國立交通大學

外國文學與語言學研究所

碩士論文

(G)localization of the Sensory Experience and its Cultural Expressions in Taiwan: *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*

全球在地化之感官經驗及其文化表現：以「台北 101」與「閃亮三姐妹」為例

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中華民國九十五年一月

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中文摘要

　　本文主要探討全球化過程中之台灣在地文化表現，包括建築以及音樂，作者以為，若欲更為深入地掌握文化全球在地化的複雜性，當中不同的文化衝突，以及協商等互動過程，可從感官經驗的視角切入。感官經驗可謂是文化政治的鬥爭場域，交織各種不同的權力關係以及政治衝突，本文旨在論證感官經驗是各種全球流動，諸如資本以及意識形態流動，與在地性互為作用，相互交涉的最重要媒介；亦即，感官經驗作為全球在地化之文化表現的物質性基礎。為了闡述全球在地化的感官經驗此一概念，本研究針對台灣兩個具代表性之全球在地化的文化文本進行分析：「台北 101」以及「閃亮三姊妹」。以此兩個訴諸感官的文化表現為例，可以進一步說明感官經驗與文化再現之間的複雜關係。就「台北 101」為例，本論文對其相關的論述生產以及形象再造進行分析，試圖闡明「台北 101」如何透過空間外觀，商品形象以及各種視覺再現，藉由感官吸引，尤其在視覺上，營造一種世界主義的理想；在「閃亮三姊妹」一例中，主要分析她們音樂作品裡的歌詞和節奏等，並且檢視她們的身體表演，討論台客電子舞曲的在地轉變以及在地差異，再度印證感官經驗作為全球流動與在地因子交互作用的重要場域，批判性的檢視感官經驗全球在地化之訓育面向，旨在挖掘更多台灣在地文化的因子以及尋求活絡在地元素的可能性。

　　關鍵字：文化全球化，全球在地化，文化表現，文化政治，全球在地化之感官經驗，世界主義，「台北 101」，台客電子舞曲，「閃亮三姊妹」。

(G)localization of the Sensory Experience and its Cultural Expressions in Taiwan: *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*

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Abstract

This thesis concerns the process of glocalization, the interaction between the global and the local, as witnessed in our cultural expressions, including architecture and music in Taiwan. To examine the cultural complexity of new conflicts, negotiations, and hybridization embedded within these glocalized cultural representations, it is essential to resort to the sensory experience. The sensory experience is one of the most contested terrains of cultural politics of various power relations such as cultural conflicts between elite's culture and folk culture or political contradictions between the nation state and the global power. I contend that the sensory experience as both the medium through which various global flows such as capital and ideology enact on localities and the container that contains these flows in aestheticized forms, exemplified by artistic expressions as high-rise building and popular music in Taiwan as a result of globalization.

The cultural texts I analyze include the new landmark architecture in Taiwan, *Taipei 101* (台北 101) and Taiker Techno Music (台客電子舞曲) along with the example of *Shining 3 Girls* (閃亮三姊妹). These two cultural texts of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* help elaborate the intertwined relationship between cultural representation and sensory experience since they are two of the most sensually appealing and engaging cultural expressions to the viewers or audiences in Taiwan. In the case of *Taipei 101*, I analyze the discourse productions and image-making of *Taipei 101* to elucidate how an ideal of cosmopolitanism appeals to our senses, dominantly the visual, through its outlooks, commodities and various visual representations in creating a sublime like awe. To illustrate how the local and the global factors re-create through each other in the sensory regime of Taiker Techno Music, I examine in detail the music and performance of *Shining 3 Girls* to demonstrate the local differences and variations. By unraveling the pedagogical perspective of the (g)localization of the sensory experience, I hope to tease out new factors and possibilities of local cultures in Taiwan.

Key Words: Cultural globalization, Glocalization, Cultural expressions, Cultural politics, (G)localization of the sensory experience, Cosmopolitanism, *Taipei 101*, Taiker Techno Music, *Shining 3 Girls*

Acknowledgements

This thesis cannot be completed without the guidance of Professor Tsung-yi Huang. As my advisor, she showed great patience and support for my project and me. I have benefited a lot from her intellectual inspiration as well as her admirable academic attitude. I am deeply indebted to her for all the help and wish her all the best.

Also, I want to thank Professor Chi-she Li for his valuable suggestions and insightful critique to make this thesis much improved. His advice has been invaluable to the completion of this thesis.

I would like to give my special thanks to Professor Pin-chia Feng, who has helped me go through many difficulties in life and in study. I am truly grateful for her support and encouragement to make this thesis work out. I owe her a great deal for all her kindly offers in my school life.

Many thanks go to my dear friends: Daniel, Vincent, Feung, Ema, Smallba, Smallin, Eno, Liling, Ya-fang, Chi-2, Lucy, Morris, Penny, Cindy, Joyce, Florence, Jeremy, Judie, Anne, A-hsiao, Hsiu-chia, Yiyin and all the friends from "Thursday's Club" (星期四俱樂部) and many others that I do not list their names here. Their company has enriched my life in graduate school. I want them to know that I do appreciate and cherish the friendship. All the days that I spent with them have become my beautiful memories. I also want to thank my Hong Kong friend, Ben Ku, for bringing the "shock experience" to the boredom of my everyday life.

With greatest love, I thank my family for their irreplaceable love and support: my mom, my father, my brother and my sister. I know they are always there whenever I need them.

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Introduction

My thesis concerns the process of glocalization, the interaction between the global and

the local, as witnessed in our cultural expressions, including architecture and music in

Taiwan. To examine the cultural complexity of new conflicts, negotiations, and

hybridization embedded within these glocalized cultural representations, it is essential to

resort to the sensory experience. The sensory experience is one of the most contested

terrains of cultural politics of various power relations such as cultural conflicts between

elite's culture and folk culture or political contradictions between the nation state and the

global power. The sensory experience, as David Howes reminds us, is "the most

fundamental domain of cultural expression, the medium through which all the values and

practices of society are enacted" (XI). I will analyze the sensory experience as both the

medium through which various global flows such as capital and ideology enact on localities

and the container that contains these flows in aestheticized forms, exemplified by artistic

expressions as high-rise buildings and popular music in Taiwan as a result of globalization.

Taking on the sensory experience as the crucial perspective in understanding cultural

politics of glocalization, this project aims to shed new light on the dialectics of the global

and the local by addressing such questions as: How does the logic of globalization dictate

our senses to ensure the global capital flow? What are the cultural politics, namely the

power relations between the global and the local cultures, implicated and practiced in the aesthetic expressions such as architecture and music? Does the local always play the passive role of respondents or recipients? Or to what extent have the localities thus been re-shaped, subsumed, consumed, (re) produced or re-activated?

My object of study focuses on the sensory experience as the interface within which the global and local forces encounter by foregrounding the visual, the auditory, the tactile and the interplay of these senses. Instead of situating our sensory experience as given of merely personal history or psychology, this study proposes it is on the ground of sensorium which politics and aesthetics are intertwined. The concept of aesthetics, generally defined as the philosophical study of beauty,[1] has been broadened also to address aesthetic experience, values and expressions, together with the changing definition of art itself. In my discussion, aesthetics consists of two reciprocal aspects, the sensual ways of knowing cultures, and the cultivation of our senses and sensibilities through cultural and aesthetical learning and disciplining.

Human senses, the fundamental means of knowing about and learning from the outer worlds, are the basis on which our cultures are being created. The formation or reformation of our local cultures, as I will argue, is built on the sensory formations that are both culturally and aesthetically disciplined. The pedagogy of dictating the senses that informs our cultural

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[1] Please consult *Encyclopedia Britannica* for more specific definitions, 13:9-24.

manifestations is thus as much aesthetical as political since cultural distinctions and

aesthetical ideology[2] have been reproduced or reinforced in this learning/sensing process.

To analytically and critically address the questions posed above, this study needs to

formulate a solid theoretical framework to support my claims and arguments. I am aware

that it is a great challenge to theoretically articulate the cultural politics of glocalization with

the sensory experience. Even if the human sensorium has been recognized as one cultural

field for analysis, few academic discussions specifically bring the sensory experience to the

fore as the analytical regime in scrutinizing the dialectics of globalization and localization.

While the existing literature respectively on globalization and on sensory experience has

cumulatively amassed, I find no theories adequately addressing the interrelations between

these two axes of cultural globalization and the sensory experience. Most of the existing

discourses about glocalization recognize the fact that the global forces have been re-shaping

localities, including our living space, architectures, and landscapes, but they provide

inadequate explanations about exactly *how* these global flows interact with the localities of

our daily life. The reason I highlight the sensory experience as the medium in discussion of

cultural glocalization is to explicate not only what, but also how these flows insinuate into

our local cultures.[3]

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[2] Aesthetical ideology refers to, for example, the socially constructed distinctions and tastes of high culture as classic music and low culture as popular music.
[3] For detailed literature review and theoretical discussions, please see my chapter one.

This thesis employs an interdisciplinary approach of cultural studies, a combination of cultural textual analysis and ideology critique, to critically explore the cultural representations of architecture and music. The cultural texts I analyze include the new landmark architecture in Taiwan, *Taipei 101* (台北 101) and "Taiker Techno Music" (台客電子舞曲) along with the example of *Shining 3 Girls* (閃亮三姊妹). Both of these two cases of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* exemplify the "glocalized culture" in the context of Taiwan. *Taipei 101*, the world's tallest skyscraper for the moment, stands as one emblem of global power in Taiwan; *Shining 3 Girls*, a female artist group of three sisters, serves as one of the most distinctive examples of "Taiker Techno Music," one (g)localized music type of the globally popular dance music. These two cultural texts of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* also help elaborate the intertwined relationship between cultural representation and sensory experience since they are two of the most sensually appealing and engaging cultural expressions to the viewers or audiences in Taiwan. *Taipei 101*, for instance, catches everybody's eyes by its imposing visuality particularly of its outstanding heights; *Shining 3 Girls* appeal to its audiences by the beats or sounds of Techno and the body performance of these girls. By unraveling the pedagogical perspective of the sensory experience, I hope to tease out new factors and possibilities of local cultures in Taiwan.

I divide the thesis into five parts: the introduction of this study presents my thesis, questions, object of study, significance and methodology. Chapter one puts this study into

the theoretical context of cultural glocalization connected to the sensory experience. In Chapters two and three, I will closely investigate the cultural politics of my case studies, *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*. I will conclude in the final part reflections on my findings, contributions, limitations and expectations of this study for any future research.

Chapter one attempts to provide one theoretical framework illuminating how the sensory experience relates to the cultural process of glocalization in theory and in practice. Sensory experience, the most immanent in and intimate to our everyday practice, engages in cultural/social practices and relations in our everyday life. As David Howes suggests, "Just as meanings are shared, so are sensory experiences. This is why it is not enough to look at the senses as "energy transducers," "information gatherers" or "perceptual systems" (see Geary 2002; Gibson 1996, 1979; Goldstein 2002); they must be understood as cultural systems" (4-5). In other words, the sensory experience is loaded with historical heritages, memories and political powers, from which we can explore different cultural meanings and social values.

This chapter will address the intricately connected relations among cultural politics of glocalization, and the sensory experience of bodily senses and everyday practices. I will first investigate the effects of globalization on our everyday life by addressing the following questions: How do the global forces and flows shape or reshape several ways of our daily life, such as, seeing or listening? How profoundly do these everyday practices affect our

perceptions, conceptions and further re-formulate our knowledge and understandings of our

cultural and social life? To answer these questions, I will review theories of Karl Marx,

Georg Simmel, and Henri Lefebvre. Basically, all of them propose to problematize everyday

life as a category of cultural analysis and social relations because the process of

modernization and modernity has drastically penetrated into our daily life. Among these

theorists, Marx first discusses about the social relations reflected in everyday commodities

but it is Lefebvre that particularly points out global capitalism as the dominant force

shaping our everyday life. As he asserts, "the commodity, the market, money, with their

implacable logic, seize everyday life. The extension of capitalism goes all the way to the

slightest details of everyday life" (79). Even though Lefebvre shrewdly points out the

dialectics of global capitalism and everyday life, he does not explain about how exactly the

global power interacts with the everyday life. Inspired by Simmel's culture of interaction, I

will seek in the daily interactions of seeing and listening to reactivate the dynamic process

between the global capital flow and the local everyday life.
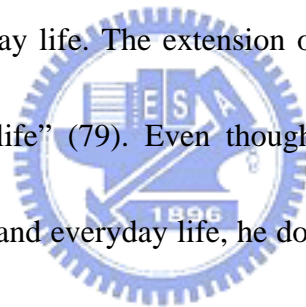
This chapter then investigates the cultural dynamics of globalization by foregrounding

the senses to examine the interplay of our sensory experience and everyday life. The

globalizing process has certainly been re-structuring our life such as the ways we perceive

or feel, but how to understand the negotiations and conflicts of these cultural or social

factors? I maintain that it is through our senses that the global flows enact on our everyday

life and on our cultural expressions by daily practices.

Senses are believed to be one of the foremost ways of knowing the outer world since the seventeenth century. Empiricist philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, and Rene Descartes regard sensation as philosophical relations between the external world and the mind. With the development of science, the study of sensation and perception during the early and mid-nineteenth century focuses not only on philosophical investigation but on research of the body, significantly formulated by technology (Geurts 7-9). Based on these philosophical theories on the concept of senses, I attempt to build up my own argument that senses are the medium through which we recognize or interact with the global flows and through the sensations and understandings, we imitate global cultures or (re)create local cultures of our own.

The last part of this chapter will lead my theoretical argument to my case studies, *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*. I will justify, on the theoretical foundation, why I choose these two local cases to analyze cultural globalization in Taiwan and explain how these two cases help to address the theories and problematic brought about previously.

Chapter two analyzes the discourse productions and image-making of *Taipei 101* to demonstrate how an ideal of cosmopolitanism appeals to our senses, dominantly the visual, through its outlooks, commodities and various visual representations in creating a global

sublime like awe. The word, cosmopolitanism, derived from the Greek word *kosmopolitês*,

meaning world citizen. Immanuel Kant has elaborated on the cosmopolitan idea in his

political writings to map out one cosmopolitan community. He says, "the idea of a

cosmopolitan law is therefore not fantastic and overstrained; it is a necessary complement to

the unwritten code of political and international law, transforming it into a universal law of

humanity" (qtd. in Nussbaum 25). Such a cosmopolitan version of peaceful world granted

by the political laws becomes particularly urgent and needy in the global era concerning the

dramatic transnational flows of people in petition for citizenship and residence. Given the

increasing importance of cosmopolitanism in this global era, we might have to ask if

everyone, regardless of his/her races, genders, classes, or sexual orientations, will be

encompassed into "world citizen" protected by the "universal law?" Or do many people of

us only maintain the imaginary relations to the ideal cosmopolitanism? In the case of *Taipei

101*, what kinds of cosmopolitan imaginations have been politically and culturally

appropriated? Does this cosmopolitanism projected by *Taipei 101* apply to our real living

conditions or is it just another aestheticized myth?

To investigate the entangled power relations working at the global or the local levels

of cosmopolitan imagination embodied by *Taipei 101*, I will give historical accounts of how

Taipei 101 becomes one significant monumental building from the postcolonial context of

Taiwan to the age of globalization.[4] I analyze the ways in which the postcolonial impact and

global forces, two intersected historical and social attributes, trigger the construction of

Taipei 101 to assert Taiwan's cultural/national identity and to gain global recognition. To

further illustrate how this cultural identity is being imagined in the name of

cosmopolitanism, I will take a close look at the representations of *Taipei 101* in different

media, such as the newspapers, magazines, photos, and commercials. Through a careful

examination of these representations, I will prove how the imagery of a world-top

skyscraper, fashionable commodities, professional administrative and global designs, has

come to form one sensually tangible but practically illusory space of cosmopolitanism,

flexible citizenship and economic prosperity shared by all inhabitants of Taiwan. For

example, one credit card commercial juxtaposes the images of those distinguished buildings

of Paris, New York or London with *Taipei 101* to stress its cultural identity equally of local

uniqueness and global similarities. Or one photo in *Taipei 101*'s newsletter shows

transnational westerners shopping at *Taipei 101 Mall* to reinforce its own cosmopolitan

characters such as transnational imaginations and economic prosperity.

Monumental space like the skyscraper of *Taipei 101* will, in Lefebvre's words, "mask

the will to power" (143). The will to power, as this chapter argues, is being aestheticized in

representations of *Taipei 101*. Resorting to our senses, the images of cosmopolitanism

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[4] The postcolonial history here covers Japan's colonization of Taiwan dated from 1895-1945 and afterwards to investigate the historical effects of Japan's colonization in the present.

endowed with *Taipei 101* invite us to identify ourselves as world citizens as those global

elites, in the commercial film of *Taipei 101*, who can travel around the world at free will.

Through critical evaluations of the representations of *Taipei 101* and its discourse analysis, I

intend to disclose the myth of globally sensual/visual consumption in localities of *Taipei 101*.

In chapter three, I will employ *Shining 3 Girls* as an example to elucidate the cultural

politics of Techno as the global popular in Taiwan by highlighting the transformations of

"Taiker Techno Music."[5] The globally popular Techno in Taiwan merged with numerous

local elements has produced one local music type of what we called "Taiker Techno Music."

To illustrate how the local and the global factors re-create through each other in the sensory

regime of "Taiker Techno Music," I will examine in detail the music and performance of

Shining 3 Girls, one significant representative of "Taiker Techno Music," to demonstrate the

local differences and variations.

Shining 3 Girls distinguishes itself by Taiker/local characteristics combined with

Techno music, named "Taiker Techno Music" in Taiwan.[6] Resorting to the sensory

experience, these local variations shown by the music and performance of *Shining 3 Girls*

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[5] Here I borrow the concept of "the global popular" from Simon During, who defines it as follows, "since the 1980s some cultural products are indeed globally popular and internationally so; they are distributed and apparently enjoyed everywhere, at any rate wherever electricity is online or generators and batteries can be transported and where they are not successfully banned. They belong to what I will call (without any intended Gramscian resonances) the global popular" (808).

[6] Taiker, in Chinese "台客,"usually refers to those who like wearing silk shirts with flower patterns, flip-flops, and a iron chain on the waist, having their hair dyed, riding Dio or Vino motor-bike, and speaking Mandarin with accent of Tai-Mandarin (台灣國語), mixing up Taiwanese accents with Chinese accents. Taiker Techno Music is one kind of Techno music, which aims at Taiker as the target audience. See "The Bible for Taikers' Dressing" (台客裝扮寶典)   http://udn.com/NASApp/rightprt/prtnews?newsid=1196493

provide alternatives for us to rethink the dialectics of the global and the local, and challenge

the fixed gender dichotomy of the global as masculine and the local as feminine. I will

argue through these distinctively local marks or Taiker features, that the local music,

illustrated by "Taiker Techno Music," is not a passive respondent but registers a number of

varieties and agents as shown in the tempo, the beats and the lyrics. Instead of focusing only

on beats as most Techno music does, "Taiker Techno music" underscores the artists' vocal

parts and the lyrics. To fit into Taiwan's KTV markets for local consumers, "Taiker Techno

Music" also slows down their tempo to make singing easy for those KTV goers. More local

factors are found in the body performance and dressing styles of *Shining 3 Girls*, who

demonstrate different gender and body politics by engaging the audiences' sensuous

pleasures.

Chapter One

(G)localization of the Sensory Experience and Local Subjects in the Age of Globalization:

A Theoretical Inquiry

This chapter attempts to theorize the cultural politics of glocalization in connection to the sensory experience. I argue that the sensory experience is one of the most contesting sites of cultural politics and power struggles, a medium through which various global flows enact on localities and a container that contains the flows in aestheticized forms such as architecture and music in my discussion. In other words, this study analyzes the sensory experience as a text itself, which is historically and spatially grounded because sensory experience, as this chapter will prove, comprises our senses and everyday life. Our senses are historically the most direct material mediums of interacting with the outer world since the seventeenth century. The interacting process via the senses in our daily practices, temporally and spatially embedded within our everyday life, is the foundation of our sensory experience. As the historical product, sensory experience is the mediation of blending institutions and forces of capital, especially in the era of globalization. To make it explicit, this chapter will address the effects of globalization on everyday life in the beginning and then explicate how the sensory experience mediates between the global forces and local factors in our everyday practices. In the last section, I will tie the (g)localization of the sensory experience back to my cases of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* to elaborate the aesthetics and politics in the realm of sensory experience.

I. Everyday Life and the Sensory Experience

The global flows of capital and technology have been drastically (re)shaping our ways of living since the nineteenth century. As David Harvey points out, it is the postmodern condition that we are experiencing shifting uses and meanings of space and time, a new phase of time-space compression caused by global flow of capital (284). The socioeconomic processes and techno-scientific transformations have been changing the ways we are sensing our living conditions temporally and spatially, so much so that we also discover drastic changes in cultural formation. For example, the forming of global markets attributes to frequent exchanges of commodities among various places and peoples and thus throws different cultures in contact. This is what John Tomlinson means by "complex connectivity:" "globalization refers to the rapid developing and ever-densening network of interconnections and interdependences that characterize modern social life" (2).

Succinctly put, political-economic transformations have direct impacts not only on economic activities but further on social life and cultural practices since economic life and cultural life are intricately tied together, particularly in the age of globalization. In short, globalization should never be separated from "life" itself. It is our "every day life" that attests to or is being modified by the globalizing forces. For instance, invention of new technology changes the way we communicate with one another by using computers, the Internet or e-mails. Global trade changes the way we eat, wear, and live by providing more

options of commodities for daily use. Moreover, cultural practices such as cultural creations

and expressions in one place interact with those in another place due to the transnational

encountering of different cultures, economic systems and political philosophies. Take music

culture for example, in Taiwan we can listen to and learn from various music styles, such as

Blues, Hip-hop, R&B, Reggae, and Folk music from America, England, India, Spain or

Japan, without leaving our place. By just one click of mouse, the Internet will connect us to

various radio stations all over the world to get in touch with various types of music. Aside

from music, the other life-styles such as eating, shopping and reading habits are evolving

with the emerging malls, restaurants, bars, shops and bookstores coming from different

parts of the world. Through these daily examples, we find our everyday life embedded in

the global process and economic systems. However mundane and ordinary, everyday life is

a starting point to investigate the effects of globalization.

Embodying social forms and relations, everyday life engages in various cultural

politics. To understand the relationship between everyday life and the cultural complexities

of globalization, we should return to Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, and Henri Lefebvre[7] to

better understand the concepts of everyday life, modernity, and global capitalism. Basically,

they all agree that the process of modernization and modernity has drastically penetrated

into our daily life and propose to problematize everyday life as a category of cultural

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[7] The reason I discuss Karl Marx, Georg Simmel, and Henri Lefebvre is to show how the everyday life is closely connected to the social structures from the rise of capitalism to the era of globalization.

analysis and social relations.

Even though in his works Marx does not intend to deal with "everyday life," his theory on commodity first contours the relationship between commodities and modern life and addresses the commodified social relations of daily life. For Marx, human social relations are embedded in the "phantasmagoria" of commodities through our everyday practices. The daily life of modernity is significantly characterized by commodities, in which the social relations are being disguised (Marx 165). As Ben Highmore comments, the representation of modern life in such fantastic forms of commodities is "the spectacularization and exoticizing of everyday life" (16). The seemingly tedious and boring everyday life, in this sense, has been de-familiarized and fantasized by the display of commodities. Marx leads us to problematizing everyday life that has been eroticized as commodities because social relations such as social organization of production, labor skills and labor time are being entangled in the commodified everyday life.

While Marx engages in social relations that are affected by and expressed in modern commodities, Georg Simmel stresses cultural analysis of modern life. Focusing on the culture of interaction, Simmel believes that social structures are profoundly reflected in the microscopic elements of life, diverse individualities, and the interactions of one another. Embarking on microscopic investigation, Simmel draws an analogy between the social elements of life and the organic cells of body. Social elements analogous to cells represent

everyday life itself, which are being "revealed as the genuine and fundamental basis of life" (Simmel 109). In this sense, everyday life experiences serve as the foundation of cultural expressions. Only by re-examining the aesthetic styles and social elements of daily life could one get into cultural analysis then.

In his article, "The Metropolis and Mental Life," Simmel gives clear daily examples to account for how the money economic in capitalist society changes "the sensory foundations of psychic life." He argues that the "blasé attitude," the numbness and indifference of modern people, is caused by the "intensification of nervous stimulations which result from the swift and uninterrupted change of outer and inner stimuli" in modern life (410). In other words, our sensory responses in everyday life are related to the social structures of modern economic systems and life. From the details of psychic life, we can understand the large scope of city life and its economic changes. This is why I stress that the "trivial" of everyday life might hold the key to a wider social structure.

Among these theorists, Henri Lefebvre deploys the concept of everyday life in the cultural and social domain (space) of transnational encountering. Lefebvre particularly brings out global capitalism as the dominant force on everyday life: "The commodity, the market, money, with their implacable logic, seize everyday life. The extension of capitalism goes all the way to the slightest details of everyday life" (79). Lefebvre indicates the colonization of everyday life by the globally expanding capitalism. Too often, we incline to

equate everyday life to boredom and commonplace and thus leave it aside from the academic domain while discussing globalization. Globalization, associated with macro/global structures manifested in politics and economics, is assumed to have nothing to do with the trivial/local everydayness. Lefebvre's observation of global capitalism instead reminds us it is everyday life that reflects and witnesses most of the political and economical effects of globalization.

How do we understand the effects of global capitalism on everyday life? We should take two axes of time and space into consideration as Lefebvre reminds us. Capitalist divisions of working hours and leisure time regulate our daily life about when to work and when to rest. This standardized concept of time has gone globalizing to fulfill the efficiency that capitalism demands. Not only Lefebvre but Marx and Harvey recognize how the rhythm of modern life corresponds to capitalist systems. Notably, Lefebvre pulls another facet, (urban) space, in discussion of everyday life. Under the influence of global capitalism, urban restructure and renewal have become a global trend. Urban planning manipulated by the global flow of capital has re-scaled the urban space where we are living everyday. Lefebvre's comments on the tangled relationship between every life and urban space in relation to the global power of capitalism provide us with many insights to comprehend the triangular tensions of local life, global operation and (urban) space. In *Production of Space*, he explicates the impacts of globalization on our "lived experience," our perceptions of
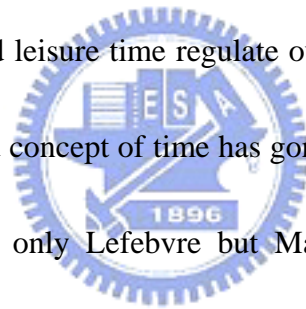
space and time, by highlighting the disparity between how the space is mapped out cognitively and how the space is experienced lively. The contradiction between representations of space and representational spaces exemplifies the effects of globalization on our everyday sense and sensibility of space. Specifically, the way we sensually interact with our space is being structured by and also restructuring the process of globalization.

Reviewing these theories on everyday life helps us to re-think the dialectics of globalization by starting with the problematic of everyday life since all these theories prove that everyday life is imbued with social relations that require detailed analysis. Everyday life might suggest the ordinary, the banal, and the mundane but these daily details are the crucial accesses to the core of all kinds of social relations and activities and the components of our cultural/social life. For example, a daily practice like shopping for a pair of shoes would have involved several social relations including the shoes-makers, shop clerks, shoppers and probably the transnational corporations especially in the global age. In other words, daily practices point to the complicated power relations interwoven with the various social and cultural relations. In this sense, everyday life is "politics" itself. Repetition of everyday life itself is repeating different relations in various spheres and such daily practicing implies replicating the hierarchical social orders imposed by global power. As Lefebvre argues, "everyday life is profoundly related to all activities, and encompass them with all their differences and their conflicts; it is their meeting place, their bond, their

common ground" (97).

II. The Sensory Experience in the Era of Globalization

Since everyday life is the cultural domain of different politics embedded within the process of globalization, I am further intrigued by questions about from what aspects we can understand the cultural dynamics of everyday life or what the most critical mediation between everyday life and global flows is. Given the interconnectedness of daily practices and aesthetical representations such as architecture, music or arts, I regard the sensory experience as the material mediation that combines everyday life and cultural expressions through sensuous practices. As a result, I would like to examine the cultural dynamics of globalization with a particular emphasis on the sensory experience in discussion of everyday life; that is, I try to bring the senses back to the domain of everyday life. We should not treat "everyday life" as a "given," which is pre-determined by global capitalism; rather, it is important to find out how global flows insinuate into our everyday practices and our cultural expressions through our senses of seeing, hearing, touching or tasting.

To further explain how the sensory experience reflects or witnesses the effects of globalization on our everyday life, it should firstly outline the historical sketch of senses and sensations from the seventeenth century onward to illustrate how the sensory experience is socially constructed and interpreted in different historical contexts. The

historical review will help explain why we need to re-examine the sensory experience in the age of globalization. Secondly, I will draw on John Tomlinson's theories on "deterritorialization" and other theorists like Arjun Appadurai and David Howes to illustrate how the geographical re-scaling brought about by global flows of people, culture and capital contributes to the globalizing mundane experiences and now it affects sensory experience.

Senses have been regarded as one of the important ways to know the outer world since the seventeenth century. Susan Stewart mentions that the notion of "five senses" firstly is attributed to Aristotle, associating eye with water, hearing with air, smell with fire, and touch with earth. The set of associations also imply hierarchical distinctions that the "notions of sensibility and sensitivity are associated with refining of the higher philosophical senses of seeing and hearing" (61). Following this tradition, the senses have been ranked according to the degree of immediacy: "taste and touch, in direct contact with the world, are lowest, followed by smell, which forms a kind of mean distance to sight and hearing, which operate across distance and yet can be remembered at will (Langer 1972; I; see also Janson 1952). Hearing and sight, because of their link with philosophical contemplation and abstraction, hold the leading place" (Stuart 61-62). From then on, the senses have often been interpreted as a philosophical concept of inquiring our mind in relation to the outer world. Empiricist philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, George Berkeley, David Hume, and Rene Descartes basically regard sensation as

philosophical relations between the external world and the mind. For example, Locke describes that our "sensible qualities" are interdependent with the mind and Hume argues that the formations of ideas result from our empirical experiences.

During the early and mid-nineteenth century with the development of science, the study of sensation and perception focuses not only on philosophical investigation but technological effects on the sensory experience. Classical sociology doesn't deal adequately with the social relations implicated by human bodies and experiences. However, Marx and Simmel endeavor to investigate how the bodies are influenced by capitalist technologies and its formations of modern experience. Continued with his persistent concern about social class, Marx cares about the alienating effects on bodies on account of capitalist technology exemplified by industrial revolution and mass productions by machinery. Simmel has similar concern about how the money economy changed our emotional relationships with one another, the way we interact with others of modern life. He indicates "all intimate emotional relations between persons are founded in their individuality, whereas in rational relations man is reckoned with like a number, like an element which is itself indifferent" (411). Because of the domination of money economy, as Simmel argues, "modern mind has become more and more calculating" (412).

The theoretical discussions above indicate that our sensory experience has played distinct social roles in the structure of human relations and social activities at different

historical periods. What particularly concerns me is what the role of the senses signifies in the age of globalization or why we should return to the realm of the sensory experience to understand cultural globalization. As I contend, the senses, apart from being as our contacting front to the outer world, are also the material medium that these global flows require for circulation. Globalization drastically precipitates the encountering of different cultures and promotes cultural flows of "ethnoscapes," "mediascapes," "technoscapes," "financescapes," and "ideoscapes" as Arjun Appadurai notes (33). Frequently associating such global flows as capital, technology and ideology with floating, rootlessness and transnational mobilities, we tend to overlook the material dimensions of globalization. However floating and mobile global flows can be, they still require concrete or material space for production, reproduction or circulation (Sassen 207-09). In other words, these global flows need mediation interacting with the localities of our everyday life. One most direct and immanent medium would be our bodily senses to interact and negotiate with these flows such as sensual pleasures and stimuli engendered by transnationalization of global commodities and cultures. Explicitly speaking, it is through our senses that the flows of people, culture and capital are enacting on our everyday life and underlie our globalizing sensory experience.

It is the domain of the sensory experience from which we can see what global impacts and changes are reflected in our everyday life. Furthermore, returning to the sensory experience will also help us understand how these global effects enact on localities since the

sensory experience refers to the sensory practices, which is spatially grounded in our daily

life. According to John Tomlinson, mundane experience, including sensory experience, of

deterritorialization makes it difficult to maintain a stable sense of "local" cultural identity:

"as our daily lives become more and more interwoven with, and penetrated by, influences and

experiences that have their origins far away" (113). The cause to the globalizing mundane

experience is related to the transnational flows of cultures that exactly result from the

geographical rescaling of "deterritorialization," including the blurring of national boundaries,

the broadening world market and the growing global media. For Tomlinson, the process of

globalization sometimes is identified with the broad sense of "deterritorialization" since he

thinks the term can grasp different aspects of globalizing process:

> This category grasps a number of aspects of a globalized (as distinct from a global)
>
> culture as it is lived in daily experience, but it relates these to one key assumption,
>
> namely that globalization fundamentally transforms the relationship between the
>
> *places* (emphasis original) we inhabit and our cultural practices, experiences and
>
> identities… In employing the concept of 'deterritorialization' we will try to
>
> understand why this might be so (106).

Tomlinson's discussions from "deterritorialization" to "mundane experience of

deterritorialization" point out that our mundane experience is one of the most crucial

aspects that have encountered the most dramatic changes elicited by various global flows in

the process of "deterritorialization," the transformations of geographical and social

territories (106-07).[8] Tomlinson's theories allow the commonly overlooked complex of

mundane experience come into focus again in the era of globalization and help justify why

we should go back to the domain of sensory experience as I suggest. Inspired by Tomlinson,

I attempt to narrow down the mundane experience to the sensory experience, for these

global flows are immediately and immanently mediated through our bodily senses and thus

attribute to multiplying sensory experiences of eating, drinking, listening and seeing due to

various cultural encounterings. In other words, I regard the sensory experience as the

cultural domain of combining our everyday life with our senses. It is through our senses that

we interact with these cultural flows that have formulated our sensory experience, which

have influenced the ways of cultural expressions.

Consequently, to examine the cultural complexity of new conflicts, hybridization or

glocalization brought about by these global flows implicated within our cultural expressions,

it is essential to return to the sensory experience as the analytical regime. As previously

argued, our sensory experience contributes to cultural expressions of localities when bodily

senses function as lived space interacting with these various global flows. Sensory

experience based on human sensorium is permeated with social values and cultural

significance to such an extent that it even is replicating hierarchical social orders. As David

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[8] The specific example of mundane experience of deterritorialization provided by John Tomlison is the globalization of food. For more details, please see his book of *Globalization and Culture*.

Howes informs us, our sensory experience may be "collectively patterned by cultural

ideology and practice" (XI). The sensory order will be linked up with the global powers that

diffuse new ideology of global capitalism to our local life worlds.

III. (G)localization of the Sensory Experience

In this final section, I will bring the theoretical discussions on the interrelations of

cultural representations and sensory experience back to the local context of Taiwan. From

the perspective of the sensory experience, I seek to sift the politics and aesthetics of two

(g)localized cultural expressions of architecture and music in Taiwan. By the aesthetics and

the politics of cultural expressions, I mean the gap between the sensually engaging and

disciplining ways of perceiving and creating our cultural representations and the invisible

global structuring powers and ideology in our daily life. Specifically, I will disclose the

political agenda, like in the service of capital, which is covered in the aesthetization of

cultural expression, in the name of cosmopolitanism for example in *Taipei 101*, from our

sensory relations and practices of everyday life.

Aesthetics has long been excluded from our daily life of experiences and being

categorized mainly in the domain of art. According to Terry Eagleton, however, aesthetics is

exactly in the territory of our sensate life: "In its original formulation by the German

Philosopher Alexander Baumgarten, the term refers not in the first place to art, but, as Greek

aesthesis would suggest to the whole region of human perception and sensation, in contrast

to the more rarefied domain of conceptual thought" (qtd. in Goonewardena 48). Similarly,

Ben Highmore also agrees that in terms of the sensory experience, everyday life and

aesthetics become interconnected since both of them focus on the lived experiences (55). In

this sense, the sensual experience of daily life actually underlies the aesthetic

representations as I have argued previously.

To illustrate how these two (g)localized cultural representations of *Taipei 101* and

Shining 3 Girls are involving and formulating within the process of cultural globalization,

this study proposes the concept of "(g)localization of the sensory experience" to address the

dynamic process of the interwoven cultural globalization, the sensory experience and

cultural expressions. By the term "(g)localization of the sensory experience," I refer to the

social dynamics of how the sensory experience of bodily senses and daily life interact with

the global order of power struggles and hierarchical regulations through negotiation,

imitation, and incorporation. To put it simply, the logic of global capitalism that informs our

cultural expressions is mediated through the making of collective sensory experience, by

creating sensually appealing images and ideals to invite the local subjects to identify with.

For example, the case of *Taipei 101* is being aestheticized in the name of cosmopolitanism

to make the collective identification with this global sublime through the (g)localization of

the sensory experience. The making of collective sensory experience in the case of *Shining*

3 Girls lies in the imaginations of the global popular projected in the community of the global techno tribe.

To explicitly elaborate on the cultural complexity of politics and aesthetics that are converged in the sensory experience, I will employ cultural/literary texts of sensory representations to exemplify more specifically what I mean by the "(g)localization of the sensory experience." In discussion of cultural globalization in Taiwan, I employ *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* as examples, two significant cultural expressions of "glocalized culture" in Taiwan. *Taipei 101*, the most distinctive architecture in Taiwan, and the tallest building in the world is practically an emblem of global power in the locality of Taiwan. *Shining 3 Girls* is the most typical example of "Taiker Techno Music," one localized form of the world's most popular dance music. Connected to our everyday life in Taiwan, these two cases attest to (g)localization of the sensory experience. The cultural formations of them articulate different global/local factors on the surface of "sensory experience" in Taiwan, such as the imposing visuality of the heights of *Taipei 101* or the sensuous body performance and music styles of *Shining 3 Girls*.

We should contextualize these two cases of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* in Taiwan to better understand their relationship with sensory experience. Historical factors including the impacts of post-colonial history of Taiwan after Japan's colonization from 1895-1945, should be taken into consideration in discussion of Taiwan's crave for identity-making in

the age of globalization. The crisis of postcolonial identity will need the significant cultural emblem such as *Taipei 101* to reassure Taiwan's cultural identity. To a large extent, such a cultural icon should be sensually engaging to make us "bodily" believe it is our pride by seeing and touching (Seeing is believing). Spatial compression is another factor why we should consider from the perspective of the sensory experience when examining Taiwan's local cultures because the bodily tensions and stresses caused by the shrinking daily space will find bodily outlets to release these emotions like listening to Techno music. For instance, singing and dancing with Techno will make us sensually liberated and elevated.

Since sensory expressions are aesthetically embodied in these cultural representations, we may find out more factors and possibilities of local cultures in Taiwan from these expressions. The other reason is the insufficient discussions of "the sensory experience" in the field of cultural/literary studies. As Howes suggests, since we are now living in the world of "the sensual logic of late capitalism," we should return to the sensory experience to understand its cultural logic (281).[9] Through detailed analysis of these texts, I hope to unravel the pedagogical perspective of the sensory experience that mediated the capital flow to local subjects in historical and cultural context of Taiwan.[10]

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[9] In his article of "Hypersthesia, or The Sensual Logic of Late Capitalism," David Howes explains how the global logic resorts to sensually appealing consumerism to achieve its capitalist purposes. Please see *Empire of the Senses: the Sensual Culture Reader*, 281-303.

[10] Pedagogy is itself a complicated concept that concerns culture, social formation and education. Here I use it to explain that the global logic might be a pedagogy of global hegemony and ideology that is "schooling or disciplining" our senses and ways of thinking. That's why this thesis insists on a critical view of the process of glocalzation through our senses. For more details, please see Peter Mclaren's *Life in Schools: An Introduction to Critical Pedagogy in the Formation of Education*.

Chapter Two

(Visual) Consumption of Cosmopolitanism in *Taipei 101*

> Every city has a landmark, an icon that
> distinguishes it from others. Paris has the Eiffel
> Tower, New York City, the Empire State Building.
> By the end of 2003, Taipei will have *TAIPEI 101*. At
> 508 meters, it will be the tallest building in the
> world.
>
> Taipei Financial Center (*Taipei 101*) Newsletter

Ever since the day when Shui-bian Chen, mayor of Taipei at that time, proposed to

construct the world's tallest building in Taipei in 1995, *Taipei 101* has been the focus of

discussions and attractions in Taiwan. From the concrete space of the skyscraper itself to its

image-representations in the newspapers, magazines, photos and commercials, the visuality

of *Taipei 101* has been constantly re-shaping one's spatial perception of Taipei cityscape. To

a great extent, this new urban architecture successfully catches the inhabitants' eyes by

inviting them to identify with the global sublime, embodied by this skyscraper. The most

advanced technology in constructing this tallest building with its outstanding world-top

height of 508 meters will first of all bring visual shocks to its viewers. Upon seeing this

building, onlookers from far or near would be reminded of their connection to a "global

village." Moreover, viewers' identification with the global identity of *Taipei 101* would be

reinforced by the visual consumption of its ubiquitous images in all kinds of representations

and discourses. For example, *Taipei 101*'s management team cooperates with one credit

card company (Chinatrust) to propagandize *Taipei 101*'s global images by producing one

visually impressive commercial film. This commercial deliberately juxtaposes the images of

renowned architectures of Paris, New York or London, such as Eiffel Tower, Empire State

Building, and Westminster Abbey with *Taipei 101* to stress the global identity of these

buildings. Or, in *Taipei 101*'s own promotion newsletter, a photo shows transnational

businessmen in brand-name suits shopping at *Taipei 101 Mall*. All these images are created

to endow *Taipei 101* with global imaginations appealing to the public to identify with. If so,

what interests me is in what ways and for what purposes does *Taipei 101* seek our

recognition and approval? In other words, what kind of global desire is exactly being

created in *Taipei 101*? Why do the government and the transnational corporations work

together to promote *Taipei 101* as one global emblem of our national and culture identity?

Can our global yearnings evoked by *Taipei 101* actually come realized or is it only an

imaginary relation dominated by the visual?
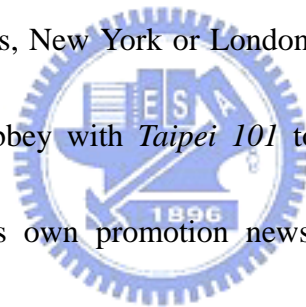
Regarding these questions, this chapter seeks to investigate the intertwined relationships of the global and the local converged in the visuality of this new landmark in Taiwan. By reading and analyzing *Taipei 101* as a text at two levels of the discourse productions and its image-making, I will demonstrate how the various global flows, particularly in capital forms, are being aestheticized in/through the consumption of the cosmopolitanism entailed by *Taipei 101*. Cosmopolitanism is a concept of political philosophy that derived from the Greek word *kosmopolitês*, meaning world citizen. Among the various discussions about cosmopolitanism, Kant is a critical figure who has further elaborated on the cosmopolitan idea in his political writings to map out one universalized cosmopolitan community that include all citizens of the world with "the universal law of right." This universal principle protects "the freedom of each individual's will to coexist with the freedom of everyone else" (Kant 132-33). Though inspired by Kant, I will focus more on the cultural imaginations of cosmopolitanism. I define cosmopolitanism, in terms of cultural identity, citizen of word, and prospered life, as one political ideal that promises a culturally and economically harmonized community where each one's rights are guaranteed and protected.

I contend that global capitalism through the senses prescribes an ideal cosmopolitanism of *Taipei 101*, in terms of cosmopolitan cultural identities, flexible citizenship, and economic prosperity. In this sense, the logic of constructing this skyscraper,

Taipei 101, as the significant monumental building for Taipei's cultural identity, is intrinsically defined by the order of globalization materialized in the sensuous consumption of *Taipei 101*. On the official account, one of the most important reasons to build *Taipei 101* is to create this city "an icon that distinguishes from others" (*Taipei 101* Newsletter). If *Taipei 101* as one monumental building cares to provide an "icon" for all social members to identify with, what *Taipei 101* projects is the image of "global elites." In other words, this icon has been pre-determined to certain class and social status such as successful transnational businessmen highlighted in the photos of *Taipei 101*'s newsletters. As Lefebvre points out, such a social visage found in the monumental space of *Taipei 101* in the form of skyscraper "hides a good deal more: being political, military, and ultimately fascist in character, monumental buildings mask the will to power and the arbitrariness of power beneath signs and surfaces which claim to express collective will and collective thought" (143).

Lefebvre's theorization of monumental space alerts us to the interrelations between the monumental building and the hidden capitalist powers; however, in the case of *Taipei 101*, the will to power that claims collective will is not just being covered but being aestheticized in the name of cosmopolitanism. The aestheticzed cosmopolitanism embodied by *Taipei 101* is expressed at least in three layers of national/cultural identity making, citizen of the world and a prosperous life of better future. I will further contend this collective will to

cosmopolitanism, manifest in construction of *Taipei 101*, is created and mediated through

the collective sensory experiences of the localities, whether to maintain the visual relation to

various glittering representations of this monumental building, or to tour at *Taipei 101* in the

real *senses* of lived experience: to *witness* this Taiwan miracle, to *touch* the exquisite

commodities, or to *climb up* to the roof of the world.

In the first part of this chapter, I will examine in what ways *Taipei 101* becomes one

significant monumental building in the context of the historical and social changes of

Taiwan's monumental space from postcoloniality to the age of globalization.[11] On one hand,

I will illustrate how Japan's colonization from 1895 to 1945 contributes to Taiwan's crave

now for a new national identity by building its own historical monuments today. On the

other hand, I will discuss how the global capital largely determines the functions and

purposes of *Taipei 101*, which is constructed in the hope of enhancing Taipei's

competitiveness to make Taipei city become one of those global cities as New York or

London. As Lebvre suggests, while examining such monumental building as *Taipei 101*, we

should consider what is being politically hidden from us; that is, we have to take a close

look at the power relations behind the ideology of constructing *Taipei 101*.

Therefore, the second section explores the cultural politics embodied in the sensuous

images of *Taipei 101*. Through a critical analysis of the representations of *Taipei 101*,

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[11] This chapter avoids seeing post-colonialism and globalization as two separate historizations or fundamentally different mentalities; instead I endeavor to analyze its intersected elements and entangled complexities.

including the newspapers, magazines, photos, and commercials, I will prove how the imagery of a world-top skyscraper, fashionable commodities, professional administrative teams and global designs, serve to revise the reality by rendering one tangible but probably illusory space shared by all inhabitants. To a certain extent, cosmopolitanism is commodified as products or tour packages, for which the local consumers are grappling as if to shop/to tour at *Taipei 101* is immediately to become one citizen of the global village, and "to pace with the world" (與世界同步).[12]

Tourism, in this respect, passes as the next step to realize the imagination of cosmopolitanism that really invites local subjects to lively "experience" (i.e. to see, to taste, to shop, to touch and to smell) *Taipei 101*. My last part will thus focus on the relations between *Taipei 101* and the global tourism with an emphasis on how the localities are being globalized for tourist gazes by drawing on John Urry's theories. Through the detailed investigations of *Taipei 101*, this chapter aims to unravel the myth of global consumption in localities of *Taipei 101* by the sensory experiences.
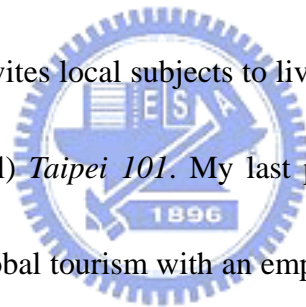
I. Postcolonial Taiwan into the Globalized World: Historical Imperatives for *Taipei 101*

Under the historical imperatives of postcolonialism and globalization, Taiwan needs a

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[12] According to the news report, on November 14, 2003, the opening of *Taipei 101 Mall* was swarmed with thousands of visitors, approximately 250000-300000 tourists and the fever remains to this day. *Taipei 101* has become one of the most popular touring attractions in Taiwan. See
http://news.bbc.co.uk/chinese/simp/hi/newsid_3270000/newsid_3271000/3271093.stm
http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2003/11/15/2003075893

new landmark building to re-build its national identity as well as global identity. This urban

plan of constructing *Taipei 101* was first proposed in 1995 by Shui-bian Chen (陳水扁),

mayor of Taipei at that time. This project, according to the official version on the website of

Taipei 101, aims to:

> develop a state-of-the-art building that forms an integral part of the infrastructure
>
> for advancing Taipei towards becoming one of the Asia Pacific Financial Centers
>
> (亞太金融中心). This project symbolizes the outstanding achievements of
>
> Taiwan's economic development.[13]

Taipei 101 Financial Center (*Taipei 101*) was officially launched on January 13, 1998.

While the office tower was still under construction, the *Taipei 101 Mall* opened on

November 14, 2003. One year and a month after the opening of *Taipei 101 Mall*, the

six-year construction project of Taipei Financial Center finally announced its

accomplishment on December 31, 2004. At the opening ceremony of *Taipei 101 Mall*,

Shui-bian Chen, then president of Taiwan, nodded, "It (*Taipei 101*) is not only a landmark

of Taipei but a sign of Taiwan's development and prosperity. It is Taiwan's asset and pride."

Taipei mayor Ying-jeou Ma (馬英九) said the building was "the pride of Taipei residents"

and a mark of the country's global ambitions.[14] From "Taiwan's asset and pride" to "the

country's global ambition," or from "Asia Pacific Financial Center" to a sign of "Taiwan's

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[13] Please see *Taipei 101* official website: http://www.tfc101.com.tw/.
[14] Please see *Taipei Times*: http://www.taipeitimes.com/News/front/archives/2003/11/15/2003075893

prosperity," we can see the need for a new monumental building like *Taipei 101* is twofold:

at both national and global levels.

To understand this twofold rhetoric, I suggest we should consider two intersecting

historical factors of postcolonialism and globalization in Taiwan. From "de-colonization" to

"Taiwanization" (台灣本土化),[15] Taiwan has been searching for a national identity to

localize the concept of "Taiwan" by providing a monumental space of our own in Taiwan

for Taiwanese to identify with. Now that the Japanese government during the colonial

period completed most of the significant buildings preserved in Taiwan, Taiwan government

hopes to discover or re-invent its own historical monuments, a building of Taiwanese people

constructed by Taiwanese's own hands. For each colonizer, spatial restructuring is one

effective means to discipline its colonial subjects to identify with the imperial power. In

Taiwan, the process of modernization or westernization, marked by Japan's colonial period,

had launched massive construction projects, including schools, hospitals, bridges, and other

buildings, many of them still being preserved in Taiwan to the present. During the colonial

period, many of the urban architectures in Taiwan were constructed in westernized or

Japanese style by the Japanese government, who had been influenced by the West at the

time of Meigi Reform (明治維新).[16] Take Taiwan Governor-General Office (台灣總督府),

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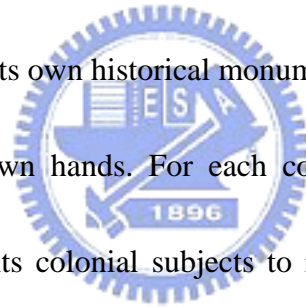
[15] Japan's colonization of Taiwan dated from 1895 to 1945 and the KMT regime was defeated in 2000 presidential election by the DPP, which propagates "Taiwanization." The aim of "Taiwanization" by DPP is to make Taiwan an independent nation from China. In order to achieve this goal, the DPP government has launched a number of Taiwan discourses and related cultural policy to reinforce the idea of "Taiwanization."

[16] For detailed discussions of the architectures in Taiwan during the colonial period by Japan, please see the

the former of ROC Presidential Office (總統府), for example, it was the highest

administrative institution at that time. This building, combined with the western style of

late-Renaissance and Japanese elements, was also the most significant and magnificent

architecture at its scale in Taiwan, and even one of the very few mega-structures at that time

in East Asia. For now, it has become one significant historic monumental building, as a

witness to Japanese colonial history and symbol of the great structure in world history.

Therefore, for a new history of "de-colonization" of Taiwan, to make a new monumental

building by Taiwanese architect in a Taiwanese style becomes extremely "necessary" and

"legitimate" for the Taiwanese in construction of their own identity. Under this historical

imperative, Taiwan determines to create its own monumental space.
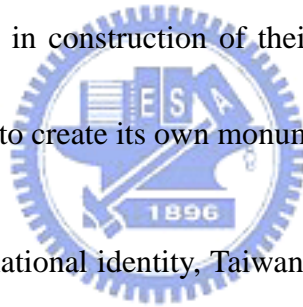
Not only looking for its national identity, Taiwan government also works very hard to

upgrade its economic competitiveness and status to assume Taiwan's global identity. To

respond to the process of globalization, the nation state has to open its market to all forms of

global flows such as people flows and capital flows. Simply put, in order to attract more

foreign capital Taiwan has to highlight its "global character." As President Chen claims, we

will create "Taipei Manhattan" by building *Taipei 101 Financial Center*. Mayor Ma also

expresses that *Taipei 101* as the world's tallest skyscraper will "bring Taipei to the world."

book entitled: *Taiwan Architectures in the Colonial Period by Japan 1989-1945*《日治時期台灣建築 1895-1945》. The claim that the architectures during the colonial period are westernized in this chapter does not deny the existence of other local style buildings as the author in this book claims. The attempt here is to foreground the historical process or causes to the construction of national identity in Taiwan now.

Both statements of "Taipei Manhattan" and "Bring Taipei to the world" by our government

officials show the logic of global city campaign localized in *Taipei 101* to convince us that

Taipei is turning into a global city like New York (Manhattan).

In either the local version or the global version, capitalist logic plays the most critical

role in the birth of *Taipei 101* as Taiwan's new monumental building. According to Lefebvre,

traditional monuments like sculptures have greatly been changed into spatiality of building

with the rise of capitalism (220-23). Monument, usually a large structure made of stone in

the form of castle, wall, or bridge, is built to remind people of an event in history or of a

famous person. Namely, monuments provide a social visage for each member of a society to

identify with. The development of capitalism and modernism intersected in architecture

contribute to modern buildings. Coming into play with the spatiality of monuments,

buildings, in place of old monuments, start to function as "social space, the space of social

practice, the space of the social relations of production and of work and non-work… this

space is indeed condensed in monumental space" (Lefebvre 225). Lefebvre shrewdly

observes new monumental building as miniatures of social space, which turn out to be sites

of contestation manipulated by capitalism. In other words, capitalism has reshaped the form

of old monumental structures.

The birth of *Taipei 101* exemplifies the transformation of monuments into a new

global form. To be specific, as the first BOT (Build-Operate-Transfer) project, *Taipei 101* is

one of the exceptional transnational investments in Taiwan. Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT)

is a form of project financing, wherein private entrepreneurs receives a franchise from the

public sector to finance, design, construct, and operate infrastructure facilities such as ports,

highways, and power plants for a specified period, after which ownership is transferred

back to the public sector. During the time that the project proponent operates the facilities, it

is allowed to charge facility users appropriate tolls, fees, rentals, and charges stated in their

contract to enable the project proponent to recover its outlay in the project.[17] Drawn from

the definition of the BOT system, the enforcement of *Taipei 101* relies much on capital

flows from international investors mobilized by "deregulation of financial market," which

becomes a global condition for economic development since the 1970s (Miller and

Lawrence 490). To facilitate the process of globalization, the state and the city government

have relaxed stringent urban policies for production of *Taipei 101*. For example, Jenn-Hwan

Wang points out that "the state released one large parcel of land in the eastern part of Taipei

city (the Hsinyi district), which was originally owned by the Defense Ministry and has now

become the site of the new financial center" (393). Furthermore, the state also offers lower

foreign exchange rate to the private and foreign banks. Notably, thousands of laborers,

including engineers, designers, and contract workers from more than 15 countries are

gathered because of *Taipei 101*.[18] In other words, the production of *Taipei 101* is itself the

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[17] Please consult *Encyclopedia Britannica* for definition of BOT, 25:401.
[18] Six construction workers thus lost their lives during the constructing process. See
http://www.libertytimes.com.tw/2004/new/apr/24/today-e6.htm

outcome of capital accumulation that requires billions of money, approximately 58 billion

dollars exactly in the case of *Taipei 101* and a huge labor force to invest on it to create fresh

room for foreign investment.[19]

II. (Visual) Consumptions of Cosmopolitanism: *Taipei 101*[20]

To be sure, *Taipei 101* is one monumental space specifically of global capital in

Lefebvre's sense and I will further examine how the representation of its monumentality is

mediated through our senses. Critically reading the visual images of *Taipei 101* such as

pictures and commercial films, I argue that the visualizing cosmopolitanism embodied by

Taipei 101 might eventually turn our relations to this building into only visual consumptions

at the cost of our real corporeality. The logic of global capitalism leads to the production of

Taipei 101 in the form of cosmopolitanism. Specifically speaking, the representations of

Taipei 101 have pre-figured a cosmopolitan identity of Taipei for its city-dwellers to identity

with. The highly visualized images of cosmopolitanism, maintained by the concrete

building itself and its media representations and discourses, successfully connect the

inhabitants in Taipei, even in Taiwan, to the world to convince us that we are citizens of

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[19] The project of building *Taipei 101* also provokes the concern that it might affect the safety of flights because of its heights and location. Recently, one scholar published his article to point out *Taipei 101* has become the one cause of triggering earthquakes in Taipei though still many people disagree with his claim. Despite these doubts and probable dangers, our government insists on creating this world's tallest building. http://news.chinatimes.com.tw/Chinatimes/newslist/newslist-content-forprint/0,4066,110503+112005120300071,00.html

[20] The parentheses that I used here imply that the consumptions may take many forms such as the tactile, auditory, but predominantly the visual. Also I am trying to critique that our bodily relations to *Taipei 101* might in turn become the visual only.

world. Through the detailed analysis of *Taipei 101* as one text and its cultural representations, I will show how the imagery of cosmopolitanism is manifested in terms of national/cultural identity, flexible citizenship, and economic boom.

Reading the issues of *Taipei 101* newsletters, one will discover they repeatedly highlight the cosmopolitan cultural identity of *Taipei 101*. Cosmopolitan identity reflected in *Taipei 101* at least carries two meanings: one is the assurance of national identity and the other is the desire for global recognition. The first issue describes this tallest building with 508 meters erecting into the skyline as "the height of dream," which will become an "international landmark of Taiwan." The construction of world's tallest building *Taipei 101* is to "Bring Taipei to the World" in Taipei City Mayor, Ying-jeou Ma's words. The long-term objective is to create the "Manhattan of Taipei." This *Taipei 101* project aims to endow Taipei city with a global identity. Architect of *Taipei 101*, C. Y. Lee (李祖原) in one interview also tells us the designated function of *Taipei 101*: "Global elites are looking for your local identity; our goal is to challenge the world quality" (全球人士尋找的是你的 Local Identity; 我們則以挑戰 World Quality為目標) (*Taipei 101* Newsletter 01).[21] Refashioning *Taipei 101* as a world-famous skyscraper with local spirits promises a cosmopolitan future for Taipei, representative of Taiwan, which can claim its space in the mapping of the global system. In other words, the accomplishment of *Taipei 101*, which

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[21] These two sentences are Chinese in origin and translated into English by myself.

ensures "the miracle of Taiwan" in the national rhetoric, will alleviate the identity crisis of

Taiwan. At the global level, *Taipei 101* as the tallest building in the world can fulfill the

global imagination of Taiwan. All of these statements promote "cosmopolitan identity" of

Taipei 101 where the local identity is perfectly combined with/in the world. The

cosmopolitan identity of *Taipei 101* represents cultural identity of Taiwanese now and for

the future as the second issue of *Taipei 101* Newsletter says, "A landmark represents a

people's identity, now and for centuries to come." *Taipei 101*, in this way, is one landmark

of Taiwan that distinguishes it from others and will therefore symbolize a cultural heritage

of Taiwanese people.

In addition, the promotion commercial for the opening of *Taipei 101 Mall*, the most

impressive commercial film repeated on TV, projects the image of global elites, who can

travel from New York to London, London to Paris, Paris to L.A., then to Taipei, an image

that truly conforms to flexible citizenship in Aihwa Ong's sense. It is important to analyze

this commercial film to explain how this CF evokes the yearning for flexible citizenship. In

the beginning of this commercial film, a close-up of the blue words "101%" flashes from

the right to the left. Then comes the image of five proportionately diminished persons under

two enlarged red high-heels in a very surrealistic way with the female voice-over saying

"New York has Fifth Avenue." Very quickly comes the next image of a woman with blonde

hair without a clearly distinguishable face, who shakes her head seductively. Shortly we see

the next shot: juxtapositions of various distinguished landmark buildings such as Efiffel

Tower of Paris, the Empire State Building of New York, Sydney Opera House, Harrods of

London and finally *Taipei 101* of Taipei, which is particularly highlighted and taller than all

the others. This shot is followed by another image of delicious dessert with the voiceover

saying "London has Harrods," then two images of models' catwalk on the stage and a

couple chasing merrily with bags in hands in *Taipei 101 Mall*, with the voiceover of "Paris

has Av. Des Champs Elysees." Next shot shows the images of a credit card, a diamond with

the caption "Temptation 101%" over the diamond. The voiceover for these images is "L. A.

has Beverly Hills." The last shot stops at a close-up on one couple, the man is carrying the

woman, with a satisfying smile, on his back.
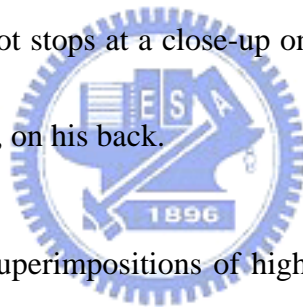
In this commercial, the superimpositions of high-heels, dessert, diamond in different

settings located in the same place of *Taipei 101 Mall* with voiceovers about transnational

cities, New York, London, Paris and L.A. express a global compression into the local

consumption. Literally speaking, those "global elites" only shop/stay in the same locality of

Taipei 101 Mall but symbolically, they have "traveled" through several different cities

thanks to the techniques of media, when they are walking in front of the juxtaposed city

landmarks as they are shown in this CF.[22] Again, this signifies the cosmopolitan identity of

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[22] For this same image, please see my attached picture in the next page.

This is the same image as shown in *Taipei 101* commercial film: the juxtaposition of several distinguished city landmarks such as Sydney Opera House, Westminster Abbey, and *Taipei 101*. (Picture taken by the author)

Taipei 101, the miniature of the world, which contains all sorts of exotic and global commodities like shoes (the red high-heels) from New York, foods (that dessert) from London, or clothes from Paris. As for the global shoppers, the face, identity, or ethnicity of the men and women in each shot are vague and ambiguous so that they can be abstracted into a gathering of global elites, iconic signs of those who can travel transnationally with flexible citizenship. The last shot of the sweet couple with satisfying smiles conveys the warmth and happiness of home, which connotes the ideal of being "at home in the world." What is suggested is the mobility of global elites without concern of citizenship. We can imagine that after the journey of these several cities, they will always have a residence to stay, and for another departure at any time. The best thing is that they do not have to worry

about "the problem of citizenship" because "Chinatrust," the credit card company which has

taken charge of *Taipei 101* card (台北101夜光聯名卡) assures them that "we are family."[23]

A symbol of economic prosperity, another crucial aspect of cosmopolitanism,

promises a better future through the visualized images of *Taipei 101* by consumption. The

image of erecting *Taipei 101* layer by layer into the sky allows one to visualize the image of

capital "accumulation" in itself and for the sake of more capital "accumulation" as well.

Look carefully at the building, and we will see it is made up of canted levels. Each level

resembles a section of bamboo, a Chinese symbol of sturdiness and vigor. The eight sections

that rise towards the sky have their own cultural significance; "eight" is a homonym for

"prosperity" in Chinese. You will also find each level decorated with ruyi (如意), a symbol of

wish fulfillment. *Taipei 101* as a high-rise building with 101 stories is thus named *Taipei 101*.

This high-rise building that towers over all the skyscrapers further implies Taiwan's economy

will stand out among Asian countries and the world.

From the building structure of *Taipei 101* to its management, *Taipei 101* reassures the

public of the economic success in the future for *Taipei 101* possesses four key factors

determining its success: location, design, retail mix and management.[24] As C.Y. Lee said,

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[23] *Taipei 101 Mall* cooperates with *Chinatrust* bank company to release *Taipei 101* credit card. "We are family" is the slogan employed by *Chinatrust* to assure that as long as you own this card, "*you*" will become "*our*" family as trustful as possible.
[24] Simon Van de Velde, the Leasing and Marketing Manager, and Peter Varga, the Project Director of Lend Lease had ever mentioned these four advantages of *Taipei 101* to become a successful mall. See the *Taipei 101* Newsletter 3.

"*Taipei 101* is the only office tower in Taiwan which qualifies as an international Grade A

office building that meets the needs of business world in the future, where efficiency,

technology, and brand names are crucial. It will have no competitors" (*Taipei 101*

Newsletter 3). Stressing its professionalism with international management teams of Japan,

U.S., and Australia, *Taipei 101* seems to become the only solution to the economic woes for

Taiwan's retail market.

While *Taipei 101* is being promoted as a symbol of economic prosperity, I wonder if

our thriving economy should result in or from shopping/consumption in *Taipei 101 Mall*.

That question is whether everyone in Taiwan is already leading a wealthy life to afford

buying those commodities or if in order to stimulate our domestic economic conditions,

everyone should go shopping. For example, the world depicted in the same opening
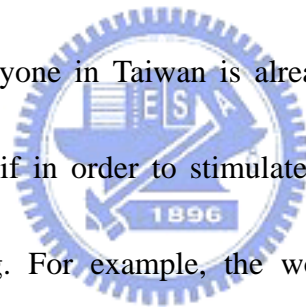
commercial just discussed above is so materialistic that people become the background

subordinated to the commodities. The commodities, like the red high heels, are

surrealistically enlarged in contrast with the mini-size of people as if being commodified by

the giant power of high-heels. Or the diamond with the words 101% Temptation over it acts

as a seducer that ushers you into the shopping paradise, *Taipei 101 Mall*. The over exposed

images of these material goods have blurred the distinction between reality and visuality.

One might be intrigued by the visual images of living in a prosperous world to believe that

all those commodities, including the brand-name products, are affordable. In a real sense,

going shopping those commodities actually reshapes the shopping districts and the consumers' shopping habits in Taiwan. Ironically, cosmopolitan identity has turned into commodities that I call the commodification of cosmopolitanism for visual consumption as though we will be able to reclaim or re-gain the dream of cosmopolitanism through the act of "shopping/consuming" as those global elites do in the commercial film.

The "lived" experience of shopping or touring at *Taipei 101* brings one from the visual to other senses such as the hearing, the smelling, the tasting, the touching of the building itself or various commodities it provides. One might not be able to afford those expensive famous brand commodities, or services in the gym club,[25] yet what really matters is to "witness" the "miracle" of Taiwan. Once we "sense" the building, we would incorporate ourselves into part of this building and of the city to regard it as "our building, our pride." For example, shopping at *Taipei 101 Mall* engages in more than the visual but the interplay of various senses. For the mall-goers, they can get the spectacular fantasy by seeing the world's tallest building and those splendid displays of exotic commodities from all over the world. Furthermore, they will feel connected to the world by touching the global brand products, eating various exotic cuisines at the food court, grocery-shopping at world's famous supermarket, Jason's Market. Besides, they will enjoy the services offered by the salespersons at the brand shops of Gucci, LV or Celine by imagining themselves as "global

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[25] *Taipei 101* Oxy Gym: the VIP annual membership fee is one million and ten thousand NT dollars.

elites." As Margaret Crawford suggests, "if the world is understood through commodities, then personal identity depends on one's ability to compose a coherent self-image through the selection of a distinct personal set of commodities" (12).

"*Taipei 101* Run Up" (台北 101 國際登高賽) is another instance about how *Taipei 101* conjures up the "highest fever, highest glory" (挑戰 101，奔向世界第一)[26] through our bodily consumption of this skyscraper, to run up to the "roof" of the world. "*Taipei 101* Run Up" is a race of running up 91 floors, 2046 steps, held by *Taipei 101* and Taipei Municipal Government. The objective of this competition is for whoever wants to challenge the height of world's, to run to the world's top. As the title of "*Taipei 101* Run Up" implies, participants in this running up race are sensing the pleasure of "upward" mobility to the global top position with their most strenuous body contacts with the concrete building. Each physical step these skyscraper runners make allegorizes one symbolic step toward the center of the world. The more the runners bodily interact with this building, the more they identify with this building and to a certain extent, the body and the building have become identical because the body and the building share the same global identity step by step, floor to floor rising to commending power, one kind of fulfillment of panoptic control over the city as well as the world. Lively touring *Taipei 101 Mall*, Taiwanese have been further interpellated into identification with cosmopolitanism with real "taste" of *Taipei 101*.

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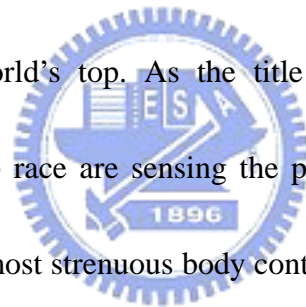
[26] "Highest Fever, Highest Glory" (挑戰 101，奔向世界第一) is the slogan of *Taipei 101* Run Up Race.

Taipei 101 has been completed but is the ideal of "cosmopolitanism" endowed with it being truly realized or is it still simply being sustained by the visual? I take *Taipei, Looking Up? (台北幾米)* as a counter example to disclose another "face" of *Taipei 101*. The documentary of one female construction worker named Hsiu-li Liao (廖秀麗). Liao is an elevator operator in *Taipei 101* during its construction period. In the bodily senses, she was once among those most related to this world's tallest building, *Taipei 101*. She paid her physical labor to construct *Taipei 101* with her hands, eyes, and her whole body. Since the opening of *Taipei 101 Mall* to the opening ceremony of *Taipei Financial Center*, neither these workers' names nor their pictures have appeared in the official accounts of *Taipei 101*. After the accomplishment of this building, the construction workers, once the most intimate to the building, now might only maintain their relations to this building by the visual; that is after the completion of *Taipei 101*, their intimate connection to this building expires with the contract. These workers become the last people to use this space except for mostly visually consuming this building and its various representations through the media. It would be apparent that consumption of these construction workers would fall far below this amount. In the newsletter of *Taipei 101*, it states that the target consumer of *Taipei 101 Mall* is those who might on average "spend NT$39000 each month on food and fashion" (*Taipei 101* Newsletter 2). Apparently, workers like Liao are by no means the ideal consumers, which means that Liao is not the designated user of this "building of national pride."
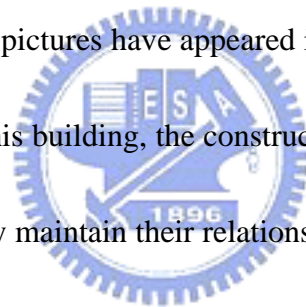
These two pictures are found in the *Taipei 101* Newsletter, which is stressing that *Taipei 101* is the Westerners' favorite mall in Taiwan.

Besides, the photos of these newsletters are mainly of foreigners, such as a blonde lady holding and looking at a pair of black shoes in her hands or two white men selecting suits. At the cost of the corporeality of these construction workers, their relation to *Taipei 101* is alienated and relegated to the realm of the visual. These construction workers barely find their official representations either as constructers or as consumers. In that case, we should inquire into the true meaning of *Taipei 101* as a BOT project, which promises that the ownership will be transferred back to the public sector in the end. If a public sector refers to all the city users regardless of any ages, genders, or classes, then why does *Taipei 101* somehow become hierarchically resorting to certain ages, occupations and classes as these newsletters register?

Shopping at *Taipei 101 Mall* seems to have nothing to do with the hierarchies since everyone, despite our classes, ages or genders, can use this "public space." However, I would like to point out this so-called public space is hierarchically spatialized and disproportionately used between the capitalists and the ordinary people, or between the upper-middle class and the lower class. In *Taipei 101* building, only 17 floors out of 101 are open to "all inhabitants" on conditions of either *paying* entrance fee to enter the observatory tower or *consuming* goods at the shopping mall.[27] With careful observation, one will find the spatial hierarchies of *Taipei 101 Mall* that the most affordable foods or commodities to the ordinary people are located in the lowest floor. For those with higher prices of global brands, they are arranged in the higher floors.[28] In other words, the real distance between the city-users and *Taipei 101* is not merely about if we have access to this space or not since *Taipei 101 Mall*, for commercial purposes, will definitely welcome more people to flow in because the flow of people in a shopping mall is the flow of money. The discrepancy lies in the polarizations of capital and divisions of classes. The urban project of constructing *Taipei 101* is passed in the name of BOT, which means the project should benefit the majority of people for the public good. Yet in reality, the major benefits still go to the global headquarters, local consortium and the government for both commercial and political interests. The ordinary city-users, "donating" the money in tax forms to make this splendid

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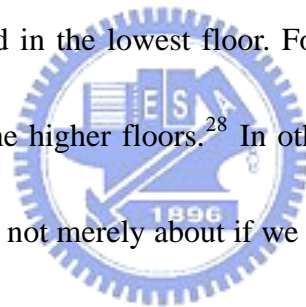
[27] These seventeen floors include parking lots from B2 to B5, a mall from B1 to F4, a gym F5-6, two air halls from F35-36, F59-60, restaurants in F85, 86, 88 and the observatory in F89 and 91.
[28] Thanks Prof. Pin-chia Feng for reminding me of this in my proposal presentation.

skyscraper out, have the least benefits in return and even worse, we have to pay more

money to use or consume this space.

III. Global Tourism and Monopoly Rent: A Tourist Eye for *Taipei 101*

Tourism is now one of the most important industries in the cultural economy of cities

because successful tourism not only increases cities' visibility but draws in global mass

tourists for consumptions. In this new era global tourism is emerging due to the flows of

people and technology. John Urry observes, "Becoming a tourist destination is part of a

reflexive process by which societies and places come to enter the global order" (143). To

promote our tourism, Taiwan government particularly designated 2004 as the year of tourism

in Taiwan (台灣觀光年) and arranged different cultural events and promotion activities.

During the year of 2004, the government publicized *Taipei 101* as the most distinctive local

attraction in Taiwan to global tourists. Both our government and the management team of

Taipei 101 have tried to make *Taipei 101* become a new global touring attraction by

stressing its heights and famous-brand commodities. "With stylish fashion boutiques, fine

restaurants and a top-class office tower all under one roof, *Taipei 101* is destined to become

one of the world's brand new metropolitan attractions" (*Taipei 101* Newsletter 4).

According to Urry, sites are chosen to be gazed upon because "there is anticipation,

especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale

or involving different senses from those customarily encountered" (3). That is to say the tourist gaze is constructed and reproduced through photos, commercials and postcards to generate the most fantastic imaginations and expectations toward the tourist sites. The gaze that is discursively regularized and socially reproduced in the case of *Taipei 101* is the "Roof of the World" or "Miracle of Taiwan." In Taiwan, we will certainly recapture the gaze of "the world's tallest skyscraper" when we shop at the mall or look over Taipei city at *Taipei 101 Observatory*. The purpose of creating *Taipei 101* as a global icon like Eiffel Tower is to occupy a global position of turning Taipei, or Taiwan into a new Asian tourist destination. But the question is does *Taipei 101* actually become a global icon to the world and successfully entice global mass tourism?
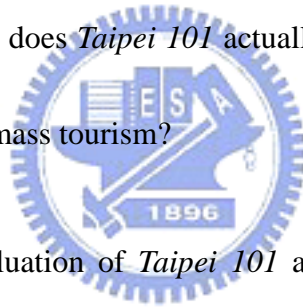
If we take a critical evaluation of *Taipei 101* as local attraction to global tourism, *Taipei 101* fails to achieve its symbolic significance to fulfill the anticipations of global mass tourism. Even though on the first day of opening on November 14th, 2003, *Taipei 101* was swarmed with approximately 250,000 tourists and still is a popular touring attraction in Taiwan, a large portion of these tourists are from local areas of Taiwan such as Kaohsiung, Chia-yi, Taichung and Taipei. Obviously, *Taipei 101* does not meet expectations of the government as well as its management team to attract the global tourists to "sense" this "miracle of Taiwan." According to the survey about "The Major Touring Spots Top 10 2004," conducted by Tourism Bureau, Republic of China (Taiwan), "Night Market," instead

of *Taipei 101*, is the most frequently visited touring spot for foreign tourists in Taiwan. Another survey shows that for these inbound foreign tourists, their favorite touring spots of Taiwan top 10 do not include *Taipei 101*.[29] In other words, they do not find *Taipei 101* an interesting place after visiting. I argue that this is because the gaze of *Taipei 101* is too "globalized" so that ironically its local traits and cultural features of Taiwan are lost. The pleasure of tourism for the main part results from the "distinctive gaze," that "induces pleasurable experiences, which by comparison with the everyday, are out of the ordinary" (Urry 12). *Taipei 101*, on the contrary, elides its local characteristics and Taiwanese cultural expressions because of overly imitating the global city images. Our government somehow is trapped in the paradox as Dennis R. Judd and Susan S. Fainstein propose, "where as the appeal of tourism is the opportunity to see something different, cities that are remade to attract tourists seem more and more alike" (13).

Interestingly, *Taipei 101* makes a very successful step to appeal to a cluster of local tourists to "consume" the West. Urry's observation help to account for why the globalizing characteristics of *Taipei 101* are appealing to local tourists in Taiwan. According to Urry, "rising incomes for an Asian middle class (as well as the student study tour and "backpacker tourism") have generated a strong desire to see those places of the west that appear to have defined global culture" (143). *Taipei 101* provides the Taiwanese a great opportunity to

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[29] For the detailed tour statistics, please consult CAKE, Categorized Administrative Knowledge Framework for the Executive Yuan (行政知識分類架構). http://pkp.ey.gov.tw/ct.asp?xItem=940&ctNode=1412.

exoticize the western culture without leaving their country. As one commercial of *Taipei*

101 shows, once you open the door, you can glance and wander in various cities displaying

in front of you to enjoy the exotic commodities converged in this mall, which is similar to

what Margaret Crawford called "the world in a shopping mall."[30] For people in Taiwan,

Taipei 101 serves as a shopping world both exotic and familiar for them to consume the

global brand products, exotic restaurants, assorted groceries from all over the world, café

and international bookstore, all of which are combined into the mall.

The fireworks show of *Taipei 101* at the New Year eve of 2006 is another successful

example in the domestic tourism of Taiwan. According to the news report,[31] more than

400000 people gathered around the Taipei City Hall Plaza to witness how the biggest

fireworks splashed out from the world's tallest building for 128 seconds. During the 128

seconds, *Taipei 101* seems to be real "public space/spectacle" to all residents, including

those who watch live TV news. Until the advertising words of "2006 Bravia by Sony" show

on the building, *Taipei 101* at that moment is not merely a political space and also a

commercial space. *Taipei 101* is appropriated not only to signify an important political

achievement of our government for political propaganda but also to help promote Sony's

LCD for commercial purpose. This sparkling fireworks show has won the public's positive

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[30] In the article of "The World in a Shopping Mall," she said, "The world of the shopping mall—hasrespecting no boundaries, no longer limited even by the imperative of consumption—has become the world" (Crawford 30).

[31] See *Chinatimes* (中國時報), 1 Januray 2006.

This is splendid *Taipei 101* in the night and you will see the commercial mark of "Bravia by Sony." (Picture taken by myself.)

recognition in Taiwan and draws international media attentions from agencies like CNN, AFP (法新社), and The Associated Press (美聯社) that compare *Taipei 101*'s new year festival with those in Time Square of New York and in Sydney. Yet, if such fireworks show may occur in many other international cities like New York or Sydney, the Western tourists would not bother to come to Taiwan to "gaze" upon Taipei's fireworks.[32] Without critical

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[32] According to the official of Tourism Commission of Taipei City Government, Ping-cheng Kang (康炳正), although more and more foreign tourists would like to visit Taiwan, the favorite countries top three in Asia for the Western tourists are still Thailand, Indonesia and Hong Kong.   See *BCC news* (中廣新聞網), 2 January 2006.

reflections on *Taipei 101's* own historical orientation and its cultural symbolic, the glamour

of "world's tallest building" might be as the fireworks, splendid but short.

I would like to conclude my discussion of *Taipei 101* by drawing on David Harvey's

concepts of "collective symbolic capital," and "monopoly rents" to disclose the global

ideology of capital flows and its monopoly claims in contemporary tourism in Taiwan. For

Harvey, monopoly rent "arises because social actors can realize an enhanced income-stream

over an extended time by virtue of their exclusive control over some directly or indirectly

tradable item which is in some crucial respects unique and non-replicable" (395). He

suggests two situations in which monopoly rent comes to matter: one arises when social

actors control a unique resource and the other is the locational centrality such as a financial

center (395). This suggests that to claim monopoly rent refers to the claims to uniqueness,

authenticity, particularity and speciality to gain economic profits from cultural activities and

artifacts. Monopoly rents, in Harvey's sense, depend upon "the power of collective

symbolic capital" and "special marks of distinction" because increasing the symbolic capital

of one place and creating its distinctive cultural marks will reinforce its claims to the

uniqueness that brings monopoly rents (404-05).

Borrowing Harvey's theories on monopoly rent, I consider *Taipei 101* as a

discursively constructed "mark of distinction" as the "world-top building" to heighten its

symbolic capital that yields monopoly rents, not for the public good but for the capitalists.

The "Manhattanization of Hsin-yi District," where *Taipei 101* is located, has become the glamour zone that the land price has amounted to a new peak and continues to grow. The completion of *Taipei 101* has fostered the development of Hsin-yi areas with the land price increasing 2.56 percent on average, from about NT$780,000 per square meter to NT$800,000 per square meter this year.[33] The commodification of cultural artifacts and special environmental characteristics in contemporary tourism gives rise to the monopoly claims that might in the end alienate local people from its own culture. In my discussion of *Taipei 101*, the monopoly rents reflected not only in the rising rents of that urban area, but also in certain privileged middle-classes or global elites as those in its commercials to afford those world brand products, such LV, Prada, Tiffany or Celine. As for most of the local inhabitants, they could only maintain their relations with this glittering building by "visual" consumption of its images. Eventually, *Taipei 101* might turn out to be only a visual space to its city-users.

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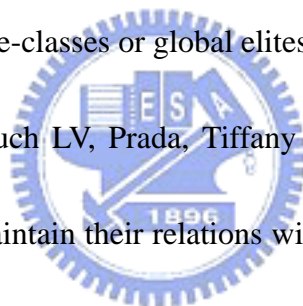
[33] Please see *Taipei Times*, 16 December 2005.

Chapter Three

Cultural Politics of Techno Music in Taiwan: *Shining 3 Girls*

This chapter attempts to elucidate cultural politics of Techno as the global popular in the local context of Taiwan. My discussion centers on the transformations of "Taiker Techno Music"(台客電子舞曲)[34] along with the example of *Shining 3 Girls* (閃亮三姊妹)[35] in terms of their music and performance to explicate the cultural dynamics of localities in Taiwan. I will examine the music and performance of *Shining 3 Girls* to demonstrate the local specificities manifested in "Taiker Techno Music." I would also deal with the body performance of *Shining 3 Girls* such as their dancing and dressing style to argue for the locomotions by females and thus to challenge the gender divisions of the global as masculine and the local as feminine. *Shining 3 Girls* is a female group made up of three sisters, who are young, sexy and vigorous, particularly distinguished by their "Taiker" or "Taimei" (台妹) style and taste. They combine Techno music with local Chinese and Taiwanese lyrics and with the particular performing style of Electronic Float to gain more and more popularity in Taiwan. The concept of "Tai" or "Taiker," widely entangled with history, economics, politics and culture in the social context of Taiwan, has become more complicated due to the process of cultural globalization. This chapter, therefore, engages in

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[34] "Taiker Techno Music" is one kind of Techno music, which is designed especially for Taiker as the target audience.

[35] "Shining 3 Girls" are described as "the legend of Taimei, the only teen-aged girls group of Techno that aims to make the global audience's eyes wide open." Please see:
http://www1.iwant-song.com/d-a0001/?sn=d-a0001_20030524_01.

"Taiker Techno Music," in which the global dance music (Techno) and the local culture of

Taiker have intersected, to rethink the dialectics of the global and the local and to revisit the

gendered qualities of globalization.

The emergence of Techno music, including House, Trance, Brit-Hip, Garage and

Hip-Hop since the 1980s in the West has now successfully broadened its musical

geographies all over the world and become one of the most popular music genres in the

global era. Simon Frith, a famous cultural critic of popular music, has observed that the

popular music has gone globalizing, among which the dance music is the most significant

one for investigation. Another music critic, Daniel Chamberlin, acknowledges that it is

Techno that is getting globally popular nowadays.[36] Techno connecting to rave parties and

pub culture as a trendy cultural expression in the 1990s has deeply engaged in pop music's

international formations. The global spread of Techno does not entail a homogenization of

popular music; local inflections and variations mark the widening dissemination of Techno.

Infusion of Taiwanese folk elements into Techno music produces a locally specific expressive

culture of music called "Taiker Techno Music." In "Taiker Techno Music," we can discover

different strands of gender, class and national identity in the localities of Taiwan such as the

cultural representations and styles of "Taiker" (台客) or "Taimei" (台妹) that make "Taiker

Techno Music" significantly distinct from but also globally similar to Global Techno.

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[36] Please check the website of "Washington Observer" for more information:
http://www.washingtonobserver.org/SocCul-Techno-030503CN25.cfm

This is the cover picture of *Shining 3 Girls*' first album.

While the global popularity of Techno and Rave culture has drawn more and more discussions in Taiwan, not many critics pay attention to local variations of "Taiker Techno Music" and its impacts. Most of academic discussions in Taiwan still focus on the relations of Techno, Rave Party and Drugs. I will instead investigate the local transformations discovered in the music and performance of *Shining 3 Girls*, one representative group of "Taiker Techno Music," to look at the agency of localities and its local activations given the encountering between the global and the local, and between Techno music and Taiker culture (台客文化). How are the global flows embodied in the aesthetical representations

and imaginations of music culture implied in "Taiker Techno Music?" How do the local

subjects, through the senses, serve as the material space that contains such flows as capital,

technology and ideology? Briefly, I will examine the aesthetical implications and cultural

politics converged in "Taiker Techno Music."

In my view, neither the traditional Marxist category such as Theodor Adorno and Max

Horkheimer's "cultural industry" nor the postcolonial vocabulary of "hybridity" by Homi K.

Bhabha can fully explain the cultural complexity of Techno as the global popular in the

local context of Taiwan's music geographies. The former overlooks the local mobility

whereas the latter overvalorizes the local agency by underestimating the control of global

capital. Ardono, in "On Popular Music," critically comments that popular music is always

already planned by "structural standardization" and "pseudo-individualization" (305-07).

He argues that large-scale economic concentration has institutionalized the standardization

of popular music. Market competition makes imitation necessary. As Ardono remarks, "the

most successful hits, types, and 'ratios' between elements were imitated, and the process

culminated in the crystallization of standards" (306). According to Ardono, popular music is

a completely dominated cultural industry determined by market and capital. Any local

music, in this sense, has always already been pre-structured by the global capital. Though I

agree that the power of market and capital will have structuring effects on popular music, I

seek to explore more localities and creativities in local music, illustrated by the example of

Shining 3 Girls.

In addition, I do not intend to employ cultural hybridity, Bhabha's postcolonial vocabulary to explain "Taiker Techno Music" culture in Taiwan because his concept of hybridity stresses too much the cultural ambiguity and ambivalence with such terms as "beyond," "in-between," or "transnational/translational" (Bhabha 4-5). Such postcolonial discourse cannot analytically bring out different localities but will possibly replicate the global hierarchy and become the accomplice of global power. If we overemphasize the ambiguity of transnational cultural flows, we will fail to grasp the material conditions that ensure circulation of these flows and will not be able to clarify its power relations consequently.

Cultural globalization, or the cultural encountering of the global and the local, which involves both local differences and transnational flows should not be simply termed with cultural hegemony of colonialism. As Arjun Appadurai reminds us, the flows of cultural globalization are in "disjuncture."[37] In other words, we should not regard the process of cultural globalization as the simplified oppositions of the colonizers and the colonized or the centered culture versus the marginal one. In addition, we should not romanticize national narrations that exaggerate the mobility and agency of our local and national culture without considering the impacts of global capital. From this complex perspective of cultural

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[37] Please see Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy" (27-47).

globalization, I attempt to sift multiple cultural politics layered on "Taiker Techno Music"

through *Shining 3 Girls*.

I. Techno as the Global Popular

Techno, broadly speaking, refers to any music created through digital technologies

such as tape recorders, turntables, synthesizers, computers, drum machines, electronic

basses and computer software. The period from the 1980s to 1990s is a significant historical

phase of understanding how people applied advanced technology to dance music and how

the technological inventions boosted the development of Techno in the Western popular

culture. In other words, the advent of digital technology in the early 1980s resulted in the

invention of music, particularly new formation of Techno. Arguably, Techno music or dance

music was initially an alternative music popularized mainly among the youth especially in

the U.K.[38] Techno, in connection to Acid House Parties (Rave Party) and DIY culture[39]

(self-creation of music as a trope for autonomy of the youth), has formed the so-called Rave

or Club Culture as an expression of protest against mainstream (music) culture.

Experimental music such as Rock, Hip-Hop or Techno in each period expressed

dissatisfaction about the society and usually called for political agenda. In 1988, Rave,

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[38] It might be dangerous to make a statement like this because the exact origin of Techno music is debatable. The reason I choose the period of the 1980s in the U.K. is because it is generally agreed that dance music (or Techno) in the U.K. plays an influential and pioneering role in the global formation and popularity of Techno music.

[39] DIY culture stresses the independence of each individual and encourages one to create one's own cultural expression. Moreover, philosophy of DIY culture concerns about communication on the basis of rationality. See *Electronic Bible of Dance Music*《電子聖經舞曲》(20-21).

similar to those experimental music cultures, spread over Europe and U.S. as an expressive

subculture of the youth, who shared a sense of "community" through the music ritual, where

they could seek for bodily and spiritual liberations. However, drug-using such as taking

LSD (Lysergic Acid Diethylamide) or Ecstasy (MDMA) in Rave Parties and Club scenes

aroused moral panic and state intervention. In 1991, Entertainments (Increased Penalties)

outlawed the staging of unlicensed raves and the legislation of Criminal Justice and Public

Order Act 1994 authorized the police to "remove persons attending or preparing for a rave"

in the U.K. (Bennett 124). Under such political circumstances, Rave Parties have become

indoor activities in the pub or club rather than being held outdoors as before, which is called

"clubization of dance scenes."

This booming Rave wave was not halted because of the legal strike; instead, with the

technological progress and accessibility, "Global Techno Tribe"[40] is gradually being formed

because of the reviving pub culture and rave community in these two decades. The

development of technology allows more people to engage in Techno, creating their own

music through electronic devices like computers or listening to digital music. Facilities of

computers, the Internet and MP3 have also made it a new trend among the music and

computer users to combine music and technology nowadays. Apart from the progress of

technology, it is the commercialization of Rave that accelerates the worldwide popularity of

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[40] "Global Techno Tribe" asserts a worldwide community and a shared youth culture through consumption of
Techno with the help of technology like the Internet to transgress the limitations of time and space.

Techno. Techno initially is only an alternative music distanced from the mainstream of pop

music but because its musical uniqueness connected to dancing and club culture and its

stress on self-creativities, Techno has appealed to a large number of young people.

Moreover, Techno's PLUR[41] spirit has gained wide recognition from the audience, who

projects their desire on Techno or Rave in search of spiritual peace to believe that a Utopia

of Peace, Love, Unity and Respect does exist. Such worldwide popularity of Techno

convinces those global investors that this is a lucrative enterprise and the international

corporations therefore try their best to propel the global circulations of Techno and related

cultural products to make Techno a globally profitable cultural economy.
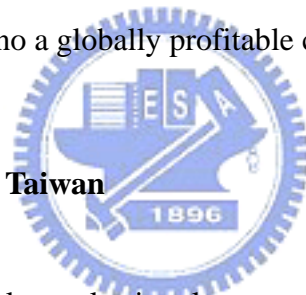
II. "Taiker Techno Music" in Taiwan

The forming of the global popular involves several factors in the process of cultural

globalization. The global popularity of Techno music has much to do with the flows of

capital and image through the global media. According to Simon During, the global popular

includes at least four levels: "financing; governmental regulations; technology and market

appeal of particular stars" (810). During's analysis of the global popular helps explain how

Techno becomes popular in the socio-economic context of Taiwan. In the example of

Shining 3 Girls, this group's popularity indeed depends on the flow of capital, governmental

regulation (the revival of the performance of electronic float), technology (musical

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[41] P.L.U.R. stands for peace, love, unity and respect.

techniques) and the characterization of particular star charisma (*Shining 3 Girls'* unique performing style). As mentioned above, the lucrative potential of Techno music has caught the eyes of international music corporations to popularize it as much as possible. Brand making via multimedia is one of the most effective marketing strategies to promote such image-producing products as music, cinema or TV shows. Music is acoustic, and provides the pleasure of the hearing. Yet is the enjoyment of music limited to the hearing? In what senses/ways can listening to the music also be connected to the visual imaginations or the visuality of music itself? To what extent do the visual and the hearing complement each other? Promotions of music products in this high-tech age should appeal as much to the pleasure of the hearing as that of the visual through the media representations of the artists, including their images, actions and dancing, which are essential elements of Techno music. Since Techno underscores the harmonious communications between rhythm of music and bodily movements for physical and mental release, it would be easier to catch the audience's attentions if resorting to the media's visual representations.

Techno music is distributed by every means possible with the aid of transnational capital flow and advanced technologies, including TV commercials, broadcasting stations, music videos or through the Internet. In the media, Techno is strategically labelled as "the global popular" to create its ambivalent popularity to the consumers. By ambivalent popularity, I mean Techno music, before it actually becomes the global popular, must have been packaged

as an "always already" global popular culture like the givenness of a famous brand product to achieve its real global popularity. For example, to propagandize Techno music, promoters will first put tags such as "New Music Power" (音樂新勢力) or "New Fashion Guide" (流行新指標) on Techno to visually enchant the consumers so as to make this type of music look as if it had been a new global trend and widely popular throughout the world.

For a densely populated island like Taiwan, Techno functions as a "yearning space" for all the listeners who seek for mental and physical emancipations. Since "seeing is believing," those floating images associated with Techno such as "fashion," "freedom," "avant-garde," "progress," "liberation" and "vigor" readily induce the audience into the Techno world and convince them that it is the globally trendy music that should not be missed. Techno music in this sense fulfills the audience's transnational imaginations by connecting them to the world because consuming the Techno music in the same pace with the world ensures their positions in this "Global Techno Tribe" to make them believe all of them are members of the global village. As the famous DJ @LLEN of Taiwan mentions, "we are the local kids who are creating the world of our own; bodies in Taiwan, yet our minds have already synchronized with our people of global techno tribe, surfing into the hyper space and time with computers and speeding on the super highway of technology" (9).[42] Techno,

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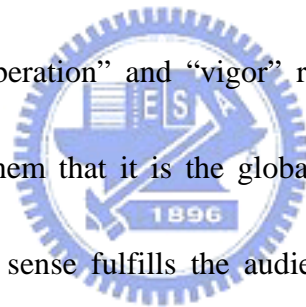
[42] This passage is quoted from the introduction of *Electronic Bible of Dance Music*《電子聖經舞曲》. It's written in Chinese and the English version is my own translation. Its original Chinese version says, 「我們是在創造我們自己的世界的在地仔，肉體在台灣，心靈卻已經在電腦超時空和資訊高速公路上與全球各地的電音族人同步」(9)。

acoustically as well as visually, casts the image of false equality of a global community to make believe everybody live in a world of peace, love, unity and respect (P.L.U.R).

In this "time-space compressed" era of globalization, Techno happens to open a transcendental space to compensate for "the lack" of those who live in a fragmented space in their everyday life. The process of globalization has been profoundly reorganizing time and space, among which space has been dramatically altered. Spatial changes would directly influence everyday life of local subjects who are interacting with their living space every day. Taiwan's highly-populated living space has encountered more drastic compressing and compartmenting because of the globalizing process. Bodily compression and pressures, due to the shrinking living space, propel people in Taiwan look for bodily outlets, visually or acoustically, to release themselves by consuming Techno. Techno usually adopts strong beats, high tempo and space music (空音) to create an illusory and fantasy world where one may enjoy extending imaginations of unlimited freedom without bodily confinement. As Sharon Zukin suggests, "Cultural activities are supposed to lift us out of the mire of our everyday lives and into the sacred spaces of ritualized pleasures" (1). In order to traverse the various cultural boundaries to become the global popular, Techno should be promoted as a borderless popular music to which everyone is accessible. By culturally universalizing Techno music as a shared culture assisted by capital flows and market expansion, international corporations successfully turn Techno into a form of the global popular.

In this sense, Techno music can no longer be de-politicized as an "innocent" cultural expression; instead, we need to carefully examine the cultural economy of Techno music and its ideological re-formations. Consumption of Techno, as the most popular music in the western countries like U.K., U.S., and Germany, makes one feel elevated as the first-world's citizen, even in Taiwan, and produces an ideal image of the global village for whoever "buys"[43] Techno. Techno music not only creates an infinite sense of space but also evokes cultural imaginations of modernization and progress. Techno music in its fantastic sense might fulfill our global imaginary; for instance, dancing with Techno at raves as one performative ritual will lead all the participants to one virtual reality. In the real sense of our everyday life, however, our living space is being constantly compressed. Rather than actually releasing us from everyday compression of space, consuming Techno music might merely contain our desires. If we keep naturalizing Techno as a simple music form of the global popular without investigating its capitalist logic and the process of ideological making on the global scale, we might not be able to reveal the localities in the music landscapes of Taiwan.

Re-politicization of Techno in its socio-economic context does not mean to deny the localities but to elaborate the complex relationship between the popularity of Techno and global cultural economy. Only through critical examinations of the cultural complexity and

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[43] "Buy" used here carries two levels of meanings: one means that you accept this music ideologically and thus internalize this music; for example, we say "I buy it" in English implies you take or accept it. The other one means that you economically or practically spend money on this type of music.

its power relations can the localities of music in Taiwan be highlighted. It is well observed

that music market in Taiwan is basically highly commercialized and relatively lacking

music uniqueness.[44] It seems to many that Taiwan does not have any unique contemporary

popular music of its own but follows mostly American and Japanese music market.

Taiwan's pop music is practically led by the American music market. Even so, I might

hasten to add, it does not entail any global music system would overwhelm each national

music market and consume all its local varieties. Taiwan's local music is not passively

receiving whatever comes. As Robinson Campbell argues in *Music at the Margins*, the

undeniable process of globalization and the invention of transnational cooperation has

attributed to the "commercialization of all aspects of life, combined into a demand for

preservation of local cultural identity, a phenomenon we refer to as indigenization" (228).

Inspired by Cambell's concept of indigenization, I argue that the blending of local elements

and global tastes as one's cultural representation contributes to self-creation of local music

in the age of globalization. Techno as the global popular in the local contexts of Taiwan

consists of complicated local factors intricately converged in the localization of Techno

music, involving Taiwan's music market, music industry, consumer culture and gender

politics. Absorption of local music elements and adaption of Techno into the environment of

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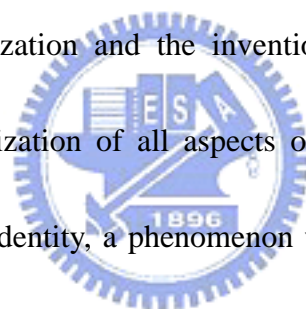
[44] This statement is not to deny many Taiwan's music historical periods, including our Taiwanese music creations in the sixties or Chinese music creations in the forties. Most importantly, Taiwan's folk music in the seventies is usually regarded as a significant historical period of Taiwan's music culture. See Chao-wei, Chang. *Who is singing his/her own songs: the history of folk music movement in Taiwan*.張釗維：《誰在那邊唱自己的歌：台灣現代民歌運動史》. Here, I mean the music market after the eighties, which has become more and more commercialized because of the industrialization.

Taiwan's music market give birth to the vernacular music expression, "Taiker Techno Music." Artists such as *BOB* (芭比姊妹), *Jeannie Hsieh* (謝金燕) and *Shining 3 Girls* (閃亮三姊妹) could be three significant representatives of "Taiker Techno Music."

From the aspect of music components—especially, the tempo, beats and lyrics—"Taiker Techno Music" demonstrates local differences from "Techno." In effect, one of the distinctive features of Techno is its mechanical beats and tempo, stressing its technical mixing, remixing and sampling rather than its lyrics or performance. "Taiker Techno Music," however, is famous for its colloquial, funny, and sometimes "obscene" Taiwanese or Mandarin Chinese lyrics, to get close to the everyday life of the audience. With a careful examination, one will find numerous familiar local objects, scenes or language expressions adopted in "Taiker Techno Music" to create cultural familiarity of local Taiwan. First of all, these lyrics are usually easy to understand, direct and blatant, mostly related to the theme of "love." The reason why "Taiker Techno Music" uses these characteristics is to correspond to the cultural expressions and imagination of Taiker groups as its primary audience to make these Taiker consumers identify with this music. Take *Shining 3 Girls* for example, colloquial, local/vulgar and sensual/sensuous lyrics make their songs memorable and sexy:[45]

> "When mobile phone is ringing,　　　　　　　「行動電話響的時候，
>
> In this raining afternoon,　　　　　　　　　在這個依然下著大雨的午後，

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[45] All the following Chinese or Taiwanese lyrics are translated into English by myself.

You, big stupid head, big devil head,   你大笨頭大魔頭，

big taro head, big pig head,   大芋頭大豬頭，

You are fooling me again…"   你又在騙我了、、、」

<Give Me Several Seconds>   〈給我幾秒鐘〉

"Come, come, come to date me;   「快來快來約我，快來快來約我，

I am your new babe.   我是你的新寶貝。

Come, come, come to date me;   快來快來約我，快來快來約我，

love story is playing tricks.   愛的故事在做崇。

Come, come, come to date me;   快來快來約我，快來快來約我，

never waste your youth.   青春千萬別浪費。

Come, come, come to date me;   快來快來約我，快來快來約我，

you will regret if delayed…"   慢了你就要後悔、、、」

<Come, Come to Date Me >   〈快來快來約我〉

"On fire, my whole body is burning for you, 「著火了，我全身都為你發燙

On, on, on fire,   著著著火了，

in the night when my mind goes crazy,   在情緒變亂的夜晚，

On fire this time, would you help me out?   這次我火了，誰能來幫我一點忙

On, on, on fire,　　　　　　　　　　　　　　著著著火了，

would be different if you were with me…"　　有了你就會不一樣、、、」

<Sparkling Glamour>　　　　　　　　　　〈魅力四射〉

In addition to the colloquially expressive lyrics, some of their songs use Taiwanese words and vernacular Taiwanese expressions. Take "Pa" (帕) for instance, it is one local Taiwanese word and its meanings vary within different contexts. When we describe someone's style as "pa" or "pa li pa li" (帕里帕里) in Taiwanese,[46] it means he/she is very fashionable. Or sometimes when we say "pa-chi-a,"(帕妻仔) "pa" here converts to a verb to mean "to court somebody" so "pa-chi-a" is to court women. Another example is "Too many dinosaurs but few handsome guys." Dinosaurs, widely used among the youth in Taiwan, metaphorically refer to ugly men or women. Moreover, their lyrics absorb everyday objects familiar to all its audiences such as "Pearl Milk Tea." This is to take advantage of Taiwan's daily drinking (food) culture to localize "Taiker Techno Music" into our everyday life.

"Polish your ten nails red,　　　　　　　　「十隻指頭嘛擦紅紅，

put powders on your face　　　　　　　　　胭脂水粉嘛加減抹，

Put on perfume and go 'pa-ing'…　　　　　香水噴袂煞，啊，來去帕一下、、、

Wearing the shortest skirts and　　　　　　裙愛穿短短，

the low-cut dresses to go 'pa-ing'　　　　　衫愛露較低，來去帕一下、、、」

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[46] Such locally-specific languages are particularly used among Taikers.

(put on your sexiest dress

to hook up somebody you like) …"

<div align="right">

<Go Pa-ing>　　　　　　　　　〈來去帕一下〉

</div>

"Give me a cup of pearl milk tea,　　　　　　「來一杯泡沫珍珠茶，

and two straws stick together.　　　　　　兩支吸管來黏相偎。

Don't you know that I am waiting?　　　　心裏的等待，你敢不知？

Give me a cup of pearl milk tea,　　　　　來一杯泡沫珍珠茶，

and two hands hold together.　　　　　　兩雙手咱來牽作伴。

Pearls are like my feelings,　　　　　　珍珠是阮的感情，

always countless to you…"　　　　　　給你永遠算袂清、、、」

<div align="right">

<Pearl Milk Tea>　　　　　　　〈泡沫珍珠茶〉

</div>

"Don't be afraid, don't be afraid, Count on me.　　「不要怕，不要怕，我給你靠

Too many dinosaurs but few handsome guys,　　恐龍多多，帥哥太少，

Prince Charming is missing.　　　　　　王子不見了。

As long as we support each other,　　　　只要我們常相依靠，

we will never become unwanted…"　　　　不會沒人要…」

<div align="right">

<Count on Me>　　　　　　　〈給你靠〉

</div>

These distinctively local characteristics found in the lyrics of "Taiker Techno Music"

elicit the "uncanny" feelings toward "Taiker Techno Music," which shows great contrasts to

our typical imagination of Techno as global. This contrast produces local intimacy of the

global popular. To understand this transformation of Techno, we should first of all consider

Taiker Techno Music's target consumers, namely the group of Taikers. Simply put, the

displacement of the bourgeois' cultural tastes with Taikers' is one critical factor attributing

to the alteration of "Taiker Techno Music." I argue that these Taikers who listen to *Shining 3*

Girls' music fundamentally manifest gender and class differences with different cultural

capital from those consumers of Western Techno. In fact, Techno consumers in the West

basically have already acquired the cultural learning to "appreciate" Techno music, mainly

the taste of middle class, while in Taiwan, Taikers dominantly comprised by lower

middle-class people who will occasionally been regarded vulgar.[47] To make "Taiker Techno

Music" culturally accessible and acceptable to the groups of Taiker, those colloquial and

localized lyrics intended for Taikers' culture thus become important and necessary.

This local variation of Techno music in lyrics is furthermore related to the particular

KTV culture in Taiwan. Going to KTV has now become one of the most common

recreations for Taiwanese people since singing in KTV is a dominant way to release one's

pressure and to gain pleasure.[48] Having revelry at KTVs and attending Rave Parties have

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[47] Taikers in Taiwan are regarded vulgar but I would prefer calling folk.

[48] See "Leisure Politics: the pleasure and power relations in KTV" by Shu-mei Chang〈休閒的政治-KTV的快
感與權力關係〉by 張淑玫 for related issues and further discussions about the leisure politics of KTV.

one purpose in common: to get liberation through music in different ways. One would

"sing" with the music in KTVs but "dance" with the music at Rave Parties. This explains

why lyrics are so much emphasized in "Taiker Techno Music" but not in original Techno

because Techno in the West is basically created for dancing while "Taiker Techno Music" is

for dancing as well as for singing. Presently, music corporations' most effective marketing

strategy in Taiwan is to cooperate with KTV business to promote their music products and

artists to proliferate common interests. The close connection between "Taiker Techno

Music" and KTV culture is evidenced by the fact that several songs of *Shining 3 Girls* and

other "Taiker Techno Music" like *BOB's* are enlisted as the most frequently selected Top 20

among KTVs such as Cashbox (錢櫃), Holiday (好樂迪), V-mix and Hsiao Ao Chiang Hu

(笑傲江湖).[49] This example shows another localizing aspect of how Techno adapts itself to

the consumer culture of Taiwan's music market.

Though being influenced by House, "Taiker Techno Music" becomes slower in

rhythm. At the end of the eighties, House was almost synonymous with dance music, and

from then on had been more and more commercialized with its increasing popularity.

"House music was developed by DJs in Chicago gay clubs during the late 1970s (see

Rietveld 1997) who used a technique known as blend mixing, where musical passages from

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[49] Cashbox (錢櫃), Holiday (好樂迪), V-mix and Hsiao Ao Chiang Hu (笑傲江湖) are four major KTV businesses in Taiwan and Hsiao Ao Chiang Hu even selects "Powerful and Hot Dance Music" top 20; several songs of Shining 3 Girls are selected: "Queen Knight" (皇后騎士), "Go Pa-ing" and "Give me Several Seconds."

existing recordings pressed on vinyl are 'mixed' together on a twin-turntable record player

to produce new sounds and tonal textures, and, in some cases, entirely new songs or pieces

of music" (Bennett 119). House is generally called the "metamorphosis" of Disco music

because it derived from Disco but evolved into another form of dance music, the music that

mostly re-mixes different patterns with repetitions to create "disordered" sounds. Even in

the nineties, House remains the major dance music in the "E-generation" but it has had

various developments in its beats, tempos and re-mixing techniques.

"Taiker Techno Music" in Taiwan combines House and Techno by making some

changes on tempo, beats and remixing to demonstrate other local varieties. In the music of

Shining 3 Girls, it is their vocal part rather than the repeating engineering re-mixing that is

stressed. Generally speaking, House would highlight the technical parts of sampling through

digital technologies instead of the vocal, which is called "Dub;"[50] nonetheless, the "Dub"

part is seldom found in the songs of *Shining 3 Girls*. As it has been suggested previously,

the "Dub" techniques would lessen the vocal performance, but were not for the vocal part,

the music would be disqualified for singing but dancing only. To satisfy the need of Taikers,

local techno would focus on the vocal of performers and slow down the tempo to make it

more suitable for singing. If the beats go too fast, it would make singing too challenging

particularly for KTV goers.

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[50] Dub is a skill to blank the vocal part and keep only the background music or rhythm.

In addition to those factors and varieties mentioned previously that operate in the local differences of Techno, technology is another key factor of Techno's development in Taiwan. It is impossible for Techno to thrive that quickly in the music environment of Taiwan without its technological development and considerable computer users. The advanced technologies in Taiwan entail the flow of Techno music to Taiwan for Techno musicians cannot do the mixing, re-mixing and sampling if there are no digital music instruments such as synthesizer, electronic guitar or anything alike. Taiwan's high-tech industries in this sense boost Techno in Taiwan's music market. For the same reason of technological development in Taiwan, consumers in Taiwan basically familiarize themselves with high-tech products, especially computers. People in Taiwan thus are not just familiar with to but open-minded to Techno music.

Techno music frequently stresses its democratic character because it proves that, everyone in this world can make his/her own music in whatever ways s/he likes by means of digital technologies. The democratization of music production aims not only to explode the conformity of music creation so as to diversify pop music but also to make one become the creator of music according to life style and taste of his own. It is believed that more possibilities or novelties could be created in Techno because high-tech products like computers will help to compose "various" versions of music; that is, each one (person or country) can create individualized music styles. Similarly, when traveling to Taiwan,

Techno has been "re-transformed" or "re-created" in correspondence to the pop music's audience in Taiwan.

However while embracing the democratic theory about Techno music culture, we might have to consider the problem brought about by technology, what we called the "digital divide." The democratization of music illustrated by Techno, for some countries or people, could be nothing more than a slogan because they have no sufficient subsidies, technological equipments, and expertise to "afford" this music.[51] Instead of being so democratic as claimed, Techno music probably demarcate new groups regarding to ethnicities, classes and genders. Musician Chung-hua Ni (倪重華) has said, "sound of computer is now the natural sound in the young generation" (7).[52] This observation points out the difference of the ages though, what leaves unanswered includes the regional differences, gender and class issues.
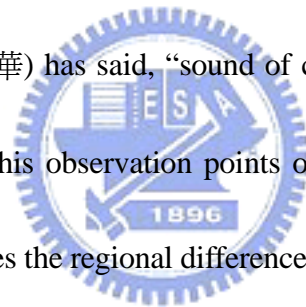
III. The Return of the Repressed: Revisiting Gender and Class Divisions in the "Taiker Techno Music"

Examples given above illustrate some local agency in the global process of Techno music in Taiwan and address the presence of localities within the transformations of Techno

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[51] Those places that lack high-tech material infrastructures as Taiwan will have more difficulties in forming Techno music culture due to insufficient computers, electronic guitars, and synthesizers. Unlike Taiwan where there is a base structure of high technologies and professional knowledge, in low-tech areas, lack of media literacy and reproduction techniques about how to use or reproduce these high-tech products will make Techno music a less profitable business in the eyes of entrepreneurs. In other words, music market of Taiwan is undoubtedly changed by the arrival of Techno but it should also be noted that Taiwan's music market might "actively" appropriate or take the music elements of Techno to enrich its own music culture. Learning from the global experience that Techno music is a lucrative enterprise, Taiwan's music industry itself also welcomes this type of music to flow in.

[52] Please see *Electronic Bible of Dance Music*《電子聖經舞曲》. This is my own English translation and its original Chinese is, 「電腦的聲音是現在年輕世代的自然聲。」

in Taiwan through the case of *Shining 3 Girls*. To further elaborate it, the localization of the global Techno music into "Taiker Techno Music" engages in local differences to make cultural products (or forms) cross national and cultural boundaries. As Stuart Hall reminds us, "And then this other form of the global post-modern which is trying to live with, and at the same moment, overcome, sublate, get hold of, and incorporate difference" (33). The global popularity of Techno also demands for incorporation, absorption and adaptation in the process of globalization. Clearly, the local transformations and features embodied in the local techno music of *Shining 3 Girls* have demonstrated so-called "local differences."

Nevertheless, local differences of "Taiker Techno Music" are not merely shown in the music components and music markets. The body performance of *Shining 3 Girls* also makes us rethink gender and class divisions. Since the group of *Shining 3 Girls* were once "Girls of Electronic Float"(電子花車女郎), their performances and styles should not be left out of this vernacular expression of the traditional culture, "Electronic Float," in the social contexts of Taiwan. The performative culture of "Electronic Float" is definitely too complicated to be covered in one or two passages in this section. What I would like to do is to examine how the "Girls of Electronic Float" are transformed into *Shining 3 Girls* in the mainstream of pop music. Therefore, this section of my chapter tries to give a general account of the history of "Electronic Float" in an attempt to make the comparison between "Electronic Float" and "Techno"(or "Taiker Techno Music") and to see how/why the vulgar

"Electronic Float" could return to converge with the global popular, Techno.

The rising of "Electronic Float" around 1950s in Taiwan, which had been labeled as moral decay, was actually an industry important to Taiwan's economics then and a vernacular cultural expression as well. At funerals, weddings or temple fairs (廟會), "Electronic Float" appeared to warm up these rituals or ceremonies of celebrations or mourning. Due to the obligation of "warming up," all the performers of "Electronic Float" would make the best of crying or singing or "playing" (playing the music and playing with their bodies), depending on different situations. Specifically, the performance of "Electronic Float" could be divided into several types for different purposes and functions. According to Chiung-hsia Chang (張瓊霞), the performing team of "Electronic Float" consists of emcee, singers, strippers, show girls, magicians and filial daughters (孝女), and each of them would adjust his/her performances to meet varied needs of every single rite (39). According to Chang's research, the increasing popularity of "Electronic Float" had maintained for ten years or so from the 1970s to 1980s until Tung-min Hsieh (謝東閔), the head of the Taiwan province (省主席) at that time, outlawed these folk activities in 1987. Since making Taiwan a modernized country as the Western ones became the first priority of the government then, the "vulgar" folk culture of "Electronic Float" was definitely one of the worst enemies that should be wiped out. Among all the performances, the display of female nudities to the public in the rites of funerals, weddings or temple fairs has been the most controversial: is

this "religious" or "obscene?" Clearly, prohibition of such performance has explained that the government officials regarded it as a form of moral degeneration for a "progressive" society like Taiwan.

But, if Techno is now one of the most "in" or "hito" cultures on the global scale, the similarities between Techno and "Electronic Float" in terms of music and performance beg the following questions: Under what socio-cultural circumstances was the performance of "Electronic Float" labeled as vulgar, obscene and low culture in the eighties? And what historical conditions in the nineties give rise to the revival of "Electronic Float" culture in Taiwan? I will address these questions along with two lines: one focuses on the cultural similarities between the global Techno and the local "Electronic Float" performance; the other discusses the feminist/gender discourses about these female performances and female bodies of the performers of "Electronic Float."

Firstly, "Electronic Float" (*電子花車*) and Techno (*電子*舞曲) both using electronic devices, in Chinese Tien-tzu (電子), means their technological applications and advancement. The performance of "Electronic Float" relies on the use of "electronic piano" while Techno needs "synthesizer." Though the performance of "Electronic Float" was regarded as degeneration, its technical application of electronic piano in "Electronic Float" signified the progress at least in the aspect of technology. In this respect, both "Electronic Float" and Techno similarly try to combine technology with music performance even in different

periods. The use of electronic instruments in both of these performing cultures serves one common purpose of "catharsis:" Techno music in Rave Parties or the performance of "Electronic Float" at traditional rituals are intended for "liberations" or "soul-healings." For the purpose of catharsis, the bodily movements and the tempo of music have to be correspondingly balanced; that is, our body has to sway with the beats to reach harmony because body performance has significant symbolic meanings in the rituals. It is generally believed that only when the rituals are acted/performed out through bodily movements like running, waving or circling, would this invocation for "God" be working out.

The emergence of *Shining 3 Girls* in Taiwan in the age of globalization has re-converged Techno and "Electronic Float," one of the very distinctive localities in "Taiker Techno Music." Significantly, the new convergence of Techno and "Electronic Float" in the performance of *Shining 3 Girls* also impels us to revisit the gender differences and class divisions in "Taiker Techno Music." From the "intertextualities" and intimacy between Techno and "Electronic Float," we can see why most performers of "Taiker Techno Music" are female. Here I propose to more comprehensively interpret the gendering of "Taiker Techno Music" in the context of globalization. Carla Freeman in her essay, "Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization," poses the question about the gendering divisions of globalization. Globalization has been considered "masculine," metaphorically a penetrating force to the "virgin lands" of the local, thus

feminized. What Freeman attempts to do is to challenge or subvert such divisions, which imply the absent agency of women/localities.

Following Freeman's argument, I hope to represent the absence, the new possibilities within the case of *Shining 3 Girls* about the gendered qualities of globalization. The cultural space of Techno music now is still male-dominated. For instance, most of the DJs at raves are males in the Western countries even though more females have emerged than before. The presence of *Shining 3 Girls*, however, challenges the gender dichotomy of globalization. The combinations of Techno music, the Betel-Nut-Beauty[53] style of dress, the dancing of showgirls/stripteasers, the local accents, and multi-lingual lyrics (Chinese, Taiwanese, Hakka and English)[54] make *Shining 3 Girls* distinctively a new convergence in the era of globalization and create their peculiarity as female performers. This global convergence exemplified by *Shining 3 Girls* opens more space for women to demonstrate their agency. Compared with women, it is obviously too challenging for men to combine these characteristics such as the Electronic Float Girls' performing styles, stripteaser' dancing and the Betel Nut Beauties' dressing. From the perspective of cultural feminists, their performance with sexual bodily displays in sexy dresses might be criticized as objectification of the female body to greet male gaze. Instead of seeing them as objects for

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[53] Betel Nut Beauties, or Betel Nut Girls, in Chinese are called "Binlang Xishi" (檳榔西施). Dressed in bikinis or thongs, these young girls sit in a glass booth, often decorated by neon lights, on the sides of roads and freeways to sell betel nuts and drinks.

[54] *Shining 3 Girls* are Hakka people and also hosts of one Hakka TV program called "His Mei An Ching," which means "Miss (His Mei) Beautiful (An Ching)."

male desire, I consider their "self-manipulation" of body performance as the empowerment of women and the self-mastery of sexuality.

The self-consciousness and self-mastery of *Shining 3 Girls* should be analyzed in the context of their performing experiences as girls of "Electronic Float" together with the performance of stripteasers or erotic dancers in Taiwan. Self-mastery is one key capacity whether for girls of "Electronic Float" or for stripteasers. To make a successful performance, they need to have everything and everyone under their control by accurately choreographing their own singing, dancing and bodies. For instance, *Shining 3 Girls*' dancing is definitely powerful and outstanding and they themselves have designed all dancing movements. In other words, each move they make on the stage is under the control of their own and they know exactly how to "play" with their bodies rather than just "display." The viewers can only feast their "eyes" upon *Shining 3 Girls* but cannot take the control of their bodies. According to Josephine Ho (何春蕤), who has done a field observation on erotic dancers/stripteasers in the pubs of Taiwan, these dancers occupy the leading position during the whole show or performance because with the dexterity they know how to master and manipulate the site/space, literally their working sites and their bodily space/their own bodies as well. These new interactive practices and self-mastery of body, as Ho suggests, create "heterotopias" for these girls (175-77). Such sex/gender discourse about female stripteasers or erotic dancers in the nineties of Taiwan has opened alternative cultural space

for discussions about body politics and brought new possibilities for female bodies or performance as *Shining 3 Girls*.

Even so, we should not ascribe *Shining 3 Girls*' popularity to the focus of "body" exclusively. In fact, their popularity also results from their accessibilities, including their music, style and class, to the audience. That means they represent the folk cultural style close to the everyday life of the public rather than elite cultural tastes. Moreover, their amazing ability of warming up in live shows has won them more attractions. At computer displays, they have been frequently invited to warm up the shows and to make people gather around their stands. Due to the experience of working as girls of electronic float, they usually make a great success. From time to time, they are chosen to be the advocates of online games by the computer companies. Consequently, the "penetration" of Techno as the global popular does not sweep out the localities; rather, the coming of Techno leads to the return of the repressed vernacular culture of "Electronic Float" with different styles and offers new possibilities for those "female" performers now and then to exhibit "masculine" power of women in the arena of "Taiker Techno Music," from which we still see local agencies of females.

Among all the possibilities of females/localities in this case of *Shining 3 Girls*, the last point I would like to address is the different performing space when they were "Girls of Electronic Float" then and are *Shining 3 Girls* now in the light of technological

development/accessibility and the "aura." In fact, the performance of "Electronic Float" is live and place-bound; the performers on the float could have "real" interactions with the viewers. Unlike the live shows of "Electronic Float" on stage, *Shining 3 Girls*' music and performance in TV shows or music videos are mostly technologically mediated and reproduced. In this way, it will lose its "authenticity" or what Benjamin called "aura." As Benjamin argues, " …man has to operate with his whole living person, yet forgoing its aura. For aura is tied to his presence; there can be no replica of it" (229). In other words, while we are celebrating the popularization of culture at the mechanical age, the aura of live presence/performance might have disappeared.

The media representations might erase some localities on account of misrepresentation, ideological stereotypes and over-commercialization of our local cultures. However, the development of technology has already changed our lives and our cultural reproductions. If we consider media and technology as totally negative, we might miss a number of opportunities of re-presenting our cultures and localities in the age of information and technology. Advanced technology in Taiwan gives us one advantage to develop our own cultures, like "Taiker Techno Music," when encountering the forces of globalization. The disappearing performative culture of "Electronic Float" now regains public attention and cultural values through the combination of the media and technology in the performance by *Shining 3 Girls*. They might have to face the censorship and might lose its "aura" when

doing performance via media. However, the appearance of *Shining 3 Girls* with the media

representations renders another space for our local folk culture and different resources for

the local. Their wide exposures through the media or live interactions with the audiences

have gained more and more recognition and make us re-examine our folk culture

seriously.[55] With the help of technological progress, we might stand a chance to bring our

culture to the world and to re-activate the local in our pop music.

IV. In Conclusion: Re-activation of the Local in Popular Music

Local resistance now seems a "must" in response to the "invasion" of globalization.

Techno music as the global popular indeed carries powerful flows of capitals, images and

ideologies but local resistance is not the only way out and the "local differences" as

influential actors in the process of globalization should not be underestimated. The

convergence of Techno, basically consumed by the middle class, and "Electronic Float,"

regarded as lower class, into the new performance of *Shining 3 Girls*, has illustrated the

activation of the local differences. The transformation of Techno into the "Taiker Techno

Music" with various local elements discovered in music, performance, gender and class

truly provides us an opportunity to re-assess the dialectics of the global and the local. The

case of *Shining 3 Girls* opens up new possibilities and perspectives on considering several

fluxes of globalization. The return of the "Electronic Float" with new forms evidenced by

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[55] Notably, *Shining 3 Girls* remain participating in "live" performances at computer displays, on campus and at weddings or temple fairs as usual even after they became stars.

the *Shining 3 Girls* should make us re-estimate the values of our own vernacular culture or

folk culture especially in the era of globalization. Exploring the multiplicities of "Taiker

Techno Music," I hope to show that this type of music should not be regarded simply as

local resistance but as a "local" culture that has global potential.

Conclusion

One of my major concerns is how the global flows such as flows of people, capital and culture enact on the localities of cultural representations in Taiwan. To investigate the power relations and cultural complexity entangled within these cultural expressions, this study proposes to start from our sensory experience. From the perspective of sensory experience, this thesis sets out to explore new possibilities whether in gender, class and local cultures by closely examining my two case studies of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*. Through a detailed analysis of these two significant (g)localized cultural expressions in Taiwan, I prove how the ideologies of global identities, such as cosmopolitan imaginations endowed with the skyscraper or the yearning for the global tribe of Techno music, are mediated through our sensory experience to invite us into the global subject positions. Critically examining different power relations and cultural ideologies of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls*, this study unravels the pedagogical aspect of our sensory experience implicated in these two cultural representations. As I have stressed, critical investigations of our local cultures do not mean to override the localities in Taiwan but to reactivate the local factors in the process of globalization.

Globalization has become one of the most hotly debated topics among a wide range of disciplines such as anthropology, history, sociology, literature, geography and cultural

studies. However, how to deal with the tension of the global and the local beyond the binarism becomes the most critical question. Binarism here refers to the predicaments of how to mobilize the localities, to extricate the most local factors, without being confined by the essentialized localism on one hand and how to avoid becoming accomplice of global hegemony in celebrating of "multi-culturalism" on the other. Engaging in the sensory experience in discussion of cultural globalization is to shed new light on the dialectics of the global and the local because I contend the sensory experience is the most contested domain of various global flows and daily localities. As two of my case studies show, globalization is not a totally overwhelming force that sweeps out all the localities; instead, from the perspective of sensory experience, we can discover or reactivate different possibilities in our local cultures. For instance, we find capital disparities, class divisions and spatial hierarchies between global elites and ordinary people in the case of *Taipei 101*. Or, we see the local elements of music, performance, gender roles and even the life-styles of Taiker in *Shining 3 Girls*.

Given no existing literatures and theories specifically on the interconnections between the sensory experience and cultural globalization, I provocatively foreground the sensory experience in understanding globalization and localization. To analytically address the concept of sensory experience, I try to formulate my own theoretical discourses in chapter one to help answer the problematic brought up in my thesis. This study generates the

theoretical concept of "(g)localization of the sensory experience" to explicate the social

dynamics of how the sensory experience of bodily senses in daily life interact with the

global order of power struggles and hierarchical regulations through negotiation, imitation,

and incorporation. In chapter two and three, I employ two examples of *Taipei 101* and

Shining 3 Girls to exemplify what I mean by (g)localization of the sensory experience in

theory and in practice. On this theoretical basis, this study undertakes to elucidate the

interwoven aesthetics and politics of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* by revealing the

political agenda and power relations in the aesthetization of these two (g)localized cultural

expressions in Taiwan. Through (g)localization of the sensory experience, *Taipei 101* is

being endowed with the cosmopolitan imaginations to fulfill the capitalistic purposes while

Shining 3 Girls is being fashioned as the connection to the global popular of Techno to

ensure the circulation and reproduction of the flow of popular music.
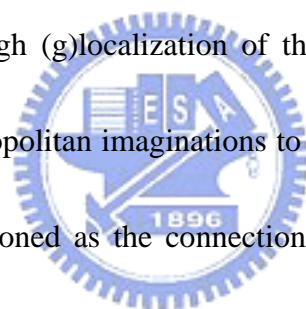
As previously mentioned, theorization of cultural politics of glocalization by

addressing the sensory experience could be one of the significant contributions of this thesis;

however, it is also a great challenge in view of insufficient theories related to my research.

In other words, my theoretical discourse on sensory experience might initiate different

perspectives in discussion of cultural globalization and new possibilities to address the

dialectics of the global and the local. However, being circumscribed by the scarcity of

related literatures, the scope of this study will thus have its limitations. By bringing up a

new idea of (g)localization of the sensory experience, this project expects to provoke more discussions and investigations of cultural globalization for the future research in theories as well as in case studies.

Both cases of *Taipei 101* and *Shining 3 Girls* have initiated more and more discussions in Taiwan since they are respectively significant cultural representative in architecture and in music. Though my study is relatively pioneering in exploring these two subjects, quite a lot of related issues and questions remain unanswered. My analysis of *Taipei 101* focuses mainly on the reproduction of space and cultural imaginations of cosmopolitanism conjured up by this world's tallest skyscraper but less on aspects of consumer's cultures such as consumer's tastes, shopping behaviors and gender roles in *Taipei 101 Mall*. In my second case of *Shining 3 Girls*, I explore cultural politics of "Taiker Techno Music" with an emphasis on its local differences in the global context. Related issue such as Taiker culture has been critically discussed among media, newspapers and magazines but not yet in academics so far. Through my study, I hope to see more fruitful and insightful academic discussions about these issues in the future.

<div align="center">**Works Cited**</div>

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