FELLOWSHIP REPORT

Who remembers what? The processes of musealization of the past in South Korea and Taiwan. A comparative study on the White Terror and 228 Incident's memory sites in the Republic of China and the Gwangju Massacre's memory sites in the Republic of Korea.

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Introduction

This research aims to compare the memory sites of the White Terror and 228 Incident in Taiwan with those of the Gwangju Massacre (also called May 18) in South Korea from a sociopolitical perspective of museums as process. During my stay in Taiwan in November and December 2023 as a fellow at the Center for Chinese Studies, I focused on researching the White Terror and the 228 Incident museums and sites of memory. In this report, first I will briefly summarize the general project and then I will briefly discuss the 228 and White Terror memory sites in Taiwan based on my research field trip. The final results of this research will be published in an academic article.

Literature Review and research questions

The democratization processes of Taiwan and South Korea have been compared by different authors (Lin, 2018; Wakabashi, 1997, among others). These scholars highlight several similarities that make these two case studies comparable. Wakabashi (1997: 422) points out that both experienced Japanese colonial domination; both have suffered from division of their countries; both became anticomunist military outpost during the cold war in Asia; both autocratic regimes carried out industrialization; both authoritarian regimes were democratized following successful industrialization; both launched the democratization process in the second half of the 1980s; both established a presidential system. They are also comparable because both follow the hypothesis of Huntington's third wave of democracies (1991). Moreover, Lin (2018, 49-51) highlights some common elements of the authoritarian past's rectification, such as taking an event as a landmark of the oppression experienced. In the case of Taiwan, it was the 228 Incident, and in South Korea the Gwanju Incident. It is not that there were no other traumatic events, for example, the Kaohsiung Incident, but these two landmarks became the main cases of transitional justice and memory policies. In fact, in 1994 the May 18 Memorial

Foundation was established in South Korea, and in 1995 the Memorial Foundation of 228 was established in Taiwan. In both cases there has been policies of victims' monetary compensation.

Despite these commonalities, the 228 Massacre and the Gwangju Massacre imply a different reconstruction of the past. In Taiwan, the 228 Incident is associated with the beginning of the terrible policy of "white terror", while in South Korea, May 18 reflects a decisive point in the oppression experienced and the beginning of the struggle for democratization. Another important difference is that in South Korea there were trials for the Gwangju Massacre. In 1996, eight politicians including Chun Doo-hwan and Roh Tae-woo were indicted for high treason and the massacre. Their punishments were settled in 1997. In November 2020, Chun was sentenced by a Gwangju court to 8 months in prison for defaming a late Gwangju massacre eyewitness who claimed to have seen helicopters shooting at civilians. Due to health problems, he was not imprisoned.

The creation of sites of memory was one of the main policies promoted by social organizations and foundations related to the 228 Incident and the Gwangju Massacre. This boom in opening museums coincides in both cases with the redefinition of existing museums and the expansion of sites that commemorate different aspects of traumatic events experienced under authoritarian governments. Peace, human rights and transitional justice became the main discussion of the narrative of these museums and memory policies. In both cases, the political parties that emerged during the democratic transition were more active in these policies, although they are not exclusive policies of their political parties. The boom of museums has caught the attention of scholars who have generally focused on case studies. That is, investigations on the case of Taiwan or on the case of South Korea.

In the field of Taiwanese studies, there are several interesting research that links museums to national identity and memory. Vickers (2010) analyzes how the museums that during the Martial Law were used to nurture citizens of "patriotic values" advocated by the Kuomintang Party (KMT), towards the end of the 1980s became a tool for the construction of a new Taiwanese national identity. According to him, the museums reflected and reinforced a growing consensus on the island's own historical and cultural heritage. This trend was accentuated by the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) which emphasized the expansion of 228 memory sites and other painful events. From a similar perspective that articulates museum studies, historical memory and national identity, Denton (2021) published a book in which he presents an exhaustive work on memory museums in Taiwan. Regarding 228, he describes the architectural and aesthetic particularities of some memory sites, the role of private associations in the formation of these commemorative museums and the ways in which the past is

represented from a discourse of peace and human rights (2021:89-112). Harnett, Dodge, and Keranen (2020) compare Taipei's 228 Memorial Museum and the Cihu Memorial Sculpture Park from the perspective of postcolonial studies in order to understand public memory of reconciliation.

The works of Wu Chieh-Hsiang and Chen Chia-Li on the museums of 228 and white terror also stand out. Wu (2021, 2022), a specialist in historical memory and art/curations, has published various research on this topic. Wu (2021) focuses on how artwork seeks to preserve personal memories in the absence of official records. From a more cultural perspective of museums, he discusses the controversies and limits of transitional justice in museum art. Chen (2018) analyzes the controversies surrounding the establishment of the Taipei 228 Memorial Museum and the Jing-Mei Human Rights Memorial and Cultural Park.

Regarding the case of South Korea, there are also numerous publications on historical memory and some outstanding works on museums. In this report I will not delve into this topic since the focus is on presenting research advances in Taiwan. However, it should underline that the works on the Gwangju Massacre are not associated with national identity in general, but with the pro-democracy movement in particular. In some cases, museums of memory are associated with the contemporary history of the musealization of the past in general (Park and Kim, 2019). In other cases, research emphasizes memory how the massacre is represented. (Shin, 2016).

All these publications are valuable for this research. However, from the comparative studies perspective, a limitation that is observed is that most of research are case studies on the 228 Incident or on the May 18. Unlike the large number of comparative studies on Japanese colonization, the democratic transition, and developmental states in Taiwan and South Korea, the musealization of the traumatic past is not usually a subject of comparison. Another limitation is that these works usually consider museums as a fact and not as a social construction.

According to the literature reviewed and the data collected, it is observed that the memory sites of the 228 Incident-White Terror cover the country transversely. That is, there are different museums and memorial sites in different places across Taiwan while the Gwangju Massacre seems to be a memory localized to the city of Gwangju. This differential scope of the musealization process generates the following **research questions** that guide this project: what issues explain the variation between these two musealization processes? What conditions produced that the musealization process of the Gwangju Massacre to be limited to Gwangju while the memory sites of the 228 Incident and the White Terror have spread throughout the

country? Did the existence of a greater number of memory sites commemorating the 228 Incident generate more diversity in the type of representation and social actors involved in the musealization process? Considering these questions, the objectives of this project are:

General objective: To compare the musealization processes of the 228 Incident-White Terror and the Gwangju Massacre in order to understand the differential scope of these processes. Therefore, it is attempted to contribute to the debate on the features of memory policies and the levels of deepening and consolidation of democracy in both cases.

Theoretical Framework Research Methodology

This research combines the studies of memory sites that emerged in the academic field of historical memory with conceptual contributions on the representation of the past from the field of museology studies from a sociological perspective. Defining the theoretical-conceptual framework is not an easy task since memorials have not been studied as processes. From the field of memory studies, the most classic research on commemorative sites emerged to explain museums as a central tool for identity construction in modern nation-states (Nora, 1984). Recovering this sociological tradition based on the famous work of Halbwachs ([1950] 2011), Hyussen (2001) articulates the musealization of the past with time and memory. In these publications, like the historians in the field of museology (Macdonald, 2006), scholars analyze the museums themselves as an empirical object. That is to say, studying the elements and mechanisms of representations, characteristics of the narratives, and globalization aspects in the artistic and architectural forms used to perpetuate the traumas of the past.

Unlike these theoretical proposals, I consider musealization as a *process*. This means that museums are not only an object of analysis, but also a social construction. The museum is the result of the collective action of different actors involved in its creation. These social actors act in certain frameworks of opportunities and restrictions. The sites of memory are the result of their actions, ideas, and negotiations. Considering the musealization as a *process*, this research plan suggests a comparative study with qualitative methodology of collecting data and analyzing techniques. Comparisons will allow me to test my initial research hypotheses and develop a deeper understanding of the specificities of each case. (Scokpol & Sommers, 1980; Collier, 1993; Geddes, 2006). The research on the case of South Korea was done in November-December 2022, and the research on the Taiwan case on November-December 2023.

This research considers memory sites as *processes*. The independent variable is the *musealization process* and the dependent variable is the *memory sites*. The dimensions that I will take into account to analyze the musealization processes are:

- Features of social actors: It refers to the sociopolitical career and background of the social organizations, independent activists and government institutions involved in the musealization processes.
- **Types of networks:** It refers to the networks in which social actors circulate and the links and negotiations they establish with governments.
- **Frames and opportunities**: It refers to the norms and ideas that shape the remembered events. These frameworks are rooted in the opportunities of the local sociopolitical system, and the historiographical and political perspectives on the remembered event.

The dependent variable will be analyzed considering the following dimensions:

- **Types of memory sites**: It refers to the number and type of memory sites. Memory sites can be museums, commemorative plaques, statues, etc.
- Forms representation: It means the strategies, elements and mechanisms of representation that recover the spaces of memory, the urban impact and the artistic and political conventions shows in the exhibitions.
- **Forms of memory**: It means how these memory sites reflect forgiveness, reparation, justice and reconciliation. These types of memories are closely linked to first-person testimonials.

The sources that I will survey for the analysis of these qualitative categories are: the characteristics of the 228 Incident and the White Terror memory sites (architecture, aesthetics, art, exhibits, videos and images, documents and narrative); social networks and official Internet websites of the memory sites; social networks and official Internet websites of the social organizations involved in the musealization of the past; official documents of memory policies; official statements related to this issue; interviews with directors and curators of museums; interviews with members of the social organizations that participated in the creation of memory sites (for example, the Memorial Foundation of 228), and participant observation at the museums. These sources will be addressed by applying triangulation of sources and data for each case (Jick, 1979; Cresswell, 2003) and its processing with Atlas.ti software.

Brief description of the research activities

In this section I will describe the field work carried out during my research stay. As I mentioned before, the final results will be published in an academic article. This report summarizes the activities carried out considering only the case of Taiwan.

The original project aimed to compare the 228 memorial sites with those of the Gwangju Massacre. During my stay in Taiwan, I observed that studying the memory of 228 from the perspective of democratic transition and transitional justice without including the White Terror was a mistake. Both events are strongly linked in the memory of the victims and the narrative of oppression that is reflected in all the memory sites that I visited. For this reason, I decided to include the sites of the White Terror and articulate both in what I call the memory of the democratic transition.

The field work consisted of: interviews with museum directors, interview with curators, interviews with victims, interviews with organizations of victims' families, interview with a representative of the Presbyterian church, visit to museums and memorial sites in Taipei, New Taipei, Tainan, Chiayi, Green Island and Kaohsiung. In addition, I participated in the Federation of International Human Rights Museums-Asia Pacific FIHRM-AP Annual Conference 2023, which allowed me to discuss topics related to this project with experts from Taiwan and other Asian countries. This work was complemented by archival work, review of relevant documents (especially the legal frameworks of the laws of reparation and establishment of memory sites), news published in the media linked to the museums and commemorative dates, and visited to the Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall.

In the next two sections, I will analyze, based on my research work, the features of the political opportunity structure (POS) and frameworks of action of the social actors who established and maintain the memory sites, their links with governments, the particularities of the sites, the ways of representing the past and the links that memory institutions have with the victims and their descendants.

a) Musealization of the 228 Incident

During my research stay I visited the following sites: 228 Peace Memorial Park and Taipei 228 Memorial Museum (228 和平紀念公園與台北 228 紀念館), the Outbreak Site of the February 28 Incident (228 事件引爆地), Chen Cheng-Po and 228 Cultural Museum (陳澄波, 228 文化館), Chiayi City 228 Incident Monument on Mi-To Road (嘉義市彌陀路 228 紀念碑), Chiayi City 228 Incident Memorial Park (嘉義市 228 紀念公園 - 紀念館),

Kaohsiung City 228 Incident Memorial Park and History Museum (高雄市 228 和平紀念公園與高雄市歷史博物館),"Justice & Courage" permanent exhibition at the 228 Memorial Museum in Tainan. In addition, I interviewed directors of the National 228 Memorial Museum – Memorial Foundation of 228- in Taipei and Kaohsiung, members of the Taiwan Association for Truth and Reconciliation, a curator, two relatives of victims and a pastor of the Presbyterian Church – linked to justice transitional-

Since mid-1980s, the POS changed significantly, favoring the rectification process of the 228 Incident. The end of Martial Law in July 1987 gave renewed impetus to the movement for democracy. On February 4 of that year, several local and overseas pro-democracy groups formed the 228 Peace Day Promotion Association. The first measure they took was to renamed the New Taipei Park as 288 Peace Memorial Park. The following year, the legislature passed on amendment and designated February 28 as a national holiday. In the legislature, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) said that the national day was the first step in the policy of reconciliation. Hereinafter, the DPP has played a key role in the memory process. In 2006, the Executive Yuan approved the National 228 Memorial Museum which opened on February 28, 2011.

The policy of reconciliation and memory begins with strong pressure from below. Victims' organizations, human rights movements and activists for the country's democratization played a key role in putting 228 on the agenda. Although the official rectification process started with Lee Teng-Hui from the Kuomintang Party (KMT), the DPP has a most prominent role in this memory policies. The network of organizations involved in the museumization process is wide and diverse. The 228 Foundation is the main actor and articulator of policies and dialogue with governments. Organizations of victims, descendants of victims and other activists also participate of the 228 Foundation activities. For example, Presbyterian pastors usually join some events and meetings. The political spectrum of the participants is broad, although in all those interviewed there is a clear affinity towards the DPP. There are more radical groups, such as those in Kaohsiung that openly seek Taiwanese independence, and more moderate groups such as the directors of the 228 Foundation. These organizations hold formal and informal meetings among themselves and also collaborate in activities of the White Terror organizations. There is considerable autonomy in the actions of the members of victims' organizations. They do not always agree, but they have tried to find common aspects in the actions to disseminate the true about the 228 Incident among new generations. Currently, there is a great effort to increase educational events and capture the

attention of younger people who, according to those interviewed, do not know much about what happened because it is not studied in depth in schools.

One of the main limits of the memory educational policies is the internal tension between the traumatic past and the legitimacy that the authoritarian government still has due to the implementation of adequate developmental policies. This tension is manifested in the discussions about the removal of the Chiang Kai-Shek statue from the city center (Figure 1) and in how difficult it is to convince school principals to bring students to the museums. They said that parents can complain. From the 228 Foundation they point out that there are certain limits to their actions when the KMT governs. Although they highlight the active role of former President Ma, when the DPP governs it is easier to work on the internationalization of the 228 Incident because DPP has a more active policy of promoting human rights.



Figure 1. Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Statue

Source: photo by author, Chiang Kai-Shek Memorial Hall, November 2023, Taipei.

Regarding memory sites, there are different types of sites: memory parks, commemorative statues, museums in historical sites that serve as evidence of what happened, conventional museums and exhibitions in other related museums or galleries. All sites of memory have in common being centered on the victims. For example, 228 Kaohsiung Park (Figure 2) has plaques with the names of the victims and in the Kaohsiung history museum the narrative also focuses on victims. The same strategy of representing the past is observed in the 228 Memorial Park in Taipei (Figure 3) and in the Tainan permanent exhibition (Figure 4). The victims' testimonies, stories of their families and photos of their physical wounds are part of the resources used to dramatize the horror experienced. The first-person testimonies are not

presented in isolation; on the contrary, each story is framed by "evidential" documentation that gave more veracity to the victims' testimonies.

Figure 2. Plaques with the names of the victims



Source: author photo, 228 Memorial Park, Kaohsiung, December 2023

Figure 3. 228 Memorial Park in Taipei



Source: author photo, November 2023

Figure 4. 228 Permanent exhition in Tainan



Source: author photo, December 2023

Another common topic in these museums is the history of social activism. The narrative is usually quite local, that is, it is not articulated to other conflicts of human rights violations at the international level. This local perspective strengthens a more nativist idea of 228 Incident as a turning point in "Taiwanese" identity. To a certain extent, the incident marks the beginning of a history of oppression that differs from what happened in China. Thus, the political milestones of Taiwan's modern history appear to be the end of Qing dynasty rule, Japanese colonization, 228, KMT reorganization, development and authoritarianism under one-party rule, fighting for democracy, democratization. 228 Incident symbolize the beginning of oppression and conflict between China and the local population. This resistance reinforces the idea of a pre-existing Taiwanese identity while also accounting for a long history of oppression by China.

Finally, the 228 memory sites are strongly linked to those of the White Terror. In the next section, I will briefly describe some particularities of human rights museums and their links with the 228 museums.

b) Historical memory of the White Terror

During my research stay I visited the following sites: National Human Rights Museum /Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park, Green Island White Terror Memorial Park, Ankang Recepcion House, Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation and the Manchangding Memorial Park. I also visited other history museums where mentions of white terror appear, such as the Tainan Literature Museum and the Kaohsiung History Museum. I interviewed victims, the director of human rights museums, museum curators and spoke with professors specialized in the subject. This field work and participant observation in some guided tours was complemented with the search for news and legal documents on transitional justice.

According to Stolojan (2017: 27), "the White Terror began in 1948 with the adoption of the Temporary Provisions during the period of mobilization for the suppression of the rebellion, reinforced the following year by the Provisions for the suppression of the rebellion and martial law, both implemented in 1949." In 1987, President Chiang Ching-Kuo lifted the Martial Law. That same year, the Taiwan Political Victims Association and the Mutual-Helping Association of the Political Victims in Taiwan were established. In 1991, the Temporary Provision for National Mobilization, the Punishment of Rebellion Act and the Espionage Act in Period of Mobilization for the Suppression of Communist Rebellion were abolished. The following year the military rule of Kinmen and Matsu ended. In 1993, burned bodies linked to the white terror were discovered in Liuzhangli cemetery. On September 26, 1995, the Association for Vindication of the White Terror Cases in the 1950s was established. On June 17, 1998, the Victim Compensation Law was enacted, and the following year, the Human Right Monument was established. In 2007, the Taiwan Association for Truth and Reconciliation was created. Since then, various monuments, museums and commemorative activities have been established. With the arrival of President Tsai Ing-wen (DPP), transitional justice gained new momentum. In 2017, the Act on Promoting Transitional Justice was passed and, the following year, the National Human Rights Museums began operating in charge of Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park, Green Island Memorial Park and the Ankang Reception House.

Like the rectification movement of the 228 Incident, social organizations linked to White Terror have been key in pressuring for the process of memory and rectification to be carried out. These demands were, as I described in the previous paragraph, incorporated by different democratic governments, especially by the DPP. Human rights museums have close relations with those of 228. They organized common events and participated or collaborated in activities linked to human rights. As in the 228 sites, victims' organizations contribute to the representation of the past and to the human rights educational policies. For example, victims' opinions on permanent exhibits have been consulted. Likewise, there are victims, like Fred Him-San Chin (Figure 5), who guide tours at the museums, mixing history with their experience and suffering. Currently, given the advanced age of many victims, very few victims do the tours. During my stay only Fred was doing tours at Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park.

The global network of the human rights museum is quite extensive and active. The human right museum is part of: United Kingdom Federation of International Human Rights (FIHRM), United Kingdom Social Justice Alliance of Museums (SJAM), France International

Coalition of Museums (ICOM), United States International Coalition of Sites (ICSC), Federation of International Human Rights Museums – Asia Pacific (FIHRM-AP), International Network of Museum of Peace (INMP). Also, it has cooperation agreements with The May 18 Foundation of Korea, Museum of Memory and Human Rights (Chile), Simon Wiesenthal Center, SWPS University of Social Sciences and Humanities (WARSAW) of Poland, Der Bundesbeauftragte Fur Die Stasi-Unterlang. The museum also holds collaborative exhibitions. For example, an exhibition was held with CSC Member in Asia, Japan SNET, Tokyo Metropolitan Art Museum, Museum of Women's and Gender History of Ukraine, Canadian Trade Office in Taipei, among other organizations. In the case of private museums, such as the Chen Wen-Chen Memorial Foundation, they also have a very extensive internationally network with a strong focus on regional organizations. Chen Wen-Chen Foundation carries out joint actions with German museums and universities, Hong Kong organizations, among others. Undoubtedly, the White Terror issue is framed in the globalization of respect for human rights as indisputable universal values.



Figure 5. Fred Him-San Chin doing the tour for foreigners

Source: author photo, Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park, November 2023

One of the central axes of these museums, like the sites analyzed in the previous section, are the educational activities. They have the same policy as 228 of promoting schools and universities students' official visits. Another dissemination strategy are the temporary exhibitions in which different artists participate. They also perform plays and are very active in participating in festivals such as the human rights week that is celebrated in February. The

Green Island Museum also tries to carry out dissemination activities but is subject to the dynamics of the island where only about 2,000 people live in winter. During the low season, the museum does not close. It is always open and the park that is near the museum usually catches the attention of those who are visiting the island. In the interviews, the director states, like the director of the 228 museum, that not as many students visit as they would like. Among foreigners, the Japanese are the ones who visit more the human right museum in New Taipei.

The types of memory sites are varied. There are parks, museums and commemorative statues. Unlike 228, there are museums in former detention and torture sites. These spaces represent different aspects of the trauma of horror and oppression. The museums that operate in places that were prisons, Jingmei (Figures 6 and 7) and Green Island (Figure 8), represent the lives of the victims from the courtroom and the arduous living conditions during the confinement. The narratives, as in the 228 Incident, focused on the victims. Representing life in imprisonment has not been an easy task, according to members of the museum. It is important that the rooms maintain the inhumane living conditions and daily torture to which the victims were subjected. You cannot, as they say, "beautify" horror. The tour includes names of victims and historical archival data that reinforce the testimonies. One of the biggest complaints or concerns today is the lack of documentation available to make progress in revealing who the perpetrators were.

Figure 6 and 7. Jing-Mei White Terror Memorial Park



Source: author photo, November 2023

Figure 8. Green Island White Terror Memorial Park



Source: author photo, December 2023

In the others museums, other issues, stories and perspectives related to the White Terror are represented. At the Tainan Literature Museum, for example, there was an exhibition on banned books (figure 9). The exhibition was very well curated, taking the visitor through a dark and fearful journey that conveys the horror of the persecution. They present different types of famous manuscripts and books that were banned and how the prohibition of reading and the need to control people's thoughts threatens the freedom. In Chen's Foundation, focused on his biography, and the condemnations by foreign media about the illegal actions of the Taiwanese secret service in the United States. In all cases, the absent people are the perpetrators. The story about individual responsibilities is not as significant. Another dilemma that is observed is the tension between left-wing victims (pro-Communists) and the country's anti-China policy: if the person who violated public order is pro-communist, is the violation of human rights justified? A sensitive issue that is not resolved in the narratives of white terror.

Figure 9. Exhibition of prohibited books



Source: author photo, Tainan Literature Museum, December 2023

Conclusion

Since the beginning of the democratic transition under the authoritarian government of Chiang Ching-Kuo, human rights violations committed by the KMT have been at the center of the public agenda. Various organizations of victims of 228 and the White Terror together with different human rights organizations, parties associated with the DPP and the Presbyterian church have played a prominent role in promoting "from below" the process of rectification and musealization of the past. In the 1980s, governments, as I described previously, have been taking different measures to reduce censorship and to discuss the oppression suffering by hundreds of Taiwanese people. The changes produced in the POS gave rise to the first rectification policies and first memorials of the 228 Incident established under the authoritarian government. The 228 Incident becomes a milestone of Taiwanese resistance and a symbol of its national identity. With democratization, the White Terror will become the second milestone of the oppression suffered and of Taiwan's democratic identity, key in its strategy of national differentiation with respect to the People's Republic.

The social actors that intervened in the musealization process cover a wide spectrum of organizations of victims, descendants of victims, human rights, religious groups (Presbyterians), government officials, curators, university professors, militant artists and political parties. This extensive local network currently has regional and global action networks, especially in the case of the White Terror. The global network gives to the members of the museums the opportunity to acquire new knowledge and strategies for representing the

traumatic past based on other similar experiences in the world. Moreover, the local networks contribute to deep the musealization process, for example, by recovering new memory spaces such as Ankang Reception House. Although the main human rights and 228 Incident museums are funded by the national government and, in some cases, by municipal and provincial governments, there are private foundations that own their own museums and that are integrated into the broader network of action and memory led by national museums. As observed in the interviews carried out, although both the KMT and the DPP finance, collaborate and participate in the main events organized by national museums, their members tend to have an explicit affinity towards the DPP and value the role of said party in promoting the transitional justice laws and in fighting to relocate the statue of the dictator Chiang Kai-Shek.

There is an unquestionable centrality of the victims in the narratives of all the memory sites investigated. The discussion about individual responsibility is neither clear nor coherently articulated with the narrative of the democratization and the of human rights values. The victims are remembered by name and surname, with details of their lives in imprisonment, the torture and ill-treatment received, the executions, and the suffering of their family and friends. The victims are the protagonists and their perpetrators are the main absentees. This strategy of representing the past reinforces the need to preserve democratic freedoms and the fight for democratization to the detriment of putting those responsible at the center of the debate given the tensions that still exist between development and authoritarianism.

Finally, I would like to mention that these partial results based on the case of the musealization process of 228 and the White Terror in Taiwan will be discussed within the framework of the proposed comparison with the case of South Korea. The comparison will allow me to deepen the conceptual debate on museums as processes, as a starting point, from a sociopolitical perspective that challenges traditional studies of the field of museums from history and museology. The comparison will also contribute to understand the impact of the different rectification policies on the processes of memory representation as well as the differences between the localization of memory (Gwangju Incident) and the transversality of memory (Incident 228 and the white terror).

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