地理學報　第三十六期：55-75 (2004)
JOURNAL OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCIENCE (36) : 55-75 (2004)

Social Spatialization in an Urban Commercial Area:
A Case Study of Anping Road Shopping Street in Tainan

都市商業地區的社會空間化
－安平路商店街之個案研究

Kung-Hung Chen*
陳坤宏

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to explore the transformations of spatial functions and meanings on Anping Road Retail Shopping Street in Anping District, Tinan City. Unlike previous studies, this paper explains the spatial changes of the shopping street according to Shield's "social spatialization" concept. Anping Road Retail Shopping Street, situated in the Anping District and far from the C.B.D of Tainan City in Taiwan, is the most important commercial center in Anping famous for its traditional local snacks, unique products, and cultural tourism . It attracts tourists and shoppers from all over Tainan City and other places of Taiwan as well as international tourists. As a public space with multiple activities (e.g., shopping, tourism, recreation, cultural activities, and community life), it has shifted consumers' attention from other urban commercial areas of Tainan City. It demonstrates how local commercial activities and capital can affect local social spatialization at a place in an economic peripheral region in Taiwan. Anping Road Retail Shopping Street illustrates the changes that have taken place in a historical street characterized by mass tourism and leisure landscape, giving rise to an imaginary geography of the site of consumption marked

* Professor, Graduate Institute of Taiwan Culture, National Tainan Teachers College.
國立臺南師範學院臺灣文化研究所教授

by cultural tourism and impregnate with spatial metaphors. To draw on Lefebvre, the space so created in this shopping street amounts to a “space of representation”. Building upon the analysis of “aura” and “carnival” by Benjamin, a critical perspective from which to evaluate recent strategies of ‘ rational instrument ’ by public sectors on a shopping street, the outcome leads to a view which pays close attention to users’ reactions to government’s strategies through redesigning the shopping street for their own purposes. Therefore, to appreciates fully the phenomenon of Anping Road Retail Shopping Street requires an evaluation of not only the local cultural geography of consumption of Anping and Tainan City, but also of some concepts of postmodern consumption today.

Keywords: retail shopping street, social spatialization, imaginary space, spatial practices/spatial metaphors, Anping.

摘　要

本文旨在探討臺南市安平區安平路零售商店街在空間功能與意義上的轉變。與過去消費空間與零售地理研究最大不同的是，本文企圖從 Shields 的「社會空間化」觀念為切入點，在文化觀光與古蹟旅遊風潮下，探討商店街發生空間轉型的現象，並進行調查分析與解釋。安平路零售商店街位於臺灣臺南市的安平區，距離臺南市的中心商業區約 6 公里，目前是整個安平區最重要的商圈，而且近年來由於它的歷史古蹟、傳統小吃、地方特產與文化觀光而聞名全臺南市乃至全國，吸引臺南市、臺灣其他縣市以及國際的觀光客前來觀光與消費。安平路零售商店街作為一個綜合購物、旅遊、休閒、文化活動、社區生活等多元化活動於一身的公共空間，確實轉移了臺南市其他商業區消費者的注意力，而呈現出區域性商業活動與資本在臺灣的經濟邊緣地區所發生的社會空間化現象。

在本文中，我們將闡明安平路零售商店街的歷史地位的變遷、大眾旅遊與休閒地景的形成條件與特徵、作為一個消費場所的想像地理、以及將街道視為是文化觀光與空間隱喻的地方等層面的現象。基於 Lefebvre 的觀點，像這樣的商店街空間的創造，即是「再現的空間」，同時根據 Benjamin 的「氛圍」與「嘉年華會」的分析方法，針對近年來公部門在商店街進行所謂「理性工具」的施為與策略提出批評，結果發現消費者往往會基於自己的逛選目的，而對於政府的策略做出回應。因此，我們主張，欲分析與解釋安平路零售商店街空間轉變的現象，不但需要安平區與臺南市消費活動之地方性文化地理的評估，而且也需要當今後現代消費的觀念才行。

關鍵字：零售商店街、社會空間化、想像空間、空間實踐／空間隱喻、安平

Introduction

I. Literature Review and Weaknesses of Urban Consumption Spatial Structure Theories

Since central place theory emphasizes the demand/supply match between the service area and central place, it has been used by a host of scholars in studying the structure of metropolitan areas. Fifty years after the theory's creation by Walter Christaller, it is still one of the most important tools for dealing with spatial analysis of commercial activities. Of late, students of urban spatial systems and of tertiary activity location have benefited greatly from this theory's contribution. Yet, traditional central place theory is problematic because it (1) treats a central place theory system as a self-contained system isolated from the rest of the world and immune from outside disturbance; (2) regards spatial structure as a product of laws of economics, consumer behavior, and demography, but never of socio-cultural forces; and (3) tries to depict the hierarchical structure of tertiary activities as a static situation (Beavon, 1977; Berry *et al*., 1988; Tsai, 1980; Wang and Chen, 1990).

There was another criticism of consumption culture theory after the 1980s. Annexed to a set of arguments about the reordering of temporal and spatial relations, the recomposition of social and sexual identities and the phenomenon of ' postmodernity ' , consumption has again been invested with primary significance as the motor of cultural change (Harvey, 1989; Featherstone, 1991; Bauman, 1992; Carter *et al*., 1993; McRobbie, 1994). Within the fields of human geography, cultural studies and sociology, the role of consumption has been given a further twist. It is at once central to arguments about long-term economic transformation, about the shifting contours of political discourse and about the reordering of space, identity and place. What is at issue here is the tendency to overgeneralise about particular cycles of demand and their cultural and geographical significance. One way forward from this impasse is to move towards a more precise and grounded focus. The economist Ben Fine has insisted that the search for a general theory of consumption is elusive because of its difficulty by hampering more effective analysis of consumer provision (Fine, 1993). The anthropologist Daniel Miller has voiced a similar scepticism about such general theories (Miller, 1995). Fine's approach represents one distinctive stand in this move to particularity. Fine proposes what he terms a vertical analysis of specific systems of provisions. In doing so, space is created for a sustained analysis of the professional and commercial kinds of knowledge—advertising, marketing, retailing, etc.—which shape these goods. Glennie and Thrift have extended the idea of the consumption-space couplet to argue that late 20th century consumer systems are distinguished by specific spatial arrangements, whereby the purchase and trafficking in commodities is invested with densely localised as well as more global meanings (Glennie and Thrift, 1992). For them, there are interactions across different cycles of demand and between these and other discourses outside the sphere of market-based exchange. It is not adequate to understand consumption in any given period as simply the agglomeration of different consumption chains. There are broader social and cultural histories to be written, in association with more specific narratives. In Mort's conception of

consumption, Soho shopping district presents a case study of these global and local interconnections and of the ways in which large-scale movements of capital and culture are played out in intense consumption activities local settings. This is a more localised micro-study (Mort, 1995). After reviewing the geographies of retailing and consumption, Louise Crewe suggested that the retail geographies of the 1990s explored the consumer marketplace as a site of human agency and personal fulfilment, and there is evidence of a shift in focus during the early 2000s towards consumption as a site of political action through explorations into the connections between commodity culture, self-identity, citizenship and political participation (Crewe, 2001). Blomley (1996) also pointed that part of the problem with early work in retail geography was its inability to take either its economic or its cultural geographies seriously, the result being a largely descriptive and too often simplistic mapping of store location. While many cultural theorists, historians and anthropologists at the time were exploring the ways in which retailing and consumption spaces act as key sites for the (re)production of meanings and the constitution of identities (Leach, 1984; Wolff, 1985; Abelson, 1989; Buck-Morss, 1989; Dowling, 1991), retail geographers were slow to interrogate the ways in which consumer spaces can be at once material sites for commodity exchange and symbolic and metaphoric territories. The result was that retail geographies throughout much of the 1980s remained woefully undertheorized. Therefore, the decade of the 1990s was a period when a reconstructed retail geography began to take shape by Blomley' s plea that retail capital and its transformation is a vital and relevant topic for research and demands attention (Blomley, 1996). A glance at the pages of urban retail geography over the past 15 years captures the shift that has taken place from what Blomley (1994; 1996) described as orthodox, spatial-science-tradition retail geography to the reconstructed "new retail geography" of the 1990s. The latter sought to "combine an exploration of the economic structures of retail capital with an analysis of the cultural logic of retailing" (Blomley, 1996). In this mainstream, Lowe and Wrigley (2000) proposed the new cultural geographies of retailing in a range of spatial settings including the street, the mall, the store, and the home. Crewe (2000) also discussed the new retail places, spaces, and sites including the department store and the mall, the street, inconspicuous consumption spaces, and the home and gendered knowledges.

As above, we know most studies and theories about urban commercial spatial structure had rarely considered people before 1990s, on the one hand (Chen, 2002; 2003). But in the postmodern age, Anping Shopping Street is one example of the continuing prosperity of traditional shopping streets in Tainan City in Taiwan, where a nostalgic aura and historical tourism have given a boost to shoppers' ambitions, makes them the new centers of the public lives of city inhabitants and tourists. In this discipline, one tendency of the spatial system of public and private places is linked with the early postmodernization of Taiwan's urban cultures. Shopping streets, as indigenous to urban public space, are important elements of broader changes in the system of spatiality and concrete spatial practices at local, national, and global scales.

' Postmodernism ' is a symptom of these changes, along with the changing crowd practices by which individuals and groups actualize or deflect these new spatial arrangements. This phenomenon is often treated by metaphors such as ' space ' (Lefebvre, 1991) or ' sociospatial dialectic ' (Soja, 1980), terms which have

been criticized for their vagueness, lack of empirical content, internal contradictions and neglect of important aspects of spatiality (Gottdiner, 1986; Sayer, 1985). For precision, this sociospatial aggregate of processes, a manner of seeing and way of doing (De Certeau, 1985), is referred to as *social spatializaion* (Shields, 1986) in this paper.

On the other hand, from a global perspective, the social spatialization of consumption activities, coupled with the new retail cultural geography, will focus on the analysis of a regional capital's intervention in cultural periphery. And, we know there are some interesting phenomena based on social spatialization which appear as a new force in the structuring of the spatial pattern of consumption in a traditional shopping street in a rich industrialized country's metropolis, such as Tainan City in Taiwan. Especially on weekends, in the case of Anping Road, the basic customer group largely comes from other counties/cities and Tainan City's other districts, excluding Anping District (41.2% and 32.8%) (even including foreigners), and a very low percentage (only 9.1%) from Anping Distinct. In other words, the consumer type of "tourist shoppers" is more abundant than "everyday shoppers". We can think of Anping Road as an "outward/tourist" shopping street. Anping Road functions more as an "outward/tourist" shopping street than a community facility. This top-down type of development is becoming ever more important in the (post) modern age of international trading and economics, as well as cultural restructuring.

In the following, I will proceed with some important concepts about cultural tourism. Castells (1996) pointed that cultural industries could act as a significant element for local/urban redevelopment. We have especially seen the fact that there is in the process of interconnections between cultural industries and the logic of capitalism in recent years in most western countries' cities. It had an eminent influence on the economic growth and policy establishment. Zukin (1995) also insisted that cultural industries have been the city's symbolic economy and played a major role in economic revival and image remaking in local areas. Yang and Hsin (2001) proposed a more advanced viewpoint that cultural industries not only have been one of major strategies for local regeneration in the global development, but also have become people's lifestyle for purchasing individual's spiritual and deep values in the postmodern consumption aura. More importantly, we must know that cultural industries were a necessary category in cultural tourism. A draft about an "International Cultural Tourism Charter" proposed by ICOMOS (the International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 1999 has been always a copy of guideline in most countries and cities. Some relevant principles and concepts of the Cultural Tourism Charter are as follows: "Domestic and international tourism continues to be among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, providing a personal experience, not only of that which has survived from the past, but of the contemporary life and society of others……". "(Principle 1) Since domestic and international tourism is among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange, conservation should provide responsible and well managed opportunities for members of the host community and visitors to experience and understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand. " "(Principle 3) Conservation and tourism planning for heritage places should ensure that the visitor experience will be worthwhile, satisfying, and enjoyable. " "(Principle 4) Host communities and indigenous peoples should be

involved in planning for conservation and tourism. ” “(Principle 5) Tourism and conservation activities should benefit the host community. ” Such principles have been motifs of cultural tourism in many countries today.

II. Contextual Analysis of Restructuring of Frontier on Anping Road Shopping Street

1. At Historical Level

In particularly speaking, most commercial spheres have taken ancient remains, temples or important historical buildings as their leading facilities because of their specific historic-cultural background and commercial environment, which is different from many other cities in Taiwan. Anping Commercial Sphere was the earliest and the most important commercial area in the Dutch regime, Ming Dynasty-Cheng Cheng-Kung regime and the early Ch’ing Dynasty from 1624 to 1750 A.D. The major reasons are that these dynasties and regimes emphasized military matters and commercial trade, so the Anping Area had an important place in these periods, because of its port and militarily strategic position. Therefore, there were many important ancient remains, temples and historical buildings in Anping, including Anping Port, Anping Fort (formly Zeelandia), Eternal Golden Castle, Six-Blocks City Plan, Yenping Old Street, Chunghsing Old Street, Hsiaochung Old Street and almost 30 temples and churches. Obviously, Anping Commercial Sphere has taken ancient remains, temples and old streets as their leading facilities. Anping Road Shopping Street is no exception. It has been such a shopping street where Taiwan-Founding Heaven Queen Temple, Temple of the Goddess of Mercy, Cheng-Hwang Temple and Anping Fort are located. These commercial patterns have gradually become a public space for local everyday shopping and outside tourist shoppers, and a focus of community life and fashionable culture. Presently the width of Anping Road Shopping Street is 20 meters and the length is 1,500 meters, and it is filled with tourists and heavy traffic. Its commercial activities are flourishing. According to our present observation, Anping Road is the highest-level commercial area in Anping District, which is providing outside tourists and local people with shopping, consumption, leisure, recreation, cultural activities, community life and so on. (see Figure l)

2. At The Public Sectors’ Level

There are some important government policies which have contributed to forming characteristics of Anping Road, including the following:

(1) In the Japanese regime, Anping Road was constructed and became a main line for Anping residents, students and commuters. It was the most important land transportation route between the Anping Area and the Tainan Fu-Cheng Area (Lin and Ch'eng, 1998). In 1926, the Japanese colonial regime finished the Tainan New Canal, which gave Anping an important transportational status.

(2) In 1982, Tainan City government broadened Anping Road and moved the Anping Third Public Market to its present location, making Anping Road one of the most important commercial areas.

(3) In 1995, the Culture Construction Commission’s “National Culture/Art Festival: Discovering King Castle” was held in Anping. Meanwhile Yenping Old Street evoked a surprising historical preservation issue

famous all over Taiwan. More stores had located on Anping Road, which allowed it to attract more outside tourists. Interestingly, the Japanese Anping Association had published “Desiring on Anping Homeland”, which made Anping a focus among intellectuals, students, and the majority of people. Anping had became a famous place all over Taiwan.

(4) In 2002, Tainan city government received a subsidy from the Ministry of Economy to take the “Image Store Plan” and standardize the signboards of store on Anping Road, which made Anping Road renowned and allowed it to take the place of Yenping Street as the most important commercial area in Anping. Anping Road Shopping Street has been in peak condition from that time until now. In addition, Tainan and other city/county tourists of Taiwan are eager to go shopping there. Gradually, even foreigners started to like visiting and patronizing in recent years.

3. At The Retailer’s Level

(1) To enlarge economic inducements in a free market, store numbers must grow quickly. Anping Road’s many stores were established between 1991 and 2002, especially after the 1995 “National Culture/Art Festival”. Some famous traditional local snacks, unique product stores, restaurants (occupying a half of Anping Road’s stores, totaling 52 stores) and convenience stores (e.g., 7-eleven, Family-Mart) also were established during this period. Significantly, we have found that cultural and historical ancient remains tourism has had an economic effect in recent years. Therefore, the fact that Anping Road’s store numbers have grown quickly acts in coordination with cultural and historical ancient remains tourism today. It shows that cultural industries development (e.g., historical ancient remains) and retail activities can proceed together without interfering with each other.

(2) The symbolic economy of Anping Road, typified by fried oysters with eggs and vegetables, and lobster rolls, which are local cultural foods of Anping Road Shopping Street, has some outstanding features. Because of the explosive increase in consumer demand for “specialty” or “gourmet” food in the 1990s and 2000s, and their extraordinarily successful model for special taste, the popularization of gourmet food must be seen as part of a much larger trend within consumption patterns of the middle class within rich industrialized countries like Taiwan in the last decade, which has witnessed a dramatic rise in the popularity of so-called “designer” products. I think that the creation of designer products rests on a particular configuration of symbolic qualities that combine to ‘revive’ the aura surrounding hitherto mundane, mass-produced products: novelty (associated with modern consumption and fashion), authenticity (often rooted in notions of place or time with special tradition or significance), taste (or distinction, in Bourdieu’s sense), even secrecy (especially in production and prescription), which calls attention to the way that the consumption of this particular product marks the consumer as somehow different, exceptional, and, indeed, superior. To the new middle class, Zukin’s point about “characterization of the consumption spaces associated within gentrification” is usually adapted by us (Zukin, 1990).

4. At The Mass Media’s Level

There is no denying that mass media and advertisement have an influential role in place or product

marketing. Some of the stores on Anping Road (e.g., fresh lobster biscuits, a colloid food made of bean) also display advertisements for consumers interviewed by famous movie actresses and TV stations. Another example is 7-eleven, which has a “Welcome to Anping” sign on its door pillar. For Harvey (1989), the concept of time-space is created by the reproduction of social life and acceleration of the circulation time of capital and commodity by virtue of new organization form and technique accumulation. Therefore, consumption begins to develop more and more services including fashion, technique, division of labor , thoughts, values and practices with the help of dynamic fashions of mass marketing. This phenomenon is sublimated to gas in the air, so-called “taste” and “viewpoint”, especially with the help of the mass media and advertisements, which are constructed in a new symbol system and orientation. This interplay between commodity flow and mass media is the salient feature of space in the context of postmodern consumption.

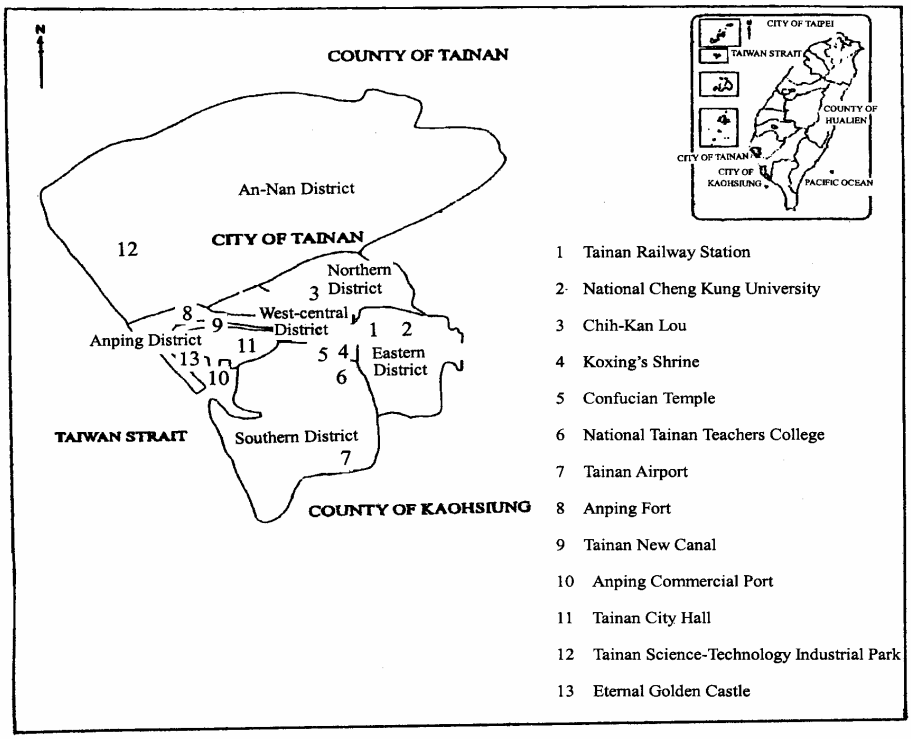


Fig. 1 Map of Anping District, Other Five Administrative Districts and Some Major Landmarks of Tainan City

The Theoretical Construct

Shields, an English urban and regional studies researcher, in his MA thesis *Towards a Theory of Social Spatialization: Henri Lefebvre, the problem of Space and the Postmodern Hypothesis* (1986) and his book

Places on the Margin (1991), proposed the “social spatialization” concept. As Shields has pointed out, at the social imagination level, spaces could continually produce social construction which also could intervene in urban landscapes and built environments. In other words, he was at the base of Lefebvre’s theoretical framework. On the one hand, he captured the cultural logic of space and linguistic presentations. On the other hand, he also captured the concrete spatial action. In the social spatialization concept, we may see that space is referred to as a bounded area, a site, zone or place that is characterized by specific social activities, which is endowed with place identity and local image. In the analysis of consumption of space, Shields has also pointed out that consumption was generally related to reproduction of leisure space and some services. If we clarify the practices of space consumption, then we must analyse the representation of consumers in leisure space, everyday shopping habits and spatial experiences. The social spatialization of consumption activities, coupled with the new retail cultural geography, will focus on the analysis of a regional capital’s intervention in cultural periphery, and interesting phenomena based on social spatialization, appear as a new force in the structuring of the spatial pattern of consumption in a traditional shopping street in a rich industrialized country’s metropolis, such as Tainan City in Taiwan. We believe this is one of the major contributions this paper makes.

Benjamin, the Frankfurt School sociologist of culture, assessed the arcades of Paris as the defining buildings of the 19th century. In his *Illuminations* (1970) and *Charles Baudelaire* (1973), he developed a reading of some sites as allegories of the society and culture which produced them—the topic contains social structures and sentiments. He proposed to construct the concepts of “aura” based on specific accepted models from each cultural mode of production. Therefore, he developed a series of metaphors of cultural representations suitable for evaluation by modernity in his analysis of the arcades of Paris. For example, he thought of crowd, streets and fl’aneur as accepted allegories of modern lifestyles, and when linked with ideology, art and society, became complex structures. We suggest that Benjamin’s cultural analysis methods are very similar to Shield’s social spatialization concepts.

Therefore, I use “social spatialization” and “aura” concepts separately proposed by Shields and Benjamin to analyse the changes of Anping Road Shopping Street in Tainan City. The relevant operational definitions of these two concepts can be obtained from the analytical outcomes of Anping Road’s consumptive culture environment survey and respondents’ consumptive spatial experience on Anping Road in a questionnaire and consumption activity observation. I prepare to analyse “social spatialization” and “aura” concepts via the social practices of “play space”, “spatial illegibility”, “imaginary space” and “spatial metaphors” by customers on Anping Road Shopping Street. At the imagination level, consumption spaces could continually produce social construction, which also could intervene in street landscapes and built environments in Anping Road.

An Empirical Study: Analysis of the Case of Retail Geography and Social Spatialization in Restructuring the Frontier on Anping Road Shopping Street

In order to further analyse the consumers' consumption experiences and social spatialization in Anping Road Shopping Street, a questionnaire from 308 valid samples (through random sampling on a weekend), consumption activity observation, store survey/ records and interviews with local district leaders were carried out on Anping Road. Twenty-two were contained in the questionnaire (Appendix).

Although Anping Road Shopping Street provides a site for exploration into the relationship between production, consumption and the popular imagination, it has taken on its own terms as to what Benjamin called a site of "collective dreaming and fantasy" (1973). Because Anping Road is located in a history-oriented cultural settlement, as such, it will be a paradigm both of past practices and of future possibilities. In the context of global awareness and interest of Taiwanese, Westerners and some Japanese, Anping Road Shopping Street appears to be organized as a new street landscape through mass tourism, the consumption of cheaply produced crafts from Taiwan, Japan, and India, and sensational mass media. Some important features of Anping Road Shopping Street are as follows:

I. Play Space and Spatial Illegibility

Like western nations' large shopping malls, Anping Road Shopping Street also expands upon this function. It not only promotes a new representation of space and encourages the corresponding spatial practice of consumers, but also constructs what Lefebvre has called a "space of representation"(1981), a space in which the social imagination is opened to new visions. That is, Anping Road Shopping Street is a type of "play space" which encourages its users to abandon the 'modern rational' conception of the world. According to Harvey (1989), "spaces of representation", that Lefebvre mentions in *La production de le'space,* there is a close relationship between spaces of representation and spatial practices. In other words, like a shopping mall, Anping Road Shopping Street is not only a type of "imaginary geography", but also is a type of "play space" which encourages its users to abandon the ' modern rational ' conception of the world. By adopting an alternative cosmology they can temporarily avoid dealing with their living site in relationship to the difficult capitalist world of distant powers and indulge in a collective fantasy which produces the illusion of a different logic of space.

The outcome of survey statistics is that the major way of knowing Anping Road is told by relatives, friends, colleagues and schoolmates (188 people), which is in accordance with characteristics of people accompanying consumers. Table 1 shows that the major motives of consumers on Anping Road are "buying traditional snacks and special products" (241 people), "admiring ancient remains" (181 people) and "recreation" (177 people) (totalling priority 1, 2 and 3). In other words, traditional snacks and ancient remains are the two most advantageous opportunities attracting customers to tour and consume. In fact, both items are

becoming a prominent local image of the Anping District. A similar outcome can be seen from Table 2. Satisfactory items of consumers are “goods having local specificity”(224 people), “a variety of consumer goods” (169 people), “reasonable sale price of goods” (95 people), and “spacious sidewalks” (91 people) (totalling priority 1, 2 and 3). Both highlight the important place of Anping local traditional snacks and consumer goods, which is the basis of Anping Road’s popularity today.

Table 1 Major Motives of Consumers on Anping Road

unit: frequency, multiple answer, %

Motives / Priority	attracted to Anping Road by its reputation	buying traditional snacks	admiring ancient remains	worship in a temple	recreation, leisure	carrying out homeland report	carrying out academic study	improve your common sense	visiting schoolmates or colleagues	led by tourist group	others
1	21	143	52	7	60	1	1	1	5	2	15
2	23	64	82	12	60	2	1	7	4	1	1
3	24	34	47	10	57	4	1	26	8	0	0
total	68	241	181	29	177	7	3	34	17	3	16
percentage	8.8	31.1	23.2	3.7	22.8	0.9	0.4	4.4	2.2	0.4	2.1

Table 2 Satisfactory Items of Consumers’ Reactions to Anping Road

unit: frequency, multiple answer, %

Satisfactory item / Priority	clean environment	convenient car-parking on weekends	spacious sidewalks	a variety of consumer goods	reasonable prices of goods	goods having local specificity	others	no answer
1	27	19	25	67	14	137	20	1
2	19	13	41	67	37	55	2	
3	19	15	25	35	44	32	4	
total	65	47	91	169	95	224	26	1
percentage	9.1	6.5	12.7	23.5	13.2	31.2	3.6	0.1

In Anping Road Shopping Street's case, we may capture the illusion of a different logic of space via consumers' overall experiences, feelings of tourism and consumption (Table 3), opinions about commercial activities and material consumption on Anping Road. It has especially proceeded in the democratization of consumption in recent years. We may argue that this trend will act as a representation of consumption spaces.

Table 3 shows consumers' overall experiences and feelings about tourism and consumption on Anping Road Shopping Street. If we look at outcomes from frequency, based on summation of priorities 1, 2 and 3, then "purely touristic experience and feeling" is in first place (217 people), second is "understanding Anping culture" (182 people), and third is "helping to improve interactions among oneself and family, relatives, friends, classmates, or association" (116 people) and "very interesting" (110 people). The outcome shows that, for most consumers, Anping Road Shopping Street is not only a play space for tourism and recreation, but also an intellectual space for understanding Anping culture. The survey statistics show that most consumers agree to develop commercial activities and introduce material consumption (83.4%), and they perceive the differences among the experiences of Anping Road Shopping Streets' tourism, urban shopping streets and department stores (84.7%). These outcomes described above are just representations of consumers' "spatial understanding" of Anping Road. In fact, these representations are the "spatial life" they want.

Table 3 Consumer s' Feeling About Tourism and Consumption on Anping Road

unit: frequency, multiple answer, %

Feeling / Priority	similar to strolling on an urban shopping street	pure tourism	very interesting	helping to understand oneself	helping to improve the interaction between myself and family, relatives, friends, classmates or association	understanding Anping's cultural characteristics	others	no answer
1	17	144	29	2	35	69	9	1
2	6	51	48	12	52	63	1	
3	11	22	33	11	29	50	2	
total	34	217	110	25	116	182	12	1
percentage	4.9	31.3	15.8	3.6	16.6	26.1	1.7	0.1

This “play space” of Anping Road Shopping Street may not be similar to meaningful spatial practice, according to the conventions of the rational, legible spatial arrangements of modernity. Like shopping malls in Western countries, this spatial confusion is heightened by its labyrinthine layout, its sheer size, the imbalance of historical settings, throwing off-balance the ordered progression of history. The mall appears as a nonrational assemblage held together by the threads of pedestrian footsteps which link these drifting historical stage sets into a spatial whole (Jameson, 1984; De Certeau, 1985). This “spatial illegibility” makes equivocal semiotic ‘ readings ’ and complicates analysis (Lefebvre, 1991). It cannot be transcribed as a simple quantitative line which elides the modes of being of the person walking, stopping, wandering, window shopping, passing by and so on. Thus, at first glance, the analytic gaze finds spatial confusion, the threat of the nonrational, history disordered, and so on. As Jameson (1984) asks, “how are we to know our place if spatial and temporal coordinates are so confused? And, how are we to chart the whole, relating individual routines with group ‘ mappings ’ or social spatialization? ” Of course, there are many strategies by which people impose their own agendas or evade the planned experiences of the mall.

At present Anping Road Shopping Street has accomplished the “Image Store Plan” and standardized the signboards of stores. Hence, some temples, the community center, the betel-nut venders and provisional houses have also hung signboards, making modern-type architectures and disrupted, ugly houses a mixed and destroying streetscape. Even worse, some stores occupy the sidewalk in order to make money. As above, these behaviors in Anping Road Shopping Street are beyond its controlled scope of rational planning instruments (76.0% of respondents didn’t understand the Image Store Plan). Maybe Anping Road’s consumers do not care about any more plans on the shopping street (Table 4 and 5). Evidently, Gottdiener’s (1986) analysis of shopping malls based on the “instrumental nature” concept, control of crowds to facilitate consumption, has been challenged by Jameson (1984). Gottdiener exaggerates and over-generalizes his conclusion that everyday life and its core of sociability has been usurped by the instrumental space of Late Capitalism, the public sphere has evaporated, and the space of social interaction necessary for everyday life has been surrendered to the techniques of mass marketing and the commercial control of the mall management (Gottdiener, 1986). The lesson can also be drawn from Benjamin’s work which forecasted more recent political economic studies of consumption sites. It was Benjamin who first characterized the arcade or mall as a concretization of the commodity trade and of entire social practices in space. This remains true today. The expanded role of the mall (like Anping Road Shopping Street) is fulfilled by its crowds in persuit of novelty (by window shopping), fantasy, as well as commodities. Therefore, Benjamin thinks that individuals are not generally restricted by the rational planning instrument in postmodern society, and spatial practices of users are beyond the plans of shopping malls or streets.

Table 4　Consumers Know Plans under Construction by the Public Sector

unit: frequency, multiple answer, %

Anping cultural special areas plan	Anping art village plan	canal's landscape improvement plan	Yenping Street's cultural industries plan	Anping new creative community construction	image store plan	know none	no answer	total
57	22	131	80	25	62	126	2	505
11.3	4.4	25.9	15.8	5.0	12.3	25.0	0.4	100.0

Table 5　Consumers' Understanding of Anping Road's Image Store Plan

unit: frequency, %

	frequency	percentage
understand	74	24.0
don't understand	234	76.0
total	308	100.0

II. Imaginary—Space Relations With Exotic Taste

Presently on Anping Road Shopping Street, we find that many stores select a store name or community name which stands for a dynasty. For example, "Hague coffee/restaurant" symbolizes the Netherlands; "Koxinga (or Cheng Cheng-Kung) traditional delicious meals", "Koxinga banquet", and "King-Castle traditional gourmet" symbolizes the Ming Dynasty-Cheng Cheng-Kung regime (Cheng ousted the Dutch from Taiwan in 1662); "Golden-Castle Community" symbolizes the Ch'ing Dynasty; "Anping Fort fried oysters with eggs and vegetables" symbolizes the Japanese regime, and many local food stores and unique products stores are also named "Anping" (Figure 2).

These store names, full of historical symbolism, are enough to make tourists create illusions of "imaginary spaces", and therefore, increase their consumption desires. These phenomena are validated in that many foreign tourists have begun to come to Anping to tour, consume and shop in recent years. When foreign tourists began to be interested in Anping's local unique products and accept and use them, and even some Indians and Thais sell cheaply produced crafts, we can conservatively say that a local place such as Anping is gradually being globalized. This phenomenon can be interpreted by concepts such as "aura" and "metaphor" of consumption landscapes of Benjamin's work.

For outside tourists, literate, intelligent, humanistic humane and Taiwan history researchers, some kinds of commercial stores, such as fried oyster, fried biscuit (a food that took the place of glutinous rice tamale in

the Koxinga era), and ting-ben-ts'o (a traditional noodle snack cooked by a tripod of pottery) stores on Anping Road may make them capture the possibilities of an early period's historical "imaginary geography" such as the Ming-Koxinga or Ch'ing Dynasty. In the meantime, this is also a process and effect of consumption practices of its "reterritorializing" of Tainan City in terms of its own traditional gourmet geography. Furthermore, many historical heritage, architecture, and ancient remains of the Dutch, Ming-Koxinga, Ch'ing , and the Japanese regime, all have exotic elements. This makes many people interested in traditional historicity to satisfy the feelings of "otherness", and stimulate their consumption behaviors by virtue of those exotic differences. This also has become a salient role of Anping Road Shopping Street today. Presently, many stores select names representing various early dynasty symbols and communities. These store names are enough to make outside tourists invoke the illuminations of the "imaginary space" and to increase consumption behaviors, and have become the preferred to attract international tourists for touring and consumption.

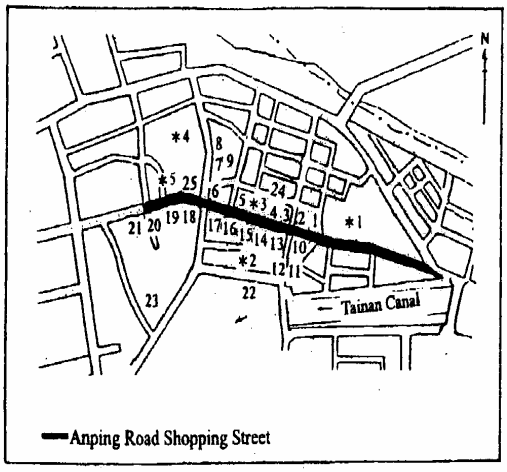


Fig.2
Locations of Major Stores and Landmarks in Anping Road Retail Shopping Street

＊1 Shih-Men Primary School
＊2 Cheng-Huang Temple
＊3 Temple of the Goddess of Mercy
＊4 Anping Fort
＊5 Temple of the Heaven Queen
1 Yuan-Ming lobster biscuit
2 Ming-Feng lobster biscuit
3 Kui-Chi meat ball with lobster, ting-ben-ts'o
4 Kui-Chi traditional gourmet
5 Koxinga traditional gourmet
6 Chen's lobster roller, fried oyster
7 Anping Fort fried oyster
8 King-Castle traditional gourmet
9 Anping Firstly Founding fried oyster
10 7-eleven
11 Dong-Dong lobster biscuit
12 Anping lobster biscuit
13 Chou's lobster roller
14 Ku'o black bean
15 Anping ting-ben-ts'o
16 Chou's colloid food made of bean
17 sweet meats
18 Liu's scallion, thick-hard pancake
19 Koxinga banquet traditional gourmet
20 Swordlion Museum
21 Anping Tea Friend Party
22 Licardo Haiya Cafe
23 Golden-Castle Community
24 Yenping Old Street
25 Family-Mart

We can easily understand the reasons why the rise of the Anping Road consumption aura has coincided with the efflorescence of an “Anping scene”. Because fried oysters with eggs and vegetables and lobster roller stores are dominant on Anping Road Shopping Sreet, we can offer the label “Fried oysters with eggs and vegetables, lobster rolls talk, Anping style”. Interestingly, as fried oysters and lobster rolls have moved into the Taiwanese market, Anping has become known within Taiwan for a similar type of traditional snack culture, strongly associated with its “Anping” lifestyle. At this moment, we can think it as a “Fried oyster, lobster roll culture”.

In addition, Anping Road Shopping Street’s outlets are integrally connected to “landscapes of leisure” which is referred to by Warren (1993). Davis (1992) shows that “kill the street” is one of the leitmotifs of contemporary urban restructuring in U.S. cities like Los Angeles. Anping Road’s retail design can be said to revolve around an enticement to “eat the street”. Anping Road thus produces a sort of visual grammar (a gloss on what Shields calls a “language of looks”, with one intriguing consequence: that gaze creates a fascinating reversal of the standard relationship between store and streetscape).

III. Carnivalesque in Consumption Community Like a Museum In the Tendency of Cultural and Ancient Remains Tourism

There are two distinct groups of patrons on Anping Road. The first basic customer group is higher-level status tourists, who frequent Anping Road Shopping Street as part of their excursion to Anping (for most young and higher-middle educated consumers, ancient remains and traditional snacks are part of their fashionable way of tourism). The second basic customer group largely comes from other counties/cities and Tainan City’s other districts, excluding Anping District (41.2% and 32.8%) (even including foreigners), and a very low percentage (only 9.1%) from Anping Distinct. In other words, the consumer type of “tourist shoppers” is more abundant than “everyday shoppers”. We can think of Anping Road as an “outward/tourist” shopping street. Especially on weekends, Anping Road functions more as an “outward/tourist” shopping street than a community facility. This top-down type of development is becoming ever more important in the (post) modern age of international trade and economics, as well as cultural restructuring. The top-down type of growth is especially crucial in the case of cultural tourism cities in rich industrialized countries like Taiwan. It shows that most Anping Road’s customers (70.1%) come here at least four times, which illustrates that most consumers like to come to Anping frequently. Also, the people accompanying consumers are mainly relatives, friends, colleagues, classmates (50.0%), lovers and couples (21.8%).

The festival of the carnivalesque represents the inversion of discarding social codes and hierarchical norms. In a carnival, all participants are fully involved as equals, engendering an intense experience of communitas (Bakhtin, 1984). This is similar to the concept of “aura” of consumptive culture landscape of Benjamin. Today, Anping Road Shopping Street promises the ‘ Fantasy Time ’ . It promises a fulfilling fantasy and consumption experience as a break from the humdrum of everyday life. Although it is itself built out of borrowed and artificial attractions which displace genuine attractions and authenticity, the

carnivalesque space demonstrates the deployment of a liminal space exploiting the desire for ‘ escape values ’ from the stress of an over-rationalized world. This participation is apparently an important ritual of membership in a certain consumption community on Anping Road Shopping Street. The survey statistics show that most consumers agree to hold religious or memorial festivals on Anping Road (82.1%), and they have some significant reasons (Table 6). Anping Road Shopping Street provides a place which celebrates and reinforces this consumption community of middle-class and middle-mass shoppers. The population of Anping Road is thus markedly young, fit, and ascribes to middle-class standards. Anping Road, more than any other public space, has become “mis-recognized” as a world with consumption legitimated as the heart of communitas.

Table 6 Reasons for Holding Religious Rituals or Memorial Festivals on Anping Road

unit: frequency, multiple answer, %

Reasons / Priority	constructing collective memory	stimulating traditions	displaying Anping's cultural characteristics	strengthening sense of place of Anping	improving carnival and excitement	attracting tourists to consume	others	no answer
1	27	28	148	11	13	23	1	5
2	12	33	53	53	29	59	0	
3	18	23	21	32	37	79	0	
total	57	84	222	96	79	161	1	5
percentage	8.1	11.9	31.5	13.6	11.2	22.8	0.1	0.7

Conclusions

After briefly reviewing the related shopping street theory and studying Anping Roads' case in Tainan City, Taiwan, the following conclusions seem obvious:

1. The changes of spatial structure of a shopping street in a city can be seen as a result of a process which simultaneously involves a local/urban development and a global development. Though the former type of development is covered by the Shield's “social spatialization” theory and Benjamin's cultural analysis, the latter type of development is becoming even more important in the postmodern age of international mass tourism, and in an age of economic as well as cultural restructuring. These two development processes simultaneously accomplish the “restructuring of the frontier” of Anping Road Shopping Street. We have especially found the fact that the postmodern tourism culture is crucial, in the case of traditional shopping streets in a rich industrialized country's metropolis, such as Tainan City in Taiwan.

2. At the indigenous local/urban level, a traditional shopping street, such as Anping Road, is not only

urban, national or even an international profitmaker in a narrow economic sense, but it also gradually becomes a salient site of play and display, a strolling and looking place, a community center, and a leisure and tourist center. In other words, we have begun to regard Anping Road Shopping Street as a social space. Completely speaking, from now into the future, Anping Road shall have transcended its role as a shopping paradise, and extended to a broader sociological viewpoint analysis (Zukin, 1990; 1995; Chen, 2002) through some changes of spatial form, function and meaning on Anping Road, including play space, collective dreaming and fantasy, spatial life, new collective sense of place, and spatial practice/crowd practice relationship, and so on. This outcome can be interpreted from the concept of “social spatialization” by Shields. But Shields fails to address how the “exotic” elements contribute to the formation of a collective consumption sensibility.

3. The theoretical weakness of Shields’ social spatialization may be overcome by global or postmodern considerations. In the exogenous globalization level, the changes of spatial signs and norms on Anping Road Traditional Shopping Street show that the transformations of material culture and social structuration have taken place. In recent years, Anping Road in a postmodern climate, the spatial illegibility, spatial metaphors, “otherness” (e.g., exotic odors) created by stores, consumers’ imaginary geography, and the spatial practice of Anping Road’s users. As above, such consumption behaviors are acted beyond the control of its “instrumental” nature and the control of crowds to facilitate consumption advocated by Jameson (1984), Urry (1988), Benjamin (1970), Lyotard (1984), Giddens (1984), Hatori and Sagimura (1975), and so on, have caused some postmodern effects. So, we can argue that the multi-cultural activities and meanings of representation including shopping, traditional snacks, recreation, tourism, cultural activities, family, gender relation, etc, are in accordance with the space of difference and multiplicity emphasized by postmodern society. This consumption tendency in a shopping street is also a major concern of the new retail cultural geography study.

4. Therefore, spatial change on a shopping street is a result of economic, social, and cultural forces and processes. Local social spatialization of consumption and imaginary/metaphorical consumption in postmodern society are also the shaping forces in the mass tourism society, in the sense that when the traditional shopping street promotes a new product image or diffuses its services, it is culturally preparing the market for the next step in the endless course of urban consumption, and therefore, of spatial restructuring.

Acknowledgements

This research has been funded by the National Science Council (Project No.: NSC90-2415-H-024-001-SSS).

References

Abelson, E. (1989) *When Lladies Go a Thieving: Middle Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bakhtin, M. M. (1984) *Rabelais and His World*, trans. by Iswolsky, H., Bloonington: Indiana University Press.

Bauman, Z. (1992) *Intimations of Postmodernity*, London: Routledge.

Beavon, K. S. O. (1977) *Central Place Theory: a Reinterpretation*, London: Longman Group Limited.

Benjamin, W. (1970) *Illuminations*, London: Cape.

Benjamin, W. (1973) *Charles Baudelaire: a Lyric Poet in the Era of High Capitalism*, trans. by Hoare, Q., London: New Left Books.

Berry, B. J. L, Epstein, B. J., Ghosh, A., Smith, R. H. T. and Parr, J. B. (1988) *Market Centers and Retail Location: Theory and Applications*, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Blomley, N. (1994) Geography of Retailing. In: Johnston, R. J., Gregory, D. and Smith, D. M. (eds.) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, Oxford: Blackwell, 533-535.

Blomley, N. (1996) I'd like to dress her all over: masculinity, power and retail space. In: Wrigley, N. and Lowe, M. (eds.) *Retailing consumption and capital*, Harlow: Longman, 238-256.

Buck-Morss, S. (1989) *The Dialectics of Seeing: Walter Benjamin and the Arcades Project*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Carter, E., Donald, J. and Squires, J. (1993) *Space and Place: Theories of Identity and Location*, London: Lawrence and Wishart.

Castells, M. (1996) *The City and Grassroots*, London: Edward Arnold.

Chen, K.-H. (2002) New approaches on urban retail geography in England and North America, *Bulletin of the Geographical Society of China*, 30: 77-92. (in Chinese)

Chen, K.-H. (2003) Social spatialization in an urban commercial area: the Anping Road shopping street case study, *2003 International Symposium on Urban Planning*, Taipei: National Taiwan University.

Crewe, L. (2000) Geographies of retailing and consumption, *Progress in Human Geography*, 24 (2) : 275-290.

Crewe, L. (2001) The besieged body: geographies of retailing and consumption, *Progress in Human Geography*, 25 (4) : 629-640.

Davis, M. (1992) *City of Quartz*, New York: Vintage.

De Certeau, M. (1985) Practices of space. In: Blonsky, M. (ed.), *On Signs*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Dowling, R. (1991) *Shopping and the Construction of Femininity in the Woodward's Department Store*, MA thesis, Vancouver: University of British Columbia.

Featherstone, M. (1991) *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*, London: Sage.

Fine, B. (1993) Modernity, urbanism and modern consumption: a comment, *Environment and Planning D*, 11: 599-601.

Giddens, A. (1984) *The Constitution of Society*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Glennie, P. and Thrift, N. (1992) Modernity, urbanism and modern consumption, *Environment and Planning D*, 10: 423-443.

Gottdiener, M. (1986) Recapturing the center: a semiotic analysis of shopping mall. In: Gottdiener, M. and Lagopoulos, A. P. (eds.) *The City and the Sign: an Introduction to Urban Semiotics*, New York:

Columbia University Press.

Harvey, D. (1989) *The Condition of Postmodernity: an Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Hatori, K. and Sagimura, S. (1975) *Shopping Street and Commercial Area*, Tokyo: Ku-Chin Books. (in Japanese)

ICOMOS (1999) *International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance*, the 12th General Assembly, Mexico.

Jameson, F. (1984) Postmodernism and the Consumer Society. In: Foster, H. (ed.) *Postmodern Culture*, London: Pluto Press.

Leach, W. (1984) Transformations in the culture of consumption: women and department stores, *Journal of American History*, 71: 319-342.

Lefebvre, H. (1991) *The Production of Space*, trans. by Nicholson-Smith, D. (French edition is 1981), Oxford: Blackwell.

Lin, C.-C. and Ch'eng, S.-P. (1998) *Anping Geographic Account (volume1, volume2)*, Tainan: Anping district bureau. (in Chinese)

Lowe, M. and Wrigley, N. (2000) Retail and the Urban, *Urban Geography*, 21 (7) : 640-653.

Lyotard, J. F. (1984) Le diff'erend, translated as The differend, the referent, and the proper name, *Diacritics: Special Issue on Lyotard*, 14 (3) : 4-14.

McRobbie, A. (1994) *Postmodernism and Popular Culture*, London: Routledge.

Miller, D. (1995) Consumption as the vanguard of history. In: Miller, D. (ed.) *Acknowledging Consumption: a Review of New Studies*, London: Routledge, 1-57.

Mort, F. (1995) Archaeologies of city life: commercial culture, masculinity, and spatial relations in 1980s London, *Environment and Planning D*, 13: 573-590.

Sayer, A. (1985) The difference that space makes. In: Gregory, D. and Urry, J. (eds.) *Social Relations and Spatial Structures*, London: Macmillan.

Shields, R. (1986) *Towards a Theory of Social Spatialization: Henri Lefebvre, the Problem of Space and the Postmodern Hypothesis*, MA thesis, Ottawa: Carleton University.

Shields, R. (1991) *Places on the Margin*, London: Routledge.

Soja, E. (1980) The socio-spatial dialectic, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 70: 207-225.

Tsai, W.-T. (1980) The Geographical Study on Country/Town's Major Shopping Street in Kaohsiung/Pingtung Area, *National Taiwan Normal University Geographical Research*, 6: 71-114. (in Chinese)

Urry, J. (1988) *Cultural Change and Contemporary Holiday-Making*, Lancaster: Lancaster Regionalism Group, University of Lancaster.

Wang, H.-K. and Chen, K.-H. (1990) The forming of spatial patterns of consumption in Taipei: some observations in a third-world metropolis, *Review of Urban and Regional Development Studies*, 2: 102-114.

Warren, S. (1993) This heaven gives me migraines: the problems and promises of landscape of leisure. In: Duncan, J. and Ley, D. (eds.) *Place/ Culture/ Representation*, London: Routledge.

Wolff, J. (1985) The invisible flaneuse: women in the literature of modernity, *Theory, Culture and Society*, 2: 37-46.

Yang, M.-C. and Hsin, W.-C. (2001) The interactions and their implications of cultural industry and urban development, *Conference on the Four City's Development Forum in Asia*. (in Chinese)

Zukin, S. (1990) Socio-spatial prototype of a new organization of consumption: the role of real cultural capital, *Sociology*, 24: 37-56.

Zukin, S. (1995) *The Culture of Cities*, Oxford: Blackwell.

Appendix

Subjects and questions of questionnaire：

1. basic respondent's socio-economic data

1. Sex, age, education, occupation
2. Local people or outsiders
3. Where to live
4. Transportation
5. Frequencies of patronizing on Anping Road
6. Partner

2. Anping Road's consumptive culture environment survey

7. How to obtain an impression of Anping Road？(multiple answers)
8. Motives for patronizing on Anping Road (answer according to priority 1, 2, 3)
9. How to know the location of Anping Road？(multiple answers)
10. Satisfactory items (answer according to priority 1, 2, 3)
11. Services and facilities that need to be improved (answer according to priority 1, 2, 3)
12. Public facilities that need to be improved (answer according to priority 1, 2, 3)
13. Which plan do you know about？(multiple answers)
14. Do you know about the "Image Store Plan" and standardizing the store signboards？
15. How do you evaluate the standardized store signboards？

3. Respondents' consumptive spatial experience on Anping Road

16. Overall feelings about tourism and consumption on Anping Road (answer according to priority 1, 2, 3)
17. Do you agree to develop commercial activities and material consumption？Why？
18. Do you have a local identity on Anping Road or Anping via this tourism？
19. Is there any difference between Anping Road's tourism and shopping on the urban shopping street and department store？Why？
20. Do you agree to hold religious rituals or memorial festivals on Anping Road？Why？
21. What do you think is interesting on Anping Road？Why？
22. Would you patronize on Anping Road again？Why？

92 年 8 月 27 日　收稿
92 年 11 月 12 日　修正
92 年 12 月 31 日　接受