

Promoting sustainable development in urban development project from the environmental groups' perspective: the case of Taipei Dome

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ABSTRACT

It is well accepted that sustainable development is pursuing balance between economic, environmental and social considerations. However, implementation of the concept may be different based on different interpretations. This thesis aims at generating insights into promoting sustainable development from environmental groups' perspective at project level. Public participation is important to sustainable development, especially at local project level because the interests between stakeholders become more concrete. This thesis argues that the environmental groups do play an important role in making development projects towards sustainability by encouraging public participation and other actions to influence decision-makers.

A public sporting infrastructure project, Taipei Dome, was chosen as a single case study for empirical research. The environmental groups' actions, the results of the project were analyzed in two aspects: substantial and procedural outcomes. It shows that environmental groups face different challenges during the process, especially in terms of public mobilization and gaining political power in Taiwan. This thesis suggests that further efforts should be put on environmental education and political network building to improve existing review systems in Taiwan. Moreover, to reflect on theories, not only the form of public participation should be emphasized on, but also the timing of public participation.

Key words: Sustainable development, public participation, environmental groups, Taipei Dome

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Chapter 1 Introduction

Pursuing sustainable development has had a long history since the 1980s. Among the numerous interpretations of sustainable development, the definition in “Our Common Future” published by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED), also known as Brundtland Report, in 1987 is well accepted. It referred sustainable development to “development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987, p.43 cited in Elliott, 2006, p.7). There are two concepts in the Brundtland Report : ‘need’ and ‘limitation’ which refer to meet the need of the present generation but also set up the limitations in order to meet future generation’s need, and take economic, social and environmental factors into considerations. Although the Brundtland Report addressed the concept of sustainable development in a global context, more and more states, local governments and organizations take it as the main objective of their activities during the past decades (Meadowcroft, 2000). Since then, there are debates about how to apply the concepts into real practice and how the concept interpreted in practice. Challenges and critics about promoting sustainable development are also addressed in different dimensions in the academic researches.

Some researches take sustainable development as a political concept because it is hard to find a unitary and precise definition. In this argument, it is suitable to take it as a dynamics of democratic politics concept that different actors should be involved with good governance principles in the decision making process (Baker, 2006, pp.27-31). The Brundtland Report also revealed the importance of public participation to promote sustainable development by addressing that “making the difficult choices involved in achieving sustainable development will depend on the widespread support and involvement of informed public and non-governmental organizations, the scientific community, and industry”(WCED, 1987, p.21 cited in Baker, 2006, p.41).

Sustainable development is a broad concept relating to take social, economics, and environmental issues into considerations. Thus, most of the researches focus on the policy level but rarely to the local development project level. The concept of sustainable development contains multiple dimensions, it is important to build the sustainable development framework for a country or for a city to guide all the activities within that specific context. However, it is also worthwhile promoting the concept bottom-up, such as urban development project where the real battle occurs. As Rydin (2007, p.347) had argued “While local action for sustainability cannot on its own achieve sustainable development, it is argued that such local action is both a

necessary element and can make a substantial contribution in its own right". Owens and Cowell (2002) also mentioned that "In practice, land-use planning proved to be one of the most important arenas in which conceptions of sustainable development are contested. Here, more than anywhere else, it has become clear that trying to turn the broad consensual principles into policies, procedures, and decisions tends not to resolve conflicts, but expose tensions inherent in the idea of sustainable development itself,"(p.28 cited in Godschalk, 2004, p.6).

Although sustainable development aims at pursuing balance between economic, social and environmental considerations, most of the time, environment loses its status while economic (property value and financial consideration in redevelopment project) takes the leading role at development project level. It is more concrete and imaginable at the project level that stakeholders could strongly sense the conflict interests within the project and stand for their own interests. This situation leaves a question that if there is a better solution to cooperate with different actors in development projects and improve our living environment as well.

On the other hand, for human beings, to survive on the planet implies a certain level of natural resource exploitation. It was until the 1960s and the 1970s that the environmental problem attracted much attention from the public because of environmental pollution (Baker, 2006, p.18). Environmental problems gradually become a global issue because in some aspects, it is far beyond a single state's capacity to deal with them. Within the context, a variety of organizations, such as environmental NGOs and the public, bypass their national state to involve the decision-making process trying to influence the results and make contributions to the environmental protection and conservation. As the present research addresses the importance of local level to promote sustainable development, I also argue that environmental groups could be a stimulator to promote sustainable development in the local development projects.

1.1 research questions and research objectives

To sum up, the present research tries to find the linkage between environmental groups and pursuing sustainable development in urban development projects. In other words, the present research focuses on how to take more environmental consideration into decision making process, especially by the influence of groups' actions. The research main objective is to improve sustainable development at local project level from environmental groups' point of view.

The main research question is "how can environmental groups improve sustainable development at local project level?"

Under the main research question, three sub-questions are addressed as below:

1. What strategies do environmental groups use to influence decision-making?
2. How can environmental groups encourage public participation during decision-making process?
3. To what extent can environmental groups influence the development project in terms of sustainable development?

1.2 terms and definitions

To make some terms clarify in the thesis, the definition or concept applied to specific terminology in the present research are addressed as below:

1.2.1 Sustainable development

The definition of sustainable development is broad and somehow blurred that it may make the present research too ambiguous to go on. In the present research, sustainable development is interpreted as a dynamic concept focusing on the governance part rather than referred it to a specific and static definition. The concept of sustainable development derived from challenging the dominant Western development model which prioritized economic growth with intensity consumption pattern and being duplicated worldwide. The sustainable development model emerged as a new development paradigm emphasizing on reconciling the ecological, social and economic dimensions of development, not only now but also the future generation (Baker, 2006). It reflects such a complexity issue that it may change its meaning by how people view the world, such as the attitude towards natural environment, the social equity and justice and the meaning of development. As Baker argued:

Sustainable development is a dynamic concept. It is not about society reaching an end state, nor is it about establishing static structures or about identifying fixed qualities of social, economic or political life. It is better to speak about promoting, not achieving, sustainable development. Promoting sustainable development is an on-going process, whose desirable characteristics change over time, across space and location and within different social, political, cultural and historical contexts.

(Baker, 2006, pp.7-8)

It is in the same storyline that in Brundtland Report, the concept of sustainable development was not only mentioned the substantial aspects, but also took it as a political concept highlighting the governance issue and the principle of public participation.

Thus, in the present research, the concept of sustainable development refers to

two aspects, the substantial aspect and procedural aspect. For substantial aspect, I will focus on the interpretations to balance the three pillars, economic, social and environmental issues, between different stakeholders in the decision making process. For the procedural aspect, the emphasis will be put on how public participation is practiced to promote sustainable development within the decision-making process when implementing a local project.

1.2.2 Development project

The term development project mentioned in the present research mainly refers to the projects which imply the increase of intensity and change of land use. It could be initiated by public, private or public-private partnership. To implement such a project, different phases will be conducted, including planning, construction and use. In the planning stage, the project will be carried out under policy formulation, project content discussion process. The present research will mainly focus on the planning stage of the project since it is the most crucial stage that most decisions are made. There are more opportunities open for different stakeholders to influence the decision making during this process.

1.3 research methodology

1.3.1 Research methodology and research philosophy

The present research tries to address the relation between environmental groups, the decision-making of the development project and the objective of promoting sustainable development. The strategies of the environmental groups to interact with different actors of the development project, the role that environmental groups play to promote sustainable development are important to this research. It may different because of different social, economic and political context rooted in countries. In order to reveal an in-depth interactions between the different actors of the development project, especially the strategies, discourses, and actions taken by environmental groups to get involved in the decision-making process, the present research chooses qualitative research method to conduct the topic. Besides, it is the interpretivism viewpoint the present research takes to analyze how the environmental groups work in the specific social context.

1.3.2 Research strategy

According to Morris and Wood (1991) “the case study strategy will be of particular interest to you if you wish to gain a rich understanding of the context of the research and the processes being acted (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill cited in 2007, p.139). In order to understand the role of environmental groups under a certain social and institutional context, and the planning and decision making

process, the present research chooses mono-case study as research strategy.

The project the present research chooses is Taipei Dome project. It is a public sporting infrastructure project implemented by BOT method in Taipei, Taiwan. In order to implement the project, the developer has to conduct different project review and get the project approved. During the decision-making process, there are environmental groups object the project because of environmental and social considerations. The complex interaction between government, developer and environmental groups provide and the results of the project provide a good material for the present research to analyze the discourses and strategies from environmental groups' viewpoints when promoting sustainable development and the challenges they faced as well.

1.3.3 Data collection

In order to understand the background of Taipei Dome project and the decision-making process, two main methods will be conducted to collect empirical data: archive analysis and in-depth interview. Archive reviews include reviewing policy plans, project reports, news, meeting records, related researches and blogs on the website. Archive reviews provide a thorough background of Taipei Dome project for further analysis.

The second method of data collection is in-depth interview. By conducting in-depth interview, I can learn more about the different opinions and perceptions from different actors, such as the officials in the government, the main active environmental groups, and the developers. The interviewees were chosen based on the results of archive analysis and snowball-sampling.

The questions when conducting interviews were according to interview-guides designed for different actors with adjustments based on the responds of the interviewees.

1.4 Research relevance

The motivation of the present research derives from my working experience of seeing the conflict between economic and environmental considerations in of urban redevelopment project in Taipei, Taiwan. It aims to generate insights of interaction in pursuing sustainable development in terms of environmental groups' contribution during the process of development project and how they promote public participation to influence the decision making. Thus, the social relevance of the present research is to provide recommendations and suggestions to environmental groups in Taiwan to improve environmental consideration into planning process in terms of urban development project. It has a consultative value to the environmental groups but also to the spatial policy makers. Besides, some of the general

suggestions are concluded to reflect to the theories.

On the other hands, the scientific relevance of the present research can be divided into two aspects: the relevance of theory about sustainable development and the relevance about environmental groups versus environmental politics.

After reviewing related research of governance of sustainable development, Jordan (2008) suggests about where the literature on governance and/or sustainable development can go in the future. "First, there is certainly a need to move beyond grand theories and typologies of governance, and to undertake more detailed empirical testing better to measure the extent to which we are in fact witnessing a shift from government to governance. Second, it is significant that sustainable development is being pursued using new rather than older modes of governance. However, analysts need to go beyond this and conduct work that explores the relationship between governance and sustainable development in a more dynamic and interactive manner(p.29)" As we can see, the research about sustainable development focus more on the policy level and the governance for sustainable development also emphasize the typologies of governance. The present research tries to find the dynamics relation between actors at the local project level, and mainly focus on the environmental groups' point of view. It could supplement the sustainable development theories at local project level.

Moreover, most of the researches of environmental politics focus on environmental NGOs' efforts at international level, but less on local level. The present research takes the local project level as the main analysis subject and complements the puzzle of environmental politics.

Chapter 2 Theories review and conceptual framework

In order to answer the research questions ‘how can environmental groups improve sustainability in a development project’, several aspects of theories will be reviewed to formulate theoretical framework. The first part of this chapter will argue about why the present research focuses on the project level for promoting sustainable development and how it could be. Literature about sustainable development, such as the evolvement of sustainable development concept, the principles will be reviewed. Then, I will review literatures about how to implement the concept of sustainable development at the urban level in order to link to the project level. The second part of this chapter will be focus on why take the environmental groups angle to promote environmental sustainability at the project level. Public participation will be the main idea in this section. Then, theories of Environmental politics, such as the actors of environmental groups, their strategies to influence the decision-making, and the factors impact the strategies choosing will be addressed in the third part. In the end, I will address the conceptual framework of the present research from the theories mentioned above.

2.1 Sustainable development at the project level

Since Brundtland Report (1987) addressed the concept of sustainable development, the concept has gradually become a new paradigm at the global level that the society should find an integrated method to combine environmental, economic and social consideration into policy making and actions (Baker, 2006). In order to implement the concept into practice, discussions about the applications at different scale occupied methods to apply the academic and practical arena. The answer of which level is the best to promote sustainable development is not concluded, some researcher argued that regional level is appropriate for sustainable development (Berger, 2003) while others addressed that local level is the fertile ground for the sustainable development agenda, especially the topic of urban sustainability, because roughly half of the world’s population lives in the urban area (Rydin, 2007, p.347). No matter which level is the most appropriate level to promote sustainable development, it is believed that promoting sustainable development should be carried out and coordinated at all different levels: international, national, regional and local (urban and rural) level (Gibbs and Jonas, 2000). However, there seems less research focuses on the smaller scale, such as site development project level. One reason for this may be that the term sustainable development is related to a comprehensive concept that should take environmental, social and economic values into account and therefore strategies to promote sustainable development are easier to construct at a larger scale. A second

reason that sustainability is often discussed at larger scales, may be the centrality of an abstract debate on the values underlying sustainability. As smaller-scale development tend to pose concrete questions, it is less central in abstract debates that occupy much of the sustainability discourse.

The present research argues that since urban areas are developed incrementally, by accumulation of pieces of land, small scale development projects are essential to urban sustainability, even if large scale policy decision are just as important. Thus, because there is less literature about sustainable development at the small scale development project level, the present research tries to clarify the meaning of sustainability on smaller scale, by reviewing literature on sustainable development, the evolution of this concept, its characteristics and principles. The implementing models to promote urban sustainability will be used to link sustainable development to the project level.

2.1.1 The concept of sustainable development

The concept of sustainable development has been discussed for decades, its definition and interpretations are various in academic arena and in practice. The widely used and accepted definition of sustainable development is addressed by the WCED, in the announcement of the report “Our Common Future” in 1987, which referred sustainable development as “development that meets the need of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their needs” (WCED, 1987, p.8). Although the concept of sustainable development is widely embraced by different level of governments, organizations, and institutions, its interpretations could be different with various angles when concerning the needs, resources, values in specific areas.

The concept of sustainable development and its evolution could be seen from two angles, the perceptions of environment and the perceptions of development. From the environmental perception, Baker (2006, p.18) mentioned that the concern about sustainability can be traced back to the eighteenth-century when some of the thinkers started to worry about energy shortage and resource scarcity in the rising population background. However, it was not until the 1960s and the 1970s that the environmental problem caused by industrial pollution, such as health hazards, air and water pollution, make environmentalism and environmental movement gained a lot of public support that several environmental regulation were made. In the 1980s, a comprehensive approach, relating environmental to economic concerns has come into the public arena when the environmental problems became an international issue. This led to a new environmentalist development model that challenges the conventional economic development model. Conventional development model prioritizes economic growth through heightened consumption patterns and takes natural resources as an instrument for human beings. The conventional development model assumed that the

development of society goes through different stages of economic growth as a linear progression and duplicated this model worldwide to make those underdeveloped countries catch up with the developed western countries (Baker, 2006, p.2). However, modern environmentalism claimed that this kind of thinking stimulates several problems, not only in the Third World but also in developed countries, such as unemployment or jobless growth; the deterioration of the natural environment in the Third World leads to social disruption and impairs human health; the implant of western value diminished social and cultural diversity; encouraging heightened consumption pattern instead of fostering social cohesion causes inequality, poverty and over-exploitation increasingly in the global arena (Baker, 2006, pp.2-5). Thus, the environmentalist called for a new model of development, the 'sustainable development' model. Environment is no longer seen only as a tool for human beings. It has its own intrinsic values and should be treated with respect and humility (Elliott, 2006, p.30). In this perception of the environment, the sustainable development model represents a new approach, seeking to harmonize the economic, environmental and social aspects of development and to take future generations into consideration (Baker, 2006, p.5). Earlier discussions are at the global scale.

Elliott (2006) analyzed the evolvement of sustainable development concept from economic and social dimension, pointing out that 'development' is still the key point to sustainable development. In this dimension, sustainable development is the fruit of the changing perception of development. The story started in the 1960s when most of the countries held an optimistic attitude towards the Western economic growth model. However, in the 1970s, the economic crisis made the developing countries start to reflect the economic growth model. They addressed the problems caused by colonialist economic patterns which worsened inequality between and within countries. During that period of time, the dependency theory became dominant, arguing that "underdevelopment was not the result of any inadequacies in economic, social or environmental conditions within those countries themselves, but the direct outcome of development elsewhere and the manner in which those countries were incorporated into the operations of the international capitalist system, i.e. the structural disadvantages of these countries and regions" (Elliott, 2006, p.18). The dependency pattern revealed the equity problems between central and peripheral economy as well as the inequity situation between developed and developing countries. Although the dependency theory was out of fashion by the 1980s for underestimating the internal problems of local economies and for lacking the ability to solve the problems it addressed, it did create attention to the inequity problem between nations and influence perception on development in the next decade. In the late 1970s, the idea of 'growth with equity' or 'redistribution with growth' emerged and encapsulated into

development thinking and action. It made the perception of development focus not only on economic aspect but also on social and environmental aspects in the 1980s (Elliott, 2006, p.20). In fact, the 1980s have been referred to as the 'lost decade' in development. The major problem during this decade was the global economic recession. Most of the developing countries struggled with increasing interest rates and mounting debts to northern countries. These debts were created in previous decades, as developing countries holding with the optimistic expansion economic development model borrowed money to finance growth. However the economic recession forced them to change their attitude. Inequality between countries was therefore worsened due to the conventional development model. Furthermore, due to globalization nation states became less influential to implement their policies and to control their own development trends. Neo-liberal approach emerged as a response to these problems, re-introducing the free market system to initiate economic development (Elliott, 2006, pp.22-24).

From the 1990's and into the twenty-first century, the dominant thinking of development is the 'post-development' school which defines the concept of development as one which involves a dependent and subordinates process, creates and widen spatial inequalities, harm local cultures and values. Perpetuates poverty and poor working and living conditions, produces unsustainable environments, and infringes human rights and democracy (Hodder, 2000, p.17 cited in Elliott, 2006, p.27). These thinkers denounce t the traditional development model and reflection on the meaning of 'local' to development. The latter reflection led to the growing attention given to grassroots participation from the local level, which is thought to be an important contribution of post-development thinking for a more sustainable development process (Elliott, 2006, p.27).

From mentioned above, both of the arguments have their contributions to reveal the concept of sustainable development. From the environmental perspective, sustainable development is taken as an antidote to transform the development pattern to a new model trying to implant more environmental concerns. From the economic and social perspective, the meaning of 'development' has been revised from the problems and reflections caused by conventional development model. It seemed that both perspectives have their compromise to derive a more mediate pattern that can be accepted worldwide. As Baker (2006, p.19) argued, "it was not until 1987, when the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) published its report, *Our Common Future*, that the links between the social, economic and ecological dimensions of development were explicitly addressed". Jordan (2008, p.20) also mentioned that it is until Burndtland, "the search for synergies between the three became more urgent."

The United Nations (UN) and its related international institutions, such as the Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN Development Program, and the UN Environment Program, play the important role in the evolution of sustainable development. The UN make efforts with a variety of approaches, such as multi-lateral agreements, different subjects of conferences and initiatives, to deal with the environmental and social problems caused by rapid expansion of economic activities. The WCED report in 1987, which also known as Brundtland report, revealed the determination of finding the balance between economic, social and environmental concerns for inter- and intra-generation at the global level. The definition of sustainable development made by WCED implied two concepts: "...the concept of 'needs', in particular the essential needs of the world's poor, to which priority should be given; and the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organization on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs" (WCED, 1987, p.43 cited in Baker, 2006, p.20). Although the definition addressed in the Brundtland Report became well accepted and was adapted by many authorities and organizations, the approaches to translate the concept into policies and actions remained ambiguous. For example, the definition of the needs for this generation and next generation may differ from different scale, actors, and areas. Lele (1991, p.613 cited in Jordan, 2008, p.20) criticized the Report as "...it left sustainability being about everything and therefore potentially nothing."

To make this concept more clarified, researchers interpret it with substantial and procedural approaches at the same time. The substantial approach analyzes the tools of application, such as the calculation of footprint and the indicators of sustainable development. From the procedural dimension, issues like public participation and governance for sustainable development gain a lot of attention. These topics emphasize the power relation between the state, market and civil society and how they interact to formulate the decision making. Sustainable development is seen as a political concept that process, actors and actions are important elements for participation in promoting sustainable development.

After more than two decades of surfing, most scholars accept that reaching for a precise definition of sustainable development might go too far, they turn to explore the interplay between different sub-principles of sustainable development instead of defining a united definition (Jordan, 2008, p.20). After reviewing several researches, we summary two characteristics and three principles of sustainable development as below:

Characteristic 1: sustainable development is a system reproduction process.

Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) addressed the methods to promote sustainable development by mapping different approaches. The approaches, including status quo, reform and transformation, are based on how people view the nature in

society's political and economic structures and human–environment relationships. The different approaches imply the different philosophy, eco-centric or anthropocentric. Supporters of the status quo have relative weak commitment to environmental sustainability and poverty issue, and think that adjustment is enough to promote sustainable development without any fundamental changes within the power relations or the decision making patterns. Supporters of transformation call for a redistribution of power within the social and political relation. In the conclusion of this research, the researchers argued that although the status-quo-view dominates policy presently, a more radical view is needed and transformation is essential for exploiting the deep connection between environment and society, and between people and planet (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005, p.49). This argument corresponds to one of the key concept of sustainable development mentioned by Campbell (1996) and Berke (2002). They referred sustainable development as “the long-term reproduction of a system to reproduce” (Campbell, 1996 cited in Berke, 2002, p.31). It means that the social system (no matter at which scale) will not only duplicate the status quo, including the current surroundings, mechanisms of economic, environmental and social systems, but also foster revitalization which implies a transformation towards a livable, healthier environment and equitable society. In other words, to see sustainable development as a transformation process, promoting sustainable development should not only reform in the technical and economic dimensions but also need a thorough transformation in political, legislative social and cultural aspects.

Characteristic 2: sustainable development is a dynamic process with an opened end.

The definition of sustainable development in the Brundtland Report implied two important concepts, the ‘needs’ and the ‘limitation’. Sustainable development is about pursuing the development according to the needs for this generation under the environmental limitation. However, the objective may differ because of different values, needs, technology based on the political, social, cultural contexts. Thus, the objective is not a static status. Baker (2006, p.8) argued that “it is better to speak about promoting, not achieving, sustainable development. Promoting sustainable development is an on-going process, whose desirable characteristics change over time, across space and location and within different social, political, cultural and historical context.” In other words, promoting sustainable development is a progressing and never-ending process (Kemp, Parto and Gibson, 2005, p.16).

Principle 1: sustainable development is pursuing balance between environmental, economic and social values.

Pursuing balance between economic, environment and social concerns is the main idea for sustainable development. There are negative and positive interpretations for the emergence of sustainable development: to see the concept as a compromise

between economic growth, environmental protection and social equity and justice; or taking a more positive view of the concept as searching a comprehensive and integrated way for humans and the planet. These three dimensions sometimes conflicts to each other as Berke(2002) mentioned:

“...achieving balance entails coordination, negotiation, and compromise, as well as technical design-oriented knowledge about problems associated with cities and regions (p.31)”.

Principle 2: sustainable development refers to pursuing equity and justice.

Equity is another important principle to sustainable development. Due to various interpretations of sustainable development, equity can refer to a wide range of concepts, including equity between intergeneration and intra-generation, equity between center and periphery, equity between developed and developing countries, equity between powerful or powerless people, or equity between human and other species (Haughton, 1997; Hopwood, 2005; Baker, 2006). The interpretation of equity can be different based on the scales, targets and time. Sustainable development emerged at the global level first in the background of most countries found the fact that a single country cannot solve the environmental problem on its own without taking the inequality between nations into concerns. From the global level comparative analysis, the equity in gender, human rights and poverty are also gain the attention (Haughton, 1997).

Principle 3: participation is essential for promotion of sustainable development.

It is believed in the Brundtland Report that sustainable development principles and actions should be supported by the related stakeholders then it is possible to be implemented. Because it not only means to pursue a consumption model with ecosystem consideration, but also means to find a collective value and to transform the development pattern within the social, political and economic context. The transformation needs to be supported and taken into action by the citizens to make sustainable development concept implemented.

Baker addressed tow reasons for participation: normative and functional one (Baker, 2006, p.41). The first reason is related to democratic legitimacy to formulate common value. Brundtland Report also mentioned the importance of widespread support: “Making the difficult choices involved in achieving sustainable development will depend on the widespread support and involvement of informed public and non-governmental organizations, the scientific community, and industry” (WCED, 1987, p.21). The second reason is related to procedural equity, the transparency of process and public engagement (Kemp, Parto and Gibson, 2005; Hopwood, Mellor and O’Brien, 2005; Baker, 2006). Following the Brundtland Report, the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and the announcement of Agenda 21 also recognized participation as an important principle to promote sustainable development. The prevailing advocacy to participation

implies the distrust of governments' behaviors and decisions that alternative method to solve the political conflicts and vested interests should be addressed. The society should find equity chance for citizens to get involved in the policy making process and gain power to influence the policy. By providing channels to influence the decision-making, "multi-stakeholder participation and partnerships need to be established and developed in decision making and implementation" (Baker, 2006, p.42). It can lower the implementation cost by making citizens and stakeholders understand the formulation of policies clearly and more accepted to implement policies.

The characteristic, principles of sustainable development mentioned above can be seen as the normative guidance of what sustainable development means for the present research. The next section goes further on practical principles and approaches at the local level, especially sustainable urban development in order to link the concept to development project level.

2.1.2 Approaches to sustainable urban development

Since the concept of sustainable development has been adopted by almost all level of governments, the implementation of the concept at each level become popular in the academic research and in practice. The importance of promoting sustainable development at the local level is recognized, especially the issue of sustainable urban development. Rydin (2007, pp.348-349) summarized the reasons to support local scale sustainable development. First, local scale is the suitable level to implement sustainable development actions because most of the policies can only happen at the local level. Second, local scale has greater capacity to induce behavior change through 'softer' means, including the engagement with local community, the persuasion, partnership and network, the formulation of common value towards sustainability within the local community. The distance between government and public is closer than that of higher level governments and public. Thus, citizens can express their opinions to the government easily and policies are more likely to reach people. Under the same thinking, the importance of the local action is addressed in Agenda 21, an action plan for sustainable development announced in 1992 Rio Summit on Environment and development followed by the Brundtland Report. The Agenda 21 addressed the problem of unsustainable development situation and presented an authoritative set of ideas on how to promote sustainable development in practice. It is a forty-chapter document outlining action plans across a wide range of areas. The importance of local action in supporting Agenda 21 was highlighted in chapter 28. The particular focus on Local Agenda 21 (LA21) emphasizes the local scale.

At the local scale, cities are seen to have advantages to be the important sites to promote sustainable development because of its economic scale. Various issues can be drawn to deal with sustainable development, such as spatial planning, housing design,

transportation and land-use planning (Baker, 2006, p.118).

In translating sustainable development concept into practice, the approaches and strategies to promote sustainable urban development are influenced by values, judgments, and social and economic context. Haughton (1997, pp.190-194) summarized four approaches towards sustainable urban development as self-reliance cities, compact cities, externally dependent cities and fair shares cities (see table 2.1). Each approach implies different value and philosophy. Self-reliance approach is supported by the deep green and eco-centric environmentalist. They propose an intensive internalization of economic and environmental activities, emphasizes bioregional and urban autarky. In other words, they support the idea of settlement decentralization, developing smaller towns with self-sufficient functions and more green elements to raise inhabitants' spiritual awareness of their links with nature. The compact city model is similar to self-reliance school but more anthropocentric and less nature centered. They addressed the idea of compact city, such as higher residential density and mixed land use, and emphasized the importance of energy saving and energy efficiency. Supporters of external dependent city model are more market-centered and light green. They focus on dealing with the externalities by market mechanism. They argue that excessive externalization of environmental costs can be solved by reforming market mechanism, such as polluters pay. They go deeper to develop operating techniques such as buying-in additional 'carrying capacity' method. The value behind Fair shares city model incorporates previous three models with an explicit concern for the debates over environmental and social equity. This model tries to "reform the terms of trading of environmental assets and emphasis on assessing regional carrying capacity as the starting point for exchanges of both resources and pollutants" (Haughton, 1997, p.193).

Although these four models have their own critics and difficulties to conquer, the intrinsic problems they want to solve are dealing with the externality issue, which will become serious when cities are growing. Rydin (2007) mentioned that "A key aspect of urban sustainability is also about reducing the need for such inputs, through demand management and increased efficiency, and switching from non-renewable to renewable sources. Renewable resources (such as water) also have to be used within their capacity to renew themselves (p.355)". The externality issue can be seen as a reflection on equity principle, especially 'equity between center and periphery'. To implement the equity principle at the urban level, the strategies of lower the resource input, such as less consumption and energy saving by self-reliance functioning; increase the resource efficiency, such as energy saving through densely urban form; and using the market-based approach to deal with externalities, such as polluters pay and compensation system.

Table 2.1 Four approaches to sustainable urban development

SUD model	Approaches	Values	Critics/disadvantages
Self-reliant cities	Intensive internalization of economic and environmental activities, bioregional and urban autarky. Small towns with self-sufficient functions and more green elements to raise inhabitants' spiritual awareness of their links with nature.	Eco-centric/deep green	Fuzzy and utopian thinking that makes it difficult to see major advances in the immediate future. Neglect the uneven geographical resource allocation and the trend of globalization.
Compact cities	Planning for compact (such as higher residential density and mixed land use), energy efficient city regions.	Similar to self-reliance school but more anthropocentric and less nature centered.	Neglects detailed consideration of external impacts
External dependent cities	Excessive externalization of environmental costs and buying-in additional 'carrying capacity'. Calls for reforming market mechanisms, such as polluters pay, to work more effectively towards environmental goals.	Market-centered/light green	Lack attention to the distributive impacts and social equity consideration.
Fair shares cities	Balancing needs and rights equitably, with regulated flows of environmental value and compensatory system between cities.	Incorporating previous three models with an explicit concern for the debates over environmental and social equity	Difficult implementation in policy terms.

Source: summarized from Houghton (1999, p.190-194).

In the sustainable urban development topics, some scholars focus on the strategies for dealing with the conflicts between the three pillars. The implementation strategies are divided into two categories: substantive and procedural paths. Campbell (1996) suggested three substantive strategies and four procedural strategies. The substantive strategies include land use and design, bioregionalism, and technological improvement (mainly focus on energy efficiency improvement and mass transportation design). The procedural strategies include conflict negotiation, the language of the conflict redefining, political pluralism, and market mechanisms development to link economic and environmental priorities. The substantive strategies correspond to the sustainable urban development model mentioned above, dealing with the externalities and resources saving or resource using efficiency. The procedural paths correspond to the equity principle, such as social justice and equity between intra-generation principles, and participation principle but with different degree.

Policy integration is another important strategy for implementing balancing

principle. Some researchers argue that to overcome the limitations of sectoral decisions and actions is to make project at the local level through a coordinated approach (Cin, 1999). Policy integration at the local level implies a new working pattern to make a synergy policy of spatial and environmental department. As Cin (1999) argued, “The idea of the functioning ecosystem translated into the city systems means that development conceived as it was in the past is no longer adequate. The ‘re’concept—re-sue, re-cycled, renewal –requires another pattern. This means that we must be open to changing patterns (p.62)”. There are a lot of literatures focusing on the methods of policy integration. No matter what kind of method it is; the key point to policy integration when concerning urban environmental sustainability is the explicit, strong and positive concern for environment aspects. Environmental quality should be taken as an important theme in the beginning of planning process (Bus, 1999, p.210).

2.1.3 Summary of sustainable development at the project level

Following the normative characteristics and principles of sustainable development, and the implementation approaches towards sustainable urban development, this summary focuses on linkage sustainable development to the development project level.

In this section, we first summarize two important characteristics as transformative system and dynamic process, and three important principles including substantive and procedural principles as equity, balance and participation. Then, we turn to the implementation part at the local level, especially sustainable urban development. The four approaches are addressed to promote urban sustainability by Haughton (1999): self-reliant cities, compact cities, external dependent cities, and fair shares cities. The models will lead to different spatial strategies that the city choose, such as planning smaller scale with multi-function form of cities to make them more self-reliant; changing the city’s form to a intensive and mixed land use model to save energy; or pursuing equal cities by reforming market mechanism with more technical tools and regulation to deal with externalities and equity between cities. In general, the main issues within the urban sustainability discourse are how to save more energy or make it more efficient to reduce the burden to the peripheries of the cities, and how to deal with the externality problem which is related to the equity principle.

At the development project level, it is impossible to make a project self-reliant since the scale is too small to be self-sufficient. It can only provide some function within the urban context. However, we can still apply the principles of sustainable development and analyze how these principles can be applied to the general issue of energy saving and externalities under a project context, such as how the way different actors think about energy saving in a project, and how the externality problems are dealt within the planning process to justify the development project.

As Rydin (1997) mentioned about the implementation of sustainable development within the urban context, it is under the same thinking of linking sustainable development to development project level.

“It is not profitable to search for the ideal definition of sustainable development in an urban context, against which to measure policy practice or the correct hierarchy of policy measures for defining organizational roles; rather one should see the debate about this as part of the local policy process out of which decisions may arise which mitigate to a greater or lesser degree the environmental impacts of our urbanized way of life.”

(Rydin, 1997, pp.153-154)

Thus, when thinking about linking the concept of sustainable development at the development project level, we conclude that it is important to bear the norm principles, equity, balance and participation, in mind. However, the approaches to deal with energy saving and externalities will be different based on how different actors define and redefine sustainability within the process of development projects, and the attention should be paid on the different discourses of the project and see how different actors make efforts to promote the project towards a more sustainable way. Moreover, it corresponds to the dynamic and transformative characteristics of sustainable development that the interaction between different actors will stimulate the redefinition of sustainable development which the present research tries to analyze, especially the efforts made by environmental groups.

2.2 Public participation and the role of environmental groups

The next question of the current research is why environmental groups can benefit the sustainable development. To answer this question, several sub-questions will be elaborated in order. First, since we know that participation is crucial to sustainable development especially at lower level, the issue leads to how the concept be realized in practice. To answer this question, literatures about public participation have to be reviewed. There are different perspectives related to the issue of participation, including planning system, political science and public administration. From the political science perspective, the problem is related to democratic theory and go further more to the elements that influence decision-making, such as the power relation, the discourse analysis and policy network. Although most of the literature takes the state's point of view as their research targets because public authorities still play the dominant role in promoting sustainable development; some researches address the problem that public official is unaccountable (Schubert,1998). This leads to the second question: how can the civil society improve urban sustainability. The present research proposes that the interest groups especially environmental groups can play an important role even at the project level. To support the argument, the role

of environmental groups in the environmental politics should be examined.

2.2.1 Public participation in practice

The idea of public participation derived from the discussion about improving and adjusting democratic system relating to the accountability problem of the governments. It also related to the issues about how to define and determine public interest. The accountability of political decisions has been doubted within traditional representative democratic system because of “the vastly increased size of the bureaucracy, the increased technical complexity of the decisions, the specialization of disciplines and agencies involved in decisions” (Creighton, 1998, p.48) and the “package elected” system. Citizens can not choose their representatives issue-by-issue. It gives the justification for public participation, which to be seen as a solution to solve the democratic deficit.

Besides the normative arguments, there are also functional and legislative arguments to justify public participation in planning, political science and public administration discourses. Inne and Booher (2004, pp.422-423) mentioned seven purposes for participation including finding out the public interest for decision makers; incorporating lay knowledge and local voice to improve decisions; advancing fairness and justice; getting legitimacy of public decisions; building civil society and creating an adaptive, self-organizing polity capability that can make contribution and innovation to the complex world.

Baker (2006) related public participation to sustainable development discourse with two dimensions: normative arguments and functional arguments (Baker, 2006, p.41). The former argument also based on the democratic practice. Since promoting sustainable development implies difficult decisions which will influence the citizens' everyday life, such as reducing consumption or changing the way of disposing household waste, the decisions need to be accepted by the public that implementation of sustainable development can be realized. Under this participation process, the value of quality life, and the attitude towards environment can also be reconsidered by the citizens involved. Functional arguments correspond to what Inne and Booher (2004) mentioned above. Public participation refers to the searching of common interests and the justification of decisions-making. Besides, the most important reason to get citizens involved in the decision making process under sustainable development discourse is related to the institutional transformative effect, which refers to the civil society improvement and citizens capacity building (Brown, 1991). As numerous reasons justify to public participation, the question leads to how it work and does it really work in practice.

Innes and Booher (2004) summarized three dimensions of literature focusing on the implementation of public participation: citizen participation in planning, in political

science and in public administration. The research also identified the problems of participation addressed in the literatures. From the planning perspective, there is no doubt to the value of participation. The problem is how to make participation more effective participation in the planning process. From the political science perspective, some scholars argues that representative democratic system is suitable, since the direct democracy cannot operate in the giant bureaucratic state and complex world; while others focus on other alternative of democratic system, such as deliberative democracy, and take participation as essential. However, appropriate methods of implementing deliberative democracy remain unclear. From the public administration perspective, the problems derived from whether citizens should be considered as customers or owners of government. This assumption then leads to the methods to operate participation in the decision making process. The former perspective implies that participants play as only the consultant role in the planning process, while the latter situation implies that participation is the essential element to decision making. Some researches pointed out that although participation has become the norm principle in the modern society, the effect to implement the concept is disappointed in practice. Thus, the decision maker should consider the conditions of the policies and choose a suitable decision-making process determining whether there should be citizens involved or not (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). Innes and Booher (2004, p.421) described the dilemmas of participation in practice that "Planners and administrators can be out of touch with communities and local knowledge, but citizens can be out of touch with political and economic realities and long-term considerations for a community or resource".

Although it is true that participation may be costly and ineffective according to the empirical studies, the present research argues for the justice of public participation in two reasons. First, participation can provide issue-by-issue accountability. There are literatures mentioned about the unaccountable state and calls for an alternative democratic mechanism (Bryant, 1992; Macnaghten and Jacobs, 1997). Although the governments were regarded as the responsible role to promote sustainable development, in reality, they were run for the self-interest of their own members and make themselves to be seen as "part of 'the system' which is generating environmental and social problems rather than benign agents committed to solving them" (Macnaghten and Jacobs, 1997, p.20). When thinking about promoting sustainable development, although the state plays a central role in conflicting management, its role as a developer or as a protector and steward of the natural environment is a continuing conflict inherently that some scholars argued that there is a "inter-linked nature of state and commercial interests"(Bryant, 1992, p.15). Bryant (1992) addressed two factors that circumscribe the role of state: "First, the state is not an impartial observer

in such struggles- indeed it is often a leading participant. Secondly, the state is often rived with conflicting interests (Bryant, 1992, p.24).

This unreliable-state argument is strengthened by the critics of new-liberal economic theory. The market-based model focus on production-centered development rather than caring about the 'people-center' ecological, or spiritual aspects of social change (Brown, 1991, p.828), which enabling the private sectors and corporations gain more power to dominate the decision-making of policies that form the context of everyday life (Jepson, 2005, p.516). For the government, the dependency on local economies for finance and competition with other cities make it tend to be pro-development rather than take social and environment as their priority concerns (Rydin, 2007). Innes and Booher (2004, p.420) pointed that many poll results revealed the skeptical view of government. From the citizens' perception, governments are criticized for lacking the ability to represent the real voice of citizens. They are out of touch, making decisions for self-interests, less caring, and uncontrolled (Macnaghten and Jacobs, 1997; Creighton, 1998).

At the local level, the conflicts between different interests become more obvious and concrete since most of the development projects are land-based seeking to intensify land use which is usually opposed by the surrounding residents and environmentalists. The system has to find an adaptive mechanism to provide the accountability to decisions issue-by-issue. Public participation can be the adaptive mechanism (Creighton, 1998).

Second, participation can facilitate civil society and building citizens capacity to achieving the system transformative in the sustainable development discourse. The widely reference article written by Arnstein (1969) addressed a ladder of citizen participation from the experience of three federal social programs: urban renewal, anti-poverty and Model Cities. The result showed the dilemma of participation. On the one hand, it is hard to achieve truly direct participation by all members of the communities because it is costly in terms of time, money and resources. Meanwhile, the more direct and fully participation it is, the less efficiency it would be. Furthermore, the unpredictable results are hardly accepted by the bureaucratic state and efficient-centered market. Some scholars also addressed the disadvantages of participation that the decisions made by the citizens may be based on their short-term or self interests without taking long-term considerations for their community (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). On the other hand, the evidence showed that most of the time, the tokenism participation ends up with disappointed citizens and leads to more serious opposition or more distrust towards the decision maker which makes situation worsen. The analysis showed that power distribution and the access to information are critical. To response to the negative arguments about participation, researchers focus on

different perspectives to contribute the participation discourse, such as proposing new participation methods, analyzing the power relation within policy discourses, and the information sharing and consensus building issues.

In the effort to address the public participation strategies for the twenty-first century, Innes and Booher (2004) advocate the collaborative approach of public participation. They suggested that the interaction under participation discourse should not only be seen as a dual interaction between citizens and governments. They proposed the collaborative participation that “public agencies, powerful private interests, and disadvantaged citizens are treated equally within the discussions”, emphasized the importance of ‘dialogue’ which may solve conflicts and create innovations through communication. Under this process, capacity building and the civil society improvement are the important value behind this argument, which corresponds to concept of sustainable society that transformative system may take place through the continuing interaction process.

2.2.2 Key issues of successful participation

If participation is essential to promote sustainable development, especially in the smaller scale, then what are the key elements to implement is the following question. Cuthill (2002) conducted an exploratory research of citizen participation, local government and sustainable development in Australia and addressed the key requirements for citizen participation in local governance. Innes and Booher (2004) mentioned about keys to success in terms of participation. Each research described with different terms based on outcome-centered or approach-centered, but both of them have the similar meaning behind the terms. We summarized the key issues into two dimensions: the condition elements and the process elements.

Condition elements: the power holders’ attitude and the opened decision making system

The condition elements include political and bureaucratic support for citizen participation, and an clearly articulated local government process which support and facilitate citizen participation in local governance (Cuthill, 2002, p.84-85). The procedural of decision making process is regulated by law which also includes the steps and types of participation there should be operated. Innes and Booher (2004) mentioned about several forms of participation in the United States including public hearings, written public comments on proposed projects, citizen-based commissions, quasi legislative power along with advisory committee and task forces (p.423). The legislation reflects the state’s attitude towards participation. It has two meanings behind. First, the attitude towards public participation within people who have rights to propose the legislation will influence the policy making system. In other words, the

attitude of the power-holders towards empowerment is essential to setting of decision making mechanism. Second, the attitude of the administrator, who should at least do their job according to law, will also influence the possibility of citizen participation, such as the game rule of the meetings. Thus, it is crucial to build political and bureaucratic support for citizen participation. Then the supportive attitude will lead to a more transparent and equal involved decision making process for the citizens.

Process elements: cooperation approach, new network building and redistribution of power.

Both Cuthill (2002) and Innes and Booher (2004) all addressed the same key issues related to the process elements, such as cooperation, dialogue, network, and education. These elements seems intertwine to each other that sometimes they are part of the process that participation is operated, but sometimes they are the results or goals that participation pursues. For example, the transformative power of dialogue refers to the circumstances that “when an inclusive set of citizens can engage in authentic dialogue where all are equally empowered and informed and where they listen and are heard respectfully and when they are working on a task of interest to all, following their own agendas, everyone is changed. They learn new ideas and they often come to recognize that others’ views are legitimate. They can work through issues and create shared meanings as well as the possibility of joint action” (Innes and Booher, 2004, p.428). If the transformative dialogue happened, there is more possible to create a new network within which the new professional and personal relationships are built. Furthermore, a new form of power is formulated and cooperation, such as knowledge and information sharing, action supporting, or mutual learning, between individuals, groups and organizations is undertaken. It also implies a function of education and increasing power to lobby for the collective interests. Then the corporation has more power to influence the policy making process (Rydin, 2007, p.355).

Overall, the condition elements and the process elements reflect an important goal implicated in sustainable development discourse through participation, which is institutional capacity building. Institutional capacity building refers to the circumstances that “the civic capacity of a society grows and participants become more knowledgeable and competent, and believe more in their ability to make a difference” (Innes and Booher, 2004, p.428). Although institutional capacity is one of the key elements to successful participation, it be seen as not only an element, but also an objective for public participation. Because the development of the society is a process of learning that participation and the capacity building are interacted within the process.

2.2.3 The role of environmental groups

If the elements mentioned above is so important to participation and sustainable development, then who can stimulate the positive process to make the society develop towards a sustainable way?

From the research of public identification with sustainable development in UK, Macnaghten and Jacobs (1997) mentioned about the powerless feeling of citizens when thinking about influence the decision-making. "...people's own sense of agency in relation to the problems was extremely weak. Most accepted some individual responsibility as morally responsible citizens, but felt that what they could do on a personal level was extremely limited. But their lack of trust in government meant that 'political' action would also be ineffective. There was little faith in the mechanism designed to make institutions accountable, such as voting, protest letter writing or the Citizens Charters....Overall, there was a widespread sense of powerlessness in the face of increasing troubling world" (p.20). Arnstein (1969) also mentioned about the helplessness of individuals in the participation process, but pointed out that with the more empowerment, more organized groups with resources and skills, the participants become more confident as "like coming to city hall with hat on head instead of in hand" to contend their appeal (Arnstein, 1969, p.221-222).

It is clear that if we want participation to be effective and contributes to better decision-making, the participants need help and assistance, including resources to get professional knowledge, techniques or even the skills to gain more power through building networks. Creighton (1998, p.41) mentioned about his experience as a planners facing the dilemmas of seeking out greater public participation in the planning process, but feeling ill-equipped to know what to do with the information he has gotten from citizens. Most of the public comments contained feelings and the statements about the way the land should be managed rather than a specific proposal as an alternative. In response, the academic literatures focus on how government or planner can do to (Forester, 1982; Creighton, 1998) by identify the value behind the comments, or facing power to deal with the conflicts interests, but rarely focus on the methods to organize individuals under the public participation discourse.

The present research proposes that the environmental groups can act as the facilitators and capable actors to address the environmental issues in an urban project and stimulate the civil society to make the decision making with more environmental concerns by mobilizing citizens to take more responsible and be more active to the policy which will influence their everyday life. In order to clarify this argument, the role of environmental groups and the theories about environmental politics will be discussed in the later sections.

2.3 Environmental groups' strategies to promote sustainability

After exploring (in section 2.1) sustainable development at the project level and after explaining (in section 2.2) why environmental groups are important to promote sustainable development, this section combines the previous discussions, by focusing on what environmental groups can do to promote sustainable development at the project level. To answer this question, the strategies that environmental groups use will be reviewed in environmental politics theories. Then we will move to analyze the factors that influence environmental group' choice of strategies.

2.3.1 Environmental groups and environmental NGOs

In the present research, I use the more general term, environmental group, and define it as provisional pressure groups that gather from a crowd who recognizes the importance of environmental problems and puts efforts to improve the quality of the environment. However, since most of the researches focus on environmental NGO in the environmental politics, the literature of environmental NGO will be review to provide some implications for the thesis.

As concerns over environmental problems mounted during the 1970s and 1980s, the number of environmental NGOs exploded. Potter and Taylor (1996, p.2) defined environmental NGOs as a "non-governmental, non-profit organizations engaged with environmental problems works reasonably well in identifying a distinct category of political actors in the arena of environmental policy making". Comparing to environmental groups, environmental NGOs have constitutions. They are "fairly stable entities and their actions can be more closely tracked and counted throughout a given period. For every NGOs there are many more informal groups, associations, coalitions and networks" (Doyle and McEachern, 1998, p.82). By cooperating with these groups, networks, or international organizations, ENGOS can gain more power and take actions more strategically to pose direct and sustained challenge in the policy-making process on the one hand, and generate substantial changes in socially responsible business practices on the other (Doh, Guay, 2006), which improve the society more democratically and sustainable.

The rapidly growing number of NGO's not only reveals the growth in environmental activism, but also implies the important roles NGOs play in environmental politics at different level of politics arena. The tasks and goals of environmental NGOs may be diverse and different, but their main common goals are to promote environmental consideration and to improve the environmental quality. Since it is the government that enacts the policies and legislations, rendering governmental policies more sensitive to environmental concerns is one of the most important jobs NGOs can contribute to. It then becomes a political issue that NGOs have to struggle

for their faith. In the beginning when environmental concerns started to be noticed, pro-development and pro-growth proponents made efforts to block the access of environmental issues from the political arena (Doyle and McEachern, 1998, p.32). Therefore, environmentalists had to group up in order to gain enough power to influence public decision making. Among the environmental groups, environmental NGOs are the most visible actors in environmental politics because they are organized by law and have their own constitutions which make them more permanent and accountable than the grassroots environmental groups and other informal networks during their existence (Doyle and McEachern, 1998, p.82). Thomas (1996) also discussed the NGOs role from the democratic perspective:

"The mere existence of multi-party competitions and elections do not guarantee genuine democracy". What is required is "a widespread and complex process involving the strengthening of civil society". As for NGOs, they are "one of the institutional forms that can deepen [civil society]".

(ROAPE 1992, pp.3-4 cited in Thomas, 1996, p.39)

2.3.2 Strategies for environmental groups

As Doyle and McEachern (1998, p.55) mentioned that environmentalism, no matter what form it takes, was born in environmental social movements. However, as the ENGOs gain more experience in politics, more strategies evolved to achieve their goals. In the literature, the forms of NGOs' influence are categorized into different dimensions. Some scholars (Edwards, 1993 cited in Thomas, 1996) divide the strategies into direct and indirect advocacy work. Others (Potter, 1994 cited in Thomas, 1996; Garner, 1999; Doyle and McEachern, 1998) split them into strategies with an institutional perspective, aiming to gain the insider status, which refers to make themselves become part of the dominant policy network to have more chance influencing the decision-making, or to non-institutionalized activities referring to 'outsider actions'. Based on the results of questionnaires with 248 ENGOs groups worldwide, Dalton, Recchia and Rohrschneider (2003) addressed four dimensions of NGOs actions for influencing the decision-making process, including conventional activities, refers to "aim at influencing the legislative and policy-making process, such as meeting with government officials and lobbying"; networking behaviors, refers to "personal ties, linkages and partnerships, either supporting or opposing, among social sectors and groups"; mobilizing activities, which means the "instrumental forms of action that involve the recruitment of members, the mobilization of public support for the movement, and the advertizing of the movement's causes"; and protest (unconventional) activities, which are "confrontation practices, such as protests and demonstrations, that attempt to disrupt the political balance and generate attention" (p.752).

Besides these categories, there are other criteria for categorizing the strategies, such as long-term or short term effect (categorized by the effect); appeal to elite or mass mobilization (categorized by the targets). Moreover, since there are different phases when formulate a policies, legislation, or projects, the strategies may be suitable to different phases of the policy making process.

There are no right or wrong answers to the ways of division, because the categories may be different based on the perspectives and the goals of the research. Besides, even the terms of category are different, the intrinsic meaning of the terms are similar. The present research mainly makes use of the categorization addressed in the research by Thomas on NGO advocacy in Zimbabwe and Botswana but make some adjustments. The researcher divided the types of strategies used, based on target and the NGOs attitude into four main categories: “collaboration (including reform and entryism); confrontation (or opposition); complementary activities; and consciousness-raising (indirect, generalized campaigning)” (Thomas, 1996, p.44). In the present research, I use the first three categories, but revise the forth model as public mobilization (indirect way, including consciousness-raising, networking, generalized campaigning and education) to make this strategy towards civil society more soundly.

The first three methods: cooperation confrontation and complementary activities target directly towards governments. Cooperation is a moderate strategy, aiming to getting into the policy network, meeting with officials, contacting with government, acting as consultants to give advice in the planning process or playing as lobbyists. The conventional activities aim at influencing the legislative and policy-making process. It is an institutionalized method and environmental concerns have better chance to be placed on the agenda at the launching of policies or projects formulation this way. However, evidence show that sometimes even when the NGOs gain the insider status, it still can be “frozen out of the policy-making process at the very point at which its preferences diverge from those of the government” (Christiansen and Dowding, 1994 cited in Thomas, 1996, p.43). It shows that it is still the governments that hold the main power to make the decisions, and concessions, such as accept the terms that already in the policy network, are needed for NGOs to get the ‘permission’ to cooperate (Thomas, 1996). The cooperation strategy also implies another disadvantage. Because the NGOs have to conciliate to become part of the most influential policy network, it may limit their ability to challenge the ideology held by the policy network. Thus, if the goals of the ENGOS are by far different from believes of decision-makers, then confrontation strategy may be better than cooperation.

The second model, confrontation, is a more radical way to promote environmental concerns. Environmental groups play as lobbyists or protesters to influence the policies with pressure. Confrontation strategy may take fierce action, such as blockades,

marches and rallies, to arouse media and public attention and make their claims more influential. ENGOs can establish a clear identity and make their claims known by the public, but it also means the government may find it difficult to work with them later on. Besides, it is also a resource-consuming strategy because it needs to be combined with public mobilization strategy in order to make their action and claims influential in the decision-making process. Moreover, it is not suitable to use this kind of strategy too often since it may weaken the effect of protest activity (Dalton, Recchia and Rohrschneider, 2003). The strategy has long-term and short-term implications. It is based on the fundamental perspective that the political and social system should be thoroughly reviewed and transformed. However, the possibility to make their claims influential is small when the ENGOs choose to challenge the dominant norms. As a result, confrontation actions, such as petition, marches or even violent actions are used when there is an unusual or critical event.

The third way, complementary activities refer to “projects or programs carried out independently of government or other decision makers. Their success can oblige those decision makers to change their policy to accommodate the new development” (Thomas, 1996, p.44), which is a type that most development NGOs undertaken worldwide (Thomas, 1996, p.44). The activities can include alternative ‘gap-filling’ projects or institutional or technical innovations. If the complementary projects run successfully, it can push the government to change their policies to accommodate with the new development on one hand, and gain more experience to make those innovative ideas into practice. Start with this method, development NGOs expect to gain more influence on policies latter on. For the environmental NGOs, some scholars also argued that ENGOs should adopt this kind of intervention activity and make their action move on to “enforcing solutions” (Rose, 1993 cited in Thomas, 1996, p.44). This argument clearly implies the different between cooperation and complementary by emphasizing on the provision of alternative for complementary activities while the former actions are mostly based on the dominant policy network discourse. The only thing need to be noticed is that to make the complementary activities work, the ENGOs need ability, which may refers to resources such as money, techniques, knowledge, to implement the project. It implies a strong, capable civil society to support this advocacy.

The forth model is public mobilization. The targets include the state and the civil society, especially the latter. By mobilization at grassroots level, environmental NGOs can acquire resources, build new networks, share knowledge and gain more power to influence the decision-making process. Consciousness-raising is the first step of public mobilization. It is only under the same value that groups and networks can be built. Education, knowledge sharing, techniques advocating are actions that may raise the

public conscious to care about our environment. Usually it is a long term goal to promote because it is not an easy and instant job to reform or even transform the way the society thinks and acts, not to mention changing behavior. Knowing is one thing, taking action to improve environmental quality is another that need not only passion but also determination, knowledge, and capacity. Public mobilization can also be applied to short term events to arouse the public attention on some special issues through contacting with people in the media, or with other pressure groups, organization, or NGOs; exchanging information; building networks or alliances and mobilizing public opinion.

It is possible to combine different activities mentioned above when NGOs trying to influence the decisions. The strategies imply the different roles the ENGOS play and the different values they hold. It will also influence the interaction between themselves and their most important target- the states. The actions and strategies sometimes conflict to each other that make the choice of strategy essential and critical to make things work. For example, when choosing a confrontation model, the ENGOS may take action such protest, petition, marches to pressure the state. The opposition attitude makes them un-trustful for the state to cooperate with. Moreover, because the environmental improvement sometimes means to limit the growth development patterns and the capacity of the environmental revitalization has to be considered, several actions towards different targets, including the government, the business and the citizens, has to be organized to achieve the goal. All of these make promoting environmental sustainability a political activity, which needs the tactics to play well in the political arena. Some literature (Fowler, 1993 cited in Thomas, 199; Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider, 2003) mentioned about an interesting 'onion-skin strategy', which refers to "an NGO is on the surface pursuing a collaborative or complementary strategy, but at a deeper level simultaneously holding oppositional believes and may undertake indirect campaigning or consciousness-raising as and when it is feasible to do so" (Thomas, 1995, p.45).

2.3.3 The factors to influence the strategy-choosing

The complex and mix-actions tactic leads to the next questions of what strategies should ENGOS choose, to make their efforts effective in influencing decisions? It is not an easy question to answer, since various factors, such as the economic state, the institutions rooted in society, the social relations, the democratic systems, all intertwine to influence the decision making process without doubt strategies may differ in a democratic system or in a coercive political system. To answer this question, some scholars (Dalton, Recchia and Rohrschneider, 2003) addressed the factors that influence NGOs choice of strategies to influence decision-making. Others mentioned about the factors affecting NGO's influence (Thomas, 1996; Potter and Taylor, 1996),

which can also be interpreted as the environment and social context the NGOs situated. Thus, we propose the factors that influence NGOs strategies into two dimensions: the internal factors, which belong to the NGO itself; and the external factors referring to the environment which NGOs are situated in and influenced by. The former includes the characteristics of the NGO, such as the resources it possesses, the age it is; the ideology the NGO holds. The latter includes the sensitivity of the issues; the capacity and flexibility of the state; the stage of the issues in terms of policy development process, the institutional context and the networking links, including the international links.

Internal factors- resources, age, ideology

It is without doubt that the characteristics of an NGO will influence its ability of actions, activities and impact the results to achieve its goal. NGO is a general term refers to non-governmental organization with its own constitution. However, the financial system, the internal structures and the objective ruled in the constitutions make NGOs a lot of different. Environmental NGOs can be typed by a lot of criteria, such as their geopolitical origins, political ideology, size, funding sources, objectives, tasks, and internal structures; the level of their political focus; and their relationships to the state (Frantz, 1987; Doyle and McEachern, 1998). In analyzing the factors to the choice of strategies, the question leads to what characteristics influence their choice when implementing their tasks.

Resources can refer to material, such as money and properties, and immaterial assets, such as experience, knowledge, and relations with other individuals, groups or organizations. 'Resource mobilization theory' proposes that groups' ability to take action depends strongly on the resources they possess (Gamson, 1975; McCarthy and Zald, 1977 both cited in Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider, 2003). In pursuing their goal, NGOs with rich resource tend to take low-risk and routine activities, such as cooperation, complementary activity and public mobilization strategies to increase their influence. 'Resource-rich' organizations imply large budget and more full-time staffs. They tend to use mild strategies because they are more stable and sustained to build relationships with other groups on the one hand, and they are more capable to maintain the long-term activities which strongly depend on knowledge, experience and professions, on the other. By contrast, small NGOs with less resource much depends on volunteers that make them have less ability to sustain long-term projects and tend to use confrontation strategies to make their voice heard. However, in the research focus on ENGOs behaviors and their characteristics worldwide, Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider (2003) pointed out that protests are more common among the resource-rich ENGOs, who have more capacity to operate all kinds of strategies that make them not only take low-risk activities but also confrontation actions. Thus, it

should be conclude that resources are influential to the types of actions NGOs takes which impact the level and extension the types could be rather than the frequency of a specific type of actions.

Age is somehow correlated to the resources the organization possesses. Depending on the same research, age is strongly connected to cooperation actions because the organizations are more possible to be institutionalized when time goes by (Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider, 2003).

In analyzing the non-governmental organizations functioning as organization bridges (bridging organizations) in creating institutional arrangements to promote sustainable development, Brown (1991, p.822) borrowed from the international relation theory to conclude the important elements to stimulate public mobilization. The important elements are power, resources, attitudes and values. Brown emphasized that attitudes and values are central especially to those groups with less power and scare resources. Different groups, organizations can build network more easily and cooperate more effectively through the articulation of shared attitudes and values. The ideology which NGOs hold, not only makes them team up with other organizations with the same believes, but also influence their actions towards their target, the state, public and business. As Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider (2003) argued, “ideology predisposes organizations to select certain political actions that are considered to be suitable, independent of which method is most likely to achieve the desired result” (p.758). Some environmental groups think that it is more workable to use cooperation and mild method to achieve goals, while others think that environmental improvement can only be promote through a self-examination process towards what we think and act, and then behavior transformation is accumulated. As a result, the way the society think and act should be overthrew. In this believing, the NGOs tend to choose confrontation actions with public mobilization to make their ideology noticed and understood, such as demonstrations and sit-ins.

External factors-issues, targets, process, access and networks

The strategies for NGOs are also be influenced by the external factors, such as the sensitivity of the issues, the legislative procedures of the decisions/policies which the NGOs want to get involved, the actors and targets that NGOs want to persuade, or the economic and social context where NGOs are embedded in. When analyzing why NGOs are influential, Thomas (1996) concluded three variants: political and economic centrality of the issue, international linkage, capacity and autonomy of the state. It is shown in the Africa context that when the issues, such as land tenure system, livestock industry, or the fencing of communal lands, are conflict with the dominant political power-holders, the NGOs are less influence or even excluded to decision-making since their arguments may harm the interests of those who are more powerful influence to

the decision makers. If the issues are also noticed at the global arena, then the NGOs may have more aids and resources which are supported by the international organizations, then the possibility to influence the policy will increase. Moreover, if the state is less capable to provide services for the whole society, then NGOs will have a role to serve the functions that the states cannot do well. Besides, the development process of the policy which are divided into three phases as agenda-setting, policy choices and implementation, also have different effect in terms of NGOs' influence. For example, the NGOs are more active and taking the complementary activities in the implementing stage than agenda-setting or policy choosing stages, which also relate to the ability of the state and the sensitivity of the issues.

Although it is not properly to quote the arguments to NGOs' strategy-choosing factors, the results of Thomas research still have some implications. First, the issues and targets imply the possibility of channels for NGOs to get involved into the decision-making process. Thus, NGOs should identify the sensitivity of the issues to choose their strategies in order to make their actions more effective. When the issues are more central to the dominant power networks, the channels are closed for NGOs to have impact on those issues, then cooperation, complementary activities are less possible and opposite attitude may increase the tension between the two sides. Moreover, when NGOs want to influence the policies, their main targets are governments most of the time. The flexibility of the state, which means the dominant power networks' toleration to the conflict opinions, will influence NGOs' choice of actions and strategies, too. Some scholars argued that If the bureaucratic and political system has an open-mind, NGOs tend to choose moderate strategies, such as lobbying, cooperating and working with the governments. Others concluded that open-political system provide more choices of actions for NGOs to take, including cooperation, lobbying or protest activities because the society can tolerance more feasible methods and respect different opinions. From the result of an international comparison research, Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider (2003) addressed the fact that "contact with government agencies is slightly lower in the more democratic nations" and "NGOs are more likely to use the protest mode in nations that are more democratic and have greater civil and political liberties" (p.763).

Second, the fact that NGOs' influence is different from the phases of the policy process, give us a hint: the application of strategies may be different in terms of the process which the issues are situated in: agenda-setting stage, decision-making stage, or implementing stage. From the environmental policy development process perspective, it is the first stage that NGOs want to influence but have least effect comparing to the third stage, implementation stage, in which NGOs have more chances to get involved as a service provider (Thomas, 1996). The access to influence will be

also different from different stages. As a result, the legal procedures of each stage have impact on the strategies of NGOs' actions.

Third, the more possible for NGOs to build networks, coalitions or alliances, the more channels NGOs get to influence the decision-making. In Thomas research, the international linkage is especially emphasized to ENGOS' influence, no matter the linkage to issues in global environmental policy agenda, or the linkage to international organization. They all provide an extra channels and supporting resources that the NGO itself cannot obtain. Network building is strongly emphasized in several environmental politics research because cooperation between groups increases resources, such as knowledge, experts, access to get more information, money, and workforce. Organization with rich-resource means increasing power to influence decision-making. The problem of network building is how an organization works well with other groups and organizations which may have similar but not the same believes. Relatively, social and economic endowment of a society may influence the NGOs' actions. If the civil society holds more positive attitude towards environment and ask for more quality environment, ENGOS may gain more supports from the citizens and have more possibility to influence the decision-making (Garner, 1996; Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider , 2003; Baker, 2006). Thus, in a healthier society with more economic security and more quality of life, ENGOS may build networks with power-holder more easily and gain more channels to make policy with more environmental considerations. On the contrary, in a insecurely society, to survive in everyday life is the main consideration for most of the citizens, that ENGOS may find it more difficult mobilize the public to pay attention and support to their propositions. Then, protest action with public mobilization will be the strategies for ENGOS in political arena.

To sum up, it is difficult to propose a general pattern of strategies for ENGOS in the political decision-making process, the internal factors, the resources and ideology the NGO has and holds; and the external factors, the issues in the social institutional context and the legal decision-making procedural, the targets NGOs face, and the networks and access NGO can build and get, are intertwined to influence NGOs' actions and strategies in the complex world (Potter and Taylor, 1996, pp.4; Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider, 2003). Even though Dalton, Recchia, and Rohrschneider (2003) argued that the ENGOS' actions are more influenced by their resources and ideology rather than external social context after the comparative research, we argue that the social and political context still have its influence since it provides the background for NGOs to derive, function and act. We believe that through the accumulation of case studies, we can learn more from and make the map more and more completed.

2.3.4 The strategies and actions at the project level

In the last part of this section, we focus on the linkage of actions and strategies for ENGOs to the project level. In the present research, we emphasize promoting sustainable development at the development project level.

When reviewing the strategies opened to NGOs in the environmental politics, most of the researches focus on the related topics takes environmental policy as their targets but rarely focus on the development project. It is reasonable since it may be more worthy to put efforts on the environmental policy transformation than focus on the developed area where environment is already worsen. As a result, most of the time, the development projects get environmental groups attentions when it comes to the problem of threatening the natural habitat or NIMBY (not in my back yard) issue. As a result, development projects are seen as a special event that ENGOs and environmental groups take confrontation attitude and actions to prevent the decision which they do not want. However, a development project will lead to higher intensity of land use, which definitely affects its surrounding and the environment. It is still worthwhile for the environmentalists to devote on them.

In previous part, we divide ENGOs actions into four main categories: cooperation, confrontation, complementary activities and public networking. Moreover, we mention about the factors that influence NGOs' actions. The concept of taking policy formulation as a process mentioned before give us a clue that when thinking of a project, there is still process to go through and different actions are needed during the process of the development project. For a development project, the most important stage is the initial project formulation stage, since all the alternatives will be considered and discussed during the project formulation period, including the land use change, the urban design, the transportation system planning, the architecture design, and the landscape planning. When the decisions are made, the rest of the part is construction that can hardly change the whole project. Thus, for ENGOs and environmental groups, to get involved in the project formulation stage is very important that they should make all kinds of effort to put their advice in the agenda-setting stage. Garner (1996) addressed the constraints and actions for environmental groups in two aspects: 'the ability to cause delays through the planning system' and 'the ability of environmental groups to generate public support for their objectives which governments may have to take into account' (p.82). In order to make sure the project can be approved faster and fluently, developers may incorporate with environmental groups' proposition or they may choose to ignore the opinions and try to persuade the decision makers that their proposal is the best way to deal with all the conflict interests. In response, either cooperation or confrontation with public networking actions are strategies opened to ENGOs to make environmental concerns into project agenda. The direct confrontation

actions may have the effect to delay the development projects and increasing the costs involved that could make the decision maker and the developers to adjust their project contents (Garner, 1996, p.82). However, when the project has been approved, conventional cooperation actions may not be workable. Then direct actions with even more fiercely opposition activities or legal actions should be carried out. To gain the public support and mobilize the public to take believes into actions is important in this stage.

2.4 Conceptual framework and operationalization of the theories

In order to answer the research questions, this chapter reviews different dimensions of theories including theories of sustainable development and sustainable urban development, theories of public participation and environmental politics, especially the environmental groups' strategies to formulate the conceptual framework.

The research questions addressed are based on the intention to reveal the relation between environmental groups, promotion of sustainable development and local development projects. It aims at analyzing the promotion of sustainable development by environmental groups at project level. The concepts mentioned above reveal some elements formulating the conceptual framework in the present research. The elements include actions, targets (decision makers and the public), rules of the game (legislation process for developing a project vs. procedural path of sustainable development), and the outcome (substantial path of sustainable development). The structure of conceptual framework is illustrated as figure 2.2 and table 2.1. The conceptual framework will be clarified in detail as below.

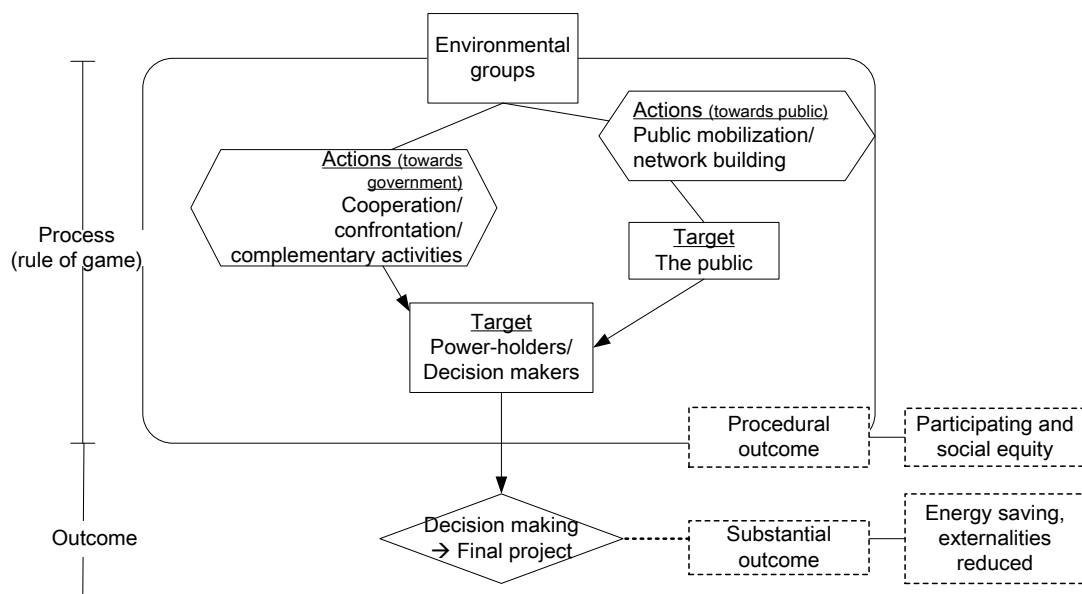


Figure 2.1 Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework is divided into three parts: the targets and the actions, the procedural outcome and the substantial outcome. First, environmental groups will identify the most critical targets that will make their actions more influential. Then, they can formulate the suitable strategies and actions to influence the decision-making.

From theories of sustainable development, we conclude that to promote

sustainable development concept at the project level, the idea of equity, balance should be incorporated not only in the discourses of the project development but also should be taken into consideration during the decision making process. Thus, to see how the actions promote sustainable development in a development project, the second and third parts focus on the outcomes: the procedural outcome and the substantial outcome.

2.4.1 The Targets and the actions

In order to influence the decision making, the environmental groups mainly focus on two types of targets: the government or the power holders who make the decisions. Three types of action will be used to influence the decision makers, include cooperation, confrontation, and complementary activities. On the other hand, it is also important to mobilize the public to make the network stronger and powerful. Thus, actions like public mobilization and network building will be used to get more resources, information and access to influence the decision making process. Reasons for taking actions are influenced by the characteristics of the environmental groups and also by the institutional context.

In the empirical case study, we will first focus on the actions and strategies the environmental groups used and analyze the factors which influence the strategies that environmental groups choose.

2.4.2 The Procedural outcomes-the rules of game

At the project level, the rules of the game are designed in the planning systems. The important principle of sustainable development, public participation, reflecting the procedural path, can be revealed in the process of the project formulation. The more chances opened to different voice from the public and more channels for public involvement, the more equity and justice there is in the project, and the more opportunity for the society to build its capacity and to learn from each other.

In the empirical case study, we will address the normal process of how a development project is approved by the decision maker first. Then we will analyze how the process shaped in practice to see the difference between the normal procedure and the process in reality for the case. Public participation will also be an important analysis point in this part.

2.4.3 The substantial outcomes

The discourses discussed during the decision-making process of a project represent the interpretation and re-interpretation by different actors in the project. The discourses also reveal how the balance between environmental, economic and social development shaped in a specific social-political context. From the theory review,

we conclude that energy saving and externalities mitigation are important issues to promote sustainable development at the development project level. Therefore, by analyzing the discourses addressed by the environmental groups, we can know not only how the environmental groups interpret sustainable development but also to what extent they promote the concept at the project level.

In the empirical case study, by distinguishing the difference between the original content proposed by the developer and the final content decided by the decision makers, and the discourses addressed by the environmental groups, we can know how the project can be improved in terms of sustainable development by the environmental groups.

Table 2.2 Conceptual framework and the analytical structure of the thesis

	Environmental groups involved process	Analysis point	Empirical data collecting
Actions/strategies to different targets	EGs take different actions (cooperation, confrontation, complementary activities, and public mobilization) to influence the decision making.	Why EGs take certain actions? What factors influence the EGs' decision?	What actions/strategies the EGs use?
Rules of game	EGs need to identify the sensitive of the issue, the opportunity they have, and the access and resource they can get or obtain to decide their political actions.	How the process shaped?	What is the normal process? What is the process in practice?
Project outcome	More environmental considerations, such as energy saving, externalities reduced and social equity pursuing, are incorporated into the development projects.	What discourses are discussed during the development process? Does the project become more sustainable because of EGs' actions?	What are the differences between original and final content of the development project?

Chapter 3 Research methodology

This chapter addresses the research methodology I choose to conduct the present research. In the following sections, I will describe the research method, research philosophy, research strategy, selection of case and data collection in turns.

3.1 Research method and research philosophy

The present research focuses on the relation between environmental groups, the decision-making of the development project and the objective of promoting sustainable development. The strategies of the environmental groups to interact with different actors of the development project, the role that environmental groups play to promote sustainable development are important to this research. The roles may be different because of the social, economic and political context rooted in different countries. In order to reveal an in-depth interactions between the different actors of the development project, especially the strategies, discourses, and actions taken by environmental groups to get involved in the decision-making process, I choose qualitative research method to conduct the thesis. It is also based on an interpretivism research philosophy to conduct the thesis as well, since the present research focuses on revealing an insight analysis of the interaction between different actors during the process of decision-making in the development project. By analyzing the different actors during the decision-making process, the interpretivism scope helps to reveal the reality of what these actors think and why they act (Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill, 2007).

3.2 Research strategy and selection of case

According to Morris and Wood (1991) “the case study strategy will be of particular interest to you if you wish to gain a rich understanding of the context of the research and the processes being acted (cited in Saunder, Lewis and Thornhill 2007, p.139). In order to understand the role of environmental groups under a certain social and institutional context, and the planning and decision making process in detail, the present research chooses mono-case study as research strategy with the inductive research approach.

The main reasons for me to choose single case study include the time limitation and the specialty of social-political context case I choose in the present research. Initially, I planned to use cross-national comparative strategy. When I decide to choose a case in Taiwan as the empirical study, it leads to another question that Taiwan has its special political context. The present research emphasizes on the interaction between different actors and public participation mechanism in

decision-making systems. The idea of democratic system and the institutional context is much different from western countries. On the other hand, considering the limited research duration, I decide to use single case study in order to reveal a thorough story of the project. Although some people argue that mono-case study may not be generalized and contribute to scientific development, the other justify single case study when there are numerous single case research be carried out. The question is what the case is about and how it is chosen (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p.225).

In order to analyze the actions of environmental groups and the discourses in a development project, several conditions should be considered when choosing a suitable case. First, the development project should not be too small which will not only stimulate urban economic development, but also has social and environment impact. Second, there should be environmental groups involved during the decision making process to make the analysis of environmental actions feasible.

The present research chooses Taipei Dome project in Taiwan as the case for empirical research. Few reasons to choose this project include: first, Taipei is my home town that I wish to learn more about the problems and contribute my study result as a feedback for future improvement. Second, to conduct an in-depth research, the project should be large enough with environmental groups participated in the decision-making process. Then I can collect enough information and gather opinions from different perspectives for further analysis.

Taiwan is a small country with high population density and intensive urban areas. Due to the special terrain, the area for development is less. Taipei Dome is planned to be a multi-use stadium in Taipei, which is the capital of Taiwan. The Taipei Dome project is under construction now and planned to be completed in 2014. The location used to be a tobacco factory owned by the state-owned manufacturer Taiwan Tobacco and Liquor Corporation (TTL). The area is 10 hectare which could be said that it is a rarely large underdeveloped land in the density developed Taipei city. Thus, it is thought to be a good opportunity to make a good plan that can benefit all the citizens in Taipei. The Taipei Dome is a public-private partnership BOT project that it is built with a contract between the city government and a private company in Taiwan, the Farglory Dome. However, during the planning process, there are various issues relating to cultural heritage, environment protection, more open space demand, and the protection of old trees that imposed the planning progress. Numerous organizations, groups involved in the project's decision making process that make it an interesting case to study.

To conduct the empirical research, the decision-making systems related to the Taipei Dome project within Taiwan context will be drawn first. Then, how the environmental groups interact with the civil society to encourage more public

participation and influence the decision makers of the development project “Taipei Dome” under the urban planning process will be analyzed through an in-depth analysis of case study. Besides, the attitude towards sustainable development between different active environmental groups in the project is important. From this analysis, we could see how these environmental groups use their ways to contribute sustainability and how it works as the result.

3.3 Data collection

In order to understand the background of Taipei Dome project and the decision-making process, two main methods will be conducted to collect empirical data: archive analysis and in-depth interview. Archive reviews include reviewing policy plans, project reports, news, meeting records, related researches and blogs on the website. Archive reviews provide a thorough background of Taipei Dome project for further analysis.

The second method of data collection is in-depth interview. By conducting in-depth interview, I can learn more about the different opinions and perceptions from different actors, such as the officials in the government, the main active environmental groups, and the developers. Since the present research is written in the Netherlands, the interviews were conducted by one-to-one basis via internet. The interviewees were chosen based on the results of archive analysis and snowball-sampling. The interviewees were contacted by email or telephone first to inquire their willing to be as an interviewee for the present research. Since the Taipei Dome project is controversial because there are different lawsuits undergoing when the present research is conducted, I can hardly find officials agree to be my interviewee. Thus, one of the interviews was conducted with written questionnaire. The forms of interview and the code of interviewees are listed in Appendix I.

The questions for in-depth interviews conducted in the present research were according to the interview-guides designed for different actors with adjustments based on the responds of the interviewees. The interview guiding questions are listed in Appendix II.

3.3.1 Spatial coverage

The whole plan of Taipei Cultural and Sporting Complex includes the 8-hectare Cultural Park and the 10-hectare Taipei Dome Complex. To implement the whole plan, it is also divided into two development project since the purpose and the authority in charge are different, the former is in charged by the Department of Cultural Affairs and the later is in charged by the Department of Education in Taipei City Government. Considering the complex interaction between different actors during the decision-making process, the present research will focus on Taipei Dome project for

further analysis (see Figure 3.1).



Fig. 3.1 The spatial coverage- Taipei Dome Complex

Source: based on Farglory Dome, 2011

3.3.2 Time coverage

It took two decades to make the project realized. Within the two decades, the site-choosing period took almost a decade to confirm the location of Taipei Dome. However, it is until the site was chosen, the objection of the project started. Thus, his thesis will described the whole process of the project, but put more focus on the later period, from 2000 to 2011, when the private developer and the environmental groups started to get involved in the project.

Chapter 4 Background of Taipei Dome project: the planning systems

In chapter two, this thesis argues that although there is less literatures focus on promoting sustainable development at the project level, it is still important since the development projects with sustainability concerns contribute to sustainable development discourses. Besides, in order to make the city more competitive, the power-holders, including the state and the developers, tend to take economic development as the priority in the policy formulation that the civil society needs to be grouped to gain more power to influence the decision making. Environmental groups, thus, can play an important role in this political arena by using different strategies towards different targets to make the social justice and environmental considerations into decision-making process.

In the following chapters, the present research takes a development project in Taipei, Taiwan as the empirical case to verify the theories mentioned in Chapter two.

The development project, Taipei Dome, is a rarely large scale development project in Taipei. It arouses public attentions and actions that expose the decision making of the development project as a social-political process, which make the project an interesting story to analyze. Besides, in order to stop the development project, an active environmental group, Song-shan Forest Park Alliance (the Alliance), was formulated. Although their actions did not stop the project in the end, the contents have been changed during the decision making process.

Before analyzing the case, this chapter focuses on a brief introduction to the planning system in Taipei, Taiwan to make the background of decision making process more clearly.

To get approval of an urban development project, the modification of urban plan is the first step since a large scale project usually implies the change of land use. If the development project has relative degree of environmental impact, then it also has to be approved by environmental impact assessment in the next step. Taipei Dome project is a public sporting facility proposed by the TCG, which planned to implement by public-private partnership method. The implementation method is also critical during the decision-making process of the project. Thus, in this section, three important systems will be described briefly: urban planning; environmental impact assessment, and promotion of private participation in infrastructure projects.

4.1 Urban Planning system

The land use and development regulatory system in Taiwan is a hybrid system due to its historical background. It has been influenced by Japan, The United states and also borrowed the British concept of development permit. Japan colonized Taiwan from

1895 to 1945. The Japanese set up the foundation of planning system in Taiwan based on the building code to control the land use in urban area. After WWII, zoning system is introduced and designed into Taiwan's planning system (Liu, 2002). The system is made up from zoning plans and building permits.

Zoning plans are made for a period of twenty years, and the municipality is required to review them every three to five years. In reality, the review process takes more than five years. The zoning system is therefore too rigid to deal with the fast changing economic activity. A solution is found in the form of a special "mixed use" zone that is granted to big projects to facilitate their erection. This permit should be granted both by the national and municipal authorities. It allows for bottom-up adjustments to the zoning plan, however these permits are not granted easily or habitually.

Since the local levels statutory plans are made and regulated under the Urban Planning Law, the urban planning process in terms of submitting a development project according to the Urban Planning Law will be elaborated later on.

The Urban Planning Law describes the plan making process with short specification of development control. There are two tiers of urban plans, both of them zoning plans: master plan and detailed plan. a master plan is a comprehensive document dealing with the analysis of the natural, social and economic conditions; the boundary of the planning area; the demographic characteristics and projections; spatial allocation of different land uses, the transportation network, public facilities lands, utilities, and conservation areas; and implementation timetable and sources of funding (Article 15).

The detailed plan should cover the boundary of the planned area, the residential density and population capacity, land use zoning control, road system, public facilities, and financial plan. In order to control the landscape and urban form, the municipality can make annex principles in Land Use Control Regulations and Urban Design Guidelines.

The master plans are mainly made by the local governments and reviewed and approved first by Urban Planning Commissions (UPC) at the local level, then by Urban Planning Commission at the central government level (Ministry of Interior). The detailed plans are made by the local government and only need to be approved by urban planning commissions. The Urban Planning Law also allows people who have the development right of a piece of land to prepare or amend a detailed plan (with a project and financial plan).

Once the urban plans are made and announced, changes without thorough considerations are not allowed. According to the Urban Planning Law, there are two ways to rezone the land use or change the urban plans. First, the planning authorities

should review the plan at least once within 3 or 5 years on the basis of development conditions and recommendations from the public (Article 26). Second, if there are urgent events or special situations, such as when wars, earthquakes, natural disasters happened; or in order to avoid disasters from happening, or to cooperate with the need of national defense or economic development, or to support important constructions, then the government may have rights to amend urban plans.

In Taipei city, the Department of Urban Development and Taipei Urban Planning Commission (TUPC) are responsible for urban planning issues. The Department of Urban Development is divided into several divisions. Preparation and revision of the Taipei Master Plan and the Detailed Plans are the duties of division of urban planning; while formulation of Draft of Urban Design Guidelines, establishment and control of urban design, and review of development permits are the duties of Division of Urban Design in the Department of Urban Development. Taipei Urban Planning Commission is responsible for review, study and suggestion of urban plans. The rules to organize the Urban Planning Commission at all levels in Taiwan are regulated in 'Regulations for the Organization for Urban Planning Commission for varied Level of Governments', made by the Executive Yuan¹ of the central government According to the regulations, the Commission is composed of one chairperson, one vice chairperson; and 12 to 20 commission members appointed by the Mayor from among the following (Taipei Urban Planning Commission, 2009):

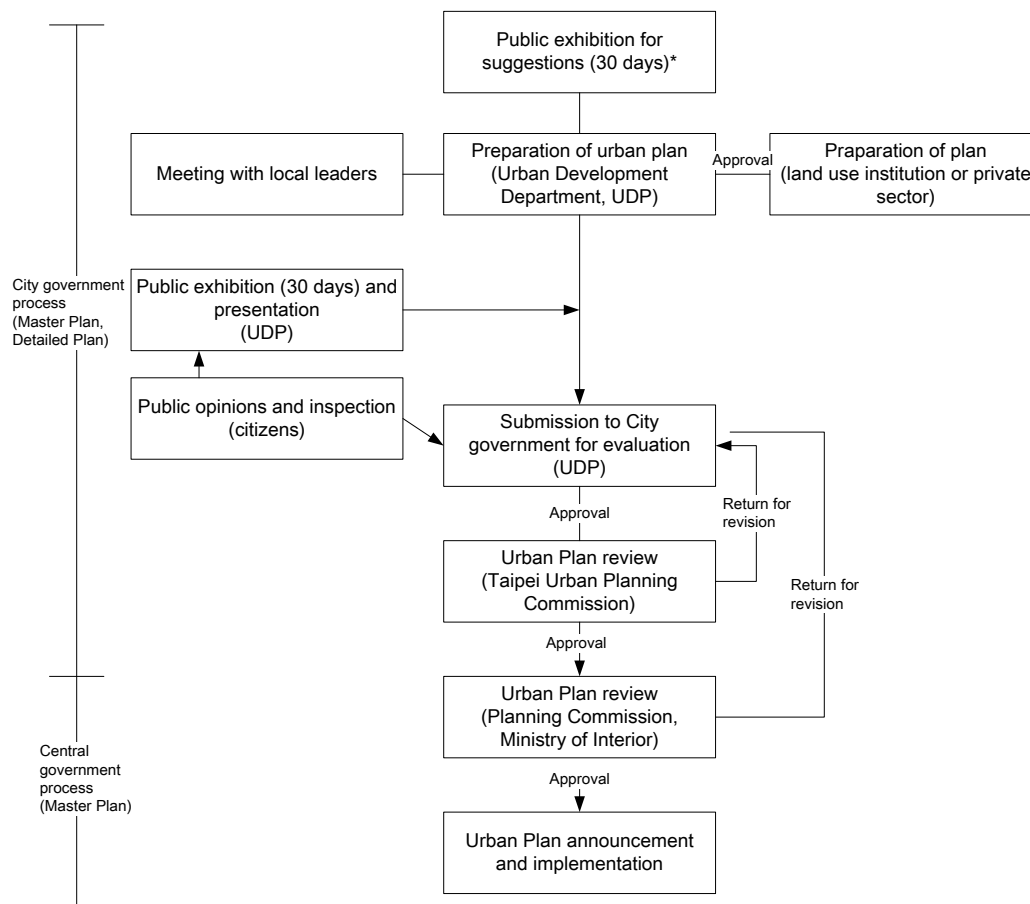
- (1) Head of the competent authority or their representatives;
- (2) Heads of the related authorities or their representatives;
- (3) Experienced professionals; and
- (4) Representatives of interest groups.

The number of commissioners from the first two categories above should not be more than one half of the total number of commissioners.

The Urban Planning Law also mentions the opportunity for the public to object and influence the plan. Before the urban plan (draft version) is sent to the UDC, the

¹ "Under the five-power framework by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the founding father of the Republic of China (R.O.C) , the National Assembly exercises political power on behalf of all people, while the five Yuans of the central government, namely, the Executive, the Legislative, the Judicial, the Examination and the Control Yuans, share the governing power. This model defines the Five-Power Constitution and the role of the Legislative Yuan (Legislative Yuan, n.d.) ". The Executive Yuan is the executive branch of the central government in Taiwan. The Executive Yuan has a premier; a vice premier; a number of ministers and chairpersons of commissions; and several ministers without portfolio. The premier is appointed by the president. The vice premier, ministers and chairpersons are also appointed by the president on the recommendation of the premier (Executive Yuan, 2012).

urban plan should be displayed publicly for 30 days and the government should hold a public exhibition meeting and explain the content of the urban plan to citizens. Citizens can file written representations during this period of time for public inspection (Article 19). The opinions will be collected to the UDC for consideration. In practice, there is another chance for citizens to express their opinions. Whenever the meeting is held, the citizens can register to have a chance to express their opinions before the discussion among the commissioners. However, they have three minutes to express their opinions, after which they must leave and not attend the following discussion of the commission. After considering the written representations, the decisions made by the UDC together with the master plan will be sent to the higher level government and UDC for approval or amendment. If it is a detailed plan, then the local government has to announce to implement the plan within 30 days from receiving the official document of approval. The urban planning process in Taipei is illustrated as Figure 4.1.



* : Only needed when the Periodic Review of Urban Plan is proceeded.

Fig. 4.1 Urban planning process in Taipei, Taiwan

Source: Based on Ng, 1999, p.60.

We summarize some characteristics of the urban planning system which are important to the study. First, the urban plans in Taiwan, both master and detailed, are blueprint plans rather than strategic plan, which are made by a top-down procedure. Second, the amendment of urban plan can only be proposed by the governing authorities, which means that citizens only have the right to make suggestions and that if there is a need to develop a piece of land and change the land use, the development project has to gain the approval of the authorities. Third, although decisions regarding the urban plan are made by an independent institution, namely the UDC, the fact that commissioners are appointed by the city mayor implies that the UDC cannot fully operate independently to review urban plans. Political influence can hardly be avoided (Chou and Chang, 2008). Fourth, public participation in the urban planning process in Taiwan is very limited. Citizens only have two opportunities to express their opinions: by written representatives or by a short appearance before the planning commission. When the decisions are made, there is no chance for citizens to comment on the revision and review of the final urban plan. By the terms of Arnstein's ladder of citizen participation (1969), the public participation in urban planning in Taiwan remains at a token level, consisting of 'informing' or 'consultation' without any power for negotiation.

Another important procedure for development projects is the urban design review. As mentioned before, urban design guidelines are attached as an annex in the detailed plan and approved by the UDC. Whether a development project should go through Urban Design Review depends on the conditions regulated by the city government, such as large scale development project (when the area is above 6,000 m² or the total floor area is above 30,000 m²); special and newly industrial development projects; or the areas which are designated in the urban plan. The regulatory content of the Urban Design Guidelines include the criteria of land uses and building masses, open space, urban fabric, streetscape, and service system. In order to control the qualities of public and private developments actively, Urban Design and Development Permission Committee (Urban Design Review Committee, UDRC), is organized to review urban design and approve the development permit case by case according to the urban design guidelines. The committee is under the jurisdiction of Department of Urban Planning in Taipei City Government. The committee is composed of one chairperson, one vice chairperson; and 21 committee members appointed by the director of urban planning department, who also holds the post of the chairperson of the committee. The members include professionals, representatives of related industrial associations and interest groups, and representatives of other departments in the city government. The urban design review provides a chance for discussion and negotiation among professionals and developers.

The review procedure can be divided into two stages. First, an ad-hoc committee composed by the representatives of related departments in the government will review the coercive regulations and necessary documents, then the concept of related design in the development projects are discussed and reviewed in the meeting conducted by the UDDPC. There are three types of urban design review: general review, document review, and simplified procedure review, which means the development project only need to make a report and presentation in the UDDPC after the approval of ad-hoc committee. If the development project is simple without controversial issues and the area of the development land is below 3,000 m² or 1500 m², then the urban design review can be conducted by document review (3,000 m²) or simplified procedure review (1,500 m²). Otherwise, the development project has to go through the general urban design review.

Public participation is not regulated in the process of urban design review. According to the Regulations of Taipei Urban Design and Development Permission Review, if the project is controversial, the chairperson may invite related professionals, scholars or representatives of the local citizens to attend the meeting. However, it is only an initiative held by the committee rather than a formal and statutory procedure.

4.2 Environmental Impact Assessment system

4.2.1 Background

Before describing the EIA system and procedure in Taiwan, it is necessary to look at the political and economic context first in order to show how the government has the strong connection with private sector to stimulate the macro-economic development in Taiwan. After WWII, the Nationalist Government became the governance regime of Taiwan from Japanese colonizers. In order to grip the power and suppress the native revolt in Taiwan, the authoritative political party, the Kuomintang (KMT) party announced that the whole island was ruled under the martial law in 1949. At that time, the émigré military regime's main goal was re-take mainland China, and saw Taiwan as a rebellion base. The authority abolished the martial law in 1987. During the authoritarian era, the development of Taiwan was dominated by the government. The government in Taiwan played a pro-active role in economic development and stressed the importance of economic growth by creating state-led industrialization, encouraging private investment in major infrastructural projects, providing various industrial zones as the incubators of small to medium sized manufacturing firms, and creating export-processing zones to attract foreign investment. Although these efforts carried out a well-known 'miracle of economic development' in Taiwan, it was based on the environmental depletion and a close relationship between the rich and the bureaucrats without involvement of citizens (Ng, 1999).

The martial law was abolished in 1987 under the continuing challenge and opposition movement from the society demanding democracy. The process of democratization revealed in the growing consciousness of a civil society and led to all kinds of social movements and a growing number of non-governmental organization (Tang and Tang, 1999; Ho, 2010).

Under the mounting pressure of environmental protests with increasing environmental organizations, the concept of Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) system is first introduced in Taiwan in 1985. Then EIA Act was adopted by the Legislative Yuan² in 1994. The system and draft version of EIA Act proposed by the Executive Yuan was original designed as a consultative role as providing professional knowledge and suggestions to the decision makers. However, due to the strong criticism and lobbying actions by the environmental groups and the intention to make EIA a decision-making process under technocracy, the final version of EIA Act made EIA system a gate-keeping mechanism for environmental protection and dispute-resolution (Tang, Tang and Lo, 2005; Tang and Chiu, 2010), which means the competent authority of EIA have the veto right to the development projects according to the results of EIA review.

4.2.2 The administrative system

The competent authority of EIA system is Environmental Protection Administration (EPA) at the central level and the local government at the local level. In Taipei City Government, Department of Environmental Protection (DEP) is in charge in all matters relating to environmental protection, including EIA review, which is in charged by Strategic Planning Team under the DEP. Whether the EIA of the proposed development projects is reviewed by the EPA or local government (EPB) depends on the authority in charge who issues the planning permit to the proponent of the development projects (the developer) (Article 12, EIA Enforcement Rules).

The decisions of EIA review are made by an independent committee, Environmental Impact Assessment Review Committee (EIARC), established by competent authorities, the environmental protection authorities, at the central and local levels. The main task of the EIARC is to review matters related to environmental impact assessment reports. In Taipei City, the EIARC is composed of one chairperson held by the director of DEP as a concurrent post; one vice chairperson held by the deputy of DEP as a concurrent post; and other 19 members. Among the member of the committee, five members come from the representatives (deputy) of other related

² According to the Constitution of the Republic of China, the Legislative Yuan shall be the supreme national legislature with its members elected by the people, it shall exercise the legislative power on behalf of the people. In terms of its power and function, the Legislative Yuan is equivalent to a parliament in other democracies (Legislative Yuan, n.d.).

departments, including Research Development and Evaluation Commission, The Department of Economic Development, The Public Works Department of Taipei City Government, the Department of Transportation, and the Department of Urban Development. Other 14 members are selected from experts and scholars by the chairperson. When the authority in charge is the developer, the member representing the authority in charge in the committee has to withdraw from the voting process³.

4.2.3 EIA procedure

The EIA procedure is divided into two phases (as Figure 4.2 and 4.3). Two kinds of report are needed during the two phases. In the first phase of EIS, the developer has to prepare an environmental impact statement (EIS) in accordance with environmental impact assessment working standards (regulated by the central government), and submit it to the authority in charge when applying for permission for a development project. Then the authority in charge will transfer the EIS to the competent authority for review. The EIS will be examined by the EIARC. Three possible conclusions may be made: approval, conditional approval, or a second phase of EIA is required. If the second phase of EIA is not required, the developers have to hold a public explanation meeting.

If the second phase of EIA is required (decided by the EIARC due to concern of a significant impact on the environment)⁴, the developer has to prepare a draft environmental impact assessment report (EIAR) based on the opinions of a competent authority, the authority in charge, relevant agencies, scholars, experts, groups and local residents, and present the draft environmental impact assessment report to the authority in charge. Before the preparation of the draft EIA report, five steps have to be accomplished (Article 8, 10 of EIA Act):

1. The developer has to distribute the EIS to relevant agencies.
2. The developer has to display or post the EIS at an appropriate location near the development site; this time period may not be less than thirty days.
3. The developer has to publish the name of the developer, the development site and the location where the review conclusion and the EIA in newspapers.
4. The developer shall hold a public explanation meeting after the expiration of the time period for displaying or posting. The opinions regarding the EIA evaluation and explanation by the developer shall be presented in written documents to the developer within 15 days after the public explanation

³ Both levels, central and local governments, can make their own organizational rules of the EIARC based on the EIA Act. Since the case in this thesis is under Taipei City Government jurisdiction, this thesis will describe only the composition of EIARC in Taipei.

⁴ Eight situations of the 'significant impact' are regulated in the Article 19 of Environmental Impact Assessment Enforcement Rules.

meeting and send copies to the relevant agencies and the authority in charge.

5. After the public explanation meeting, the competent authority has to invite the industry competent authority, relevant agencies, groups, scholars, experts and representatives of local residents to define the scope of assessment.

The authority in charge shall, in conjunction with the competent authority, members of the Committee and other relevant agencies, congregate experts, scholars, groups and local residents to conduct an on-site inspection and hold a public hearing within thirty days after receiving the draft environmental impact assessment report; records of the on-site inspection and public hearing shall be submitted to the competent authority together with the EIAR within 30 days (can be extended if necessary) after the on-site inspection and public hearing. A competent authority shall complete a review conclusion and send the review conclusion to the authority in charge and the developer within 60 days (can be extended for a maximum of sixty days if necessary); the developer shall revise the draft EIAR in accordance with the review conclusion in order to complete an EIAR which shall be sent to the competent authority for authorization in accordance with the review conclusion. After authorization by the competent authority of the EIAR, then the EIA report and a summary of the review conclusion shall be officially announced and published in the official gazette.

The development permit should only be granted after the completion of an EIS review (if only first phase EIA is needed) or the authorization of an EIAR under approval or conditional approval, otherwise the permission is invalid. Once the development project is rejected by the EIARC, the developer can only start a new review by submitting an alternative plan. However, the alternative plan may not conflict with the original rejection decisions if the development project is re-planned on the same location.

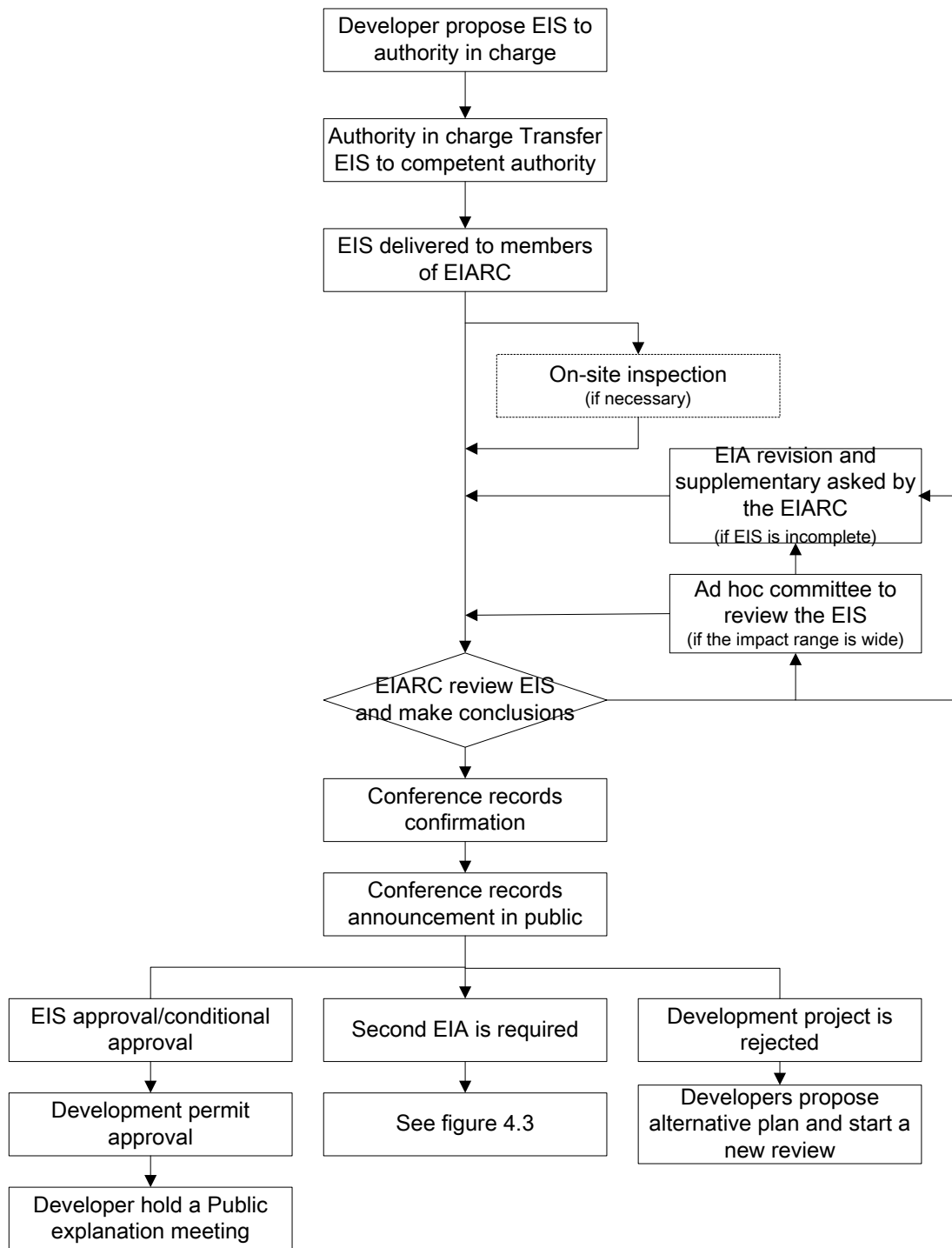


Fig. 4.2 The First phase of EIA procedure in Taipei, Taiwan

Source: simplified based on Department of Environmental Protection, Taipei City Government, 2012.

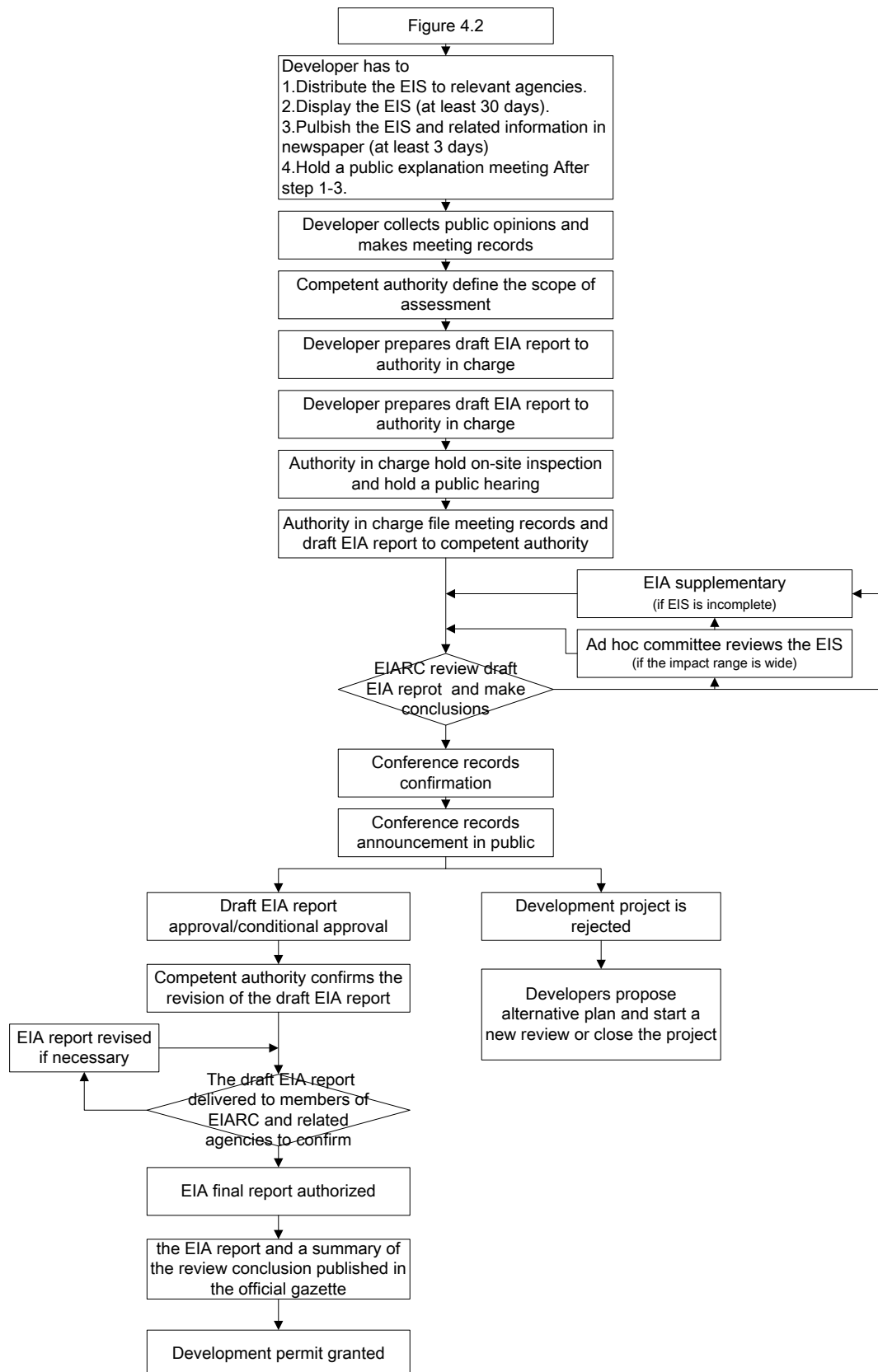


Fig. 4.3 The Second phase of EIA procedure in Taipei, Taiwan

Source: simplified based on Department of Environmental Protection, Taipei City Government, 2012.

4.2.4 The characteristics of EIA in Taiwan

Although the EIA system in Taiwan was introduced from the U.S, it was adjusted to suit the political and social context considered by the institutional designer. The EIA system in Taiwan has some unique features: First, the EIA review makes the environmental protection authorities (both the EPA in the central government and the DEP of local governments) in a central role to dominate the decision of a development project rather than serving as only a consultative role. This means that environmental protection authorities have the full authority to reject environmental harmful projects, ask the developers to make efforts on decreasing the impact on the environment, or punish them if they do not implement the promises they have made during the EIA review (Tang, Tang and Lo, 2005; Tang and Chiu, 2010). It is the result of the environmental groups' influence during the EIA Act legislative procedure criticizing that economically oriented agencies to evaluate EIA documents that is likely to turn into mere formalism and a tool for the proponents to justify their development projects. It also reflects the un-trusted attitude from the civil society towards government since the government took economic growth as the priority for national interests for decades.

Second, in order to make the EIA review more accountable and effectiveness, the independent and professional review committee, namely EIARC, composed by the professional experts and scholars are created as the decision maker in the EIA review system (Tang, Tang and Lo, 2005; Tang and Chiu, 2010). It reveals the intention of the system designers who try to de-politicize the EIA review by making the EIARC with professional reputation; this leads to the accountability of the EIA review because citizens have the deep un-trusted emotions towards the government. This is a clever way for the politicians to make the professional committee as the endorser. Such an independent review mechanism is used in several decision making aspects, including urban planning review, urban design review, and EIA reviews showing the intention of strengthening the accountability towards the decisions. It also implies the removal of government's responsibility at a certain level and reveals the de-politicization within the decision making process. However, by appointing the members of the EIARC, the government can still control the operation of the EIARC indirectly.

Third, the creation of the two phases in EIA review procedure enables the EIA review process to focus more on professional discussions rather than mediating conflict interests among stakeholders. Although some research argue that the EIA Act encourages civic participation and public consultation at early stages of the EIA process (Tang, Tang and Lo, 2005, p.18), the procedure regulated in the EIA Act shows that there is no public participation designed in the first phase of EIA review. The channels for citizen participation, including the written opinions after the public

explanation meeting held by the developers, the attendance of on-site investigation held by the authority in charge, and the attendance of public hearing are all designed in the second phase of EIA. Statistics analysis conducted by Tang and Chou (2010) shows that in practice, less than 10% development projects were asked to go through the second phase EIA procedure, while most of the development projects got the conditional approval in the first phase of EIA. In other words, most of the time, there is no formal channel for the citizens to object to the development project, which makes the citizens only act solely as an auditor when the review meeting is being held to get the information. Otherwise they can only put on a demonstration to express their arguments (Tang and Chiu, 2010, p.13).

4.3 Promotion of private participation in infrastructure projects- the process of BOT development projects

4.3.1 Briefly introduction

Due to the shrinking budgets, financial burden of the governments and under the liberalizing trend and thinking worldwide, the government in Taiwan created a mechanism to leverage private resources to fulfill the tasks of supplementing national infrastructure constructions, increasing job opportunities and sharing interests with the private sector through different types of public-private partnerships. The mechanism is regulated in the Act of Promotion of private participation (Act of PPIP) in infrastructure projects, promulgated in 2000. The objective of the act is to improve the quality of public service by the participation of the private sector. Among the different models of private participation regulated in the Act of PPIP, Build-Operate Transfer (BOT) is the most commonly known and used one. The essence of BOT is that “the government allows a private institution to invest in the building and operation of an infrastructure project, and upon expiration of the operation period, the ownership of the infrastructure is transferred to the government” (Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan, n.d.a). Other models of PPIP include Operate-Transfer (OT), referring to existing infrastructure operated by the private institution in a limited period of time and transfer to the government; Build-Transfer-Operation (BTO); Build-Own-Operation (BOO); and Rehabilitate-Operate-Transfer (ROT) to participate in PPI projects, according to the characteristics of the infrastructure respectively.

4.3.2 The administrative system and the procedure of BOT projects

The PPIP projects can be divided into government initiated and private initiated projects. The procedures of the two projects are slightly different. Since the chosen case in this thesis is a government initiated BOT project, I will focus on the procedure

of government initiated BOT project later on.

The jurisdiction of PPIP belongs to the central government. The competent authority is the Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan. The authority in charge can be any of the relevant authorities responsible for the relevant matters to initiate relating infrastructures in the central government or at the local level: municipal level and county/city level.

The procedures to carry out the invitation of BOT projects planned by the government include several steps. First the authority in charge should conduct the preliminary tasks, containing a feasibility study and preliminary planning. This step gives the government a clear map of how the project is feasible in the market system, especially in terms of financial status and progress of completion. It also makes the government aware of its commitments to the project, whether financial support or other cooperation actions is needed when implement the project with the private sector. In order to make the preliminary plan, the government can retain professional consultants in financing, construction, operation and law to assist in relevant matters.

If the evaluation result is suitable for private participation, then the authority shall prepare the contents of public notice and tender documents and announce the programmed contents of the project by public notice. The tender documents shall include the qualifications of the participants, the standards of application review, the items awaiting negotiation, the deadline and procedure for application to invite private participation. Then the applicants shall prepare the relevant documents and plans such as the construction, the operation and financial plans with the letter of intent for financial issued by the financial institution, and submit to the authority in charge for participation before the application deadline.

The authority in charge has to organize a Selection Committee to examine and evaluate the materials submitted by applicants and select the best one based on the evaluation criteria in the public notice. The regulations governing the organization of the Selection Committee and the evaluation are regulated by a competent authority. There should be one half or more of the members of the Selection Committee composed by specialists and scholars. Most importantly, the evaluation process shall be made public.

When the best is selected, the applicant has to complete the preparatory work and sign the contract with the authority in charge in accordance with the schedule set by the Selection Committee. The chosen applicant can then proceed in accordance with applicable laws, plans and the contract.

Since PPIP project is a method to reduce the expenditure of the government by leveraging the private resources and efforts to provide public infrastructure, the main feature of BOT project is that the benefits for both society and the private investors,

should all take into considerations. In other words, a BOT project is not only an infrastructure construction project conducted for public benefits, but also a development project with incentives that benefits the private investors. Thus, the BOT project has a higher degree of private financing and risk management. The role of the authority in charge/the government in a BOT project is sensitive because it not only plays as a supervisor to the project but also as a developer indirectly. Moreover, in order to encourage private sector's participation, there has to be some incentives set by the government. The incentives may be doubted by the public because of the necessity and possible confusion about the purpose of the project.. Thus, the BOT projects easily become the focus of public attention for their representation of public interests delivered by the private corporation with government support.

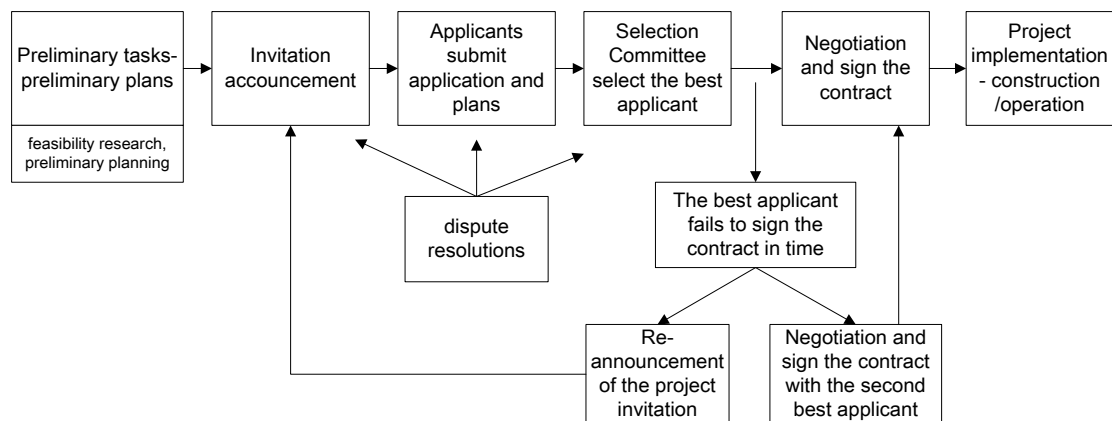


Fig. 4.4 The procedure of government initiated BOT project in Taiwan.

Source: based on Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan, n.d.b

The different review systems described above reveal some characteristics of decision-making process in Taiwan. First, independent committees are designed in the decision-making process in order to reduce the political influence as well as strengthening the accountability of decision-making. The second characteristic is the separated decision-making process. As mentioned above, urban planning system refers to land use management. It is under DUP's jurisdiction in TCG. The development method for an infrastructure is determined by the authority in charge depends on what kind of infrastructure it is. If the development project is related to national policy, the decision-making power belongs to central government. To moderate the environmental impact caused by a development project is conducted through EIA review controlled by the DEP in TCG. Because the review systems are operated separately by different competent authorities and the process is parallel, there is no standardized normal procedure to obtain approval for a proposed project. For a

development project, it is difficult to avoid political influence on shaping the decision-making process to get approval from different reviews. Whether a development project can be approved depends on the results of political conflict.

Chapter 5 Taipei Dome Project

In this chapter, I will focus on how the Taipei Dome project shaped and divided it into four sections. The first section is a brief introduction of the location and related researches to the project. The second section is about the development process of Taipei Dome, especially on why the project emerged and how the government proposed and implemented the policy. In the third and forth section, I will elaborate the environmental groups' actions and analyze the outcomes of the development project.

5.1 Brief introduction of Taipei Dome project

In order to provide a clear background of Taipei Dome project, the background of Taipei Dome project will first be mentioned briefly. Then, the academic research on the project will be summarized in the second part.

5.1.1 Location

Surrounded by the Civic Boulevard in the North, Lane 553, Section 4, Zhong-xiao East Road in the East, Zhong-xiao East Road in the South, and Guang-fu South Road in the west, the development site is located in the Xin-yi District and close to the new urban commercial district 'Xin-yi Planning District', where situated the Taipei City Government, Taipei City Council, Taipei 101, Taipei World Trade Center, shopping centers, and so on . The Xin-yi Planning District has been planned and developed as the economic and political center in Taipei since 1970s, which enhances land value close to the district. Besides, in a density developed city as Taipei, large-area lands are quite rare and the development plan may become controversial because it may not only change the development of the city, but also affect the residents. Thus, the redevelopment plan of the former Song-shan tobacco factory attracts much attention from the society.

Most of the eastern, western and northern sides of the development sited are developed as residential district. Across Zhongxiao East Road, a public open space, Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, and Guangfu Elementary School are located in the South. In the North-Eastern side is a former Taipei Railway Workshop owned by The Taiwan Railway Administration, it is planned to be a railway cultural preservation with commercial facilities complex area (Taipei City Government, 2003a).

The site was planned as the Taipei Cultural and Sporting Complex and approved by the central government in 2002. The area of the whole plan is 18 hectares. Since some of the buildings and facilities in the site were designated as District Historic Site, the complex was divided into two parts: the Song-shan Cultural and Creative Park (Cultural Park, around 8 hectares) in the North and the Sporting Complex, also known as Taipei

Dome Complex (Taipei Dome, around 10 hectares) in the South (see Figure 5.1).



Fig. 5.1 The location of Taipei Dome Complex

Source: based on Farglory Dome, 2011

The project was formulated at the time when public private partnership such as BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) was popular because the difficult financial problem of the government and also because of the neo-liberalism thinking. Thus, the municipality announced a BOT tender to invite private investor to implement the project. In 2006, the municipality signed the BOT contract with a private company, Farglory Dome. Since then, the Taipei Dome project seems to become more real than before. However, as the project became more concrete, the impact of the development arouses the objection to the project more than ever. The main anti-Dome organization was composed by a group of residents worrying the environmental impact on their life, especially the safety issues of the students in the Guang-fu Elementary School. These groups took various actions trying to stop the project, making the project go through long process of reviews and finally the development permit was issued in 2011.

In the Taipei Dome project, the municipality planned to build a multipurpose indoor stadium of 40,000 seats, an entertainment complex with shops and theaters, and ancillary facilities on the site (see Figure 5.2).

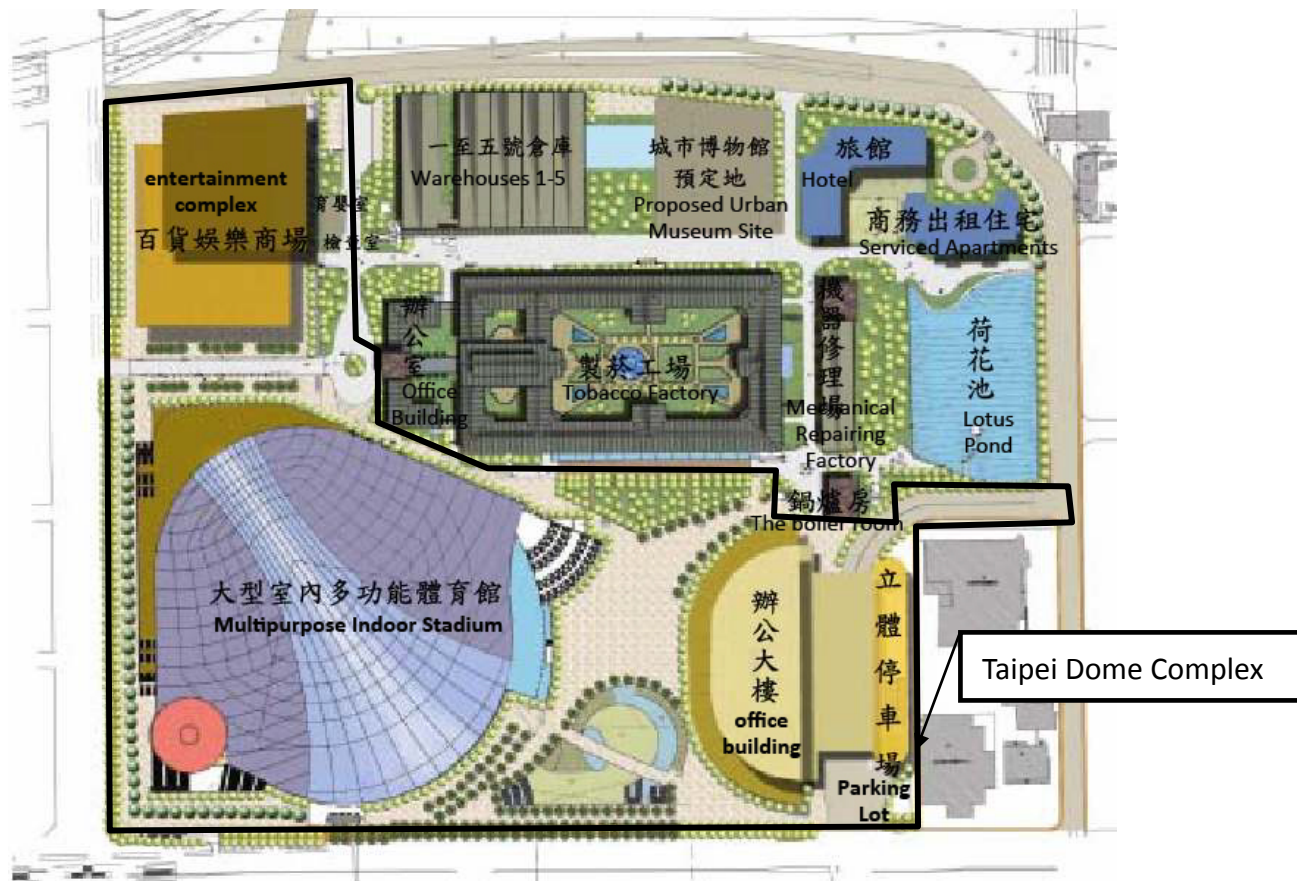


Fig. 5.2 Taipei Dome Complex allocation plan in 2003

Source: based on Farglory Dome, 2011

5.1.2 Academic research on the project

Since the project is a rarely large scale stadium project carried out by BOT method in the Capital city, Taipei, Taiwan, it attracted a lot of attention from different perspectives in the academia. Wang (2006) analyzed the BOT financial feasibility of the project; while Lee (2009) and Lin (2012) analyzed the project form the management angle. The project also caught attention from researchers in the environmental science, cultural preservation and urban development filed: Hsiang (2011) focused on the environmental impact of the project; Chen (2002) and Kang (2007) put efforts on the cultural preservation issues; Wang (2007) took the project as case study of Urban Entrpreneurialism; and Cheng (2007) use contingent valuation approach to analyze the project. Moreover, the conflicts between various stakeholders make it an interesting topic in political science. Chen (2011) conducted the research by discourse analysis approach revealing the complex but interesting political arena in the urban area. The researches of the project supplement how the project is formulated and implemented in different aspects. However, the picture of the project is not completed. The present research focuses on the strategies and actions taken by the environmental groups who

tried to stop the development project and turn its use into a forest park. The environmental groups with firmly anti-dome determination make the project particularly worthwhile investigating in terms of environmental politics and sustainable development.

Table 5.1 Researches related to Taipei Dome project

Type	Researcher and year	Name of research
BOT	Wang, Mei-Hsiu (2006)	Financial feasibility analysis of BOT special project: use garden of culture and sports of Taipei (The Taipei Dome Complex of Song Shan Tobacco Factory) as a study case
Management of a large scale stadium	Lee, Po-Hsi (2009)	The key successful factors for the management planning of the Taipei Dome
Environmental impact	Hsiang, Lee-Ching (2011)	Environmental Impact Study on Culture and Sports Park: A Quantitative Follow-up Study of Mathematical and Socio economic Factors on the Development of Taipei Dome
Cultural and urban perspective	Kang, Chih-Chin (2007)	Industrial Heritage and Consumer Culture: The Production of Song-shan Tobacco Factory and Taipei Dome Complex
	Chen, Tse-Ming (2002)	The Study on Conservation Mechanism of the Garden Cultural Landscape: as used by Song-San cigarette Factory Garden as a case study.
	Wang, Chen-Yi (2007)	The Adaptation of Urban Entrepreneurialism: A Case Study of Taipei Complex Dome
	Cheng, Mien-Mien (2007)	Adaptive Reuse of Derelict Space: A Case Study of Song-San Tobacco Factory
	Lin, Chang-Yi (2012)	Contingent Valuation of Taipei Dome's Non-Use Value
Political science/ discourse analysis	Chen, Yi-Fen (2011)	Exploring Sustainable City: A Case Study of Taipei Dome Complex in Song-shan Tobacco Factory

5.2 The development process of the Taipei Dome

The story can be traced back to 1991 when a baseball game stopped by heavy rain in Taipei. Baseball was popular at that time because of the birth of the Chinese

Professional Baseball League (CPBL) in Taiwan in 1989. The inauguration game was held in 1990. The regularly rainy weather made the baseball fans call for a dome¹. Since then, Building a dome in hopes of improving baseball industry has been on the government's agenda. In 1991, The Premier Hau Pei-tsun announced the decision that there should be a covered multi-functional stadium in Taiwan. Following the instruction, the Taipei City Government (TCG) started to make the Taipei Dome plan. It was not an easy job since the density urban condition made the site-choosing very difficult and controversial. In 2000, after three mayoral tenures, the project, Taipei Dome, was approved by the Taipei City Council and the location of the dome. After three mayors, was decided to locate at the site where used to be the former Song-shan Tobacco Factory.

The process of the project can be divided into three phases according to the important decisions made during the process. The first phase started from 1991 when the TCG followed the instructions from the central government to plan a Dome in Taipei, and ended in 2003 when the Taipei Dome project was approved by the central government to build the dome using BOT method and the location was finally confirmed. The second phase started from 2003 till 2006. During this period of time, the most important thing accomplished was the completion of BOT tendering. The third phase started from 2006 to 2011 when the environmental groups became more actively involved to protest the project.

Although the present research sets the research time coverage on the third phase, events happened in the previous two phases will also be described to provide a clear background of the project.

5.2.1 1991-2002: Site-choosing period

Following the instruction of the Premier of Executive Yuan, the TCG started to plan the Taipei Dome project. In 1993, the Mayor Huang Ta-chou decided to build the Dome in Guan-du Plain, where the Ji-long and Dan-shui Rivers meet. The Guan-du Plain is a wetland for migratory birds' temporary habitat and a place for bird watching. Due to the sensitivity of the environment and the huge financial burden to expropriate the lands, the Taipei Council rejected the budget. In 1995, in order to implement the Taipei Dome project, the new Taipei City Mayor Chen Shui-bian set up a team in the city government to evaluate the suitable site of building the Dome. Considering the recreational function and financial factors, the team suggested that the Dome should be planned in the city center and the location of Song-shan tobacco factory was chosen. In that time, the tobacco factory was still operated and the land property belongs to

¹ From 1991-2009, the annual average rainfall is 152 days/ year in Taipei (statistics source from Central Weather Bureau cited in Farglory Dom, 2011, p.6-16).

the provincial government, which make the city government faced the problem of acquisition of lands. After more than one year's negotiation in vain, Mayor Chen decided to change the location to the former Taipei Municipal Baseball Stadium in 1996.

The plan changed again when the KMT's Ma Ying-jeou replaced Chen Shui bian in 1998, and the new mayor overthrew the previous project, re-evaluating the location of the Dome. There was another important event in Taiwan in 1998: the downsizing of the provincial government. Under this policy, all the land property possessed by the provincial government were rearranged to be owned by the central government, National Property Administration, Ministry of Finance. The re-evaluation with 12-factor-consideration² resulted in suggesting Song-shan Tobacco Factory as the relatively suitable location for the dome. Because of the better relationship with the central government, which also was ruled by the KMT party then, the project gained the central government's support (Chen, 2011, p.45). In the same year, Song-shan Tobacco Factory was merged with and moved into the Taipei Tobacco Factory because of the need of urban development, the declining demand and increasing market competition of tobacco industry (The Song-shan Cultural and Creative Park, n.d.). However, the political situation changed again when Chen Shui-bian, the former city mayor, won the president election and the party ruled the central government changed from KMT party, which mayor Ma belonged to, to Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) in 2000.

On 5th of June, 2000, the project 'Taipei Sporting and Cultural Complex' in Song-shan Tobacco Factory was approved in the City Affair Meeting presided by Mayor Ma. On the next day, the chairperson of the Council for Cultural Affairs, which is the authority in charge of cultural policies in the central government, accompanied by historic experts went to Song-shan Tobacco Factory and indicated that cultural issues should be taken as the priority. Cultural issues were not first mentioned in the discourse of Song-shan Tobacco Factory redevelopment. The idea has embedded in cultural experts' and scholars' mind when the Department of Cultural Affairs of Taipei held a three-week arts activity in Song-shan Tobacco Factory in the end of 1999 (Chen, 2011, p.45). The Japanese colonial style architectures, the old trees and green environment surprised the visitors and aroused the doubt of turning the precious green environment with historical significance to a relatively dense dome project. The

² According to the draft of EIS report (Farglory dome, 2011, p.A12-2), the 12 factors include the degree of transportation service, the difficulty of land acquisition, the level of impact on environmental protection, implementing schedule, supplementing facilities around the site, stimulating urban development, financial burden for the TCG, related conditions to support the project, support from the civil society, the demand and the function achievement, the impact to other sporting facilities, and the feasibility of operation management.

argument of historical preservation supported by the art groups and some citizens, with series of meetings held by city councilors and DPP, made the TCG reconsider the possible way to preserve cultural heritage and still build the Dome on the same site (Lee, 2009). In the meetings, some citizens and councilors also opposed the project because of the environmental impact, such as noise, and trash. However, these arguments did not stop the government in 2001. The TCG designated Song-shan Tobacco Factory, including the office building, the tobacco factory, the boiler room, and warehouses 1-5, as the 99th District historic site (Figure 5.3). Besides, the lotus pond, transportation rail and storage facilities built after the retrocession became a historic preservation area. Followed by the designation, the plan was revised and the name of the plan was changed from 'Taipei Sporting and Cultural Park' to 'Taipei Cultural and Sporting Complex' representing the priority of the cultural issues (Chen, 2011, p.46).

Since the dome is a major construction, the policy permission from the central government, the Executive Yuan, is needed for local government to implement a large scale stadium project. TCG proposed the plan to the Executive Yuan in the end of 2001. The project was planned to build a large indoor stadium of 40,000 seats by BOT method to reduce the city government's financial burden. The final approval from the Executive Yuan was made and replied in an official document on 19 of April, 2002. According to the document, the TCG should pay for the land and the project was permitted to implement by the BOT method (Taipei City Government, 2003a).

To promote the project, TCG established a force team, Construction Planning Office for the Taipei Dome Complex (Taipei Dome Office), as a coordinator for the whole project on 9th of July in the same year. The main staff unit was Department of Education. With consideration of the cultural preservation, the whole complex was divided into two parts, and made the Sporting Complex as L-shape development site (Figure 5.2). Each part is conducted by different authority in charge, the Department of Cultural Affairs and the Department of Education. After more than a decade, the disputes of the site-choosing to build a dome came to the end.

In this phase, the influential actors to the decision-making include the central government (the Executive Yuan), the land owners (private or public authority who own the land), the TCG, and the public opinions from the society.

The policy level project makes the central government become the final decision maker. The urban planning competence belongs to TCG, which makes TCG more powerful to dominate the urban development direction. Moreover, the private land ownership system is also an important factor. It not only makes the issue of financial feasibility an important factor for decision-making, but also makes land owner more influential on site-choosing.

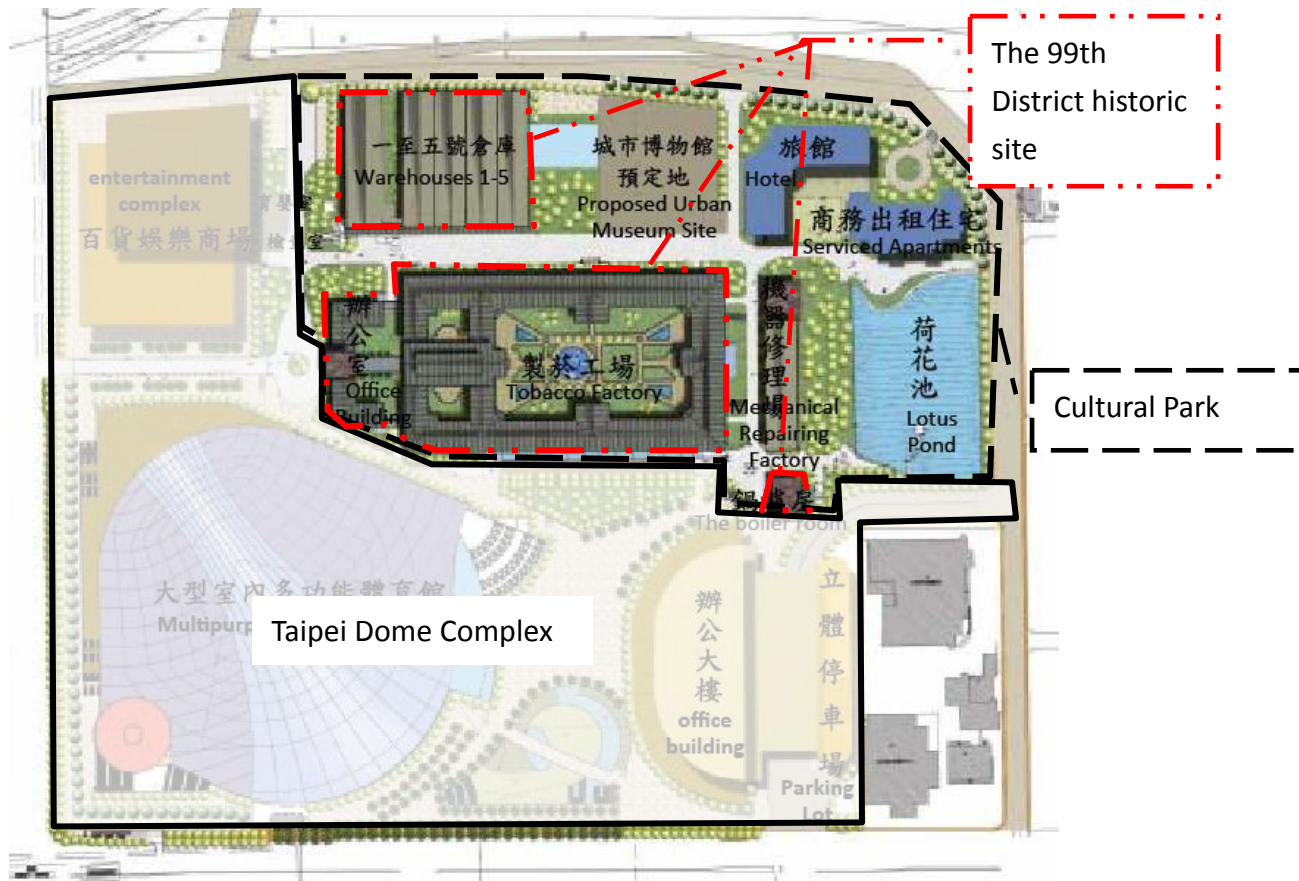


Fig. 5.3 The 99th District historic site location and the base range project

Source: based on Farglory Dome, 2011

5.2.2 2003-2006: BOT project implementing period

After approved by the central government, the TCG started to conduct various tasks to implement the project, including preliminary tasks and the BOT tender, modification of Master Plan (rezoning), making Detailed Plan, and conducting EIS procedure³. These works were conducted at the same time during 2002 to 2004.

The Development Plan of Taipei Cultural and Sporting Complex made by TCG is a mixed use development project. The Sporting Complex is 10 hectares. There will be a multipurpose indoor stadium of 40,000 seats, an entertainment complex with shops and theaters, and ancillary facilities on the site.

- The process of Urban Plan modification and EIA

The original land use of the development site is an Industrial District in the Master Plan. In order to implement the project, the TCG conducted Urban Planning Review to

³ According to a related regulation of Urban Planning Law, Codes of Deliberation for Urban Planning Review of the Industrial District, if the developer wants to change a development site form Industrial District to other land-use, the developer has to conduct an EIA review and get the approval before the Master Plan is announced.

modify the Master plan (re-zoning the land use) and make a Detailed Plan. In order to fit the use for cultural, sporting with commercial services, the master plan rezoned the site as Special District, which permits multi-use for the whole project 'the Cultural and Sporting complex', including large scale multi-purpose indoor stadium, ancillary commercial service space, and preservation of historic buildings. The Detailed Plan regulated Building Coverage Ratio (70%), Floor Space Index Floor Area Ratio (240%), Zoning Ordinance and Urban Design Guidelines. Several commercial services are permitted in the use of group for stadium and ancillary commercial service space according to the Zoning Ordinance, such as recreational services, retails, catering, offices, finance and Insurance services, health services, hotel and international hotel (Taipei City Government, 2003b).

The Master Plan was conditional approved by Taipei Urban Planning Commission on February 10th, 2003, after 2 meetings discussed by an ad hoc committee; then it was approved by UPC, the Interior Ministry on the 22nd of July, 2003, also after 2 meetings discussed by an ad hoc committee in the UPC of Interior Ministry. The Detailed Plan was conditional approved by Taipei Urban Planning Commission on the 15th of August, 2003 and announced on November 25th, 2003 by the TCG.

During the review of Master Plan, only one public opinion was sent to the city government expressing the opposition of the Dome project and suggested change the site into a forest park. In the detailed plan, four public opinions were filed but nothing about the objection to the Dome project. On the other hand, the EIS proposed by the TCG was conditionally approved with one review meeting held by EIARC on the 10th of July, 2003.

The development content approved by the EIARC included a 97,950m²-Stadium, a 53,800m²-entertainment complex, a 106,065m²-office building, and the parking lots for 103,024m². The total developed floor area is 360,839 m² (Figure 5.2).

-The process of BOT tender

After the completion of urban use change, the EIA review, and the Preliminary Plan of Taipei Dome BOT project, the city government announced the invitation of private participation officially on 30 of December, 2003. The best applicant, Taipei Dome Business Alliance, was selected in May, 2004. The Taipei Dome Business Alliance was mainly composed by a listed development company, Farglory Land Development.

During the negotiation of the contract, the best applicant submitted to change their partnership because of the cooperation disputes among the Alliance partners. The internal disputes ended up with two partners withdrawing the Alliance. In order to remain as the best applicant, the Alliance had to find new partners and proved that the ability to implement the project was not worse but better than the original one. However, the Selection Committee was not persuaded. The invitation failed and the

Committee had to be dismissed. Taipei Dome Business Alliance could not accept the decision and appealed to the competent of authority, the Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan. After several official documents between the TCG and the Public Construction Commission, the Commission issued an official document to the city government, asking TCG to revoke the decision and continue to negotiate with the best applicant.

After the 8th meeting of Selection Committee accepted the new partner of the Alliance, the contract, “Taipei Cultural and Sporting Complex - Large Indoor Stadium Construction BOT Contract”, was signed by TCG and Farglory Dome on the 3rd of October, 2006.

According to the contract, the main regulations of the tender are (Farglory Dome, n.d.; Taipei City Government and Farglory Dome, 2006):

1. Construction and operation permit limited to 50 years starting from the signing date.
2. The total developed floor space is limited to 96,000 ping⁴, while the Dome’s floor space cannot be lower than 35,000 ping.
3. The indoor stadium must seat 40,000 and comply with international standards for baseball, performance, gathering and exhibition.
4. Floor area ratio: 240%, building coverage ratio: 60%, may be increased by 5% after urban design committee’s approval.
5. Construction of the indoor stadium must be completed within 3 years of obtaining a license.
6. The investment proposal should include an abstract, organizational plan, architecture and construction technical proposal, finance and operations technical proposal, affiliated business development proposal, transfer and return proposal, recommendations etc.
7. The approved facilities and affiliated businesses should comply with regulations of urban project land zoning control.
8. When the duration of the contract comes to the end, Farglory Dome has to transfer the ownership, including the Dome and all the related infrastructures, to the city government.

On the other hand, the commitments of the TCG include:

1. To complete compensated land transfer and create a superficies for Farglory Dome to use the land.
2. Existing building and objects demolition and relocation.

⁴ 1 ping equals approximately 3.3m². The parking space is not included in the total developed floor area mentioned here.

3. To hack and widen the roads around the development site, includes: a two-way road construction on the North side of the development site; road widening construction of the North segment of Lane 553, Section 4, Zhong-xiao East Road for vehicles; the ramp construction of Civic Boulevard South extension; the improvement of road design of Zhong-xiao East Road and Guang-fu South Road along the development site.
4. To build an underpass between the site and Sun Yat-sen Memorial Hall, to distribute crowds.
5. Administration or coordination support.
6. In the spirit of BOT, respect should be given to the professional development ability of the operating firm through operation of the affiliated facilities and business, to compensate for the Dome Sport Complex operating loss of several hundred million NT dollars each year.

In the second phase, the decision making wrestling was widened to include the central government, TCG and the private investor. The TCG had dominant power to conduct the process of urban planning modification and EIA review. However, the TCG did not have the full power in the process of BOT tendering when there are disputes among the applicants and the TCG. Since the Public Construction Commission is the competent authority of PPIP, the central government has its role to influence the decision making process. Furthermore, being composed by a listed company, the strength of the private investor shall not be neglected, either.

5.2.3 2006-2011: contents re-shaping

In the third phase from 2006 to 2011, the environmental groups played an active role in the process. Concerning the complexity of their various actions and arguments during the decision making process, I will briefly describe the process of urban design review and EIA review in this part and analyze the environmental groups' actions against the project in the next section.

Since the urban planning modification procedure and EIS review has been completed by TCG, Farglory Dome only needed to conduct the urban design review then apply for the building permits to start the construction work if they did not change the development contents. However, the delayed result of BOT tender and the changing development content made Farglory Dome has to re-conduct the EIS review⁵.

⁵ According to Article 16 and 16-1 in the EIA Act, and Article 38 of Environmental Impact Assessment Enforcement Rules, the contents of the original application of an approved EIS or final EIAR may not be modified without the approval of the competent authority and the authority in charge, or the developer have to re-conduct an EIA for the parts of the application that are to be modified. Moreover, if the developer starts development activity more than three years after the approval of its EIA review, the developer shall submit an analysis of the differences between current environmental conditions and

On the other hand, after the completion of the BOT procedure, TCG held three public meetings to explain the development content. Some residents were shocked because of the huge amount of ancillary commercial spaces. They doubted the intention of the TCG to build the sporting stadium complex and the way to build the stadium by BOT method. Since then, they grouped up to object the project and addressed several issues to influence the development content in various review meetings. Their actions made the EIS review and urban design review became a long process from 2006 until 2011.

The Farglory Dome sent the meeting materials to start the urban design review and EIA review in 2007. As mentioned before, the review meetings were held separately by different competent authorities and reviewed by two different committees, the Urban Design Committee and the EIARC.

The main difference between the original plans made by the TCG in 2003 and the new plan made by the Farglory Dome are the total floor area and the type of use. In order to make the financial plan feasible, Farglory Dome proposed to adjust the developed floor areas of different uses, most of the adjustment resulted in increasing amount of floor area. They also planned to build a hotel, which was not originally planned.

The first urban design review started on the 13th of April by the ad-hoc committee of Urban Design Committee. Considering the large amount of caring citizen of this project, the Taipei Urban Design Committee designated some of the members as the Urban Design Ad-hoc Committee of Taipei Dome project to provide more room for discussion. Before the project was approved by the 296th UDC on 9th of December, 2010, four ad-hoc committee meetings and seven meetings of Urban Design Ad-hoc Committee had been held.

In the meantime, the EIA review was conducted the first EIARC meeting was held on the 28th of January, 2008. The discussions focused more on the environmental impact caused by the project, including physical and chemical environment, such as air quality, noise and vibration, the carrying capacity of soil and groundwater; the landscape; the mitigation of the coexistence of cultural assets, especially during the construction period; the socio-economic environment; and the traffic impact.

The project review process was impeded in 2009 due to the petition submitted by the environmental groups in September of 2008. On 10th of September, 2009, the Control Yuan, who is an investigatory agency monitoring other branches of

environmental conditions at the time its development activity permission was granted and a strategy evaluation report to the competent authority for review. As the Taipei Dome project, since there are modifications between the original plans and the revised plan made by the Farglory Dome, the Farglory Dome has to re-conduct EIA review for the revised plan.

government⁶, sent official documents to the TCG and the Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan, claiming that there were some administrative flaws during the BOT tender needed to be corrected⁷. The Control Yuan conducted the proposed corrective measures based on a petition submitted by the Song-shan Forest Park Alliance.

After receiving the documents, the TCG stopped all the reviews temporarily and sent an official document to Farglory Dome asking the private developer to substitute the partners to original ones. Farglory Dome cannot agree with the decisions made by the TCG and appealed to the Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan again. Farglory Dome also submitted a petition to the member of the Control Yuan (Lee, 2011, p.56). On 10th of May, 2010, TCG received a judgment by the Complaint Review Board for Government Procurement within the Public Construction Commission, Executive Yuan, claiming that TCG should withdraw its dispute resolution of asking the Farglory Dome to substitute the partners. TCG replied the correction with CRBGP's judgment to the Control Yuan and continued the related review procedure of the project.

Another important event that impeded the project happened on the 28th of June, 2010, which was the critical decision made by the third EIARC meeting to reject the project due to the huge amount of development floor areas and traffic impact. The EIARC thought the increase of the total floor areas was too much and the solutions proposed by the Farglory Dome could not solve the traffic problem. Under this circumstance, Farglory Dome had to propose an alternative plan and re-conduct the EIA review again according to the EIA Act.

The second time of re-conducting EIA review started in 2011. The alternative plan proposed to build the project with the same use but a 9%-decrease in the total floor area. Besides, the Farglory Dome also made adjustments regarding the traffic solutions and promised to compensate the civil society more. The alternative plan was approved by the UDC on the 9th of December, 2010. In the next year, the project was conditionally approved by the EIARC.

During the period of time, the development content was reviewed 9 times by urban design and 5 times by EIA. At the end, it was conditionally approved by EIARC on

⁶ The Control Yuan is the highest control body of the State, exercising the powers of impeachment, censure, audit and correction.

⁷ According to the website of Control Yuan, the corrective measures is based on "Article 24 of the Control Act stipulates that the Control Yuan, after investigating the work and facilities of the Executive Yuan and its subordinate organs, shall propose corrective measures to the Executive Yuan or its subordinate organs for improvement after these measures have been examined and passed by the relevant committees. After receiving the proposal, the Executive Yuan or related department, shall make improvement or take other actions immediately, and reply to the Control Yuan in writing. If the improvement is not made and the Control Yuan does not receive a reply in two months, the Control Yuan shall, through resolutions by its relevant committees, question or summon in writing for questioning the officials in charge".

the 25th of May, 2011, issued the building permission at the end of June; and was under construction in October in the same year.

The conditions made by the EIARC in the last meeting include (Department of Environmental Protection, 2011):

- (1) The developer should make traffic maintenance plans in the construction and operation duration, avoiding the traffic flow entering east side of road (Lane 553, Sec. 4, Chung Hsiao East Road). The plan should be reviewed by the Department of Transportation in the TCG.
- (2) The commercial capacity has to reduce another 17.4%: the amount of floor area of the Stadium and its ancillary facilities should remain as 122,384 m²; the other ancillary commercial and industry floor area including the floor area of entertainment complex, the office building, and the hotel should not exceed 202,610 m²; the floor area for parking space should maintain 150,807 m².
- (3) The south side of the development site along Chung Hsiao East Road should be set back further for another road lane.
- (4) The building constructed in this project should apply for Certificate of Green Building Candidate and must achieve silver ranking of green building or above within 6 months after the approval of use permit.
- (5) The project should be conducted based on the content of EIS and filed the achievements to the Department of Environmental Protection of the TCG seasonally. The air quality in the construction duration should be monitored monthly and the environmental monitoring should also include Fine Particulate Matters PM2.5.
- (6) The developer should be in charge of maintenance and management of the drainage system within and around the development site from the construction duration to three years after the acquirement of the use permit.
- (7) Construction fence shall be conducted with planting and beautification in accordance with the rules regulated by the TCG.
- (8) Spoil disposal treatment should be discussed with Public Works Department of TCG to make sure the other two development project sites conducted by TCG cannot be filled because of the mismatch of the schedule.

In this phase, it seems that the most powerful actor to dominate the decision-making process was the review committee in the city government. However, another important actor cannot be neglected during the process, that is, the environmental groups. As the development project became more foreseeable, the actions taken by the environmental alliance became more active than previous phases.

The actions combined objections to the Dome and environmental concerns with proposition to change the plan into a forest park. In an attempt to influence the decision-making process to fulfill their goal, these environmental groups used different strategies and actions to impose pressure on the committees and the city government. They turned out to be relatively powerful actors in the decision-making process. The strategies and actions of the environmental groups will be elaborated in the following section.

Table 5.2 The process of Urban Design Review meetings and EIA review meetings

Type of review	Meeting date	Name of the meeting
Urban design review	2007.4.13	The 1 st meeting of ad-hoc committee
	2007.0.05	The 2 nd meeting of ad-hoc committee
	2008.1.24	The 1 st meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2009.2.5	The 2 nd meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2009.4.6	The 3 rd meeting of ad-hoc committee
	2009.6.4	The 4 th meeting of ad-hoc committee
	2009.7.22	The 3 rd meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2009.11.30	The 4 th meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2010.5.13	The 5 th meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2010.8.26	The 6 th meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2010.10.18	The 7 th meeting of urban design ad-hoc committee
	2010.12.09	The 296th meeting of urban design committee(1)
EIA review	2008.1.28	The 65 th meeting of EIARC
	2009.4.17	The 81 th meeting of EIARC
	2010.6.28	The 97th meeting of EIARC(2)
	2011.3.30	The 105 th meeting of EIARC (3)
	2011.5.26	The 107 th meeting of EIARC (4)

Note: (1) The urban design of the project was approved by the UDC on 9th of December, 2010.

(2) The project was rejected by the EIARC on 28 of June, 2010. The developer may propose an alternative plan to re-conduct the EIA review based on the conclusion of the EIARC according to Act of EIA.

(3) The project was approved by the EIARC on 26th of May, 2011.

Source: Farglory Dome, 2011.

5.3 The actions of environmental groups

This section focuses on the environmental groups involved in Taipei Dome project. The goals, arguments and actions of environmental groups will be mentioned first. Then some analysis will be addressed to reflect the theories reviewed in the previous sections

5.3.1 Environmental groups

The main objection came from a self-organized group, Song-shan Forest Park Alliance (the Alliance), which is not an officially registered organization but an alliance mainly composed by a group of school parents in Guang-fu elementary school. After attending the explanation meetings held by the city government at the end of 2006, they realized that the project was not only a sporting stadium; it was a project composed of various commercial activities and a large scale dome. Since then, they started to organize and took actions. The Alliance had no full-time employees. The members all had other jobs to do and could only spend their spare time against the Taipei Dome project. Because the main actors in the Alliance were residents, they could only cooperate with other environmental groups for resources, knowledge, and supports to increase their power in influencing the decision-making.

The other active environmental groups joined the Alliance include Wild at Heart Legal Defense Association (WHLDA), the Organization of Urban Re-s (OURs), and the Society of Wilderness (SOW). All of them are non-governmental organizations with few full-time employees.

WHLDA is an organization founded in 2003 by a lawyer who cares about the environment. The main objective of WHLDA is to “challenge the current unreasonable actions led by the ‘sacrifice of environment to get short-term political and economic benefits’, reject consumer economy developments, and propose a sustainable economy in symbiosis with the environment” (WHLDA, n.d.) by means of legal activities, and environmental grassroots movements support. Thus, to fight for the termination of Taipei Dome project, they take the role voluntary environmental lawyer to support the Alliance by providing legal consultant (interviewee B1).

OURs, registered in 1992, is the first NGO and NPO that aims at transforming the urban space and criticizing urban policies in Taiwan. The organization emerged from a ‘Snails-without- Shells Movement’ demanding the government to take the un-affordable housing problems seriously in 1989. It is composed by socially oriented professionals, architecture, urban planners, and other field experts. The main objective is the promotion of urban reformation in Taiwan by helping urban inhabitants to solve their own community problems (OURs, n.d.). In the Taipei Dome project, the value of the Song-shan Tobacco Factory, the serious development impact on urban environment,

especially the traffic impact and the biodiversity in the urban area attracted OURs' attention to stand by the Alliance to object the project. The organization played as a consultant to support the Alliance by providing professional advice towards the development project. Based on the network of the board members in the academy, the organization can mobilize students in protest movement. However, the small number of full-time employees limits the organization's capacity to advocate the notice of urban development problems by citizens.

SOW is a non-government nature conservation and education organization in Taiwan established in 1995. With 10 branches and 14 liaison offices in Taiwan, the organization "dedicated to protecting the natural and ecological environment in Taiwan through education, habitat preservation and public participation" (SOW, n.d.). SOW's members include citizens in various careers in Taiwan. Together with environmental education and training, the SOW preserves the natural resources by grassroots participation, especially the wetlands preservation in Taiwan. SOW participated in the anti-dome movement because of a volunteer who is the main active residents in the movement. To support the movement, SOW helps the residents to mobilized other residents in the communities and organizes activities to attract citizens' attention. SOW also provides its network resources by introducing environmental activist to get involved in the movement (interviewee B4).

Besides the environmental groups and NGOs mentioned above, a political party, the Green Party Taiwan (GPT), was also involved in the anti-dome movement. GPT, established in 1996, advocates environmental protection, ecological issue, grassroots participation and social justice. It also focuses on the cooperation and communication with international environmental groups and green party in other countries (GPT, n.d.). Although the political party has not won any election since 1996, their continuing advocating labor and vulnerable issues and environmental protection gains them a certain level of influence on public issues. The GPT participated in the anti-dome movement with two intentions: to change the place into a park and to promote political democratization of civil society. Thus, they work closely with the main actors in the Alliance in the beginning as the spokesmen and political strategies maker.

To formulate the strategies and actions, the Alliance held meetings at least one to two times a month in the beginning. In these meetings, they communicated their goal, formulated strategies and actions and distributed tasks to members. Besides, they registered a blog on the internet to share important information or release their own news. However, in the later period, they contacted each other by email without any regular meeting. It became a loose network with weak cooperation that could hardly strengthen their influence on the decision maker (interviewee B3).

5.3.2 The goals of the environmental groups

Before analyzing the Alliance's actions taken in the movement, it is important to clarify the goal in the movement. The objectives of environmental NGOs are explicitly revealed in their own charters. For examples, derived from social housing issue and dedicated to urban space transformation and social justice, OURs emphasized historical preservation, ecological environment and the externality impact of Taipei Dome project, especially traffic impact (interviewee B2). SOW emphasized the importance of environmental education. Through participating in environmental issues, such as anti-dome movement, SOW had more practical chances to encourage volunteers to care about their living environment, to find environmental problems proactively, and to organize the community to solve problems. Generally speaking, these environmental NGO shared the same value to object the project. The main goal was to cancel the project and make the site as a park with considerations of cultural preservation, ecological diversification and environmental protection. However, since the main group in the Alliance was composed by school parents in the neighborhoods around the development site, the consensus within the self-organized group must be built first.

In the beginning, some of the group members supported the stadium project and did not want to object to government's policy. Thus, the Alliance can only address a blurred and unfeasible proposal in the beginning: "to accept the stadium construction reluctantly, but we cannot accept the commercial facilities" (interviewee B1). However, for the activist members, they knew it was impossible to build the stadium without any commercial facilities since it was a BOT project. The goal was only a technical mean to make the argument moderate that the Alliance could gain more support by residents. It also forced the city government and Farglory Dome to face the dilemma because they would never accept this suggestion.

The alliance explicitly addressed anti-dome argument after they conducted the second questionnaire which was sampling from parents in Kuang-fu Elementary School in 2009. The results showed that 97% of the parents wish to preserve the site as a forest park (interviewee B2). Since then, the Alliance proposed their only one goal-to change the site as a forest park without other facilities, and tried the best to stop the Taipei Dome project.

5.3.3 The arguments and actions of the Alliance

The various actions taken by anti-dome groups are listed in Table 5.3. From Table 4.2, three main strategies are categorized: meetings attending for communication, protest activities, and procedural supervision through legal channels. On the other hands, the arguments addressed by the Alliance in the anti-dome movement include suitable land use, environmental impact, tree protection, the legality of the BOT

contract implementation, and the legality of administrative procedures. The arguments and actions were applied interactively dependent upon circumstances.

Table 5.3 The Alliance's actions against Taipei Dome project

Date	Actions
2007.03.21	The Alliance held a 'Grievances for the old trees' press release, questioning the city government's transplantation actions.
2007.03.27	The Alliance petitioned the city government in front of City Council for tree protection.
2007.03	The Alliance set up a cosignatory website invite citizens to reject a stadium park with commercial facilities and support the forest park proposal.
2007.04.11	The Alliance submitted a crime lawsuit against TCG for forging the identification results of protected trees in Song-shan Tobacco Factory to cover developer's profit.
2007.05.25	The Alliance played a drama in front of city hall, claiming the EIA explanation meetings held by Farglory Dome on 22 nd of May was invalid.
2007.07.19	The Alliance submitted a notice of intent letter to the Department of Environmental Protection based on EIA Act, indicating transplanted trees were died and the TCG's transplantation actions were illegal.
2007.08	The Alliance conducted a written questionnaire with the school parents. The results showed that 79% of parents support the forest park proposal, 60% of parents did not object the stadium but object commercial facilities. The Alliance submitted petitions to city councilors asking for help.
2007.09.29	The Alliance and the city councilors held a press release in proposed Bau-hu Junior High School. They showed the media that the transplanted trees were all died.
2007.10.03	The Alliance held a sarcasm protest activity celebrating the anniversary of BOT contract and cried for the dead trees.
2008.09.30	The Alliance submitted a petition to Control Yuan, listing the suspected illegal behaviors of TCG and the BOT Selection Committee members, such as having dinner with the BOT applicants, the blemished BOT contract, and the illegal transplantation.
2009.02.28	The Alliance held a Chipko movement to protect the last old camphor tree from transplanting.
2009.09.23	The Alliance submitted a petition to Control Yuan again for reporting the abuses occurred during the BOT tender and the BOT contract implementation, especially the scale of development.
2009.11.21	The Alliance held a press release to expose the reality that the last transplanted camphor tree had died.

Date	Actions
2010.03.12	The Alliance held a protest activities in Shih-san-hang Culture Park in Taipei County on Arbor Day, asking President Ma should care about the old trees but not only making a show by planting new trees.
2010.09.10	The Alliance held an 'Anniversary of Control Yuan' s correction against Taipei City Government' press release.
2010.12.09	The Alliance held a press release before Urban Design Review meeting.
2011.01.10	The Alliance filed an administrative lawsuit to TCG for revoke the decisions made in urban review design meeting on 9 of December in 2010. They also held a demonstration with slogans such as: 'Revoke the illegal urban design review decisions' , 'Terminate the BOT contract!' , 'Forest Park! No commercial district!' .
2011.01.24	The Alliance held a 'the 500 th day of Control Yuan' s correction against Taipei Dome project' press release.
2011.03.04	The Alliance held a press release before EIA review meeting.
2011.03.12	The Alliance held a demonstration in Hsin-chu on Arbor Day, asking President Ma take a bow to those old trees died for him.
2011.04.12	The Alliance held a press release and petitioned the new city councilors for terminate the Taipei Dome project.
2011.04	The city councilors proposed TCG reconsidered the location of Taipei Dome and made the former Song-shan Tobacco Factory as a forest park.
2011.05.26	The Alliance held a press release before EIA review meeting.
2011.06.07	The Alliance and OURs petitioned the Control Yuan for the injustice of EIA review on May 26.
2011.06.22	The Alliance held an activity asking citizens to turn off the light and save energy for the globe on Summer Solstice day.
2011.07.15	The Alliance submitted an administrative appeal asking for revoking the decisions of urban design review, EIA review and building license.
2011.09.01	The Alliance petitioned the Control Yuan again, submitted evidences of the Farglory Dome' s illegal behaviors.
2011.09.30	The Alliance held a demonstration towards President Ma and Mayor Hua when they attended the open ceremony of Taipei World Design Expo 2011 in Song-shan Cultural and Creative Park.
2011.10.02	The Alliance held a demonstration in front of the development site by laying down on the road asking the government for a park. They also asked Mega International Commercial Bank not to lend money to Farglory Dome.

Date	Actions
2011.10.02	The Alliance and OURs held a petition activity inviting citizens to write letter to Mega International Commercial Bank for rejecting Farglory Dome' s financing application.
2011.10.30	The anti-dome groups held a Halloween march name 'trick or park' .
2012.01.16	The Alliance and WHLDA appealed a administrative lawsuit to Taiwan High Administrative Court for terminate the Taipei Dome project.

Source: based on the website of Song-shan Forest Park Alliance, <http://blog.roodo.com/getoutdome>

Chen (2011) used discourse analysis to analyze the Taipei Dome project. Four discourses were addressed: the discourse competition of building the dome or preserving green land; the conflict between development and living space; the discrepancy between transplantation and old trees preservation; the gap of citizen participation. The present research adjusted the last discourse as 'procedural supervision' and divided it into two parts, the BOT procedure and the review procedure. Citizen participation is a critical point in this project. However, in the Alliance arguments, they questioned not only the chances and degree of participation, but also the legality of administrative procedure.

Suitable land use- dome vs. forest park

The idea to change the site as a forest park was rooted in some citizens' mind for a long time. During the negotiation with the provincial government to acquire the ownership of the land in 1995, Mayor Chen had mentioned the idea of rezoning the site as Urban Park (Lee, 2009). When the TCG conducted the urban plan review during 2002 to 2003, there was a written representation expressing the objection to the Dome project and proposing to build the site as an urban forest park. However, the opinions to object the Dome project were not strong enough to become pressure on decision makers. It was until the Alliance gradually formulated the anti-dome goal that the conflict between the environmental groups and the developer became explicit.

During the site-choosing period, the city government had entrusted the consultant to conduct a telephone survey in 2002. The results showed that 69.48% of citizens in Taipei support Taipei Dome project while 13.66% of citizens did not support it. During the process of re-conducting EIA review in 2008, Farglory Dome conducted another telephone review because the result in 2002 was doubted by the protester claiming that the respondents were not informed about the development project contents, especially the huge amount of commercial facilities. The second review showed 55.9% of citizens in Taipei support the Taipei Dome project; while 25.6% did not support it (Lee, 2009, p.31).

For those who supported the forest park proposal, they addressed their

arguments at policy level combining environmental protection, biodiversity, and climate change topics. They argued the importance of urban green land preservation and adaptation of climate change in Taipei City and doubted the need of another Dome since a smaller scale dome, Taipei Arena, has already been built , , with BOT method within 2 kilometers from the site and was not operated successfully. Considering the natural and socioeconomic characteristics of Taipei City, such as basin terrain, extreme rainfall in summer, density development urban form, and the less carrying capacity of designed infrastructure, the protesters stress on preservation of the rarely green land rather than adding loading on urban environment (interviewee B2, B3).

The protester questioned the results of telephone survey made by city government in 2002 and by the developer in 2009. They argued that no one in the community had ever received the survey phone call and the survey method can hardly revealed the development content to the respondents. To justify their arguments, the Alliance conducting two times of written questionnaire in 2007 and in 2009. The population of the questionnaire was school parents in Kuang-fu Elementary School. The second time of questionnaire result showed a high percentage, 97%, in supporting the forest park alternative (Interviewee B1).

In contrast, the developer emphasized the recreational and sporting industry development, which implied the development project could benefit urban economic development (interviewee C1). The developer cited other countries' experiences of stadium operation management, they defense for the site-choosing issue by addressing the benefits to build the stadium in city center, such as urban safety, commuting time saving and preservation of the undeveloped suburb which also benefit the environment (Lee, 2009).

The government emphasized the expectation of baseball fans. They addressed the project could diversify recreational space in Taipei City and promote urban development. To build a Taipei Dome also became a campaign promise for city mayor candidates when they participated in the election. The project was an important policy of TCG and hard to be subverted (Chen, 2011, p.61).

Environmental impact and adaptation

The second argument of the Alliance focuses on the scale of the development project and the development impact, such as noise and air pollution, traffic congestion, the disappearance of urban green land, land subsidence and the impact on cultural heritage nearby the development site. Among these impacts, traffic impact was the most serious one. The site was located in a very busy district with highly developed density and heavy traffic. From the Alliance's perspective, it was not suitable wrong in the beginning to choose this site for a dome with 40,000 seats. They took New Year's Eve event held in front of Taipei City Hall as an example to reveal the tremendous

traffic impact on the surroundings when big event is held. The Alliance also argued that the project was not a sporting complex but a shopping center. They argued that the development content with such large amount of commercial facilities is not in accordance with the zoning regulated in urban plans. They doubted the expenditure capacity in Taiwan by comparing Taipei to a larger city, Tokyo in Japan, and emphasized the over-developed commercial spaces in Taipei. They stressed living quality and urban long-term vision. To preserve the rarely green land is far more important than providing another commercial area (interviewee B1).

Besides the Alliance, the residents showed different attitudes towards the project. Some residents who cared more about the land value and have less emotion and identity with the place. The residents who objected the project emphasized the environmental impact which would bring negative impact on their life. Some of them asked Farglory Dome to compensate more to the residents. Furthermore, to evacuate the crowds during the event, TCG planned to broaden Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road. The road broaden plan was objected drastically by residents whose houses were located along Lane 553. They questioned if the government used public resources and damaged residents' interests and rights to help private developer solve the problems (Chen, 2011, pp.71-72).

From the government perspective, to implement such a large scale sporting facilities, various factors had to be considered. The arguments used to defense their decisions pointed that financial and economic development remain the priority in the officials' mind. The project used BOT method because the government wanted to fulfill the stadium tasks with private developer's resources. When the BOT development method has been decided, it was not only a public infrastructure project, but an urban development project. The financial feasibility and self-liquidation ratio must be considered seriously to make the project attractive to private sector. On the other hand, to make the city more competitive, urban economic development remains the main concern for the government when making policy decisions. Chen (2011) mentioned the arguments of the official interviewee focusing on expansion of commercial areas to formulate an urban economic and trade axis in Taipei urban planning (p.68). It showed that Taipei Dome project not only represented the fulfillment of the instructions from central government, but also a stimulator of urban growth.

For the developer, it is normal for the private company to pursue interests when commencing a development project. In the Taipei Dome project, the main argument they made was financial feasibility. They emphasized the difficulty of operating a large scale stadium. The commercial facilities were designed to balance the loss of stadium operation.

They claimed that with adequate plan and principles, such as traffic internalization,

traffic improvement measures, and increasing green coverage ratio, they can mitigate the development impact. Based on simulation results, with suitable management, Farglory Dome claimed that the crowds in a 25000 people event can be evacuated within 60 minutes (Farglory Dome, 2011, p.5-104). They also addressed compensation measures for the residents and vulnerable citizens to implement the project.

Tree protection vs. tree transplantation

The third discourse related to tree protection and transplantation issue. In order to maintain the green resources, the cultural and natural landscape in the city, the TCG announced a tree protection regulation, Taipei City Tree Protection Bylaw, in 2003. If there are protected trees on a development site, the developer has to submit a tree protection plan to TCG for review. Criteria and procedures to identify protected trees are regulated in the law. The TCG set up Taipei City Tree Protection Committee as the decision making institution for tree protection works. According to the law, the protected trees on public land should be preserved where they stand in principle, if there are reasons to transplant the trees, the developers should submit tree protection plan, including the transplant and restoration plan, to the competent authority. Actions to the trees will be permitted only after the TCTPC approves the plan.

The site of Taipei Dome project was developed as a tobacco plant and related services in the Japanese colonial era. The relative low density development style allowed the green plants to grow freely and made the area a rare environmental friendly place in Taipei. Since there are numerous old or precious trees in the former Song-shan Tobacco Factory, the developer, Department of Education in TCG, had to submit a tree protection plans for review. To show the determination of protecting the green assets, Department of Education also submitted the transplantation plan of the non-protected trees to TCTPC for review (Construction Planning Office for the Taipei Dome Complex, n.d.).

According to the investigation results entrusted by the TCG, there are 136 protected trees in the Sports Park. Among the protected trees, 7 of them are located along the excavation area and will be protected by fence. The other 4 trees are located in the center of the site that they will be moved to the Cultural Park forever. The rest of the protected trees will be transplanted to other places on the development site temporarily during the construction period, and move back to where they grow again. The other non-protected trees will be transplanted to other places, such as Zhong-shan Park, proposed Bau-hu Junior High School, and Fu-De-Keng Park (Chen, 2011, p.78; Construction Planning Office for the Taipei Dome Complex, n.d.a).

Due to the commitment in the BOT contract, it was the TCG's responsibility to deal with the tree protection tasks. In order to give the land to the developer on time, the tree protection review must be conducted first and transplantation needed to be

completed in advance (Chen, 2011, p. 78-79). Thus, the TCG started the preparation work of trees transplantation at the same time when the BOT tender was just started in 2004. In November, 2004, the BOT tendering was stuck because the best applicant wanted to change the partners. The TCTPC made a decision on an on-site investigation that all the preparation works for transplanting the trees should be temporarily stopped until the completion of the BOT contract.

On October, 2006, the BOT contract was signed and the TCTPC approved the TCG to transplant non-protected trees according to the schedule and plan reviewed by TCTPC on 14th of November, 2006. However, development capacity in the Farglory Dome's plan was larger than original plan by more than 10 % that the developer had to re-conduct the EIA (Department of Environmental Protection, 2008). The TCG's transplant actions were strongly doubted by the Alliance. They wondered why the TCG could commence the construction works before the project was approved from the second round of EIA review.

In 2007, the Alliance found that in the proposed Bau-hu Junior High School, one-third of the trees transplanted from the development site had died. They submitted a notice of intent letter to the Department of Environmental Protection informing that they filed a citizen suit, indicting the transplant actions illegally. They also doubted the result of the protected trees identification is blemished.

The DEP announced news on its website to clarify the procedure. They claimed that according to the agreement in the BOT contract, if the developer changed the development content and had to re-conduct the EIA review, the land clearance works, including trees transplantation and Buildings Demolition, will be removed from the constructing stage. Since it will change the EIS content, the developer has to submit an analysis report on the difference for review in advance. The analysis report submitted by the Farglory Dome had been approved by the 60th and 61th EIARC. However, since the Department of Education started transplant works before the analysis report got approval, the DEP had already gave the DE two tickets for 600,000 NT dollars on 5th of September, 2007. Considering the duties, The EIARC decided to let the Tree Protection Review Committee deal with tree protection issues (Department of Environmental Protection, 2008). On the other hand, Taipei Dome Office explained that the TCTPC had already approved the tree protection plan on 4th of July, 2007. Thus, there was nothing illegal in terms of TCG's transplantation actions. TCG kept on transplanting trees on the development site.

On the 28th of February in 2009, the city government planned to transplant the last left(remaining?) tree, and old camphor tree, according to their schedule. It frustrated the environmental groups. After so many petitions, protest actions and lawsuits, they still could not stop the government's transplantation actions to save

these trees. Thus, they decided to start a Chipko movement on the same day. On that day, six people formed a circle around the trunk of the old camphor tree in the beginning. Some of them were arrested and detained by the police except one person stayed in the trees for 27 hours but also arrested by the police in the end (Pan, 2011; United Daily New, 2009 cited in Chen, 2011, p.84). The city government completed the land clearance on 1st of March and the land was given to Farglory Dome ready for construction on 1st of April in the same year.

Procedural supervision- BOT contract

To terminate the development project, examining the process and the implementation of the BOT contract was a useful strategy for the Alliance. The examination included the process of BOT tender and the implementation of the BOT project. Three issues addressed by the Alliance included illegal tender process, excess of developed floor area, and Farglory Dome's bread of contract.

The large amount of developed floor space was a main substantial issue in the objection discourses. According to the contract, the total developed floor area is limited to 96,000 ping (approximately equals to 317,040 m²), while the Dome's floor area cannot be lower than 35,000 ping (approximately equals to 115,588 m²). The developed floor area of parking spaces is excluded from the upper limit of 96,000 ping. However, in Farglory Dome's plan, the total developed floor area was much higher than the 96,000-ping-limit. The Alliance questioned the issue in all kinds of meeting asking for explanation and the review committee members' judgment. Farglory Dome's responded the issue with a TCG's official document they got during the BOT tender process. During the BOT process, Farglory Dome had asked TCG about the definition of the total developed floor area and the calculate method to clarify the terminology. According to Building technique regulation, there are several exclusive uses when calculating the floor area ratio, it is easily confused if the terminology is not defined precisely. TCG replied Farglory Dome by an official document saying that the limit floor area does not include the exclusive uses. The response did not satisfy the Alliance, because they could not find the government's clarification on the internet. They doubted it as an illegal behavior since the information should be announced on the internet for fairness. TCG claimed they had announced on the internet during the BOT tender. It disappeared because the website had been revised. The Alliance could not be persuaded. They could not understand why the city government negotiated such a bad deal in the BOT contract. They questioned why Farglory Dome does not need to pay any development royalty, land rent and operation premium but gain the right to use the public-owned land for 50 years. They suspected the whole process. and listed all their doubts in a petition document to Control Yuan for further investigation in September of 2008.

On the other hand, the protesting pressure made the urban design review committee and the EIARC review the project cautiously. They asked Farglory Dome revised the project to lower the environmental impact with properly response to the arguments addressed during the meetings. In 2010, the EIARC even rejected the Taipei dome project because of the overly large amount of developed floor area⁸. The lengthy review process delayed the schedule that Farglory Dome had to pay the fine for not fulfilling obligations. In the meantime, the Alliance kept on lobbying city councilors to support their forest park alternative. Although the EIA review conditional approved the project on May , 2012, the protester did not give up. Their voice attracted the city councilors' attention. In June of 2012, Taipei City Council made a decision asking TCG not to terminate the BOT contract and to preserve the site as a forest park if Farglory Dome could not applied for the building licenses and financial contract before 2nd of July in the same year (Chien, 2011). To impede the project, the Alliance held an activity on Summer Solstice day. The topic of activity was energy saving for the globe and asking citizens to support the forest park plan.

TCG issued the building license on 30 of June in 2011. However, Farglory Dome could not apply for the project financing before deadline. On 2nd of July in 2012, TCG held a negotiation committee and agreed Farglory Dome to extend the deadline of applying the financial contract with bank. They claimed that the developed floor area of the whole project was determined on 26 of May in 2012 by the EIARC and it is reasonable to provide more time for the bank considering Farglory Dome's financing application. Thus, they agreed to extend the deadline to the 16th of November in 2012 (Lu, 2011).

The Alliance held other protest activities, such as a laying down party, a citizen cosigned petition to the bank, and a Halloween march to show their determination protesting the project in one hand, and asking more supports from the citizens to put pressure on Mega International Commercial Bank for rejecting Farglory Dome's financing application (Interviewee B4).

In the end, Farglory Dome submitted the financing contract to TCG on 9th of November in 2011 and commenced the project on 11th of November in the same year (Construction Planning Office for the Taipei Dome Complex, 2012).

Procedural supervision- project review process

In order to gather information and express opinions, the Alliance attended almost all meetings which were open to them. Moreover, by asking more explanation meetings through petition to the city council or TCG, they created more opportunities for communication. Two main types of meetings were held during the process: the

⁸ Based on the Farglory Dome's plan, they planned to build the project with 590,100 m² developed floor area in total, which included a 124,930 m² stadium and 195359m² parking spaces.

explanation or coordinative meetings and the review meetings.

TCG held an explanation meeting to the public explaining the content of the project first on November 2006 after the BOT contract was signed. However, some of the citizens argued about the undistributed invitation and asked TCG to hold another two (Chen, 2011, p.87). Farglory Dome also held several public meetings in accordance with EIA Act, EIARC's decisions or TCG's judgment. Furthermore, the city councilors held two coordinative meetings to create more opportunities for communication between the citizens Farglory Dome and TCG. The related meetings held for public from 2006 to 2011 are listed in Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 Related public meetings of Taipei Dome BOT project from 2006 to 2011

Date	Public meeting	Organizer
2006.11.17	Project explanation meeting 1	Taipei City Government
2006.12.07	Project explanation meeting 2	Taipei City Government
2007.01.11	Project explanation meeting 3	Taipei City Government
2007.01.15	Coordinative meeting	Taipei City Councilor (Li-Keng Kuei-Fong)
2007.03.07	Coordinative meeting	Taipei City Councilor (Chen Yong-De)
2007.05.22	EIA explanation meeting	Farglory Dome
2007.07.28	EIA explanation meeting (2 nd)	Farglory Dome
2008.07.24	Transplantation explanation meeting	Taipei City Government
2008.08.02	Transportation explanation meeting	Farglory Dome
2008.08.23	EIA explanation meeting	Farglory Dome
2008.12.23	Transportation explanation meeting	Farglory Dome
2010.12.22	EIA explanation meeting	Farglory Dome

Source: based on Lee, 2009; Farglory Dome, 2011.

Although the private developer and TCG held numerous meetings during the review process, from residents' perspective, the explanation meetings were only formality and the attendants were simply tools of procedural endorsement. They felt that TCG and private developer held the explanation meetings only because the meetings were part of legal procedure regulated in law, and the meeting organizers held the meetings with no sincerity for communication. The Alliance argued that the substantial issues were not considered seriously by the developers after these meetings. In one EIA explanation meeting, the resident attendants felt disappointed and revoked their signatures on the attendance book because they did not want to be the endorsers of the meeting (interviewee B4).

The protesters' frustration also happened in the other type of meeting, the review meetings. To get the project approved, two types of review meetings were recognized Urban Design Review meetings, EIA review meetings. These meetings were open to the citizens. The procedural of these meetings were similar. The citizens who wanted to express their opinions can register in advance. Each person would have limited time, usually 3 minutes per person, and the time to speak dependson how many people have registered. In the Urban Design Review meetings, they can attend the whole meetings and know what decisions are made. In the EIA review meetings, the attendants have to leave the meeting room when the committee makes the decisions.

Review meetings provide opportunities for all participants to express their opinions and persuade the decision makers. It is a good chance and a formal channel for environmental groups to address critical issues against Farglory Dome's plan. However, the limited time for expressing opinion was not enough for the the protesters to put forward their arguments thoroughly (interviewee B1). Moreover, the Alliance found other problems in terms of citizen participation during the review process. The uneven distribution resources, such as information distribution and man power distribution were challenges in terms of citizen participation. For example, one interviewee pointed out the difficulty to obtain meeting materials in advance. For the residents, they do not have enough knowledge and profession training to address the problems of Farglory Dome's plan. They had to consult other experts for suggestions. The difficulty of getting meeting material made them in a disadvantage position (interviewee B1).

One interviewee (B3) also argued about the opportunity to attend the transportation impact assessment meeting. As mentioned before, traffic impact was one main issue in the Taipei Dome project. In January of 2008, the urban design committee decided to set up another ad-hoc transportation impact assessment committee by the Department of Transportation to review the transportation plan. They also agreed that some member of committee could be suggested by local residents (Chen, 2011, p.89). However, the residents argued they did not get the chance to attend the transportation impact assessment meeting, and there was no experts suggested by them to review Farglory Dome's plan (interviewee B3). Furthermore, they felt the government convoyed Farglory Dome obviously. The chairman of these review committees were officials in TCG. In some review meetings, the chairmen did not allow the residents to express their opinions, or made meeting conclusions without adopting other committee members' doubts about the project (interviewee B4). These situations collapsed the citizens' trust towards TCG. It made the citizens to examine the legality of the review process more cautiously. The Taipei Dome project was first approved by the urban design review committee on 9th of

December in 2010, and then approved by the EIARC on 26th of May in 2011. The Alliance claimed that decisions made by these two review committees were invalid because there were administrative flaws in the meetings. The Alliance argued that in the urban design review meeting on 9th of December in 2010, the members were less than a quorum when the decisions were made (Song-shan Forest Park Alliance, 2010). Besides, the committee members representing TCG did not withdraw from the decision-making process (Song-shan Forest Park Alliance, 2011). The Alliance addressed these questions in meetings but could not stop the project. They filed lawsuit against TCG in different legal system, such as administrative lawsuits, crime lawsuits, and citizen lawsuits.

From government's point of view, an official in TCG argued the dilemma the first level of civil servants faced: "Taipei Dome is a policy determined project which had been budgeted. For the TCG, how to draw the line between development and environmental protection under the circumstance that the policy to build a dome has already been determined is really difficult to deal with. Thus, the mechanism as the urban design review committee in somehow plays as a balance role and mitigate the development impact for the government to implement the policy. It could be said that the urban design committee has rarely power to say no for the project but to mitigate the impact of the development behavior" (Interviewee A1). In other words, the city government viewed the urban design review and EIA review as a channel to find mitigation of the development impact, which was based on the consensus to build Taipei Dome on the site. For TCG, the review meeting should focus more on professional discussions and technical analysis rather than political debates.

The official also emphasized that the review meetings were conducted in transparency. TCG would notice citizens about the date and location of review meetings by sending official documents to all the citizens who had ever filed written opinions about the project to TCG. The attendants have opportunities to express their opinions before committee members made decisions.

The arguments described above were in the same logic with the private developer, Farglory Dome. When the BOT contract was signed, the decision had been made by the city government. Thus, Farglory Dome expected to negotiate with the protesters under the consensus of building the dome and came to compromises in detail development content. However, after interacting with the Alliance, Farglory Dome realized that the goals of each side were in parallel that there would not be a consensus to be built. They changed the attitude towards the Alliance because they thought that no matter what they did, the protester would never be satisfied (interviewee C1).

5.3.4 The reasons of strategy-choosing

Contrast ideology between pro-dome and anti-dome proponents

In this section, the present research categorizes the environmental groups' arguments into five parts and describes the actions and interaction between the environmental groups, Farglory Dome and TCG. The environmental groups objected the project with a neutral argument and modest attitude but tuned into addressing extreme anti-dome goal and confrontation actions in the end. The reasons of these changes are due to the gap in substantial and procedural aspects.

In substantial aspect, the gap was revealed in the priorities chosen by different stakeholders. In the policy formulation period, the priority the government chose revealed in the twelve factors considered when assessing the location of the stadium. By categorizing the twelve factors, most of the factors are related to social, economic and financial consideration, while only two factors are related to environmental concern, namely, level of impact on environmental protection and supplementing facilities around the site,. The government tended more to the economic consideration as priority when considering the site for the dome. On the contrary, the environmental groups emphasized development impact and green land preservation. They questioned the density of urban area and expected a more environmentally friendly urban vision.

In the discourse of tree protections, the government emphasized their determination of tree protection by making tree protection plan and conducted tree protection review. However, when the environmental groups exposed the fact that most of the transplanted trees were died after the transplantation, the government claimed to improve tree protection techniques, asked the entrusted company to replant the same type of trees and deduct the entrusted company's payment to solve the problem but kept on transplanting the trees (Construction Planning Office For The Taipei Dome Complex, n.d.b Q&A13). It showed the government's goal was to preserve the trees and implement the project at the same time. But when it came to choosing between project implementation and tree protection, the former took the priority.

The perception towards BOT contract is another evidence of the substantial gap between the three main actors: the environmental groups, government and the developer. The BOT method resorts to leverage private resources to fulfill public services. Incentives and financial feasibility are critical concerns for a BOT project. For the government, it is a choice between bearing the financial burden and development risk to build and operate a Dome on the one hand, and creating incentives for private sector to participate in the development project on the other. Once the BOT method is chosen, the method implies to take the economic interests seriously. Of course it should not be said that BOT project is nothing about environmental friendly; however, it is a problem of priority choosing.

Unfriendly decision making systems without real empowerment

In procedural aspect, the gap is reflected in the perception of project review system and public participation. The environmental groups viewed public participation as a tool. Their final goal is to gain the power to influence the decision-maker and change the site as a forest park (Chen, 2011, p.94). Thus, they asked government and developers to hold more meetings and attended various meetings to get the opportunities to influence the decision-makers. The review meeting was a chance for the environmental group to change the project completely. However, from the developer and government's point of view, it was not the case. Public participation is a process for decision making. The decision-making power belongs to the government. In the review meetings, citizens could express their opinions. However, it is a one-way opinion expression rather than two-way communication. The public participation mechanism designed in the project review system remains as a tokenism that makes the environmental groups hardly the power-holder alliance.

Although there are difficulties in changing the political power structure, the objection of the environmental groups have their influence on the project because of the pressure they created. In the following section, I will compare the normal procedures and process in practice. I will also describe the difference between the original project contents and the final project content. Then I will analyze the meanings of these differences in terms of sustainable development.

5.4 The outcomes analysis

The Taipei Dome project is under construction in the end. The Alliance's goal to change the site into a forest park is not achieved. However, some changes occurred during the implementation of the project. The present research categorizes the changes into two parts: the subs the substantial outcomes, the procedural outcomes. In this section, the changes of outcomes will be analyzed first. Then, the implication of sustainable development at the project level will be analyzed.

5.4.1 Substantial outcomes

To implement the Taipei Dome project, three plans were recognized to compare the substantial outcomes in the present research. The plan proposed by TCG in 2003 was the original plan. The modification of urban plan, including Master Plan and Detailed Plan were all based on the original plan. The original plan was also approved by the EIARC in 2003 conducted by TCG. However, when the government decided to use BOT method to implement the project, they set up a higher intensity of development scale standard in the tender document than the original plan (interviewee C1). When Farglory Dome won the BOT tender and became the developer of the project, they had to re-conduct EIA review. Thus, there was a second plan

proposed by Farglory Dome with much higher intensity of development. The plan was rejected by the EIARC in June in 2010. So the Farglory Dome proposed another alternative, the third plan, which was conditional approved by EIARC in the 26th of May in 2011. Since the last two plans' intensity of development is much higher than the first one in all aspects, to compare the first plan and the last one is meaningless because the results will be that nothing improved in terms of environmental sustainability⁹. Thus, I will focus on comparing the second and third plan to see what has been changed during the review process, and mention the first plan when necessary.

Developed floor areas

It is accepted by most the interviewees that the main achievement of the Alliance is the downsized of the total developed floor area. The total developed floor area symbolizes the intensity of development and development impact on the surroundings. Table 4.4 shows the changes in Taipei Dome project's developed floor area. The original plan proposed by TCG, the total floor area was 360,839 m², which included a 97,950 m² stadium, a 53,800 m² entertainment complex, a 106,065 m² office building, and 103,024 m² parking spaces. When Farglory Dome bid for the BOT tender, they proposed another plan based on the BOT tender documents announced by TCG. Farglory Dome's plan changed the original plan so much that they had to re-conduct the EIA review. The plan with 590,136 m² in total was rejected by EIARC in June of 2010 because of the high intensity of development. Farglory Dome proposed an alternative plan to re-conduct EIA review again. They proposed to build the project with a 122,384 m² stadium, a 127,860 m² entertainment complex, a 50,475 m² office building, a 67,020 m² hotel and 150,807 m² parking spaces. The total developed floor area is 535,510 m², which increased by 48.41% compared to the original plan proposed by TCG in 2003, and decreased by 9.26% compared to the previous plan which was rejected by EIARC. Among the total developed floor area, the area of commercial facilities increased by 53.48% compared to the original plan, and decreased by 4.4% compared to the previous rejected plan.

The alternative project was not accepted by the residents. The scale of development, especially the commercial facilities were almost the same with the plan rejected by EIARC in 2010. In the end, the proposal was conditional approved by EIARC on the 26th of May in 2011. The committee asked Farglory Dome to reduce the ancillary facilities to 202610 m², which is the average developed floor area of the original plan

⁹ Based on the draft version of EIA statement Report (Farglroy Dome, 2011, p.106-109), although the total developed floor area and commercial floor area increase a lot, There are several improvement measures added to mitigate the development impact, including the traffic improvement measures, school security management mechanism, crowds and traffic dispersion measures after big events, mitigation plan of traffic impact on Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road, evacuation management plan, green building, landscape planting improvement, compensation plan, adoption of drainage channels around the development site, and set up additional parking spaces for electric vehicles and bicycles.

and Farglory Dome's alternative plan. It means to reduce the ancillary facilities by 17% when compares it to Farglory Dome's alternative plan. The conclusions made by EIARC could not satisfy the Alliance and Farglory Dome. From Farglory Dome's perspective, the conclusion of reducing the developed floor area was not based on financial analysis results but an auction. It would increase the risk of operation the project and the difficulty of financing (interviewee C1). From environmental groups' perspective, the conditional approval meant the failure of anti-dome movement and the broken dream of forest park. In the future, the citizens, especially the residents and the students in Kuang-fu elementary school will suffer from development impact.

Table 5.5 The change of development content of Taipei Dome in different version

development content		TCG's original plan(2003.08) (m ²)	2010.06 version (m ²)	2011.05 version (m ²)	Final plan (2011.05.26) (m ²)
1.Stadium and Ancillary facilities		97,950	124,930	122,384	122,384
2.Ancillary facilities	(1)entertainment complex	53,800	133,896	127,860	115,108
	(2)office building	106,065	51,115	50,475	34,461
	(3)hotel	0	71,640	67,020	53,041
	sub-total	159,865	256,651	245,355	202,610
3.parking spaces		103,024	195,395	150,807	150,807
4.others(substation and MRT facilities)		0	13,160	16,964	16,964
total		360,839	590,136	535,510	492,765

Resource: based on the Farglory Dome, 2011, Department of Environmental Protection in Taipei City Government, 2011.

Mitigation of traffic impact

Another substantial change between the second plan and final plan was reflected in the mitigation of traffic impact. The anti-dome groups addressed several problems related to the traffic impact, especially in relation to students' security and the traffic dispersion when big events are held.

The measures to mitigate traffic impact in Farglory Dome's final plan included traffic improvement measures with traffic internalization principle, school security management mechanism, crowds and traffic dispersion measures after big events, mitigation plan of traffic impact on Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road, and set up additional parking spaces for electric vehicles and bicycles. For example, based on

traffic internalization principle, Farglory Dome set the pick-up area within the development site in order not to influence the traffic flow on the main road. Moreover, Farglory Dome would create 6 lines of free shuttle bus to encourage citizens to take the public transportation. During the big event, they will offer subsidies for citizens who go by MRT. To make sure the traffic safety of students during big events, Farglory Dome would deploy more staff to guide the students on road.

Among the improvement measures, the objection from residents who have lived along Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road had actual impact on the project content. According to BOT contract, TCG commits to widen northern part of Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road for traffic dispersion. This commitment was objected by residents whose house would be demolished when implementing the plan. The protesters questioned TCG's motivation, they argued that it was unfair to sacrifice citizens' interests to benefit the private developer and suggested plan new road in the development site based on traffic internalization principle.

According to the final plan, TCG abolished the widening of Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road. Farglory Dome also re-planned the traffic routes for different vehicles, especially coach's traffic route, and addressed traffic calming measures to lower traffic impact on the residential area along Lane 553 of Zhong-xiao East Road.

Other changes include: a) the increase of green coverage ratio (from 58% to 60.07%); b) more green building indicators achievement; and c) provision of more compensation measures for residents and citizens, such as to set up a scholarship in Kung-fu Elementary School during the operation period, to adopt the drainage channels and pedestrian around the development site, to offer discounts for the disabilities and their companions, to provide 2 more lines of shuttle bus during events, and provide subsidies for people who take MRT during big events with more than 30,000 people are held.

5.4.2 Procedural outcomes- rules of the game

When considered the influence on the process of Taipei Dome project, all interviewees mentioned the lengthy review process because of the Alliance's objection. When the Taipei Dome BOT contract was signed on 3rd of October in 2006, City Mayor Ma Ying-jeou said to the media that there would be a dome in Taipei City in 2010 (Lee, Wen-Chung, 2006). TCG and Farglory Dome would never expect that the project will be delayed for 5 years at that time. According to Tang and Chiu's research (2010), the average time of complete an EIA review is half year (p.3-4).

Three events caused delays during the review process: the Alliance tree protection actions, the Control Yuan's corrective measures towards TCG in September of 2009 and the EIARC's rejection of Taipei Dome project in June of 2010. According to the contract,

TCG should complete the land clearance work and deliver the land to Farglory Dome within one year after signing the contract. The deadline for TCG to deliver the land should be before the 3rd of October in 2007. However, TCG's transplantation actions were impeded temporally by the Alliance when they found the trees transplanted to other places died and questioned the timing of transplanting the tree. They filed a public lawsuit to Department of Environmental Protection and reported the situation in the tree protection review meetings. In the end, the land clearance work finished on 1st of March in 2009 when the last camphor trees were transplanted by TCG. The TCG delivered the land to Farglory Dome in the end of March in the same year.

The Control Yuan conducted the investigation on TCG and Public Construction Commission because of the Alliance's petition in September 2008. After one year's investigation, the Control Yuan proposed corrections to TCG and Public Construction Commission, listing several items needed to be reviewed and corrected on 10th of September in 2009. The TCG stopped the reviewing process after receiving corrections for almost one year. The review meetings were re-executed in the middle of 2010. On the 28th of June in 2010, the EIARC rejected the project because of the intensity of development and the unsolved traffic impact.

Besides the lengthy review process, the objection pressure also led to other exceptions when conducting the reviews. First, unlike the normal process that 8 to 10 projects will be discussed within an urban design review meeting, TCG held urban design ad-hoc review meetings for Taipei Dome project that only the project was discussed in a meeting to provide more opportunities for citizens to express their opinions (interviewee A1).

Second, considering the main debate of traffic impact, the urban design review committee decided to establish a series of ad-hoc meetings focusing on traffic impact assessment to discuss the traffic mitigation first. Other issues are reviewed in the urban design review meeting based on the results of the traffic impact assessment meetings. The mission was consigned to the Department of Transportation in TCG. However, the decision did not improve the transparency of decision-making. As the members of the Alliance argued, the traffic impact assessment meetings were the most confidential review meetings during the reviewing process. They could not get any information about the meeting, including the date, the meeting place and the information from TCG (interviewee B3).

Third, because of the environmental groups' strong urge, it was the first time that the urban design review meeting on 9th of December in 2010 allowed attendants to record the whole process (Song-shan Forest Park Allianc, 2010). It gave the Alliance chances to re-examine the process of review meeting and became evidence showing why there were administrative flaws in the meeting.

5.4.3 The challenges of environmental groups

In this section, the changes of substantial outcomes and procedural outcomes are addressed. In response to the analysis point 'does the project become more sustainable because of environmental groups' actions?', I will analysis the question in two steps. First, do the changes of project reflect the concept of sustainable development? Second, do the changes happen because of environmental groups' actions?

The substantial outcomes are negotiation results in review meetings. The most obvious changes, namely, the decrease of total developed floor area, the traffic impact mitigation, and the increase of green coverage ratio (from 58% to 60.07%). Farglory Dome also promised to achieve more green building indicators and provide more compensation measures for residents and the society. The changes corresponded to the issues related to promoting sustainable development, such as externality internalization and impact mitigation, social equity and energy saving. The former two issues responded to what environmental groups care. The latter issues, energy saving, was not emphasized in the discourses addressed by the environmental groups during the process, but was coped in the green building indicator achievements implicitly.

For the procedural outcomes, the delay of review process was the main change during the whole process. The exceptions made by the TCG during the urban design review process are also changes of procedural outcomes. However, these changes show both negative and positive ways in terms of equity chances for public participation.

The lengthy review process gave the environmental groups more time to build networks and find doubtful points to criticize the project. However, it also depleted the environmental groups of energy for fighting. Comparing to TCG and developers, the resources of environmental groups were far less, no matter in material aspects such as man power and money, or in invisible aspects such as power structure. TCG played a dominant role in the reviewing process phase because all the reviews were under TCG's jurisdiction. Although the environmental groups tried to get other actors, such as Control Yuan in the central government and legal system, involved in the project, the power structure was difficult to be shaken.

The project agreed that the decision to build Taipei dome has already been made when TCG conducted the BOT tender and signed the BOT contract in 2006. From government's and developers' perspective, it was a project with budgets and the officials' duty was implementation. From the developer's perspective, to make the project operated without loss and commercial facilities were the only resolution. The BOT contract binds them as an alliance to implement the project with the premise to build Ta dome in Taipei. In this logic, the reviews are checkpoints to mitigate the

development impact (interviewee A1, A2, B3, C1). The reviews provide opportunities for negotiation and communication, but should be focus on professional and technical discussions (interviewee A1). Thus, they expect more specific suggestions from the environmental groups rather than only criticisms (interviewee A2). Based on this point of view, the procedural changes they made implied more opportunities open to citizens to express opinions, but not let the citizens participate in the decision-making process. The decision-making power remained in the power-holders. The traffic impact assessment was another example corresponded to the unshakable power structure. It was a not regulated in the law, and it gave the authority discretion to set up the rules of game.

From the environmental groups' perspective, the review meetings made it possible to terminate the project. Thus, they put efforts into addressing doubtful points in Farglory Dome's plan in the beginning. However, as they found that the public participation was only formality without giving the citizens power to influence the decision-making, they focused more on supervising the review procedurals and holding protests activities.

For the second question, do the changes happen because of environmental groups' actions? The answer is not clear.

Although the changes respond to what environmental groups argued during the decision-making process, it does not means that the changes happened because of environmental groups' actions. Their actions caused obvious pressures on the officials in TCG and committee members that they made the decision more cautiously. Even though most of the interviewees agreed with the achievement to reduce total developed floor area because of environmental groups' actions, it was difficult to distinguish the reasons of the substantial changes. There was no evidence to prove the direct relation between the environmental groups' actions and the changes of the outcomes. As the developer mentioned:

"Except of the reduction of floor area, they didn't have too much influence on the substantial results. Because without their objection, the review committees will also strictly check on project contents, such as the measures of environmental protection, the green coverage ratio, the Building Coverage Ratio, the traffic impact. Moreover, we also take the traffic impact seriously for our own good in terms of operation. In my personally opinion, the environmental groups' actions influence only on the scale of development and the delay of review process. (interviewee C1)"

Besides, the procedure outcomes and substantial outcomes, in sustainable development theories, one important concept is the transformation of civil society. In the Taipei Dome project, the environmental groups' actions did not help them to achieve the goal they pursued, to terminate the Taipei Dome project and change the

plan as a forest park. However, their actions were still meaningful in contributing to citizen capacity in two ways. First, by participating in the anti-dome movement, the participants learned the different channels to participate in public affairs. They gained abilities in professional knowledge, techniques of public participation, and building network to influence the power-holder. They formulated consensus by meeting regularly and clarified what they really wanted for their living environment. They cared more about the living environment, not only for their own communities but also for the city, countries, and even the next generation. The anti-dome movement is an opportunity for environmental education. Through in the movement, the participants re-interpreted the arguments they addressed again and again, and the consensus were shaped gradually through re-consideration of their actions and ideology. Besides, the citizens' capacity to get involved in public affairs was improved. For example, with the experience gained in the anti-dome movement, the environmental groups realized the importance of green lands in Taipei City and were willing to share their knowledge and experience with other citizens when facing the same challenges. They supported other environmental movements to try to influence more people on more care about the environment issues.

Second, by examining the process of anti-dome movements, the problems the society faced to promote sustainable development can be clarified. Then, the environmental groups can learn how to improve it in the future. The problems the environmental groups faced in the project are analyzed as below:

Urban issue or NIMBY issue

Although the Alliance objected the project by addressing arguments at the urban level, such as green land preservation, over-developed commercial areas, cultural preservation, and climate change issue. However, they faced the problem in citizen mobilization. As the members in the Alliance described, they conducted questionnaires and resulted in high percentage supporting the forest park plan, but there were always the same 20 to 30 residents showing in the review meeting room. The members of the Alliance did not increase with time. The situation made the anti-dome movement seem like NIMBY syndrome and grassroots protesters objected the project only for their own interests.

Uneven resource distribution

The challenge of citizen mobilization was recognized during the process. Some members addressed this problem and suggested putting more efforts on mobilization. However, the resource scarcity was the main problem faced by the environmental groups in the anti-dome movement. The Alliance was an un-registered self-organized group with no full-time employee. The main actors in the Alliance were residents in the community. They had their own jobs in daytime and spent their spare time on the

movement. The other environmental NGOs had few full-time employees, but there were too many issues to deal with at the same time that they could not put all their efforts on the movement. Mobilization was a time-consuming work and might not have effects in the end.

A member of GPT described the uneven distribution resources between the pro-project groups and anti-project groups.

"The GPT couldn't put all resources on one project. For the residents who care about the project didn't have enough time because all of them had their normal jobs to make a living. In other words, all of us were part-time protesters. However, it is those people with full-time job to destroy the environment. The private developer pays their workers to implement the project. The city government gives officials salary. These people spent their time destroying the environment because of their full-time job. It was unequal in resource distribution (interviewee B3)."

Besides manpower and money, information asymmetry was another problem for environmental groups. Due to the contract obligation of confidentiality and privacy protection reasons, TCG refused to expose some information to the public, such as confidential technical documents, reports, or name list of committee members. Besides, although TCG inform residents of the meeting information, it was hard for residents to get the meeting materials in advance. They had to spend much time on acquiring the meeting materials through their network resources and sometimes in vain. They also needed time to do some research on the meeting materials, and consult other experts for suggestions. These difficulties exhausted the environmental groups

Un-matured civil society and the attitude to keep politics in distance

Except uneven resource distribution, the difficulty of citizen mobilization derived from the social and political context in Taiwan. Although the election system has been introduced in Taiwan since Japanese colonial period in 1940s, it is until 1996 that Taiwanese citizens could elect their own president. During the martial law period from 1949 to 1987, the repression of democrats, communists and Taiwan independence supporters made most of Taiwanese aloof from politics and avoid discussing or participating in political activities. The experience from the environmental groups against anti-dome movement precisely revealed the problem.

Although more and more citizens care about environmental protection issue, they do not want to get involved in political arena and stand out in public to express their opinions. On the other hand, as a capital city in Taiwan, most of the citizens in Taipei are immigrants from other cities in Taiwan. Economic is the main reason for them to live in the city. They have less geographical identity to the place and are alienated to the communities and public affairs involvement. What they care more is the increase of

housing price rather than urban environment. One interviewee in the Alliance referred to as:

“Another reason to this problem is because a lot of citizens in Taipei were immigrants from other cities in Taiwan. They might take the city as a place for them to live without identity. If the environment got worse, they can move to another place. They don’t take environmental impact so serious and rarely care about the public policy or environmental issues, unless the policy will influence the price and their house, such as social housing, then they will fight for their own interests. Thus, our actions to mobilize residents to protest are not effective (interviewee B1)”.

The problem not only reveals the residents’ alienation towards living environment, but also reflects the different focuses citizens care: economic or environment, benefits for this generation or future generations.

Decision-making system without enough administrative remedy mechanism

In a democratic system, the formal channels are still the critical access to influence the decision-making. In Taipei Dome project, when disappointed by the non-effective mobilization, the Alliance put more efforts on persuading the decision-makers in different review meetings and supervising the administrative procedure through legal channels. The experience gained by the environmental groups pointed out the lack of administrative remedy mechanism in the current planning system.

Although the Administrative Procedural Act introduced hearing system to improve public participation in policy making process; however, the timing to hold hearings depends on regulations in the law or the authorities’ judgment. In the current planning regulations, only the EIA Act has articles about holding public hearing when development projects are decided to conduct the second phase EIA review. In fact, in response to the announcement of Administrative Procedural Act in 2001, the form of hearing system regulated in EIA Act was amended from hearing to public hearing meeting. The former (hearing) provides opportunities for knowing the pros and cons and for debates on contentions through more comprehensive procedure, while the latter is similar to explanation meeting (Yeh and Chang, 2010). Moreover, in the current planning system, only the EIA review provides administrative remedy channel for citizens to seek for help.

Chapter 6 Conclusion, reflections and suggestions

In chapter two, the present research reviewed theories of sustainable development, public participation, and environmental politics and formulated conceptual framework to analyze empirical research. In this chapter, the reflections of Taipei Dome project will be summarized first. Then the research limitations and suggestions for future research will be concluded in the second part.

6.1 Conclusion and Reflections

In this section, I will summarize the conclusions and reflections from the environmental viewpoints to promote sustainable development at the project level, in terms of their strategies, the challenges they faced to shape their strategies and their influences. Then, I will address the conclusions and suggestions to responds to the research questions from a more general perspective.

6.1.1 Environmental groups' strategies and reflections on sustainable development

In Taipei Dome project, the strategies opened to environmental groups to promote sustainable development reveals in the arguments they addressed and actions they took. The arguments the environmental groups addressed focus on the environmental and social considerations; while the government and developer took economic as the priority when implementing the project. The discourses between the three pillars reveal in different aspects, including land use, externality, social justice, urban biodiversity and equity in terms of participation, inter-and intra-generation.

The discourses started from a NIMBY issue and gradually transformed as a issue related to the vision of Taipei City. Externality is the first issue occurred in the residents mind. The externality issue reveals in several aspects, such as traffic impact, noise and air pollution, and student's safety concern. The externality issue leads to the next topic, social justice issue and the doubt of public interest. The purpose of project is interpreted by different perspectives. For the government and developer, it is a project which can promote recreational industry and urban economic development. The BOT method can reduce government's financial burden and benefit private sector to get a win-win-win result, which means the government, the developer and the citizens all get what they want. However, it is based on sacrifice the environmental quality which the surrounding residents will be suffered from. Another issue related to externality is energy saving. Does the city really need another indoor stadium since there is another stadium located within 2 km from the Taipei Dome development site? Then the focus of environmental groups' arguments changed to emphasizing the importance of green

land preservation in Taipei City and the response to climate change.

The discourses discussed during the development process not only include the substantial part but also procedural part. The equal chance for citizens to participate in the decision-making process and the legitimacy of decision-making procedure are two main arguments addressed by the environmental groups in Taipei Dome project.

Overall, the project reveals a process of interpretation and re-interpretation of balance between economic, environmental and social concerns by government, developer and civil society.

6.1.2 Promotion of sustainable development and environmental groups' influence

The present research analyzes the outcomes in substantial and procedural aspects by addressing the changes of outcomes in Taipei Dome project. The changes in terms of substantial part include the reduction of total developed floor area, especially floor area of commercial facilities; the improvement measures to mitigate development impact, especially traffic impact; and increase of green coverage ratio, green building indicators achievement and compensation measures. The procedural changes include the delay of review process, the urban design ad-hoc committee, traffic impact assessment review meetings and recording during the review process.

In substantial aspect, the outcomes do reflect on sustainable development promotion in terms of externality internalization and mitigation. However, for procedural part, the changes did not promote public participation much but reveal the problems of public participation within existing decision-making systems. The procedural changes provide more opportunities for citizens to express their opinions and to find more access to influence decision-makers. The changes also promote transparency during the decision-making process. However, the changes outcome also reveals the hardly-shaking power structure within pro-dome alliance.

As the environmental groups' influence, although most of the interviewees agree that it is because their objection and protest actions that make the total developed floor area reduce. However, it is difficult to distinguish the influence between the environmental groups' actions and review committees' judgments. The consensus between pro-dome group and the anti-dome groups was never built. Since the environmental groups insisted their goal to terminate the project and change the site as a forest park, they did not address any alternative and suggestion under the building-dome premise. Thus, it is suitable to conclude that the environmental groups do have influence on the project, but the degree of influence is ambiguous.

Besides the achievements in substantial and procedural aspects, the perception of civil society is another important finding in the project. By participating in the

anti-dome movement, the participants learn more about public affairs, such as channels to influence the decision-making, knowledge of environmental protection and urban development, techniques of organizing people and process of decision-making systems. The environmental groups' objection provides opportunities for the society to rethink what kind of living environment is needed in the city and building consensus. Most important, environmental conscious awareness opens participants mind to care more about their living environment and to find problems before things go worsen.

6.1.3 Challenges of environmental groups and suggestions

The challenges environmental groups faced during the anti-dome movement include the difficulty of mobilization, uneven resource distribution, and the difficulty to gain decision-making power.

Three reasons are concluded to the difficulty of mobilization. Taipei is the capital of Taiwan, most of the citizens came from other places in Taiwan. They take the city as a place for them to make a living without having too much connection with the land. The value of land may be the priority concern for some of the citizens. Without emotion to where they live, citizens are difficult to be mobilized when the conflict happens between environment and economic. The second reason is related to historical background in Taiwan. The democratic system is not operated in Taiwan for a long time. Although election mechanism was introduced in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period in 1930s, the complex political context makes Taiwan start its democratization step when the KTM-government abolished Martial Law in 1987. However, most of the citizens still hold the attitude to keep politics in distance because of the experiences they had in the past. Thus, residents might support the forest park idea, but it is difficult to ask them stand out for the forest park argument against government.

The third reason related to the second difficulty the environmental groups faced, the relatively scarcity of resources. Comparing to the government's and developer's resource, the environmental groups' resources are much fewer in terms of manpower, money, time, and information. In Taipei Dome project, the members of the Alliance can be divided into two parts, the grassroots group, mainly composed by elementary school parents, and environmental NGOs. The former is the main actor to object the project. The environmental NGOs play as consultants for the grassroots groups by sharing experiences, knowledge, connection and educating them to find more channels and gain more influence on decision-making. Together, they formulated an alliance and took actions to raise decision makers' environmental consciousness and terminate the project. For the grassroots group, members have their full-time jobs and use their spare time to object the project. It is also the same situation for most of the citizens and residents. For the environmental NGOs, although most of the NGOs participated in

the project are national wide environmental NGOs, the tight financial situation make the NGOs unable to hire more employees. With numerous environmental issues, they cannot spend all their time only focusing on a specific project. In Taipei Dome project, the environmental NGOs play as supporter of the grassroots group. When facing mountainous tasks objecting the project and feeling frustrated by the result of mobilization, the grassroots group focus more on persuading review committee rather than investing on public mobilization with strategic actions (interviewee B3, B4).

The third difficulty happens in gaining decision-making power. The unsuccessful public mobilization make the Alliance actions seems like an objection NIMBY issue rather than advocating for urban vision even though their arguments mentioned about justice and urban development issue for the whole society. Besides, although the Alliance addressed the high support from the results of questionnaires they conducted, the always the same group showing in the review meeting rooms make them hardly formulate enough political pressure on the decision-makers. Moreover, the unfriendly decision-making systems, including the tokenism public participation without real empowerment to citizens and the lack of administrative remedy mechanism within the existing administrative systems all make the environmental groups face the difficulty to gain the political power.

Under the circumstances, two suggestions are addressed in the present research. First, there should be more efforts put on environmental education. It is important for the citizens to care about their living quality and the environment then the environmental issues can resonate well beyond the society. Second, the environmental groups should also focus on political network building and keep on lobbying politicians to amend the existing decision-making systems, especially in terms of public participation.

6.1.4 General reflections

In this part, two general reflections are addressed after conducting this research. First, it is worthwhile research on promoting sustainable development at project level. Although most of the literatures focus on the interpretation of sustainable development on policy level, it is at the development project that reveals the most concrete conflict between economic, environmental and social consideration. It also provides more concrete interpretations from different stakeholders' perspectives that reveal the perception of sustainable development form the society within the specific context. The process and the outcomes of projects reflect the problems of existing decision-making systems that the society can carry on improving.

Second, the critical factors to successful public participation include not only the different form to carry out, but also timing. From the Taipei Dome project, the society pays a high price to implement the project in tangible and intangible aspects, especially

the deepen distrust between citizens and government. To examine the whole decision-making process, it is obvious that the critical decision has been made since the site and the implementation method was chosen. However, there is not public participation involved during the first phase. Thus, the timing of public participation should be taken into consideration. For a development project, public participation should be introduced during the initial phase, to let the decision makers have broaden understanding of opinions from different perspectives, and make decision based on comprehensive considerations.

6.2 Research limitation and suggestions for future research

Two main research limitations are recognized: limitation of time and the difficulty to find the interviewee in Taipei City Government. This research mainly focuses on the interactions between different stakeholders to clarify how the concept of sustainable development interpreted and promoted in the urban development project. The complexity of issues, actions and strategies intertwined closely that it takes time to clarify how the process shaped and how the discourses reflect on sustainable development. Thus, it is difficult for me to conduct another project during the limited time. On the other hand, since there are lawsuits undergoing at this moment. The sensitive situation makes me facing the difficulty to find the interviewees from the government side.

For future research, four directions are addressed after conducting the present research. First, there should be more case studies under this topic to formulate a more generalization map of promoting sustainable development at project level, no matter in Taiwan or in other countries. Second, the relation between changes of outcomes and environmental groups' actions is worthy to clarify. Then, it can provide more detailed and precise suggestions for environmental groups to contributing the environment. Third, for the public administration dimension, how to amend existing decision-making systems within specific social-political context is critical for promoting sustainable development, especially in policy integration issue. Last but not least, the improvement of environmental groups' accountability in the society can benefit not only environmental groups but the society.

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Appendix I Codes of in-depth interview

no.	code	interviewee	date	form of interview
1	A1	official in Taipei City Government	2012/06/26	internet one-to one non-standardized interview
2	B1	member of Environmental group	2012/07/01	internet one-to one non-standardized interview
3	A2	official in Taipei City Government	2012/07/08	Written questionnaire
4	C1	developer	2012/07/11	internet one-to one non-standardized interview
5	B2	member of Environmental group	2012/07/13	internet one-to one non-standardized interview
6	B3	member of Environmental group	2012/07/20	internet one-to one non-standardized interview
7	B4	member of Environmental group	2012/07/29	internet one-to one non-standardized interview

Appendix II Guiding questions for in-depth interviews

1. Interview guide for officials

- (1) When did you get involved in this project? What part did you do?
- (2) What kind of difficulties you encounter during your participation?
- (3) What did you think about other actors' attitude and actions in this project?
- (4) What is the critical point of decision making? What are the factors?
- (5) How did the different actors interact? What challenges and limitations do they encounter?
- (6) How do urban design committee and EIARC converge on opinions in the same issues when they work separately?
- (7) Do you think the environmental groups' actions influence the decision making process? What are the influences?
- (8) What did you learn in this process?
- (9) What is your suggestion to the process improvement?

2. Interview guide for environmental groups and developer

- (1) How did you hear on the project?
- (2) What group are you part of?
- (3) Description of group?
- (4) Was this group involved previously in actions?
- (5) Was this group involved later in actions?
- (6) What were your goals?
- (7) How did you judge who is the target you want to influence? Why?
- (8) What issues did you address? Why?
- (9) How did you interact with the targets? Why?
- (10) What kind of problems did you encounter during the process?
- (11) What did you think about [other actors'] attitude in this project?
- (12) What did you think about [other actors'] actions in this project?
- (13) Do you think you were successful with your actions?
- (14) What did you learn in this process?
- (15) What would you advise the municipality)?
- (16) What would you advise another group who is facing the same challenge?