



# Catalyzing Innovation

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## Land Grabbing and Land Justice Movement in Taiwan

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## **Abstract**

The state in Taiwan played the leading role in the process of capital accumulation, and land was basically treated as economic production factor. In order to promote economic growth which is usually equal to public interest, the state frequently implements the power of eminent domain (or land expropriation, taking) to deprive land ownership or property right through the mechanism of land use planning. However, land is a precious resource needed for human development. A piece of land or a community can be a specific place for human identity. The relation between human and place cannot be separated in this sense. A subjective and valuable sense of place is very important for land use policy and planning. Thus, several people could define variety meanings of land.

Members of a particular geographic and political community should be included in planning process to ensure a future that is environmentally healthy and economically and socially vibrant at the local and regional levels. Unfortunately, because land use planning in Taiwan is a matter of the distribution of benefits and burdens, those who hold the most power tend to receive the most benefits and they try to exclude those powerlessness. Exclusion occurs through the mobilization of bias in the political process. Therefore, development-induced displacement (DID) has become a serious social problem.

Numerous protests have emerged in recent years in Taiwan. The Taiwan Rural Front, an advocacy NGO organization tries to help those farmers whose land have been deprived by the state. The protest activities led by the TRF are called the Land Justice Movement, which has great influence in Taiwan society recently (Hsu, 2017). The goal of the paper is to show the serious problem of land grabbing and forced evictions in Taiwan. The TRF and Land Justice Movement try to stop the authoritarian control of land use planning and to bring in deliberative democracy in it.

## **Key Words:**

Land Grabbing, Forced Eviction, Development-Induced Displacement (DID), Land Justice Movement, Human Right..



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Land expropriation in Taiwan has become a very serious social problem in recent years. In order to pursue development the government frequently uses its power of land expropriation to condemn private land. Many farmers and residents have been deprived of their properties and forced to leave their land and home. However, land has so many different values for different people; therefore, the embodiment of the development should take these different values into consideration. Regrettably, land in Taiwan historically is seen by the government only as a factor of production, whose only value lies in its contribution to GDP. The financial tsunami in 2008 does have great impacts on Taiwan. Economic growth rate dramatically plummeted. The biggest impacts are reduction of employment opportunity, decreasing of working income, and enlarging the disparity between the rich and the poor. Poverty and equity have become serious problems since 2008. Therefore, the most important goal for the state is to revive Taiwan's economy.

Both of the central and local governments have proposed many Big Plans. They have tried to remove obstacles to major private investment projects. Big business conglomerates and local political factions have become major partners with the state in their pursuit of Taiwan's economic growth. Unfortunately, many citizens are excluded from decision-making processes in these Big Plans. The governing regime employs the power of land expropriation, for example zone expropriation, to condemn farmlands, wetlands, and indigenous traditional lands. Many farmers and local residents are forced to leave their homes and farmlands. This has become a serious issue of development-induced displacement (DID). Severe protests have emerged in the last several years. Some people even sacrifice their life because they have been deprived of their land and homes.

## **Development-Induced Displacement (DID)**

What is the meaning of development-induced displacement (DID)? It refers to the bleak consequences confronted by people who forcibly removed or evicted from their habitat to make way for development projects (such as construction of dams, roads and other infrastructures) that were imposed ostensibly on them in the name of either 'national' or 'public' interest, which they may have little prior knowledge of or allegiance to. From as early as in the 1950s, for example, DID has been called different names by different researchers in different studies. For example, Kendra (2009) referred to it as 'development-caused displacement.' Brand (2001) called it 'displacement for development.' McDonald-Wilmsen (2009) and Price (2009) see it as 'development-induced displacement and resettlement' (DIDR).



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And Oliver-Smith (2009) and Scudder (2009) called it ‘development-forced displacement and resettlement (DFDR).

In essence, regardless of their names, the reality is that displacement is often involuntary and the consequences for those who are displaced, to most of these studies, have most been disastrous. Scudder and Colson (1982), for example, highlighted the stresses – physiological, psychological and socio-cultural – people had to go through the process of displacement and resettlement. These adverse consequences were most commonly observed in numerous infrastructural projects implemented for increasing water supply, providing new energy, renewing decaying urban areas as well as redistribution population (Robinson 2003). Cernea (2000) estimated that the number of people displaced by development projects between 1980 and 2000 was around 10 million people per year. Guided by this figure, some 90 million people will have been displaced by development projects by the end of 2009. This coincides with de Wet’s (2006) observation that some two hundred million people were displaced in the last two decades. And in many cases, when they refuse to move, they are portrayed by government agencies as "greedy", "uncooperative" and "trouble makers" when the general public remain un-educated about the severity of impacts deriving from forced removal on their lives and livelihoods (and hence no sympathy for them).

What should be noted is that DID in more recent times has arisen in a range of circumstances which differ markedly from the previous decades which were more or less related to infrastructural projects. This is understandable as development projects implemented in the 70s and 80s were still very much informed by modernization theory, which saw development projects as tools for transforming ‘backward’ traditional societies into complex, modern and Westernized ones. Large-scale, capital-intensive development projects were seen as a ‘necessary evil’ that would accelerate the pace of modernization that eventually would bring a brighter and better future and actual good to most people even if some were uprooted along the way.

Harvey (2012) attributed this to the fact that in a hyper, globalized economy where capital flows are fluid, rapid, and unstoppable, and unlimited profit-making is the rule of the day, land acquisition has become the new logic of capital gains, giving rise to new projects frequently demanding intensive land use and maximum profits. These include projects involving: Urban renewal: including gentrification, slum clearance, rezoning for development. Construction of public facilities such as new stadiums (for mega events such as the Olympic Games), conference/convention centers (for summit meetings) ,



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government complexes or transport corridor. Development of luxurious gated communities and apartments. Environmental conservation projects. Initiatives to foster growth in tourism. Noticeably, the displacement involved is anticipated and deliberate, often justified by how they can benefit the general public or ‘in the interest of public interest’ while the reasons why certain groups of people are selected for displacement remain unquestioned.

Not surprisingly, compensation or plans for resettlement are inadequately prepared or even ill-conceived, with little understanding of the concept of stress, the rate of change imposed and its irreversibility, the notion of ‘cumulated deprivation’ and the possibility of making the displaced entrapped in perpetual transition. More recently, Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) highlighted further the destabilizing effect of psycho-socio-cultural disruptions on *routine culture*. Routine culture is language, symbols, humor, and other socio-cultural expressions that are grounded in institutions, individuals and families through places and spaces and times as well as personal passages. The disruptions on routine culture would turn it into dissonant culture, making social life chaotic and rendering everyday lifeworld meaningless. Such social losses are beyond the narrow comprehension of economic calculation (McDowell and Morrell 2007). Not surprisingly, DID in recent times, has met with increasing public resistance where ‘developmentalism’ has been widely and traditionally accepted as a panacea for all social ills.

## **DID in Taiwan**

Taiwan’s development is concentrated on economic growth, especially after the financial tsunami in 2008. The state itself has serious problem of financial deficit, and it need to have several ways to improve economic growth. To reach this goal the governing regime uses its hegemonic power to create pro-growth myths, institutions, policies, agenda and plans. For example, privatization, BOT, zone expropriation, Science Park, Big Plans are all related with this goal. To realization these plans, there is one common factor among these plans: they all request the land.

Therefore, a great amount of good quality farmland and water resources in the western plain has been transferred to industrial and urban uses recently. The state employs the power of land expropriation, for example zone expropriation, to condemn farmlands. Many farmers are excluded from the decision-making processes and are forced to leave their homes and farmlands. In eastern Taiwan, the state plans to release state-own land to big conglomerates, which plan to establish luxurious resorts and villa around the



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eastern sea coast because of beautiful sighting scene. Even though most of land is officially owned to the state, the land in eastern Taiwan is historically belonged to the indigenous people. Many social movements have erupted recently because of these taking and selling out activities. With help from the Taiwan Rural Front (TRF), which tightly works together with farmers and local residents coming from different communities to stop land grabbing activities from the state they demonstrated several times in front of the Presidential Office and many governmental offices located at Taipei. The first big demonstration took place on July 16, 2010 because of zone expropriation at the Dapu (大埔), Miaoli County. There were many similar injustice cases and the author will like to briefly introduce the Dapu case.

## **The Case of Dapu**

In the early morning of June 9, 2010, hundreds of policemen surrounded the Dapu community at the Miaoli county. Many bulldozers protected by policemen moved in at 4am to destroy beautiful rice paddy fields. It is because the Miaoli local government plans to expand the science park next to the community. It employs the power of eminent domain to expropriate 154 hectares and forces farmers to leave their homes and farmlands. The horrible scene was videoed by farmers and civic journalists<sup>1</sup> who broadcasted in internet. The video received great attention in Taiwan society. With help from one NGO organization--- the Taiwan Rural Front (TRF), on July 16 and 17, 2010, thousands of farmers and their supporters braved to join hands and demonstrate on the streets of Taipei, warning that continued expansion of science park was putting the country and the community in peril. The TRF argues that those in government would do well to heed the important message conveyed by these protest movements and outcries, namely that the public has quite different ideas from the government about Taiwan's future and the meaning of "development" or "progress."

Unfortunately, one adult woman committed suicide on August 3, 2010. Late on, the Miaoli local government still brutal destroyed many houses, and it also forced farmers to leave their farmlands and home. One self-help organization was established, and its members did continually protest not only in local Miaoli county but also Taipei with help from the TRF. The organization and the TRF also started a law suit against the state. After a long time review, the court's verdict did stand together with local

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<sup>1</sup> The civic journalists are not belonged to any newspapers, magazines or television stations. Any citizen can become a civic journalist. They video news took place in their communities and surroundings and broadcast in the Taiwan Citizen Journalism Platform (<http://www.peopo.org/>). This is an important creation by the Taiwan Broadcasting System, the Public Television Service Foundation.



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residents, and it argues that the state did violate the law. It is therefore become a very important case in Taiwan society. However, the Miaoli local government continued to demolish Mr. Chang's house on July 18, 2013. Two months later, a tragedy took place because Mr. Chang committed suicide, and it was really a great pity! At this moment, the next stage law suit is still continuing because Mrs. Chang would like to have her home back.

Land in Taiwan is seen by the government mainly as a factor of economic production, whose only value lies in its contribution to GDP. Farmland and wetlands keep being forcibly turned over for industrial use. This poses a grave threat to the environment and sustainable development. Land is treated as a very valuable asset and is seen as a commodity ripe for speculation. The government keeps removing restrictions on the buying and selling of land, and it takes rising land prices as a sign of progress. A lot of farmland has been reassigned for urban construction. The government inflates target population numbers to designate additional urban development zones. This is meant to accumulate private capital and alleviate the government's financial difficulties. It is also a means by which those in government curry favor with powerful local factions for whom land speculation is an important source of profit. Land is not just an economic commodity, but a political one, too.

However, the TRF maintains that the mode of development that strips people of their rights to property, subsistence and a healthy environment is a regressive one. A development model that talks only of economics while avoiding any mention of politics or national consciousness is very outdated. Progress is not just a matter of economics. It is even more important to uphold environmental sustainability, social justice and political rights. Taiwan is not just a base for production. It is our home, and we rely on this land for our survival. As to the backward mode of national development that has held sway up to now, the TRF argues that we just can't swallow it anymore. Later on, because of massive social angry and pressures, the Premier of the Executive Yuan and the Magistrate of Maoli county openly apologized to the society and promised to return farmlands to those farmers. However, the promise has not yet realized at this moment.

## **The Case of the Taoyuan Aerotropolis Megaproject**

The Taoyuan Aerotropolis Megaproject is the biggest project that the state plans to perform in recent years. President Ma Ying-jeou strongly promoted it when he ran for his second term of presidency in 2012, and he titled it as one of his "Twelve Love Taiwan Projects." The state and the Taoyuan city plan



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to construct an Aerotropolis around the Taoyuan Airport. They proclaims that it is a brand new smart, green, ecological, resilient and international city, and it will creates 300,000 new jobs and NT\$ 7 trillion in revenue. The total area of the Aerotropolis project is around 4,791 hectare. Within it, the Ministry of Transportation will construct an additional third runway for the Taoyuan Airport, which is called the area of egg yolk. In addition, the Taoyuan City will establish many different enterprise zones around the airport, which is called the area of egg white. The major argument for the establishment of the Aerotropolis would have is on the economy, and it is similar to the arguments for the expansion of the Heathrow airport in London (Alkire and Deneulin 2009, 11).

Unfortunately, the Aerotropolis is not established in undeveloped vacant land. The state plans to establish the third runway next to northern side of the airport, and it means that part of it will be built on population density area. There are approximately 15,000 houses in this area and 46,000 residents probably will be displaced from their homes and land. The area also includes a great amount of farmland which is more than 1,000 hectares. Many farmers will lose their farmlands if the project is realized. The government's forcible land expropriation came like a bolt of lightning. The elderly peasants and residents of now find themselves at a loss, not knowing what will become of them. One aging peasant committed suicide two years ago. His son, Mr. Lu, who has just constructed a new house two months ago, says that "my father is totally depressed when he know he will lose his farmland again. The state did grab lots of my family land when it built the Taoyuan airport around 40 years ago. And now, it comes again. This time we will not only lose most of our land, but also we will be moved to an area where we do not like to go. My father completely lose his smile and hope." Another interviewee, Ms. Tsai says that "I am very sick since I have breast cancer. My husband and I used up all of our money to buy a house here, and we plan to stay here for the rest of our life. Unfortunately, the state announced the Aerotropolis plan three months after I bought my home. I felt devastated when I knew it."

They have organized an anti-displacement grassroots organization and went to Taoyuan city hall and Taipei several times to petition authorities saying that they don't want to be kicked off their land and home. They also proclaim that their opinions have not been included in the decision-making processes. It is because most of the power to build the Taoyuan Aerotropolis is owned by Ministry of Transportation of the central government. The only official places where local residents can raise their different opinions are in the procedures of new urban plans. The Taoyuan city must draw the new urban plans and open them to the public. It also must hold public meeting to listen opinions from local residents. There are urban



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planning committees both in the Taoyuan city and the Ministry of Interior, which are comprised by public officials, scholars, and local elites, who have the final decisions. Unfortunately, the committees are totally monopolized by the state. What they have said in the public meeting is mostly ignored. The meaning of "public interest" and "development" are totally dominated by the powerful state even though the organization strongly protest against the plan. Another Ms. Tsai says "there are many land speculations here and they are related with those power elites. I have attended five times of the public meetings, and those meetings are only for propaganda. What we have said is useless." Since the Land Expropriation Act was revised two years ago because of the Dapu case. The Act requires that the state must hold public hearing if it expropriate farmland. The state will summon public hearings next month.

## **Fiscal Deficit and Land Expropriations**

Nowadays, many Taiwanese might find themselves in a difficult situation as government plans nominally intended to benefit the public interest actually deprive people of their land and the homes which they rely on for their survival. Why do we have this problem? It is primarily due to financial and political factors. As the government is laden with debt, it constantly makes plans for major construction programs, overstates economic efficiency and population growth and relies on urban planning measures to turn non-taxable farmland into urban land in order to collect land tax and the incremental land tax.

Even though farmers took to the streets of Taipei to protest again and again the government continues to act as though nothing is wrong even though land expropriation cases have been just as appalling this year as they were last several years. Why is this happening? One reason is that the government mistakenly believes land expropriation to be an important way to develop land and improve its fiscal position.

Government finances in Taiwan are in serious jeopardy, but instead of imposing higher taxes on the wealthy to boost revenue, the rich are given tax breaks, tax exemptions and other economic privileges. So where else is the funding for much needed infrastructure projects to be found? The answer is to use land expropriation to prop up land development. Land-related taxes such as the land value tax (地價稅) and land value increment tax (土地增值稅) are the main sources of tax income for local governments. The reason local governments are using every means possible to turn farmland into urban land is that farmland is not taxable and as such brings in no revenue. In this context, it is hardly surprising that how to collect more tax revenue becomes the focus of much policy debate. In addition, those in power can utilize land



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development projects to co-opt local politicians, thereby killing two birds with one stone.

In 1990, the Executive Yuan ordered that farmland should be converted into urban land, all of it by means of zone expropriation. The government regulates that all expansion or renewal of urban planning, or reassignment of farmland or protected zones as land for construction, must be achieved through zone expropriation. This has caused the expropriation of farmland to double. It is because zone expropriation allows the government to expropriate large areas of land and subsequently make huge profits by auctioning it off or selling it by tender. Through this process, the government created large lots of land that could be sold off to private buyers for construction purposes, thus giving the government a financial boost. To increase the self-liquidating rate of public construction projects, land development has been used to finance construction. Regular land expropriation has also been used.

Because the government has the final say when it comes to urban planning, many urban planning districts have been continually expanded and more designated areas are being established near industrial and science parks. As a result, urban planning has gotten out of hand as local governments exaggerate population numbers and use falsified data as a pretext to turn farmland into urban land. At present there is a difference of around 6.78 million between fabricated population numbers and the actual population. Although there is still much unused land in industrial and science parks, meeting the needs of these exaggerated figures creates the false impression that construction on this land is necessary. The government has deliberately established such a distorted mechanism to expropriate land because it can then carry out its own land development agenda and significantly increase revenue intake.

In addition to financial consideration, land has huge underlying profit potential that can be converted through political forces. This is the reason over half of all local political factions are engaged in industries related to land development. Local politics is tantamount to land politics, in which urban planning has become a field for political-economic interest exchange and for co-opting local power brokers. Local development is dominated by an alliance of political-economic interest groups that promote land development and view land as a lucrative commodity. This alliance of interest groups are like vultures that, aside from using urban planning projects and land expropriation, use self-managed urban land rezoning and urban renewal measures and have savagely devoured the land and homes of good people.



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Although the Constitution explicitly stipulates that “The right of existence, the right to work and the right of property shall be guaranteed to the people,” the alliance between government and business does not only ignore their importance, it also intentionally misinterprets them. For example, zone expropriation has been misleadingly interpreted as cooperative land development between the government and the private sector in order to avoid the strict requirements that are placed on land expropriation. These practices are quite shocking and could possibly be serious constitutional violations. In particular, urban plans and rezoning plans that do not go through fair, just and open democratic review processes. Unfortunately, national plans and programs that should be in the public interest have now developed into a system of land exploitation controlled by the alliance of political and business interests. This is a severe invasion of basic human rights, which has led to an increase in difficulties for a number of people.

It is most regrettable that the strict regulations and guidelines that should govern land expropriation have been willfully pushed aside, and that the basic property rights and human rights guaranteed by the Constitution have been neglected. As a result, the members of one of society’s most disadvantaged groups – farmers – are being forced to bear the burden of funding government infrastructure construction.

## **Injustice Expropriation and Violation of Human Right**

Land expropriation is a very serious state measure. Most advanced democracies are reluctant to use it, and see it as a last resort because of the serious consequences. In Taiwan, however, land expropriation has long been abused. The government exercises this right at every turn, making it the favored method for policymaking. This is a great irony in Taiwan, a country that claims to adhere to democracy and to guarantee the right to private ownership. The TRF maintains that the initiation of land expropriation must be predicated on the public interest, and the fulfillment of the public interest requires strict administrative procedures and the full participation of local residents to reach the widest possible consensus.

However, *the Land Expropriation Act* (土地徵收條例) are seriously flawed, turning the “public interest” into the best excuse and the sharpest tool for those in power – such as local governments – to deprive people of their right to own private property and their right to survival. The sad thing is that current legislation gives local residents and landowners no right to oppose expropriation. Despite legal requirements for public hearings, price negotiation between the government and landowners and reviews by the local land planning committees, these are all empty promises.



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The TRF maintains that local residents are closely tied to the land they call home, and have a different take on farmland from that of the government or big business. Such land should not be viewed from the economic perspective alone, because the safety and lives of local residents depend on this land and they identify with it on a spiritual level. It is exceedingly important, especially for those who are now in their 70s or 80s. They feel that if they have their land, there is hope that their lives and livelihoods will continue. Most Taiwanese farming villages are dealing with aging populations, but these elderly residents also have the fundamental right to survival, and this right should not be sacrificed on the altar of economic production value. This probably is Downing and Garcia-Downing (2009) says, the disruption on *routine culture*.

Land expropriation has become one of the top issue in Taiwan society after the Dapu case, and the government finally promise to amend the Land Expropriation Act (土地徵收條例) three years ago. The issue became controversial and the government finally made an official response. For one, it promised compensation at market prices, subject to twice-yearly reviews. However, is this going to solve the problem? Is this what the farmers were thinking about when they asked for changes? The government has come up with a seriously flawed solution for the simple reason that it has failed to understand the nature of the problem. First, forced land expropriation involves human rights and is not a simple matter of how much compensation is offered. Forced expropriations are uncommon in constitutional democracies – unlike in Taiwan. This is because these nations view the issue as one involving human rights and one that needs to be strictly observed. The 1793 *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen* that emerged from the French Revolution specified that property “is an inviolable and sacred right.” This became one of the most important propositions of the time and was later adopted by constitutional democracies. The second chapter of the Republic of China Constitution – *the Rights and Duties of the People* – was also influenced by this idea and has similar stipulations.

What is so important about property rights? Aside from involving the balance of wealth, they are also intimately related, and inseparable from, the right to life and liberty. In other words, there is an absolute relationship between individuals’ right to life and liberty and their right to own property and to use it, or dispose of it, as they see fit. It follows, then, that in violating people’s property rights, those responsible for forcibly stripping them of their land are also denying them their rights to life and liberty. This concept has been repeatedly emphasized in the Council of Grand Justices’ constitutional



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interpretations on the matter – *Interpretations 400 and 596* being cases in point. The issue of how much compensation is to be paid is, of course, important, but whether these forced expropriations violate human rights guarantees are even more so.

Second, land expropriation is a structural issue and not merely a matter of technical evaluation. Because land expropriation robs people of the constitutionally guaranteed rights mentioned above, expropriation must meet very strict conditions – it must serve the community, be necessarily proportional, a last resort and fully compensated. Not one of these conditions should be ignored. The latest draft amendment has a special clause which states that when someone applies to have land expropriated, the service to the community and the necessity of the purpose for their application must be evaluated based on social, economic, cultural, ecological, sustainability and other aspects specific to the expropriation plan. How are services to the community and necessity to be determined, and by whom?

This involves the imbalance of power between the party applying to use the land and the landowner and cannot be solved merely by technical evaluations. The amendment proposes giving this right to the party applying to use the land, which is precisely what current public hearings have done. Article 10, Section Two of the *Land Expropriation Act* states that a public hearing should be held in which the opinions of landowners and stakeholders are obtained before those applying to use the land have their plans and applications approved by the authorities. Since the interests of those applying to use the land are in direct conflict with the interests of landowners and stakeholders, allowing the party applying to use the land to hold public hearings is tantamount to letting them be both player and referee, making the hearings a mere formality lacking any real significance. The draft amendment will bring the same result, since it hands the right to interpret service to the community and necessity to those applying to use the land.

On the contrary, the version of the amendment proposed by the TRF emphasizes that after a land expropriation plan has been proposed, strict public hearing procedures should be followed, placing those applying to use the land, the landowners and the stakeholders on a level standing and providing sufficient information to allow landowners and stakeholders to freely express their opinions. After questioning, discussing and debating the issue, an objective and neutral third party should judge whether the decision made serves the community, is necessary and has not been monopolized by the party applying to use the land. Unfortunately, TRF's proposal was not accepted. Although the government amended the Land Expropriation Act in January 2012, the new Act is totally unacceptable to the TRF and farmers.



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## Conclusions

James Scott (1976), a sociologist whose research focuses on farmers' movements, has formulated a concept he calls the "subsistence ethic." He believes that in the capitalist era, the subsistence ethic of farmers is often ignored. This makes farmers incapable of providing for themselves and is the main reason why farmers rebel. Taiwanese farmers' protests caused by excessive land expropriation can also be viewed in this light. The TRF argues that it is really a pity that the amendments of the new Act proposed by the government have not been aimed at solving the real problem. This means that the subsistence ethic of farmers will continue to be exploited and that farmers and advocate NGOs will have to keep on fighting for their rights.

The policy of Taoyuan Aerotropolis Megaproject is an ethical failing, and such harm toward local residents is not justifiable. In order to promote economic growth the authoritarian state is still willing to sacrifice human right. The coming forced eviction or displacement will become a serious social problem in Taiwan. Land expropriation policy of Taoyuan Aerotropolis Megaproject will cause a serious problem of displacement and it is lack of public reasoning (Deneulin 2009, 201). Recently, Pope Francis said that the poor should be given the right to work, abode and land and that these rights should be protected, calling them "sacred rights." One can only speculate as to whether this is enough to open the eyes of those in power to the suffering of the poor.

The paper argues that the idea of development should be addressed, do not strictly focus on economic development . It is because "development policies or public policies are normative or ethical – based on value judgements – in that they clarify how groups ought to behave in order to create improvement (Alkire and Deneulin 2009, 4)." It is important to promote responsible development (Penz, Drydyk and Bose 2011) and maintain that those actually or potentially displaced must be regarded as part of a comprehensive set of development rights. Rights regarding displacement for development should include non-victimization, equitable sharing in benefits, good reason, and equitable empowerment. We should also move upwards to build and advocate such rights- and ethics-based models and formulate policies to enhance national and sub-national legal and regulatory frameworks that are working for social justice in development

At the same time, new advocacy NGOs in Taiwan has been created, and they strongly ask for



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equity and justice. Within them, the TRF is one of the most important organizations. It unites many scholars, students, activists around Taiwan through internet to have direct actions. It accompanies with farmers and local residents to demonstrate in front of the Presidential Office, asking for land justice. It also creates many valuable discourses which can be used to support for their movements and to ask for change of the laws and governmental policies. Their movement is named as land justice movement, which does create great impacts in Taiwan society.



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