0h:02m 0h:56m
26	Individual Interview P33	August 8, 2016	10:00am	Shi-an	20160808001 20160808002	0h:36m 1h:13m
27	Group Interview-G6 P41, P42	August 8, 2016	1:00pm	Shi-an	160808_001 160808_002 20160808003	0h:15m 0h:50m 0h:13m
28	Individual Interview Go-along Interview P34	August 10, 2016	2:00pm	Ban-tou	160810_001 160810_002 160810_003	1h:03m 1h:18m 1h:00m
29	Individual Interview-P35	August 12, 2016	2:30pm	Ping-fu	160812_001 160812_002	0h:38m 0h:05m
30	Individual Interview-P36	August 20, 2016	9:00am	Taichung	160820_001	0h:25m
31	Group Interview-G7 P37, P38, P39	August 20, 2016	10:00am	Shang- yang	160820_002 160820_003	0h:04m 0h:59m
32	Individual Interview P44	August 22, 2016	3:30pm	Zheng-xing	160822_002 160822_002	1h:37m 1h:19m
33	Individual Interview P40	August 25, 2016	1:30pm	Up-town, Taichung	160825_001 160825_002	0h:56m 1h:12m
34	Individual Interview P43	August 26, 2016	10:00am	Togo	160826_001 160826_002	1h:16m 0h:55m
35	Individual Interview Go-along Interview P45	August 26, 2016	1:30pm	Togo	160826_003 160826_004 160826_005	0h:45m 1h:08m 0h:51m
	Total interview hours					56h:7m

Table 3 provides basic information for each interviewee: including the gender, role or their positions within communities or the organization to which they belong.

Interviewees from the same community are clustered in the same row.

Table 3 Overview of Interviewee Roles and Gender

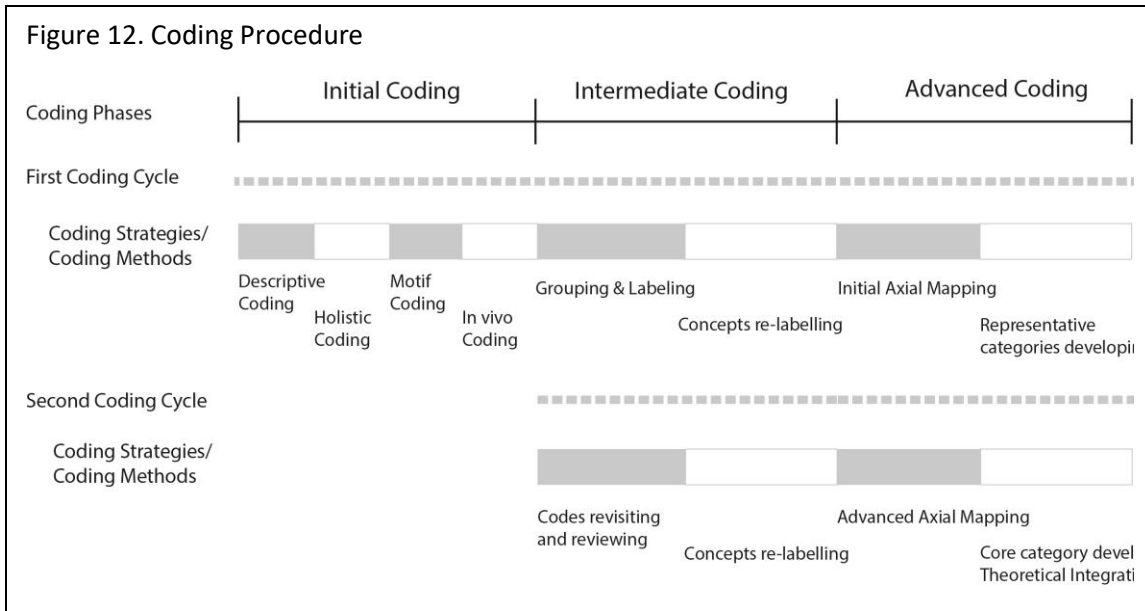
Interviewee ID: Position/Role	Gender
P 1 : Chair of the Shui-Nan Community Development Association	F
P 2 : Chair of the Shui-Nan Li-Office	M
P 3 : Member of Shui-Nan Community Development Association	F
P 9 : Secretary of Shui-Nan Community Development Association	M
P 4 : Secretary of the Zhong-He Community Development Association	F
P 5 : Chair of the Zhong-He Community Development Association	M
P 6 : Chair of the Jing-Ping Community Development Association & Li-Office	M
P 7 : Secretary of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	F
P 25: Director of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	M
P 26: Director of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	F
P 27: Chair of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	M
P 28: Member of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	M
P 29: Member of the Wu-Guang Community Development Association	M
P 8: Chair of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association	F
P 19: Chair of the Ping-Fu Li-Office	M
P 20: Former Secretary of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association	M
P 21: Ping-Fu community resident	M
P 22: Member of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association	F
P 23: Principal of the local pre-school institute/ educator	F
P 24: School teacher	F
P 30: Member of the Ping-Fu Community Development Association	M
P 31: Ping-Fu community resident	F
P 32: Ping-Fu community resident	F
P 35: Ping-Fu community resident	M
P 10 : Zheng-Xing Street group leader	M
P 12 : Zheng-Xing Street store owner/event organizer/resident	F
P 13 : Zheng-Xing Street store owner/event organizer/resident	F
P 14 : Zheng-Xing Street resident	F
P 15 : Zheng-Xing Street resident	F
P 16 : Zheng-Xing Street resident	F
P 17 : Zheng-Xing Street group leader	M
P 18 : Zheng-Xing Street hotel employee	F
P 44: Zheng-Xing Street store owner/group leader	M
P 11: Government officer/ Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City	M
P 33: Chair of the Shi-An Li-office	M
P 41: Shi-An community resident	M
P 42: Shi-An community facilitator/architect	M
P 34 : Vice president of the Bantou Community Development Association	M

P 36 : Government officer/ Urban Development Bureau of Taichung City	M
P 37 : Chair of the Shan-Yang Community Development Association	M
P 38 : Member of the Shan-Yang Community Development Association	M
P 39 : Chair of the Shan-Yang Li-Office	M
P 40 : Up-Town community facilitator	M
P 43 : Togo community resident/group leader	M
P 45 : Former chair of the Togo Community Development Association	M

IV.3. Coding Procedure and Emergent Concepts

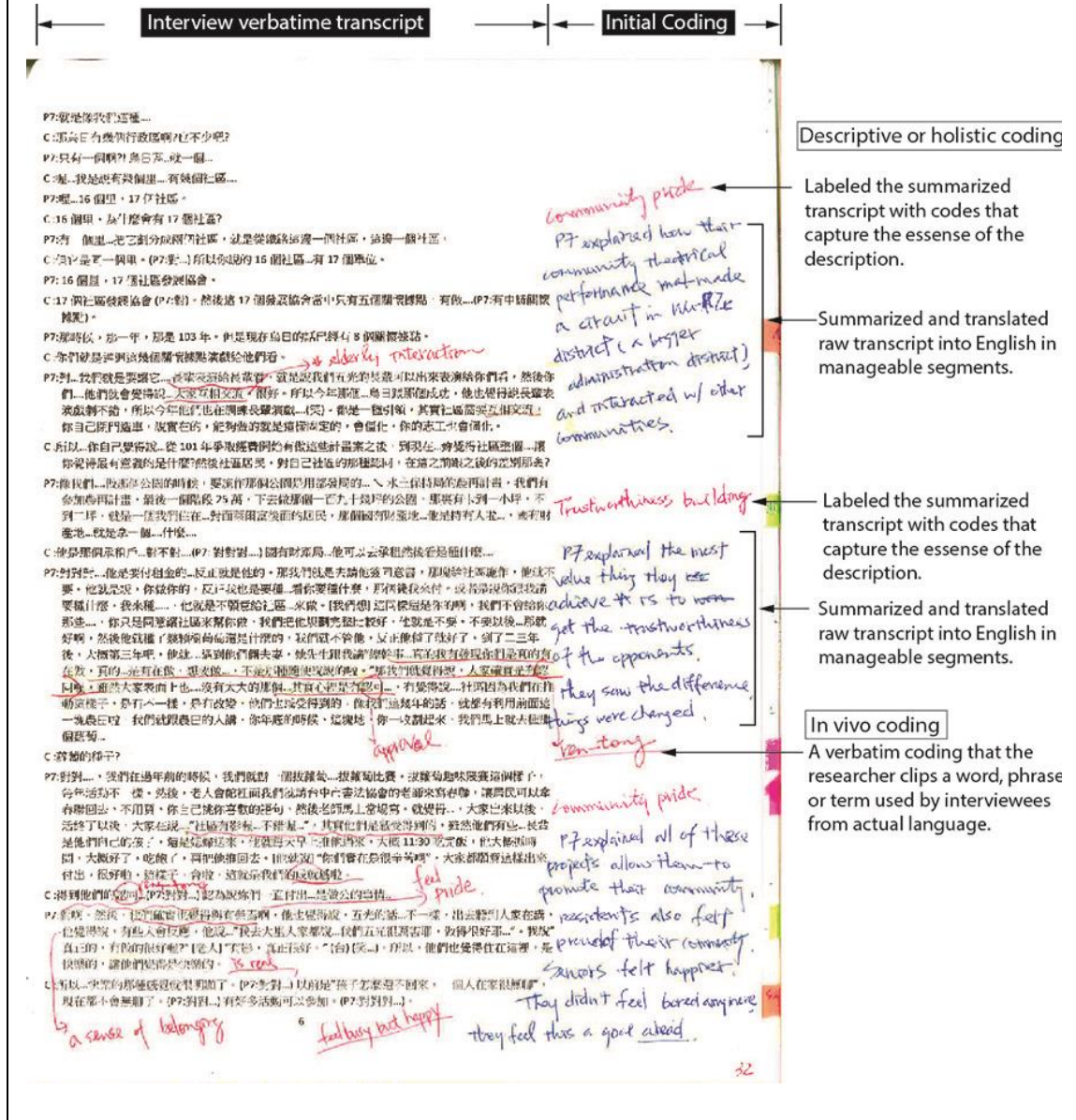
Interviews were transcribed verbatim in the original language (Chinese and Taiwanese) and coded in English throughout the coding process. The interview transcript in total contains 577 pages. Two cycles of coding process were conducted based on the final products of data analysis. The first coding cycle aimed to discern salient concepts in the data analysis and to develop the categories that stand out with explanatory power. Eight representative categories were defined after the first cycle of the coding. This part of the coding process featured the phase two research procedure (see Figure 4 or section III.4.4).

The second coding cycle, which characterized the phase three research procedure (see Figure 4 or section III.4.5), focused on identifying the core category and moved toward theoretical integration. An advanced axial mapping approach was used to identify the core category. Figure 12 illustrates the two cycles of coding processes and the coding strategies that were utilized in each respective process.



In the initial coding cycle, the first step is to identify any discernible concepts or incidents that show relevancy to the research questions and then to summarize them in English. The next step is to label the English description with codes that capture the essence of concepts or incidents for later intermediate coding. Four coding methods were utilized in this phase of coding; descriptive coding, holistic coding, motif coding, and *in vivo* coding (see section III.4.4.i). Figure 13 illustrates the process of initial coding and provides a glimpse of the coding procedure.

Figure 13. Initial Coding



In the intermediate coding phase, codes were grouped under a label that shared similar properties or features. Code re-labelling took place when higher level conceptual codes were identified. Figure 14 illustrates an example of intermediate coding that consists of grouping and initial re-labelling. Concepts or codes that showed the quality of salience, ubiquitous, and centrality (see section III.4.4) were chosen for further analysis and in preparation of the development of categories.

Figure 14. Intermediate Coding

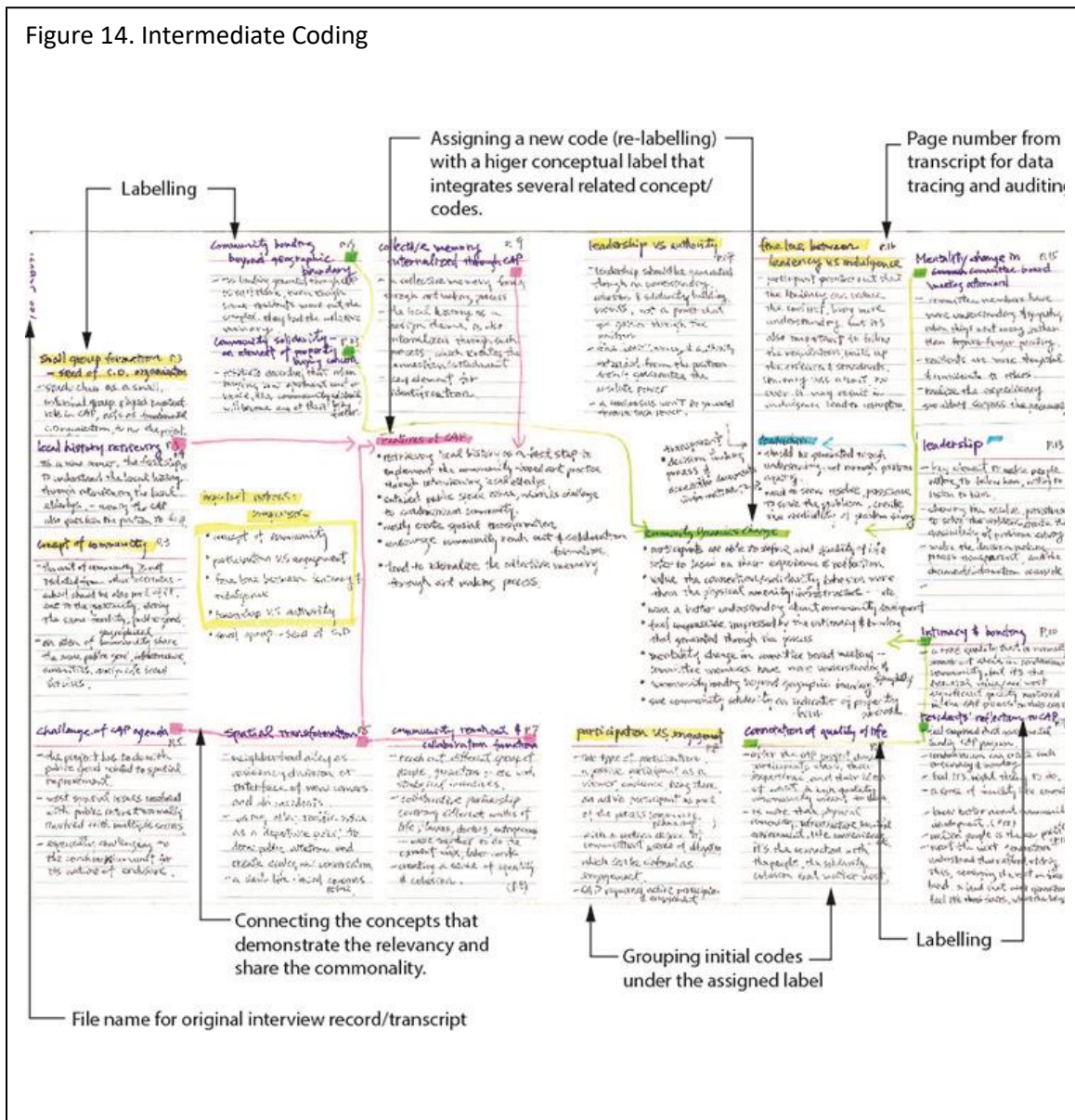


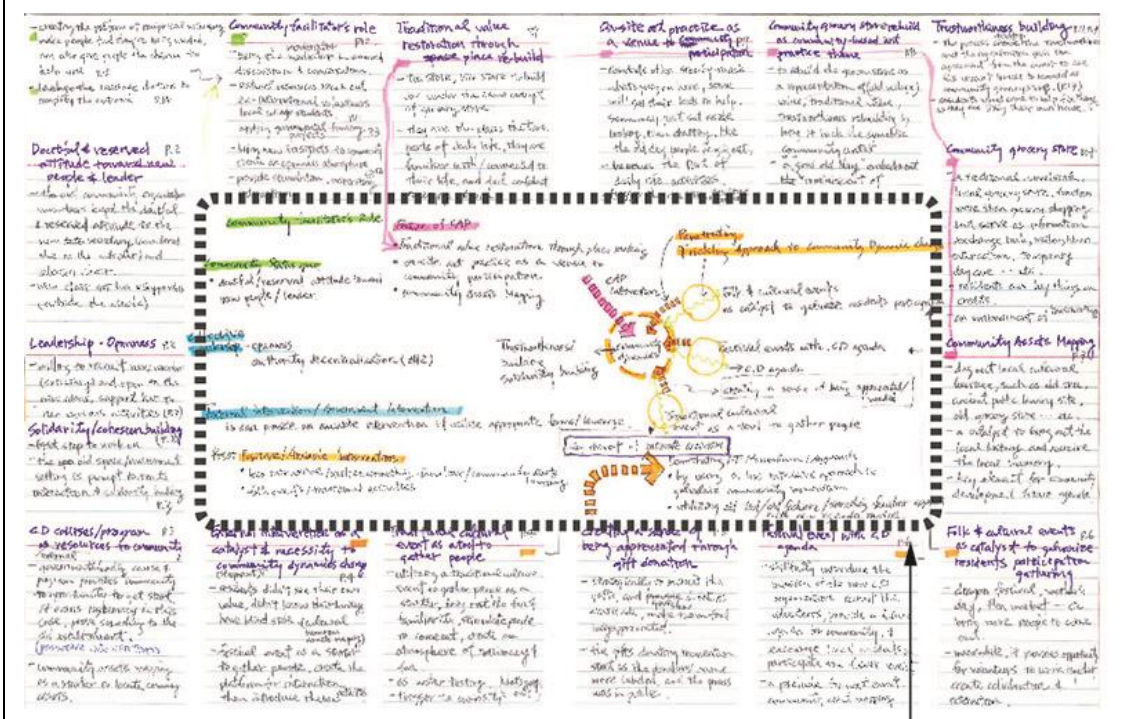
Table 4 summarizes the salient concepts (codes) that emerged during the analysis and preparation for further pre-category integration that aims to develop representative categories. The left column of the Table 4, clusters concepts (codes) that indicate a mentality change or demonstrate a form of internal transition in terms of a community dynamics change. The right column of the table, on the other hand, gathers concepts (codes) that delineate observable behavioral changes.

Table 4. Salient Concepts (Pre-Categories: Grouped or Labeled concepts)

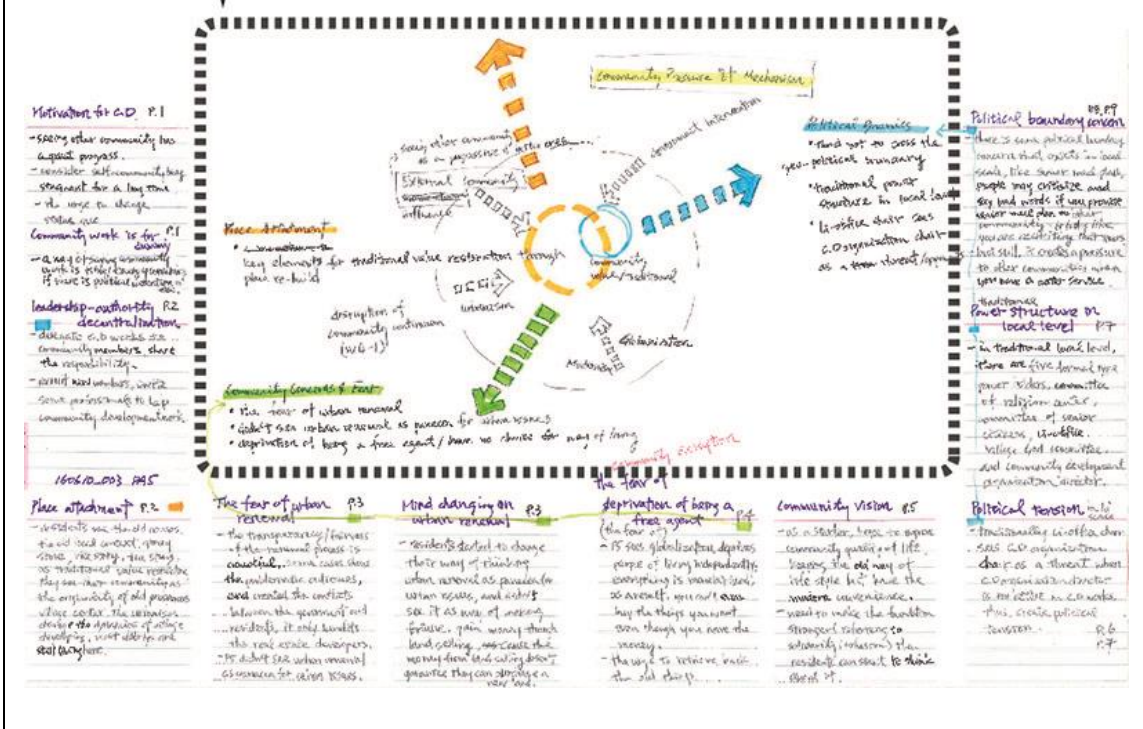
Internal Transitions/Mentality Change	Behavioral Performance/ External Change
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Community pride incubating ▪ Trustworthiness building ▪ Community history reconstructing ▪ Childhood memory sharing ▪ Community memory internalization ▪ Community story telling -narrative empowerment ▪ Selfless and altruism mindset ▪ Collaboration mentality developing ▪ Focuses shifted from neighborhood interest to a greater public good ▪ Community vision cultivation ▪ Discard cronyism mindset in political decision making ▪ Shared stage with others-leadership ▪ Local political dynamics change ▪ Having a sense of community cohesion ▪ Feel confidence in oneself to be able to act otherwise ▪ Having trust and confidence in the community ▪ Community jen-tung 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Event organizing & hosting beyond geopolitical boundary limitation ▪ Draw public attention, enlarge the audience base and galvanize residents participation. ▪ Providing community interaction opportunity ▪ Drew public attention and created conversation opportunity ▪ Volunteers recruitment more easily ▪ Public space transformation ▪ Environment education ▪ Change local spatial context ▪ Partnership formation ▪ Influence public policy-making (urban zoning) ▪ Collective action formation for cultural heritage preservation ▪ Local voting behavior change ▪ Willing to accommodate one's routine or convenience to support a collective action

In the advanced coding phase, an initial axial mapping method was utilized to delineate the relation of each grouped or labeled concept and prepare to develop the representative categories. The idea is to integrate concepts (codes) that demonstrate interrelation or relevancy to conceptualize a category. Figure 15 illustrates an initial axial mapping that was built upon the intermediate coding. Grouped or labeled concepts which show explanatory quality or distinctive attributes to support a higher level of concept will serve as property of the representative category.

Figure 15. Initial Axial Mapping



Developing an initial axial map that illustrates the relations between concepts and labels.

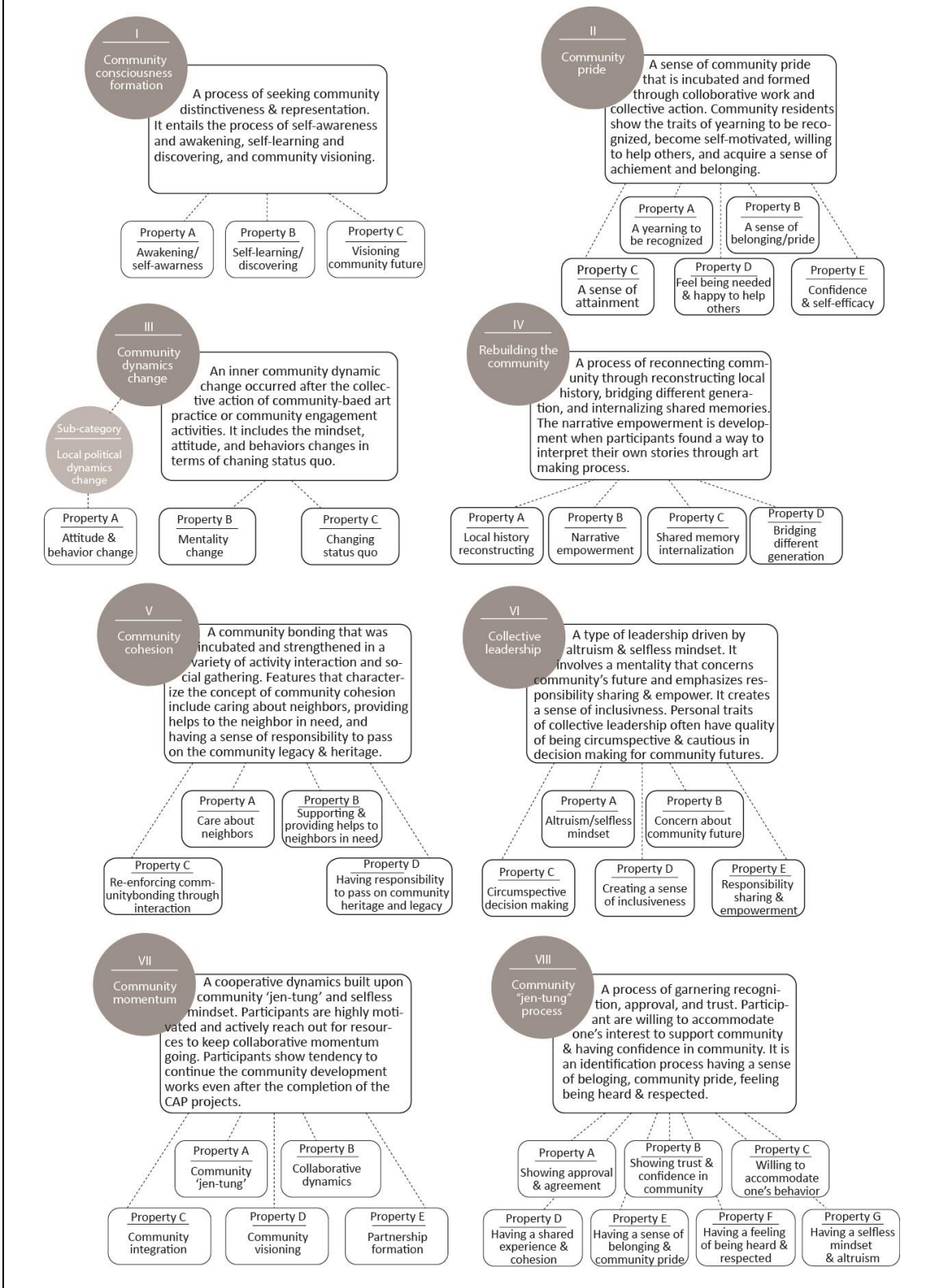


IV.4. Representative Categories

Throughout the advanced coding and analysis process, eight main categories were identified and developed into representative categories. These eight representative categories are: *Community Consensus Formation* (category I), *Community Pride* (category II), *Community Dynamic Change* (category III), *Rebuilding Community* (category IV), *Community Cohesion* (category V), *Collective Leadership* (category VI), *Collaboration Momentum* (category VII), and *Community 'Jen-Tung' Process* (category VIII). Figure 16 illustrates these eight representative categories and their properties. The assortment of properties for each category do not indicate a linear order.

The following paragraphs unfold the contents for each representative category in relation to their properties. The property here stands for a distinct attribute or significant feature that constructs the quality of a category (see section III.3.2.iii). Therefore, the property sequence in the following category sections does not suggest a linear order but is deployed based on paragraph fluency and clarification.

Figure 16. Representative Categories



IV.4.1. Category I – Community Consciousness Formation

The notion of community consciousness formation refers to a process that seeks community distinctiveness and representation. It entails the process of self-awareness and awakening⁵⁷ (property A), self-learning and discovering⁵⁸ (property B), and community visioning⁵⁹ (property C).

The development of self-awareness and awakening took place at the nascent stage of community consciousness formation and highlights the concerns for the community's future and the anxiety of losing control of their lives. Interviewees explained why they had a sense of loss and the fear of losing independence. In Zhong-He, interviewees explained how globalization made them rely on imported goods and merchandise. Residents no longer had control over food security and production⁶⁰. The Zhong-He Community Development Association chairman pointed out that local residents had a sense of loss and disconnection to the community due to the urban renewals. They felt that "the neighborhood is no longer the one they were familiar with"⁶¹. In Shui-Nan, interviewees lamented the deterioration of local cultural heritage⁶². They regretted not taking action in time to preserve the valuable historical buildings. In Shan-Yang, interviewees shared how the stagnant community progress and inaction of local environmental problems triggered a sense of crisis and motivated them to reach out for help⁶³. The fear of autonomy deprivation and a sense of crisis in losing community heritage prompted communities to seek change. It is this awakening moment that propelled communities to take action and seek

⁵⁷ Codebook Ref. 1-A-1, 1-A-2, 1-A-3, 1-A-4, 1-A-5, 1-A-6

⁵⁸ Codebook Ref. 1-B-1, 1-B-2, 1-B-3, 1-B-4, 1-B-5, 1-B-6

⁵⁹ Codebook Ref. 1-C-1, 1-C-2, 1-C-3

⁶⁰ Codebook Ref. 1-A-1

⁶¹ Codebook Ref. 1-A-2

⁶² Codebook Ref. 1-A-3, 1-A-4

⁶³ Extracted from interview transcript volume II, P.76

resources. Members of communities, either through the community development association or local organizations, managed to get grants or join government-funded program. These grants facilitated the acquisition of the experience and knowledge in relation to community development, that engenders the self-discovery and learning process (property B).

Community participants who joined the government-initiated community development programs or engaged in community-based activities began to explore community issues and engage in conversation about local concerns. In this learning process, participants yearned to redefine themselves through an understanding of the local culture and community history. The CAP interviewees described how they began to relive local history by visiting local historical sites and inviting the elderly to share their stories and memories⁶⁴. By participating in a variety of activities in relation to local culture and history, the CAP interviewees shared how they had a better understanding of their community⁶⁵ and sought to emphasize their distinctive uniqueness from other communities⁶⁶.

The desire for making a difference and seeking recognition of local culture leads to the development of community consciousness. "Community consciousness", is a phrase that interviewees utilized in the conversations to imply a sense of community or community representation. Interviewees described how they sought for cultural components that could characterize their community and represent the community in the CAP process⁶⁷. Revolving around the discussion in relation to community representation was the notion of community visioning (property C). Participants

⁶⁴ Codebook Ref. 1-B-1, 1-B-2

⁶⁵ Codebook Ref. 1-B-4

⁶⁶ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.17, 26, 41

⁶⁷ Codebook Ref. 1-A-6

shared a feeling of responsibility and obligation to pass along the community heritage to the next generation⁶⁸.

In Shui-Nan, participants began envisioning the function and role of the preserved historical site when they decided to keep the tobacco building. They understand community past as a fundamental component when constructing community today. And they felt it is important for the upcoming generations to understand the history of the land in which they will be growing up⁶⁹. In Wu-Guang, participants shared similar mentality with Shui-Nan in community envisioning. They believed that the younger generation would be more likely to engage in the community work in the future if the youth understood the community's history and develop a connection to the community. They see engagement in the CAP project as a great opportunity for the young generation to cultivate this connection and attachment to the community⁷⁰. The formation of community consciousness serves as a pertinent mechanism to construct the community consensus, which leads to the development of a community the "jent-tung" process (see Category VIII).

IV.4.2. Community Pride

Interviewees suggested that a sense of community pride is incubated and formed through the CAP process. It encompasses the qualities of yearning for being recognized and validation⁷¹ (property A), a sense of belonging⁷² (property B) and self-attainment⁷³ (property C). Participants feel being needed and happy to be helpful⁷⁴ (property D), and develop a sense of confidence and self-efficacy⁷⁵

⁶⁸ Codebook Ref. 1-D-1, 1-D-2, 1-D-3

⁶⁹ Extracted from interview transcript, volume I, P.5.

⁷⁰ Extracted from interview transcript, volume II, P.60.

⁷¹ Codebook Ref. 2-A-1, 2-A-2, 2-A-3, 2-A-4

⁷² Codebook Ref. 2-B-1, 2-B-2, 2-B-3, 2-B-4, 2-B-5

⁷³ Codebook Ref. 2-C-1, 2-C-2, 2-C-3, 2-C-4, 2-C-5, 2-C-6

⁷⁴ Codebook Ref. 2-D-1, 2-D-2

(property E). During the CAP process, interviewees described how participants contributed their time and expertise to the art making process. "Community got talents"⁷⁶, was a shared thought circulating within the community; referring to special skills of the participants such as painting, gardening, sculpting, calligraphy writing, poetry composition and instrument performance. The complexity and collaborative nature of CAP projects assembled these "talents" into a community asset. Participants felt they were being valued and needed (property D), and developed a sense of belonging and pride (property B) that they could be part of something meaningful.

In Shui-Nan, interviewees shared that residents felt happy and proud of their community when their performance in the CAP projects were recognized, acknowledged and praised by others. They felt proud of having a special place (the art site) to show others and yearned to be recognized and validated (property A). In Ping-Fu, interviewees emphasized that an inherent value of CAP projects was to provide participants the opportunities to develop a sense of self-attainment (property C). Participants shared the confidence in themselves by demonstrating their capability for doing something nobody has done before⁷⁷. In the Zheng-Xing Street community, interviewees were proud of their ability to host an international event⁷⁸. The ability to overcome challenges to make things happen and to problem solve when encountering difficulties reinforces the self-efficacy development (property E) and enhances the sense of community pride. This community pride provides a vehicle for community momentum (see category VII) and serves as a main ingredient for the community "jen-tung" process (see category VIII).

⁷⁵ Codebook Ref. 2-E-1, 2-E-2, 2-E-3, 2-E-4

⁷⁶ Codebook Ref. 1-B-5

⁷⁷ Codebook Ref. 1-C-3

⁷⁸ Codebook Ref. 2-C-6

IV.4.3. Community Dynamics Change

A community dynamics change indicates an interactional change between different social groups and an attitude change toward community development work within a community. This encompasses a political attitude and behavior change (property A), mentality change (property B), and the ability to change the status quo (property C).

Interviewees shared that the residents were more open-minded to new ideas and willing to make a change (property B) when the increasing interaction between the CAP participants and residents generated reciprocal communication. It was revealed that the outsiders or opponents of the CAP project over time shifted from a skeptical attitude to a supportive one⁷⁹. In Jing-Ping, the Li-office chairman shared that the voter's behavior has changed during the local election; voter perceptions of how candidates were engaged in community building became more important than political party affiliations⁸⁰. In Ping-Fu, interviewees shared that residents have gradually changed their attitudes and begun to value a candidate's commitment to community work as a qualification of merit despite the prevailing nepotism or cronyism mindset in most voting⁸¹ scenarios. This mindset and behavioral shift in local political dynamics (sub-category) was noticeable when members of the community have experienced community changes before and after the CAP projects. In addition to voting behavior changes, the interviewees shared that different interpretations had emerged in conceptualizing the notion of community.

In Taiwan, residents commonly define themselves as members of a community based on location or geographical affiliation. Rarely have residents

⁷⁹ Codebook Ref. 1-C-1

⁸⁰ Retrieved from transcript volume I, P. 184, 188. Filename: 160613_002

⁸¹ Codebook Ref. 3-A-1

conceptualized the concept of community beyond the understanding of geographic location (see section II.3.4). Nevertheless, participants who have a profound experience in community development or deeper engagement in community work sought for an alternative definition for the understanding of “members of a community”. In Wu-Guang, interviewees re-defined the concept of “members of a community” by taking into account the degree of participation in community work rather than the residency⁸². In Ping-Fu, the qualities of inclusiveness and collaboration outweigh the geographic Li-district boundary⁸³ in the conceptualization of community. In the Zheng-Xing Street community, the concept of community was not tied to a locality or group interest but more a shared values and ideology⁸⁴. Built upon the progression in mentality towards a more inclusivity and flexibility, participants have shown their openness to new ideas and propensity changing the status quo (property C) in various scenarios.

The notion of changing the status quo in this instance refers to the ability to act differently or otherwise despite the orthodox values or customs prevailing in the community or society at large. Participants have demonstrated a great depth of creativity and innovation in a variety of community solutions. In Shui-Nan, community members advocated an innovative design motif by challenging the traditional narrative of Chinese culture interpretation⁸⁵. In Ping-Fu, participants revitalized a deteriorated corridor space by transforming it into a safe path and an alternative route for school kids. In the Zheng-Xing street neighborhood, store owners have developed a reciprocal collaboration rather than business competition

⁸² Codebook Ref. 3-B-2

⁸³ Codebook Ref. 3-A-3

⁸⁴ Codebook Ref. 3-C-4

⁸⁵ Codebook Ref. 3-C-2

relationship⁸⁶ in terms of marketing strategy to boost sale revenue. These examples demonstrate how the change in mentality leads to a behavioral change and contributes to capacity building, which accounts for the notion of “agency seeking” in Bhattacharya’s (1994, 2004) theory of community development (see section II.2.1).

IV.4.4. Rebuilding the Community

The notion of rebuilding the community within the context of CAP refers to a process of reconnecting to the community’s past through the retrieval of shared memories and the reconstruction of local history (property A). In the CAP process, participants reconstructed local history through their perspectives and rendered a community memory through their voices. The interpretation of local history vested in CAP participants led to the development of narrative empowerment (property B). In the art making process, materials collected in the reconstruction of local history became the design motif and was transformed in to art form. The CAP participants internalized the shared memory (property C) that was generated in the process of reconstructing history and incorporating collective memories into the community art expression. Through the recruitment of art making volunteers and the implementation of on-site artwork assembly, the process was able to focus on bridging the gap between different generations (Property D) and re-enforced community bonding through the act of artmaking collaboration.

Interviewees iterated the importance of understanding the past as critical component in rebuilding the community. In Shui-Nan, interviewees emphasized that the relevance of learning the origin of Goddess Matzu and the Earth Gods helped to understand why religious activities in Shui-Nan served as vehicle to the development

⁸⁶ Retrieved from transcript volume III, P.51-52. Filename:160715_001

of community bonding and social capital⁸⁷. In Wu-Guang, interviewees shared that the history of the sugar cane plantation helped them to understand local agriculture development⁸⁸ and to build their community heritage. For the residents, the anxiety and fear of losing control was deeply rooted in the rapid change of modernity and urbanism. This rapid change has generated life style gaps between locals and newcomers. When technology changed the ecology of local business industries a disconnection was created and was then exacerbated as urban renewal wiped out most of the familiar landscape of their childhood memories⁸⁹. Even more disruption came to community when growing population forced the Li-district (see section III.3.4) to re-organize⁹⁰. Reconnecting to the past became a probable way to reclaim ownership of the community and served as proxy for community rebuilding.

Through the CAP projects, communities were provided an emotional outlet to mourn the loss of local heritage⁹¹ and a chance to rebuild it⁹². Through the art making process, participants internalized the community history and shared memories by giving the art forms meanings. To some degree, participants saw the artworks or revamped spaces as an incarnation of community history and traditional values⁹³. Opportunities for intergenerational interaction and collaboration were created through the act of painting murals, cementing mosaic tiles and installing ceramic sculptures⁹⁴. Participants also perceived an extension to the sense of self or its continuity by creating an artwork. In support of this notion, one of the interviewees shared the following: "It's like your own child". It accentuates how a

⁸⁷ Codebook Ref. 4-A-2

⁸⁸ Codebook Ref. 4-A-4

⁸⁹ Extracted from transcript volume II, P.52-53

⁹⁰ Extracted from transcript volume I, P114-115

⁹¹ Codebook Ref. 1-A-4

⁹² Retrieved from transcript volume II, P.7-9.

⁹³ Codebook Ref. 4-C-4

⁹⁴ Codebook Ref. 4-D-5

collective goal and vision is personalized through the artmaking process⁹⁵. Through this process of rebuilding the community, participants co-created a shared memory and experience that characterizes an emerging community bonding and solidarity, which constitutes an essential property for the concept of “jen-tung” (see property D in Category VIII) and facilitates the development of community cohesion (see Category V).

IV.4.5. Community Cohesion

The notion of community cohesion refers to a sense of bonding and solidarity that entails a reciprocal interaction and support system within a community. In both CAP and CEA interview analysis, community cohesion was incubated and strengthened through various community engagement activities, interaction and collaborations. Interviewees identified a few features that characterize the notion of community cohesion. These features are caring about and looking after neighbors (property A), supporting and providing help and aid to neighbors in need (property B), and having a sense of responsibility to pass on the legacy and community heritage (property D). Such bonding and cohesion were re-enforced through constant community social gatherings and in a variety of community engagement activities (property C).

“Ren-Ching-Wei” (人情味), a phrase recurring often in the conversations, refers to the quality of hospitality and affability, and was seen as the fundamental ingredient to create community cohesion. Interviewees shared that the quality of “Ren-Ching-Wei” had faded away as community structure gradually shifted from an agricultural base to a modern and urbanized society through the impact of socio-economic change. Interviewees stated that the lack of social gathering and

⁹⁵ Codebook Ref. 4-C-5

collaborative opportunities led to a feeling of alienation and disconnection within the community. To retrieve the traditional value of “Ren-Ching-Wei”, it was fundamental to create opportunities that enabled people to reciprocate favors and help each other⁹⁶. Interviewees shared that the CAP projects provided interaction and collaboration opportunities for people to re-build the reciprocal aid and support system⁹⁷ that was previously prevalent in the traditional agriculture based society⁹⁸. This reciprocal support system, a way of looking after each other, facilitates the formation of the sense of cohesion.

Interviewees attributed the cohesion, or interpreted solidarity, to the development of a sense of community⁹⁹. In this study, the notion of community cohesion encompasses the value of “Ren-Ching-Wei”, fermentation of a reciprocal support system, and a shared responsibility for future progress within the community. This category accounts for the pertinent ingredients to delineate the concept of “jen-tung” in Category VIII.

IV.4.6. Collective Leadership

This category stands as a mechanism to emphasize the features of collectivism in terms of decision making and leadership, and signifies an activity other than a leadership position. This type of leadership is driven by altruism and a selfless mindset¹⁰⁰ (property A), as well as a concern for the future of the community¹⁰¹ (property B). Decision making was not based on an arbitrary interest or personal preference. In this study, it involved activities of responsibility sharing

⁹⁶ Retrieved from transcript volume II, P.13

⁹⁷ Codebook Ref. 5-A-3

⁹⁸ Codebook Ref. 5-B-3

⁹⁹ Codebook Ref. 5-A-1

¹⁰⁰ Codebook Ref. 6-A-1, 6-A-2, 6-A-3, 6-A-4, 6-A-5, 6-A-6

¹⁰¹ Codebook Ref. 6-B-1, 6-B-2

and power redistributing¹⁰² (property E) when participants worked collaboratively to fulfill a mission or accomplish a task. Participants were self-motivated and aimed to create a sense of inclusiveness¹⁰³ (property D). Leaders in the community development association, local organizations, or Li-office who advocate collective leadership had a shared commonality of being circumspective and cautious (property C). They felt the responsibility to foresee the future for the community and lead the community to the right path¹⁰⁴.

Throughout the CAP and CEA process, participants considered the “selfless mindset” (wu-sih-sin 無私心) as an essential element in the leadership. This selfless mindset was demonstrated through the action of “taking the lead to do the hard work”¹⁰⁵, “sharing the stage with others”¹⁰⁶, “seeing public good as more important than personal gain”¹⁰⁷ and “being the doer”¹⁰⁸. Interviewees shared that people were willing to participate in community activities and contribute their time volunteering when they perceived their work as for the public good and would benefit the majority¹⁰⁹. In this collective leadership process, responsibility sharing and empowerment served as vehicle to facilitate cross-boundary and multiple-sector collaboration and created a reciprocal support system. The chairman of the Ping-Fu Li-office emphasized this collective leadership was critical to create a supporting environment for the participants to feel free enough to take the initiative. There was no finger pointing or a blame culture when volunteers made mistakes during a

¹⁰² Codebook Ref. 6-E-1, 6-E-2, 6-E-3, 6-E-4, 6-E-5

¹⁰³ Codebook Ref. 6-D-1, 6-D-2, 6-D-3

¹⁰⁴ Codebook Ref. 6-C-1, 6-C-2, 6-C-3

¹⁰⁵ Codebook Ref. 6-A-1,

¹⁰⁶ Codebook Ref. 6-A-3

¹⁰⁷ Codebook Ref. 6-A-5

¹⁰⁸ Codebook Ref. 6-A-4

¹⁰⁹ Codebook Ref. 6-A-2, 6-A-5

collective action¹¹⁰. “Let go the chief posture”¹¹¹, stated one interviewee, and “promote others in public”¹¹², state another. These generally are perceived as the key elements needed to create a positive and healthy collaborative environment.

When it came to decision making, community leaders were often circumspective, cautious and mindful in community visioning during the CAP process. They felt the obligation to foresee the community future and make the right decision for the community. Through the CAP process, the concern for the future of the community and mindful thinking had prompted them to be more open-minded and flexible when adopting other opinions¹¹³. They also tended to seek long-term solutions rather than short-sighted expediency¹¹⁴. In general, this collective leadership generated an inclusive environment for collaboration momentum (see Category VII) and served as a vehicle to re-enforce community bonding and cohesion (see property C in Category V).

IV.4.7. Community Momentum

Community momentum refers to a cooperative dynamics built upon community consensus (jen-tung) and a selfless mindset (property A). This dynamic motivates people to continue the community work collaboratively (property B) and integrates different groups of people working towards a shared goal (property C). In this study, such momentum was fomented through community visioning (property D), helping to bridge the divide between different groups of people and organizations, and ultimately to make a partnership possible (property E).

¹¹⁰ Codebook Ref. 6-E-2

¹¹¹ A posture that emphasizes “I am the boss” mentality. Also see Codebook Ref. 6-D-3

¹¹² Extracted from transcript volume I, p.

¹¹³ Codebook Ref. 6-C-1

¹¹⁴ Codebook Ref. 6-B-1, 6-B-2

Throughout the interviews, participants shared their years of observations and experiences in the CAP and CEA process. They perceived the community momentum generated through the CAP and CEA process as critical component to the subsequent community development work. In Shui-Nan, the community momentum was demonstrated through their years of endeavor advocating for a community heritage movement by preserving the local tobacco building and organizing activities for the building rehabilitation program (see section IV.1.1.i). In Jin-Ping, the partnership between the university and Jin-Ping Community Development Association continued and aimed to work on several projects related to improving the quality of life within in the neighborhood (see section IV.1.1.iii). In Wu-Guang, a cross-sector collaboration with youth education and senior welfare initiatives were launched and aimed to amplify the intergenerational cooperation through local folk arts preservation and traditional music education (see section IV.1.1.iv). In Ping-Fu, the change in political dynamics after resuming the CAP project has united the community and developed a robust collaboration between different groups of people (see section IV.1.1.v). In the Zheng-Xing Street neighborhood, the community consensus (jen-tung) and community pride built upon the community engagement activities had motivated participants to contemplate social issues more frequently than self-interest business concerns¹¹⁵.

These cases fully demonstrate a sustainable collaborative dynamics incubated through the CAP or CEA process and signify a community momentum that surpasses incentive mobilization through project grants or program awards. Interviewees indicated that residents had shown an inclination to participate in a variety of community work organized by community development associations or local

¹¹⁵ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.33

organizations, and had demonstrated their desire to be part of this meaningful act¹¹⁶.

This data provided informative materials to portray the progress of the community development and to profile its transition from a nascent stage of community consciousness development to the formation of community momentum.

IV.4.8. Community “Jen-Tung” process

Jen-Tung (認同), is a Chinese phrase that combines two words “Jen” (認) and “Tung” (同). It connotes the meaning of recognition or the act of recognizing (jen) and the agreement or the act of agreeing (tung). In an active sentence construction, jen-tung can refer to an agreement or consensus of opinion and ideology, or it can be utilized to align oneself to a certain role or identity. Here are some examples of its use in different scenarios, “I ‘jen-tung’ (agree) his decision” or “They ‘jen-tung’ (identify) themselves as Taiwanese”. In passive sentence construction, “jen-tung” refers to recognition, approval or assurance from others. For instance, “he receives his colleague’s ‘jen-tung’ (recognition)” or “she is seeking her parent’s ‘jen-tung’ (approval) to support her decision”.

Throughout the conversations, the phrase “jen-tung” was reiterated on multiple occasions and denotes a sense of approval and agreement¹¹⁷ or demonstrates the trust and confidence in the community¹¹⁸. In some conversational contexts, it also implied the act of identification¹¹⁹. To articulate the nuance of “jen-tung” in this research, I would utilize the phrase *community “jen-tung”* to stand for the concept of community consensus, and employ *community “jen-tung” process* to emphasize the act of identification or identity formation. In this analysis, the phrase “jen-tung” is used to cover an array of nuanced meanings.

¹¹⁶ Extracted from interview transcript volume I. P.4, volume II, P.33, volume III, P.96

¹¹⁷ Codebook Ref. 8-A-1

¹¹⁸ Codebook Ref. 8-B-1, 8-B-2

¹¹⁹ Codebook Ref. 8-E-2

In Wu-Guang, interviewees shared that they garnered “jen-tung” (recognition, approval, and agreement) from the residents for their efforts and performance in the CAP projects¹²⁰ (property A). In Shui-Nan, interviewees described how the community development association activated resident’s “jen-tung” by procuring their signatures on property use agreements for the CAP projects¹²¹. The CAP participants perceived the signatures as a manifesto of residents showing their “jen-tung”; a sign of trust, endorsement, and confidence (property B) to the community development association. In the Zheng-Xi Street neighborhood, street vendors and store owners demonstrated their “jen-tung” for the street event by modifying their business schedule and sacrificing their convenience to support the activity¹²² (property C).

Throughout the interview analysis, a few components were identified in the process of CAP and CEA as pivotal elements acquiring the community “jen-tung”. These include the shared experiences and memories that were developed to build the community cohesion (property D). The CAP and CEA participants explained that the shared experience in problem solving, collaborative efforts in tackling the challenges, and creating a collective memory through the art making process had advanced the community bonding and community cohesion¹²³. The community pride generated from the recognition and praise of art site visitors or event audiences had reinforced the “jen-tung” mechanism¹²⁴. Participants described that being part of something significant and meaningful had generated a sense of belonging and instilled the

¹²⁰ Codebook Ref. 8-A-1

¹²¹ Codebook Ref. 8-B-1

¹²² Codebook Ref. 8-C-1, 8-C-2

¹²³ Codebook Ref. 8-D-1, 8-D-2

¹²⁴ Codebook 8-E-1

community pride¹²⁵ (property E). This sense of community pride had given community members an obligation to maintain the community values and generated a sense of responsibility to make positive change¹²⁶.

Interviews revealed that community members were more inclined to identify themselves as a member of the community when their voices and suggestions were being heard and valued¹²⁷ (property F). They gradually perceived community as a representation of individual identity¹²⁸. Interviewees also identified the selfless mindset¹²⁹ (property G) as an essential element to cultivate the “jen-tung” mechanism. The selfless mindset (wu-sih-sin 無私心), as re-iterated in numerous conversations¹³⁰, was defined as a value and community quality other than a personal leadership trait to activate the “jen-tung” process. Interviewees shared their personal experiences as to why they withdrew their support or endorsement of the community organizations when they perceived certain interest groups becoming the only beneficiaries in the community development work¹³¹. In other words, the community “jen-tung” is in jeopardy of dissolution when participants perceive the abuse of personal gain disguising as community development work¹³². Self-interest promotion, nepotism, or cronyism are considered detrimental to community “jen-tung”¹³³.

In summary, the community “jen-tung” process refers to the formation of a community consensus and identification. The process captures the idea of

¹²⁵ Codebook 8-E-2

¹²⁶ Codebook Ref. 8-D-2

¹²⁷ Codebook Ref. 8-F-1, 8-F-2

¹²⁸ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.23, P.32, P.33

¹²⁹ Codebook Ref. 8-G-1, 8-G-2

¹³⁰ Codebook Ref. 6-A-1, 6-A-2, 6-A-3, 6-A-4, 6-A-5, 6-A-6,7-A-1, 7-A-2

¹³¹ Codebook Ref. 8-G-2

¹³² Extracted from interview transcript volume II, P.65.

¹³³ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.124.

community representation resulting in a collective identity and shared values for community cohesion. To activate an individual's "jen-tung", it is critical to create an inclusive environment for individuals to give them a sense of belonging, and a feeling of being heard and respected¹³⁴. To acquire the community "jen-tung", there must be a reliance on an altruistic quality and a selfless mindset. Such a mechanism is activated by collective leadership (see Category VI), shared experiences and collaborative activities¹³⁵ that have helped to develop community bonding and solidarity. To catalyze the community progress, community "jen-tung" serves as a vehicle to galvanize community momentum and mobilization.

¹³⁴ Codebook Ref. 8-F-1, 8-F-2

¹³⁵ Codebook Ref. 8-D-1, 8-D-2

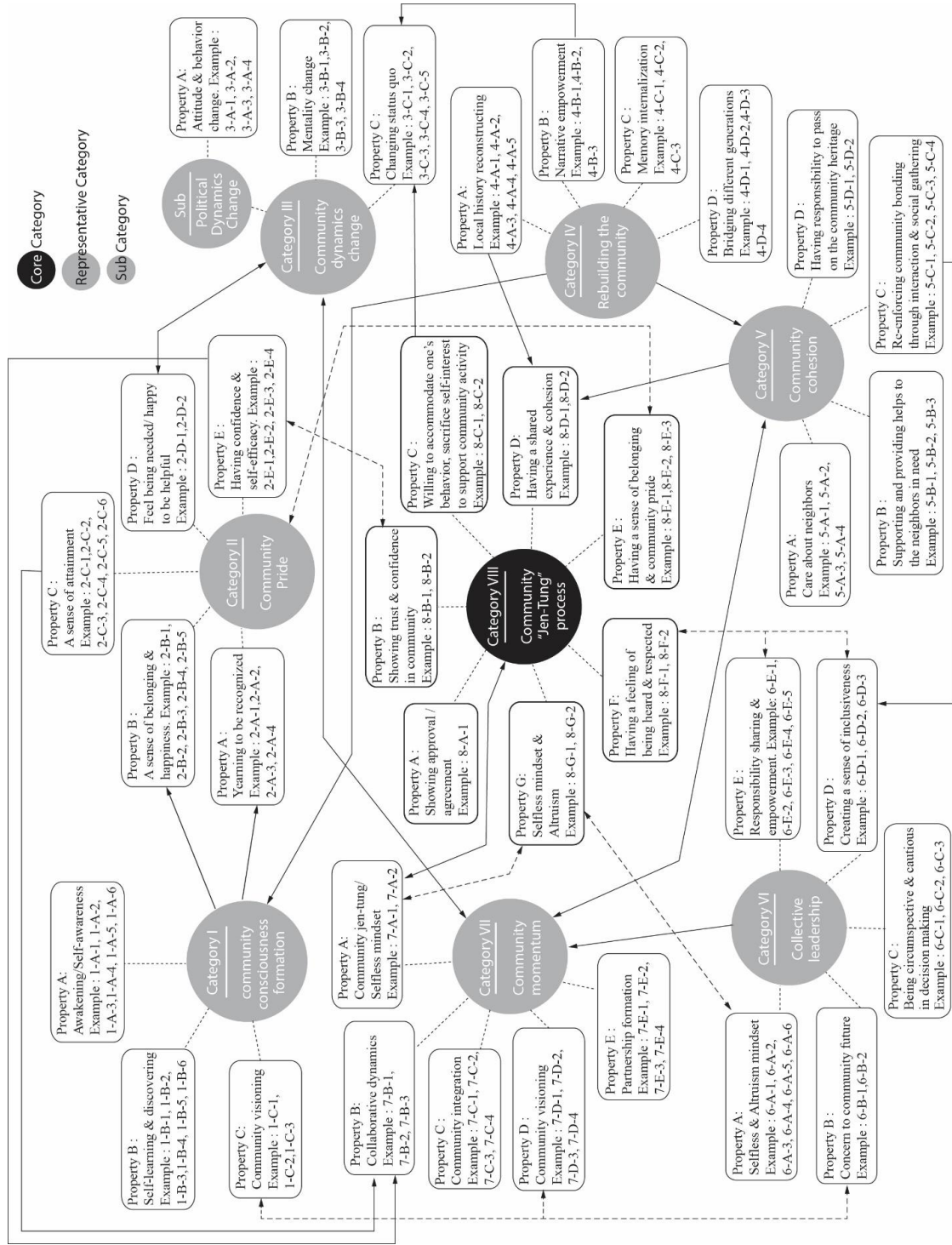
V. THEORETICAL INTEGRATION

V.1. Advanced Axial Mapping

The focus of phase three of the research revolved around theoretical integration and theory development. In this phase, an advanced axial mapping was used to illustrate the relationship between the categories and properties. Figure 17 illustrates how the eight Representative Categories relate to each other. For example, in Figure 16, the Representative Category V *Community Cohesion* serves to support the property concept of having a Shared Experience & Cohesion in Core Category VIII Property D; and Representative Category IV Rebuilding the Community through Property A: Local History Reconstructing -provides insights into the Property D: Having a Shared Experience & Cohesion in Core Category VIII. In some circumstances, different Categories share similar properties. For example, the concept of Selfless Mindset and Altruism is included in properties of Representative Categories VI, VII, and VIII; and the concept of Community Visioning is included in both Representative Category I and VII. In some cases, different property titles share similar contents and will be considered a connection between the properties. For instance, the concept of Community Visioning entails the notion of Concern to Community Future in Representative Category VI Property B; therefore, category VI Property B, category VII property D and category I Property C are considered interrelated. Similar reasoning is applied to category VI Property D and E, and category VIII Property F. The concept of Creating a Sense of Inclusiveness (VI,D) entails the notions of Having a Feeling of Being Heard & Respected (VIII, F) and Responsibility Sharing & Empowerment (Vi, E). In these cases, the relationship between these properties are illustrated through dashed-lines. This advanced axial

mapping helps to visualize these relations and provides threading that allows for the development of thematic category integration.

Figure 17. Advanced Axial Mapping



In the diagram, double-ended arrows and single-ended arrows indicate a nuance in relation to the correlation between categories or properties. Double-ended arrows signify a reciprocated interaction between two concepts, while single-ended arrows emphasizes the information input or the source of power that supports the indicated concepts. For instance, the double-ended arrow between Representative Category V Community Cohesion and Category VII Community Momentum indicates an interaction relationship; and suggests these two concepts reciprocate and support each other. In this case, Category V Community Cohesion serves as an impactful component to the support of the Category VII Community Momentum; while the formation of community momentum also re-enforces the development of community cohesion.

In the cases of single-ended arrows, the one direction relationship emphasizes the support and explanatory backing of a particular concept toward another concept. For instance, Category IV Rebuilding the Community provides the mechanism in the formation of community consciousness (Category I); while community consciousness (Category I) provides an informative reason to conceptualize the concepts of Property A: Yearning to Be Recognized and Property B: A Sense of Belonging & Happiness of Category II Community Pride. Within each property box, examples are listed at the end to show link to the codebook and provide an audit trail.

V.2. Thematic Category Integration

Combing through these interactions and the relationships between categories and properties built upon the advanced axial mapping, three main clusters emerged and were defined as salient theoretical themes; namely: Reclaiming Ownership of the Community, Community-efficacy Development and Community Identification.

Figure 18 illustrates these three main clusters and their related category concepts. The arrows between these three clusters signify an interacted relationship between these themes instead of isolated concepts.

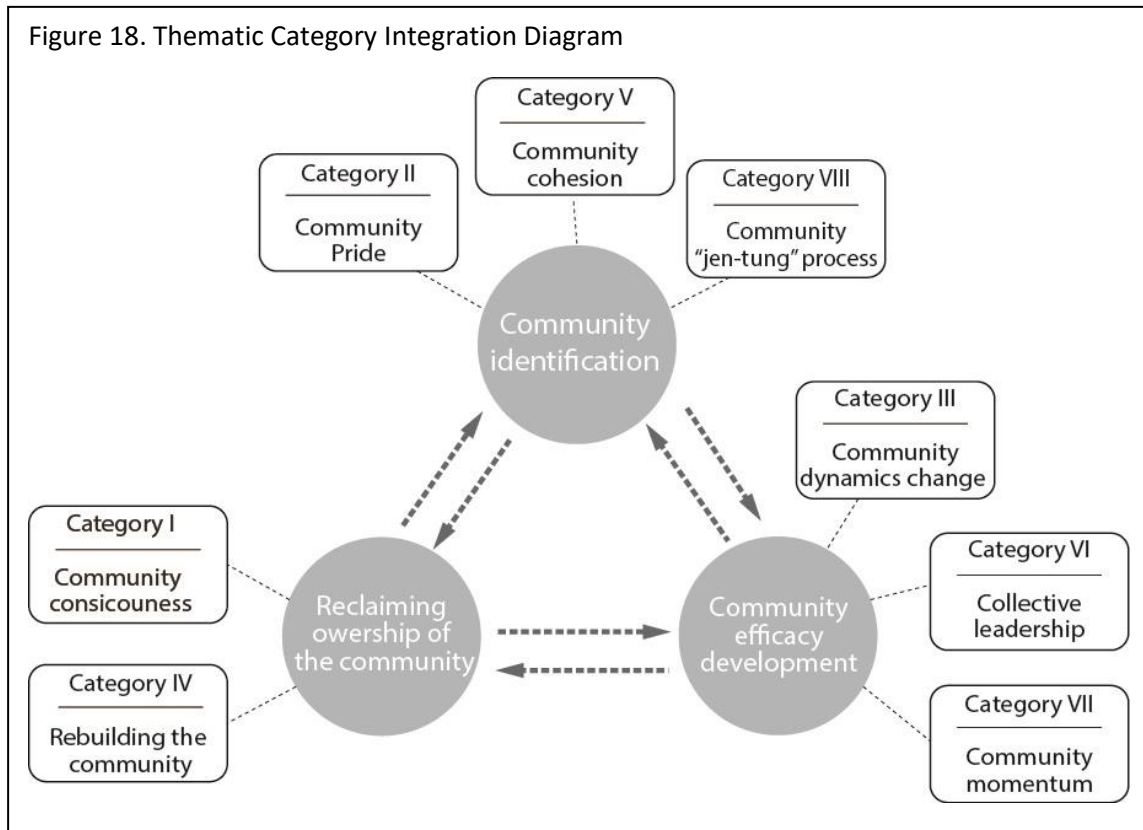


Table 5 lists the pertinent categories and related properties under each thematic category integration. Again, in the table, the sequence of listed categories did not suggest a priority or hierarchy of the concepts.

Table 5. Thematic Category Integration List

1. Reclaiming ownership of the community
Category 1 <i>Community consciousness formation</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Awakening & self-awareness ▪ Property B: Self-learning & discovering ▪ Property C: Community visioning
Category 4 <i>Rebuilding community</i>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Local history reconstructing ▪ Property B: Narrative empowerment ▪ Property C: Shared memory internalization ▪ Property D: Bridging different generation <p>(Other pertinent concepts)</p> <p>Category 2 <i>Community pride</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Yearning to be recognized ▪ Property B: A sense of belonging and happiness
<p>2. Community-efficacy development</p>
<p>Category 3 <i>Community dynamics change</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Attitude and behavior change (Political dynamics change) ▪ Property B: Mentality change ▪ Property C: Changing status quo/ being able to act otherwise <p>Category 6 <i>Collective leadership</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Selfless & altruism mindset ▪ Property B: Concern to community future ▪ Property C: Being circumspective & cautious in decision making ▪ Property D: Creating a sense of inclusiveness ▪ Property E: Responsibility sharing and empowerment <p>Category 7 <i>Community momentum</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Community “jen-tung” & selfless mindset ▪ Property B: Collaborative dynamics ▪ Property C: Community integration ▪ Property D: Community visioning ▪ Property E: Partnership formation <p>(Other pertinent concepts)</p> <p>Category 2 <i>Community pride</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property C: A sense of achievement & self-attainment ▪ Property D: Feel being needed & happy to be helpful ▪ Property E: Having confidence in one’s community & self-efficacy <p>Category 4 <i>Rebuilding community</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property B: Narrative empowerment
<p>3. Community identification</p>
<p>Category 2 <i>Community pride</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Yearning to be recognized ▪ Property B: A sense of belonging and happiness ▪ Property C: A sense of achievement & self-attainment ▪ Property D: Feel being needed & happy to be helpful ▪ Property E: Having confidence in one’s community <p>Category 5 <i>Community cohesion</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Property A: Care about neighbors ▪ Property B: Supporting and providing helps to the neighbors in need ▪ Property C: Re-enforcing community bonding through interaction & social gathering

- Property D: Having a sense of responsibility passing on the community heritage
- Category 8 *Community "jen-tung" process*
- Property A: Showing approval & agreement
 - Property B: Showing trust & confidence in the community
 - Property C: Willing to accommodate one's interest to support community activities
 - Property D: Having a shared experience & cohesion
 - Property E: Having a sense of belonging & community pride
 - Property F: Having a feeling of being heard and respected
 - Property G: Selfless mindset & altruism
- (Other pertinent concepts)
- Category 4 *Rebuilding community*
- Property A: Local history reconstructing
- Category 6 *Collective leadership*
- Property D: Creating a sense of inclusiveness
 - Property E: Responsibility sharing and empowerment

V.2.1 Reclaiming Ownership of the Community

Revolving around Category IV Rebuilding the Community, the act of local history reconstructing (property A) took the lead in the CAP process and served as the vehicle for the community consciousness formation (Category I). The conversation and discussion that took place when retrieving local history and the sharing childhood memories provided the materials to reconstruct the picture of "community" they used to live within. In motif coding, the art forms in cow figures (see section IV.1.1.iv), sugar cane carrier train (see section IV.1.1.v) and traditional grocery renovation (see section IV.1.1.ii) shared the similarity in reminiscence of a "good old time". Instead of attributing these thematic artworks to aesthetic nostalgic expression, the intention and motivation underlying the art theme signifies a sentimentality in reconnecting to the past and a yearning to be recognized (Property A in Category II). The act of artmaking became a symbolic move to rebuild "the community"; a community that they perceived as representative of old values and

conceived through shared memory. “Ren-Ching-Wei”¹³⁶ is considered one of the old values that resonated to participants’ experiences and was embedded in their memories. It characterizes a quality of life in the good old time or rural society when everyone knew their neighbors and looked after each other; a support system that created resilience when encountering difficulties and problems. In this system, everyone plays a meaningful role and provides services to build a robust community (see section IV.4.5).

Interviewees from Zheng-Xing Street shared their insights and observations to conceptualize this idea of “community”. They described the differences of life between metropolitan areas like Taipei¹³⁷ and places like Tainan¹³⁸. In Taipei, they perceived that the social entity resembled an assembly of individuals with less interaction and connection. A person acted as an isolated unit in a society just focused on making a living. As such, competition and success were major concerns while they resided in Taipei¹³⁹. Contrary to life in Taipei, the Zheng-Xing Street residents felt they “live” here, as exemplified in the following quotation “People shared their thoughts and ideas...from trivial daily life routines to local news... the community is your home...you have root here...you feel comfortable in this environment”¹⁴⁰. The idea of community as an extension of the home highlights the emotional need for intimacy and rootedness; a quality that provides a sense of security and control in satisfaction of a person’s biological, psychological and social needs (Tuan, 1980; Proshansky, 1983 & 1989). The yearning for a personal

¹³⁶ Ren-Ching-Wei stands for a Chinese phrase 人情味. It refers to the quality of hospitality and affability.

¹³⁷ The biggest city in Taiwan, serves as financial center and political capital.

¹³⁸ The sixth largest city in Taiwan, is well-known for its cultural heritage. It is considered as one of cultural capital in Taiwan for its rich folk cultures. Retrieved from: [臺南市政府全球資訊網. Tainan.gov.tw](http://www.tainan.gov.tw).

Archived from [the original](#) on January 18, 2013. Retrieved 2013-01-23.

¹³⁹ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.76

¹⁴⁰ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.77.

connection and a sense of belonging resonates with the concepts of community consciousness formation (Category I). The anxiety and fear of losing control of one's life and disconnection to the community triggered a sense of crisis and motivated participants to take action (see section IV.4.1). Throughout the CAP process, an individual's experience and memories were validated through the reconstruction of local history. The narrative empowerment (see section IV.4.4) generated in the process granted participants the ability to portray the community they conceived. The projection of a community based on one's memory and interpretation was re-created through the act of artmaking; a symbolic act of rebuilding the community and reclaiming ownership of the community.

V.2.2 Community Efficacy Development

Built upon Category III Community Dynamics Change and Category VII Community Momentum, the concept of community efficacy refers to the community ability to change the status quo and problem solving, having confidence in one's capacity in tackling future challenges. Throughout the conversations, interviewees shared that they had confidence in their community and were proud of "making things happen" and "doing something nobody had done before"¹⁴¹. The ability to overcome challenges and solve problems while encountering difficulties served as the main factor in the development of community efficacy through a collectiveness of individual's contribution. Such capacity was incubated in the mechanism of collective leadership (see section IV.4.6) and was tested through a variety of collaboration opportunities and partnership formation through cross-sector coordination. The community integration after political tension and division, the commitment to preserve local cultural heritage, and the resolve to procure a community consensus

¹⁴¹ Codebook Ref. 2-C-2, 2-C-3, 2-C-6

on solutions to chronic local problems (see section IV.4.7) were the manifesto of such community efficacy.

The confidence and belief in one's capacity to tackle challenges and problems has served as a vehicle to accelerate community momentum and help in the development of community pride; a critical component in the facilitation of the community identification process.

V.2.3 Community Identification

Revolving around the Category VIII Community "jen-tung" Process, the concept of community identification encompassed the process of individuals aligning themselves to a collective identity through the "jen-tung" mechanism. Within this "jen-tung" mechanism, entails the process of the development in nascent stage of community consensus, community pride (Category II) and cohesion (Category V), a dynamic transition from exclusiveness to inclusiveness, and the formation of a collective identity through an internalization process.

Throughout the interviews, participants shared that they had built a sense of confidence and pride in portraying their community when introducing themselves in public. "They are proud of saying they are from Shui-Nan now", stated the Li-office chair of Shui-Nan Li. He described that residents were not hesitant to identify themselves as members of the Shui-Nan community¹⁴². Similar scenarios took place in Wu-Guang, Zheng-He, Ping-Fu and Zheng-Xing Street communities. Stores owners on the Zheng-Xing Street would choose Zheng-Xing Street as a brand to introduce their stores instead of individual store names¹⁴³. They perceived themselves as members of Zheng-Xing Gang¹⁴⁴; a group of people who uphold

¹⁴² Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.23.

¹⁴³ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.78.

¹⁴⁴ Extracted from interview transcript volume III, P.24. Also see section IV.1.2

shared values and they supported each other. Either through the CAP or CEA process, a collective identity emerged in the name of community and represented their unique characteristics. In the CAP process, this collective identity was constructed through the development of community consciousness (see section IV.4.1), and embodiment of the artmaking process and the enhancement of community pride (see section IV.4.2). In the CEA process, such collective identity formation was activated through idea sharing during a variety of informal gatherings and collaborations having innovative event organizing process. Participants shared that *A Sense of Belonging* (Figure 16, Property B in Category II) and inclusiveness through *Having a Feeling of Being Heard and Respected* (Figure 16, Property F in Category VIII) emerged when they were part of the community development work and contributed some insights into the participatory visioning. The feelings of community identity emerged when participants perceived change in the community and received recognition from the general public. Expressions of “feeling proud of being part of something meaningful”¹⁴⁵, “feeling happy to be needed”¹⁴⁶, and “feeling proud of making things happen”¹⁴⁷ signify a sense of self-fulfillment and self-attainment (see property C in Category II) that participants perceived their participation made a change in the community. A sense of self-development was verified and conceived through the collective action: the CAP or CEA process. The outcome of community artworks or the performance of the creative events signified a representative community, which serves as a symbolic community identity. Community, in the social representation context, is more than a geographical location that participants reside within or a local organization with which participants subscribed as membership; it has become an

¹⁴⁵ Codebook Ref. 2-B-1, 2-B-4

¹⁴⁶ Codebook Ref. 2-D-1, 2-D-2

¹⁴⁷ Codebook Ref. 2-C-2, 2-C-6

entity of a collectiveness of individual extension of self and a projection of self-worth when individuals perceived themselves as part of the community: a process of community identification.

The feature of internationalization was particularly critical in this process of community identification. This internalization serves as vehicle activating an alternative identification mechanism to illuminate the transition from individual self-development to collective identity formation. In the CAP process, such internalization processes took place through the reconstruction of the community history through the collecting and sharing of individual childhood memory (see section IV.4.4). In this process, individuals not only shared personal memories but also incorporated other participants' memories; this bridged the gap between different generation's memories and created a collective memory through the artmaking process. A comparable transformation process was identified in a variety of CEA processes. The event organizing and community development programming provided a platform for individual participation. The fulfillment gained from solving problems and overcoming challenges through the input of individuals and professionals effort personalized the collective work and marked a distinct individual contribution.

The community identification process through CAP or CEA incorporated the satisfaction and psychological needs required for individual self-attainment as well as activated collaborative momentum that spurs community change. This identification mechanism elicits an inquiry within the identity process in relation to social change; a concern that constructs the matrix of identity, change and action in social psychological contexts (Jaspal, 2014). To address this relationship and interaction within the identity, change and action, a further review of literatures and theories in identity process is pertinent and crucial. The following section unfolds a couple of

influential theories in relation to identity process as well as its application and limitation. Finally, an alternative identification mechanism, internalization, is proposed to extend the dimensionality of identity process and add extra perspective in the principles of Social Identity Theory.

V.3. Theory Review and Application

Scholars with research interests in the social psychology of identity have been seeking to articulate the connection between identity, change and action, and to provide a holistic framework with which this tripartite relationship can be collectively examined. The fundamental belief is that the individual psychological change through assimilation or accommodation can dramatically affect an individual's development of identity, and leads to behavioral change and actions. In this paradigm, the structure of identity serves as a pivotal factor in the understanding of human behaviors (Jaspal, 2014).

In the early development of social psychology in relation to the identity concept, researchers have consistently focused on the individual level of cognition and adopted mainstream approaches of viewing the individual as the primary unit of analysis. Within this context, the concept of identity was tied to the idea of a cognitive representation of self; a theory of development of self-schema (Markus, 1977) that prioritizes the cognitive abilities such as memory to drive the construction of identity. In the 80s, the Symbolic Interactionist Framework (Stryker, 1980) drew academic attention and added a social dimensional lens to identity analysis. This perspective emphasizes the important role social structure plays in shaping individual identity. To delve into a discussion of the structure of identity, psychological sociologist Tajfel's (1974, 1978, 1981) Social Identity Theory (SIT) and its subsequent Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987) were considered the

most influential theories in conceptualizing an individual's self-concept that derives from intergroup relations. Nevertheless, the omission of addressing individual identity in the SIT drove the desire to incorporate personal and social identity into examination. Advocated by Breakwell (2001), the Identity Process Theory (IPT) takes personal traits, experiences and group memberships into account when contemplating the construction of identity.

The following sections deploy an introductory theory review of SIT and IPT (section V.3.1), its application in relation to this study (section V.3.2), and the attempt of theorization in community "jen-tung" process as an alternative identity construction mechanism (section V.3.3).

V.3.1 Theory Reviews in SIT and IPT

■ Social Identity Theory (SIT)

Emerging in the early 1970s, Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1974; 1978; 1981) and its subsequent Self-Categorization Theory (Turner et al., 1987) marked a significant development in the social psychological discipline. After World War II, scholars and professionals in the social psychology field sought to understand the psychological forces that accounted for dreadful acts during the wartime and to explain why a horror such as the Holocaust would happen in such a modern time (Hornsey, 2008). Given the historical background and study's motivation, the enigma of the psychology of intergroup relations emerged as a mainstream and the studies revolving around social identity became research focus (Jaspal, 2014).

In Tajfel's (1972) original definition, social identity is defined as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (p.31). In short, social identity is self-conception as a group member (Abrams & Hogg,

1990). On the road to positive social identity individuals tend to seek positive and unique values for their own groups compared to other groups (Turner & Oakes, 1989). SIT originally focused on conformity and proposed a single process of social identification that produced conformity to group norms. In the first phase of the process, people categorize and define themselves as members of a distinct social category or assign themselves a social identity; secondly, they form or learn the norms of that category; and thirdly, they assign these norms to themselves and normalize and accommodate their behaviors as their category membership becomes salient (Hogg & McGarty, 1990).

Although Hogg and McGarty (1990) explicated how individuals change their behaviors through the process of social identification by utilizing the conformity mechanism; they raised a further question of how the group identity or group membership initially took place. Turner et al (1987) introduced the self-categorization theory (known as SCT) to specifically address such group formation processes. SCT aimed to explain how group formation functions as a transition process from a personal to a social identity. In a series of lab-based experiments, the conclusion was made that individuals have tendency to align themselves to the groups which share the most similarity and show the most distinctions from others (Turner & Oakes, 1989). It was suggested that the basic mechanism was the cognitive process of categorization which accentuates similarities among stimuli belonging to the same category and differences among stimuli belonging to different categories (Hogg & McGarty, 1990). When category distinctions are salient, individuals automatically perceptually enhance similarities within group and enhance differences among other groups (Hornsey, 2008). To align oneself to a group or a social identification category, one may ask how the categories form in the first place.

Turner and Oakes (1989) introduced the concept of comparative principle based on meta-contrast that “a subset of stimuli is more likely to be categorized as a single entity to the degree that differences *within* that subset are less than the differences *between* that subset and other stimuli within the comparative context” (p.241). In other words, individuals who share most similarity tend to form a group when the intragroup differences are less than the intergroup differences.

In addition to the comparative principle, another mechanism involved in self-categorization theory (SCT) is the idea of depersonalization. Depersonalization is “the tendency to perceive increased identity between self and ingroup (intragroup) members and difference from outgroup (intergroup) members, to perceive oneself more as the identical representative of a social category and less as a unique personality defined by one’s personal differences from ingroup members” (Turner & Oakes, 1989, p.245). The idea is to rationalize the role of categorization in “producing social identity between people without denying their personal differences” (p.240). It is a cognitive grouping process that transforms differences into similarities (Turner & Oakes, 1989). In summary, by utilizing the conformity principle (Tajfel, 1972), the comparative principle and the depersonalization process (Turner & Oakes, 1989), individuals align themselves to a social category and then regulate their behaviors to fit within the group norm. Self-categorization theory (SCT) aimed to complement the Social Identity Theory (SIT) and remained focus on the intergroup level of analysis. The omission of addressing personal identity in relation to social identity prompted Breakwell’s (1986, 1992, 2001) advocate to emphasize individual identities and sought to provide a greater insight into the social context in which individual identities are constructed.

- **Identity Process Theory (IPT)**

In theorizing identity process, Glynis M. Breakwell (1986, 1992, 2001) has established a relatively comprehensive theory that offers a reasonably coherent explanation for a range of phenomena. Known as identity process theory (IPT), Breakwell (1986, 1992, 2001) proposes a model of identity process based on four principles: self-esteem, distinctiveness, continuity and self-efficacy. *Self-esteem*, defined as a feeling of personal worth, is concerned with a positive evaluation of oneself or the group with which one is identified. The desire to maintain a positive conception of oneself has been regarded as a central motive in self-identity in a variety of writings (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). *Distinctiveness*, emphasizing uniqueness and differences from others, refers to the desire to maintain personal uniqueness and provides the mechanism with which to guide the processes shaping identity (Vignoles et al, 2000). Vignoles has advanced the concept of distinctiveness by portraying distinctiveness as a social value in the aspect of self-enhancement and a basic property in the construction of meaning within identity. *Continuity*, referring to the notion of preserving continuity of the self-concept, serves as a motivator of action by pursuing the maintenance and development of the continuity of self. *Self-efficacy* is defined as an individual's belief in one's capacity to perform an act or complete a task. The notion of self-efficacy was originally developed in the framework of social learning theory by Banduran (1997) and later on was adopted by Breakwell (2001) as the fourth principle in his previous model. It is believed that individuals would wish to maintain a certain level of self-efficacy and is increasingly regarded as an important vehicle for psychological well-being (Leibkind, 1992).

In Breakwell's conceptualization of IPT, the identity process is regulated by the dynamics of accommodation/assimilation and evaluation. Assimilation and accommodation are considered two components of one process. Assimilation refers

to the “absorption of new components into the identity structure” (Breakwell, 2014, p.29); accommodation refers to the adjustment that integrates the new elements into the existing structure of identity. The process of evaluation entails the allocation of meaning and value to the identity. These two processes interact to determine the structure of the identity and are guided by the four principles mentioned above. To better understand what evokes action and contributes to the construction of identity, Breakwell (1986) suggested focusing on the processes that drive identity development and trigger a coping strategy when one encounters a threat to self-identity. In IPT, the motivation for securing self-concept accounts for a variety of social phenomena.

V.3.2 Theory Application

Breakwell’s theoretical structure resonates with my research findings through the theoretical integration: Reclaiming the Ownership of Community (see section V.1.1). In this thematic category, it suggests that the anxiety and fear of losing control of one’s life, a disconnection to the community, and the diminishing cultural heritage and traditional values fueled participants’ concerns and activated the formation of community consciousness (see section IV.4.1). Participation in a variety of government-funded programs or community-initiated activities provided an outlet to articulate such anxiety and fear; it allowed participants to share their concerns and facilitated a collaborative dynamic toward changing status quo (see section IV.4.7). The anxiety and fear of the deprivation of self-autonomy and disconnection from the community triggered the development of community consciousness (see Category I), prompted the act of rebuilding community (see Category IV) and drove the development of community pride (see Category II). These components provide explanatory threads to grasp the idea of reclaiming the ownership of community;

nevertheless, further exploration is needed to illuminate the relationship between community disconnection and the threat to identity construction within that context. If securing a self-concept or self-identity motivates individuals to respond and take action, there develops a subsequent inquiry of how the reclaiming of the ownership of the community might help to secure self-concept/self-identity and how pivotal and critical that becomes.

In the publication *Coping with threatened identities* (Breakwell, 1986), Breakwell articulated that the lack of self-continuity constituted a fundamental threat to identity. The idea of self-continuity can be traced back to the early work of psychologist Erik Erikson (1963). The notion of a sense of self-continuity emerged when adults introduced the concept of “growing up” to the child and talk about the possibilities of future life. In IPT, self-continuity serves as a fundamental element in identity construction and a constitutional aspect of a robust self. To better understand what the notion of “self” entails, two perspectives unfold in the following paragraphs to provide a glimpse of the connotation of “self”; one perspective revolves around an aspect of individual awareness, the other emphasizes the cultural evolution of the self (Mauss, 1985).

To conceptualize the notion of “self”, Neisser (1997) established an effective framework reliant on individual awareness to understand the idea of “self”. Instead of utilizing inward the approach to find the “self” in the head, Neisser advocated to explore the “forms of knowing about self and world” to analyze the notion of “self”. Known as “self-knowledge”, the idea is to provide a systematic approach to grasp the notion of “self” based on different forms of knowing. Neisser (1988) establishes five core forms of self-knowledge that articulate how the sense of self is perceived and defined. Through these different forms of knowing, individuals see the self as a

physical entity embedded in its environment (ecological self), engaged in social interaction with other persons (interpersonal self), an active agent in different social roles (conceptual self), intrapsychic and self-immersed in one's exclusive experience (private self) and an existence that was in the past and expected to be in the future (extended self). Alongside the five "selves" generated from the self-knowledge, Mauss (1985) drew a distinction between the *sense of self* as an aspect of individual awareness and the *concept of self* as manifest in the "collective representations and institutions of a society". It is believed that the notion of self is tied to the cultural practices and social institutions that regulate the relations and activities of individuals within that society. By adopting the interpretation of cultural evolution of the self, exponents conceive the notion of self as a product of cultural construction; therefore, the "I" that we become aware of in our thoughts "is shaped by the concept of it that we inherit" (Tafarodi, 2008). Thus, culture provides the symbolic tools by which individuals carve out the awareness of their subjectivity. In another words, our society offers us the tools to manufacture our personal narrative and our life story, in which we construct a sense of self continuity (Sani, 2008). Scholars Landau, Grenberg and Solomon (Landau et al, 2008) approach the notion of self-continuity through exploring the motivation underlying people's efforts to achieve and maintain a sense of self-continuity. They posit that constructing and maintaining a culturally meaningful narrative of the self serves a significant psychological function to minimize the existential threat of passing time and the end of life (Ladau et al, 2008). In short, the maintenance of self-continuity is biologically driven and culturally constructed. Individuals seek strategies or acclimate themselves to the society in order to conceive of oneself as a significant and valuable agent. Based on Neisser's (1988) definition, this conceptual self is, the concept of him or herself as a particular

person in terms of social roles (wife, teacher, American) or an active agent that is socially constructed through engagement with the world (social activist, environmentalist).

By adopting the perspectives of social and cultural construction of conceptual self, and the desire to maintain self-continuity, the self development in the context of community through the CAP or CEA provides a probable framework to incorporate the above theories. Throughout the interviews, participants shared how they perceived themselves as meaningful individuals in a variety of community development work. Identifying as members of the community, the CAP or CEA participants conceived themselves as active and prideful agents in the community when they perceived being part of something meaningful (see section IV.4.2).

The enhancement of self-continuity was particularly highlighted in the CAP process. Interviewees shared that participants perceived the artworks as part of themselves; it provided a trace and footprint of his/her life in the artmaking process. The ceramic sculptures, mosaic murals and planted trees through the artmaking and assembly process had become the symbolic manifesto of self-continuity. Interviewees utilized an analogy of "having a child" to assimilate the artmaking process to self-continuity¹⁴⁸. This part of development of sense of self was also demonstrated through individual childhood memory sharing in the local history reconstructing (property A in Category IV). This "remembering" process that connected to the individual's past and childhood memory has generated an extended self, which transcends the past to the present moment. It resonates to Neisser's (1988) assertion in the development of *extended self*. Through "remembering", information is generated about one's past, as a record of one's extended self; a

¹⁴⁸ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.28.

present self was therefore constructed and built upon the form of the past self.

In summary, either through leveraging the psychological or socio-psychological lens, the construction of sense of self or self-concept is deeply embedded in the interaction and interconnection between people, cultural institutions and the external environment. Community, as an entity signifies an alternative conception of society (Delanty, 2018), it functions as a cultural institution to shape social values, upholds the network for interpersonal and group interaction, characterizes a living environment as rootedness (Tuan, 1980), and serves as a reservoir for the collective past and memory. It provides every component and tool for individuals manufacturing their personal life story and constructing a culturally-inherited and meaningful self. In this context, the community engagement serves as influential factor and weigh in to individual development of a sense of self.

V.3.3 Alternative Identification Mechanism: Internalization

In the Social Identity Theory (SIT), the comparative principle (Turner et al, 1987) provides a fundamental mechanism for the self-categorization theory (SCT) to address the group formation process. Based on the comparative principle, individuals utilize comparison strategy to align themselves to the groups that share the most similarity and show the most distinction from others (meta-contrast). In the laboratory experiment, participants were divided into relatively small groups based on an openly random basis. Therefore, this comparative principle relied on a relative and dynamic process (Turner & Oakes, 1989). The outcome of group formation varied and depended on the comparative context. In this experiment setting, the interaction dynamics in the lab was limited and offered insufficient realistic scenario. As a result, the outcome of the experiment may overlook mechanisms other than comparative principle or depersonalization in the process of social identity for its

simplification of the complexity in a real social intragroup or intergroup interaction scenario. Furthermore, the meta-contrast as a comparison basis also arguably created its own controversy. If categorization depends on comparison, the reverse is also true (Turner & Oakes, 1989). In other words, comparison may also depend on some antecedent process of categorization by utilizing prior social categories as a base for subsequent comparison, which creates a logic paradox in this circumstance. In addition to the comparison paradox, the lack of discussion on the subject matter of loyalty and commitment to group values also raises a further question. How does an individual commit to the social norm of one's group and make a change if the comparative principle accounts solely for group formation? Since the outcome of group formation would vary and depend on the comparative context. To address the above controversies, the "jen-tung" process in this study affords a probable framework for its substantial identification mechanism involved in the process: internalization, to shed light on understanding the transition from individual self-development to collective identity formation.

In the "jen-tung" process, the internalization mechanism took place in the act of rebuilding the community (see Category IV) through the artmaking process. As delineated in section IV.4.4, shared individual personal childhood memories were incorporated into collectively constructed community memories in the process of local history reconstruction. This memory sharing and remembering process helped bridge the gap among generations, while at the same time reconnecting with each individual's past self. Through this collaboration, participants absorbed the memories of other community members into one's mind and recomposed local history from the collective experiences. In this process, a community was co-created and assigned with new narrative of local history. A collectiveness and collage of individual past,

memory, and story were interwoven into this emerged tapestry of community. Labeled as Memory Internalization (property C in Category IV), this internalization mechanism emphasizes the transition from individual's past self to the present self and the assimilation of a co-created community history and shared memories.

In the artmaking process, such an internalization mechanism was demonstrated through concurrent act of art making and memory creating. Participants, most noticeably new comers to the community, who did not share common childhood memories with long term residents would employ elements from the local history reconstructing process as creation components and design motifs in the artmaking process. Instead of utilizing the depersonalization as a coping strategy while encountering differences (see section V.3.1), the internalization mechanism in the history reconstructing process or artmaking process was viewed as an instrument to cultivate the connection and attachment to the new materials. In other words, CAP participants resorted to internalization by transforming local context and personal inspiration into the content of an artwork¹⁴⁹. Through the act of art making, participants developed an emotional attachment to the object and transformed the artwork as a reference of one's self concept and action¹⁵⁰. Interviewees shared that participants related the art making process as giving birth to child¹⁵¹. This metaphor characterizes the way participants internalized the process of artmaking and perceived the artwork as representation of self-continuity. A new shared memory was created through the creative artmaking process and added to the tapestry of the community story. The assemblage of participant artworks on the site represented the fusion of perspectives and meanings of different groups and generations of the

¹⁴⁹ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.161.

¹⁵⁰ Extracted from interview transcript volume II, P.37; volume I, P.147.

¹⁵¹ Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.28.

community into a unified whole. The final product of community artworks would not be interpreted as individual artistic creations, but rather an embodiment of collective efforts with individual contribution and creation. A sense of community as a representation of collectiveness was cultivated through this internalization process. Community, in the context of social representation, was incorporated into self-development and served as a social identity.

In summary, the internalization mechanism in the CAP context distinguishes the community “jen-tung” process as an inclusive and reflective identification process through the fusion of different groups and generations in a variety of collaborative acts. Personal experiences, memories and professionals were valued and integrated into the equation of community rebuilding in the community-based art practice. The development of conceptual self (see section V.3.2) as meaningful and an active agent was constructed and enhanced through engagement with the community. Participants perceived themselves as meaningful actors in changing the status quo and making things happen. This internalization mechanism highlights the transformation of an individual identity into a collective identity, community member, through the satisfaction in psychological and social needs in self-continuity and self-efficacy development.

V.4. Toward Answering the Research Questions

Revolving around the question of how community art practices contribute to community development, the research findings indicate that the community “jen-tung” process serves as a core mechanism in the formation of a collective identity and community development progress through which to increase collaborative momentum. The “jen-tung” process was also observed in a variety of community engagement activities other than the community-based art practices. This

mechanism was observed when the critical elements of altruism, selfless mindsets, and participatory visioning were identified in these activities. Although the “jen-tung” process accounts for the idea of identification, a melodic undertone to this “jen-tung” formation echoes a spiritual self-exploration when participants used “soul searching” as an analogy to their community development work. “...it’s like...our community found the soul”¹⁵² a self-revelation shared within a community. What an elusive yet vivid substance: soul; that fuels the community and makes it alive again. If soul searching is the fundamental engine to steer the “jen-tung” process, what exactly does the idea of soul entail within the context of community development?

In the journal article *On the soul of community development*, Ronald Hustedde (1998) advocates that it is time to bring the role of the soul in community development into discussion. Analogous to the tripod structure of human beings, namely mind, body and soul, Hustedde sees the soul in a community as an essential component to sustain a balanced, harmonious and stable community. By adopting the analogy of a tripod structure to human beings, we may see community as an organic entity that consists of the mind, body and soul. In the article, Hustedde proposes that soulful acts are ways of integrating a soul into community development and are indispensable other than the intellectual knowledge, skills development and capacity building in the community development practices.

Both in western and eastern religions, a “soul” refers to the spiritual or immaterial part of a human being. It is believed that this incorporeal essence of every living being gives the body life and transcendence through time. In theosophy, it is believed that the soul is responsible for human psychological activities, such as thinking, emotion, memory, will and desires. From a philosophical aspect, the “soul”

¹⁵² Extracted from interview transcript volume I, P.31

also relates to the concept of spirituality in that it accounts for the virtues of human beings, such as wisdom, love, compassion, generosity, courage and peace. Due to its wide spectrum of versatile implications, it is easier to describe than define. People can recognize it in many diverse ways without really conceptualizing it as an entity. Despite its broad conception, as source of thoughts or bearer of moral qualities, the "soul" is considered an attunement of the body and mind and accounts for a deeper sense of self that constitutes the spirituality (Gaventa & Coulter, 2002).

As the semantic expansion continues, "soul" comes to denote a fundamental component in the body-mind-soul synergistic system. Advocates for a well-balanced education have sought for strategies and tools to nurture students' "soul" for quality learning (Jensen & Snider, 2013). Aside from activities for physical body health and curriculum for intellectual mind learning, K-12 educators see the "soul feeding" as a crucial element to nurture students as lifelong learners. Experienced teachers introduced three ways to feed the soul: a quality relationship, reflection and community service (Jensen & Snider, 2013). For community development practitioners, "soul" offers a perspective and guidance to perform the community work in a more careful, mindful, responsive, creative, spontaneous and intimate way (Westoby, 2016). For community development participants, "soul" augments the energy that animates and fuels community dynamics to enhance community vitality. For the CAP participants, "soul" leads the way to rebuilding their community.

Throughout the conversations, the CAP or CEA participants shared their journey from self-awakening through the discovery and learning process to community rebuilding. There have been struggles and challenges in the journey including local fractures when opponents perceived the community activists as

political antagonists aimed to hinder their political careers¹⁵³. It raised tension between different interest groups when local organizations regarded the community development associations as competitors to undermine their membership and funding resources¹⁵⁴. It also generated frustration when participants confronted challenges and difficulties beyond their capacity in tackling larger scale public issues¹⁵⁵. Nevertheless, engaged participants did not give up or concede when obstacles arose in the forms of criticism, smear, mocking, disinterest, or negligence. On the contrary, they continued their community work or “silly act”¹⁵⁶, as one interviewee joked, to achieve the goal. “A wisdom disguised in silliness”¹⁵⁷ a quote shared in a community vividly characterizes the essence of community development work. It is the very “silly act” that garnered public attention and gradually built a trustworthy relationship and community cohesion. In their memory, they had witnessed a soulful community where people care about neighbors and look after one another. It served as an extension of family to provide support and comfort to neighbors in need. Residents were happy and had a sense attainment when they were being helpful and needed. This soulful community that was infused with “Ren-Ching-Wei” (see section IV.4.5) and community cohesion has resided in their shared memory. And then, it was time to rebuild it.

In the CAP process, participants portrayed this memorable soulful community through various art forms. It was embedded in various community expressions, such as the sculptures of sugar train¹⁵⁸, water buffalo sculpture¹⁵⁹ or the traditional

¹⁵³ Extracted from transcript volume I, p.101-103

¹⁵⁴ Extracted from transcript volume II, p.30-31

¹⁵⁵ Extracted from transcript volume II, p.79-81

¹⁵⁶ Extracted from transcript volume II, p.63

¹⁵⁷ Extracted from transcript volume II, p.64

¹⁵⁸ See section IV.1, Figure 9: Ping-Fu CAP project

¹⁵⁹ See section IV.1, Figure 8: Wu-Guang CAP project

grocery store remodified from an abandoned house¹⁶⁰. As noted earlier, participants see the artworks or revamped spaces as embodiments of community history and traditional values (see section IV.4.4). To some degree, the CAP process has become the journey of community soul searching. This soul-searching journey has reconnected individuals to their community, galvanized more people to be part of the meaningful acts, and created a collaborative dynamics to propel momentum for further community development work. Community, as a meso-level social entity, provides components and tools for individuals manufacturing a meaningful self and plays a critical factor in the development of a sense of self. Self-esteem, distinctiveness, and self-efficacy have been nurtured and enhanced individually and collectively through a variety of CD work and community activities. A sense of self value and pride is incubated throughout the process and motivates individuals to take a higher moral ground. The selfless mindset and altruism mentality are the manifesto of this soulful act. Participants have demonstrated their soulful acts by accommodating their behaviors or sacrificing self-interest for a greater public good¹⁶¹. For the participants who had the shared experiences in the CAP or CEA process, a sense of responsibility has been generated and the participants felt obligated to pass on the legacy of community heritage to the next generation. This mindset prevailed in the community visioning and resonates with the concept of self-continuity, an expectation of future self. Through the community rebuilding process, every component for self-identity formation has been re-enforced and fulfilled. In other words, the individual self-exploration journey is synchronized with the community soul searching process. The virtues and moral qualities of participants have been cultivated and enhanced through the community development work. It is

¹⁶⁰ See section IV.1, Figure 6: Jhong-He CAP project

¹⁶¹ Codebook Ref. 8-C-1, 8-C-2

transformed into a collective spirituality and represented through the concept of a community soul. To the question, where is the community soul? Based upon this study, I would posit that it resides in the heart of every one of us. It resurrects when everyone unites and each individual brings a piece of it to the collective consciousness. It is incubated through the community "jen-tung" process and thrives when individuals have faith in oneself.

VI. SUGGESTIOIN FOR FUTURE STUDY

Alongside the development of the core category Community “Jen-Tung” Process in the data analysis, a potential research theme related to research findings is discussed in this chapter for future study. This research focus revolves around the concept of place identity with emphasis on the psychological process dimension of place attachment. Due to the connection to the environment improvement in the community-based art practice (CAP), the notion of place making is tied to the CAP and provides an alternative lens with which to explore the relationships between identity formation and place attachment. By leveraging the concept of place attachment as a factor in the identity formation, the feature of place making in the CAP can provide informative materials to conceptualize the notion of place identity. The following section provides a glimpse of the research topic and gives a hint of the research content and scope for future study.

■ **Place Identity**

Numerous scholars have approached the question of how a physical place is related to identity through different aspects (Korpela, 1989). Two major perspectives have led to distinct trajectories. One perspective focuses on place identification and utilizes place as one of the social identification categories (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Individuals express his or her identity by defining where they are from. For instance, a person might characterize themselves as a Londoner or Parisian. In this sense, place is considered as a social category and will be subject to the same rules as social identification within social identity theory (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). When a category is salient and one acts as a group member, people can feel a sense of pride by association. Lalli’s (1992) analysis on urban identity explained how an urban-related identity emerged as a positive individual self-definition when the

urban-related representation gradually moved away from isolation and monotony spectrum toward a more positive interpretation.

The other perspective, advocated by Proshansky et al (1983, 1989), posited that place identity should be considered as another aspect of identity comparable to social identity that described the person's socialization with the physical world. Proshansky et al (1983, 1989) conceptualized "place-identity" as a sub-structure of the self-identity; therefore, it accounts for the human cognitions and behaviors that relate to physical settings. As individuals engage and interact with the living environment, Proshansky et al suggested the memories, ideas, feelings, values and meanings that are generated through the physical environment-related cognition should serve as a special cognitive system in the satisfaction of the person's biological, psychological, social and cultural needs. He argued that the concept of rootedness (Tuan, 1980) and a sense of belonging and attachment to place (Relph, 1976; Buttner, 1980), which are associated with the concepts of "place-identity", are evidence that places serve as centers of human existence. The unique function of places, such as providing a sense of privacy, control and security, also accentuate the necessity of distinguishing physical locations from other social categorizations.

Built upon Proshansky's conceptualization of place-identity, Korpela (1989) sees places as referents to the past selves and action. Individual memories in the environment through the engagement with places or objects offer a connection to one's self in different times, in other words, it creates "coherence and continuity in one's self-conceptions" (Korpela, 1989). Utilizing physical environment or objects as referents for self-concept development is also described in Rochberg-Halton's (1984) analysis. In his study of self-possession in relation to socialization process, Rochberg-Halton (1984) argued that things could act as signs of the self by investing

external things with psychic energy or emotional attachment through an “active process of interpretation”. In this process, a transaction of mental representation of the external world is cultivated through a social self-dialogue to the surroundings. In this context, the notion of place-identity revolves around the inquiry of individual emotional attachment to the external environment or objects.

To delve into the development of place-identity in relation to individual self-concept, it drew our attention to a further question of what mechanism may be involved in such “self-dialogue to the surroundings” other than “active process of interpretation” in this identification process. As the community “jen-tung” process addresses mainly on the interpersonal interaction as well as intragroup and intergroup collaboration, the psychological dimension of place attachment may provide insights to extend the concept of internalization in understanding personal emotional investment to external environment. Further more, if the place attachment serves as influential factor in the development of self-concept, what negative impact may inflict on the members of community individually and collectively when a community encounters displacement or dislocation due to urban renewals or gentrification? Revolving around the above inquiries, potential research questions may include:

- How do environmental factors weigh in on the cultural construction of the concept of self?
- What potential negative impacts or trauma may be inflicted upon individuals when one encounters displacement or dislocation due to an external social force such as urbanism?
- Could the community-based art practice serve as a therapeutic approach to facilitate recovery from the trauma caused by dislocation or displacement?

The research outcomes derived from the above questions may provide solutions or measures to alleviate the disruption or negative impacts caused by displacement in the scenarios of urbanism or urban renewal. Furthermore, by adopting the notion of place identity and its psychological dimension in place making, it may provide innovation or an alternative strategy in environmental policy making to avoid gentrification and maintain local cultural heritage without compromising local economic growth.

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APPENDIX A

COOKBOOK

Concept 1: Community Consciousness Formation

It is a process consists of developing self-awareness to community consensus formation. During this process, communities started to think about community development, raise concerns in community issues, realize the importance of knowledge and professionals, and begin to vision community future. This process includes four phases: awakening/self-awareness; self-learning and discovering; community dynamics change; and community vision formation.

<p>Property A: Awakening/self-awareness Community had a sense of loss and the fear of losing independence. They felt their community had kept stagnant and wanted to change. They yearned for defining themselves through seeking community characters and specialty that can represent them. They felt the need to develop capabilities that can help them to pass along the traditional value and culture heritages.</p>		
Examples	Data Location	Ref.
1. Interviewee explained how globalization makes them rely on imported goods and merchandises. They no longer have the control of food safety and production process.	Interview:160610_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.21	1-A-1
2. Interviewees pointed it out that local residents feel a sense of loss when they had to move away from their original homeland to new places due to urban renewal (P.5,I). They felt a sense of disconnection and gap, the neighborhood is no longer the one they were familiar with (P.32, I).	Interview:160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.5 Interview:160609_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.32	1-A-2
3. Interviewee described a bit of community development history and pointed out that community had been stagnant for a long time, they wanted to change it and do something different (P.26, I).	Interview:160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P26.	1-A-3
4. Interviewee described that the residents felt sad and sorrowed when they saw the traditional tobacco building was torn apart due to urban renewal, and didn't realize the beauty of the historical houses. She realized the fact that they've ignored local/culture heritage for a long time and felt regretful why they didn't take action earlier and preserve more local historical buildings.	Interview:160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P4-5.	1-A-4
5. Interviewee felt the urge to make some differences. Why other communities can achieve so much and they kept the same and stagnant (P18, II).	Interview: 160610_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.18	1-A-5
6. Interviewees described a yearning for community characters, something different from others and can represent them.	Interview: 160610_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.4 Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.27 Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.39 Interview: 160825_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.89	1-A-6
<p>Property B: Self-learning and discovering Communities were motivated and reached out resources to garner knowledge and professional opinions. At this phase, communities sought opportunities for self-learning through government grants proposal writing, taking training classes, inviting senior residents to share their stories and memories. Through this process, community members got to know better about the neighborhood, and</p>		

discovered that many residents have special talents that they were not aware of.		
1. Interviewee explained how they began to retreat local history through a local tour with focus on local historical sites. Interviewee described the nearby resident showed them the ballistic marks on the wall and started to share his memory and experience during the war time.	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.4	1-B-1
2. Interviewee described how they learned local history by inviting local seniors to share their memories and stories. They realized the place they live has a significant and famous well that supplied good quality water to the whole area.	Interview: 160825_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.90	1-B-2
3. Interviewees shared their learning experience when they visited other communities, and described how they got inspired from the trip. Interviewee pointed it out that the trip motivated them to think about their community, and wanted their neighborhood become a better community.	Interview: 160729_004 Transcript: Volume II, P.71	1-B-3
4. Interview described how they discovered community issues such as low-income, single family, immigrants, and minority when they organized a summer swimming camp for local kids. They realized these were complex factors that effected the deterioration and depopulation of local elementary school.	Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P29-30	1-B-4
5. Interviewees described that they started to know better about their neighbors, and learned about what kind of talents and expertise they have (P.8, I). They feel community has talent (P36, P48, II).	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.8 Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P36 Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.48	1-B-5
6. Interviewee had a self-revelation that they need to reach out resources to learn more from different professionals and get knowledge to make community better. Quotation: "... [community work] is not like you do what you like... you need to reach out resources to get professional opinion...find out community talents....bring them out to [collaborate]...they would help...cause everyone wants community to get better..."	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.10	1-B-6
<p>Property C: Visioning community future Participants start to think about community future, and feel having responsibility and obligation to pass along community heritage to next generation. They want community become better and more livable, sustainable, and financially independent.</p>		
1. Interviewee explained their motivations to perverse the historical site. They want to remodel the tobacco building, revitalize the inner space, and provide a platform for culture heritage education. They want younger generation have the opportunity to see what a tobacco building looks like and understand the pass.	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.5	1-C-1
2. Interviewees described the need to let younger generation to understand the local history and have them involved in community works. They want young people to understand	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.17 Interview: 160609_003	1-C-2

how a society became what it is today, and encourage young generation to get involved in community works, develop an attachment to the community and would cherish and appreciate the land they grew upon (P.11, I).	Transcript: Volume I, P.23 Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.53,60 Interview: 160608_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.11	
3. Interviewee described their urge to seek a long term community sustainable plan that can generate revenues to support community works such as senior welfare service, improving quality of life, and integrate community resources for a bigger public good (P.19-20, I; P.27, 28, 66, II).	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.19-20 Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.27-28 Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.66	1-C-3

Concept 2: Community Pride

A notion refers to a sense of community pride that is incubated and formed through collaborative work and collective action. Community residents show the yearning to be recognized and heard. They want others to acknowledge their works and accomplishment. During the acquisition and incubation of collective pride, communities were self-motivated and willing to help others. They demonstrated a sense of achievement, belonging, and pride, and showed the confidence in their community works.

Property A: Yearning to be recognized, acknowledged, and seen by others.		
Examples	Data Location	Ref.
1. Interviewee explained that they wanted to have something unique to show others, a special feature that could draw people coming to visit.	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript Volume I, P.6	2-A-1
2. Interviewee explained that they wanted to pass on the legacy of old tobacco building, make the next generation understand their past and cultural heritage.	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.17	2-A-2
3. Interview explained that they felt their artworks are more representative, characteristic, and significant. They felt their artworks can distinguish their community characters from others.	Interview: 160615_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.87	2-A-3
4. Interview described how they felt motivated and had the urge to be recognized when they visited other communities, they wanted to be “seen” as well.	Interview: 160609_003 Transcript: Volume I, P.28	2-A-4
Property B: A sense of belonging/ feel proud of being part of the community/ feel proud of being part of the process to make thing happen.		
1. Interviewee described how they felt a sense of pride when they are able to show friends their community garden, something unique and different from others, feel proud of being part of the process to make it happen.	Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.41	2-B-1
2. Interviewee explained that they have something worth of telling, not afraid of speaking out they are part of Shui-Nan community.	Interview: 160609_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.30	2-B-2

3. Interviewee described how the community residents acted differently now. They are willing and proudly to avow they are from Shui-Nan community, which was unlikely act before. Quotation: “..... Shui-Nan is alive again...”	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.22,23	2-B-3
4. Interviewees described how they felt proud of being part of Zheng-Xi Street after they hosted several significant community events and become well-known.	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.29,96	2-B-4
5. Interview described how residents felt being part of the community by participating the CAP process and making the art mural, showing his kids or grandchildren that part of his work was over there.	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.37	2-B-5
Property C: A sense of attainment & achievement/ feel proud of being able to overcome the challenges/ feel proud of making things happen		
1. Interviewee described how the residents felt proud of changing a vacant space into a community garden. Quotation: “...[residents would tell others] ‘let me show you some places beautiful others don’t have...it’s different...’ they have a sense of achievement, feel proud of being able to make a change... from nothing to something...it strengthen the ‘jen-tung’ [identifying themselves to the land] ”	Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.41	2-C-1
2. Interviewee described how the CAP process was different from other community activities. They felt CAP project was more difficult and needed hard work, but at the same time they felt it was meaningful because they came out with the original ideas and were able to overcome the challenge to complete the project. People can see what they have accomplished. Quotation” ... it’s our brain to come out with the [idea]... and made it real...”	Interview: 160804_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.54	2-C-2
3. Interviewee explained how the difficulties and challenges occurred during the CAP process made them feel a sense of achievement. They valued the process of solving the problems and were happy to prove that they are capable of doing something extraordinary and special.	Interview: 160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.76,77	2-C-3
4. Interviewee described it was worthy and meaningful to change a chaotic, vacant corridor space into a pleasant walkway for residents. She felt happy about it, being able to make a change and get ‘Jeng-Tung’ [approval] from others.	Interview: 060804_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.59	2-C-4
5. Interviewee described that how they got the recognition and approvals from others after residents witnessed what they have done and improved local quality of life. They felt a sense of achievement and fulfillment that they can get community resident’s ‘Jeng-Tung’ [approvals, praise].	Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.32	2-C-5
6. Interviewee described how they organized and hosted an international event [Japanese Office Chair Racing] and made them feel a sense of achievement. They felt the most valuable part of process is the ability to do something nobody has done before. They feel proud to be the pioneers to make it happen and capable of challenging the unknown.	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.37	2-C-6

Property D: Feel being needed/ happy to have the ability to help others		
1. Interview described that she felt happy to be able to help others, served others. It made her feel valuable. Quotation: "...just doing something good for no reason, not for fame or any political intention...."	Interview: 160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.71	2-D-1
2. Interviewee described how the community theater performance brought community elderly together and made them feel being needed. Elderly would do theatrical performance circuit trip and perform for other community elderly. They felt happy to be part of it.	Interview: 060614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.32	2-D-2
Property E: Having confidence in selves/ developing a positive attitude to self-efficacy		
1. Interviewee described how the elderly more actively asked for learning opportunities and performance schedule, felt more confident to do the performance on the stage.	Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.33	2-E-1
2. Interviewee described that they have more confidence and guts to argue with the committees when they fought for the opportunity to implement next CAP project. Quotation: "... give us the chance at least...how do you know we can't make it if you don't let us to try...."	Interview: 160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.79	2-E-2
3. Interviewee described they developed their confidence during CAP process, year after year, they followed the same art motif and continued the theme of community art to represent their local stories and collective memory.	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.53	2-E-3
4. Interviewee explained that people are willing to move to a place with a sense of community and safety. They described they have heard some comments about others are willing to move to their community if they have the chance.	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.56	2-E-4

Concept 3: Changing status quo/ acting otherwise

An inner community dynamic change occurred after the collective action of community-based art practice or community engagement activities. The changes include the mindset, attitude, and behaviors in terms of individual change and collective action. These changes may include local voting behavior change, courage of changing status quo, less fear of challenging authorities, and a more open-minded, creative thinking strategy in terms of community issue solutions.

Property A: Attitude & behavior change Community's attitude and perception related to political decision making have changed toward a more open, inclusive mindset. Residents sees qualification merit more important than personal connection or preference in terms of voting behavior change, and will try to avoid cronyism or political interest affects community work.		
Examples	Data Location	Ref.
1. Interviewee described how she changed her Li-office voting behavior after involvement in the CAP project. She sees qualification merit as more important factors in political election. She described how she changed her attitude and mentality when it comes to voting decision. She believes that personal connection	Interview: 160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.65,66,67,69	3-A-1

<p>should not affect the public interest. Quotation: “...the previous Li-office leader is good at socializing ...he would treat you drinks or meals... I voted for him ...but he didn’t do a good job as a Li-office leader...but the new candidate...I didn’t know him back to that time...so I still voted for the old one...although he was a bit “sloppy” at his work... but now I support the new Li-office leader...you have to have your own judgment....I think it [personal connection and public interest] needs to be separated... eating is eating [personal social gathering]... work is work...you don’t mix them together...”</p>		
<p>2. Interviewee explained how the previous Li-office leader persuaded her not to join the new team after he lost the election campaign and no longer served in Li-office. He sees her support of new Li-office leader as personal betray... and will make him lose ‘face’ [look bad]. However, interviewee has her own judgement. Quotation: “...friend is friend [personal connection]....but public is public [public interest]... I want to walk my own path...I told him not come out to against [the new one]...he [the new one] did a better job...”</p>	<p>Interview:160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.68</p>	<p>3-A-2</p>
<p>3. Interviewees described how their community dynamics becomes more inclusive and collaborative. They are capable of integrating different groups to work together to host a big annual event. They are proud of being able to host the cross Li-district [geo-political boundaries] event that was initiated by their community and has become a signature event in Taichung city. They see their capacity of organizing a cross geo-political boundary event as the most valuable achievement in their community work. Interviewee pointed out that, during the Li-office election campaign, other Li-districts residents would come over to their voting district [across the geo-political boundaries] to participate the campaign activities and support the candidate that did the community works and would keep the collaboration momentum continuing .</p>	<p>Interview: 160722_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.116</p>	<p>3-A-3</p>
<p>4. Interviewee described how she will avoid some political donation to the community development association or decline the fund raising if it’s not necessary, because she doesn’t want to owe someone’s favor. Quotation: “... I don’t want to owe someone’s favor....don’t want to be kidnapped by the political election [political horse trading]...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160804_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.73</p>	<p>3-A-4</p>
<p>Property B: Mentality Change Community members show an attitude and mindset that are more interactive, open, inclusive, and creative in terms of community solution and community works.</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee described the CAP activities provided interaction opportunities for different groups of people working together and creating a sense of solidarity and bonding. Quotation: “...people felt happier when they engaged with others...the community is not a stranger to them anymore...and they felt they were doing meaningful to the community during the [CAP] process...they were creating a beautiful place...and they felt worthy...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.44</p>	<p>3-B-1</p>
<p>2. Interviewee expanded and redefined the concept of “community member”. They see anyone who devote themselves to the community work as their community members, you don’t need to</p>	<p>Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II,</p>	<p>3-B-2</p>

<p>be the residents or live in the community district. Quotation1: "...if a person "jen-tung" the community...want to join us... care about it....then he can join the community association... to be our community member..." Quotation 2: "... we have volunteers from other places...they saw what we did here...then they said they want to move here..."</p>	<p>P.56</p>	
<p>3. Interviewee described that they spent a lot of time to communicate with residents about their proposed projects or plans. It gradually changed people's attitude toward the CAP. In one of the cases, residents were relatively conservative and didn't want to make a big change in one of the art sites, the community association revised the design to accommodate the resident's wish. Later on, the residents saw the outcome of spatial change and decided to adopt the original design concepts and ideas. Interviewee emphasized the importance of communication and respect people's different opinions, "... they disagreed at the beginning...then they change their mind when they see the outcome of spatial change..."</p>	<p>Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.38</p>	<p>3-B-3</p>
<p>4. Interviewee described that residents are more open-minded to new ideas and creative solutions when he proposed a potential alternative solution for old neighborhood renewal without experiencing the necessary hazard of resident dislocation or displacement in a conventional urban renewal due process.</p>	<p>Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.48-49</p>	<p>3-B-4</p>
<p>Property C: Being able to act otherwise</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee explained why they abandoned the old way of community signage form, they didn't want the traditional and ossified signage form to represent their community; they want to create their own image, a pleasant environment that can represent the community character. Quotation: "...we don't want it [the sign]....and we don't have that... our community entrance image is....beautiful trees and clean environment..."</p>	<p>Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.11</p>	<p>3-C-1</p>
<p>2. Interviewee described how they persuaded the committees to make them understand why they chose "white" to be their design thematic color as most people see "white" as taboo color in Chinese culture. Shui-Nan community is able to overthrow the prevailing traditional cultural interpretation of white color [a symbolic color for decease or death, and is mostly used in a funeral].</p>	<p>Interview: 160617_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.37</p>	<p>3-C-2</p>
<p>3. Interviewee described how the owners of the street stores and her in-law changed the way of running business. They are willing to take a few days off to organize community activities, and make a trip overseas to support their neighbors in an ice cream competition event hosted in Japan. She sees these change tremendous and unusual since most of the street store owners are running 7 days a week and rarely take a break.</p>	<p>Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.34</p>	<p>3-C-3</p>
<p>4. Interviewee explained why they didn't register their community group/team as an organization or cooperation as most people expected and did. They see the traditional organization as generator of [power] hierarchy and positions, which would create [potential] interest conflicts. They conceive the real action more</p>	<p>Interview: 160711_002 Transcript: Volume III, P.41</p>	<p>3-C-4</p>

important and valuable than organizing an institute or association. That's why they called themselves "Zheng-Xin street gangster" to distinguish themselves from ordinary street commercial associations.		
5. Interviewee explained how she perceived the stores on Zheng-Xi street. She sees these stores have their own "attitudes"... a way of doing things or running the business in their unique ways, not following others or mainstream. Quotation: " they create their own values and characters."	Interview: 160715_003 Transcript: Volume III, P.66	3-C-5

Concept 4. Rebuilding the community

A process of reconnecting community through reconstructing local history, bridging different generations, and collecting local memories. During the process, community residents develop narrative empowerment and internalize the collective memory through CAP projects.

Property A: Local history reconstructing/ a process of local histories retrieving, aimed to make sense and understand how a community became what it is today.		
Examples	Data Location	Ref.
1. Interviewee described how they understand more about local history through interviewing elderly and local residents when implemented CAP projects. He furthered explained the condominium residents rarely know the local history since they are new comers.	Interview: 160820_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.90	4-A-1
2. Interviewee explained why there are four Earth Gods in their community, and the originality of each Earth Gods. He further explained how the Goddess Matzu became their major religion figure, and why religion activity mattered in the village back to the old time. Nowadays, these religion activities became major events in the community, and provided opportunity for re-enforcing local bonding and social capital.	Interview: 160609_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.15-16.	4-A-2
3. Interviewee explained what motivated him to do community asset mapping and editing community story books. He thinks it is critical to retrieve local histories and understand how a society became what it is today. He believes it is important to preserve these 'foot print' and give the younger generation an opportunity to learn from it and make sense what we have today.	Interview: 160609_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.17	4-A-3
4. Interviewees described how they reconstructing local history through childhood memory sharing. The process allows them to retrieve the sugar cane train history, how the agriculture society gradually transformed into modern society. This process helps them bridging different generations, make young people feel be part of the history.	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.41, 52, 53	4-A-4
5. Interviewee explained how he dug out the local sugar cane history through CAP project, and retrieved a story about a homeless man how he initiated a racing event decades ago. The racing activity becomes a unique local traditional event in Dragon festivals for locals.	Interview: 1600727_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.143	4-A-5
Property B: Narrative empowerment/ a way of local people express themselves through art making,		

they chose the what to present and how it is to be interpreted		
1. Interviewee described how they decided the community art theme through the childhood memory sharing, and local story retrieving. Then, they chose the materials, figures, and significant event in their artworks. The part of history that was never mentioned or taught in the school educational system.	Interview: 160727_001 Transcript: Volume I, p.142	4-B-1
2. Interviewee explained why they chose the figure cow to represent their community. They see the cow figure as representativeness of agricultural value and tradition. The mosaic mural also reflects what community projected themselves. They also extent the content of the mural storyline to their community theatrical performance.	Interview: 160614_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.42-43	4-B-2
3. Interviewee described how the CAP project gave the participants a way of creating their own artwork. Participants chose the art form to express their creativity.	Interview: 160727_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.147	4-B-3
Property C: Memory sharing and internalization		
1. Interviewee explained how the CAP project made participants have a stronger boding to the artwork. Participants saw the artworks as a reminder of their being part of process and making memory. Quotation: "... he knew he make this cow [mosaic mural figure]... one day when he takes a walk with his grandson....he would point it out....that's the cow he made..."	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.37	4-C-1
2. Interviewee described the artmaking process is implanted in participant's memory, it's a deep and profound experience, and the artwork is there forever, which serves as a reminder of being part of the process.	Interview: 160727_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.147	4-C-2
3. Interviewee described how the kids observed artworks in the alley through touching it and visualizing it. Kids would draw what they saw and shared with each other after back to the classroom. Later on, kids would share it with their parents what they observed during the day. This process deepened kids' perception of community artwork, and encourage self-expression through art practice.	Interview: 160727_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.161	4-C-3
Property D: Bridging different generations		
1. Interviewee described how the kids shared to their parents what they learned during the field trip to the community art site, and brought their parents to the site.	Interview: 160727_004 Transcript: Volume I, P.162	4-D-1
2. Interviewee explained how each of the art forms and mural represented stories from different generation. The CAP workshop, discussion and art making process facilitated the connection, interaction, and memory sharing within participants from various generations.	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.41	4-D-2
3. Interviewee explained the kids and teenagers who had participated the process [CAP or community activities] are unlikely to have serious generation gap. They would identify themselves more with the community, and have a stronger bonding.	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.60	4-D-3

<p>4. Interviewee explained the motivation and design concepts of their community art works. They sought to represent or recreate the old scenario of community through art forms to make younger generation have a glimpse of the past of community. Quotation: “...they [younger generation] have not participated [in the past] ... but at least they can see [imagine] it [through the art mural]...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.53</p>	<p>4-D-4</p>
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Concept 5. Community cohesion

A community bonding that was strengthened through interaction and various community engagement activities. Residents identified the elements of community cohesion consist of qualities of caring about your neighbors, providing helps and aid to the needed, carrying a collective responsibility to pass along the community heritage and legacy.

<p>Property A: Care about your neighbors</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee described the way residents look after each other and care about the neighbors in the past as the key element attributing to a sense of community. During the interview, a resident stopped by and interacted with the interviewee to show her concern why the door was open. She wants to make sure everything is ok. Quotation: “... she is one of our residents... she will come in [take a look] when the door is open...this is what we’re looking for... a community cohesion... you’ll see the elderly wonder in the neighbor...look around...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160610_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.3</p>	<p>5-A-1</p>
<p>2. Interviewee described how the traditional grocery store in the past served like a community center for information exchange and resident interaction. People would hang out there to share information, or even utilize the grocery store as a temporary day care. Interviewee described a scenario in the old time that residents would ask the owner of the grocery store to look after his/her kids shortly, and come back to pick up the child.</p>	<p>Interview: 160610_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.7</p>	<p>5-A-2</p>
<p>3. Interviewee described that a social bonding and reciprocal support system were formed during the CAP project implementation. Neighbors would stop by the project site and looked around to see if there was anything need to be taken care of. A behavior of seeing the community work as their own business. Quotation: “[they] treat it like their home...they would come in and see where need to be fixed...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160610_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.11</p>	<p>5-A-3</p>
<p>4. Interviewee explained that moving to the street doesn’t mean you will be part of the community. It depends on the degree of your engagement and involvement in the community activities. Quotation: “... we won’t judge you or exclude you because of your absence in the event...but... there are ways of getting involved in the community activities... either through physical participation or showing your care to the neighbors...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.30</p>	<p>5-A-4</p>
<p>Property B: Reciprocal supporting through knowledge sharing and acting accordingly</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee described that they [two street stores] would share the knowledge of making ice cream or sorbet to improve their</p>	<p>Interview: 160715_001</p>	<p>5-B-1</p>

products and marketing strategy to benefit each other's business without compromising quality due to competition.	Transcript: Volume III, P.51-52	
2. Interviewee explained the motivation and described they organized an overseas trip to Japan to support their neighbor's ice cream tournament. Quotation: "...how could we not support them....they represents Taiwan ...and is also from [our street]...they are the only Taiwan team over there [Japan]... it was very touching at the moment..."	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.26 Interview: 160711_002 Transcript: Volume III, P.39	5-B-2
3. Interviewee described a traditional way of reciprocal supporting through collective harvesting in an agrarian society. Villagers would collaborate to help each other during harvesting season. She sees such reciprocal supporting system as a demonstration of community cohesion. Interviewee also emphasized the importance of providing the opportunity to make such collaboration happen, which would nurture the bonding and cohesion. Quotation: "...you need to provide opportunities to recreate such reciprocal supporting system...right now ...the automation reduces the opportunity of [collaborative] harvesting..."	Interview:160610_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.13	5-B-3
Property C: Re-enforcing community bonding through social gathering/ increasing interaction opportunities		
1. Interviewee described how the traditional "Bando" (round table catering-a public feast) as a way of gathering the community residents to create interaction opportunity and keep residents informed of what's going on in the community. Quotation: "... every time when I hosted a Bando... twenty round tables...around two hundred people would come...people asked me why we had so many people came out to join [Bando]... I told them this is our community... this is community cohesion..."	Interview: 160610_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.21	5-C-1
2. Interviewee P17 shared his observation of re-enforcing community bonding through traveling. It is a way to know each other better. Quotation: "...the age gap [intergeneration gap] is not a problem here...the issue is how to bring them together... in our case, we traveled together a lots... and we have [opportunity] to know each other better..."	Interview: 160715_004 Transcript: Volume II, P.79, P.89	5-C-2
3. Interviewee described the first time she joined the trip hosted by the neighbor and then it became a regular street event annually. Quotation: "...we didn't know each other well at the beginning....everyone was busy running business and never had the chance to know your neighbors [store owners next door]...then we traveled together...after that...blah blah blah [trips after trips]...[we] continued the [momentum]... then we knew who sells what next to us...three trips later...it became a street event...the whole street would take a day or two off to travel..."	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.22	5-C-3
4. Interviewee shared his observation of difference living experiences between Taipei [big city] and Tainan. He observed there were more daily-life based interaction activities involved in Tainan compared with counterparts in Taipei. He sees the intimacy of sharing and chatting what happened in the daily life makes it different, a	Interview: 160715_004 Transcript: Volume III, P.76	5-C-4

<p>revelation of understanding the concept of “all for one, one for all”. Quotation: “... for me...I didn’t have this recognition after I moved back to Tainan..., ...[in Taipei] a dense population in one unit...but you didn’t know each other...here...you felt...that is the life...a reciprocal interaction...even though you were only chatting and gossiping...it may not be something big [meaningful]...but there are more intensive interaction and human contact here [in Tainan]...”</p>		
<p>Property D: Collective responsibility to pass on the legacy & community heritage/ community vibe</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee described that they had the responsibility to tell the story, pass on the legacy and momentum to the successors. Quotation: “...we felt the need to make a documentary, a film, to record the process and stories...pass on the spirit [the legacy]...provide others who had not participated the CAP project an opportunity to understand the process...the community core value [a vision for better community]...”</p>	<p>Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.38-39</p>	5-D-1
<p>2. Interviewee explained their motivation for the final presentation through stage performance, a desire to pass on the passion and souls they experienced during the CAP process. Quotation: “...we felt the [need] to pass on the spirit and the soulto make others understand what we had experienced...to feel the vibes we had ...”</p>	<p>Interviewee: 160825_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.97</p>	5-D-2

Concept 6. Collective leadership

A type of leadership driven by altruism and selfless mindset. It involves a leadership mechanism that emphasizes on responsibility sharing and power redistributing, and creates a sense of inclusiveness. Personal traits of collective leadership often have constant self-reflection and scrutiny, and care about community future.

<p>Property A: Altruism mindset/selfless mindset/ impartiality/ willing to take the lead to do the hard work first</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee explained why he launched the CAP project first at the west side of Li-district to create a sense of impartiality, because the residents over there had been neglected and ignored for a long time and felt like an “orphan”; and most politicians cared less about them because the challenged local issues and less constituents when comes to election. Interviewee explained it was important to make them know they are part of Shui-Nan community, and they need to be treated fairly.</p>	<p>Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.24</p>	6-A-1
<p>2. Interviewee explained people were more willing to come out to join you and contributed their time volunteering when they realized what you did is for entire community, a public good, not for personal interest.</p>	<p>Interview:160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.26 Interview:160722_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.102, P.115</p>	6-A-2
<p>3. Interviewee described that he often shared the stage with other group leaders in some public events, to show people that it was a collective teamwork. People worked with him would also felt being</p>	<p>Interview: 160722_002 Transcript: Volume I,</p>	6-A-3

valued and respected.	P.108	
4. Interviewee explained the key element to motivate people to join you is to be a doer, walk the walk. It's the way to make others know you are serious. Quotation: "... if you didn't take the lead...they won't feel a thing...I always took the lead...cleaned the alley at midnight when less people and motorcycles blocking the road..."	Interview: 160613_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.176	6-A-4
5. Interviewee explained a local expression "only silly people do the community work", because there is no personal gain from doing the community work. However, there is wisdom in such silliness for what they did is meaningful and would benefit the majority.	Interview:160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.63-64 Interview:160610_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.18 Interview:160729_005 Transcript: Volume II, P.74	6-A-5
6. Interviewee explained how the selfless and altruism mindset brought everyone together and re-enforced the bonding. Interviewee described they were selling Gelato, and the street vendor across the street served ice cream. Normally, people would see it as competition for they were selling similar products. However, in reality, they shared ideas and thoughts how to improve their products and came out with collaborative strategy for better marketing.	Interview: 160715_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.52	6-A-6
Property B: Concern about community future/ how to make community better		
1. Interviewee P2 described that he didn't want to hold the chairman position for too long. He was seeking potential successor, and wishes the new chair would carry on the legacy and continue the community works. Interviewee P5 described he concerned who would be the next chair, and hope the new one can continue the momentum and community works.	Interview:160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.23 Interview:160610_003 Transcript: Volume II, P.22	6-B-1
2. Interviewee described that he was constantly thinking about the community future, and seeking strategies to incubate a collective visioning momentum. He facilitated discussions and reflection sharing to motivate community members to think about community future, and led them to brainstorming how to make community better.	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: volume I, P.27-28	6-B-2
3. Interviewee described one of the major concerns he focused on is how to keep the positive momentum going, and continue the community works. He also pointed out the old way of running a community association often generates divisiveness and partnership falls apart when grant or money gets involved. This observation made him think about how to avoid the interest conflicts of redistribute resources more fairly when community receive grants or subsidies. Quotation: "...all what we can do is to come out a better approach or method to [run the community work]...and won't get corrupted due to the money or power..."	Interview: 160715_004 Transcript: Volume III, P.85-86	6-B-3
Property C: Self-reflection and decision-making scrutiny/ a concern or a fear of leading community to the wrong direction/ seeking a better way to lead community		
1. Interviewee described his fear of leading the community to a wrong	Interview:160609_002	6-C-1

direction. He would keep open-minded, and listen to different ideas and opinions. Quotation1: “...I used to be afraid that I would lead the community to the wrong direction...led everyone to a dead end...” Quotation 2: “...our leader also had fear of leading us to the wrong direction...”	Transcript: Volume I, P.26 Interview:160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.41	
2. Interviewee scrutinized his decision-making on a recent festival event he organized, and wondered which approach is more meaningful in terms of community activity. Quotation: “...I was thinking it lately...whether it was better to motivate people to participate rice dumplings making activity or used the subsidy to purchase ready-made ones and had them deliver to the residents...you see... home-made rice dumplings was more troublesome and time consuming ...but it brought everyone together...”	Interview: 160613_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.178	6-C-2
3. Interviewee explained that the CAP project made him have further understanding [interpretation] in terms of leadership. He described why the later leader couldn't keep the same momentum and collaboration he initiated years ago, and tried to make sense why the community fell apart after he left. Quotation: “...[the later leader] he had no influences...he couldn't solve problems when there was challenge...not like me...I made effort and had reached out resources to solve the problem...I made the budget and plan public [transparent]...and did the report... made sure residents understand what was going on...”	Interview: 160825_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.99, 100	6-C-3
Property D: Creating a sense of inclusiveness/ making others willing to work with you/ keep low profile		
1. Interviewee explained why he recruited the political opponent's supporters to join community works after he won the Li-office election. He explained to his adversary supporters that their commitment to the team is for entire community, not for himself. Quotation: “... you are serving the communitynot for me...Li-office leader will be replaced one day...I may not be elected for next term....[but] what you do is for entire community... this is [the mindset] I want them to understand...”	Interview: 160722_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.102	6-D-1
2. Interviewee [Li-office leader] described that he wouldn't mind being an assistant role and keep low profile when come to support community association activities. He is willing to support and help the association to implement the CAP project.	Interview: 160722_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.107	6-D-2
3. Interviewee shared his experience of interacting with other community leaders, and explained his strategy is to “let go the chief posture”. He pointed out how the seniority mentality inherited from Chinese culture played influential factor in working with other Li-district leaders. Since he was the new elected Li-office chair, and other Li-office chairs are more senior and experienced than him, he wouldn't mind doing the most work in collaboration. He would promote other Li-district chairs in public, recognized their contribution, and gave them credits to organize the annual event even though his community team did the most of the works.	Interview: 160722_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.115-117	6-D-3
Property E: Creating a collective responsibility (sharing responsibility collectively)/ power redistributing/ be willing to take the blame and responsibility		

1. Interviewee described how he made everyone realize their valuable contribution in the CAP process, and encouraged participants to do the follow-up maintenance work after the completion of CAP project. Quotation: "...this tree you planted...the mural you made ...just like your own child...we could watch it out for you....but you need to come to see it... take care of it....cause it was part of you..."	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.28	6-E-1
2. Interviewee described how different community organizations collaborated to host a big event. He explained each group had the autonomy of decision making, and encouraged everyone to take the initiatives and be creative. When come to mistake, there won't be finger-pointing. Quotation: "...you didn't need to worry about making mistake...there was support and trustworthiness...so everyone felt comfortable and was willing to contribute [time and effort]..."	Interview: 160727_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.140, 141	6-E-2
3. Interviewee explained the importance of collaboration. It is crucial to have core members in a community. Quotation: "...without the consensus [a collective action and agreement] of core members...a community wouldn't be able to continue [the community works]..."	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.39	6-E-3
4. Interviewee explained a successful completion of CAP project relying on team work and collaboration. Quotation: "... I always said...it was not the chair [one person] to make it happen...it was a group of people who work together to make it happen..."	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.49	6-E-4
5. Interviewee explained what a true leadership mean to him. He or she should have guts to take the blame, be willing to take the responsibility and make no excuse. He described when neighbors complained about the noise, trash, and traffic jam brought by the visitors, the Bold Head (nickname of one store owner) took the responsibility to clean the whole street and hire security guys to conduct traffic control.	Interview: 160715_004 Transcript: Volume III, P.81	6-E-5

Concept 7. Collaboration momentum

A collective action built upon community consensus, shared goals and visions. Participants are highly motivated and actively reach out resources to keep collaborative momentum going. Participants show tendency to continue the CD work even after the completion of the CAP projects.

Property A: Community consensus & jen-tung/ selfless mindset /a sense of community responsibility		
Examples	Data Location	Ref.
1. Interviewee explained how to keep the momentum going is to garner community 'jen-tung' [consensus] and trust, which are related to the mindset of selfless and altruism. Quotation: "... people would come to join you because they 'jen-tung' [agree] you ...they sees what you did is for public good, not for personal interests..."	Interview:160615_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.86 Interview:160615_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.91 Interview:160610_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.10,11,14,16,17 Interview 160610_003 Transcript: Volume II,	7-A-1

	P.19, 24	
2. Interviewee explained there was momentum continuing after the community activities they organized. They [core members of store owners] would hang out more often, and began to discuss their concerns, and came out some solution or measures to tackle the issues. She felt she was doing something that would benefit to the society, a sense of self-existence and self-value was recognized through being part of the meaningful activities, even though it could be a trivial incident like road-blocking-king activity, a satire game and prank to draw public attention to the parallel parking problem. She felt what they did is to make people more aware of social responsibility. Another interviewee also pointed out the importance to do something right to the community, a sense of community responsibility.	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.33 Interview: 160711_002 Transcript: Volume III, P.40	7-A-2
Property B: Collaborative dynamics		
1. Interviewee described the motif of community artworks [a train mosaic with fourteen ceramic panels] represented the fourteen units of the Li-district. The head of the train refers to the leader, and leads the community toward a better future. Interviewee further explained the train mosaic mural on the wall was the manifest of a collective action and reflected the community vision.	Interview: 160615_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.89	7-B-1
2. Interviewee explained what made them proud was the excellent following maintenance work after completion of the CAP project. Volunteers took good care of the community garden afterward, and kept the momentum going. It is an indicator of collective effort and community consensus.	Interview: 160607_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.11	7-B-2
3. Interviewee described that he was touched by the scene when he saw residents squatted on the site and did the labor work collectively for the CAP project. Quotation: "... there were layers, accountants, doctors...and other successful retired officers...they didn't see themselves different from others...everyone was happy to be there... cleaned the trash, plowed the soils, and planted the flowers..."	Interview: 160825_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.94	7-B-3
Property C: Community integration		
1. Interviewee re-emphasized the selfless mindset played influential factor in community integration. Interviewee pointed out that most of their community activities were cross geo-political boundary, other Li-district community organizations were willing to work with them. He attributed this collaboration to the community inner dynamics change, which relied on community integration by implementing several community-based projects. It helped to unite people together.	Interview: 160722_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.114-115	7-C-1
2. Interviewee described how the pre-existing senior club saw the community association activities as threats and perceived their recruitment of older adults would undermine the club membership. However, what the community association did was to provide service for those underserved elder population and motivate those who seldom participated community activities to join more events. After years implementation of community-based	Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.31	7-C-2

activities and CAP projects, different groups of elder population were coming out and engaged more with various community activities. The tension between pre-existing senior club and community association was no longer an issue.		
3. Interviewee explained how the community arts site became the school art education extension. Kids would bring their families to the sites and introduced the artworks made by the senior kids to their parents. As a result, parents had a better understanding about the school art education, and appreciated diverse education approaches through the collaboration between school and community.	Interview: 160727_003 Transcript: Volume I, P.153	7-C-3
4. Interviewee explained how the Japanese Office Chair Racing activity integrated multiple groups of people and brought neighborhood residents together. Through organizing the Office Chair Racing activity, Zheng-Xi street residents showed a stronger community bonding. They felt the responsibility to make the event successful since Zheng-Xi street will be the first overseas stop for the Japanese Office Chair Racing event. Quotation: "...up to two hundreds of volunteers...[all the resources...and networking] in that Office Chair Racing ... was all integrated ..."	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.27	7-C-4
<p>Property D: Community visioning</p> <p>A process focused on reaching community consensus and locating community vision. Seeking for self-sufficient and potential community-supported enterprise to generate revenue to run their own community program and activities.</p>		
1. Interviewee described the challenge part of CAP was to find out the elements [theme] to represent their community. They looked for the distinguishable parts that can represent the meaning and spirits of the community. Through the discussion and sharing, the ultimate goal was to locate the common vision and reach a community consensus that could speak for their community characters and culture.	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.41-42	7-D-1
2. Interviewee described the process of implementing CAP project made them have a better understanding on community development. By the end of the project, the CAP participants sought to share their inspiration and experiences with others through musical performance. They wanted others to feel their community soul and vibe, made next generation to understand why they were doing this and the value of it. They aimed to create a place [a sense of community] where they belong to.	Interview: 160825_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.97-98	7-D-2
3. Interviewee explained why they wanted for financial independency in terms of running the community association after participating government-funded programs. They sought to bring more revenue to the community and didn't want to rely on government funding too much. They felt the need to be self-sufficient, had their own community-supported enterprise to generate revenue to support their own community works and activities.	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.27, 28, P.58, Volume III, P.123.	7-D-3
4. Interviewee described the collective learning process through CAP was crucial to community development. Participants may have different ideas and thoughts during the process; however,	Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II,	7-D-4

interviewee considered it as a good thing, which would eventually reach a consensus and contribute to the community visioning.	P.39	
Property E: Partnership formation		
1. Interviewee explained how the CAP project made the community building partnership with other communities and organizations. She described other experienced communities provided suggestion and tips, and helped them to implement the project. She also pointed out that a kindergarten in the neighborhood supported their works, and became their alliance to provide free water supply and electricity for afterward maintenance work.	Interview: 160615_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.84	7-E-1
2. Interviewee explained how the community inner dynamic change after implementing several government-funded programs and CAP projects. He described the original four Earth God religion councils [local community religion center organizations] were operated separately and didn't share resources. But now, they would collaborate on certain activities, and co-host a bigger religion event.	Interview: 160609_002 Transcript: Volume I, P.14	7-E-2
3. Interviewee explained how the community inner dynamics changed from divisive toward united. Li-office began to reach out the community association, and integrated different community interest groups. They also bridged different Li-district organizations and collaborated with the university extension. Interviewee considered such partnership formation as a significant breakthrough compared with previous community dynamics. Quotation: "...originally we hosted the event by ourselves... cause former Li-office leader didn't cooperate with others... now... we collaborated with other two Li-offices and Asia University [university extension]...and it [the event] became bigger and bigger..."	Interview: 160722_001 Transcript: Volume I, P.97	7-E-3
4. Interviewee described how the CAP project implementation brought different sectors and community organizations together to discuss the community traffic issues. Through a series of activities, the condominium community was able to unite local school, Li-office, public sector, and neighborhood community residents to discuss a potential solution for traffic improvement.	Interview: 160825_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.92	7-E-4

Concept 8: Community "Jen-Tung"

It is a complex concept that refers to notions of approval, recognition, endorsement, trust, and identification in different contexts. Through the "jen-tung" process, residents reached consensus and built community cohesion. Residents who shared community "jen-tung" had strong bonding, and showed willingness to yield personal interest to a better cause. The fundamental mentality is altruism and selfless. Community consciousness and consensus formation, community cohesion, collective pride, and collective leadership emerged during the process of "jen-tung". Communities who acquired "jen-tung" have the capacity of changing status quo, keeping collaboration momentum, and continuing community works toward collective vision.

Property A: Showing recognition and praise in public as signified of agreement and approval to the community works		
1. Interviewee described how the community association garnered resident's recognition and praise through implementing the CAP project. Local residents viewed the works completed by community association as a manifesto of "walk the walk" and improving community environment. Quotation: "... we encountered local residents...and they shared their observation and recognized that we were really doing something...not just talk the talk..."	Interview: 160614_001 Transcript: Volume II, P.32	8-A-1
Property B: Showing the trust and confidence in community by signing the property usage agreement as an endorsement of community works		
1. Interviewee shared his observation how community residents demonstrated their approval and "jen-tung" through signing the property usage agreement. Quotation: "...if they didn't "jen-tung" us...then you[we] wouldn't be able to get their signatures [an agreement to let community association to use their land for free]...when they "jen-tung" us...[it means] they have confidence in us...they know we do it for the community..."	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.64	8-B-1
2. Interviewee described how resident's attitudes changed from watching you remotely [cold shoulder] to actively involving through signing agreements [property usage agreement]. Quotation: "... we got all signatures in one night...the whole street....they were expecting us [extend the CAP projects to their neighbor]..."	Interview: 160609_003 Transcript: Volume I, P.25	8-B-2
Property C: Willing to sacrifice individual convenience or interest to support community activity		
1. Interviewee described that street vendors were willing to sacrifice individual convenience to support a street event [an activity organized by local leaders upon community consensus] that requires roadblock to stop vehicles entering into the street. Quotation: "...the strawberry grandma [a vendor owner who sells strawberries] supported the street event and agreed the roadblock....which was quite inconvenient for her...because the truck needed to unload boxes of strawberries at the store..."	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.24	8-C-1
2. Interviewee explained the transition of community mechanism change from business priority to community focus, street store owners used to see business [making money] as priority and rarely engage with community activities, but now they were willing to take a few days off to make a group trip. Quotation: "... my in-law used to take	Interview: 160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.34	8-C-2

<p>store business her priority...it's impossible to take a day off to travel...but now...she "jen-tung" what we did...she would ask for a copy of Zheng-Xi News [a publication focused on local community news and events]..."</p>		
<p>Property D: Having a shared experience of solving the problem, facing the challenges, and taking responsibility of doing good to society</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee explained what "jen-tung" means to him and described what elements contribute to "jen-tung". Interviewee explained the place attachment played a role in "jen-tung" construction, however, it was the collaborative experience of facing challenges and solving local problem that re-enforcing the community cohesion and "jen-tung" process.</p>	<p>Interview:160715_004 Transcript: Volume III, P.90</p>	<p>8-D-1</p>
<p>2. Interviewee described the transition from community bonding focus to social responsibility revelation, she felt what they did was more than creating community bonding, but triggering them to think about social issues and felt having responsibility to do something to make a difference. Quotation: "...we never thought of it before... just like the prank 'road theft king' [a prank to warn drivers the danger and irresponsibility for parallel parking] we organized... it may be trivial... but it was something influential... brought out something positive to the society..."</p>	<p>Interview:160711_001 Transcript: Volume III, P.33</p>	<p>8-D-2</p>
<p>Property E: Having a sense of community identification through participation and collaboration/ feeling being part of the something meaningful and important/ having a sense of ownership</p>		
<p>1. Interviewee described resident's response to the CAP project and how participants perceived the artwork after CAP implementation. Participants felt proud of being part of the process, and would show others their collective artwork. They were able to explain the whole process, and understood the reasons and motivation of doing it.</p>	<p>Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.37</p>	<p>8-E-1</p>
<p>2. Interviewee explained the five cows [a series of CAP project artworks in five years] represents the community core value. Participants felt being part of something meaningful during the process of collective art making and naming the artwork. It gave them a sense of "jen-tung" (identification).</p>	<p>Interview: 160614_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.42</p>	<p>8-E-2</p>
<p>3. Interviewee described the process of collective art making re-enforced the community bonding and internalized the CAP memory through sculpture making. It made participants feel like creating a history and making their own collective memory.</p>	<p>Interview: 160825_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.105</p>	<p>8-E-3</p>
<p>4. Interview described the stage performance was inspired by the CAP process. They shared their collective CAP memory</p>	<p>Interview: 160825_002</p>	<p>8-E-4</p>

through various occasion and want to create a sense of ownership.	Transcript: Volume II, P.97-98	
Property F: Having a feeling of being heard/ resident’s feedback got response/ showing mutual respect through the interaction/ a sense of inclusiveness		
1. Interviewee explained why residents approached to community association and asked for help after the CAP implementation. One of the resident’s concern was the traditional folk art preservation. The resident witnessed the diminishing of traditional folk art and was afraid of not being able to pass on the skills and knowledge, so the resident approached to community association and asked for help. Quotation: “...he saw what we did...and came to us...asked for help to take action in regard to culture heritage preservation...we kept that in mind...and initiated a training class focus on it ...”	Interview:160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.50	8-F-1
2. Interviewee shared his observation how other store owners gradually changed their attitudes toward a more selfless mindset and joined the community collaborative work. He attributed the change to two key persons who played pivot roles in facilitating an inclusive and reciprocal environment that helped to nurture respectful interaction and a selfless mindset. Quotation: “...the core value [of Zheng-Xin Street] relied on [a platform] to prompt people to review the interaction between people with new perspectives and [show] mutual respects.”	Interview: 160715_004 Transcript: Volume III, P.79-80	8-F-2
Property G: Having a selfless mindset/ keeping a neutral position/ avoiding to be the beneficiary of government-funded program		
1. Interviewee described the key element of getting other’s “jen-tung” [approval] was to keep a selfless mindset, avoiding to be the beneficiary from government funding. Quotation: “... people would gossip...they would say you got the funding for your own interest...”	Interview: 160729_002 Transcript: Volume II, P.64-65	8-G-1
2. Interviewee shared his observation why he “jen-tung” [agreed with] the previous community leaders at the beginning, but later on he didn’t identify himself with them when he perceived them as the beneficiary of government-funded program. He explained things were changed after the resources and money pouring into the community. Quotation: “... at the beginning... I was touched by what they did...their devotion to [improve community environment]...I “jen-tung” what they were doing at that time...but after the flower festival [a government funded activity]... people flooded into the community...then followed the resources and money...things started to change...”	Interview: 160810_002 Transcript: Volume III, P.124-125	8-G-2